

**GPSG Newsletter #26**

**December 2012**

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The **Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG)** of the UK's Political Studies Association (PSA) was founded in 2004.

It is one of the largest and most active groups of the PSA and a leading, international network of scholars and researchers of Greek society, government and politics.

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# **Review: Workshop on Immigration in Europe:**

## **Immigrants in Europe: Between the Eurozone Crisis and the Arab Spring**

**University of Westminster, 9 November 2012**



On 9 November 2012, GPSG alongside the PSA specialist groups for German Politics, Comparative European Politics, and Italian Politics, with the aid of the Security and International Relations Research Programme at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Westminster, organized a one-day workshop on immigration in the European Union.

The parameters of Europe's immigration concerns have shifted considerably in the last few years. The Eurozone crisis and the threat of deepening recession are likely to impact on Europe's competitiveness in the global market in well-qualified, professional transnational migrants. At the other end of the migration spectrum, the balance of payments crisis in the EU's more vulnerable economies may promote mass internal migration to the EU's northern and western member states as marginalised workers search for greater economic security.

The ongoing upheavals in the wake of the Arab Spring promise to add to the migration pressures affecting EU member states. To date, migration inflows to Europe from countries of North Africa and the Middle East have been more modest than originally anticipated and have largely been confined to Italy and Malta. However, this crisis has exposed tensions between member states over the handling of mass migration movements and over immigration policy more generally.



These dramatic developments represent a fundamental challenge to prevailing assumptions about the causes, patterns and impacts of migration movements into and within Europe. This challenge goes beyond the politics of migration to address wider issues of interest to political scientists, including the ethics and practice of citizenship, cosmopolitanism, and human and social rights. This one-day conference considers the implications of these new challenges both for immigrants entering and resident in the EU's member states and for political and social relations within those states.

**This event was supported by the PSA's Specialist Activities Fund. The Greek Politics Specialist Group awarded three travel grants (total value of £400) to eligible paper-givers presenting papers on Greece.**

**Panel 1: Fortress Europe? The impact of the Arab Spring on the Europeanisation of immigration policies**

Andrew Burrige (Durham University) – ‘Frontex in Greece: Immigration Control at the External Boundaries of the EU’

Alexandra Bousiou and Antonios Kontis (University of Athens) – ‘Can the rise of mixed flows after the break of Arab Spring explain a euro-skepticism of the Schengen area?’

Hannah Cross (University of Manchester) — ‘Ideological, political and economic power in Africa-EU migration’

Patricia Hogwood (University of Westminster) – ‘Internal security and the institutionalisation of European immigration control’

**Panel 2: Responses in established host states**

Helen Drake (Loughborough University) – ‘Immigration, discourse, and the French 2012 elections: a Battle for the Nation?’

Rebecca Partos (University of Sussex) – ‘Rhetoric and Reality: UK Immigration Policy-making in Real-time’

Gregg Bucken-Knapp (University of Stirling), Jonas Hinnfors and Andrea Spehar (University of Gothenburg) – ‘Swedish Exceptionalism? Understanding the Integration Policy Preferences of Mainstream Swedish Political Parties’

Mikko Kuisma (Oxford Brookes University) – ‘Good and bad immigrants’: The economic nationalism of the True Finns’ immigration discourse’

**Panel 3: Responses in ‘new’ host states**

Jan Rovny (University of Gothenburg) – ‘The Other "Other": Party Responses to Immigration in Eastern Europe’

Iside Gjergji (University of Coimbra) – ‘The Italian government’s response to the new migratory pressures from North Africa’

Lena Karamanidou (City University London) – ‘Shared frames in the political discourse of migration in Greece’

**Panel 4: Integration, identity and discourse**

Umut Korkut (Glasgow Caledonian University) – ‘Discourse and Politics of Migration: Between the Eurozone Crisis and the Arab Spring’

Georgios Karyotis (University of Strathclyde) and Dimitris Skleparis (Queen Mary) – ‘Migration and Activism in Greece during the Economic Crisis’

Claire Sutherland (University of Durham) – ‘Leaving and Longing: German Migration Museums as Nation-Building Sites’

Brandon Tensley (Fulbright Scholar) – ‘Living in a Parallel Society: The System of Education in Germany and its Economic Effect on Turkish Minorities’



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## **GPSG Panels at the 63<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association**

**“The Party’s Over?”**

**Cardiff, 25-27 March 2013**

As every year we are proud to sponsor conference panels at the 63rd Political Studies Association Annual International Conference: “The Party’s Over?” that takes place between 25 and 27 March 2013 at the City Hall in Cardiff. This year we have a joint session with the German Politics Specialist Group and a dedicated one on Greek politics.

### **“The Eurozone crisis between Germany, Greece and Italy: Characteristics and implications of Germany’s economic leadership in Europe”**

Chair: Dan Greenwood, University of Westminster

Moderator: Graham Timmins, University of Birmingham

The Eurozone crisis prompted demands for German economic leadership in Europe, but Germany’s proposed solutions have encountered hostility from different quarters. They have profound implications for individual EU member states, for the future of the Eurozone, for the future shape of the EU, and for member state sovereignty more generally. This panel explores the characterisation of Germany as a new economic hegemon, ‘reluctant’ (Paterson, 2011) or otherwise. It evaluates the ‘battle of ideas’ between neo-liberal and neo-Keynesian approaches to German economic policy in the context of the current Eurozone crisis. It explores the impact of Germany’s attempts to find immediate and longer term solutions to the crisis on its relationship with its European neighbours. In particular, it examines the implications of the proposed fiscal treaty for the future shape of the Eurozone and the institutional relationships within the EU. Evidence from Greece and Italy, the member states arguably the most radically affected by Germany’s solutions for the crisis, tests the impact of recent developments in relation to public and partisan support for the EU. Current solutions to persistent economic crisis challenge member-state national sovereignty and may promote the fracture of the EU into a core zone with multiple peripheries.

#### **Papers:**

Lothar Funk (University of Applied Sciences Duesseldorf) – ‘The Debate on German economic hegemony: misleading or enlightening?’

Christian Schweiger (Durham University) – ‘What about sovereignty? The political implications of the Eurozone fiscal compact’

Ben Clements (University of Leicester), Kyriaki Nanou (University of Oxford), Susannah Verney (University of Athens), ‘The Eurozone crisis and public attitudes towards the European Union in Greece’

Andrea Giuricin (University of Milan Bicocca), ‘The European Government of Mario Monti and the euroscepticism of Italy’

## **“Multidisciplinary approaches to the Greek crisis”**

Chair: Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent University)

Discussant: Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos (University of Surrey)

This panel will bring together emerging interpretations of the Greek economic, political and social crisis. The four papers track the origins and implications of the crisis from four different but related points of view, looking at the role of institutions, leaders, political economy and media. It is hoped that this approach will encourage a multidisciplinary dialogue on the root causes of, and possible solutions to, the crisis in Greece.

### **Papers:**

Zeki Sarigil and Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent University) – ‘Political Diffusion at Critical Junctures: Comparing Political Economy Trajectories in Greece and Turkey’

Aris Trantidis (King’s College, London) – ‘The beginning of the storm: Mitsotakis’ reform agenda and the political ascendancy of informal veto-players’

Manos Papazoglou (University of the Peloponnese) – ‘Government and Party Leadership in Greek Politics: Evaluating Past Shortcomings and Setting New Paradigms’

Emmanuel Heretakis (University of Athens) – ‘The mass media, fair play and other obsessions’

\* \* \*



**Dimitris Tsarouhas, Bilkent University, Ankara**

### **EU Jean Monnet Chair Awarded to GPSG Office**

Assistant Professor Dimitris Tsarouhas, Department of International Relations, has been awarded a Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration by the European Commission. The Chair comes with a grant worth € 23,000 and will run for a total of three years.

Jean Monnet Chairs are teaching posts awarded to scholars who specialize in the teaching and research of European integration. They are awarded based on the Professor’s merit and the quality of the application submitted. Chairs are encouraged to pursue their teaching and research of European integration in a critical and independent manner, and no limits are placed to the scope and content of their work.

The Jean Monnet Programme, which also includes Centers of Excellence, Modules and Conferences was first launched in 1989. It is named after the architect of European integration, the Frenchman Jean Monnet (1888-1979).

Bilkent is one of the only three Turkish Universities awarded a Jean Monnet Chair in 2012. Professor Tsarouhas has planned a series of actions as part of the Chair activities. Principal among them are the organization of a “Seminar Series on the EU” with guest lecturers from Turkey and abroad, awareness-raising Conferences on EU integration as well as workshops on EU social policy and enlargement that will lead to the publication of journal articles and a book volume.



## GPSG Experts comment on the crisis in Greece

The GPSG provides access to a unique, international network of experts and researchers who can comment on all aspects of Greek politics, including public administration and governance, elections and political parties, security and intelligence, foreign policy and European affairs. During the last few crucial months for Greece and the Eurozone's future, GPSG members have been asked to provide expert commentary which has featured in media outlets around the world.

- 14/12/2012 – Dr Manos Papazoglou: “Η Μετεξέλιξη των Κομμάτων” – Τα Νέα
- 05/12/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos: “Whither the Vision? Institutional Change During Europe’s Financial Crisis” – e-IR Essay
- 30/11/2012 – Dr Stella Ladi: “Greek attempts to carry out public service reform offer an important opportunity to test theories of public policy change”, LSE EUROPP Blog
- 22/11/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos “Could derelict airport be Greece’s economic savior?” – CNN.com
- 09/11/2012 – Prof Dimitris Tsarouhas interviewed for the German SPD – “Das Aus für Europa? Unvorstellbar!”
- 01/11/2012 – “EU spending policies create dissent in U.K.” – USA Today
- 30/10/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos interviewed for Burning Point on The Voice of Russia radio
- 15/10/2012 – Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou and Dr Sophia Vasilopoulou – Greece’s response to austerity has been to say “no to the Fourth Reich” but yes to the neo-Nazism of the Golden Dawn’ LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP)
- 09/10/2012 – “Germany’s Merkel arrives to protests in Greece” – USA Today
- 27/09/2012 – “Spain announces severe budget cuts to qualify for EU money” – USA Today
- 26/09/2012 – “Protests against budget cuts in Spain, Greece rock world markets” – USA Today
- 14/09/2012 – Dr Georgios Karyotis interviewed on BBC Radio Scotland on the WW2 German Reparations
- 24/08/2012 – Dr Stella Ladi interviewed on NET FM 105.8
- 23/08/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos -- While Greece’s new government has survived the summer’s tests and some of the public’s trust has been restored, further turmoil likely lies ahead.” LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP)
- 22/08/2012 – Dr Georgios Karyotis interviewed on BBC Radio Scotland on the Eurogroup and the Greek debt crisis
- 29/06/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos: “Ούζο και έξω! Μετά την «έξοδο» της Ελλάδας από το Euro 2012” – Το Βήμα
- 28/06/2012 – “Un govern en compàs d’espera” – El Temps (Spain)

**All links to the media appearances of the members of GPSG are available for downloading, streaming or viewing at on our website: <http://www.gpsg.org.uk/about-us/press-media/>**

## New on the GPSG Working Paper Series

WP11, November 2012

### ***Representations of terrorism in online media: a comparative examination of UK, Germany, Greece and Turkey***

**George Pleios** – Associate Professor, Media & Communication Department, University of Athens  
**Stamatis Poulakidakos** – Specialized Research Personnel, Laboratory of Social Research in the Media, Media Department, University of Athens

**Anastasia Veneti** – Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Public Relations & Communication, Technological Educational Institution of Ionian Islands

#### **Abstract**

The scope of this paper is to examine the representations of terrorism within center-left and center-right online media in the UK, Germany, Greece and Turkey, by analyzing comparatively which particular cases attract the journalistic interest in these countries.<sup>1</sup> The rationale of the current research grounds itself on the agenda setting approach in terms of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of terrorism presentation in the news sites. By applying the rationale of content analysis through a coding protocol, we explore the journalists' conceptions and specific understanding in these countries about historical roots of terrorism as well as its economic, social and cultural dimensions and consequences.

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*The Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) invites submissions for its Working Papers series. We welcome scholarly contributions on all fields and topics of Greek political and social studies. Interdisciplinary, comparative and innovative approaches are particularly welcome. All types of scholarly papers can be submitted and will undergo a thorough peer review aiming to provide authors with constructive feedback, as well as ensure that published papers meet certain standards of coherence, structure and argumentation.*

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GREEK  
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## Members' Publications and New Initiatives

### Latest Publications by our members

Chalari, A. (2012) "The Causal Powers of Social Change: the case of modern Greek society," November 2012, GreeSE Paper No. 64, Hellenic Observatory Series on Southeast Europe, LSE.

Chatzistravrou, E. (2011) *Globalization and the role of regional powers in the international system: The case of China and India* (in Greek) e-book at: <http://www.smashwords.com/books/view/114543>

Dinas, E. and Gemenis, K. (2012) Revisiting the role of process incentives as a determinant of university students' protest. *European Political Science Review*.

Efthymiopoulos M. (2012), *Strategic Security and Transatlantic Relations* (in Greek), Athens-Thessaloniki: Sakkoulas Press.

Efthymiopoulos, M. (2012) "An Alliance between Greece, Turkey and Israel?" *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 11(3)

Exadaktylos, T. and Zahariadis, N. (2012) "Policy Implementation and Political Trust: Greece in the age of austerity," December 2012. GreeSE Paper No. 65, Hellenic Observatory Series on Southeast Europe, LSE.

Gemenis, K. (2012) Proxy documents as a source of measurement error in the Comparative Manifestos Project. *Electoral Studies* 31: 594-604.

Gemenis, K. and Nezi, R. (2012) The 2011 political parties expert survey in Greece. [http://doc.utwente.nl/79515/1/Expert\\_survey\\_report\\_DANS.pdf](http://doc.utwente.nl/79515/1/Expert_survey_report_DANS.pdf).

Halikiopoulou, D., S. Mock and S. Vasilopoulou (2013) 'The civic Zeitgeist: nationalism and liberal values in the European radical right', *Nations and Nationalism*, 19 (1).

Lefkofridi, Z. and Casado-Asensio, J. (2013) "European Vox Radicis: Representation & Policy Congruence on the Extremes." *Comparative European Politics* 11, 93–118.

Lefkofridi, Z. and Horvath, K. (2012) "Migration Policy Issues and Representation in European Liberal Democracies." *Representation* 48 (1): 29-45.

Lefkofridi, Z., Giger, N. and Kissau, K. (2012) "Inequality and Representation in Europe." *Representation* 48 (1): 1-11.

Margaritis, K. (2013) "The Framework for Fundamental Rights Protection in Europe under the Prospect of EU Accession to ECHR," *Journal of Politics and Law*, 6(1).

Rogers, C. and S. Vasilopoulou (2012) 'Making Sense of Greek Austerity', *Political Quarterly*, 83 (4): 777-785.

Vasilopoulou, S. (2013) 'Continuity and change in the study of Euroscepticism: plus ça change?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51 (1): 153-168

Vasilopoulou, S. and K. Gattermann (2013) 'Matching policy preferences: the linkage between voters and MEPs', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20 (4).

Veneti, A., Poulakidakos, S., Theologou, K. (2012) "The Greek Indignants through the domestic TV news bulletins", *Revista Estudos em Comunicacao*, Nº 12, pp.107-134 <http://www.ec.ubi.pt/ec/12/>.





### **EUROMED Migration III**

Since January 2012, EMUNI University has embarked on a new ENPI project EUROMED Migration III in partnership with International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD, responsible for the management of the project), the International Training Centre of the International Labour Organization (ITC-ILO), the International and Ibero-American Foundation of Administration and Public Policies (FIIAPP) and the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFII). The consortium was chosen by the European Commission for its quality, knowledge and variety of areas that will be covered, and also for the ability to reach numerous people in the beneficiary countries as well as elsewhere.

Throughout the duration of the project EMUNI University will be looking for short term experts from several fields of expertise linked to migration topics. We would like to invite you to see the current vacancies on <http://www.emuni.si/en/strani/454/ENPI-Migration-III-Project.html>. To apply for any of the vacancies, please, send your CV and motivation letter to [migration@emuni.si](mailto:migration@emuni.si). We are currently also looking for a key expert candidate for the position of *Migration Management Expert*.

Website: [www.euromed-migration.eu](http://www.euromed-migration.eu)

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### **GrEPOP – The website of the Greek Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Group**

GrEPOP is a specialist group of the Hellenic Political Science Association bringing together scholars specialized in elections, public opinion and parties. The group was established in 2012 and is the first among these new groups created. Its primary goal is to promote the development of quantitative methods in the study of Greek political behaviour and to create a network among scholars interested on these issues by organizing conferences and workshops; publishing information related to upcoming events such as conferences, summer schools and workshops; providing links with databases that might be of the interest of the members; offering bibliographic databases relevant for scholars of public opinion and voting;

**GrEPOP**

It also offers links to a variety of databases on elections, parties and public opinion, such as the European Social Survey (ESS); GESIS Database; the Political Parties Expert Survey in Greece (Twente); and the UK Data Archive.

Iannis Konstantinidis (University of Macedonia) and Roula Nezi (University of Twente) act as interim convenors. The founding members of GrEPOP are Elias Dinas (Nuffield College, University of Oxford); Kostas Gemenis (University of Twente); Vasiliki Georgiadou (Panteion University); Alexia Katsanidou (GESIS Institute, Cologne); Zoe Lefkofridi (University of Vienna); Nikos Marantzidis (University of Macedonia); Lamprini Rori (University of Paris I); Yannis Tsirbas (University of Athens); and Christofors Vernardakis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).

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## Members' Activities, News and Events:

**Prof Dimitris Tsarouhas** was invited by the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) to address the 31<sup>st</sup> meeting of the EU-Turkey Joint Consultative Committee. The subject of his talk was "EU-Turkey Trade Relations." Following the presentation, Prof. Tsarouhas answered questions by EESC members.

The Centre for Research on the European Matrix (CRonEM) of the University of Surrey organized a Jean Monnet Chair roundtable debate on 22 November on the economic governance for Europe with **Prof. Alex Warleigh-Lack** (Surrey), **Dr. Brigitte Leucht** (Copenhagen), **Mr Will Fry** (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and **Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos** (Surrey) who talked about institutional change during Europe's financial crisis.

**Dr. Stamatoula Panagakou** (Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus; Honorary Visiting Fellow, Department of Politics, University of York, UK), who specializes in the moral, social and political philosophy of the British Idealists, was invited by the British Idealism Specialist Group of the Political Studies Association of the UK to give a talk at the MANCEPT Workshops in Political Theory 2012, at the University of Manchester, 5–7 September 2012. The British Idealism Workshop was convened by Professor Andrew Vincent. The title of Dr. Panagakou's talk was "Bernard Bosanquet on Ethical Citizenship." She is also organizing alongside Dr. Bill Mander (University of Oxford)



(picture inset) the International Conference British

Idealism and the Concept of the Self, at Harris Manchester College, Oxford University, 27–30 August 2013.

**Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos** gave a research seminar on policy implementation and political trust in Greece on 7 November 2012 at the Centre for European Governance at the University of Exeter. He also opened the series of lectures on international current affairs at the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Universidad de Comillas in Madrid on Greece and the euro-crisis on 22 October 2012.

The **Athens Institute for Education and Research** sponsored a cross-disciplinary conference on Business and Society in a Global Economy in Athens Greece on 17-20 December 2012. The full schedule of ATINER events for 2013 at: [www.atiner.gr/2013Conferences.htm](http://www.atiner.gr/2013Conferences.htm). ATINER was established in 1995 as an independent academic association with the mission to become a forum, where academics and researchers - from all over the world - could meet in Athens to exchange ideas on their research and to discuss future developments in their disciplines.

**Dr. Stella Ladi** (Queen Mary, University of London) and **Dr. Elena Lazarou** (CPDOC, Brazil) gave a research seminar on their joint paper "Think tanks and policy transformation: the case of Brazil." The paper aims to understand the role of think-tanks in the production of ideas guiding recent policy transformation in Brazil in three sectors: foreign, social and economic policy. The Brazilian case was chosen as an example of significant policy transformation because of the new demands placed on its policy makers as Brazil increasingly joins the ranks of emerging global players.

**Dr. Zoe Lefkofridi** (University of Vienna) and **Dr. Anne Maria Holli** (University of Helsinki) will be co-directing the workshop "Gender, Political Behavior and Representation in 'Preferential' Electoral Systems" at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, University of Mainz, 11-16 March 2013.

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## Postgraduate Opportunities and International Events

### **New funding opportunities for PhD studies at the University of Sussex.**

For more information please contact Dr Andreas Antoniadou or visit the links below

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/staff/newsandevents/?id=16947>

More PhD Funding opportunities at Sussex are available here: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/doctorschool/esrc/apply> and here <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/study/funding/pg2013>

### **New Postgraduate Degrees at the International Hellenic University, Thessaloniki, Greece.**

The International Hellenic University (established in Thessaloniki, in 2005) offers new postgraduate degrees exclusively taught in English. As a state University, all degrees awarded are accredited by the Government and are recognized in the European Union and internationally.

- ◆ LLM in Transnational and European Commercial Law & Alternative Dispute Resolution
- ◆ MA in Art, Law and Economy
- ◆ MA in Black Sea Cultural Studies
- ◆ MSc in Sustainable Development

For more information: <http://www.ihu.edu.gr/>

Applications are open until all the available places are filled. Therefore you should apply as early as possible to ensure place availability. The courses start every October. The IHU currently offers highly sought-after postgraduate degrees in the School of Economics & Business Administration (six programmes); the School of Humanities (two programmes); and the School of Science and Technology (two programmes).

### **Summer School on European Integration (EISS)**

The University of Agder in Kristiansand offers its 24<sup>th</sup> annual European Integration Summer School (EISS), 24 June – 7 August, 2013 to any interested postgraduate students. The EISS provides students with a sound knowledge of core aspects of European integration and brings them up-to-date with the most salient issues the European Union is facing today. It is method-driven and consists of two stand-alone courses at Master level taught during the summer and one course offered in the fall term of 2013. Each course carries 10 ECTS. It brings together a unique blend of international and domestic students, faculty and practitioners.

The 2013 EISS guest faculty includes, amongst others, **Derek Beach** (University of Aarhus), **Theofanis Exadaktylos** (University of Surrey), **David Howarth** (University of Luxembourg), **Claudio Radaelli** (University of Exeter and UiA), **Christilla Roederer-Rynning** (University of Southern Denmark), **Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zürich) and **Michael Shackleton** (University of Maastricht).

Applications close March 1, 2013 (for international students) and April 15, 2013 (for domestic students). For more information please visit <http://www.uia.no/no/div/prosjekt/eiss>

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### **2<sup>nd</sup> ECPR Winter School in Methods and Techniques**

The European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) organizes the 2<sup>nd</sup> Winter School in research methods and techniques in political science and international relations in Vienna, Austria, 17-22 February 2013. For further information please visit <http://new.ecprnet.eu/MethodSchools/WinterSchools.aspx> or contact Ms. Denise Chapman at [dchap@essex.ac.uk](mailto:dchap@essex.ac.uk)

### **3<sup>rd</sup> Euroacademia Global Conference Europe Inside-Out: Europe and Europeaness Exposed to Plural Observers**

Euroacademia is organizing an international conference in Athens, Greece, 21-23 February 2013 on the meaning of Europe and contested notions on the idea of Europe. For more information please visit the website <http://euroacademia.eu/conference/third-europe-inside-out/>



## “The Transformation of Parties” *Is there a leadership crisis and how to confront it?*

**Dr. Manos Papazoglou\***

Τι είναι τελικά ένα κόμμα και πώς διακρίνεται από άλλες συλλογικές εκφράσεις συμφερόντων και διεκδικήσεων; Η διαίρεση μνημονιακών/ αντιμνημονιακών αποτέλεσε τελικά ιστορικού χαρακτήρα διακύβευμα και μήτρα νέων κομματικών σχηματισμών; Ο λαϊκισμός εξακολουθεί να αποτελεί την ασφαλή οδό για τη δημιουργία κομμάτων; Η πανθομολογούμενη κρίση εμπιστοσύνης στο πολιτικό σύστημα θεραπεύτηκε μετά τις τελευταίες (διπλές) εκλογές; Υπάρχει σήμερα κρίση πολιτικής ηγεσίας και πώς αντιμετωπίζεται;

Αφορμή για τα παραπάνω ερωτήματα αποτελούν οι μετεκλογικές εξελίξεις στα πολιτικά κόμματα. Οι απαντήσεις, βεβαίως, θα είναι αναγκαστικά συνοπτικές, αν δεν γεννούν οι ίδιες νέα ερωτήματα. Οι εκλογές Μαΐου και Ιουνίου 2012 λειτούργησαν ως μήτρα εξελίξεων, καθώς διαμόρφωσαν μία εντελώς διαφορετική κατανομή δυνάμεων στο Κοινοβούλιο, νέου τύπου κομματικούς σχηματισμούς και μία κυβέρνηση συνεργασίας. Ωστόσο, το υφιστάμενο κομματικό σύστημα ενδέχεται να αποτελεί μόνον μία μεταβατική κατάσταση, μία πρόδρομη μορφή ενός κομματικού συστήματος που σταδιακά διαμορφώνεται, και όχι το τελικό προϊόν μιας πραγματικής τομής στα πολιτικά χρονικά της χώρας.

Η διαίρεση αντιμνημονιακού/ μνημονιακού δεν αποτελεί καθεαυτή το ιστορικό διακύβευμα, τη γενεσιουργό απία για την ανάδειξη νέων κομμάτων και κομματικών ταυτίσεων. Τα μεγάλα γεγονότα στις πολιτικές κοινωνίες δεν είναι φυσικοί σεισμοί με άμεσα αποτελέσματα, αλλά συνιστούν βραδυφλεγείς παράγοντες εξελίξεων. Πέραν της μίας δεκαετίας μεσολάβησε από τη χρεοκοπία του 1893, την ήττα του 1897, τον θάνατο των Τρικούπη και Δηλιγιάννη και την παρακμή των παρατάξεών τους έως την οριστική υποχώρηση του παλαιοκομματισμού, το κίνημα του 1909 και τη θεσμική ανακαίνιση και εθνική ολοκλήρωση από τον Βενιζέλο και την παράταξη των Φιλελευθέρων.

Ασφαλώς ο πολιτικός χρόνος σήμερα είναι εξαιρετικά πιο σύντομος, γιατί οι κοινωνίες διαθέτουν ισχυρότερα αντανάκλαστικά, ερεθίσματα και μέσα που διευκολύνουν τις μεταβολές. Πολλοί εξαγουν βιαστικά συμπεράσματα περί της θετικής ή αρνητικής προοπτικής του ενός κόμματος ή του άλλου. Αρκεί όμως μία εκλογική διαδικασία υπό τις συνθήκες της Ελλάδας του 2012 για να κρίνει θεμελιώδη στοιχεία ενός κομματικού συστήματος;

Η πλειοψηφία του εκλογικού σώματος εξέφρασε την προτίμησή της για τα ελάχιστα προαπαιτούμενα του τρόπου διαχείρισης της κρίσης χρέους, δηλαδή την παραμονή στην ΟΝΕ και την κανονική συμμετοχή της χώρας στη διαδικασία

ευρωπαϊκής ενοποίησης. Επίσης, έδωσε μία ισχυρή εντολή στην αριστερή αντιπολίτευση (ΣΥΡΙΖΑ) για τον έλεγχο της πλειοψηφίας. Το εκλογικό σώμα, όμως, δεν ενέκρινε κανένα κυβερνητικό πρόγραμμα, γιατί κάτι τέτοιο δεν κατατέθηκε ενώπιον του λαού, ούτε θα μπορούσε να συμβεί σε μία συγκυρία που τέτοια εργαλεία έχουν, δυστυχώς, υποκατασταθεί από τις λεπτομερείς ρυθμίσεις των πολιτικών που περιλαμβάνονται στα Μνημόνια.

Για την πολιτική ηγεσία της νέας εποχής δεν αρκούν οι δοκιμασμένες τακτικές του λαϊκισμού, του εικονοποιημένου πολιτικού λόγου, του προσεταιρισμού των μέσων επικοινωνίας. Οι παρατάξεις, αλλά όχι απαραίτητως τα κομματικά σύμβολα, δεν έχουν ακόμη παρασυρθεί από τη λαίλαπα της κρίσης και θα εξακολουθήσουν να αποτελούν τη θερμοκοιτίδα για την ανάδειξη πολιτικού προσωπικού. Στη φάση αυτή ΝΔ και ΣΥΡΙΖΑ αποτελούν τα κατεχόμενα εργαστήρια για μία νέα πολιτική κατάσταση, αλλά έχουν και τη μεγαλύτερη ευθύνη για την πολιτική σταθερότητα.

**“Δυστυχώς, τα κόμματα της  
συμπολίτευσης και της  
αντιπολίτευσης δεν έχουν ακόμη  
επιδιώξει την ανακεφαλαιοποίηση  
του πολιτικού συστήματος”**

Ο καλός ηγέτης της νέας Ελλάδας θα πρέπει να έχει τις ικανότητες του καλού ιστιοδρόμου, ο οποίος αντιλαμβάνεται τον κυματισμό της κοινωνίας και συμπλέει με τις τάσεις του εκλογικού σώματος κρατώντας σε ετοιμότητα το σκάφος του για όρτσα πλεύση. Στη φάση αυτή δεν θα πρέπει να παρασυρθούν από τη Σκύλλα της εύκολης εκλογικής επιρροής ούτε από τη Χάρυβδη της ανούσιας πόλωσης. Δυστυχώς, τα κόμματα της συμπολίτευσης και της αντιπολίτευσης δεν έχουν ακόμη επιδιώξει την ανακεφαλαιοποίηση του πολιτικού συστήματος, δηλαδή την πολιτικοποίηση των πολιτών με αίσθημα ευθύνης και όχι με οπαδικά αισθήματα. Αλλά αυτός είναι όρος απαραίτητος για ουσιαστικές και κοινωνικά νομιμοποιημένες μεταβολές στο πολιτικό σύστημα, σε μία ώριμη δημοκρατία.

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*\* Dr. Manos Papazoglou is Lecturer in Political Systems at the University of Peloponnesus. This piece was published at TA NEA on 13 December 2012 of the print version.*



# Whither the Vision?

## Institutional Change during Europe's Financial Crisis

**Dr. Theofanis Exadaktylos\***

The breakdown of the European Union budget talks, the nationalistic projections at the press conferences by the European leaders, the constant postponing of a decision for Greece in the Eurogroup meetings, among plenty of other smaller events or minor statements by political figures around Europe bring about the question of how far have we gone into the learning process from this crisis about the future of Europe. We have learned too little too late and the failures of the past couple of years in terms of institutional intervention to safeguard a future economic collapse within the Eurozone have not yet been established as the springboard for moving the European project forward. This article is structured around five main interrelated headlines: (a) economic models for the crisis; (b) institutional design at the national level; (c) institutional design at the European level; (d) the political impact of change on public trust in Europe; and (e) the overall vision for Europe.

### The Economic Models of the Crisis

From the origins of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the German model of economic production and the German variety of capitalism has been championed as the most fitting for Europe. Germany was seen as the role model of economic growth, fiscal discipline, and innovation in global competition. At the same time, the European economic model shared some of the neo-liberal principles of the UK in terms of liberalization of markets, services, closed-shop professions, while maintaining a certain level of corporatism, unionism, and welfare state stemming from the French tradition.

The beginning of the creation of a single currency area for the European Union was in fact an effort to merge these models in a way that could synchronize the economies of the Eurozone, coordinate fiscal and monetary policies and allow economic business cycles to harmonize. [1]

*"European integration has lost its orientation; European integration is now a lackluster process; European integration lacks vision. And it lacks leadership too [...] The federalist vision for Europe is there, but seems to be liminal and occasionally flickers dangerously."*

Nonetheless, economic cycles were never properly synchronized and policies were never coordinated in the envisaged way across Europe, leading countries like Germany and France to break away from the agreed fiscal

norms. In addition, specific economic models became role models for copying in less fortunate countries. Hence, market liberalization, alongside imported models of production and capitalism entered the national picture without incorporating or accounting for certain idiosyncrasies or exigencies of the respective national social and economic patterns or relations. This emphasis on Europe-defined or in some cases German-driven models as applicable to every country in trouble during this current crisis has led to the creation of monstrosities not only of policy but also of institutions.

### Institutional Design at the National and European Level

This brings leads effectively to the second point: the current remedy to the crisis—that of harsh austerity—may or may not be the right solution. Yet once countries embark on the austerity path, there is no way back and also no way out, than keep walking on that path. Any reversal of policies at this stage would be detrimental to the efforts put up by citizens of more affluent and less affluent societies within the European Union family, and halfway house measures could in fact intensify the effects of recession and prolong economic underperformance in most affected Eurozone countries.

Nonetheless, most Eurozone countries are on this pathway of austerity which champions not only severe cuts in the welfare state in a horizontal fashion, but also the implementation of public administration reforms in truly short periods of time. The new reformed institutions that come out of this process are often put together in haste, without any particular consultation mechanisms and potentially without the right regulatory frameworks for operation. At the same time, these institutions seem to be thoroughly disconnected not only with the reality on the ground at the national level but also horizontally due to intermittent funding across the different policy sectors. An example here is the Greek local government reforms that took place at the same time as the bailout agreements came through. The absence of regulatory framework, institutional continuity and funding has led to serious failures at the national level of the implementation of austerity measures and has undermined the success of new institutional structures.

At the same time, Europe suffers from a similar institutional discontinuity. Leaving aside the original institutional architecture of the single currency as an impaired monetary union without a political and fiscal component as designed within the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, the new institutions and corrective mechanisms that have been put in place at the European level do not seem to be convincing enough. In parallel, the old institutional architecture of the European Union has repeatedly stumbled across a number of rigidities in the instrumental competencies of its institutions and in the decision-making processes.

## The Impact on Political Trust Across Europe

Over the last 3 years, the European Union has repeatedly failed to convince markets and citizens alike that there is a solution to the mess. The new financial institutions of the ESM and the EFSF, the bazooka arsenal of the European Union, the inertness of the ECB and its creativity in redefining its role outside the Treaties, the general sluggishness on behalf of the Council to agree on certain principles, the sloth of the Eurogroup meetings and involvement of external institutions (to name but a few of those new institutional players) in the process have placed us in front of a chaotic situation where any effort to understand what's included in everyone's job description becomes an achievement.

This dire combination of institutional chaos at both national and European level has shaken up the political trust of the public, the citizens vis-à-vis the established structures, has brought whole political systems to a halt (e.g. Greece, Ireland and Italy), social relations into convulsion and the relationship between citizens and the state to a complete overhaul. Trust in political institutions has suffered dramatically with recent Eurobarometer data revealing the shrinking of trust to single-digit percentages. [2] There are currently no institutions that can infuse a sense of certainty or security to the citizens, the middle classes have pulverized and voters are turning to radicalism, left and right, trying to hold on to a glimpse of hope. The support for radical elements (left and right) in recent electoral contents in the most affected countries but also the rise of stereotypes across Europe and the stigmatization of certain nationalities reveals that people are not afraid of the unknown any more.

*"This emphasis on Europe-defined or in some cases German-driven models as applicable to every country in trouble during this current crisis has led to the creation of monstrosities not only of policy but also of institutions."*

What does this imply for institutional change in Europe at both national and supranational level? Well, certainly European leaders need to be thinking whether the institutional structures in place serve the purposes they were created for. Have they gone too far without significant reform of the institutional framework that governs European integration? Was this integration framework that is in place adopted with a view of shifting responsibility for failure to future governments advocating a short-term consensus only?

## The Vision for Europe

And this leads to the final point, the vision for Europe. European integration has lost its orientation; European integration is now a lackluster process; European integration lacks vision. And it lacks leadership too. The f-word of federalism has been pulled out of the time-capsule, and academics and practitioners alike all seem to agree that greater integration should be the way forward; new supranational structures should be constructed; more monitoring of member-state decisions should come into place, yet not accepting the finality of the project itself. European integration is in a state of trance, a certain limbo, where political decisions fall victims of markets and economic governance architectures. Europe is at a stage where its political leaders are afraid of bold moves—not for the sake of saving the European dream, but more due to looming national nightmares—and its citizens have lost the fragile notion of a polity that they had started to develop. The federalist vision for Europe is there, but seems to be liminal and occasionally flickers dangerously.

Has the crisis taught us something about the need for economic governance? What we have learned is that our current institutional architecture of European economic governance falls short of expectations. We have also learned that (as always) there is a certain capability gap as to what Europe can achieve with its current institutional arrangements—we have stretched the limits out and continue to do so to date. How useful are these lessons for future institutional design at both national and European level? We cannot know; once again we are resting our hopes on the abstract European dream of integration and our assumption that Europe has come out of previous crises stronger rather than weaker.

[1] For a full account of EMU see Dyson, K. and K. Featherstone (2000) *The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[2] For the latest Eurobarometer surveys (no. 77) at the Eurostat website ([http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/eb\\_arch\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm)) and specifically for issues of trust see national breakdown in Questions 13.1-13.6 of the Annexes.

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# “When Austerity is Defeated: The Greek Case”

## GPSG Article 36

### Dimitris Rapidis\*

This week the Greek Parliament is going to vote for the new austerity package agreed between the Greek government and troika. After reading the proposed measures someone could easily come to the following conclusions: First, the Greek society is entering a new stage of hardship that will probably alter the entire social model. Second, the new austerity package will possibly not work as it entails measures with no relevant mention on how recession will be addressed. In other words, there are no clear prospects on how macroeconomic stability and the relevant growth can be achieved.

After that, I firmly believe that austerity has its limits and, furthermore, as there is no plan of disengagement, austerity might end up as a self-defeating process. In this respect, historical evidence clearly shows that in periods of recession the Keynesian model of public investment targeted to boost economic activity was the only plausible way of reaching growth and, therefore, generate new jobs. Nonetheless, in the current euro crisis and especially in the Greek case, there is no such development as the state cannot soar up the market or simply use any bailout plan for investment purposes.

The amounts received from the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund are almost entirely destined to provide liquidity for the banking sector. Yet, even through this process, banks cannot safeguard a proper functioning of their client-transaction model as liquidity is not guaranteed but through direct and daily money flow from the European Central Bank.

Therefore, both aspects of macroeconomic stabilization (i.e. fiscal measures-wage cuts, pension cuts, and banking liquidity) are not fulfilled. Austerity is finally self-defeated after two years of implementation and it is clear now that a new policy plan is needed.

My major concern here is that despite the fact that Greece does have the appropriate tools for negotiating towards a more viable plan, for some reasons this plan is not put into practice. Greece could literally alter its negotiation strategy by cutting talks with the

International Monetary Fund and start focusing on bilateral agreements with the European Central Bank and the European Union. This strategy is stemming from the fact that in case Greece declares bankruptcy, the cost of exit from Eurozone will not be manageable for the Monetary Union and its member-states.

*“There are no clear prospects on how macroeconomic stability and the relevant growth can be achieved [...] Austerity might end up as a self-defeating process.”*

In other words, if Greece declares bankruptcy, the entire monetary establishment will collapse either under the burden of cost that each member-state should pay to keep euro alive or after other over-indebted members like Spain, Italy, or Portugal deciding to follow Greece outside Eurozone. In both cases, Eurozone has no future. Greece has to conceptualize its negotiation plan and bring a different perspective in the Eurozone's debt crisis along with the endeavours to reach an agreement upon a further cut of public debt. In addition to that, the European Union has to start debating on how to face recession through growth reforms and stop being focused on additional austerity measures. Otherwise, social upheavals will soon end up into a widespread clash with dire consequences for democratic stability in both Greece and Europe.

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\* *Dimitris Rapidis is Political Scientist, MSc., founding member of the IPSA Research Committee on Geopolitics (RC-41), and Associate Blogger for Euractiv/Blogactiv in Brussels. Email: [rapidisdim@gmail.com](mailto:rapidisdim@gmail.com)*

# Call for Papers in Conferences and Events

## ‘Evaluating the impact of Euroscepticism’ University of Surrey, Guildford, July 2013

As part of the UACES Collaborative Research Network on Euroscepticism, **Dr. Sofia Vasilopoulou** organises a panel on ‘Evaluating the impact of Euroscepticism’ as part of the University of Surrey’s Centre for Research on the European Matrix (CRonEM) annual conference in July 2013. The aim of the panel is to discuss and evaluate the impact of Euroscepticism from an academic perspective. It seeks to address a number of questions, including:

How may we conceptualise the impact of Euroscepticism?

How does Euroscepticism influence the scope and direction of European integration?

What is the impact of Euroscepticism on the EU’s agenda and policy-making during the current crisis?

How, if at all, does Euroscepticism shape domestic politics, policies and debates?

How may Euroscepticism allow us to re-conceptualise democracy both at the national and EU levels and/or re-evaluate the aims and objectives of European integration?

Please send abstracts of up to 300 words to [sofia.vasilopoulou@york.ac.uk](mailto:sofia.vasilopoulou@york.ac.uk) by Friday, 18 January 2013.

For information on the conference, please see:

[http://www.surrey.ac.uk/cronem/events/cronem\\_annual\\_multidisciplinary\\_conference\\_2013.htm](http://www.surrey.ac.uk/cronem/events/cronem_annual_multidisciplinary_conference_2013.htm)

## The Greek crisis and design, Izmir University of Economics, March 2013

This is a call for Turkish and Greek designers, researchers, scholars and anyone interested to discuss the issue of crisis through/in design as well as real life experiences on the occasion of the traveling exhibition Crisis is a Greek word ([www.crisisisagreekword.gr](http://www.crisisisagreekword.gr)). Exhibition: Thursday 7 - Friday 29 March 2013 – Event: Friday 29 March 2013.

We welcome participations for the event in the form of: (1) Presentations of your interpretation of crisis (“my crisis”) in your professional/academic or personal life and/or (2) Dialogue contributions on the subject of Greek and Turkish design and its role in society under crisis.

The idea is to aid a deeper understanding of ‘crisis’ as a dynamic phenomenon through identifying its

meaning, stages and forms it can take in the (design) world, and also obstacles and opportunities it creates.

Three design teams from Greece (Asprimera, Nomint, 2Yolk) that participate in the exhibition, will open the floor with their current experience of living and working in a country in crisis, and welcome ideas for interactive happenings / workshops / seminars, and generally opportunities for co-creation during the event.

Please send your participation in the following contact details until 25 January 2013 to Harry Tzannis [info@crisisword.gr](mailto:info@crisisword.gr) or Marina Emmanouil [marina.emmanouil@network.rca.ac.uk](mailto:marina.emmanouil@network.rca.ac.uk). Paper abstract: 100 words (only .doc file); design: 1 image (300 dpi, jpeg file).

## The 6th Biennial Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece & Cyprus, LSE, London 6-7 June 2013

We invite submissions for the 6th Biennial Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, from research students (current and recent) across any field of the Social Sciences and Humanities whose PhD focuses on contemporary Greece and Cyprus.

The topics covered in the Symposium include, but are not limited to:

- |                                     |                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| - Media and Public Perceptions      | - Greece and Southeast Europe |
| - Foreign Policy                    | - Domestic and EU Politics    |
| - Public Policy                     | - Migration and Minorities    |
| - Economic Policy                   | - History and Culture         |
| - Economic Problems and Performance | - State and Society           |

Abstracts of 500 words maximum are to be submitted by email to [Hellenicobservatory.phd@lse.ac.uk](mailto:Hellenicobservatory.phd@lse.ac.uk). The closing date for the ‘Abstract Submission Form’ is 17:00 (UK Time) on 31 January 2013. Successful applicants will be notified by 22 March 2013 and will be requested to submit a 2000-2500 words summary of their presentation. For further information contact Ms. Ioanna Antonopoulou, Hellenic Observatory: [hellenicobservatory.phd@lse.ac.uk](mailto:hellenicobservatory.phd@lse.ac.uk).

Abstract Submission:

[http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Events/2013\\_PhD\\_Symposium/Abstract-Submission-Form-\(6th-PhD-SYMPOSIUM\).pdf](http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Events/2013_PhD_Symposium/Abstract-Submission-Form-(6th-PhD-SYMPOSIUM).pdf)

Travel Grant Details:

[http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Events/2013\\_PhD\\_Symposium/Travel-Grant-Details-\(6th-PhD-SYMPOSIUM\).pdf](http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Events/2013_PhD_Symposium/Travel-Grant-Details-(6th-PhD-SYMPOSIUM).pdf)