

GPSG Newsletter #27

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www.gpsg.org.uk

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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GPSG to convene workshop on Political Violence, Terrorism and Extremism

London, 18 October 2013

Deadline for expressions of interest: 31 May 2013

The Greek Politics Specialist Group will be convening a workshop which will bring together researchers working on the issue of political violence and extremism in Greece and in Europe.

The workshop will give participants the opportunity to present their recent, current and forthcoming research, as well as to identify key patterns, network and share opportunities for collaboration.

Indicative themes (by no means exhaustive) include:

- ❖ The root causes, symptoms and effects of political violence and extremism
- ❖ The relationship between insecurity, ignorance and hate crime
- ❖ The electoral rise and social penetration of Golden Dawn and the response of the political, legal and media establishment
- ❖ The phenomenon of 'new terrorism', including its ideological and operational record
- ❖ The rise of hate crime and notions of race, immigration and masculinity
- ❖ Key debates regarding the role of populism, 'interactive extremism' and the 'theory of the two extremes'

The precise time, venue and format of the session will be announced later in the spring. The event will be free but with a limited number of places so prior registration will be essential.

If you are interested in taking part and for more details about this event please contact Dr Roman Gerodimos at rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk

GPSG launches prize competition

Best Papers at the 6th Biennial Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece & Cyprus, LSE, London 6-7 June 2013

Deadline for GPSG prize applications: Friday, 24 May 2013

Continuing its tradition of supporting and showcasing the work of young scholars, the Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) will be offering prizes of **£150** to **two** outstanding papers presented at the 6th biennial PhD Symposium organised by the LSE's Hellenic Observatory. All papers accepted for the Symposium are eligible for the GPSG prizes but they must be submitted separately (please email your full paper and contact details to papers@gpsg.org.uk and rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk noting that it is being submitted for the GPSG Prize Competition on the subject line) by Friday, 24 May 2013.

- ❖ The selection of the two winning papers will be made by the GPSG's prizes panel. The judges will select papers that are original and innovative, conceptually advanced, methodologically robust and empirically rich. The winners will be notified via email in early June.
- ❖ The winning papers will be published as part of the GPSG Working Papers Series (<http://www.gpsg.org.uk/>), although the authors will retain the copyright, which allows them to publish the material elsewhere.
- ❖ It is standard GPSG policy that anyone receiving funding support or a monetary prize by the Group must register as a Full Member of the Group via our website.

Review: GPSG Panels at the 63rd Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association

“The Party’s Over?”

Cardiff, 25-27 March 2013



As every year we sponsored conference panels at the 63rd Political Studies Association Annual International Conference: “The Party’s Over?” that took place between 25 and 27 March 2013 at the City Hall in Cardiff. This year we ran 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 explored the characterisation of Germany as a new economic hegemon, ‘reluctant’ (Paterson, 2011) or otherwise. It evaluated the ‘battle of ideas’ between neo-liberal and neo-Keynesian approaches to German economic policy in the context of the current Eurozone crisis. It explored 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 examined 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 Theofanis Exadaktylos (University of Surrey)

Discussant: Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent University)

This panel brought together emerging interpretations of the Greek economic, political and social crisis. The three papers tracked 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:

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

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

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

Podcasts of the Greek Politics panel will be available on our website shortly www.gpsg.org.uk



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New on the GPSG Working Paper Series

WP12, April 2013

From economism to autonomy: A Greek economic emergency and the transformative vision of degrowth

Panos Petridis – Institute of Social Ecology (SEC), IFF - Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies, Alpen-Adria-Universität, Klagenfurt, Austria

Abstract

The density of events over the last years, together with the continuous scaremongering from the dominant political and media circles, has put the Greek society into an informal “economic state of exception”. Austerity measures and neoliberal policies such as large scale privatisations, under the name of “reform” or “modernisation” are presented as a painful but necessary evil and a value-free solution to a problem that is merely numerical. Yet, limiting the debate to a financial dialectic fails to address many fundamental issues that cannot fit into economic models. This directly challenges the very idea of democracy and quite reasonably leads to widespread social unrest. Trapped into the same economic logic, opposition against the austerity policies and autarchic state practices has so far been reactive and defensive. A radically different, constructivist proposal would be to initiate a process of collective visioning in order to re-establish society’s institutional structure. Drawing from Castoriadis’ project of autonomy, this paper discusses the importance of a truly democratic regime, as well as the existence of a positive vision, in the process of social transformation and goes on to suggest that the emerging academic debate and social movement of degrowth can stimulate such a vision. It is therefore argued that degrowth should remain a visionary terrain and, at the same time, explicitly reclaim its political dimension.

http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Working_Paper_12.pdf

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.

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.

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/>

20/04/2013 – [Συνέντευξη](#) του Ρωμανού Γεροδήμου στον ραδιοφωνικό σταθμό 9.84

13/03/2013 – Dr Roman Gerodimos: [“Greece: Politics at the Crossroads”](#) – Political Insight

18/02/2013 – Lamprini Rori “Innovation of ideas and electoral coalitions” – Ta Nea

09/02/2013 – Ρωμανός Γεροδήμος: [“Η Μεταμοντέρνα Τρομοκρατία”](#) – Τα Νέα

23/01/2013 – Ρωμανός Γεροδήμος: [“Ο Ελληνικός Χειμώνας”](#) – Το Βήμα



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Members' Publications and New Initiatives

Latest Publications by our members

Dinas E., Rori L., "The 2012 Greek Parliamentary Elections: Fear and Loathing in the Polls", *West European Politics*, 2013, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 270–282.

Ellinas, A.A. "The rise of Golden Dawn: The new face of the far right in Greece", *South European Society and Politics*, available on early view March 2013,
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2013.782838>

Exadaktylos, T. and N. Zahariadis (2013) "Explaining Institutional Change during Europe's Financial Crisis, 2008-2012" in Haastrup, T. and Eun, Y. (eds.) *Regionalising the Global: Assessing broader dynamics of the economic crisis*, Palgrave/Macmillan.

Exadaktylos, T. (2013) "Remapping political trust in the Greek crisis: where has it gone wrong?" in Tsilimpounidi, M. and Walsh, A. (eds.) *Remapping Crisis in Greece*, Zero Books.

Exadaktylos, T. and C.M. Radaelli (2013) "Europeanization", in Lynggaard, K., Manners, I. and K. Löfgren (eds.) *Research Methods in European Union Studies*, Palgrave/Macmillan.

Halikiopoulou, D. & Vasilopoulou, S. (15 Oct 2012) Greece's response to austerity has been to say "no to the Fourth Reich" but yes to the neo-Nazism of the Golden Dawn.
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2012/10/15/greece-golden-dawn/>

Halikiopoulou, D. & Vasilopoulou, S. (29 Jan 2013) The rise of the Golden Dawn and extremism in Greece can be seen as part of a broader phenomenon of a culture of intolerance, which is maintained and perpetuated through the Greek education system.
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2013/01/29/greece-golden-dawn-education/>

Karyotis, Georgios (2012) 'Securitization of Migration in Greece: Process, Motives and Implications', *International Political Sociology*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 390-408.

Karyotis, Georgios (with D. Skleparis) 'Migrant Mobilisation during the Economic Crisis: Identity Formation and Dilemmas', in M. Tsilimpounidi and A. Walsh (eds.), *Remapping the Crisis*, Ropley, Hampshire: Zero Books, 2013.

Karyotis, Georgios (with W. Rudig), 'Beyond the Usual Suspects: New Participants in Anti-Austerity Protest in Greece', forthcoming in *Mobilization*.

Karyotis, Georgios (with W. Rudig), 'Blame and Punishment? The Electoral Politics of Extreme Austerity in Greece', forthcoming in *Political Studies*.

Karyotis, Georgios (with W. Rudig), 'Who Protests in Greece: Mass Opposition to Austerity, 2010', forthcoming in *British Journal of Political Science*.

Ladi S. (2013), "Austerity Politics and Administrative Reform: The Eurozone Crisis and its Impact upon Greek Public Administration" *Comparative European Politics*, 11.3 (forthcoming April).

Liaropoulos, A (2013), 'Exercising state sovereignty in cyberspace: An international cyber-order under construction?' in proceedings of the 8th International Conference in Information Warfare and Security, Regis University, Denver, Colorado, USA, 25-26 March 2013.

Marantzidis N., Rori L., "Sinistra e destra in Grecia dal XX al XXI secolo", Special issue of *Memoria e Ricerca*, "Destre e sinistre. Le culture politiche del Novecento nell'Europa mediterranea", ed. Maurizio Ridolfi, n. 41, settembre-dicembre 2012, pp. 69-83.

Matsaganis, M. and Leventi, C. (2013), "The distributional impact of the Greek crisis in 2010", *Fiscal Studies*, 34 (1): 83-108.

Pappas, T. "Why Greece failed", *Journal of Democracy*, 24(2): April 2013

Pappas T. "Populist Democracies; Post-Authoritarian Greece and Post-Communist Hungary," *Government and Opposition* (forthcoming 2013)

Pappas T. "Party Patronage in Greece: Political Entrepreneurship in a Party Patronage Democracy" (with Zina Assimakopoulou). In P. Kopecký, P. Mair and M. Spirova (eds.), *Party Patronage and Party Government: Public Appointments and Political Control in European Democracies*, 144-162. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012

Pappas, T. "Il carisma politico," *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 3, 369-384, 2012 (November)
- An English version has also appeared in the working paper series of the IPSA Committee on Concepts and Methods, no 56/2012

Petrelli M. (and G. Aspridis) (2012), "When EU met Western Balkans: Ready for the wedding?", *Journal for Labour and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe (SEER)*, 1: 5 – 26.

Petrelli M. (G.M. Aspridis and D. Kyriakou) (2013), "How dirty can the PIGS get? : Formatting a contemporary social welfare state under economic crisis" in Bitzenis A and V.A. Vlachos (eds), *ICIB Proceedings 2012*, Komotini, Paratiritis/Epikoinonia: 3 - 20. (forthcoming edition).

Rori L., "Two parties, one flag. The two-party system of the United States. How an unusual construct endured over time" (Review of Diamantopoulos T., *The political system of the United States: a peculiar two-partyism*, Athens: Pataki, 2012), *To Vima*, 04.11.2012. (in Greek)
<http://www.tovima.gr/books-ideas/article/?aid=482120&wordsinarticle=pόπη>

Rori L., Dinas E., "Elections législatives grecques de 2012: des élections à hauts risques", *Pôle Sud*, No37, 2012/2, pp.173-183.

Rori L., Review of Psarras D., *The black bible of the Golden Dawn*, Athens: Polis, 2013, *The Books' Journal*, Issue 28, December 2012. (in Greek)

Tsarouhas, D. and Ladi, S. (2012), "Globalization and/or Europeanization? The Case of Flexicurity", *New Political Economy* (available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2012.717612> and forthcoming in print).

Vasilopoulou, S. and D. Halikiopoulou (2013) 'In the Shadow of Grexit: The Greek Election of 11 June 2012', *South European Society and Politics*. Available on Early view.

New initiatives from our partners



Strategy International: 4th Annual International Conference, *Thessaloniki Summit on Politics, Security and International Affairs*, Porto Palace Hotel, Thessaloniki, 8-9 March 2013

Strategy International completed on March 8th & 9th 2013 its 4th Annual International Conference known as the Thessaloniki Summit on Politics, Security and International Affairs. This year's conference concentrated on the Emerging Challenges and The Transatlantic bond and was organized by Strategy International and Dr. Marios Efthymiopoulos. It was held under the auspices of NATO and NATO Public Diplomacy Division NATO HQ Brussels, the NRDC-GR Greece NATO Greece, The Marshall Center, Garmish Germany, CISED, Center for International Cooperation Russian Federation, Circle for Hellas and Israel USA and Russia, the Balkan Security Agenda Serbia, The Dialogue Chair For Middle East Studies Cyprus and the Porto Palace Hotel Thessaloniki Greece.

The aim of this conference was to measure the understanding of the International Community and International Organizations achievements and to put forward possible obstacles to come; to bring forward the opinions of experts; to increase knowledge; to raise awareness and put forward proposals for the benefit of the national interests of Greece to the International community. Transatlantic, Euro-Atlantic, Israel-Greece, Arab World & Greece, Russia-Greece and Turkey-Greece relations were pointed out. This conference noticed a new side of a strong and wishful projection of Greece being one of the main actors to come in the near future through its new political, fiscal and social development methodology that will be tighter, stronger and will be one of expertise.

A new methodology and attractiveness to the European and Euro-Atlantic Alliance interests is also needed. Tools used through technology and innovation can project such methodologies but the necessary capital should be created that will provide expertise work development and will reallocate funds towards robust development projections of increasing security, stability and surely prosperity. Expert policy communication tools and political strategies were presented to an expert audience of 400+ people from Greece, Europe, the Balkans, Russia, Turkey and Israel.

The outcomes of the conference will be published online at Strategy International website (www.strategyinternational.org).



Annual Conference, 6-7 June 2013

The evolution of the Greek party system: looking for constants, variables and trends.

The annual conference of GrEPOP will take place on 6-7 June 2013 at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki. The purpose of the conference is to record the constants and variables of the Greek party system after 1974 and to locate trends for change during the past few years. The Group encourages the use and presentation of datasets in studying the Greek party system. In its effort to illustrate the state of play, the conference focuses on political competition, political platforms and ideological consistency, party leadership and party staff, party structures, electoral volatility, divisions and fragmentation of the party system and the institutional framework binding the party system.

Members' Activities, News and Events:

The **Athens Institute for Education and Research** organized a public lecture on "Small and medium-sized direct investments in Greece: tools for exiting the financial crisis" with Prof. Andreas Kintis (former Dean of the Athens University of Economics and Business) on 27 March 2013 at St. George Lycabettus Hotel in Athens. <http://www.atiner.gr/el/Ekdilosi-01.pdf>. **ATINER** will also organize its 11th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, on 17-20 June 2013, Athens. For more information please visit the conference website at: www.atiner.gr/politics.htm. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics, researchers, students and professionals in private and public organizations and governments of Politics and International Affairs and other related disciplines.

Dr. Theofanis Exadaktylos was invited by the Foundation of European Progressive Studies in Brussels to participate in an expert workshop on "Enhancing Representative Democracy in Europe" that took place on 21 March in Brussels. The workshop is launching a research project with the involvement of the Foundation aiming at producing a report on the quality of democracy in Europe after the 2014 European Parliament elections.

Dr. Georgios Karyotis was appointed Senior Lecturer in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Glasgow. He leaves the University of Strathclyde to take his new post in June 2013.

Dr. Stella Ladi and colleagues at Queen Mary, University of London are working towards the launch of the new Masters in Public Administration (MPA) in September 2013. For more information please visit the website at: <http://www.busman.qmul.ac.uk/mpa/>

Dr. Andrew Liaropoulos (Department of International and European Studies, University of Piraeus) become a

member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Mediterranean and Balkan Intelligence* (JMBI).

A new research unit has been announced: the Policy Analysis Research Unit (PARU) is an informal group of staff and students at the Athens University of Economics and Business, co-ordinated by **Prof. Manos Matsaganis**. It aims to present the results of academic research related to current and emerging public policy issues and promote an evidence-based social dialogue. PARU's Newsletter series is produced by Kritiki Publishers and it is supported by the EUROMODupdate2 project. The Newsletters (in Greek) can be found here: <http://www.kritiki.gr/paru/newsletters>.

Dr. Lamprini Rori and **Prof. Vassiliki Georgiadou** presented their research on populism, the extreme right wing and the case of the Golden Dawn at three conferences: the Annual Conference of the Greek Public Policy Forum (European Parliament, Strasbourg, 14/03/2013); the Symposium of the Think Tank Fund and the Open Society Foundations (Budapest, 18-19/02/2013); and, the Conference of the Centre for Political Research (Panteion University, Athens, 14-15/01/2013).

Dr. Eleni Xiarchogiannopoulou organized a workshop on 18-19 April, at the Institute for European Studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles, on "The EU as a Laboratory for a Deepening Multilateralism: The Transformation of EU Governance and its International Implications. The purpose of this workshop is to develop a deeper analysis of the recent transformations of EU governance in order to better assess its international impacts. She is also organizing a panel on 'EU integration inside out: the external dimension of EU policies. Empirical evidence and methodological innovations', for the **CRonEM Annual Multidisciplinary Conference 2013**, University of Surrey, 2-3 July (co-organised with **Amandine Crespy**, ULB).

“Post-modern Terrorism”

Dr. Roman Gerodimos*



Η πρόσφατη έξαρση των κρουσμάτων βίας έχει εντείνει τον δημόσιο διάλογο σχετικά με τα χαρακτηριστικά της νέας τρομοκρατίας και την αντιμετώπισή της από την Πολιτεία. Η τρομοκρατία ασφαλώς δεν αποτελεί καινούργιο φαινόμενο και έχει συγκεκριμένες ιστορικές και κοινωνικές ρίζες. Με τον όρο «νέα τρομοκρατία» αναφερόμαστε στη δράση τρομοκρατικών οργανώσεων που εμφανίστηκαν μετά την εξάρθρωση της 17 Νοέμβρη το 2002 και ειδικά μετά το χτύπημα του Επαναστατικού Αγώνα κατά της αμερικανικής πρεσβείας τον Ιανουάριο του 2007.

Η νέα τρομοκρατία βρίσκεται στην κορυφή ενός επιχειρησιακού τριγώνου στη βάση του οποίου είναι τόσο ο αντιεξουσιαστικός χώρος, που λειτουργεί ως δεξαμενή στρατολόγησης μελών, όσο και το οργανωμένο έγκλημα, που παρέχει τα λειτουργικά μέσα (χρήματα, όπλα κ.λπ.). Οπως προκύπτει από τα ευρήματα των πρόσφατων ερευνών, το ανθρώπινο δυναμικό των οργανώσεων αυτών είναι αρκετά πιο πολυμελές και ανατροφοδοτούμενο από ό,τι ίσως ήταν αρχικά αντιληπτό. Πρόκειται για ένα σχεδόν ομοσπονδιακό σύμπλεγμα συγκοινωνούντων δοχείων που διατηρούν σχέσεις και με αντίστοιχες οργανώσεις του εξωτερικού, όπως η ιταλική FAI (Ανεπίσημη Αναρχική Ομοσπονδία).

Οι εξελίξεις των τελευταίων ημερών επιβεβαιώνουν ότι τα γεγονότα του Δεκεμβρίου του 2008 αποτελούν κομβικό σημείο για την ανάπτυξη της νέας τρομοκρατίας στην Ελλάδα. Η κατάρρευση ενός πολιτικού συστήματος το οποίο ήδη είχε πληγεί από σκάνδαλα και κακοδιαχείριση δημιούργησε ένα κενό εξουσίας, θεσμικού πλαισίου και πολιτικής κουλτούρας το οποίο εκμεταλλεύθηκαν οι

εξτρεμιστές. Η αδυναμία του κράτους να προστατεύσει πολίτες, δημόσιο χώρο και ιδιωτική περιουσία άνοιξε τον ασκό του Αιόλου. Κάθε περιστατικό αστυνομικής βίας, επεισοδίων και λαϊκής αγανάκτησης χρησιμοποιείται ως ευκαιρία στρατολόγησης νέων μελών.

“Η ιδεολογία της νέας τρομοκρατίας εξαντλείται στην απόρριψη και καταγγελία του υπαρκτού συστήματος χωρίς να αντιπροτείνει ένα έστω υποτυπωδώς συγκροτημένο πλαίσιο αξιών - χωρίς καν μία εναλλακτική πραγματικότητα ή «ουτοπία» στην πραγμάτωση της οποίας να προσβλέπει.”

Η ιδεολογία της νέας τρομοκρατίας τρέφεται και ταυτίζεται, έως ένα βαθμό, με τον λαϊκιστικό λόγο των πολιτικών άκρων. Η αποποίηση κάθε ευθύνης («εμείς οι πολίτες είμαστε τα θύματα») και η απόδοση των ευθυνών αυτών στις ελίτ («αυτοί οι διεφθαρμένοι είναι οι θύτες») είναι το θεμελιώδες συστατικό του λαϊκισμού. Η σχεδόν μοιρολατρική αποδοχή της ιδιότητας του αδύναμου θύματος αφαιρεί κάθε έννοια ατομικής ευθύνης, καθήκοντος ή ενεργού συμμετοχής στην κοινωνία των πολιτών. Η λογική αυτή απονομιμοποιεί πλήρως τους θεσμούς της αντιπροσωπευτικής δημοκρατίας, οι οποίοι ταυτίζονται με τα φθαρμένα πρόσωπα που τους διοικούν. Έτσι οι τρομοκράτες αυθαίρετα αναλαμβάνουν έναν μεσσιανικό ρόλο εκπροσώπησης της κοινωνίας, καλώντας τους πολίτες σε εκδίκηση για τα δεινά στα οποία μας υποβάλλει η ελίτ (προσθέστε εδώ ένα μείγμα διεθνών συνωμοσιών ανάλογα με τις περιστάσεις). Άμεσο αποτέλεσμα και λογική κατάληξη αυτής της ιδεολογίας είναι η βία, η οποία πάντοτε νομιμοποιείται από την «κρατική καταστολή».

Ωστόσο, σε αντίθεση με παλαιότερες μορφές τόσο εγχώριας όσο και διεθνούς τρομοκρατίας, η ιδεολογία της νέας τρομοκρατίας εξαντλείται στην απόρριψη και καταγγελία του υπαρκτού συστήματος χωρίς να αντιπροτείνει ένα έστω υποτυπωδώς συγκροτημένο πλαίσιο αξιών - χωρίς καν μία εναλλακτική πραγματικότητα ή «ουτοπία» στην πραγμάτωση της οποίας να προσβλέπει. Η ιδεολογία της είναι κατά βάση μηδενιστική και αποσκοπεί στη μεγιστοποίηση του χάους.

Παρά το αστικό προφίλ των φορέων της, σκοπός της καταστροφής δεν είναι η δημιουργία ενός καλύτερου μέλλοντος αλλά η ικανοποίηση μιας μικροαστικής μνησικακίας έναντι αυτών που η ζωή τους Στο σημείο αυτό αποκαλύπτεται μία σημαντική αντίφαση του ιδεολογικού οικοδομήματος της νέας τρομοκρατίας. Αφενός μεν καταδικάζει την κοινωνία στο σύνολό της και επιθυμεί την καταστροφή της χωρίς να ενδιαφέρεται για την κάθαρση ή τη «λύτρωση» της. Ταυτόχρονα όμως και μόνο το γεγονός ότι οι φορείς της εμπλέκονται σε ένα τέτοιο εγχείρημα κοινωνικής παρέμβασης (αντί να επιλέξουν π.χ. τον αναχωρητισμό) σημαίνει ότι έχουν την επιθυμία να προκαλέσουν κοινωνική αλλαγή, δηλαδή να κατακτήσουν πολιτική εξουσία.

Είναι ξεκάθαρο ότι η τρομοκρατία αποτελεί σοβαρή, άμεση και ασύμμετρη απειλή για τη δημόσια ασφάλεια, την κοινωνική ειρήνη, την ανάπτυξη και την ευημερία της χώρας. Η οριστική εξάρθρωσή της προφανώς απαιτεί συστηματική και οργανωμένη αντιμετώπιση από την Πολιτεία, η οποία έχει να επιδείξει σημαντικές επιτυχίες στο ερευνητικό κομμάτι - αν και αυτές συχνά ακυρώνονται από τα συνεχή κρούσματα αστυνομικής βίας και από τα συστημικά προβλήματα του δικαστικού συστήματος. Χωρίς αποτελεσματική κάθαρση στον χώρο αυτό δεν είναι δυνατόν να εμπεδωθεί αίσθημα δικαιοσύνης και ασφάλειας, που είναι απαραίτητα για την πάταξη της βίας.

έχει κάποιο νόημα. Οντας προϊόν μιας μεταμοντέρνας εποχής καταναλωτισμού και ιδιώτευσης χωρίς δημόσια ιδανικά, οι πράξεις και ο λόγος της συγκεκριμένης γενιάς τρομοκρατών αναδεικνύουν την πνευματική και ανθρωπιστική τους ένδεια. Χωρίς πρότυπα, αξίες ή ιστορική μνήμη, στρέφονται ενάντια στις έννοιες της σταθερότητας, της προόδου, της εργασίας και της τάξης ακριβώς επειδή η κοινωνία απέτυχε επανειλημμένα στο να εμπεδώσει αυτές τις έννοιες. Παρά τον βερμπαλισμό και την άτσαλη συρραφή θεωριών, η νέα τρομοκρατία λίγο διαφέρει από τη μαζική διάπραξη εγκλημάτων του κοινού ποινικού δικαίου και την ανορθόδοξη αναζήτηση της αυτοπροβολής μέσω των ΜΜΕ.

Ωστόσο, η τρομοκρατία είναι ταυτόχρονα σύμπτωμα ευρύτερων προβλημάτων που χαρακτηρίζουν την κοινωνία μας και φτάνουν μέχρι και τις παθογένειες της ελληνικής οικογένειας. Η συμπεριφορά και η ιδεολογία των τρομοκρατών αποπνέουν μια νοσηρή σχέση μίσους και εξάρτησης με το κράτος-πατερούλη, το οποίο απέτυχε να μας παράσχει όλα όσα έχουμε συνηθίσει, ενώ αυτό, εκμεταλλευόμενο την ισχύ του, ασκεί πάνω μας διαφορετικές μορφές βίας.

Η κοινωνική απομόνωση των φορέων της βίας - και η καθολική καταδίκη της βίας από όπου και αν προέρχεται - είναι ο μόνος τρόπος απόρριψης της κουλτούρας του συμψηφισμού, της εκδίκησης και της μνησικακίας που μας ταλαιπωρεί εδώ και χρόνια. Η αξιοπρέπεια και η συνύπαρξη μπορούν να εξουδετερώσουν το μείγμα αυτολύπησης και θυματοποίησης που αποτελούν το οξυγόνο της βίας.

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On the chess board of our national identity

Anastasia Doukaki *

No matter the governmental scheme in power prior to and after the recent elections, there is one, obvious strategy that can help Greece get out of the economic crisis.

Black or white, the piece colour we choose is of no importance. The game will be judged by the strategy that we implement on the chessboard. Greece has to face the international public opinion, and manage to change it radically. The roi- mat can be done in three, careful and calculated, moves. It can be done even though we (Greeks) play with a disadvantage, since even the leading searches in Google for our country are connected with keywords such as crisis, corruption and strikes, confirming the severe deterioration that the image of Greece has suffered.

When discussing about Greece as a brand, one has to take into account the fact that even the international campaign of the GREEK TOURIST ORGANISATION for the long behind us tourist season delayed considerably. Along those lines, the advantage of the 2004 Olympic Games has been long gone and forgotten, just like our national pride and confidence.

Following 2004, Greece as a brand has encountered a severe communication gap; as a result, every effort to layout a strategic image for the country should begin from point zero. Those who support Greece, however, should not look down. Besides, the national uplift, the good psychology in other words, can play a decisive role in the game. We should not forget that we still have three powerful pieces left- the king and two towers. We just have to place them at the correct place on the chessboard, and at the right time. It is about time we played the game based on our national branding axis- History- Culture, Tourism and Highly educated human capital.

A process of national branding on the base of a wisely planned long-term strategy that does not aim at communication fireworks and precarious success, can contribute greatly to the configuration of a diachronically dynamic national competitive identity. A state with a positive image, enjoys the respect and confidence of the international community, and renders it able to convert its image

to substantial economic profits for the national prosperity. In order for the international community to treat us accordingly, we owe to communicate a constant policy, a stable investment environment, our great advantage of renewable energy resources, the high quality of our exportable products, the uniqueness of our tourist product, as well as the rich culture and high level of Greek, human capital.

Far and beyond our national flag, we ourselves can become the prime symbol of our nation. Being faced with an experienced player such as the international public opinion, we are called to adopt a national strategy that reaches beyond the stereotypes and repeated images of economic crisis and that do not attribute to the brand "Greece" any uniqueness, any added value.

Our era calls for precision in order to develop our national brand through innovative, interactive channels of communication and social networking, raising each and every citizen to the level of representing our national brand and make him become the pillar of our national communication process. Such critical times require a holistic and coordinated national strategy for our country's image based on the notions of branding, marketing and modern- up to date- communication.

We still can become, as a nation, the unexpected surprise and bring one well calculated roi- mat against the negative public opinion, gaining back, once and for all, our national confidence! Communicating our country through our own eyes will be more than enough, so that even the most notorious opponent recognizes Greece as a brand, as an opportunity and as a gate to the world!

* Anastasia Doukaki is studying for a PhD in Political Communication at the University of Athens, researching the aesthetic codes of political communication campaigns in televised productions. She has worked as a journalist at the BBC Greek department in London, and she has also published article pieces for news portals and local press.

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“Post-democracy and political participation”

Prof. Dorothee de Nève, Panteion University 3 April 2013

The [Centre for Political Research](#) and Prof. [Vasiliki Georgiadou](#) invited [Dorothee de Nève](#) for a guest-lecture on “Post-democracy and political participation”, at Panteion University 3/4/2013.

Dorothee de Nève is a visiting professor of Political Science and Comparative Politics in the FernUniversität Hagen, which is a distance teaching university in Germany. She has taught in several Universities (in Budapest, Bucharest, Vienna, Halle-Wittenberg). She was also a Fellow in the Center for Religion, Economy and Politics in Sweden, as well as a Research Fellow in the University of Tokyo.

In her lecture, Dorothee de Nève pointed the basic features of political participation and made the distinction between latent and manifest political participation. She also noticed that we should not focus only in the participation of individuals but also in group participation and the way these actors stimulate, instigate, shape, and/or influence socio-political processes.



In times of the post- democratic crisis were the access and the claim to power is limited, the economy dominates over politics not only in elections and parties (falling turnout in elections, citizens’ disenchantment with politics or low party membership) but in the



civil society too, there is a need for new resources in order to practice rights. So the upcoming research on political participation should focus on interdependence of socio-economic and political inclusion, forms of anti-democratic participation and their relevance, pseudo participation and the Neo-Democratic twist.

Call for Papers in Conferences and Events

‘Softening the urban fabric: Encounters, Spaces, Subjectivities’
University of East London, Docklands Campus, 12 July 2013

Deadline for Abstracts: 20 May 2013

This one-day interdisciplinary symposium aims to provide an opportunity to share research about current, emerging and historical moments of change and intersections in city spaces. We invite scholars of various disciplinary and theoretical backgrounds to share their research on cities, subjectivity and change – the latter to be interpreted with an equal measure of theoretical rigour and imagination. Practitioners, artists and activists whose work speaks to these concerns would be welcome.

This is an area of growing interdisciplinary interest. Current debates focus on the relationships between economics, shifting societies and everyday cultural practices, providing challenging and interesting terrains for applied social research. At the same time, the current political and theoretical project is how to engage with opening spaces for critical reflection in order to advance views of how civil society changes, and make claims for new mechanisms and processes towards change. The proposed interdisciplinary symposium will attempt to engage with a range of approaches to space, social bonds, politics, culture and power.

Whether change occurs through political upheaval and economic austerity, or emerges with the ebb and flow of ‘normal’ life, it finds its way in peoples’ narratives, desires, itineraries, and everyday practices. The evocation of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ is intended as a metaphor that insists on embodiment, sensory experiences and subjective ways of understanding cities, subjectivities and change.

Topics include, but are not limited to:

- ❖ Psychoanalytic approaches to subjectivity, desire and the city;
- ❖ Individual experiences and accounts of change;
- ❖ ‘Belonging’ and the city;
- ❖ Exploring the city fabric through the senses: itineraries, images, sounds;
- ❖ Political or economic change and representations in language and art;
- ❖ How do individuals dream, imagine and envisage the past, the present and the future of the city, especially at times of change?
- ❖ How are public spaces experienced, inhabited, or avoided?
- ❖ What are the everyday issues of navigating the city in the era of austerity?
- ❖ What does the current political mode of turmoil/ revolt/ transformation offer to the process of ‘softening’ the city?
- ❖ What are the challenges for researching the ‘soft city’ in terms of methodologies?
- ❖ Researching the changing city: theoretical issues and methodological approaches.

Abstracts of no more than 300 words with a clear indication of the authors, affiliations and contacts should be submitted to Myrto Tsilimpounidi (myrto@uel.ac.uk) and Angie Voela (a.voela@uel.ac.uk) before 20th May, 2013. Authors will be notified by the end of May.

This event is free but registration is essential. To reserve a place please contact the organizers.