

## **GPSG NEWSLETTER 07 – APRIL 2006**

Dear Colleagues

Welcome to the seventh newsletter of the Greek Politics Specialist Group!

We are pleased to announce that, for a second consecutive year, our participation at the Annual Conference of the PSA has been very successful. In this special edition of our Newsletter you can find out everything about our presence at Reading, along with a report on our Annual General Meeting (AGM) and further details about the exciting new Essay Competition that we have just launched.

Our series with articles from the Thematic Networks continues with an excellent contribution from Dr. Dimitris Tsarouhas (METU / Network D: Political Economy) on 'the Political Economy of Europe's Social Policy'.

Furthermore, we are preparing a special feature on Greek doctoral students conducting research on political marketing. If you've recently started a PhD on political marketing or if you are well into it and are about to submit, or even if you're just thinking about getting into it, please let us know (at [rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk)).

Kind Regards

The GPSG Team

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## 1. Special Report: The GPSG goes to Reading – Papers and Panels

Antonios Aggelakis, *Assistant Editor*

By covering several fields of political science and exploiting the benefits of teamwork, the Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) managed to have a noticeable and intense presence at the 56<sup>th</sup> PSA Annual Conference. In the following section, we present a short review of the panels and papers presented.

At the 2006 PSA Conference, four GPSG panels were organised across the three days of the conference (4 – 6 April).

### [Day 1: Tuesday, April 4<sup>th</sup>](#)

#### **Panel 1: Political Marketing and Communication in Greece (Collaboration with Political Marketing Group)**

**Convenor/Chair: Roman Gerodimos**

**Kotzaivazoglou, I and Y. Zotos** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) "*The Transformation of Political Communication in Greece: Causes and Effects*".

**Dimitriadis S.** (Athens University of Economics and Business) and **M. Zisouli** (University of Athens) "*Using the Web to create a 'citizen-oriented' culture for a political party: evidence from the Greek socialist party*".

In this panel two presenters, Maria Zisouli and Iordanis Kotzaivazoglou, developed arguments related to political marketing and political communication in Greece.

In his presentation Kotzaivazoglou illustrated the emergence and the usage of new methods in the 'political sphere', the so-called political marketing techniques. In an in-depth analysis, he described the way through which these techniques transform political communication in Greece, in what extent this is not a Greek phenomenon alone, why this does occur in Greek politics and which are the repercussions onto the Greek political reality.

Following that, Maria Zisouli analysed the Web strategy of the Greek socialist party (PaSoK) and illustrated the opportunities created through new technologies, as well as the occasional threats the Web contains as a political instrument. Furthermore, the role of the web in 'building' a '*citizen-oriented*' culture and in '*bridging the gap*' between parties and social groups was discussed.

### [Day 2: Wednesday, April 5<sup>th</sup>](#)

#### **Panel 2: The Changing Structure and Culture of Greek Political Parties**

**Convenor: Maria Zisouli, Chair: Roman Gerodimos**

**Tsakiris, A** (University of Athens) & **Aranitou, V** (University of Crete) "*The dark side of the moon: Greek political parties and factions in trade unions and professional organizations*".

**Tassis, C** (University of Athens) "*The 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of PASOK (2005) towards an 'open' party (?)*".

On the second day of the conference (Wednesday, April 5<sup>th</sup>) two more panels took place. The first one featured two papers. Aranitou and Tsakiris explored the 'other side of the coin' in the relations between parties, trade unions and professional organizations, by emphasizing the role of factions in forming the organizations' preferences and strategies. In addition, by introducing but also challenging terms such as 'partisanisation' and 'partyocracy', the authors managed to interpret the government - groups relations in the prism of 'negotiations' period' and 'party-in-government' variables.

In the second presentation of Panel 2, Tassis introduced an interesting innovative term in the field of party politics – the 'non-party party'. By analyzing the transformation of PASOK through the last Congresses and reforms, but also by interpreting the strategies of the socialist party in Greece, Tassis reaches a conclusion according to which PASOK is less of a 'cartel' party and more of a 'political organization' in a continuous political transformation.

### **Panel 3 (formerly Panels 3 and 4): Greek-Turkish Relations in the Context of EU** **Convener / Chair: Andrew Liaropoulos**

**Samaras, A** (FMS) *"The Representation of Turkey and Greek-Turkish Relations in the Greek Press: a Home Front Management Perspective"*.

**Koukoudakis, G** (University of Athens) *"The Role of Citizens in the Current Greek-Turkish Rapprochement"*.

**Kotsiaros, A** (University of Athens) *"The European Path of Turkey: implications of the Europeanisation process for Greek-Turkish relations"*.

The other GPSG session that took place on Wednesday featured a variety of different perspectives on Greek-Turkish relations.

Samaras presented and provided a frame to analyse Greek – Turkish relations. The added value of Samaras' paper lied not only in the results provided but also in the methodological tools used. The same is true for the rest of presenters. Both Koukoudakis but also Kotsiaros provided 'methodological keys' in the analysis of foreign policy in general, by providing at the same time original research results through the use of these methods.

More specifically, Koukoudakis revealed the citizens' role in the Greek – Turkish rapprochement using bottom-up perspectives, historical retrospectives and opportunities and threats analysis. Similarly, Kotsiaros introduces an '*event data analysis*' and creates a new framework of analysis for Greek – Turkish relations and the progress of them, in a broad context.

### **[Day 3: Thursday, April 6<sup>th</sup>](#)**

#### **Panel 5: Current Challenges in Greek Public Administration** **Convener/Chair: Dimitris Tsarouhas**

**Aggelakis, A** (University of Crete) *"The EU's Structural Funds and the Public Investment Programme in Greece: 1985-2005"*.

**Tsarouhas, D** (METU) *"Social Partnership in Greece: Is there a Europeanisation effect?"*

**Samaras, A** (Foundation of Mediterranean Studies) *"The Vested Interest Frame and the Framing of Campaign Laws in Greece"*.

On the last day of the Conference, three papers were presented on the GPSG public administration session.

Aggelakis presented a paper related to the 'management' of EU's receipts by the Greek governments during the last twenty years. In this paper the author dealt with terms such as 'creative accounting', 'modernisation', 'decentralisation', 'convergence' and challenged them in a prism of quantitative analysis.

Following that, Tsarouhas provided a framework of analysis for the social partnership in Greece, the obstacles in such a progress and the opportunities given by the European Union's policies. In addition, Tsarouhas has successfully measured the Greek political reaction in this European framework and the 'adaptation' of EU's political guidelines' by the Greek public policy, during the last years.

Last but not least, Samaras presented an interesting 'Vested Interest Frame' for the campaign laws in Greece as well as interpreting the processes and the relations around the formation of framing.

Finally, two GPSG members also took part in non-GPSG panels. Roman Gerodimos presented on the Wednesday panel of the Media and Politics Group, while Andrew Liaropoulos participated in the Tuesday panel on Warfare.

Tuesday: Stream / Panel Warfare: Warfare in the Information Age

**Liaropoulos, A** (University of Swansea) "*War in the Information Age: the need for a holistic understanding of information warfare*".

Wednesday: Stream / Panel Media & Politics: Media and Politics: Politics and emergent media forms

**Gerodimos, R** (University of Bournemouth) "*A Deficit of Civil Society? An in-depth analysis of UK youth engagement websites*".



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The University of Reading

## 2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual General Meeting (AGM)

The second AGM of our Group took place during the annual PSA Conference on Wednesday, 5 April 2006, at 12:15.

The agenda included the following issues:

- The State of the Group
- a review of previous activities (2005-2006)
- a discussion on our future activities, especially in regards to next year's conference
- and finally the new initiatives of the Group (such as the Essay competition and the Fukuoka panel).

More specifically, in this Meeting the Annual Report was presented. The latter is constituted by the State of the Group Part, the overview of 2005-2006 activities and the budget of the Group.

The State of the Group includes a reference to the number of GPSG members which is now 125 (up from 85 in April 2005) since the Group's activity has attracted the interest of leading academics and numerous graduates from the UK and Greece. In addition, the activities and areas covered by the six (6) Thematic Networks was discussed, due to the need to cater for a variety of established and emerging fields of political studies:

- A. Greece and the Challenge of a 25-Member EU
- B. Political Communication and Civil Society
- C. Political Parties and the Political System
- D. Political Economy
- E. Greek Foreign and Defense Policy
- F. The Social State and the Greek Citizen

The overview of the GPSG activities included: our participation to the last two PSA Conferences, the financial support for graduate students for the LSE symposium, our application for a special issue of a peer-reviewed academic journal, the Newsletters, the participation at the 20<sup>th</sup> IPSA World Congress (Fukuoka, July 2006) and the development of our website. Another issue for discussion was the budget and the future capacity of the latter to fund researchers or presenters participating to international Conferences (i.e. Japan 2006); under the same spectrum, it was discussed that an alternative source of funding would give the opportunity for a development of autonomous activities by the GPSG, such as the organisation of Forums or Conferences, even in cooperation with Universities, Institutes or NGOs.

Similarly, another challenge facing the Group is the need to maintain academic excellence in the papers submitted and presented at the annual conference of the PSA, while appealing to a diverse group of leading scholars. A variety of options regarding the process of paper submission and evaluation was discussed, with particular reference to the possibility of involving external evaluators (i.e. academics) or using specific criteria and bringing forward the deadlines (i.e. for draft submission).

As always, we welcome your feedback, comments and suggestions on how to improve the Group's management and activities. The next meeting of the GPSG Committee will take place in Athens later in the summer. More information will be available in our next Newsletter.

### 3. The 2006 GPSG Essay Competition

The Greek Politics Specialist Group, in collaboration with the Mediterranean Migration Observatory, is proud to announce the '2006 G.P.S.G Essay Competition'. The basic purpose of this competition is to stimulate original research on topics of current concern to Greece, by providing incentive and recognition to those desiring to contribute to the existing body of relevant literature. The research topic for this year is **'The socio-political integration of immigrants in Greece'**. The winning author will receive a prize of **£ 200**.

To be considered for the 2006 G.P.S.G Essay Competition, authors should submit manuscripts to Andrew Liaropoulos, Secretary of the Greek Politics Specialist Group ([A.LIAROPOULOS.360383@swansea.ac.uk](mailto:A.LIAROPOULOS.360383@swansea.ac.uk)) and Martin Baldwin-Edwards, Co-Director of the Mediterranean Migration Observatory ([MMO@panteion.gr](mailto:MMO@panteion.gr)) by **30 August 2006**. The winner will be notified by mid December and the winning essay will be published in the Greek Politics Specialist Group website <http://www.psa.ac.uk/spgrp/greek/GreekPol.asp> and the Mediterranean Migration Observatory website <http://www.mmo.gr>.

The panel that will evaluate the essays will consist of **Martin Baldwin-Edwards**, Co-Director of the Mediterranean Migration Observatory, **Prof. Rossetos Fakiolas**, Emeritus Professor in Economics and **Dr. Gabriella Lazaridis**, University of Leicester.

More details about the entry requirements, the evaluation criteria and a description of the research questions that should be covered are available on our website and by the organisers at the above email addresses.

#### **4. Thematic Network Article:**

##### ***“The Political Economy of Europe’s Social Policy”***

**by Dr. Dimitris Tsarouhas**

The signing of the Single European Act in 1986 was a historic step forward in the institutional development of the Union. Apart from modifying the Treaties that had created the European Communities, it also ‘brought major cooperative arrangements more firmly within the framework of what may be termed the Community process’ (Swann, 1992: 3) and granted new decision-making powers to the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament thereby expanding their institutional prerogatives (Swann, 1992: 3). In addition, the SEA incorporated into the Rome Treaty the concept of cooperation in economic and monetary policy and paved the way for EMU (Mehnert, 1991: 83). Even more importantly, the SEA signalled the willingness of Europe to reform and expand its institutional machinery so as to face off the economic challenge of the United States and Japan, whose competitive advantage had grown over the previous decade (Allen, 1992: 37). In all these respects, the SEA proved the crucial turning point in the history of European integration.

Nevertheless, no automatic readjustment process took place in a Community that had suffered from prolonged periods of internal strife and divergent policy responses during the oil shock of the 1970s (Martin & Ross, 2004: 5). Instead, institutional reorganisation and development was promoted by transnational business elites who campaigned for the creation of a genuine single European Market through bodies such as the European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT), a lobby group first brought together by the Volvo chairman Pehr Gyllenhammar (Tsoukalis, 1993: 51; Holman & van der Pijl, 2003: 80). Van Apeldoorn (2002) has shown how the ERT has been able to spur on the Common Market and economic integration by influencing the EU public policy debate in a comprehensive way ‘at the level of ideas and ideology formation’ (Van Apeldoorn, 2002: 83).

The creation of the European Strategic Programme for Research and Development in Information Technology (ESPRIT), a French initiative actively supported by the Commission and involving major European manufacturers, small firms and universities, confirmed the widespread consensus among policy-makers and business on the need to expand the notion of European economic competitiveness (Dinan, 1999: 94). What is more, the idea of creating a Single Market in the EU could also count on British support, which had traditionally remained sceptical over other forms of European integration. Though normally unimpressed by reference to the EU’s ‘Founding Fathers’, Prime Minister Thatcher did not have qualms in evoking the founding Treaty of the Union when endorsing the plans that the Commission was sketching out: ‘if the problems of growth, outdated industrial structures and unemployment which affect us all are to be tackled effectively, we must create the genuine common market in goods and services which is envisaged in the Treaty of Rome and will be crucial to our ability to meet the US and Japanese technological challenge’ (Thatcher quoted in Dinan, 1999: 96). Closer market integration and institutional evolution was premised on the active support of ERT; as technological change was gathering pace and a series of mergers and acquisitions was altering

the landscape of European business, Gyllenhammar launched his idea of a “Marshall Plan for Europe” in 1982 calling for a European strategy to face off US and Japanese competition and reinvigorate the fortunes of European economies by use of new technologies.

Aware of the limited influence of UNICE, the Union of Industrial and Employers’ Confederations of Europe, the chairman of Volvo sought to create a group with political influence and affect the process of policy-making at European level by courting the Commission and leading politicians. Green Cowles (1995) has shown that the strategy was particularly successful, with the Commission President Davignon and close aides of President Mitterrand frequently meeting with Gyllenhammar. The first ERT Conference in 1983, attended by the Commission, brought together, among others, the chairmen and chief executives of Fiat, Olivetti, Unilever, Siemens, Volvo and ASEA. In 1984, the ERT initiated its first project, the European Venture Capital Association (EVCA) and ran the first pan-European venture capital group called Euroventures. In March 1985, the new Commission President Jacques Delors outlined his plan for the creation of a Single Market to facilitate the realisation of earlier European Council declarations regarding the four freedoms of movement for goods, services, capital and persons (Tsoukalis, 1993: 59). Underlining the salience of the ERT in bringing about that document is the fact that in January of the same year, the CEO of Phillips Wisse Dekker, presented the plan entitled “Europe 1990” calling for a unified European market by that year (Green Cowles, 1995: 514). After an Intergovernmental Conference in 1985 and 1986, the Single European Act (SEA) was signed by EU member states in 1987 introducing qualified majority voting on all issues related to the Internal market and enhancing the powers of the European Parliament (Gstöhl, 2002: 148).

Once it became an institutionalised part of policy making, the influence of business lobbying in the development of the EU remained undisputed. In fact, the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1991 confirmed the shifting of a delicate balance between labour and capital, whereby the former had maintained a salient role as part of the decaying but still resilient Keynesian socio-economic model prevalent in most EU states (Gray, 2004: 61). In the 1990s, that model was undermined by constant attempts to reduce the public sector and throw the burden of labour market adjustment to employees instead of their bosses or the state (Gray, 2004: 61) in an apparent attempt to face the challenge of competitiveness. The Maastricht Treaty, kick starting the EMU process and setting strict limits on inflation, public deficit and public debt levels to member states, institutionalised the new approach to economic and social policy minimising state interference with market transactions only to the extent they facilitate the creation of a level playing field for capital. For its part, the ERT continued to press for more deregulation and its resources were devoted to satisfying its agenda. In 1993 and 1994 the ERT proposed the creation of a European Competitiveness Advisory Group to subject all new EU policy proposals and regulations to the test of international competitiveness. A year later, the group came to being (Holman & Van der Pijl, 2003: 82).

Moreover, in the run-up to the next Intergovernmental Conference, different ERT delegations met with Commission President Jacques Santer to stress the importance of business competitiveness to the economic recovery of the EU. Although the centre-left had acquired government status in most EU states by the time of the Amsterdam Treaty, the ERT played a decisive role in the final Treaty by becoming ever more prominent in UNICE (Gray, 2004: 68) and managed to limit the European Employment Strategy (EES) created in Amsterdam to the need for more ‘flexibility’ and ‘adaptability’ on the part of employees (Gray, 2004: 68). The strategy was part of a broader pattern of reforms calling for a reduction of taxes on labour and loosening of labour protection laws to make hiring and firing easier for employers (Gray, 2004: 68). Having succeeded in setting the context within which any future discussion of social policy and the Social Dialogue would take place, the ERT and UNICE have had little difficulty in blocking the evolution of EU social policy towards a more balanced direction.

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This article is an excerpt from a paper entitled ‘European integration and path dependence: explaining the evolution of EU Social Policy’, *European Political Economy Review*, forthcoming.*

## 5. Contact Details and Change to our Website Address



Visit our website at <http://www.psa.ac.uk/spgrp/greek/GreekPol.asp>  
(Please note the change in our URL).

As always, we welcome suggestions and comments regarding all aspects of the Group, including how to improve this newsletter.

Please send us your news and views.

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