

## GPSG NEWSLETTER 08 – JULY 2006

Dear Colleagues

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

In this issue you can find all the details about our **upcoming activities and events**, such as our exciting 2006 Essay Competition, next year's PSA conference (please note the changes in the paper submission procedures) and a workshop on Greece, Turkey and Cyprus organised jointly by METU and ELIAMEP under the auspices of EUI's Mediterranean Research Programme in Florence.

May we take this opportunity and, on behalf of the GPSG, express our **deepest gratitude to Panos Hatziprokopiou**, Middlesex University, for assisting us with the Essay Competition. Panos, being an expert on issues of migration, contributed in defining the research question and identifying possible reviewers. For his enthusiastic response and valuable help we would like to express our most sincere thanks.

Our series with **articles from the Thematic Networks** continues with a very topical contribution by Marina Petrelli (University of Athens / Network E: Foreign & Defence Policy) on Greek-Turkish Relations.

Finally, may I remind you of our forthcoming special feature on **Greek 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)).

Best Wishes,  
The GPSG Team

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## 1. The 2006 GPSG Essay Competition – Final Call!

Greek  
Politics  
Specialist  
Group

Mediterranean  
Migration  
Observatory

**DEADLINE APPROACHING! 30 August 2006**

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 ([andrewliaropoulos@gmail.com](mailto:andrewliaropoulos@gmail.com)) 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, Rossetos Fakiolas, Emeritus Professor in Economics and Dr. Gabriella Lazaridis, University of Leicester.

### The entry requirements are as follows:

- Those wishing to submit an essay should be current PhD candidates, or PhD graduates of no more than two years ago, as of September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2006.
- Essays generally should not exceed 6.000 words, though well-developed essays of extraordinary merit that somewhat exceed this limit will be considered.
- Essays that have been previously published, or that are pending consideration elsewhere for publication, are not eligible.
- Essays must be submitted in English only, by e-mail as an attached Adobe Acrobat pdf file, to the following two addresses simultaneously: [andrewliaropoulos@gmail.com](mailto:andrewliaropoulos@gmail.com) and [MMO@panteion.gr](mailto:MMO@panteion.gr)

### Evaluation criteria:

Evaluation is unavoidably a subjective process. The panelists will, however, use the questions below to help them evaluate essays more objectively.

- Is the essay 'cutting edge', offering well-thought-out and well-researched alternative proposals, different viewpoints or dissenting opinions?
- Does the essay contribute anything new to the literature?
- Does the essay offer plausible solutions to a major problem or issue?
- Does the essay show evidence of significant research using accepted academic standards?
- Is the essay a product of original research? If not, is it an effective synthesis of existing research, and has it yielded significant insights?

## Essay Description

### The socio-political integration of immigrants in Greece

Alongside the rest of Southern Europe, during the last two decades Greece has been transformed into a migrant-receiving country. This change came as a result of both internal and international developments: immigration flows intensified with the changes in the former Eastern Bloc after 1989, as well as with wider developments across the globe. Immigrants came to Greece from a variety of countries, especially from Eastern Europe and the Balkans, with Albania being by far the major country of origin.

Policy responses came late and the vast majority of migrants were not given any opportunity to acquire legal status until the first amnesty programme of 1997-98. Partly because of the exclusionary legal framework and partly owing to structural characteristics of the Greek labour market, the bulk of migrant labour was absorbed by the underground economy. The majority of migrants found work in construction, agriculture, manufacturing and various low or semi-skilled services, including services to individuals or households (casual repair work, housekeeping, carers, etc.). In addition, their presence was misleadingly connected to negative stereotypes, largely created by the Media discourse. In general, political ambivalence, xenophobia, economic exploitation and social polarisation have been the thresholds marking Greece's transition to an immigration country.

15 years later, it seems that many of the initial problems are gradually fading out, while new ones arise. Successive regularisation programmes have resulted in an increasing number of immigrants acquiring legal status and subsequently moving towards registered employment and better working conditions. Today, migrants have become 'visible' and the public debates raise concerns regarding the issue of integration. Immigrants are 'here', to prove that Greece has *de facto* become a multiethnic society. They live, work and consume in Greece. Their children go to Greek schools. Most importantly, they increasingly interact with the local population, producing not only new social tensions, but also new kinds of relationships, new patterns of mobility, new types of cultural expression and exchange. However, in many respects immigrants possess an ambiguous status in Greece – from issues of long-term residence to pensions, as well as civil and political rights. This ambiguity constitutes a particular dilemma for the children of immigrants – second generation (born in Greece) and also the so-called '1,5 generation' (migrated as children) – who grapple with questions of citizenship, identity and welfare. To what extent Greece will manage to 'integrate' migrants at a time of restructuring and social change is both a present concern and a challenge for the future.

The purpose of this competition is to stimulate a debate among graduate students working in the field. Issues such as the demographic and economic effects of immigration, the labour market integration of migrants and their living conditions, immigration policy and the legal framework, racism and xenophobia *etcetera* continue to be at the hub of public debates and academic research alike. However, there is a number of current questions, especially concerning various aspects of the socio-political integration of immigrants in Greece, that urge for attention today as they become increasingly important for the future.

Therefore, the Greek Politics Specialist Group and the Mediterranean Migration Observatory welcome essays addressing one or more of the following topics:

- Greek immigration policy today, its problems and prospects and the relevance for integration and citizenship;
- Social and political reactions to immigration, the response of civil society and migrants' participation;
- Aspects of social integration with respect to immigrants' access to social security, public health and education;
- The formation of migrant communities through informal social networks and collective organisations;
- The issue of the second generation: education, family and sense of belonging.

## 2. Thematic Network Article:

### *"Greece and Turkey: a Thorny Relationship?"*

by Marina Petrelli\*

The current difficulties in Greek-Turkish relations have deep historical roots that directly affect how each side perceives and relates to the other<sup>1</sup>. The Greek-Turkish relations have been affected to a great extent by the differentiation of the national political systems and the changes within the international political system. Greek-Turkish relations had long been characterized as an "enduring rivalry"<sup>2</sup>.

Turkey's relations with Greece have significantly improved since mid-1999, but the dispute over the Aegean continues to cast clouds over the relationship and could even derail the recent détente<sup>3</sup>. Recently, the tension in Greek-Turkish relations reignited after the fatal fate of a Greek fighter pilot during a dogfight over the Aegean Sea following an incident where a Turkish coastguard ship evicted a Greek fisherman from a neighbouring island of Imia.

In a key intervention by the former President of the Hellenic Republic, Costis Stephanopoulos (in an article in *Kathimerini*<sup>4</sup> on May 28 2006), it was proposed that the two countries submit a long list of disputes arising from Turkish demands to the International Court of Justice at The Hague [ICJ]<sup>5</sup>. In this list, Mr Stephanopoulos included the extent of Greek territorial waters, the continental shelf of the Aegean islands, Turkey's demand of Greek demilitarisation of the islands, the question of whether the Turkish war aircrafts can enter the Athens Flight Information Region (FIR) without submitting flight plans, etc. He excluded Turkish claims to Aegean rock islets as a "figment of Turkey's imagination" on the grounds that there is no grounding on the basis of relevant international treaties.

Let us now focus on the adopted Greek policy during the last century. Greece has determined since 1931 its national air space at 10 miles, and since 1936 its territorial waters at 6 miles. This situation exists for 70 years. It is found, however, contrary to the modern perceptions. The Law of the Seas (Το Δίκαιο της Θάλασσας) defines clearly that sea and air miles should be compatible (article 2, paragraph 2)<sup>6</sup>. Since 1974, Turkey does not recognize

<sup>1</sup> For background, see Tozun Bahcheli, *Greek-Turkish Relations Since 1955*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990 and James Brown, *Delicately Poised Allies: Greece and Turkey*, London: Brassey's, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Kemal Kirişci, "The 'enduring rivalry' between Greece and Turkey: can 'democratic peace' break it?" *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 2002.

<sup>3</sup> A détente that came just after the Imia crisis of 1996, the S-300 missiles and the capture of the Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan and that is owed to the so-called "civic diplomacy," "people's diplomacy," or "seismic diplomacy" of the devastating earthquakes of 1999.

<sup>4</sup> C. Stephanopoulos, "There is a way of resolving Greek-Turkish differences", *Kathimerini*, 28 May 2006.

<sup>5</sup> At this point it should be reminded that to go to the ICJ, Greece and Turkey would have to jointly draft a "compromis", an agreement on exactly which questions will be submitted to the court's jurisdiction. Turkey does not recognize the jurisdiction of the Court.

<sup>6</sup> The UN Convention on the Law of the Seas (1994) defines clearly that each state has the right to determine on its own the breadth of the territorial waters as long as it does not exceed the 12 miles (article 3). In the cases where the distance of the coasts of two countries is less than 24 miles, as in many cases of Greek islands and Turkish beaches, takes effect the rule of "middle line"/«μέσης γραμμή»

as Greek air space the interval between the 6 and 10 miles. Turkish war planes have been transgressing it daily for decades. What follows is that Greek war planes intercept them and often are caused extremely dangerous dogfights. As for the militarisation of the islands, it started during the 1960s, when Greece was brought to the verge of war with Turkey because of the dramatic events in Cyprus. The islands were turned into fortresses after the Turkish invasion into Cyprus in 1974. Regarding the islands of Mytilini, Chios, Samos and Ikaria, the Treaty of Lausanne (24/7/1923) states with clarity their demilitarisation (article 13). The clause is even stricter in the Treaty of Paris (10/2/1947) regarding the Dodecanese (article 14, paragraph 2).

Costis Stephanopoulos' proposal is not a new one. At the 1999 Helsinki EU summit, which granted Turkey its candidacy, the conclusions stated that Turkey must resolve its border disputes or refer them to the ICJ by 2004. The novelty of the proposal is set on the timing of the impetus for a public dialogue. The present government seems to share a common view with Mr. Stephanopoulos. More specifically, in an interview in the French newspaper *Le Figaro*, Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mrs Dora Bakoyanni, stated inter alia: "If Turkey adopts a more European behaviour both in its domestic policy, with respect to the human rights, and in its foreign policy, with respect to the International Law and recognition of the International Court of Hague with regard to the regulation of contestations of sovereignty in Aegean, it will exist no other difference between Greece and Turkey"<sup>7</sup>. Meanwhile, the former Prime Minister Costas Simitis maintains certain reservations for the content of the agreement that should be drawn up with Turkey, before the appeal. He proposes partial and selective extension of territorial waters, underlining simultaneously the need for Greece to impose a timetable for Turkey, in order for Turkey to fulfil its obligations<sup>8</sup>.

As the head of Greek diplomacy, Dora Bakoyanni, has stated in her interview the key to the final settlement in the Greek-Turkish relations lies in Turkey's europeanisation. As it is well known, the EU signed the Association Agreement with Turkey in 1963<sup>9</sup>. Turkey applied for a full EU membership in 1987 and got the status of a candidate country in 1999<sup>10</sup>.

Having spent four decades in the EU's waiting room, Turkey finally opened its accession negotiations with Brussels on 3 October 2005<sup>11</sup>. According to the mutually agreed negotiating framework, these negotiations are "an open-ended process, the outcome of which cannot be guaranteed". It is the beginning of a long, and probably all too often daunting and difficult process. Progress depends on Turkey's efforts to meet the requirements for membership. In due course, the Union will decide if the requirements for the conclusion of negotiations are met.

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(article 15). This means that if in some areas Greece and Turkey are 4 miles apart, in that point the territorial waters for each country are set on 2 miles per country, while in other areas the principle of 12 miles is applied.

<sup>7</sup> D. Bakoyannis, "La Constitution européenne est comme la Belle au bois dormant", *Le Figaro*, 21 June 2006.

<sup>8</sup> C. Simitis, "Thunder for the Greek-Turkish issues", *To Ethnos tis Kyriakis*, 17 June 2006.

<sup>9</sup> OJ 1964, L 217.

<sup>10</sup> Presidency Conclusions of the Helsinki European Council, 10/11 December 1999.

<sup>11</sup> Presidency Conclusions of the Brussels European Council, 16/17 December 2004.

However, the 'mood' in Europe is changing – some argue against Turkey. On Wednesday 28 June 2006, Turkey and Croatia's paths to joining the EU were split, after member states blocked Ankara's progress on the customs chapter of membership talks, while giving the green light for Croatia to proceed. Turkey has however only achieved progress in the market competition chapter, getting stuck on the customs chapter due to its stance on Cyprus' access to its ports and airspace, which violates a customs agreement Ankara signed with all 25-member states. Turkey has said it will only change its position if Brussels also fulfils its political commitment to push through a trade arrangement for the northern province of Cyprus, inhabited by Turkish Cypriots. EU enlargement commissioner Olli Rehn warned earlier this month of a possible "train crash" on the country's path to EU membership if nothing changes. Until the forthcoming December it will be decided whether the European course of Turkey will continue or whether we will be led to a euro-turkish crisis.

In sum, Turkey today stands at historic crossroads. The Helsinki summit has opened the possibility of EU membership. Yet membership will require extensive changes in the Kemalist system. Following Theodore Roosevelt's words in a moment of decision "do what you can, with what you have, where you are. The worst thing you can do is nothing".

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*Ms Petrelli is a PhD candidate and Junior Research Fellow at the University of Athens. Her research is funded by the PENED Programme 2003 for the support of research potential (Ministry of Development / GSRT- 3rd EU Framework Programme /Operational Programme of Competitiveness). Marina is also Co-Convenor of the GPSG's Thematic Network on Foreign Policy and Defence Strategy (Network E).*

### **3. Important Notice to GPSG Members: Changes to the PSA Conference procedures and Call For Papers, 57<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, University of Bath, April 2007**

#### **IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL GPSG MEMBERS:**

After a long and wide-ranging review of the Annual Conference by the PSA's Executive Committee, important changes have been introduced to the process of submitting paper and panel proposals for the conference, as well as to the deadlines and practicalities of the final papers themselves. The deadline for the submission of abstracts has been brought forward itself (end of September), which means that our **internal** deadline for the submission of your proposals to the GPSG committee is **SEPTEMBER 10<sup>th</sup>, 2006**.

If you are thinking about taking part in next year's annual PSA conference, which will take place at the University of Bath and is themed "Europe and Global Politics" please read these new guidelines carefully.



**57th Political Studies Association Annual Conference  
Europe and Global Politics  
11 -13 April 2007  
University of Bath**

*Call for Paper and Panel Proposals*

We will consider all topics. We welcome attendees and participants from all disciplines worldwide. There will be one strand of panels specifically related to the 2007 conference theme—Europe and Global Politics—and we particularly encourage submissions in this area. We also welcome PSA specialist groups to promote their own research by convening panels.

**Final Deadline for all Paper and Panel Proposals: 30 September 2006**

The PSA Graduate Conference will be fully integrated into the main programme, and the conference organisers are therefore especially keen to receive proposals from graduate students wishing to present a paper at the Annual Conference.

Submissions can only be made via our website:

<http://www.bath.ac.uk/esml/conference/psa2007>. Please provide a valid email address with your submission. This will allow us to confirm receipt of your proposal and to contact you with important information in the run-up to the conference.

If submitting panel proposals, we need the following data for each panel participant (including chairs): full name, institutional affiliation, postal address, email address, paper title and abstract. Panel conveners are also encouraged to include a named discussant (who can be the same as the chair, but not a paper giver). Please do not submit more than four individual papers.

Basic Participation Rules

**Peer Review Process**

All paper and panel submissions will be subject to peer review. Submission of a paper or panel proposal does not result in automatic acceptance.

**Limits on Participation**

Participation in the Annual Conference is limited to two papers, but individual scholars can take on additional responsibilities as chairs or discussants.

**Pre-registration Requirement**

In order to be listed in the final programme and to avoid a late registration fee, all participants whose papers have been accepted, or who have agreed to serve as chair or discussant, must pre-register and pay their full registration fee no later than 4 February 2007.

Participants not giving papers also have to register by 4 February 2007 or will incur a late registration fee.

**Paper Delivery Obligation**

By submitting a paper proposal you agree that you and/or your co-authors will deliver the paper in person at the Annual Conference. You can withdraw your paper without 'penalty' until 31 December 2006. Cancellation thereafter or no-shows will mean that we might not accept offers of a paper for future Annual Conferences from you and/or your co-authors.

**Availability during the Conference**

By submitting a proposal you agree to be available for presentation at any of the scheduled sessions at the conference from Session 1, beginning at 2pm on Wednesday, 11 April, to Session 10, ending at 6.15pm on Friday, 13 April. If teaching or travel constraints limit your ability to commit to the full duration of the conference, you must inform the local organisers of this no later than 4 February 2007

## PSA CONFERENCE CONTACTS

Conference Academic Convenor

[Professor Richard Whitman](#)

Local Organisers

[Dr Simona Talani](#)  
[Dr Gian Luca Gardini](#)

GPSG Convenor

[Roman Gerodimos](#)



### 4. METU / ELIAMEP Workshop on Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, EUI, Florence, March 2007

Dear colleagues,

I would hereby wish to inform you that a workshop co-organised by the Centre for European Studies here at METU [Middle East Technical University] and ELIAMEP [Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy] will be taking place in March 2007 under the auspices of the 8th Mediterranean Research Programme of the EUI in Florence.

I am attaching the link with relevant information for your consideration as part of our effort to inform scholars working on Greece and Cyprus about the workshop that would be potentially interested in taking part. Our workshop is the 13th on the list and you can find more details in the link attached.

<http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Research/Mediterranean/mrm2007/Index.shtml>

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you require any further information on this.

Kind regards,

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## 5. Contact Details and Website



Visit our website at <http://www.psa.ac.uk/spgrp/greek/GreekPol.asp>

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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