

GPSG NEWSLETTER no.12

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1. Four Years of Greek Politics Specialist Group

Dear GPSG Members,

In July 2008, the Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) of the UK's Political Studies Association (PSA) will celebrate its four-year anniversary. The Group has been going from strength to strength; our continuing success and membership of more than 130 senior scholars and young researchers have made us into one of the PSA's largest and most active specialist groups, and a leading network of Greek political scientists internationally.

These have been four very busy and creative years. The GPSG has had a very strong presence in the annual PSA conferences in Leeds (2005), Reading (2006) and Bath (2007), and, as you can see in the following pages of this Newsletter, the Group has an exciting line-up for the 2008 conference at Swansea. Our panels have covered a range of areas including political communication, political parties and elections, foreign policy and Europeanisation, defence and security studies, public administration and public policy, art and politics to name but a few. We also organised panels in collaboration with the Political Marketing Group (PMG), while 2008 marks the beginning of an exciting collaboration with the Italian Politics Specialist Group (IPSG).

We are also very proud of our record in supporting research and networking. Almost 90% of the Group's funds have gone into funding doctoral students and scholars from Greece travelling to international conferences and research events, such as the annual conference of the Political Studies Association, the world congress of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) and the PhD Symposium of the LSE Hellenic Observatory. The terms and conditions of the grants have ensured that funding is distributed to as many scholars as possible, with particular emphasis given to supporting self-funded young political scientists and researchers from regional Greek universities, as well as leading practitioners.

One of our biggest achievements to date was the organising of a panel on Greek democracy at the 20th IPSA Congress in Fukuoka, Japan (2006), which would not have been possible without the kind support of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We are thrilled about the MFA's support and are looking forward to furthering our collaboration in 2008.

Those of you who are loyal readers of our Newsletters will be familiar with some of our other activities, such as the six Thematic Networks, the various Newsflashes on events and opportunities,

and the regular open meetings in Athens. We see the GPSG as much more than a loose network of academics and are in the process of building a vibrant community of scholars with the aim of promoting and supporting research on all aspects of Greek politics. One such example was the unanimous decision of the GPSG's committee to donate the remaining funds from its 2007 budget to the Special Fund which was set up by local government in Greece for the support of schools affected by last year's horrendous fires. We see this symbolic act as part of our core responsibility to support education. May I assure you that will continue to be working in that direction in the years to come.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity and thank the large number of people who have worked really hard to make the GPSG what it is today.

Yours,

Roman Gerodimos

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2. GPSG Panels & Papers at the 58th Annual PSA Conference at Swansea, 1-3 April 2008

The 58th annual conference of the PSA will be hosted by the Department of Politics & International Relations at Swansea University. The conference is themed 'Democracy, Governance and Conflict: Dilemmas of Theory and Practice' and the Greek Politics Specialist Group for the fourth consecutive year will be represented by a very strong team of young scholars.



This year, the GPSG will focus on two areas. The first refers to Greek politics and the 2007 elections and the second one examines aspects of political economy in Southern Europe.

Title: Greek Politics and the 2007 General Election

Session 5, Wednesday 2 April
Chair: Dimitris Tsarouhas

Chrysa Lamprinakou, Agenda Setting: Press, Party and Public Agendas in the 2004 Greek General Elections

Ioannis Andreadis, Campaign characteristics of Greek parliament candidates

Alexia Katsanidou, History will return to haunt you: The application of the reward-punishment model on cabinet ministers for policy options

Maria Zisouli, Online Campaigning - 2007 Greek Parliamentary Elections

Title: Political Economy and Welfare in Southern Europe

Session 8, Thursday 3 April
Chair: James Newell, Discussant: Stella Ladi

Anastasio Chardas, 'Bringing the State Back In': The Study of the Greek Political Economy: The European Union's Regional Policy in the Western Macedonia Region

Franca Van Hooren, New southern European 'exceptionalism'? The case of migrant domestic care workers and the Italian welfare state

Dimitris Tsarouhas, Social Policy in Greece: continuity and change

Antonios Aggelakis, Space and Innovation in juxtaposition: understanding the relationship in an evolutionary public policy perspective - the case of Greece

The necessity for a broader comparative perspective on specific issues of common interest, together with the need of addressing common research questions and exchanging knowledge and experiences, render academic synergies more important. What our Group suggested last months regards the formation of a new high-standard and academically attractive Panel in the following 2008 PSA Conference, in cooperation with Italian Group.

The rationale for this initiative is based on mutual benefits, which have been recognised in:

- promoting the exchange of ideas, information and knowledge across disciplines and area studies
- providing a broader cooperation and synergies on fields of common interest
- developing our relations further and strengthening the ties between researchers and colleagues in the two Groups
- promoting a comparative perspective on various analytical and research areas
- building an innovative and interactive forum via the promotion of interdisciplinary political analysis
- encouraging the emergence of a mutually beneficial epistemic community and creating the pre-conditions for the co-organisation of similar, related events

After a close and even daily cooperation with Dr. James Newell, coordinator in this attempt on behalf of Italian Group, we manage to organize 4 Joint Panels in 2008 PSA Conference. In congruence to the same rationale, this achievement will be a 'kick-off'; the beginning for a fruitful interaction which might includes organisation for more academic events, in a joint level.

Title: Southern European Exceptionalism and Italy

Session 1, Tuesday 1 April

Chair: Dimitris Tsarouhas, Discussant: James Newell

Ernesto Gallo, From Southern European to Italian exceptionalism?

Alfio Mastropaolo, Italian "exceptionalism": the two sides of a debate

Gianfranco Pasquino and **Marco Valbruzzi**, Southern European politics: an Italian exceptionalism?

Title: Democracy in Southern Europe and Institutional Adaptation

Session 2, Tuesday 1 April

Chair: Antonios Aggelakis, Discussant: Dimitris Tsarouhas

Fernando Casal, Party System Institutionalisation in new democracies Southern. Europe in a comparative perspective

Francesco Stolfi, The Impact of Electoral Rules on the Core Executive in Parliamentary Systems: The Case of Italy

Anna Cento Bull, The Italian transition and national reconciliation

Title: Parties of the Left and Political Change in Italy

Session 6, Wednesday 2 April
Chair: Dimitris Tsarouhas

Leonardo Raito, Towards a Democratic Party. The Italy's political scene and the end of Democrats of the Left (DS)

Giorgos Charalambous, Un Alternativa per Europa: The Europeanisation of Rifondazione Comunista

Title: Italian Foreign and Defence Policy

Session 9, Thursday 3 April
Chair: Antonios Aggelakis, Discussant: Dimitris Tsarouhas

Dorte Dinger, Southern and northern foreign policy between rapprochement and divergence: The cases of Germany and Italy

Deborah Sorrenti, The Italian Armed Forces reform in the Seventies: between American and European dream

Pietro Pirani, 'The Way We Were': Continuity and Change in Italian Strategic Culture



Finally, members of the GPSG will also participate in the following panels:

Title: Comparative Politics and Scandinavian Labour Movements

Session 4, Wednesday 2 April
Chair: Mark Wickham Jones

Michael B Klitgaard and **Christilla Rynning**, Beyond 'Three Worlds of Welfare' and 'Two Worlds of Capitalism'. Exploring the Relations Between Welfare Regimes and Capitalist Economies

Dimitris Tsarouhas, Bringing the Unions Back In: Wage Bargaining Coordination and Institutional Renewal in Sweden

Robin T. Pettitt, Depolitisising Labour Movements: The experience of the trade union - party link in Denmark and the UK

Sotiria Theodoropoulou, The Political Economy of Adjustment in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1980s and 1990s

Title: Voting and Political Participation (EPOP)

Session 4, Wednesday 2 April

Chair: Steven Fielding

Roman Gerodimos, How to Mobilise Young People: Recommendations for NGOs and Civic Organisations

Martin Rosema, Political cynicism and the vote: a comparative study

Michael Smith, The Electoral Consequences of Local Direct Democracy: Hungary and the Czech Republic Compared

Jacqueline Ellen Briggs and **Karen Celis**, The Impact of Compulsory Voting Upon Differential Turnout Rates in Britain and Belgium

Title: International security and the militarization of space

Session 6, Wednesday 2 April

Chair: Alan Collins, Discussant: David Webb

Columba Peoples, Assuming the Inevitable? Policy Perspectives on the Weaponization of Outer Space

Andrew Liaropoulos, China's Military Transformation: Space as a Force Multiplier

Michael Sheehan, Vertical Expansion: The Emergence of A European Military Space Capability

Title: The European Union, Conflict and Security

Session 8, Thursday 3 April

Chair: Andrew Liaropoulos

Natália Filipa de Oliveira Marques Leal, Analysing European conflict prevention through the role of the EU Presidency

Emel Akcali, Modern conflicts, post-modern solutions: What goes wrong with EU policy?

George Koukoudakis, Security Community Building as a Strategy for Facing the New Security Threats in Post Cold War South-East Europe

Rabia Karakaya Polat, The European Union as a desecuritizer: Turkey between securitization and desecuritization



3. Commentaries

Greek – Turkish Relations: A New Era?

By Dimitris Tsarouhas

Whatever happens in his remaining term in office, Greek Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis has secured a place in history. The first PM to pay an official state visit to Turkey in 49 years, Karamanlis's trip confirmed that the old archrivals have moved a long way from the bitter animosity of the recent past.

Ever since the late 1990s, a host of reasons has led to a marked improvement of the two NATO allies. Turkey's EU vocation, the earthquake diplomacy of 1999, the involvement of civil society and growing financial interdependence have led to the increasing realisation that a 'win-win' scenario in resolving bilateral problems is within the grasp of visionary leaders. It is telling that PM Karamanlis referred to that point in his visit to Atatürk's Mausoleum in Ankara, stressing the contribution by Turkey's founder and his Greek counterpart Venizelos in stabilising relations between the two nations in the interwar years.

In terms of concrete results, the Ankara talks produced little. The two sides have agreed to disagree on a host of issues ranging from the treatment of their respective minorities to the demarcation of their borders. The two Prime Ministers' press conference, two parallel monologues complemented by verbal niceties by the hosts and guests, indicate that the excellent personal relations between the two Prime Ministers are as yet inadequate to transform the structure of Greek-Turkish relations.

And yet it is overtly pessimistic to describe the talks as a failure, or to deny the usefulness and wisdom of such visits. To start with, the two sides decided to intensify their dialogue through a host of technical committees seeking to resolve bilateral disputes. The Foreign Ministries are willing to play a more important role in the process, indicating that without political involvement at the highest level such talks can produce little. What is even more important, however, is the fact that both sides now converse directly, putting their agendas on the table and exploring the possibility of a breakthrough. Prime Ministers Karamanlis and Erdoğan made pretty clear their willingness to open a new chapter in bilateral relations, and both delegations emphasise that 2008 can, potentially, prove a turning point.

Undoubtedly, the Cyprus problem remains a major thorn in that process. The elections scheduled there for February are of utmost importance, as the International Crisis Group (ICG) states in a recent report that 2008 may be the last-chance saloon for a viable solution. Greek and Turkish contributions to support a way out of the current impasse will be decisive. Notwithstanding domestic difficulties besetting both governments, the Greek and Turkish delegations made a significant step forward.

Dimitris Tsarouhas is Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Turkey

<http://blog.social-europe.eu/2008/01/28/greek-turkish-relations-a-new-era/>

The Greek Political System in Crisis

By Roman Gerodimos

It's 1988 all over again. The moral and ideological collapse of a tired, saturated elite; systemic failures and institutionalised corruption; the rise of the left (and of the far right) as an oppositional and anti-systemic cry; an electoral system that in its second application (which will also be its last) will allow us a glimpse of public discontent with Greek democracy.

The only difference between 2008 and 1988 is the fact that Greek voters are not really *citizens* any more - they are *consumers*. Greek public opinion is beyond fear, anger, scepticism or frustration. It has gone into a post-depressive state of apathy and detachment. The fact that people are numb was already clear during last year's fires and elections. Key demographic groups have given up hope for the collective good and are focusing on their individualistic, materialistic aspirations.

In 1988 there was genuine anger, shock and the seeds of a collective need for modernisation – a longing for Europeanization – which eventually led to the hegemony of the Simitis project. There is no such plan or clear desire emerging in the public sphere today. The main agencies of power, such as government, the political parties, the state, public intellectuals and the media (the famous Fourth Estate), are in danger of making themselves irrelevant. They are acting as entertainers of TV audiences in the biggest reality soap-opera.

It looks as if Greece is finally letting go of the values and hierarchies of modernism, and entering a fluid, cynical post-modernism in which reality and fiction are difficult to disentangle. We are well into the 21st century.

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4. Presentation of the Hellenic Audiovisual Institute (I.O.M)



The Hellenic Audiovisual Institute is the national applied research organisation in the field of audiovisual communication and media in Greece, established in 1994. It is a legal entity of Private Law under the supervision of the General Secretariat of Communication. The Institute is thoroughly engaged in carrying out methodical research-projects concerning, mainly the audiovisual media: Radio, Television, Cinema, Multimedia and New Technologies. Research work has so far covered a wide spectrum of subjects, such as the protection of minors in broadcast media, the Greek Media's financial trends, the political advertising campaigns during elections at both national and European level for the past decade, the bibliography on the broader area of Communication, the research on the Greek Audiovisual Sector, in cooperation with the European Commission – Representation in Greece, an overview of the Radio in Greece, etc.

I.O.M. also constitutes the national representative and co-ordinator of Greece's positions on European procedures and programmes for the support of the audiovisual industry, such as the MEDIA PLUS Programme and the pan-European organisation European Audiovisual Observatory. Should one attempt to define the essence of the Hellenic Audiovisual Institute's involvement in matters of national representation, must bear in mind that it concerns the support towards countries and regions with low audiovisual production capacity and/or restricted linguistic or geographical area.

Additionally, the Institute recognising the need for skills and expertise of people working in the audiovisual industry, contributes to the training in Mass Media, by carrying out seminars, workshops, conferences that intend to familiarise the participants (new professionals, students, unemployed) with the New Information Technologies. Moreover, in order to provide a comprehensive career handbook to those wishing to work in the Greek media sector, I.O.M. has

prepared the first "Guide to Education and Training in Communication". A specific area of interest is the field of children and the media, where the Institute is attempting, through Initiatives of media education and media literacy, to explore the emerging needs of the children in the new information society, as well as safety issues deriving from the new media.

The Institute also keeps the first Public Centre of Documentation and Library Services for the disciplines of Communication and Information, a resource fully accessible to journalists, researchers, government officials, experts, students and others. The Hellenic Audiovisual Institute also provides scientific support to build links between policy decision-making centres, universities and research bodies, public and private programme production and distribution structures as well as the audiovisual industry creative forces in Greece.

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5. Recent Publications

- Aggelakis, A & Takis, E (2007) 'The regional problem in Greece: public investment policy and the non-diffusion of development', *The Current, The Public Policy Journal of the Cornell Institute for Public Affairs*, vol.11 no.1.
- Dokos, T. (2007) *Greek Security Policy in the 21st Century* ELIAMEP Policy Paper no.9 (Athens: Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy).
- Kariotis, Theodore Z. (2007) 'A Greek Exclusive Economic Zone in the Aegean Sea', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol.18 no.3, pp.56-71.
- Ker-Lindsay, J. (2007) 'Greek-Turkish Rapprochement under New Democracy', *International Spectator*, vol.42 no.2, pp.237-247.
- Lobasso, F. (2008) *The European Intercultural Perspective from the Treaties of Rome to today: a synthesis* EKEM Policy Paper (Athens: Hellenic Centre for European Studies).
- Liaropoulos, A. (2008) 'Psychological Operations in Iraq: Losing the Hearts and Minds Battle' in Stivachtis, Yannis A. (ed), *Global Affairs in a Turbulent World: Perspectives and Controversies* (Athens: Athens Institute for Education and Research), pp.221-232.
- Liaropoulos, A. (2008) 'The Russian Defense Reform and its Limitations', *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, vol.2 no.1.
- Manitakis, A. (2008) *The impasses of EU constitutionalisation and the prospects for the transition from the condominium of states to the joint rule of the peoples of Europe*, EKEM Policy Paper (Athens: Hellenic Centre for European Studies).

- Oğuzlu, T. (2008) 'Middle Easternization of Turkey's Foreign Policy: Does Turkey Dissociate from the West?', *Turkish Studies*, vol.9 no.1, pp.3-20.
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- Tsarouhas, D. (2007) *Bridging the Real Divide: Social and Regional Policy in Turkey's Accession Process*, (co-editors: A.I. Aybars, E. Ertugal) Ankara: METU Press.
- Tsarouhas, D. (2007) *Exogenous Pressures and Social Policy: Greece and Turkey in Comparative Perspective*, *EUI Working Paper*, RSCAS 2007/38, with Bolukbasi, T.

6. Contact Details & Website

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

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