

EUROPEAN RESEARCH PROJECT

Framing Financial Crisis and Protest: North-West and South-East Europe

The Open University - Leverhulme Trust International Network Grant

## Modernization, Europe and Nation-State

Athens Workshop

15 – 17 April 2016



Eduardo Paolozzi, *Newton*

Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences  
KENI – Research Centre for Modern History

Room Γ3 [Gamma Tria]\_ Building: Eptaorofos \_3d floor

#### Workshop Committee

ELENI D. ANDRIAKAINA (Panteion University)  
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THEODOROS SPYROS (Panteion University)  
NIKOS VAFEAS (University of Crete)  
KATERINA LAMBRINO (Panteion University)  
GIANNIS BALABANIDIS (Panteion University)

The two year project **Framing Financial Crisis and Protest: North-West and South-East Europe** is structured around five workshops, in respectively Nicosia (March, 2015), London (August, 2015), Limerick (November, 2015), Athens (April, 2016) and Plovdiv (September, 2016).  
Principal Coordinator: Suman Gupta, The Open University-UK.

Project Members \_\_ <http://www.open.ac.uk/arts/research/finance-crisis-protest/people>

- We are grateful for the use of image by: Newton Statue Eduardo Paolozzi, From Wikimedia Commons. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Newton\\_Statue\\_Eduardo\\_Paolozzi.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Newton_Statue_Eduardo_Paolozzi.jpg) Paolozzi's sculpture "Newton" which draws upon William Blake's print *Newton*. The statue was commissioned for the British Library's new home in St Pancras and can be found in the plaza outside.

Day 1. Friday 15 April 2016

### Modernization: History, Theory, Ideology and Utopia

Does the experience in today's world challenge the dominant explanatory paradigms for history and put into test their competence for understanding both, past and present, their relationship, as well as the interplay of historical continuities and discontinuities? Over the last decades, through a critical examination of classical modernization theories, the notion of 'Multiple Modernities' was developed. By historicizing modernity and framing modernization in a wider, trans-national global context, the theorists of multiple modernities challenged the Convergence Thesis and launched a critique of the evolutionism and Eurocentrism of teleological modernization narratives.

**Modernization: History, Theory, Ideology and Utopia** invites historically contextualized approaches to modernization theories and the relevant debates. Herein are some focus questions that may prompt our discussion:

- How could we approach the discourses about 'failed modernities' which, disseminated from academia to the media, have proliferated over the last decades and especially during the crisis years'?
- Could we discern a shift of scholarly attention from the 'diseases of transition' ('failed', 'aberrant', 'deviant' or 'ersatz' modernities) to the failure of the dominant modernization theories in addressing the 'dark' or sinister sides of modernity, its so called Janus face?
- Should we now approach the 'pathologies' of modernization through a new lens, especially after the British Disease Thesis, that is, the arguments about the British failure, incomplete development and economic decline due to the cultural hegemony of pre-modern, gentry values over the industrial spirit?
- Is there a need for drawing a distinction between modernization as a problem in the field of social studies, and modernization as a rhetorical tool in the journalistic field, put into service of specific policies?

Day 1. Friday 15 April 2016

**MODERNIZATION: HISTORY, THEORY, IDEOLOGY & UTOPIA**

**SESSION 1: 11.00 – 13.00**

**VASILLIOS A. BOGIATZIS**, Greece and/or modernity: some reflections towards an hermeneutic approach on Greek modernities [Panteion University]

**ANDREAS LYBERATOS**, European Constructions of Balkan Temporal Otherness. Views from the Past [Panteion University - Institute for Mediterranean Studies/ FORTH]

**DOBRINKA PARUSHEVA**, State and Power in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Balkans: Modernization and/or Peripherization [University of Plovdiv - Institute of Balkan Studies]

**ELENI D. ANDRIAKAINA**, Who Remembers Metis? Practical Knowledge, High Modernism and the ‘Failures’ of Modernization [Panteion University]

☛ **COFFEE-LUNCH BREAK 13.00 – 13.30**

**SESSION 2: 13.30 – 15.00**

**LINA VENTURAS**, The “profound transnational character” of state mechanisms and policies: International organizations and emigration from Greece in the 1950s [Panteion University]

**ANTONIS HADJIKYRIACOU & DAPHNE LAPPA**, Early Modernity as the reflection of the neoliberal subject [Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FO.R.T.H. & Digital Humanities Laboratory, Ecole Polytechnique Federale De Lausanne]

**JOHN SEED**, Crisis? What Crisis? Historical Perspectives on the Present Crisis [University of Roehampton & Institute of Historical Research]

**➔ A TOUR at PANTEION UNIVERSITY**

The Classrooms, the Buildings and the Library

☛ **DINNER: 20.00**

More Info will be announced soon.

Day 2. Saturday 16 April 2016

### Questioning the concept of “Europe”

Engaging with the debate on ‘multiple modernities’ and the particularities of individual nation-states, the second session raises questions about ‘Europeanization’ and the crisis. Here the case of Greece is particularly significant for our understanding of both Europe and the current crisis.

The question raised regarding the countries of the European periphery (PIGS) within the academic field as well as the public domain is ‘why a nation fails to follow a *soi-disant* «common European norm of modernization?». In this context, certain large and contradictory narratives developed during the years of the crisis. Some argue that the (national) crisis reflects either a macro-historical or a conjectural national particularity, while others include all varied (national) crises within a common European trend with common features.

Questioning the concept of “Europe” attempts to mobilize a reflection on questions such as:

- Is there a ‘Greek crisis’? How are nation and economic crisis articulated together with such a clear geographical boundary? What does it mean to think that crises are somehow nationally circumscribed in 21st Europe? Is there not a crisis unevenly articulated across the EU and experienced in regions where no crisis is currently acknowledged? Is the ‘Greek crisis’ some kind of ideological diversion from the bigger crisis? What kinds of interests do the construction of a ‘Greek crisis’ serve?
- How is the ‘Greek crisis’ represented and understood/interrogated within the nation-state of Greece? Is the ‘Greek crisis’ represented in different ways in different parts of Europe?
- Does ‘Europe’ in 2016 constitute a cohesive cultural and imaginary community founded on material realities and socio-political relations? Or is it imposed ‘from above’ by a transnational EU bureaucracy?
- ‘*We are all Greeks/Irish/Spanish etc.*’: How far do such developing solidarity movements, putatively opposing ‘austerity’ regimes, transcend national boundaries? Do they mark the emergence of a common political space? Could transnational mobilization against ‘austerity’ generate new conceptualizations of ‘Europe’ and ‘European modernity’?

Day 2. Saturday 16 April 2016

## QUESTIONING THE CONCEPT OF EUROPE

### SESSION 1: 11.00 – 13.00

**GIANNIS BALABANIDIS & KATERINA LAMBRINO**, We, the (European?) People: Populism in Crisis [Panteion University]

**HELEN YANAKOPOULOS**, We are Europeans. Transnational solidarity in Europe [The Open University, UK]

**NICOS PHILLIPOU & MIKE HADJIMICHAEL**, Conflicting Hegemonies/ The "Problem" of Cypriot Identity - Modernity and Othering processes [University of Nicosia, Cyprus]

**TAO PAPAIOANNOU**, Constructions in news and social media of anti-austerity protests in the EU: A comparative approach [University of Nicosia, Cyprus]

🍏 **COFFEE-LUNCH BREAK: 13.00 – 13.30**

### SESSION 2: 13.30 – 15.00

**DIMITRIOS GKINTIDIS**, Capitalist asymmetry as cultural deficit? Eurocentrism and idealist epistemology among technocratic elites in post-war Greece [Princeton University]

**CHRISTOS KANELLOPOULOS & SOTIRIA LIAKAKI**, In the name of an "order" that holds: Could the European Union be an "essentially contested concept"? [University of Athens & Paris West University Nanterre La Defense]

**MIGUEL VICENTE-MARINO**, Framing grievances in Spanish media during the financial crisis: the notion of Nation [University of Valladolid, Spain]

➔ **VISIT TO ELEONAS/REFUGEES ACCOMODATION CENTER-DISCUSSIONS WITH THE STAF**

🍏 **DINNER: 20.00**

More Info will be announced soon.

Day 3. Sunday 17 April 2016

### **Nation-State, Civil Society and Immigration**

This session raises a different set of questions about the status of the nation-state within Europe. In many EU states new physical, political and cultural borders are being imposed, or old boundaries are being reintroduced to break up transnational spaces.

By encouraging authoritarian policies regarding immigrants and refugees, European states challenge established perceptions regarding civil society, minorities and ethnic groups, the idea of secular states and modernization theories. Furthermore, left-wing movements and political powers across Europe gradually become accustomed with national rhetoric in their effort to create defense mechanisms against neoliberal EU policies.

**Nation-State, Civil Society and Immigration** invites approaches to the debates on nation-state, nationalism and civil society with emphasis to documented case studies. We invite approaches associated with the following questions:

- Are policies arising from anxieties about security and immigration effectively leading European states to abandon established perceptions of a diverse civil society and of the secular character of the state? Is Europe a Christian polity? Is there a European 'nationalism' rather than a 'transnational' Europeanism?
- Are there significant connections between discourses of border and security and new forms of internal political surveillance and policing?
- What explains the persistence and growing influence of extreme-right and neo-fascist movements across Europe in recent years? Are these transient phenomena or signals of a decisive shift in the political landscape?
- Are left-wing movements across Europe turning towards nationalist rhetoric as a defensive strategy against transnational and neoliberal EU policies? Or have such movements been complicit in generating and sustaining nationalist discourses?
- Is the so-called centre/centre-right a hegemonic neoliberal formation or the natural path of compromise between 'extreme' ideologies? What is its relationship between nationalism and the transnational?

Day 3. Sunday 17 April 2016

## NATION STATE, CIVIL SOCIETY & IMMIGRATION

### SESSION 1: 11.00 – 13.30

**GEORGIOS AGELOPOULOS**, To whom are the Greeks bearing gifts? Identity politics during the refugee crisis [Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece]

**LEE F. MONAGHAN & MICHAEL O' FLYNN**, The Madoffization of Irish Society: Interrogating Class Power in an Age of Fictitious Capital [University of Limerick, Ireland & The Open University, UK]

**EVGENIA ILIADOU**, Reflections from a detention centre in Lesbos Island – Greece [The Open University, UK]

**DIMITRIS DALAKOGLU**, Infrastructure, Flows and Borders: Towards a Critical Anthropology of the European Build Environment [University of Amsterdam]

**GIORGOS TSIMOURIS & ELISABETH KIRTSOGLU**, Greece as a borderland in the age of refugee crisis and securitization: rethinking Europe from its borders [Panteion University & University of Durham, UK]

☛ **COFFEE-LUNCH BREAK: 13.30 – 14.00**

### SESSION 2: 14.00 – 15.30

**MICHAEL CHANAN & LEE SALTER**

[University of Roehampton & University of Sussex]

'Money Puzzles': the Greek chapters



a documentary about money & debt

☛ **DINNER: 20.00** 🎵 🎵 🎵

More Info will be announced soon.

Friday, April 15

**Modernization: History, Theory, Ideology & Utopia**

**Vassilios A. Bogiatzis, Greece and/or modernity: some reflections towards a hermeneutic approach on Greek modernities**

The explosion of the current *Greek crisis* after 2009 triggered various and contradicted theoretical approaches which searched for the strict identification of the deepest roots of *crisis*' economic, political, and cultural aspects. In spite of their differences, many of them seemed to reach by different ways at the same conclusion. The *Greek Sonderweg* from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and especially after the inauguration of the Modern Greek state, was considered responsible for the current crisis, either in the sense of a deviance from an alleged "European norm" or in that of the culmination of a Western-origin distortion of one undetermined indigenous "essence". Drawing insights from certain works of Modern Greek historiography and combining them with certain strands of Modernity Studies, I attempt to pose some questions as far as Greek modernity is concerned. I am interesting in the articulation of a hermeneutic approach which will show a greater sensitivity to the contingencies and ambivalences of modernity as such, and, specifically, of Greek modernity and its multiple faces.

**Andreas Lyberatos, European Constructions of Balkan Temporal Otherness. Views from the Past**

The construction of temporal otherness of non-Western societies – toeing or not an evolution line – has been, and still is a central legitimizing operation for the establishment and reproduction of European capitalist core's hegemony over its 'periphery' and the rest of the world. This operation has received sweeping critiques as a constitutive trait of Western *episteme* in various fields. The present paper investigates the Western travelling literature on the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire from the 16<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> c. with the purpose to shift attention to less institutionalized, more 'banal' expressions of this long process. Their analysis reveals basic mechanisms and strategies of representing and constructing the Balkan Other's time, highlights the importance of the micro-level, i.e. the representations of daily timekeeping practices and experiences, for the overall process and raises the question of the endurance in our days of these characteristically modern discursive practices.

### **Dobrinka Parusheva, State and Power in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Balkans: Modernization and/or Peripherization**

The present paper aims at discussing the main factors of social and political change in the Ottoman Empire which are at the core of the emerging independent national states in the region. The focus is on the political modernization in Romania (since 1859) and in Bulgaria (since 1879), with an analysis of similarities and differences in their development.

The magic key to success of modernisation of the Balkan states till the First World War, it is claimed, should be in the good balance between the main factors influencing the process – imperial legacy and Europeanisation (or modernization). Accommodating the “European” model(s) to the Balkans depends to a great extent on the knowledge and skills of those who rule: the political elite. If the elite fails, the modernization results in peripherization.

### **John Seed, Crisis? What Crisis? Historical Perspectives on the Present Crisis**

In this paper I want to come at the recuperation and de-politicisation of the global financial crisis of 2007-8 by thinking about how crises are constituted and managed through historical narratives. The so-called ‘winter of discontent’ in Britain in 1978-9 provides a relevant case study. Here was a crisis that *did* constitute a political watershed. It was the founding moment of Thatcherism and its successor, New Labour. How was that orchestrated? It concludes by raising questions about how the financial crisis in Europe has been constructed as a narrative about nation states. How is nation (Greece) and economic crisis articulated together with such a clear geographical boundary? And why is there no Irish crisis or Spanish crisis? What does it mean to think that crises are somehow nationally circumscribed? Is there not a crisis, or several crises, unevenly articulated across the EU and experienced in regions where no crisis is currently conceptualised? Is the ‘Greek’ crisis some kind of diversion from the bigger European or global crisis?

**Lina Venturas, The “profound transnational character” of state mechanisms and policies: International organizations and emigration from Greece in the 1950s**

The role of international organizations in diffusing hegemonic Western political, social, economic and cultural scripts in the postwar world has been extensively researched. Up to now, most relevant research on these issues has concentrated on the extremely asymmetrical relations between influential international organizations led by the global North, and states of the global South, where economic and development policies were largely dictated by the former.

This paper aims to explore a relatively different case. It will examine the relations between: on the one hand, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, a US-led post-war intergovernmental organization, created to regulate international migration, with a minor impact on world affairs; and, on the other hand, a state which, although considered part of the Western world, was relegated to its periphery, being relatively poor and powerless in the international sphere. It will focus on a specific historical conjuncture, the 1950s, during which Greece, as many other countries, largely depended on the globally-hegemonic US, in military, economic, political and cultural respects. By examining how the governance of a specific policy issue, namely international migration, was articulated and practiced in Greece during the 1950s, through the synergy of its state apparatus with an international organization, the paper seeks to investigate both the “profound transnational character” (Gupta-Ferguson 2002) of state governing mechanisms and policies and the asymmetries in the construction of models and standards of ‘stateness’.

**Antonis Hadjikyriacou & Daphne Lappa, Early modernity as the reflection of the neoliberal subject**

While discussing such diverse issues as religious identity, state organization, or institutional development, historians of the early modern world have increasingly been using the concept of fluidity and its cognate terms: accommodation, flexibility, elasticity, tolerance, pragmatism, exchange, encounter, etc. This lexicon has become a virtually indispensable tool for students of early modernity, particularly so those interested in avoiding the pitfalls of modernisation theory. Yet, this new historiography emerged at the specific conjuncture of the 1990s, when the end of the Cold War and the rise of multiculturalism as a political project both exerted an important degree of influence over these currents. Thus, while the apotheosis of early modern fluid identities challenges national teleologies and rigid categories, more often than not it concurrently romanticises a cosmopolitan past that was shuttered by modernity. The present condition of postmodernity or late modernity, understood as the loosening of certain aspects of nation-state governmentality, is further hereby implied as the reflection of early modernity. Far from a mere issue of anachronism, missing in this narrative are social hierarchies and the asymmetrical relations of power between individual and collective agents in different spatial and temporal contexts.

## **Eleni D. Andriakaina, Who Remembers Metis? Practical Knowledge, High Modernism and the 'Failures' of Modernization**

The paper enters into conversation with James C. Scott's study on High Modernism and his critique to scientism and utopian social engineering. In particular, it engages with the question *How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*, resulting in tragic unforeseen consequences. My interest here is oriented towards three interrelated areas regarding: a. the role of intellectuals and experts in the politics of modernization and in the various, capitalist or socialist, development programs; b. an interest in reflexivity in order to problematize the 'theory-praxis unity' by interjecting between the framework of theory production and the field of its application the 'concept' of *metis*, namely the craft of translation-interpretation of ideas into practice; c. an inquiry whether and how the critique of High Modernism could be appropriated to approach the problem of Greek modernity, that is the narratives of failed modernization. I argue that we could possibly exempt history from crude teleological accounts if we historicize the role of intellectuals and experts in the historical process by focusing not merely on their ideas and grand visions - i.e. on what they failed to achieve - but also on what they actually did, i.e. on the specific way they planned and attempted institutional modernization.

The paper is structured around the following sections:

1. Scientific Forestry: the Grammar of Experts, of the State and the Markets
2. Oh This (Damned) Reality! The 'Failure' and the Ecological Disaster
3. They Walk Among Us: High Modernism and Utopian Social Engineering
4. Zeus' belly and Zeus' Head: Practical Intelligence, the Perplexity of Philosophy
5. Metis, the Missing Link: From *High Theory-Praxis* to the Logic of Practice
6. The Rhetoric of Purity: the Polarity between Tradition and Modernity, the Disputes of Intellectuals and the Devouring of Metis
7. Instead of an Epilogue: *Whatever Metis Wins It Does Not Keep*

**Saturday, April 16**  
**Questioning the Concept of Europe**

**Giannis Balabanidis & Katerina Lambrinou, We, the (European?) People: populism in crisis**

The current economic crisis, along with the rise of populist political forces and the emergence of a new wave of euroscepticism, boosted theoretical discussion on populism. The main narratives of the Greek crisis, polarized around the concepts of populism and anti-populism, lead to a renegotiation of the European identity. In this paper, we examine the key literature on populism developed during the crisis in Greece, with the aim to approach (a) the way in which the populist (often eurosceptic) interpellations question "europeanism" and reevaluates populism as a progressive and egalitarian response to European Union's political crisis (b) the way in which anti-populist discourse understands and represents populism as a simplistic demagoguery that undermines the fundamentals of liberal democracy and the project of modernization through Europeanisation.

**Helen Yanakopoulos, We are Europeans. Transnational solidarity in Europe**

How can, and do, solidarity networks and movements opposing austerity transcend national boundaries across Europe? Is there a collective action frame around solidarity amongst European based civil society groups and are they linking across different countries? And could transnational mobilisation against 'austerity' generate a new idea of what it is to be European? These questions are driving the paper which is the beginning of an exploration of the concept of solidarity in Europe and how such solidaristic initiatives are being conceptualised and realised. The paper will broadly look at solidarity campaigns using the transnational advocacy network literature which encompasses the processes of framing, steering and norm setting around the issue of austerity.

**Dimitrios Gkintidis, Capitalist asymmetry as cultural deficit? Eurocentrism and idealist epistemology among technocratic elites in post-war Greece**

This presentation will build on recent ethnographic research conducted among high-ranked Greek technocrats specialized in the policies of European Integration; it will initially retrace the consolidation of this field of action over the last three decades, while it will further focus on the main discursive themes that these social agents enacted amidst the recent manifestation of the capitalist crisis in Greece.

To a great extent, this entails addressing the self-image of such social agents and their explicit endorsement of Eurocentric taxonomies, while at the same time reflecting on the centrality of the concepts of culture and morality in their reading of the capitalist economy and its crises. Hence, rather than viewing these taxonomies and symbolic constructs as 'elite prejudices' pertaining to the domain of Greece-Europe relations, this presentation will suggest that they bear a broader epistemological logic since they point to an overall anti-materialist, weberian-themed, understanding of the capitalist economy and its historical course.

Further to that, while cultural analyses and the pathologization of peripheral capitalisms can be seen as a recurring feature of post-WWII liberal governance and class hegemony, it will be argued that such idealist and moralized epistemologies have become particularly relevant in the post-1970s conjuncture of capitalist crisis and neoliberal restructuring. In the case of Greece, the political logic of such cultural or moral renderings of the structural antinomies of capitalism (e.g. through the idioms of 'corruption', 'clientelism', 'Oriental residues', etc.) has been evidenced in their complementary enactment by both 'austerity' and 'anti-austerity', 'right-wing' and 'left-wing' bourgeois political forces over the last years. In this sense, the radicalized eurocentrism of older and new elites will be analyzed as an inevitable response to the urgent contractionary features of Greek capitalism in its search for profitability.

**Nicos Phillipou & Mike Hajimichael, Conflicting Hegemonies/ The "Problem" of Cypriot Identity - Modernity and Othering processes**

Cypriot identity is a contested term and is given different content by different sections of Cypriot society as well as by outsiders. Cyprus is located at a geographical point which is understood to be the end of the West or the beginning of the East, the border between the Orient and the Occident, the point where cultures meet and clash. In this perceived binary opposition between East and West, Cyprus forms an ambiguous category or territory. Locals tend to see their selves as Europeans or cultural ancestors of European civilizations. Outsiders such as travelling artists, writers, ethnographers and the like are not uniformly convinced. Some construct a Cyprus that belongs to the Orient. Others perceive and construct the country as 'Half-Oriental' or as a cultural hybrid. 'Europeaness' is also a political discourse in the contemporary political landscape of Cyprus. There is no significant political party

which has leaving the European Union (a CY-Exit) as its main political objective. Additionally joining the EU was closely tied with solving the Cyprus Problem and creating an added sense of security for The Republic of Cyprus. We have also witnessed the formation and demise of 'European' Parties, such as EVROKO, The European Party (2005-16). In a wider sense notions of Europe/being European/being in the EU are closely tied in with identity, discourse and different fractured perceptions / interpretations of what it means to be Cypriot/Greek/Turkish/European, and how in turn perceptions of 'others' (non-Europeans) are often framed in an everyday sense as 'bad', 'substandard' and 'unwanted'.

### **Tao Papaioannou, Constructions in news and social media of anti-austerity protests in the EU: A comparative approach**

Although the Eurozone crisis is typically identified by a singular term, it actually consists of a series of interrelated economic crises that have generated public discontent, exacerbated conflicts within the European Union (EU) and questioned the future of European integration. During these crises, a number of anti-austerity protests have taken place, condemning the neoliberal concept of democracy and global capitalism. The scope, scale and contention of these protests have produced opportunities for them being portrayed and interpreted in multiple ways in news and social media, nationally and across Europe. This paper argues that understanding contemporary media politics of dissent, in the context of anti-austerity protests, requires comparative examination across mainstream and critical media, developmental trajectories of protests and issues of conflict in their political and national contexts. This approach allows for analysis of established and grassroots media practices and their interrelations in public sphere struggle for representation and consensus making. Further, instead of identifying invariant causes and effects, an alternative is proposed to explore the mechanisms, processes and narratives that occur in the progression of protests and that have led to different outcomes in different contexts. Finally, several empirical studies are presented to demonstrate the utility of such a comparative perspective and the need to further develop it.

### **Christos Kanellopoulos & Sotiria Liakaki, In the name of an "order" that holds: Could the European Union be an "essentially contested concept"?**

For the last twenty years we are witnessing a slow but steady and unyielding European downward spiral into never-ending austerity policies. How did the Eurozone come to this? And what about the European ideal of nations living together in peace and prosperity? Our take on the matter considers how in the midst of a severe European economic and political crisis the institutional and policy configuration of the Eurozone revealed its "ordoliberal" character that both confronts and limits any other economic option for a different kind of policy mix. In this context and inspired by the "essentially contested concept" theory, among others, we will attempt to understand how the crisis redefined and continues to redefine the European Union.

### **Miguel Vincente-Marino, Framing grievances in Spanish media during the financial crisis: the notion of Nation**

*15 May is marked as a symbolic date in the Spanish collective memory due to its implications for collective action. Since that spring in 2011, the Spanish public opinion has experienced interesting (and fast) processes of change that has been transferred to other spheres, namely the political and media arenas. Walking parallel to this open debate, the relation between Spanish and Catalan Governments started to become a source of social and political tension in an already conflictive scenario.*

In this talk, I will focus on the public debate about the (absence of) dialogue between political leaders and its consequences in terms of increasing the feeling of distance and confrontation between Madrid and Barcelona. Some media companies have fuelled this polarization with editorial lines clearly stimulating the clash between governments and societies, whereas some other have unfruitfully claimed for the need of dialogue. In this political discussion, the financial crisis has always remained as a core argument for both sides, as the consequences of the cuts in the public sectors are presented to the society as the main reason for preserving the current status quo and for fostering the independence of Catalonia: depending on who speaks, one will find that the individual victims of the crisis are appealed (and used) to back up any singular position. Consequently, I will explore the way Spanish media framed grievances and victims under the lights of an external political debate that is, most of the times, away from the needs and worries of those individuals. This will be confronted with the changing outcomes found in the diverse elections carried out in Spain and Catalonia since 2011 until 2015.

### **Michael Chanan & Lee Salter, 'Money Puzzles': the Greek chapters**

'Money Puzzles' is a documentary about money and debt, filmed in the UK, Greece, Belgium, Spain and Argentina, which examines the myriad forms of money in the twenty-first century; questions the role of debt in creating invisible and shadowy economies; probes the nature of debt at national, municipal and household levels; and asks what happens when debts become unpayable. Made at a moment when a new anti-austerity politics is emerging across Europe, the film also looks at the solidarity and anti-austerity movements which have been building up since the financial crash of 2008, and points to an alternative conception of economics which challenges dominant ideas about economic growth. The Greek chapters were filmed in May 2015, and in July, in the days following the capitulation to Brussels.

**Georgios Agelopoulos, To whom are the Greeks bearing gifts? Identity politics during the refugee crisis**

According to the UNHCR estimations more than 880.00 refugees and migrants arrived in Greece during 2015. The Greek state was totally unprepared to cope with such a humanitarian disaster. Taking into consideration the tremendous negative results of economic austerity on the state's infrastructure and on the Greek society, it is difficult to explain how the needs of the refugees had been actually covered. Solidarity to the refugees has to be understood in the social and political context of the nation state. Recent ethnographic studies of Greece provide a critical understanding of solidarity movements on Greece as a form of gift giving. This paper relates the development of solidarity movements in Greece to a number of factors such as the positive perceptions over refugees historically established in Greece since the early 20th century, the segmentary politics which constitute a structural element of modern Greek society, the native versions of multiculturalism existing in Greece since the 1980s, the resistance practices experienced since the December 2008 uprising in main Greek cities, the activist knowhow developed against economic austerity since 2010 and the accommodation of Greeks in European politics and to the recent changes in the Greek political system.

**Lee F. Monaghan and Micheal O'Flynn, The Madoffization of Irish Society: Interrogating Class Power in an Age of Fictitious Capital**

Class power has been advanced in contemporary Ireland through financialization, comprising fictitious capital that fuelled the infamous Celtic Tiger. This debt-fuelled boom was characterized by speculation, with government policy furthering the interests of property developers and creditors, leading to an increasingly unstable financial pyramid. Though the crash demonstrated that much of the wealth creation was in fact private debt creation, this did nothing to mitigate the pervasive influence of finance capital over broader institutions. On the contrary, the dominance of finance capital - its capacity to preserve claims on wealth and burden the public with interest-bearing debt - was demonstrated in full. Furthering calls to demonstrate sociology's relevance following the Great Financial Crisis, this paper critiques the matrix of exploitative class relations and practices evidenced in (post) Celtic Tiger Ireland. Attention is directed at structures, institutions and discourses that contributed to, or facilitated, the illusions of sustainable growth alongside efforts to maintain secrecy and silence, obfuscations, and ultimately the post-crash scapegoating of myriad targets.

We call this the Madoffization of society, since the core enabling elements were paralleled in Bernard Madoff's US\$65bn Ponzi scheme which collapsed in 2008. In conclusion, calls are made to transform capitalism by grappling with a financialized reality that is formally comparable to a con game.

### **Evgenia Iliadou, Reflections from a detention centre in Lesbos Island (Greece)**

Drawing upon a former working experience during 2008-2013 as a practitioner in various detention centres for irregular migrants in Greece and activist participation in networks supporting refugees, I aim to discuss some reflections concerning Pagani detention centre in Lesbos Island (Greece).

Pagani detention centre was a closed detention centre, located at a Greek island in the North Aegean Sea at the borders with Turkey, which operated during 2005-2010. It which was highly criticised, because of the violations of human rights and violence taking place on an everyday basis, as the worst prison in Europe during 2009, as a "*humanitarian crisis*", due to the increased numbers of irregular migrants packed into inhuman conditions, whilst Lesbos was criticised as the main gate to Europe. By reflecting through pictures and drawings by former detainees, I aim to emphasize that the "*humanitarian crisis*" of the previous years was gradually developed into today's Greece's "*refugee crisis*", thus is not a new phenomenon, but rather old. Additionally, I aim to highlight that "*humanitarian /refugee crisis*", deployed at the same time with the financial crisis in Greece (2010-) constitutes of a crisis within the crisis.

### **Giorgos Tsimouris & Elisabeth Kirtsoglou, Greece as a borderland in the age of refugee crisis and securitization: rethinking Europe from its borders**

The year 2015 Greece, the 'undisciplined' and marginal 'European other' was found again at the center of European politics not only with regard to the tactics of the government of the left attempting to line up its policies according its pre-election commitments and at the same time to manage a non-viable debt, but also because Greece became the largest gate through which almost one million of refugees and non documented immigrants entered the European territory.

On the top of that, the Paris terrorist attacks of December of 2015 brought at the center of European interest the issue of securitization of borders and in this respect Greece as the main gate of entrance of refugees and immigrants. Despite of the fact that, 6 out of the 8 terrorists were European citizens the attack operated as a pretext for the implementation of strict border and immigration policies. Paradoxically, not only in France but also in Hungary and Poland the decision to close the borders in the peak of refugee crisis increased the popularity of the anti-immigrant leaders while Merkel in Germany, supporting more open immigration policies saw her popularity to diminish.

Our aim in this paper is twofold:

Firstly to frame and to discuss in theoretical terms these rapid developments.

Secondly to raise further questions about Greece as a borderland not merely on geographical grounds but because in Greece and in the Aegean Sea European immigration policies manifest a blatant gap between the rhetoric of European values and the realities of European biopolitics and thanatopolitics.

## Modernization, Europe and Nation-State



ΠΑΝΤΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ  
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ

15 - 17 April 2016, Athens  
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences  
KENI – Research Centre for Modern History

136 Syngrou Av., Athens 176 71 Greece \*

We want to thank Nikos Theotokas & Stefanos Papageorgiou, Dept. of Political Science & History - KENI., Yannis Filos, Dept. of Public Administration and Christina Koulouri, Dept. of Political Science & History - KENI. I am grateful beyond words to Niki Karaoulani and Golfo Liatsou (ELKE - Research Committee, Panteion University) for their great support and invaluable help.

\* by Metro: red line Anthoupoli – Elliniko, Metro Station “Fix” (about 800 m.)