

ANNA VISVIZI

ON THE FRINGE:
GREECE, MIGRATION, AND POPULISM*

INTRODUCTION

The twin refugee and migration crises that peaked over the period 2015-2016 revealed that Europe, including the European Union (EU) and non-member countries, was unprepared to address the unprecedented influx of migrants in a timely, coordinated and sustainable manner. Several factors contributed to that, including most profoundly misperceptions about the nature of irregular migratory flows that Europe was exposed too. As a result, responses to the twin crises were misguided. In other words, “although migrants moved across Europe in an absolute disregard to borders and the Schengen regime, the policy responses have remained limited to the space within states”.¹ Moreover, even though research suggests that the challenge of increased migratory flows to Europe is to intensify over the next 50 years,² the EU-level response to the 2015-2016 wave of migration was limited to ad hoc plans contained in a very restricted time-frame of action. Only gradually more comprehensive ways of addressing the challenge of irregular migratory flows have been negotiated by the key EU-level actors.³

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¹ Colette G. MAZZUCELLI, Anna VISVIZI and Ronald BEE, “Secular States in a ‘Security Community’: The Migration-Terrorism Nexus?”, *Journal of Strategic Security* 9(3) (2016) Fall: 16-27. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.9.3.1545>, p. 24.

² IOM, World Migration Report 2015, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Geneva, 2015.

³ EUROPEAN COMMISSION, “A European Agenda on Migration,” *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee*

At the political level, the inability to address the migration and refugee crises and their implications promptly, led to a heated debate among the key EU level actors,⁴ eventually creating a chasm between the European Commission and some EU member-states. In the resultant debate, members of the Visegrad Group were featured most prominently⁵ and, hence, were showcased as examples of lacking EU solidarity. Notably, the twin refugee and migration crises and the contested relocation scheme proposed by the European Commission in 2015 created an opportunity for several governments of the EU member states to shift domestic debates on migration to EU level discourses, for the sake of quite different political objectives.⁶ Overall, the euro-area crisis, similarly as fears of globalization a decade earlier, encouraged voices contesting the EU and its legitimacy;⁷ populist voices gained in strength. The refugee and migration crises added to the dynamics underpinning these voices.⁸ For instance, given the surge in terrorism that coincided with the migration and refugee crises, an unwelcome migration-terrorism nexus established itself as an important figure in popular discourses across Europe in 2015 and 2016.⁹ It was subsequently employed to contest the EU in domestic level discourses, e.g. in Hungary, for very particular political reasons.

Paradoxically, in countries most seriously exposed to the implications of irregular migratory flows, such as Greece, Italy and Spain, migration has not been used as a resource of political competition in the same manner as it was the case elsewhere. By reference to the case of Greece, the objective of this paper is to delve into the question of why migration has not been employed as a resource of political competition. To this end, the argument is structured as follows. The first section contextualized migration in contemporary Greece. Against this backdrop, the scale and implications of the refugee and migration crises as experienced in

and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels, 13.05.2015 COM(2015) 240 final; cf. EUROPEAN COMMISSION, "Progress Report on the European Agenda on Migration," *Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council and the Council*, SWD(2017) 372 final.

⁴ Lili BAYER, "Hungary Says Refugee Ruling 'Raped' EU Law", *Politico*, 9(2017)/6/17, <https://www.politico.eu/article/hungary-says-ecj-ruling-on-refugee-quotas-has-raped-eu-law-asylum-seekers-italy-greece-relocation-scheme/>, accessed February 01, 2018.

⁵ Marta PACHOCKA, "Understanding the Visegrad Group States' Response to the Migrant and Refugee Crises 2014+ in the European Union", *Yearbook of Polish European Studies* 19(2016): 101-32.

⁶ This mechanism was thoroughly discussed some time ago Hay and Rosamond, cf. Colin HAY and Ben ROSAMOND, "Globalization, European Integration and the Discursive Construction of Economic Imperatives," *Journal of European Public Policy* 9 (2002), Iss. 2.

⁷ Christian SCHWEIGER, *Exploring the EU's Legitimacy Crisis: The Dark Heart of Europe* (Cheltenham: Elgar Publishing, 2016).

⁸ Cf. Rafał RIEDEL, "Populism and Its Democratic, Non-Democratic, and Anti-Democratic Potential," *Polish Sociological Review* 3 (199) (2017): 287-298.

⁹ MAZZUCELLI, VISVIZI and BEE, "Secular States in a 'Security Community'," 16-27.

Greece are discussed. In what follows, the specificity of the parliamentary discourse on migration is explored. Brief conclusions follow.

1. CONTEXTUALIZING MIGRATION IN CONTEMPORARY GREECE

Even if Greece has been most profoundly exposed to the migration and refugee crises that peaked in 2015-2016 and migratory flows have continued throughout 2017, migration has not been employed as a resource of political competition in Greece. To understand the way migration is being handled in Greece and how individual migrants are treated by members of the Greek society, it is important to shed light on the inter-subjective context, through which migration, an unavoidable social phenomenon, is conceptualized in contemporary Greece. This set of intersubjective factors is strengthened by more tangible factors, such as those related to options and alternatives available to Greece's foreign and security policy in the aftermath of the sovereign-debt crisis and war in Syria.

In terms of culture, history, and ideologies that define the socio-political process, Greece remains *terra incognita*, even if – as in the case of Poland – the heritage of Ancient Greece has had a profound impact on literature, language, and culture in general. Modern history of Greece, similarly like that of Poland, especially regarding the process of re-storing statehood and sovereignty, exhibits a pattern of tragedy, suspense, unfulfilled dreams, and a bitter-sweet aftertaste. Therefore, to understand contemporary Greece and to conceptualize the refugee and migration crises as figures of political discourse, it is important to consider the following few points.

First point being past and present, the heritage of Ancient Greece and contemporaneity overlap in modern Greece, perhaps best captured by the remains of Themistocles' Wall of Stones in today's Piraeus, smoothly melting into the fabric of modern buildings at the sea side. Clearly, the Greek language relentlessly bridges the two worlds together thus consolidating a unique perception of time, space and socio-historical processes so specific to the Greek mentality.¹⁰ The tradition and heritage of Ancient Greece and Byzantium remains vivid in today's Greece, similarly as the scars left on the social fabric by the over 400 years of Ottoman occupation. Notably, as a result Greece did not experience the processes of modernization and modern-state formation in a way that most of countries in Europe did. In this sense, and somewhat paradoxically, modern

¹⁰ A similar, hear-touching experience, was beautifully described by Karolina Lanckoronska in her war memoirs, cf. Karolina LANCKORONSKA, *Wspomnienia wojenne*, Warszawa: Wyd. Znak, 2001), 315.

Greece remains a relatively young state, severely tried by fate and history. The case of the post-WW2 developments is equally telling here.

Following the October 1944 agreement reached at Kremlin between Stalin and Churchill, the spheres of influence in Greece were divided between the Allies (90%) and the Soviet Union (10%). As a result, even if Greece did not share the tragedy of East-Central Europe and did not experience communism in the form well-known to countries in that region, it has been left in a geopolitical limbo, i.e. on the fringe of the free world, with the gate to the Soviet Union wide open.¹¹ This has had a lasting effect both on Greece's geopolitical alternatives and Greece's political scene.¹²

Throughout its history, ancient and modern, Greece and its population experienced migration; suffice it to mention the wave of migration that followed the Turkish-Greek War of 1919-1922. At that time around 2 million Greeks were forcibly moved and/or lost their de jure homelands. The Second World War (WW2) brought devastating population losses as high as 560,000;¹³ note that in line with the pre-war census, Greece was inhabited by roughly 7, 5 million people.¹⁴ This tragedy was followed by mass migration from rural areas to cities and emigration over the period 1950-1974, when "more than one million Greeks migrated ... Western Europe, the U.S., Canada, and Australia".¹⁵ The sovereign debt crisis of 2010, economic recession and the unemployment that followed, resulted in mass exodus of Greeks. Estimates suggest that ca. 427,000 people have left Greece over the period 2008-2016, most of which were educated.¹⁶

The discussion on factors constitutive of the inter-subjective lens through which migration and refugee crises are conceptualized in Greece would not be complete

¹¹ Anna VISVIZI, "Democracy or Demagogy? The Greek Political Actors on the Sovereign Debt Crisis," in *Distant Voices. Ideas on Democracy and the Eurozone Crisis*, ed. Lise Rye, Rostra Books Trondheim Studies in History (Trondheim, Norway: Akademika Publishing, 2013), 23-50.

¹² Cf. Artur ADAMCZYK "Greece in NATO: Evolution of Interests in the Context of Changes in the International Environment", *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe/Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 15 (2017), Iss. 4: 119-140; Tomasz STĘPNIŃSKI, *Geopolityka regionu Morza Czarnego w pozimnowojennym świecie* [The Geopolitics of the Black Sea Region in the Post-Cold War World] (Lublin-Warszawa: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2011).

¹³ Jean BAXEVANIS, "Population, Internal Migration and Urbanization in Greece," *Balkan Studies*, 1965, <https://ojs.lib.uom.gr/index.php/BalkanStudies/article/view/582/589>

¹⁴ BAXEVANIS, Population, internal migration and urbanization in Greece."

¹⁵ Charalam KASIMIS and Chryssa KASSIMI, "Greece: A History of Migration," June 1, 2004, Migration Policy Institute (MPI), <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/greece-history-migration>, accessed January 15, 2018.

¹⁶ KATHIMERINI, "Human Capital is Greece's No 1 export," Kathimerini English Edition, June 19, 2016, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/210585/article/ekathimerini/news/humancapitalisgreecesno1export>, accessed January 15, 2018.

without a mention of the 2010 sovereign debt crisis and its implications.¹⁷ Consider the Greece's GDP (current prices) dropped 27.3 percent over the period 2008-2015,¹⁸ and average annual unemployment rates rose from 7.8 percent in 2008 to 24.9 in 2015 (it peaked at 27.5 in 2013).¹⁹ Gross fixed capital formation, i.e. investments, fell from 23.8 percent of GDP in 2008 to 11.7 percent of GDP in 2015.²⁰ These developments were accompanied by related drop in savings level and dramatic increase in the percentage of population leaving below the poverty level. Estimates suggest that 15% of the population lived in extreme poverty in 2015. In 2011, the percentage was 8.9%. In 2009, it did not exceed 2.2%.²¹ Overall, it can be argued that historically determined perception of time and space, mentality, recent experience with migration and the ramifications of the sovereign debt crisis have played a profound role in shaping the interpretive lens through which irregular migratory flows are conceptualized in contemporary Greece.

2. GREECE AND THE TWIN MIGRATION AND REFUGEE CRISES OF 2015-2016

Over the period 2015-2016 past two years, over 1 million migrants arrived by sea on the shores of Greece; a country of roughly 11 million people. The amount of suffering and unprecedented depth of human tragedy, placed Greece, once again, in the spotlight of media attention worldwide. As accounts of heroic, generous, and welcoming Greeks have won the hearts of the international audience, thousands of volunteers from all over the world rushed to contribute to the grassroots effort to manage the migratory flow in Greece. Despite the EU emergency refugee relocation system enacted in fall 2015, as of August 2016 only 3,386 refugees have been relocated from Greece to other EU member states. In late August 2016, about 58,580 migrants were still located in reception centres in Greece. There has been an increase in arrivals by sea following the attempted July coup in Turkey and the resulting uncertainty regarding the implementation of the March 2016 agreement between the EU and Turkey on stopping irregular migration.

¹⁷ Cf. Anna VISVIZI, "The Crisis in Greece and the EU-IMF Rescue Package: Determinants and Pitfalls," *Acta Oeconomica*, 62 (2012), Iss. 1 pp. 15-39.

¹⁸ Eurostat, http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=nama_10_gdp&lang=en

¹⁹ Eurostat, http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=une_rt_a&lang=en

²⁰ Eurostat, *Gross Fixed Capital Formation*, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/refreshTable Action.do?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=tec00011&language=en](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/refreshTableAction.do?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=tec00011&language=en)

²¹ Thodoris GEORGAKOPOULOS, "Extreme Poverty in Greece," Dianeosis Research and Policy Institute, June 2016, <https://www.dianeosis.org/en/2016/06/extreme-poverty-greece-survey/>, accessed January 15, 2018.

Over the period January-July 2016, 176,743 arrivals to Greece were recorded. It was followed by a significant drop in arrivals' numbers in 2017. Although the majority of migrants originate from Syria, migrants from Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan constituted a sizeable part of the migration wave. Experience related to managing irregular migratory flows to Greece over the years 2008-2012 suggests that it is difficult to estimate the cost of managing irregular migration flows and to assess their effectiveness.²² With regard to the current wave of migration, in March 2016, the Bank of Greece published data suggesting that 2016 alone, the cost of managing the migration crisis will exceed EUR 600 million.²³ Given the fact that the number of migrants increased, the cost will rise. Since the beginning of 2015, emergency assistance of EUR 181 million has been awarded by the European Commission to Greek authorities, international organizations and NGOs involved in managing the migration crisis in Greece. This emergency assistance comes on top of EUR 509 million already allocated to Greece under the national programs for 2014-2020.²⁴ Time will show how this assistance will be disbursed.

Discussing Greece's exposure to the migration and refugee crises, very little attention has been paid to the trauma that the tiny local communities in Greece endured. Hundreds of unnamed migrant graves, bodies washed ashore, mountains of safety jackets, human suffering: all these have left a mark on the local communities. Another rarely talked about issue is that of the negative implications of the migration wave for safety and security on the islands. There has also been very little discussion on unregistered migrants inhabiting mainland Greece. From a different angle, many of those who arrived and are stranded in the reception centres are still hopeful that they will leave Greece. This has adverse impact on attempts aimed at integrating those individuals in the Greek society. In these circumstances, the question is what makes the political actors abstain from employing migration in an instrumental manner? To explain this, this next section will shed light on the specificity of the Greek political scene.

²² Danaï ANGELI, Anna TRIANAFYLLIDOU, Angelika DIMITRIADI, "Assessing the Costeffectiveness of Irregular Migration Control Policies in Greece," MIDAS Policy Paper, October 2014, ELIAMEP, Athens.

²³ KATHIMERINI "Migrant Costs to Exceed 600 Million Euros, Says Greek Central Bank," *Kathimerini*, 2016-03-13, accessed January 15, 2018 <http://www.ekathimerini.com/206939/article/ekathimerini/business/migrantcoststoexceed600millioneurossaysgreekcentralbank>.

²⁴ EUROPEAN COMMISSION, "Managing the Refugee Crisis: EU Financial Support to Greece," *Fact Sheet, Migration and Home Affairs*, 2016-04-12, <http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/homeaffairs/whatwedo/policies/europeanagendamigration/background>

3. THE GREEK POLITICAL ACTORS AND MIGRATION

As a result of the sovereign debt crisis and the resultant fiscal adjustment and economic reform programs, so-called Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) curated by Greece's international creditors, the Greek political scene has remained fragmented and unstable since 2010. The case of three cycles of elections that were needed in 2012 to build a government attests to that.²⁵ The early elections of January 2015 shook the Greek political scene by granting an unprecedented victory to SYRIZA – otherwise an outlier on the Greek political spectre – who won the elections on a populist anti-MoU mandate. Irrespective of its victory, following the September 2015 elections, the leftist SYRIZA was forced to form a coalition government, with no other junior partner than the ideologically opposite, right wing Independent Greeks' party. As Table 1 depicts, several other parties/movements have made it to the Greek parliament, including the New Democracy, The River, Golden Dawn, the Communist Party (KKE), and PASOK. None of them, either was asked or considered, joining the SYRIZA-led coalition government.

Table 1. The Key Actors on the Greek Political Scene Following the January & September 2015 General Elections

Name of the party	Number of seats	Percentage	Number of seats	Percentage
SYRIZA	149	36,34	145	35,46
New Democracy	76	27,81	75	28,10
The River	17	6,28	11	4,09
Golden Dawn	17	6,05	18	6,99
Communist Party (KKE)	15	5,47	15	5,59
Independent Greeks	13	4,75	10	3,69
PASOK	13	4,68	–	–
–	Democratic Coalition (PASOK–DIMAR)		17	6,28
–	ENOSI KENTEON		9	3,43

Source: HELLENIC PARLIAMENT (2015) *Election Results*, <http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/en/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/To-Politevma/Ekloges/Eklogika-apotelesmata-New/#Per-17> (2017-07-03)

²⁵ VISVIZI, "The Crisis in Greece."

To understand the dynamics shaping the developments on the Greek political scene it is important to consider the following points. Until 2012, the Greek political scene was dominated by two parties, including the centrist right-wing New Democracy and the socialist PASOK. The left end of the political spectre was populated by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and SYRIZA. It is important to note the difference between the two. KKE is a party deeply entrenched in the communist dogma, its rhetoric resembles that of the Stalinist era. Ideologically-wise, KKE remains devoted to proletariat and class struggle. KKE plays an important systemic role as the guardian of the purity of the communist idea and ideals; regardless if these have been discredited elsewhere in the world and in Europe in particular. As such, KKE is an ardent adversary of SYRIZA, which – in KKE’s view – abuses the ideals of the ‘true left’. As far as SYRIZA itself, it is difficult to gauge its identity today. Several reasons contribute to that:

(i) following the landslide loss that PASOK incurred in successive rounds of the 2012 elections, several members of PASOK migrated to SYRIZA; (ii) SYRIZA’s rise to power and Tsipras’ role as the PM, forced Tsipras to change the, until then at least benign, attitude to anarchists factions of SYRIZA; (iii) SYRIZA’s role in the government, and so in negotiations with Greece’s international creditors, forced Tsipras to drop the majority of SYRIZA’s populist electoral promises and be vocal about reforms contradicting the mandate that brought SYRIZA to power; (iv) the de facto ideological U-turn of SYRIZA has been a source of dissatisfaction within SYRIZA, either causing several of its influential members leave the party, or leading to the emergence of a serious caucus of opposition within SYRIZA. Thus, it remains an open question how long party discipline and personal loyalty to Tsipras will hold.

On the right end of the political spectre lies the hotly debated Golden Dawn frequently discussed in foreign media in context of the emergence of fascist currents in Europe. The rise of Golden Dawn, a right-wing extremist party, is directly linked to the rise of the extreme left on the Greek political scene; thus, it is systemic. In the May 2012 elections, Golden Dawn won 21 seats in the Greek parliament. This caused confusion in some circles outside Greece. Discursive interventions of its members, moving in a broad space defined by nationalism, socialism, and demagogy, certainly did not gain them friends in the Greek parliament. As a result, Golden Dawn was contained in the Greek Parliament, with no prospect of joining a caucus and thus exercising influence on Greek politics.²⁶ Moreover, over the period 2013-2014, the Samaras’ government

²⁶ VISVIZI, “The Crisis in Greece.”

launched inquiries into allegations on Golden Dawns' unlawful behaviour; this was followed by measures aimed at curbing instances of breaches of law. As a result, several Golden Dawn members were tried and imprisoned. This notwithstanding, in the January 2015 elections, Golden Dawn, won 17 seats in the Greek Parliament and in September 2015 18 seats, with no prospect whatsoever of being invited to join the coalition government.

The question of the centre of the Greek political scene is a difficult one. Traditionally it was divided between PASOK and ND. With the post-2010 demise of PASOK, several contenders raised claims to the vacuum it left on the political scene. Surprisingly, it was SYRIZA that skilfully claimed a serious chunk of the space left. The remaining space has been claimed by POTAMI, a movement whose social and political clout seems to be wearing out quickly. ND itself, under the leadership of – as many observers say – untested Kyriakos Mitsotakis, tries to re-invent itself by balancing in-between its more liberal and more conservative factions. The truth is, nevertheless, that in face of commitments that Greece has vis-à-vis its creditors, there is no space for ideological and programmatic experiments in the centre of the Greek political spectre today.

Given the specificity of the Greek political scene heavily influenced by the MoUs and the resulting fiscal policy commitments, the important question is how the key actors operating on Greek political scene address the issue of migration? As mentioned in the introduction, a tacit consensus has emerged in Greece that migration will not be used as a resource of political competition. Five issues should be outlined to explain the mechanism behind this development.

The first crucial factor explaining why migration is not employed in Greece in an instrumental way is that no political actor that considers itself a serious political player would do that. Failure to comply with this tacit consensus would discredit any political actor and would propel mechanisms leading to that actor's containment on the political scene. The case of Golden Dawn attests to that. Secondly, the mainstream Greek media comply with that tacit consensus and do not exacerbate argumentative duels of potentially negative and populist inclinations. In other words, upright information on relevant migration-related developments will be what the audience gets.

What follows, thirdly, migration occupies a very specific position in the Greek political discourse. Migrants have become a part of the landscape of Greek cities and countryside, including the islands. In connection to that it is important to realize the following.

The amount of human tragedy that unfolded in Greece in connection to the influx of migrants and refugees via the Mediterranean route and the enormous rescue and shelter effort that the Greek society extended to the masses of incoming individuals, limit the scope of haphazard and light-hearted references to migration. Likewise, they do not allow its direct instrumental use.

As a result, migration is viewed as an unavoidable phenomenon. It is discussed mainly through the lens of technical challenges that the management of increased, irregular, mixed migratory flows generates. Greece's obligations towards ensuring effective management of population influx within the framework of Schengen Agreement, international humanitarian law, refugee law, and the emerging EU migration regime constitute important tenets that frame the debate.

Throughout 2015-2016, arguments picking on shortcomings related to the delivery of these commitments were occasionally employed to criticize the SYRIZA government. Importantly, migration itself never served as the resource of political competition. Moreover, arguments of that kind would form only a part of larger argumentative schemes employed by SYRIZA's opponents to blame SYRIZA on different issues.

Another, fourth, factor that may help understand the emergence of the implicit consensus concerning migration is the fact that over the past 40 years Greece received several waves of migration, the largest one from Albania in early 1990s. At that time, following the collapse of the communist regime in Albania and the subsequent opening of borders, Greece received about 1 million of Albanians. Many of them fuelled the, at that time vibrant, construction industry and other sectors of the Greek economy.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that in Greece, ridden by economic recession, massive unemployment, reversed brain-drain, no investment, shrinking savings' levels, and rising impoverishment of the society,²⁷ other issues set the tone and content of political discourse and serve as resources of political competition. These are: Greece's debt (and its sustainability) and the Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs), i.e. the content of economic adjustment programs for Greece, the resultant conditionality, and prospect of access to successive tranches of funds that will enable Greece to service its debt. What follows is that, given the foreign policy implications of Greece's lock-in between its commitments towards international creditors and its ability to service its debt, Greece is not well-suited to

²⁷ Anna VISVIZI, "Greece, the Greeks, and the Crisis: Reaching Beyond 'That's how it Goes'," *Carnegie Ethics Online*, 2016, Sept. 7, http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles_papers_reports/787

question EU-level agreements concerning migration. Therefore, there is no space for Greek political actors to use migration instrumentally in EU-level discourses to promote certain domestic policy interests and objectives.

CONCLUSIONS

In Greece a very clear attempt aimed to avoid instrumental use of migration can be identified. Specific socio-economic developments as well as intersubjective context through which migration is interpreted in Greece pre-empt its use for the sake of demagoguery and populism. From a different angle, as dramatic implications of the 2010 sovereign debt crisis render the key discourses converge around matters directly related to economic situation in the country, migration is “just” another tenet of the challenging reality. Indeed, migration, so as migrants, established itself as a part of everyday life; gradually, also the newly arrived pave their way into their new lives in Greece.

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GRECJA, MIGRACJA I POPULIZM

Streszczenie

Światowy kryzys finansowy oraz kryzys w strefie euro i ich implikacje stanowiły przyczynek dla ożywienia demagogii i populizmu w krajach Unii Europejskiej (UE). W okresie 2015-2016 kryzysy uchodźczy i migracyjny wzmocniły dynamikę tychże tendencji, tym bardziej że rozgrywająca się na poziomie UE debata na temat migracji stworzyła możliwość wykorzystania tejże, debaty a przez to

migracji, do realizacji – niekoniecznie związanych z migracją – celów polityki wewnętrznej wielu krajów członkowskich. Paradoxem jest, że choć Grecja bodajże najbardziej odczuła efekty kryzysów uchodźczego i migracyjnego, migracja nie została wykorzystana w Grecji jako element konkurencji politycznej. Niniejszy artykuł identyfikuje i analizuje czynniki, które się do tego przyczyniły.

Słowa kluczowe: migracja; kryzys; populizm; Grecja; uchodźcy.

ON THE FRINGE: GREECE, MIGRATION, AND POPULISM

S u m m a r y

The global financial crisis and the euro area crisis and their implications, triggered populism and demagogy, which have fed on people's ignorance, confusion and despair. As no common EU-level response to the refugee and migration crises was negotiated promptly, over the period 2015-2016 the EU-level debate on migration created a new opportunity for domestic political actors to employ migration as a resource of political competition at home. Paradoxically, in Greece, i.e. a country so profoundly exposed to the unprecedented influx of migrants, migration has not been used as a resource of political competition. This paper identifies and examines factors that have contributed to that.

Key words: migration; crisis; populism; Greece; refugees.