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1. Introduction

Modern Greek identity has not been solely the result of an internal 'creation' process. It has been articulated and elaborated in the wider European context that drew the links between Greek modernity and classic antiquity. The narratives of modern Greek identity have thus been largely articulated in and then imported from western Europe as 'components of a broader representation of the sources of European civilization' (Tsoukalas 2002: 75). The word 'modern' was automatically connected with the creation of the Greek state that gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, thus noting the creation of the new entity but also affirming a link of continuity with the Hellenic ancestral past. Actually etymologically the word '*neos*' in Greek is used to note something 'new', 'novel', 'young' but may also be used to note something 'modern', almost as a short, colloquial version of the social scientific term '*neoterikos*'. Thus while '*neoterikotita*' is the term used for modernity, the word used to note the 'modern' Greek state is '*neo*'.

Indeed, Greek society and the 'modern' Greek state are young or new but hardly modern. As we shall explain in more detail later, Greek society has been marked since the national war of liberation from the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s, by two competing and conflictual cultures that survive to this day, nearly two centuries later. The oldest of these two cultures has been called the 'underdog' culture (Diamandouros 1993: 4, see also Mouzelis 1995) and is essentially pre-modern, pre-democratic, anti-Western, traditionalist with a powerful statist orientation and a strong imprint of the Orthodox Church's influence. The second culture, the younger of the two, is the 'enlightened' one (Diamandouros 1993: 5), essentially secular in its orientation, pro-capitalist, pro-Western. These two cultures have cut across society, without being exclusively identified with one political party each or with a specific sector of the, admittedly under-developed, Greek civil society. This feature has been decisive in preventing the permanent ascendancy of one of the two cultures. It has rather rendered permanent their conflict and alternation (Diamandouros 1993: 2) leading to a continuing ambivalence of Greece towards modernity, and also towards western Europe and the European Union.

These two characteristics are defining in terms of both the way in which Greek identity has developed since its independence in the early nineteenth century, and also in the way in which Greek identity interacts with 'modernity' and the values associated with 'Europe' and even 'universalism.' The following section of this report provides a critical overview of Greece's problematic pathway to modernity and how pre-modern or under-developed organizational forms persist and survive in Greek society, economy and politics.

In the third part of this report we first analyse the formation of modern Greek national identity and its inherent even if contradictory and often ambivalent links to Europe and European civilization. Pre-World War II orientations towards Europe in Greece can be understood mainly through the looking glass of national identity development and transformation. Post-WWII constructions of European identity and links with Europe and

the EU offer a richer material on which to build the study. Greater emphasis is put here on developments in the last three decades, notably since 1981 and Greece's accession to the European Communities. In the concluding part, we elaborate on the relationship between national identity, European identity and modernity – in relation to Eisenstadt's theory of multiple modernities – with a view to providing insights that will guide the empirical research to be undertaken in the next phases of the project.

Before engaging with the literature on Greece, modernity and identity, some definitions on modernity and multiple modernities are in order. Eisenstadt elaborated the notion of multiple modernities on the premise that the modern world can best be understood as 'a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs' (2000: 2). The most important implication, he argues, is that 'modernity and Westernization are not identical; Western patterns of modernity are not the only "authentic" modernities, though they enjoy historical precedence and continue to be a basic reference point for others' (ibid: 2-3).

Modernity has been associated with emancipation from traditional political and cultural authority; with the autonomous participation of members of society in the constitution of the social and political order and thus the notion of conscious human activity and agency; with rebellion, protestation and antinomianism, or in other words the breakdown of all traditional legitimations of the political order; with the construction of new collective identities; with social movements and contestation on behalf of new social actors; with the capacity for continual self-correction. There has been an inherent tension between the culture of modernity, or in other words the modern 'rational' model of the Enlightenment, Eisenstadt has argued, and the cultural traditions and the perception of traditional authenticity of specific societies. Eisenstadt conceptualized these tensions as an oscillation between cosmopolitanism and localism (2000: 12-13).

This oscillation certainly characterizes the evolution of modern Greek identity and its relationship with its past and its future; it characterizes the roots of its national identity; and it is also characteristic of its relationship with 'Europe' and the values associated with modern European identity as it is expressed through the European Union (EU).

Key dates for the period covered in the report:

1821 / 1827	Wars of national independence of Greece from the Ottoman Empire
1830	National independence and formal creation of the modern Greek state
1897	Bankruptcy of the Greek state and regime of 'conditional sovereignty' imposed by the Great Powers (France, Britain)
1909	Military coup at Goudi – ascendancy to power of Eleftherios Venizelos
1922	Minor Asia debacle
1936	Metaxas dictatorship
1940	Greece enters World War II – defeats Mussolini forces in Albania
1941-1943	Greece's occupation by German Nazi forces
1944-1948	Civil war – after the end of the Civil War and until 1967 Greece has a regime of limited parliamentary democracy (Communist Party is outlawed)
1952	Accession to NATO

1967-1974	Military junta
1974	Restoration of democracy – creation of a full-fledged democratic parliamentary system
1981	Accession to the EEC
1981	Ascendancy to power of the Socialist Party (PASOK)
1990s	Greece becomes an immigration country and is no longer an emigration country
2002	Euro launched and replaces the national currency (drachma)

2. Greece: a case of ambivalent and incomplete modernisation

Greece's path to modernity has been historically marked by its long subjugation to Ottoman rule. Although this argument is often used by Greek elites to excuse and justify all things wrong in Greek society, it contains a kernel of truth to the extent that the Ottoman rule has insulated Greece from major political and cultural developments taking place in western Europe in the sixteenth to nineteenth century. Greece has not experienced the Renaissance, the Reformation, the counter-Reformation, the seventeenth-century Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, or the industrial revolutions taking place in various parts of Europe in this period. Such crisis events and their consequences have deeply marked both the Protestant north and the Catholic south in the European continent and shaped their political and civic culture (Clogg 1993: ix).

The causes of Greece's insulation from these developments are twofold. On one hand, they have to do with the country's subjugation to the Ottoman Empire and its own forms of political organization (that mainly followed religious lines) and economic activity (agrarian production with a quasi-feudal structure). On the other hand, they originate in the Great Schism of 1054 and the resulting strongly anti-Western tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

The role of culture

Early Greek nationalism of the late eighteenth century was marked by the influence of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment (Veremis 1983: 59-60; Kitromilides 1990: 25-33). However, the independent Greek state created after a 10-year long national independence war against the Ottomans – albeit with the help and under the permission of the Great Powers of the time – was from the beginning divided by two conflictual cultures that embodied two competing currents in Greek society and economy.

The term culture is defined here as a system of shared assumptions and meanings held by a collectivity (Diamandouros 1993: 1). Culture is seen here as the deeper underlying pattern of basic assumptions – invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation or internal integration (Schein 1985: 9). Culture is thus understood as part of the state and society system of relations. It is a complex and dynamic characteristic of this system that is constantly renegotiated as

part of the interaction between state and society and permeates every institution and aspect of behaviour in it (Diamandouros 1993: 2, see also Herzfeld, 1987).

Taking note of the above definition, state-society relations in Greece have been marked not by one dominant culture but rather by the dominant conflict between two opposed cultures which emerged during the national liberation war and crystallized during the period 1830-1860, affecting profoundly the modern Greek political system (Diamandouros op.cit.). The roots of this conflict can be found in the particular way in which the modern Greek state was created, notably through the massive importation of Western liberal political institutions in politics (the British parliamentary system) and in administration (the French centralized administrative system) in a pre-capitalist, agrarian and relatively under-developed economy and society (Mouzelis, 1978; Diamandouros, 1972).

Elements of either culture can be found in both the left- and right-wing forces of the political system. In other words, the competing assumptions and orientations that characterize each culture cut across the political system and are espoused by either of the major political parties at any one time in Greece's recent history.

The older of the two cultures[1] has been characterized as pre-democratic by Diamandouros (1993: 3) to the extent that it favoured the unmediated exercise of power by small and familiar structures based on clientelistic networks of power, as these were formed in the pre-independence period and continued to survive and even thrive in the last century and a half. This culture bears a strong imprint of the Orthodox Church and its anti-Western world view (based on both historical and theological reasons), is introverted, has a powerful statist orientation and remains throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century pretty ambivalent towards capitalism and its market forces. This culture privileges the familiar, the parochial and the primordial and is extremely reserved towards innovation and everything (people or mores) alien.

According to Diamandouros (1993: 4) this 'underdog' culture was reinforced by the experience of 'conditional sovereignty'[2] that Greece went through for several decades after its official national independence, the continuing interference of the foreign powers in domestic politics and the related dependence of political parties on them as well as the thwarted nationalist ambitions for a greater Greece that would extend in the Balkans and Minor Asia (see also Triandafyllidou 2002).

This culture has favoured a range of political orientations and viewpoints that can be summarized as follows (Diamandouros 1993: 4): a distinct preference for conspiratorial interpretations of events; an exaggerated yet insecure and defensive nationalism that

[1] The analysis of the two competing cultures that characterise Greek political culture and state-society relations is based on Diamandouros (1993) and on Mouzelis (1995). This initial conceptualisation of the Greek political culture and of the workings of the Greek political system has been later elaborated further by these same scholars as well as by Tsoukalas (1994; 1999).

[2] For a detailed elaboration of the consequences of the regime of 'conditional sovereignty' on Greece's political system see Kaltsas (1965). Conditional sovereignty basically meant that Greece was politically and economically dependent on the Great Powers' decisions and influence over its fate.

tends to overshadow the democratic element in the culture; a Manichean division of the world into 'philelhellens' and 'others'; a pronounced sense of inferiority towards the Western world coupled with the opposite tendency of overestimating Greece's importance in international affairs as well as in the formation of the Western and in particular the European civilization; an inclination to identify and sympathise with nations that are perceived to have suffered in the hands of the West like Greeks (e.g. Palestinians or Kurds). These elements, as we shall explain in the following section, have influenced Greece's stance towards Europe and the European Union in particular, not only before but also after its accession to the EC

The younger of the two cultures draws its intellectual origins from the Enlightenment and the tradition of political liberalism and secularism that developed in Europe and overall in the industrial West. It promotes rationalization in society and politics along the lines of liberalism, democracy and capitalism. It is extrovert in its orientation and promotes Greece's linkages with the international system. This culture privileges the formation of modern political structures in which the exercise of power is mediated by modern political parties, rather than by clientelistic, personalized networks of power. This culture has been forged by popular strata, economic and intellectual elites that were engaged into cultural, economic or political activities that linked them to the international system. The origins of this culture were positively influenced by the Greek diaspora communities – in particular their bourgeois segments – living in the Ottoman empire, southern Russia and western Europe in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Diamandouros 1993: 6).

This culture can be said to be more aware of the volatility of both domestic and international environments and the dangers as well as opportunities that these posed for Greece. As a result this culture privileged adaptability to changing circumstances, was eclectically open to foreign cultural influences, was more open towards 'others', espoused a strong albeit democratic nationalism also tempered by the awareness that Greece is a small and rather weak country in the international system (Diamandouros 1993: 6-7).

Looking back at the recent history of modern Greece with a view to understanding whether and to what extent the country has modernized, we need to examine the ascendancy and/or decline of these two competing cultures in different historical periods.

Mouzelis (1995: 18-19) distinguishes three such periods. First, the period between the mid-nineteenth century and the 1909 military coup which was most strongly characterized by, on one hand, the creation of the modern political institutions of the Greek state (political parties, universal male suffrage, parliamentary democracy), and on the other hand, the existence of a small number of families of notables – which dominated the political parties – that dominated power and controlled the popular vote through clientelism or fraud. This period ended in 1909 with the military coup that brought Eleftherios Venizelos and his Liberal Party into power. Venizelos a young, liberal politician from Crete broke up with the previous monopoly of strong families and their extended clientelistic networks.

The second phase identified by Mouzelis (ibid.) started with 1909 and the efforts of political and economic modernization undertook by Venizelos and his followers. During the early decades of this period the enlightened culture was ascending but the efforts of the middle class strata and political elites that espoused it were thwarted by the wider international developments. The onset of the Metaxas dictatorship, World War II and the Nazi occupation of Greece, the Greek Civil War between Communist and Nationalist Conservative forces, and the restoration of an incomplete democracy in the after-war years rendered the 'underdog' culture dominant. This historical period closed with the military junta of the 1967-1974 period. Despite the repeated attempts of Venizelos and other politicians to instil modern institutions and modern political principles in Greek political life, Greek parties eventually remained strongly clientelistic, dominated by local bosses rather than organized around centralized, impersonal political organizational structures.

The third period started with the restoration of democracy and the introduction of a proper parliamentary democratic system in 1974 and continues to this day. In order to explain why clientelism and personalized networks of power remain strong within such a modern democratic political system and despite Greece's accession to the EC, it is useful to adopt Mouzelis' distinction of two currents within the 'underdog' culture of Greece. The first current is the clientelistic one which remains tied to the traditional version of this culture and has probably lost some of its strength in the last decades in the sense that favouritism is no longer channeled through personalized clientelistic networks but rather through party-specific clientelism and nepotism. The second current identified by Mouzelis within the underdog culture, which has experienced a strong period of ascendancy in the 1980s and at least until the mid-1990s is the populistic one. The populistic version of the underdog culture promotes a glorified vision of the (Greek) 'people' that legitimizes 'a romantic search for an anti-Western developmental route that will safeguard our national essence, our indigenous culture and identity, our *Romiosyni* (Greekness)' (Mouzelis 1995: 21). This clientelistic version of the underdog culture thus renders contemporary and still compelling the call to a primordial and defensive nationalism, solidifies the conspiratorial and foreign-phobic understandings of the world and of Greece's position in it, and justifies the pre- or anti-modern institutions and practices that permeate Greek society and politics.

Year 1974 marked a rupture in Greece's political and societal development in at least three ways. First, it installed a full political democracy, second, it emancipated foreign policy from foreign tutelage, third it internationalized and particularly Europeanised Greece society and politics through the European orientation espoused by Greece in the 1970s culminating in its early accession to the EC in 1981 (Diamandouros 1993: 7-8). However, it did not lead to a profound change to Greek society and politics since the discontent of the socio-economic strata that had been left out of power in the previous decades (an emerging modern bourgeois and petty bourgeois class) were incorporated into new channels of party-political clientelism under the legitimating umbrella of the PASOK (Socialist Party) populism of the 1980s and early 1990s.

During the last fifteen years, the strong populist current of the underdog culture has seen its influence decreasing not least through the ascendancy within the PASOK party of a 'modernising' group of politicians of a younger generation, led by Costas Simitis who was Prime Minister in the period between 1996 and 2004. During this same period, the New Democracy party (conservatives) has gone through a period of internal re-organisation marked by the ascendancy in power of Kostas Karamanlis, a 'new man' in politics coming however from the Karamanlis political family (nephew of the several times minister, prime minister and later President of the Republic, Konstantinos Karamanlis).

The conflict and competition between the underdog and the enlightened culture has remained strong within both of the main political parties, notably New Democracy (Conservatives) and PASOK (Socialists) during the past 15 years. While both parties went through periods of internal renovation purging their ranks from old leaders socialized more strongly with the underdog culture, the leading figures in either party (Kostas Karamanlis and Dora Bakoyanni in ND, Costas Simitis and George Papandreou in PASOK) belong, with the exception of Costas Simitis, to one of the main three Greek political families (notably the Karamanlis family or the Papandreou family or the Mitsotakis-Bakoyanni family) of the post war period.

Although the conservative governments in power between 2004 and 2009 under the leadership of Kostas Karamanlis won the elections with an anti-corruption campaign, it came down under the weight of corruption scandals and a stagnating economy, unable to conduct the structural economic and social reforms it had promised. The current PASOK government in power since October 2009 under the leadership of George Papandreou has won the election with an anti-corruption and pro-modernisation agenda, a sign that the Greek electorate is eager to see some structural social and economic change taking place. It remains of course to be seen whether it will deliver to its promises. Indeed one wonders whether this apparently strong popular quest for combating corruption and clientelistic favouritism marks a shift away from the formalistic and personalized character of Greek political debates (see also Mouzelis 1995: 23) and a new focus on the vital, chronically unresolved problems of Greek society and state or whether it will drown into another surge of populism.

Socio-economic structures

Before discussing in some more detail where does Greece's modernization project stand in the early 21st century, it is necessary to explain here how the cultural currents outlined above are reflected into socio-economic structures. A full-fledged analysis of Greece's socio-economic underdevelopment goes beyond the scope of this report. Here we shall concentrate on a number of features that we consider fundamental and at the same time typical of the country's incomplete modernization. We shall discuss the over-inflated presence of the state in society and economy, the entrenchment of public employment with clientelistic and personalized networks of power, the patterns of labour participation

of the Greek population and the domination of the labour market and the economy by forms of independent labour and small and very small enterprises.

The first feature that characterizes Greek society and economy is the presence of a Leviathan state that penetrates all social and economic projects. Mouzelis' argument (1995: 22) although nearly 15 years old remains true to this day:

> 'For the ordinary citizen in both town and village, a detailed knowledge of what is currently going on at the level of national as well as local politics is not a matter of purely academic interest. It is in fact a vital necessity in a social environment in which any economic or social project, however trivial, requires for its fruition clientelistically achieved state support – or, at least, an equally clientelistically achieved guarantee of state non-obstruction.' (Mouzelis 1995: 22).

The omnipresent influence of the state takes two forms. On one hand, the state is an important source of dependent employment in Greece and indeed of the most desired form of dependent employment for many Greeks. Thus, working for the state dominates the labour market – according to Tsoukalas (1995: 216, endnote 32) in the 1990s between 40% and 50% of the labour force worked for a state institution or for one of the semi-state controlled agencies. What is of special importance here however is not only the overstaffing of already vast and unproductive administrative agencies, but also that working in the public sector has been at least until the end of the twentieth century one of the main paths for upwards social mobility for young Greek graduates. A job in the state apparatus is still often achieved in Greece through clientelistic networks even if public examinations and impersonal selection systems and criteria have now been put in place. Those notwithstanding, once a position in the public sector is obtained, the salary is seen as a right of the worker, irrespective of the worker's fulfilment of her/his obligation and almost totally detached from her/his personal contribution to production.

As Tsoukalas (1995: 204) argues public employment obeys to a pre-modern system of division of labour in which 'public salaries are not market prices for labour power but quasi-rents allocated to selected, if extremely wide, tenured segments of the population on the basis of political criteria.' In other words, public jobs are not part of a modern labour market and do not obey the rules of the wider labour market but rather to their own rules. Working conditions in the public sector are usually sufficiently lax (if anything the working day in the public sectors ends at 3.00 or 3.30 pm) to allow many workers the pursuit of other lucrative activities on the side. Such activities range from agricultural work to running a small family business or working as an independent professional in the afternoon. Thus public employment provides long term security and registered economic activity while other jobs provide for additional income, which is often undeclared and hence not taxed.

The state contributes to the maintenance of pre-modern socio-economic structures also to the extent that it is one of the main customers of private firms. Contracts for public work are obtained however through non-transparent means, through personalized and party political clientelistic networks. For a private firm to flourish such contracts are vital. At

the same time as Mouzelis notes in the quote cited above, non-obstruction by state authorities for the issuing or renewal of a permit for an economic activity or during fiscal controls is also vital. Such non-obstruction is also more a matter of personalized contacts rather than a question of the formal functioning of a modern bureaucratic state apparatus.

A closer look at some of the features of the Greek labour market also testify to the limited development of a modern division of labour and of a modern capitalist free market economy in the country.

Based on OECD data available in 2009[3], one is surprised by the absence of large firms and the dominance of small and very small enterprises as well as of self-employment. In Greece, over 30% of the labour force is employed in firms with less than 10 employees. Firms with 0-20 employees represent 97% of all firms (compared for instance to 80% in France, 85% in the UK, 89% in Spain, and 93% in Italy) and employ 35% of all employees (compared to 18% in France and the UK, 27% in Spain, and 30% in Italy). Self-employment rate was 41% in 2000 and decreased to 36% in 2007. Self-employment rates for the same years in France were 9.8% and 9%, in the UK approximately 14% for both years, in Spain 23% and 18%, and in Italy 29% and 26%. It is clear thus that Greece's labour market is overtly dominated by small and very small firms not only compared to large industrialized countries in Europe such as the UK and France but also compared to its southern European neighbours, notably Italy and Spain. Employment in so small firms indicates the existence of traditional authoritarian and reciprocal relations at work that are less formalized than those imposed by the Taylorist mode of production but are also less flexible than those required by the post-Taylorist and indeed post-industrial adjustments of the labour market.

Similarly employment rates are also significantly lower than those registered in other selected European countries. In Greece the total employment rate (share of persons of working age in employment) for both genders was 55% in 2000 and 61% in 2007 compared to rates of over 70% in most other western European countries. The share of people aged between 15 and 24 in employment is also low in Greece: for year 20% it was 26% decreasing to 24% for year 2007. The employment rate of people aged between 15 and 24 for the same years in France are 20% and 30%, for the UK 60% and 55%, for Spain 31% and 42%, and for Italy 27% and 24%.

The above percentages show that that a large number of Greeks survive without being officially active, especially among the younger age cohorts. This suggests that either these people survive with non-registered economic activities that hence do not appear in official statistics or that there are large transfers of funds within the family scale. Both these phenomena suggest that the labour market does not function as it normally does in other industrialized economies.

[3] See OECD Factbook 2009: Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics - ISBN 92-64-05604-1 - © OECD 2009, at http://stats.oecd.org/viewhtml.aspx?queryname=18154&querytype=view&lang=en, last accessed on 25 December 2009.

In short, the above discussion shows that the strengthening of the Greek underdog culture through its clientelistic current, developed in the 1980s and 1990s, have perpetuated the under-development of Greek society and economy and have allowed for pre-modern organizational forms in the labour market and the economy more generally to survive.

Preliminary concluding remarks: where does Greece's modernization project stand in the early 21st century?

Looking back at recent Greek history it becomes clear that **even if the 'underdog' culture has not fully dominated Greek society and politics, it has generally managed to undermine the forces that promoted institutional and economic rationalization along the main lines of Western capitalism.** Although capitalist social and economic relations did establish themselves and gradually disrupted traditional socio-economic forms, they did not manage to equally promote modern behavioural norms that would bind individuals to notions of collective rationality and to abstract universalistic codes of citizen behaviour. Communal networks based on reciprocity and on personalized instrumental understandings of rationality survived and remained strong leading to free rider behaviours and undermining any emerging collective social projects (Tsoukalas 1995: 197-199).

Already fifteen years ago Tsoukalas (1995: 201) noted that Greece had been characterized by a model of growth without development. Thus the post-1974 period has been marked by a growing level of per capita consumption and a growing per capita GDP rate, while the country's main socio-economic structure was not significantly altered. It remained largely pre-modern both in cultural and in economic terms. Citizens kept their free rider economic and social behaviour without espousing a labour ethos, impersonal market honesty, personal reliability, compliance to collective norms of efficiency and performance and dedication to the notion of citizenship as values per se (Tsoukalas 1995: 200). The public domain and by extension anything collective, were seen as resources available for any individual or corporatist 'taking' without the citizen owing something to the collectivity and the state in return.

The situation remains largely unaltered today, at the close of the first decade of the 21st century. Nikos Mouzelis (1995: 27-30) noted, rather optimistically, that Greece's prospect for change in the twenty-first century could come from below (from the anti-party mood of the electorate in the 1990s and the student movement), from within (the loosening class divide, the reshuffling of party structures and the emergence of modernizing political forces), or, last but not least, from above (notably from the rules imposed by the EC and later the EU on Greece' economy and society).

The anti-party mood or the student movement of the 1990s and the 2000s have not yet led to any radical changes in the political system. The dominant political parties and their elites have not been challenged even at the face of massive economic and co-ethnic immigration that has marked the 1990s and 2000s (with a current immigrant stock of approximately 10% of the total resident population). The re-organisation of parties and

the emergence of modernizing forces within them are still to show tangible and lasting results. Last but not least, compliance with European rules and directives has had only a limited impact on social and economic reform.

Indeed as Diamandouros prophetically noted (1993: 12-13) **expecting for externally imposed constraints to effect structural changes in society and economy only testifies to the inability or unwillingness of the domestic forces associated with the enlightened culture to effect economic and social reform.** Indeed, **the petty bourgeois and bourgeois strata and intellectuals** that engaged into activities that linked them to the international environment **were not capable of stirring the country into an effective even if painful path towards social and economic modernization**. They were not able to effect structural economic reform, limit the public sector's growth, promote the normal functioning of market forces, allow for genuine competition to develop, break up personalized clientelistic forms of governance, or promote impersonalized values such as trust, obedience to the law, loyalty to the collectivity and the state.

More than 25 years of unmediated imposition of modern economic and social rules by the European Communities and later the European Union has managed to keep the Greek economy on track and has given Greece the possibility to participate in the Euro zone but **has not led to substantial structural changes in the economy or society**. Rather we partly witness the bending of rules and requirements to the populistic and clientelistic networks of power.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that the **pre-modern forms of governance and economic activity that characterize Greece are spread in different sectors of society and across different types of actors: political parties, the business world, trade unions, the media, the student movement.** Indeed, Greece's modernity fits very well Eisenstadt's argument that Western modernity is not the only authentic modernity. **Greece can be either classified as still pre-modern or anti-modern in many ways or it can be viewed as proposing an alternative path to modernity, that of a peripheral post-industrial parliamentary democracy that has moved from pre-modern economic and political forms of organization to post-modern ones without ever properly modernizing or industrializing and without ever replacing its own cultural traditions with those of western European modernity**.

3. European and national identity construction in the pre-WWII period

As several scholars have argued, the national discourses underlying modern Greek identity have been largely imported. The narratives of modern Greek identity were laid out and articulated in western Europe as 'components of a broader representation of the sources of European civilization' (Tsoukalas 2002: 75, see also Diamandouros 1983; Lipovats 1994; Tsoukalas 1993; 1994; 1999; 2002). This is a rather unique situation, as modern Greek identity was not solely the result of an internal 'creation' process, but also of the wider European context that drew the links between Greek modernity and classic antiquity. Moreover, the word 'modern' was automatically connected with the creation of

the Greek state that gained its independence from the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth century, even though it mostly denoted its being 'young' or 'new' rather than modern in the conceptual sense of the term, i.e. linking it to a specific type of social, economic and political development.

The values associated with Ancient Greece were practically idolized as the foundation of western European thought, the precursors of the Enlightenment, representing the 'essence' of European civilization and culture. They were also represented as the antithesis of 'barbarity,' which was associated with threat to culture, progress and modernity. The representation of classical Greece as the universal cradle of civilization by many of the Enlightenment thinkers provided a fertile background for the Greek war of independence to be fought: with numerous (and easily legitimated) references to historic destiny and glory; and, in the name of liberation from the Ottoman rule to reclaim and return to modernity, rationality and science, liberty, democracy and progress. The recognition of the modern Greek state in 1830 was a symbolic, international recognition of the 'rights' of a national liberation movement marked by what can be certainly described as an almost romantic 'Hellenolatry'[4] and a perception of continuity of modernity from the classical to the modern world (Tsoukalas 2002).

While the early currents of Greek nationalism in the late eighteenth century were marked by the influence of the Enlightenment and its ideals, the first decades of Greece's independence defined the nation in predominantly ethno-cultural rather than civic or territorial terms. Greek nationalism followed the Eastern European path of nation formation in the nineteenth and twentieth century, privileging a belief in common genealogical origins and a primordial definition of the nation on the basis of a common language and culture to which only those born Greeks could take part (Kitromilidis 1983, 1990; Veremis 1983). Greek national consciousness was 'constructed' throughout the nineteenth and certainly until the early twentieth century with reference to the nation's irredenta, namely the regions inhabited by Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox populations that had not been included in the Greek state at the moment of its creation.

Indeed, the Great Idea (*Megali Idea*), i.e. the cultural, political and ultimately military project of claiming the irredenta[5] and integrating them into the Greek state, represented the political expression of the ethnically, religiously and culturally-linguistically defined Greek nation.[6] It also played a significant part in unifying a traditional and internally divided society and transforming it into a nation-state. Greece thus became the national centre, the

[4] *Latreia* ('Λατρεία') is the Greek word for adoration.

[5] The irredenta included all territories inhabited by ethnic Greeks, ethnicity (which, for Greeks, is co-terminous with nationality) being defined in terms of language, culture, historical memories or religion. The irredenta extended to the north and included Macedonia, Thrace and even farther northern Balkan regions south from the Donau. To the east, the irredentist claims referred to territories of the Ottoman empire notably the Aegean islands, Cyprus, Crete, Minor Asia and also parts of Anatolia (Kitromilides 1990: 43-45).

[6] This conclusion does not aim to overlook class and social factors which divided the Greek nationalist movement (Mavrogordatos 1983). It rather highlights the role of the Great Idea within the conception of the Greek nation.

political and cultural basis for the Greek populations living in the Near and Middle East as well as in the Balkans (Kitromilides 1983).

At the same time, the modern political institutions transplanted into the newborn Greek state and the influence of the Greek Enlightenment movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, although alien to the traditional, rural and deeply Orthodox Greek society of the early nineteenth century, offered the possibility to forge a cultural and political continuity between classical and modern Greece. The ancient glorious past was thus incorporated into the conception of the nation as its genealogical and cultural cradle, through the influence of the European enlightenment movement and the import of Western political institutions into the new Greek state.

The dominant narrative—constructed by Greek historiographers in the late-nineteenth century (see Veremis 1983: 60-61; 1990: 12) — started with Greece's classical past, continued with Christianity and the Byzantine Empire and concluded with Greece's subjugation to the Ottoman Empire and the national resurrection from 1821 onwards. Even though the identification of the particularistic claims of Greek nationalism and the universalist tendencies of the Christian Orthodox religion were difficult to reconcile, the separation of the Greek church from the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1833 ultimately established the close link between members of the nation and the faithful. Thus, the Byzantine, Eastern Orthodox tradition, which represented a crucial part of nineteenth century Greece, was integrated into the national narrative (Kitromilides 1990: 51-59).

The triple definition of Greek nationhood on the basis of (belief in) common ancestry, cultural traditions and religion provided also for a triple boundary that distinguished Greeks from their neighbours to the west (Roman Catholic) and east (Muslims and Jews) because they were Christian Orthodox, and from those in the north (the Slavs) because of their claim to classical Greek culture. Modern Greece saw itself as the natural heir of the ancient Greek civilisation. The Greek national community was thus presented as unique in both its singularity and its universality. The united and unique national community was invented and further reinforced throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century through state policies in military conscription, education and culture throughout the twentieth century.

However, the link between the modern institutions of the Greek state and the traditional Greek society remains even nowadays puzzling (Diamandouros 1983: 47-50). The late and limited industrial development of Greece in conjunction with the early introduction of parliamentarism resulted in the distorted functioning of the political system through the preservation of traditional power structures under the cover of Western institutions (Diamandouros 1983; Mouzelis 1986; 1995).

Modern Greek identity thus developed in a web of complicated relationships that evolved:

- between construction and perception of own (i.e. Greek) identity and of European or even universal identity. In order words, between the idea of Greekness as a particularistic identity specific to a people in southeast Europe with very distinct

cultural, linguistic and religious characteristics, and an overarching, more ecumenical identity of Hellenism;
- between tradition and modernity, and between classical universalistic Hellenism and pre-modern ethno-religious *Romiosyne* (marked by the influence of Eastern Orthodox Christianity); and,
- also as a result of the country's position at the crossroads, both geographically and culturally, between East and West. It has been extensively argued that Greek national identity (Roudometof 1999; Tsoukalas 1993), and the country's relations with other—particularly neighbouring—countries are profoundly influenced by this positioning (Heraklides 1995).

We consider that these dimensions have been articulated in the following characteristics of modern Greek identity:

- A 'cultural pride' for a unique past with which a direct relation is assumed between Ancient and Modern Greece;
- A frustration of grandeur 'lost' as the modern Greek state emerged into independence as a poor, agricultural economy and a fragile democracy;
- An ongoing attempt to bridge the competing universalisms and fundamental antagonisms between the secular and rational interpretations of Hellenism advocated by Western Enlightenment on the one hand, and by the Byzantine Empire legacy and the conservative religious conformism of a strong and very present Eastern Orthodox Church on the other (see Tsoukalas 2002, Tziovas 1994). This interdigitation has resulted in an ideologically confusing notion of 'Helleno-christianity';
- An often underlying East–West tension in Greek identity and politics, which is expressed in a number of ways that position modern Greece as part *of* but not *in* Europe (Triandafyllidou 2002). For instance, its Ottoman past is presented as responsible for the country's personalized, clientelistic political culture and a mentality of state patronage; while Great Power politics that were played out across the Balkan peninsula throughout the 19th and 20th centuries have engrained perceptions of threat of foreign influence and intervention as regards national independence, territorial integrity and the cohesion of national identity; and
- A perpetual need to 'catch up' with the rest of Europe as there was much ground to cover in terms of its industrialization, modernization, and democratic consolidation.

It is clear that in the pre-World War II period, **Europe played an indirect role in national self-understandings of Greekness in that it was both part of the classical Greek heritage but also perceived as alien and threatening**. Culturally speaking, Greece and Europe were constructed by Greek historiography as part of the same classical Greek/European civilization. From a political viewpoint however, other European countries were seen as – and indeed were actually – 'foreign powers' which imposed their interests on Greece and interfered with domestic affairs. While European foreign powers were perceived also as economically and culturally more advanced than Greece, they were also despised because they could neither 'compete' with Greece's glorious classical heritage nor share Greece's Christian Orthodox tradition.

3.2 European identity construction since WWII in Greece

Since the end of World War II and the symbolic 1945 Yalta conference during which the 'Big Three' carved their respective spheres of influence, Greece has been part of western Europe. This largely determined the outcome of the Greek civil war (1944-1948) as well as its post WWII political history. Western military, trade and energy interests held Greece firmly within the Western part of Europe and pulled the country out of its isolation and away from Communist and left-wing tendencies. Greece joined NATO in 1952 and in 1962 signed a pre-accession agreement with the EC All international agreements and foreign relations were suspended during the military junta of 1967-1974 which followed an authoritarian-corporatist ideology of the state that favoured the interests of large multinational corporations as well of some local firms at home, while suspending democratic rights (Kokosalakis and Psimmenos 2002). The first post-junta government restored democracy and with it Greece's participation in international organizations as well as the 1962 agreements between Greece and the EC In 1975 Greece applied formally for membership and after the reservations of other EC ministers regarding its economic under-development and internal political fragility, the country joined the European Economic Community/European Union in 1981. Greece's accession to the EC confirmed the country's political, economic and cultural orientation towards western Europe.

At the level of public attitudes, Kokosalakis and Psimmenos (2002: 24-26) show (on the basis of Eurobarometer survey data) that Greeks have been overall positive as regards their country's participation in the EC and later EU, saw no conflict between their national and their European identity, and were overall supportive of European unification which they perceived as economically and politically advantageous for the country.

During the post war period the stance of Greek social and political actors towards Europe has alternated between 'Europhilia' and 'Europhobia' given the role that various western actors have played in Greece's political history (particularly the UK and the USA), and the way this has translated in a deep polarization of domestic politics – between the pro-western right and centre-right and the communist and left political forces. The foreign influence over the outcome of the civil war; the 1960s political instability and the Colonels' military coup (1967-1974); the importance of the Marshall Plan for the country's economic recovery; the importance of participating in NATO's southern flank in the context of the Cold War confrontation; Cyprus and the Greek-Turkish dispute, are all factors and events that determined Greece's relationship with the rest of Europe and the West.

These led to a series of expectations, a number of disillusionments and various sorts of nationalist reactions. For instance, in the 1950s, the democratization and modernization effort of George Papandreou's government was accompanied with an improvement of living standards and an expectation of increased autonomy in foreign policy matters (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 299). However, the UK and US 'complaisance' towards the Greek military regime and the subsequent inaction during the

Turkish invasion of Cyprus (1974) gave fertile ground for the anti-imperialist and anti-Western populist sentiment of the 1980s.

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement's (PASOK) platform of strong criticism of the West, was limited to rhetoric and did not translate into any withdrawal from the EEC or NATO as was threatened, but it did alienate Greece from its EC partners at the beginning of the country's EC accession. By the end of the 1980s, Greece has already shifted to an unqualified support for European federalism which led to a significant bridging of the traditional and highly polarized left-right divide. The ideological shift that took place in PASOK with the rise of the so-called 'modernising' technocrats (exemplified later by the Constantine Simitis 1996 government) who considered the EEC/EU as the modernizing engine for Greece and its catalyst for reform, democratization and modernization, created a national consensus with the New Democracy (traditionally more pro- western and pro-EEC/EU) as regards Greece's European positioning. The collapse of the Eastern bloc and soon thereafter the disintegration of Yugoslavia further consolidated Greece's European attachment.

New challenges at the turn of the century

The new European context at the end of the twentieth and early twenty-first century has raised new challenges to Greek national self-understandings and the country's geopolitical positioning within its immediate neighbourhood and of course within the EU and Europe writ large. Three issues in particular have triggered shifts and affected perceptions of national and European identity in Greece today.

The first issue is the **European Union's deepening and widening processes**. The inclusion of Greece in the first phase of the Euro zone implementation, on 1 January 2002, was more than an economic accomplishment; it has also been used as a symbolic referent of Greece's belonging to 'core' Europe (Psimmenos 2004). Moreover, the 2004 enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe and the eastwords shifting of the EU geopolitical, cultural and religious borders have made Greece inevitably less peripheral in the European landscape (Triandafyllidou and Spohn 2003). Both developments make Greek national discourses more firmly anchored in Europe, overcoming to a certain extent the idea of an ethno-religiously defined, compact and unitary national identity with little place for cultural or ethnic diversity.

The second factor, too, is EU-related. **EU enlargement policy towards Turkey and the Balkans has opened yet another identity and geopolitical challenge for Greece.** Enlargement is considered a vital factor that will contribute to and consolidate stability, democracy, good neighbourly relations and peace in South-Eastern Europe. As such, it has been defined as a core priority for Greek governments, supported by a solid consensus across the main political parties. Eurobarometer public opinion results, however, indicate that this consensus is not as equally widespread among Greek public

opinion, which favours EU enlargement to South-East Europe, but is rather reluctant about the entry of Turkey to the EU, even if the latter fulfils all the accession criteria.[7]

Third, over the last two decades, **national identity has had to accommodate pluralism and make room for diversity**. This has been framed as part of the on-going processes of democratization and modernization of the Greek state on principles of respect for human rights, equality and non-discrimination and has had implications for two different population groups within Greece – native, historic minorities and immigrants. Regarding minorities first, regional legal and institutional frameworks—such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)—have furthered progress in promoting the recognition and protection of minorities (linguistic, ethnic, religious, racial) across Europe.[8]

This progress has also increasingly influenced debates and policies on the position and rights of minorities in Greece, which for long has been a sensitive matter in Greek political life and society. Nikiforos Diamantouros (1983: 55) described this 'sensitivity' as an indication that the process of national integration is incomplete. Regarding migrants, since 1989, Greece's can no longer be described as an emigration country. Greece's population has increased by 10-12%, with large numbers of migrants mainly from the Balkans (Albania and Bulgaria), Central and Eastern Europe (Romania, Ukraine and Russia) and, increasingly, Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China). Immigration poses a challenge to dominant Greek nationalist discourses; there has been a gradual recognition on behalf of state institutions and public opinion that Greek society has become de facto multi-cultural and multi-ethnic (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2009).

During the 1990s, **we witnessed an increased fetishisation of Greekness and an increasing emphasis on ethnic and cultural features of national identity** (Triandafyllidou 2007). Qualitative studies have shown that Greeks tend to look at other Europeans as 'others' and as 'different' to the foundations of Greek tradition and collective identity (Anagnostou 2005; Kokosalakis 2004). This perception is frequently reciprocated on the part of other EU member-states, particularly on matters of foreign

[7] Overall, Greek public opinion was among the most favourable to enlargement (70% in favour) in 2006 but also registered among the highest rates of opposition to Turkish EU accession (67%: EU 25 average 48% opposed). See Special Eurobarometer (2006), *Attitudes Towards European Union Enlargement*, July 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_255_en.pdf (accessed on 14th November 2009). Predominantly Muslim Turkey, a historical threatening Other for Greece, appears to stir unresolved identity and geopolitical questions and confuses the East with the West from a traditional Greek nationalist perspective.

[8] Regarding religion as a dimension of difference, the Orthodox Church of Greece is constitutionally recognised as the 'prevailing' religion in Greece, while Islam enjoys a status as the religion of the autochtonous Muslim minority of Western Thrace (in north-eastern Greece). The only other recognised minority under public law is the Jewish one. These distinctions in themselves have restricted religious freedoms in Greece and have led to a series of discriminatory legal and administrative practices that relate to the rights of religious groups (see also Christopoulos and Tsitselikis 2003; Psychogiopoulou 2007). The particularity of the Greek approach to religious difference and more specifically to the recognition of Islam arises mainly from the treaty-based protection of the Muslim population of Thrace (1923 Treaty of Lausanne frames the protection of the Muslim population's religious rights in minority rights terms and is heavily influenced by the bilateral political relations between Greece and Turkey).

policy. Legacies of the past, territorial insecurities and antagonistic identities in Greece's immediate neighbourhood the Balkans, have not been easily understood by Western and Northern EU member-states, and have at times been exaggerated in Greek politics, largely for domestic political reasons.

Recent studies, however, that look into **the first years of the twenty-first century,** also note that **a more flexible understanding of Greek national identity among citizens and elites is emerging**. Kokosalakis (2004) and Anagnostou and Triandafyllidou (2007) suggest that the increasing salience of European policies and symbols—such as the European currency—and the actual experiences of belonging to the Europe Union reinforce a civic and political value component in Greek national identity. In sum, the dominant discourses of defensive ethnic nationalism registered in the 1990s have recently given way to more open definitions of the nation, where civic and territorial elements play an important part.

4. Paths to modernity in the European periphery

The inherent tension between modernity's 'rationality' and cultural traditions, or as summarized above, the oscillation between 'cosmopolitanism and localism' is representative of the Greek situation. Indeed, if we are to consider as authentic modernity only the Western rational form of political and economic modernization, Greece is still pre- or anti-modern. A Western type of modernity is still a political objective to achieve, a moving goal post driving repeated structural reforms in all sectors of Greek society, economy, state and political life. A vision of a western type of modernity may be seen as the driving force of a 'self-correcting' development process for Greece. However, there is an alternative view of 'Eastern' modernity also proposed in Greece that sees itself as 'true' to the country's cultural and religious heritage and recent historical experience of foreign intervention by western powers (initially the European Great Powers of the nineteenth century and in the post WWII period the USA).

In the Western modernity framework, modernity has essentially been translated as modernization in economic terms. It has been associated with the processes through which Greece became urbanized, improving its economic and quality of life indicators, industrializing and gradually developing its technological and communications infrastructure.

As such, modernity has been associated with Westernisation. This second dimension has been essential in trying to move away from its Ottoman legacy and in the direction of western Europe, signifying therefore a 'return' to the West after the obscure Ottoman interlude which further cemented traditionalist, primitivist local culture and particularities.

Third, modernity has been pursued through the Europeanisation process which is expressed in a number of dimensions. In fact, over the past 3-4 decades, all analyses concerning all sectors of the economy and society have concentrated on the extent to which they have or have not (yet!) been Europeanised. Europeanisation is the process

through which Greece has been integrated within the rest of the EU; it is associated with an on-going reform process (see below), a process of improvement in order to become 'more modern', more 'European.'

Research has concentrated on the obstacles to Europeanisation – (including state bureaucracy, clientelistic political culture, lack of separation between Church and State), which are mostly automatically related to the Ottoman legacy. Europeanisation and modernity, have also been interlinked with the notion of 'normalization.' Through EU integration and the Europeanisation of Greek political life, its political elites and its political decision making process, the country has found an avenue within which to 'normalise' tense relations with neighbours (Turkey, Balkans) and re-package bilateral tensions as part of wider European concerns and priorities.

Europeanisation and the notion of modernity attached to it, has also been seen as the path to democratic consolidation, to respect for the rule of law, human rights, minority protection framework and non-discrimination. These are perceived as values in principle inherent to Greek identity but ones that have not been implemented fully given the structural and institutional weaknesses of the modern Greek state. Therefore, the Europeanisation process has been associated with the consolidation of standards relating to respect and protection of these principles, and, the achievement of these standards is translated as an accomplishment of Greece's modernization process and its shift into modernity.

Europeanisation in essence has been seen as the means through which to democratize the state, render it more modern, more transparent, more secular, more respectful of the principle of equality of all citizens. It has been a means through which to increase trust in state institutions and combat the phenomenon of 'state capture' by certain groups; particularistic social capital; corruption, political patronage and politicization of the state services and functions.

Within this Western understanding of Greek modernity we may distinguish some further ramifications or developments. For instance, modernity has affected the political sphere in a number of movements of contestation and revolt. Until the 1970s, the path to modernity required a contestation and break with the monarchy and the political establishment of the conservative right. In the 1980s, contestation and modernity in the political sphere was built around a strong anti-imperialist and socialist rhetoric, calling for a break from the Cold War power politics and American hegemony over Europe in pursuit of principles of solidarity, global justice, independence and peace.

Since the late 1990s, social contestation has been expressed by many extreme leftist and neo-Marxist, anarchist groups which fall within the global anti-globalisation movements. Though extremist and marginal groups these occupy centre stage in the media and public opinion because of the regular violent demonstrations and recent riots.

The relationship between modernity and globalization is a very sensitive one in Greece where there is a very strong anti-globalisation sentiment in Greece. On the left of the

political sphere, anti-globalisation is associated with anti-Americanism (anti-western imperialist approach) and globalization is perceived more as threat than an opportunity leading to marginalization, exclusion and socio-economic insecurity.

The alternative Eastern path towards Greek modernity shares some of the aspirations and goals noted above, notably that of economic development and prosperity. However in this view point, these goals can and should be achieved through Greece's sui generis path towards modernization.

This peculiarly Greek path to modernization is compatible with personalized and clientelistic forms of governance. These forms of governance are not necessarily perceived as corrupt but rather as following a different set of norms than those adopted in other EU countries. These norms praise forms of individual rationality and efficiency that are seen as reconcilable with the pursuit of the collective good. However, the collective good is not defined through some form of collective rationality but rather quintessentially and transcendentally on the basis of culture and ethnicity. These form the basis of the political collectivity and pose the foundations of social solidarity in Greece, rather than a sense of citizenship duty and civic belonging.

Although in the case of Greece, the role of the Church has been frequently associated with authoritarianism, peripheralisation, and reactionary nationalism, in this Eastern understanding of Greek modernity, the Orthodox religion and the Church of Greece are seen as one of the genuine sources of national culture and consciousness and as a sine qua non element of Greece's path to modernity. While Europeanisation has provided the context with which the religion v. secularism debate has taken place in recent decades as part of a hesitant effort to separate Church and State and limit the influence of the Church of Greece over the public sphere and public opinion, in this framework, the Church is seen as a national institution that is not pre- or anti-modern but rather simply peculiarly Greek, in line with Greece's unique historical experience.

The Eastern vision of modernity advocated in Greece is strongly anti-globalisation to the extent that globalization is seen as a threat towards national identity, cultural authenticity and a Greek way of life. Migration is viewed within this same framework as an evil brought about by economic and political globalization forces, threatening the material well-being, cultural authenticity, and national independence of Greece.

5. Concluding Remarks

The literature review presented in this report has attempted to illustrate some of the tensions and paradoxes associated with the notion of modernity in the Greek case. While modernity is considered as being inherent to the core of Greek identity, it is at the same time in deep conflict and confrontation with the second core pillar of Greek identity, namely its religious particularism and strong traditions of the Eastern Orthodox Church. This tension between modernity and tradition transcends modern Greek history, its political realm and the evolution of its relationship with the rest of Europe. While

considered as being at the core of European modern identity (as understood in the context of the Enlightenment and the notion of rationality and progress), at the same time Greece has been perceived as being at the periphery of Europe requiring deep and numerous structural reforms in order to approach and consolidate modernity as it is currently perceived in western Europe – i.e. respect for human and minority rights, rule of law, democratization of the state, respect for good governance, transparency and accountability.

Greece's own perception of its national and European identities is also based on a web of rival and even conflictual relations between tradition and modernity; between attachment to tradition and continuity on the one hand and pursuit of social contestation, rationality and secularism on the other. As such, though Greece is considered as being at the core of and having inspired modern Europe's values and identity, at the same time, Greece is having to undergo repeated (an in many cases costly and painful) reforms in order to become more 'modern,' to become more Europeanised. In response to this quest and to its own historical experience of modernization, Greece is marked by two competing modernity frameworks. The Western framework is the one that conforms to western rational understandings of modernity and which essentially imbues all efforts and processes of Europeanisation in Greece. The Eastern framework by contrast is one that is closer to the Greek Eastern and Orthodox tradition and which proposes a sui generis, nationally authentic path towards (non-Western?) modernity. It is this ambivalence and internal division that makes Greece a particularly interesting case to study within the multiple modernities' perspective.

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Annex I: Quantitative data and survey results

According to regular surveys of the Eurobarometer and other public opinion surveys attitudes toward Europe/ EU are overwhelmingly positive; there is a strong conviction particularly among elites that the country has benefited from EU membership. This is particularly the case for the democratization of state institutions and services; economic reform and restructuring; improvement of the quality of life; improvement of gender equality and minority rights; improvement in the sphere of individual freedoms and civil liberties.

Data from Eurobarometer 71 (Spring 2009):

There is a positive image of the EU

The European Union continues to evoke a positive image for many Greek respondents (EL: 45% - EU27: 45%). It is noted that 36% of Greek and of European citizens take a neutral stance ("neither positive nor negative"). Nevertheless, Greek respondents point to the positive aspects of the European Union when asked what it means to them personally.

More specifically, Greek citizens mainly identify the European Union with the freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the European Union (EL: 49% - EU27: 42%), with the maintenance of peace (EL: 40% - EU27: 25%) and with the single currency, the euro (EL: 45% - EU27: 33%). However, 31% (EU27: 13%) of the Greek sample relates the European Union to the problem of unemployment.

In contrast with most European citizens who believe that the voice of their countries counts in the European Union (EU27: 61% - EL: 37%), Greek citizens do not share this feeling (EL: 62% - EU27: 30%).

Although Greek citizens appear to be satisfied by Greece's participation in the European Union, they still find that the interests of their country are not taken into account in the European Union (EL: 67% - EU27: 41%).

The most important elements that make up the European identity, according to the Greek sample, are the common European geography (EL: 47% - EU27: 25%), as well as the democratic values (EL: 33% - EU27: 41%) that characterize the European spirit.

The most important characteristics required in order for someone to be considered as European are to feel European (EL: 54% - EU27: 41%), to be born in Europe (EL: 43% - EU27: 39%), as well as to share European cultural traditions (EL: 37% - EU27: 31%).

Greece's participation in the European Union is also positively assessed

A significant proportion of the Greek public opinion approves Greece's membership of the European Union (EL: 45% - EU27: 53%), although the current rate (i.e. approval) is

amongst the lowest recorded in the entire survey, whereas 40% of Greek and 28% of European citizens take a neutral position ("neither positive nor negative").

Moreover, Greek citizens believe that Greece has benefited from its EU membership (EL: 64% -EU27: 56%). Greek public opinion is in favour of a European Monetary Union with one single currency, the Euro (EL: 62% - EU27: 61%). It should be noted, that in the current survey, the highest rate ever reached in the framework of the Standard Eurobarometer surveys is recorded in regard to those taking a negative standpoint on the prospect of future EU enlargement, i.e. more countries joining the European Union in the forthcoming years (against / EL: 57% - EU27: 46%).

Regarding European integration, Greek citizens, recording the highest rate observed in the entire survey (57%), believe that the speed of building Europe should not be faster in one group of countries than in the others (EU27: 42%). Nevertheless, 40% of Greek public opinion, as well as 39% of European public opinion, disagrees with this position.

Other survey findings:

In addition, survey results of an EU funded Fp6 project, INTUNE, suggest that there is a noteworthy variance between mass and elite attitudes in Greece on perceptions of the EU. This is not surprising as it has been commonly underlined that European integration is an elite driven process, a top-down project, thereby explaining some variation between degrees of enthusiasm and skepticism of the benefits of EU integration and their impact on Greek society, culture, politics and economics (INTUNE Paper NIR-07-05 2007).

Annex II: on the theoretical report

The theory of multiple modernities does not appear to have been explicitly applied to the Greek case. The theory has been put forward as an attempt to contest the dominant framework from the 'periphery.' As such, it is highly relevant in the Greek case particularly as the Greek case illustrates and exemplifies almost the entire range of the tensions and dilemmas that have been identified in the notion of multiple modernities.

There is much room to explore this notion further in the Greek case, both theoretically and empirically. This is the case because most of the academic literature has focused either on the religious dimension (and the compatibility of the Greek Orthodox Church with modernity/ Europe); or on the institutional and political implications and consequences of Europeanization, and less on the identity dimension.