

**Greece, like Kronos, is Eating its Children: Small-Business People's Responses to the
Ongoing Economic Crisis in Athens, Greece**

by

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Declaration

I, Arthur Spiros Procopos, declare that this dissertation is my own original work. Where secondary material has been used (either from a printed source or from the internet), this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and the University of Pretoria.

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Abstract

This dissertation is concerned with the documentation and analysis of contemporary responses of a particular segment of Greek society to the economic crisis that has impacted on Greece, Europe and the wider capitalist world. Based on ethnographic research conducted in multiple sites, including the city of Athens and the village of Kandyla, I argue that dynamic contemporary connections exist between rural and urban Greece in relation to these responses. I also argue that contemporary responses to the crisis among this segment of society, notably small-business people, are constructed through and built upon strategies that have long histories in Greek village life and that are informed by responses to earlier crises, the memories of which are kept alive both materially and discursively. These responses are rooted in and performed in what Herzfeld has called “collective identification” evident in a set of shared sentiments among research participants regarding the valorisation of hard work and the principle of self-sufficiency, the parasitic nature of the Greek state, the constant production of insiders and outsiders in relation to the state, the use of reciprocity in business contexts, and the deployment of stereotypes regarding youths and politicians.

Table of Contents:

Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

| | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---|
| 1.1. | Introduction and Research Question | 1 |
| 1.2. | Ethnographic Context | 3 |
| 1.3. | Research Methodology | 4 |
| 1.4. | Ethical Considerations | 8 |
| 1.5. | Outline of Chapters | 9 |

Chapter 2: Literature Review

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 2.1. | Introduction | 12 |
| 2.2. | The City and the Village in Greece | 12 |
| 2.3. | The Economic Crisis and Changes in Greek Social Policy | 13 |
| 2.4. | Political Patronage and the Division between Insiders and Outsiders in Greek Society | 16 |
| 2.5. | The Social Significance of Stereotypes, Rumours and Gossip | 17 |

Chapter 3: Social Entrepreneurship: An Initiative to avoid Political Clientelism

| | | |
|------|---|----|
| 3.1. | Introduction: Meeting my Gate- Keepers at the Social Club | 21 |
| 3.2. | A Greek Lesson with Anastasia and George's story at the Social Club: Political Patronage versus Hard Work | 23 |
| 3.3. | Meeting Tasos: Work and why Tasos left Greece | 31 |
| 3.4. | Live Music at the Social Club: Social Entrepreneurship and Self-Sufficiency as Reactions to an ongoing Crisis | 34 |
| 3.5. | Concluding Remarks | 42 |

**Chapter 4: Gossip, Rumours and Structural
Violence: Coping with Being Political and
Economic Outsiders**

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 4.1. | Stereotypes, Work and the Political Elite: George, Tasos and Nick | 44 |
| 4.2. | Small-Business People and their Experiences with Structural Violence in Greek Administration | 53 |
| 4.3. | Concluding Remarks | 56 |

**Chapter 5: A Romanticised Past: Surviving
the Crisis of the Past and the Prestige of
Working Hard and Suffering as a Family**

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 5.1. | Introduction to Kandyla | 59 |
| 5.2. | Anastasia and Mihalis: How we were Taught to Survive as Children | 62 |
| 5.3. | Lefteris: The Lazy Youth and the Destruction of Family Values and Hard Work | 66 |
| 5.4. | Taking Advantage of Structural Violence and a Clientelist Political Culture in Rural Greece | 70 |
| 5.5. | Rumours and Gossip about Political Insiders: Investigating Generational Differences through Rumour and Gossip | 74 |
| 5.6. | Concluding Remarks | 76 |

Chapter 6: Conclusion

| | | |
|------|---------------------------------|----|
| 6.1. | Introduction | 78 |
| 6.2. | New Blood: Friendship as Family | 81 |
| 6.3. | Bureaucracy amongst the People | 83 |

| | | |
|--|---------------------|----|
| | Bibliography | 85 |
|--|---------------------|----|

List of Figures

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 3.1: Map of the Social Club | 21 |
| Figure 3.2: Photograph of the Live Music Event at the Social Club | 36 |
| Figure 3.3: Photograph of the Live Music Event at the Social Club | 37 |
| Figure 5.1: Map of the household in Kandyla | 60 |

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Greece is an example of the 'Mediterranean Welfare State', "a key feature of which is a reliance on family for many of the tasks that the Welfare State undertakes elsewhere" (Tinios 2015:13). The recalibration of the familial welfare state, from relying on the family to an inclusive and flexible labour market, came to a stop in the 1990s. In 2001, Greece became the 12th member of the European Economic and the Monetary Union. Between 2005 to 2009, Athenian youth were actively involved in political mobilisation towards the Greek government as a reaction to the execution of a youth and the fiscal policies of 2009 resulting from the 2008 economic crisis (Dalakoglou & Vradis 2011:13-14; Graeber 2012:3-12; Pechtelidis 2011:450). During the crisis, the rise in poverty affected families with children more than other household types, the elderly were somewhat protected, and the crisis levelled the income inequality between men and women (Matsaganis 2013:14). Rakopoulos (2015, 2014), Theodossopoulos (2014), and Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) argue that the Greek economic crisis and the resulting Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2010 and 2012 resulted in the rollback of the welfare state as social spending and wages were cut to fulfil requirements for bailout packages. In August 2015, the Greek government accepted a \$96 billion bailout which will conclude in August 2018. Regardless of economic collapse and political instability, family-run enterprises contribute to more than 80-85% of total local employment (Erasmus+ 2016:30-31, Szabo 2013:137-138) and are synonymous with small to medium enterprises (SMEs) (Erasmus+ 2016:10; Pliakogianni 2014; Szabo 2013:137). Thus, the research question is, 'How are Greek citizens responding to the 2008 economic crisis?'

In the course of this study, some questions have guided me. These include: How are Greek citizens financially supporting their households in times of economic crisis? How do Greek citizens understand the material effects of the crisis? Whom do the citizens blame for their hardships? What is the relationship between government bureaucracy and normal citizens? What strategies are citizens using to survive the crisis?

Knight (2013:7-8) and Theodossopoulos (1997:264 in Knight 2013:7-8), who conduct their ethnographic research in rural Greek villages, argue that village households during crises rely on self-sufficiency to survive. Self-sufficiency is the exploitation of household resources to produce resources internally, opposed to buying goods at a market (Theodossopoulos 1997:264 in Knight 2013:7-8). Knight (2013:7-8) argues that self-sufficiency includes the need to protect a household's "economic prosperity and prestige". The authors describe how families work together to produce resources for the household. Theodossopoulos (1999:622) describes how the 'ideal' code of gendered labour for a harvest includes men, women and children with different work roles. Women who work and children who go to school and work are acknowledged by the community as hardworking. To be hard working is seen as prestigious and brings honour to the family. Rural families who have family members in the Greek cities send resources, produced by the members of the village household, to the cities. Thus, the family members in the cities rely on these resources – especially during times of crisis. Knight (2013:6-11) explains how self-sufficiency is group participation, with the aim that the group's survival is the priority. Knight (2013:6-11) explains that in some extreme cases family members will commit suicide to ensure that the other family members have enough resources.

In my study, I have tried to apply this concept of self-sufficiency to answer the research question. Moreover, I focus on two particular groups of Greek citizens who were born in Greece and whose family originates in Greece to answer the research question. The first research group is based in Athens where the majority of research participants are working or studying, with a few studying and working. The second group is in Kandyla where they actively participate in agricultural activities. Kandyla is a rural Greek village which is two hours from Athens by car. I compare these two research groups to argue the dynamic connections between rural and urban contexts. By doing so, I suggest that the strategies of survival I document in Athens are historical rural strategies of survival that have had success in past crises. It is important to acknowledge that a concept like self-sufficiency cannot dictate the complex ways that research participants think and behave. To gain a better understanding of how research participants think and behave I conduct an analysis of research participants' activities and their use stereotypes, rumours and gossip.

An analysis of research participants' activities reveals that research participants in a city context work together as a group, creating self-sufficiency for the group. Group self-sufficiency draws lines between insiders and outsiders. In other words, who gets a share in the groups' resources and who does not. To better understand the complex ways in which research participants draw the line between insiders and outsider I analyse their narratives which are made up of stereotypes, rumours and gossip. An analysis of how research participants use stereotypes, rumours and gossip according to anthropological literature (Herzfeld 2005; Knight 2013; Low 2003:401; White 2000) allows me to argue that stereotypes, rumours and gossip may serve several functions. Firstly, they allocate accountability for the crisis to the ruling elite and the lazy youth. Second, the use of stereotypes by research participants defines them as hardworking and thus not responsible for the crisis. Third, the use of stereotypes naturalises the division between political and economic insiders and outsiders when dealing with government administrators. Fourth, the use of stereotypes regulates participants' behaviour by separating group insiders from outsiders by stipulating what normal insider and outsider behaviour at different levels of identification are.

1.2 ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

My research participants find themselves in a complex capitalist society where small, family run enterprises, which contribute more than 80-85% of total local employment (Erasmus+ 2016:30-31; Szabo 2013:137-138), is identified as a distinctive feature of Greek society. Small, family-run enterprises as a feature of Greek society have affected how scholars theorise class in Greek society (Pliakogianni 2014).

Papadopoulos (1987 in Pliakogianni 2014:9) identifies two categories of middle classes. The traditional and the new, in which Papadopoulos places the businessmen or self-employed that have not managed to expand the reproduction of their capital (usually they work aside from their employees as well), and the salaried employees whose job is neither managerial nor purely executive (Papadopoulos 1987 in Pliakogianni 2014:10). Poulantzas defines the middle strata in terms of productive and non-productive labour. Amongst non-productive labour, the new middle class, Poulantzas places the "white-collar" employees that work in

the service sector. Productive labour or the traditional middle class includes those in possession of a small amount of private property and a means of production, such as small-scale manufacturing and family businesses. The traditional middle class has the characteristic that the owner is also the direct producer and uses only a small amount of paid labour, usually for short periods of time. Thus, the traditional middle class does not exploit labour directly but gains from the social production and distribution of surplus value (Pliakogianni 2014: 10). Wright, (1998 in Pliakogianni 2014:10) based on terms of exploitation, defines two different kinds of class locations where he traces the middle class: the traditional middle class who are neither exploiter nor exploited, and those who exploit on one dimension of exploitation but who are exploited on the other and who are part of the new middle class. Thus, Greece is an ethnographic context in a complex capitalist society which is reliant on familial structures and group collaboration. Moreover, the ethnographic context is that of a society experiencing socio-economic anxiety as a result of the global economic crisis. I do not incorporate a wider, comparative perspective of global South and Southern European countries facing similar experiences after the economic crisis as such a theoretical comparison is beyond the scope of the dissertation.

Thus, to better understand how to approach an ethnographic context such as Greece I refer to Ozel (2007) and Simpson (1997). Ozel (2007:18) argues that the fundamental argument underlying the scholarly work by Marx, Schumpeter, Weber, and Polanyi is that capitalist societies represent a shift from community to society or as the shift from *Gemeinschaft* to the *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies 1988:234 in Ozel 2007:18). A complex capitalist society which is still reliant on familial structures suggests that labour relations amongst individuals may fall between the community and society continuum, representing what Simpson (1997:732) argues as the interpenetration of kinship and economics in complex societies. These oppositions are what supposedly define the quality of relationships one expects to encounter on each side of the divide between market and family.

1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research question framing this work is, 'How are Greek citizens responding to the 2008 economic crisis?' To understand the related issues and aspects and provide a well-

documented answer I spent ten months in Greece, six months in Athens and four months in Kandyla. Kandyla is a village approximately a two-hour drive south-west of Athens. Two ethnographic sites act as the anchor to the ethnographic interviews and observations conducted during fieldwork and recorded in fieldnotes. Fieldwork, or the knowledge involved in fieldwork, is based according to Carrithers (2010:291) on attaining two kinds of knowledge – an everyday knowledge based on how those studied survive and a critical knowledge of how to compare one society and culture with others, particularly our own culture as researchers¹. During fieldwork I focus on and hangout (Bernard 2011:277) with twenty-eight participants between January and October 2014. The research participants present an example of behaviours and narratives which highlight social and cultural norms and reveal societal structures, even as these are being challenged or heightened by the socio-economic crisis. The process of highlighting and analyzing these norms and structures was performed according to previous ethnographies and my fieldwork experiences. I made and used fieldnotes to record fieldwork² experiences (Durant 1997:115; Peacock 2001:64; Schensul and LeCompte 1999:128; Sanjek 1990:95). Moreover, I used ethnographic interviews, ranging from unstructured to semi-structured interviews, to record a systematic investigation of ethnographic sites and research participants (Bernard 2011:157; Schensul and LeCompte 1999:128). I conducted an on-going thematic analysis to draw codes and themes from fieldnotes. These themes acted as focal points for further analysis while taking into account anthropological literature³.

¹ “...everyday knowledge that the people studied use to get around in their lives. The anthropologist must engage with this, both to survive and work in local circumstances and to discover local reasons, motives and standards...she [the anthropologist] then rehearses and reflects upon what she has learnt – and also upon what she has counted and collected – and transforms this first knowledge into a second knowledge, no longer a personal knowledge of how to handle persons, but a critical knowledge of how to compare one society and culture with others, particularly her own.” (Carrithers 2010:291)

² Here I take Peacock’s (Peacock 2001:64) analogy of an old Russian General, “Before an important battle, his [Kutuzov’s] advisers were detailing high-level strategies. Bored, the old general slept. On the eve of the battle, he rode around and interviewed his sentries. In this way, it is said, he learned more about the actual situation than did his strategists. This tale should appeal to the anthropologist. Like the old general, he distrusts abstract formulations distant from “real people” and “real life”. He seeks truth from the natives in their habitat, by looking and listening. We call this “fieldwork”.” as a definition of fieldwork and that fieldwork includes recording, describing, analysing, and formulating what I learnt (Peacock 2001:70)

³ I take into account works that investigate: youth; youth experiences; experiences during times of rapid socio-economic change; narratives; collective identities in times of rapid socio-economic change; polytemporality; and stereotypes.

I refer to ethnographic interviews as conversations as the participants were eager to share their narratives and experiences. Research on narratives suggests that the expression of socio-economic anxiety often emerges through narratives, rumours and gossip (Knight 2013; White 2000). Moreover, socio-economic anxiety may result in the mobilization of individuals and their labour to sustain the mobilized group of individuals opposed to the survival of an individual (Knight 2013). Therefore, when I elicit data in a casual conversation by changing the theme of the conversation towards my research question, I began eliciting unstructured and semi-structured ethnographic data. In the literature, the difference between unstructured and semi-structured interviews is described as the frequency of interference by the researcher (Schensul and LeCompte 1999:128). As I focused on narratives, I did not incorporate structured interviews in my research so as to allow my participants the chance to express themselves as freely as possible without drifting from the research theme (Bernard 2011:157). After allowing my research participants to express themselves freely, I started identifying a pattern in narratives. I found that research participants discussed their experiences and then related their experience to a collective experience, which they perceived as similar enough to their present experience to contextualise and make sense of present experiences. These collective past experiences were found, amongst others, in songs, rumours and gossip. Moreover, it is using this pattern (of contextualising the present by referencing the past) that two aspects were identified, firstly, the historic collective identification that the narrator subscribed to him- or herself and second, the dynamic relation between socio-economic tensions and cultural constructs which link city and rural contexts.

Through the study, five gate-keepers allow me to spend time with them at work and in social situations, introducing me to their friends and family⁴. These gate-keepers often acted as research assistants in ensuring the validity of data (Schensul and LeCompte 1999:130). Also, these gate-keepers assisted in the meeting of new research participants and acted as translators (MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000:24; Schensul and LeCompte 1999:130).

⁴ Gate-keepers gave me access to their networks, based on personal ties of different kinds (MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000:24). They typically give the ethnographer access to that which is often inaccessible (Schensul and LeCompte 1999:130).

Snowballing (MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000:24), the result of hanging out and gaining rapport, was important in selecting research participants:

Hanging out is a skill...Hanging out builds trust or rapport, and trust results in ordinary conversation and ordinary behaviour in your presence. Once you know, from hanging out, exactly what you want to know more about, and once people trust you not to betray their confidence, you'll be surprised at the direct questions you can ask (Bernard 2011:277).

I met George and his friends, for example, by hanging out at the Social Club. I was honest from the beginning about my research, and I found that such honesty allowed me to snowball into new relationships, including George's friends. Moreover, I worked with George in building and maintaining furniture for the Social Club. Likewise, for Stella (with whom I stayed in Athens) I recorded training seminars and took product photographs for advertising; and for Mihalis, I assisted with maintaining and harvesting agricultural produce from the household farm. Working with research participants, at times without pay and as part of establishing relations of reciprocity, was beneficial in two ways. Firstly, I was able to witness everyday activities and hang out for long hours with these individuals and those around them, building rapport and giving myself and those around me time to tell stories and share experiences. Second, I was able to put myself in the shoes of my research participants by working during the day trying to 'get by' in Greece. I could now tell everyday stories of my experiences of what it was like to be in Greece in my twenties, and by the end of my fieldwork I could tell stories of my work and social experiences in the village and the city. Telling my story gave me even more opportunities to collect narratives of individual and collective experiences of everyday life. This collection of narratives was enhanced by the use of a voice recorder as is common in planned semi-structured and structured ethnographic interviews. Interviews were conducted mostly in English and a bit of Greek; participants often insisted that we speak in English so they could practice the language. After unplanned ethnographic interviews, I made fieldnotes to record elicited data.

Spatial mapping typically contextualises the description of different ethnographic sites (Schensul *et al* 1999:128). Spatial mapping and a sociological analysis of space suggested to

me that the intimacy of spaces shared by friends and family may be a contributing factor in sharing socio-economic experiences with the eagerness I mention above⁵ (Dalakoglou and Vradis 2011:79-80; Schensul *et al* 1999:128; Low 1999; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000; Robinson 2009:501). By applying literature on multi-sited ethnography to the juxtaposition of two main ethnographic sites and research participants between the eighteen to eighty-five age brackets, I compare participants' narratives and activities in an attempt to reveal and investigate the dynamic relations between an urban and rural context and people's responses to the economic crisis (Dalakoglou and Vradis 2011:79-80; Low 1999; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000; Robinson 2009:501). In Athens, as the following chapters will demonstrate, George mobilises his friends' labour and skills to support the Social Club economically. In Kandyla, kinship and friendship groups mobilise their labour to share resources. These resources are the agricultural production within a family and include meats, poultry, eggs, vegetables, and potatoes which will then circulate throughout a kinship or local ground. One family member or friend will provide eggs and chickens; another may provide potatoes, and so on. This methodology structures the investigation of four prominent themes of migration, xenophobia (insiders vs. outsiders), social mobility, and economic stability documented in individual and collective first-hand experiences and considers how these themes may structure certain activities as responses to times of social instability and economic failure. To understand the above themes and activities, I conducted a thematic analysis of work, friendship as a space between the stranger and family, and dependence.

1.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In regard to my writing approach, I write in a fashion that allows the reader to identify the pursuit of objectivity by including my thought process alongside ethnographic data (Durant 1997:112; Peacock [1986] 2001:108). Including my thought process is necessary as some research participants in this work are my family, including first and second cousins⁶. Also and importantly, because some topics approached by my research participants during

⁵ This spatial effect I mention is explored in Part 2 with reference to Bourdieu's (1990[1980]) concept of *Habitus* and Herzfeld's (2005) concept of *cultural intimacy*.

⁶ My cousins and I grew up together in South Africa till the age of seven. Thereafter, they moved to Greece. I did not see my cousins for ten years until I visited Greece. My fieldwork began after not seeing my cousins for five years after my last visit to Greece.

conversations include, for example, bribery, political corruption or tax evasion. Bearing in mind that my research participants are small-business people and students, I use pseudonyms instead of their real names. I do this as I want to avoid any disruption to their businesses and work, the same way MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000:23) use pseudonyms in their case histories throughout their work on transnational traders so as to protect their informants. In the next section, I provide an outline of the chapters to follow.

1.5 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter two is an overview of the literature applicable to my study. I begin with a focus on literature that investigates the connections between villages and cities and how working relationships change according to these connections. Next, I focus on the Greek economic crisis and the changes in social policy. I investigate how changes in social policy lead to political patronage and a division between economic and political insiders and outsiders. Lastly, I focus on the social significance of stereotypes, rumours and gossip as I analyse participants' narratives.

In Chapter three, I begin by describing my primary fieldwork site: the Social Club. After my description of the Social Club, I introduce my gate-keepers and how I met George and his friends, whose narratives and experiences are the focal point of my inquiry. In Athens, I begin with Anastasia, whose explanation of the public education system is helpful in showing how the Greek government's lack of social safety nets leaves young Greek students, who do not have help from their families, vulnerable. This vulnerability results in the introduction of young people to a clientelist political culture consisting of political and economic insiders and outsiders. This section introduces the political and economic environment faced by small-business people. Next, my recounting of a conversation with George reveals the social importance of the value of hard work and the common stereotype that Greek youth are lazy. This stereotype of lazy youth and how George uses gossip and rumours in his narrative to discuss lazy youth serves to distance George and his friends, who share his sentiment of lazy Greek youth.

Next, I introduce Tasos and discuss the reasons why he left Greece to work in China. Tasos worked for George at the Social Club for no remuneration until he left for China. The

working relationship between George and Tasos reveals how the research participants under discussion rely on social and kin relationships as part of their response to the crisis. Thus George, as an individual, acts as a social entrepreneur while running a family business, effectively blurring the line between work and home as George relies on reciprocity (associated with the home) amongst both his friends and family at work. This data would suggest that small-business people rely on friend and kin relationships to operate their businesses in times of economic instability. Finally, I describe and analyse a live music event that George hosts at the Social Club which reveals how group 'self-sufficiency' may act as a strategy for survival in a city context.

In Chapter four, I focus on a group interview between George, Tasos and Nick. All of them made extensive use of the lazy youth stereotype and describe the Greek government as the 'mafia' and an enemy of the Greek people. This conversation allows me to argue that there is a pervasive, yet subtle, structural violence affecting small-business people in Greece in that navigating bureaucratic procedures effectively or achieving successful interactions between government employees and Greek citizens, depends on a large extent on relations of political patronage. The pervasive presence of such subtle structural violence is underscored by Antonis and Manolis who reveal further difficulties with bureaucracy that inhibit the successful operation of their businesses. It echoes the experiences of others like them, such as George, who must constantly participate in the clientelist political culture to keep the Social Club from closing down.

In Chapter five, I move to a description and analysis of my second fieldwork site, Kandyla. I use the data from my investigations in Kandyla to argue that the use of self-sufficiency and the sharing of resources between Kandyla and Athens suggest dynamic connections between urban and rural Greece. I argue that contemporary responses to the crisis amongst this segment of society, notably small-business people, are constructed through and built upon strategies that have long histories in Greek village life and that are informed by responses to earlier crises, the memories of which are kept alive both materially and discursively. The data I collected in Kandyla reveal the importance of the values of hard work and working together, echoing what I had argued regarding George and his friends in Athens. Moreover, it would appear that hard work and working together indicate a degree of prestige. Lastly, I argue that taking advantage of the clientelist political culture by

research participants in both Athens and Kandyla may be a strategy to gain access to state resources. In other words, participants are not helpless when subjected to bureaucratic difficulties by either participating in the clientelist political culture or by working alongside those whom they consider insiders.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to deal with themes relevant to understanding the data I recorded. I begin by briefly discussing the dynamic connections between city and village by understanding how urbanisation altered the working relationships between family members. By investigating the changes urbanisation had on labour relations, the dynamic connections between villages and cities may explain how strategies of survival associated with rural survival apply in city contexts. Next, I investigate the economic crisis and the changes of Greek social policy during this time. This investigation allows me to understand the political environment which my research participants found themselves in. I then deal with how these changes in social policy created the space for the production of political insiders and outsiders, where the interaction between political insiders and outsiders is dictated largely by political patronage. I briefly investigate how social entrepreneurship may find a space as an alternative option, perhaps one among many, to participating in political patronage. Lastly, I deal with the social significance of stereotypes, rumours and gossip to better understand my research participants' narratives of their experiences of the economic crisis, and how they survive.

2.2 THE CITY AND THE VILLAGE IN GREECE

The effects of urbanisation between the 19th century and 20th century on rural villages in Greece have been well documented and include changes to household labour, gendered divisions of labour, dress, and issues of social mobility (Bika 2012; Friedl 2009; Hadjikyriacou 2009; Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2013; Papadopoulos 2006; Theodossopoulos 1999). The division of labour in Greek villages remain highly gendered, with specific roles assigned to men, women and children (Bika 2012: 241; Haland 2012:108-113; Theodossopoulos 1999:616). This gendered division of labour is according to an 'ideal' code which brings prestige when a household adheres to this code (Haland 2012:111, 113; Hadjikyriacou 2009; Theodossopoulos 1999:622). The ways urbanisation alters a rural context is beyond the scope of this dissertation but what is important to my argument is that these changes rely on various dynamic links between the city and the village.

Strategies of mobilising labour and resources during times of crises have been documented by anthropologists in many parts of the world. Kinship and friendship groups mobilise their labour to produce and exchange resources (Abbink 2005:8-10, 19-17; Graeber 2010:199-210; Knight 2013; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000:10, 107-108; Theodossopoulos 1999; Osaghae 1995:5-8, 35-37). This network of sharing extends beyond the rural setting, effectively stretching family and friendship networks over space and beyond the traditional family home. Household farms put aside resources for family members who stay in Athens, thus providing a “social safety net” (Tinios 2015:13) by sending resources to Athens with a family member or family friend travelling between Kandyla and Athens. I argue that these kinship and friendship networks not only transport resources but strategies of survival, that these strategies are a part of social safety nets that may get activated in moments of crisis.

Knight’s ethnographic work, for example, explains how past behaviours may be kept alive in the present. Knight’s (2013) ethnography of Trikala, a village in central Greece, suggests that behavioural norms find structure according to past experiences found in narratives and identification to local nuances (Knight 2013: 2-3) or iconicities (Herzfeld 2005: 93). This identification results in a polytemporal connection between the past and present (Knight 2013). I argue that this polytemporal connection represents the dynamic relationship or connection between cultural constructs and social environments and which links the rural and the urban. Some differences between rural and urban will exist; these may be a result of different contexts, social class, levels of identification, or changes in behaviour over time.

2.3 THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND CHANGES IN GREEK SOCIAL POLICY

Before the crisis, the reliance of the Greek Welfare State on family (Tinios 2015:13) was facilitated by a system of production centred on small family farms, on self-employment and widespread owner occupation of housing. State social protection expenditure is concentrated on cash transfers and long-term benefits, such as pensions, and uses targeting sparingly. The family remained responsible for social emergency help – as a “social safety net” (Tinios 2015:13). The recalibration of the familial welfare state (Ferrera 2010 in Tinios 2015:13) was a shared aim for the Mediterranean Welfare States, which meant that the state had to relieve families of providing social protection and take on this responsibility by

creating social safety nets that will protect citizens from crises. In Greece, employment in the 1980s experienced a fall in growth rates and a decrease in productivity growth. Much of the labour force was absorbed by the public sector, which “favoured a two-speed labour market (insiders/outsiders)”, and created barriers for the unemployed, young people and women to enter the labour market (Tinios 2015:13-14). The recalibration of the familial welfare state, from relying on the family to an inclusive and flexible labour market, came to a stop in the 1990s⁷.

During the crisis, the rise in poverty affected families with children more than other household types, the elderly were somewhat protected, and the crisis levelled the income inequality between men and women (Matsaganis 2013:14). Women entering the labour market as “added workers in labour participation”, indicates a counter-cyclical mechanism which operates as an ‘informal social protection mechanism’ in Greece (Tinios 2015:28). The increase in income equality has had the effect of pulling the upper classes towards the middle and by eradicating certain barriers to entry into the labour market, “the crisis is affecting everyone, but it is affecting the middle and high incomes more than the lowest.” (Tinios 2015:23-24). The crisis is associated with a worsening for political and economic outsiders: temporary employment fell by half between 2007 and 2014 for young people indicating worsening access to employment⁸. In 2010, the number of public sector workers remained more or less the same, even though 53,400 civil servants retired to escape the effects of that year’s pension reform. In 2011, when 42,00 general government employees retired, another 12,600 were hired, mostly by the local government.

These employment statistics breached the five-to-one rule set by Troika in the Memorandum and agreed to by Parliament (Matsaganis 2013:32). Rakopoulos (2015, 2014), Theodossopoulos (2014), and Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) argue that the Greek economic crisis and the resulting Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2010 and 2012 led to the rollback of the welfare state. These authors describe some responses to a disappearing welfare state at a grassroots level; from informal social networks and self-help

⁷ A means-tested benefit (EKAS) in 1996 covered pensioners exclusively, on the argument that only pension income was reliable enough to limit leakages to non-poor individuals. (Tinios 2015:13-14)

⁸ Tinios’ (2015:32) research indicates a 20% drop in the private sector employment options, through redundancies, versus a 17% drop in public employment, due to early retirement.

groups to solidarity movements. Then in June 2013, Troika announced that 12,500 workers must be dismissed as a prior action to trigger the next instalment of financial assistance by the 30th of June 2013. On the 11th of June, the Prime Minister abolished the public television corporation and replaced it with a leaner successor company⁹ (Matsaganis 2013:32).

The idea in 2014 was to replace a system of exclusion, where insiders enjoy high protection and outsiders have none, with a system of inclusion (fewer rules which apply with greater consistency) (Tinios 2015:32). However, this was not the case. Moreover, international intervention did not lead to change in Greece's social policy and safety net. For example, the first bailout agreement contained a requirement for a proposal on how to create a functioning safety net, but this deadline was never met. Most short-term benefit programmes failed due to cash constraints amongst local authorities, and long-term benefit programmes became pension programmes (Tinios 2015:19). The second bailout programme was meant to take the Greek state system away from exclusionary social policies but reforms in almost all cases stalled (Tinios 2015:31). The situation on benefits other than pensions remained untouched resulting in continued leakages to richer population groups. According to Tinios (2015:33):

The key question is whether the existing system based on subsidizing categories of need will be replaced by a system using clear general rules and addressing the entire population. Such a system means incorporating into a general system those special safety nets which only protect pensioners. This might mean discontinuing benefits to some in order to improve benefits to others. The reluctance to deal with those issues was probably the cause of delays in coming up with workable proposals for a guaranteed minimum income. The absence of social monitoring based on consistent indicators implies that policy has to be formed on casual impressions. For example, while there is no official policy on homeless, the initiative is taken by voluntary groups and NGOs, for example, Caritas 2014. The extent of the problem and its deterioration still remain uncertain (Tinios 2015:33).

⁹ This sparked protest in Greece and concern was expressed by the European Broadcasting Union and soon became a controversy that caused the Democratic Left party to exit from the coalition government. (Matsaganis 2013:32)

2.4 POLITICAL PATRONAGE AND THE DIVISION BETWEEN INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS IN GREEK SOCIETY

Matsaganis (2013:20) describes that poor administration and loose standards were evident in many policy areas before (and during) the crisis and resulted in benefit fraud, a cost estimated at two percent of Greece's gross domestic product. This benefit fraud is a result of a clientelist political culture that is based on "the exchange of favours for votes, the complicity of medical doctors and local administrators sitting on committees processing disability claims, and low levels of civicsness and a widespread attitude of mutual suspicion between citizens and the state" (Matsaganis 2013:20). Also, a characteristic of the Greek labour market is a high degree of segmentation between the public and private sector employees. Public employees were paid better wages, enjoyed access to social benefits and employment protection, which lead public sector workers to be seen as a privileged class¹⁰ (Matsaganis 2013:27). Before the crisis the exact number of workers in public sector jobs was unknown. In 2008 the research institute of the labour union federations (INE 2008) analysed Labour Force Survey data. The analysis found that "the broader public sector (including the civil service, as well as state-owned enterprises) made up thirty-five percent of total employment – this figure was also reported by the ILO" (Sotiropoulos 2012 in Matsaganis 2013:31).

In the 2000s, Greece entered the crisis with an unreformed social protection system and employment infrastructure¹¹. Although minimum wage protection was considered a mechanism of social protection provided by welfare states, Greece's social protection policy left out the already unemployed and self-employed. Moreover, the 2000s were a period of jobless growth. Short-term social benefits were categorical; they address a given category of

¹⁰ "In this context, public sector workers began to be seen as a favoured, separate caste. The informal *social contract* underpinning their formal employment contract was there for all to see. Its often implicit terms included minimal demands from superiors, modest wages (though better than those paid by private firms), superior social benefits, steady prospects of promotion based on years of service rather than on performance, and the all important guarantee of a job for life. In certain cases, tenure extended to full impunity, as even those removed from their posts following disciplinary action (a rather rare occurrence in a general culture of low ethical standards feeding complicity and omertà) continued to receive salaries and benefits. As a result, the distance from conditions in the rest of the labour market (characterised by low pay and benefits and pervasive insecurity), became so wide that the announcement of a few job openings in the public sector attracted thousands of applicants, even at times of relatively low unemployment." (Matsaganis 2013:31)

¹¹ Greece's entry to the crisis with an unreformed social protection system and employment infrastructure is a consequence to cheap money due to euro membership and reform delays (Matsaganis 2013; Tinios 2015)

need, such as having a large family or disability, irrespective of income and other circumstances (OECD 2013b in Tinios 2015:19). A lack of safety nets and exclusive social policy meant that those who could not access government resources to shield themselves from the crisis were left to defend themselves or exchange their votes for access to government benefits. A division of insiders and outsiders in Greek society extends beyond the political and economic spheres.

Knight's (2013) ethnography of Trikala addresses the division between insiders and outsiders in Greek society. Knight (2013) found that in Trikala collective collaboration is supported by collective identification and leads to the overcoming of boundaries created by economic uncertainty and political instability during a crisis. In Knight's ethnography, the author discusses how self-sufficiency can cater for the entire kinship group (Knight 2013:7-8). Knight explains that Trikala was largely sheltered from the Great Famine of the 1940's even though the search for food and shelter was necessary for many peripheral towns across Greece. The reason for Trikala's shielded state is due to self-sufficiency and reciprocity practised among extended kin networks¹². Although Knight (2013) describes the importance of self-sufficiency as a survival strategy, he does not argue that the sharing of resources within a group essentially draws the line between insiders and outsiders.

2.5 THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF STEREOTYPES, RUMOURS AND GOSSIP

During the time spent in Athens and Kandyla, I began to notice how often individuals I spent time with told stories. I began to realise that that these stories are documentaries of a personal experience in everyday situations that relate to collective past experiences. I then became aware of the how often a casual conversation with a stranger would become a narrative of their experiences. Their reasons behind the good and bad times were often slightly exaggerated or based on popular rumours (White 2000). These popular rumours amongst my research participants during my fieldwork include some scenarios. One such

¹² "Self-sufficiency is the systematic exploitation of a household's resources and the clear preference of households to utilise such resources internally instead of buying readily available goods at market. The concept of self-sufficiency relates to the idea of self-interest, referring not to individuals but to whole households (Theodossopoulos 1997:264). Self-interest also dictates the protection of a household's economic prosperity and prestige." (Knight 2013:7-8)

scenario was that there is an elite extended kinship group of three hundred individuals who own Greece and are to blame for everything wrong with Greece. Two, the voting in of new laws and policies takes place during summer, and this is when no one pays attention so no one can oppose the new legislation or policies. Three, Germany has a tremendous debt to Greece in World War II remunerations and have never paid Greece. Four, the government accepted a smaller lump sum from Germany after World War II and had already spent it on themselves. Five, politicians know what they do is bad for Greece but have never cared. These popular rumours were often bolstered by shared stereotypes.

Katerina, one of my research participants, revealed three stereotypes subjected to these popular rumours; “the lazy, those that left, and the rest of us” (Katerina 2014:*ethnographic interview*). In the work of other scholars of Greek society, each stereotype represents different behaviours and variations of behaviours in both public and private domains¹³ (Herzfeld 2005:119). The objective of analysing such rumours and stereotypes is not to focus on the exact sequence of historical events or how true the narrative is. Rather, to understand the importance of narratives and what narratives reveal as a methodological consideration as the telling of narratives is daily. The importance of daily narratives is discussed by Durant (1997:94), the ethnographer’s interest is based on a detached sympathy to listen to personal stories and to read between the lines to understand the “dramatis personae” and logic behind conflict¹⁴.

In his work on Greece, Herzfeld has argued that “iconicities” explain stereotypes as a mark of collective similarity based on a cultural past, which acts as a means to define an entire population (Herzfeld 2005:59, 95, 211). Stereotypes as iconicity are important as it signifies how iconicities can be reproduced freely between those who are intimate revealing the boundaries between insiders and outsiders (Herzfeld 2005: 95). We know from anthropologists who have studied rumours and gossip (Herzfeld 2005; Knight 2013; Low

¹³ I discuss different levels of identification and how each carry unique socio-economic behaviours in everyday narratives in Chapter 2.

¹⁴ “The ethnographer’s interest in people’s lives and their problems is often similar to the lawyer’s interest in his clients’ complaints and the therapist’s interest in his patient’s conflicts. It is sympathetic but detached. In listening to people’s stories, especially the more dramatic ones, the ethnographer’s interest is often not only for the tellers and their personal drama, but for the dramatis personae they represent, not necessarily for the ways in which a conflict might be resolved but for the logic implicit in that conflict. In their conversations with their subjects, ethnographers have an awareness of professional goals that projects them beyond the here-and-now and into the realm of academic writing and professional quests.” (Durant 1997:94)

2003: 401; White 2000) that gossip can create ties of intimacy between those gossiping. Gossip and scandal is a sign of and brings to light social boundaries. It also serves to define a group or membership, as it relies on learned and lived practices that assert social values keeping individuals in line (White 2000:57). Narratives not only allow individuals to enter the historical record but is also a way for people to participate in the states and civil societies in which they live. Also, such speech may manage individuals' behaviour by defining deviance and virtue, based on stories, rumours and scandal (White 2000:58). White (2000:59) argues that the use of bad or unsuccessful and successful gossip results in community disapprobation. Gossip acts as a useful historical source as it occupies the interstices of respectability, allocates responsibility, naturalises the unnatural, and is a claim to knowledge and the right to speak it (White 2000:59-60). By historicising gossip and rumour, we can look at the boundaries and bonds of a community, "who says what about whom, to whom, articulates the alliances and affiliations of the conflicts of daily life" (White 2000:61). White argues that how people talk about themselves and their experience derives from a folk past and historical and cultural meaning. Gossip reveals contradictions and rumour brings together and explains contradictions (White 2000:63). Lastly, "Together speech and silence form discourse; speech or silence alone do not" (White 2000:66) so, "what is said can be used to get at what is not said" (Low 2003:401). The importance of silence is that it is not spoken of or heard; rather it is observable. The significant difference between what is said and done sits in the silence of narratives.

In his writing, Knight discusses how his research participants in rural Greece discuss narratives that are historically contextualised by the Ottoman Occupation to understand the current government alliance between the European Union and the Greek government (Knight 2013:17-27). Following this, Knight (2013:2) argues that this historical contextualisation is the basis of polytemporality¹⁵. He holds that narratives, gossip, and

¹⁵ Knight would call 'context shifting markers' that signify the basis of polytemporality and so historical experience informing present norms (Knight 2013) – a mechanism of historically informed socialisation legitimised by the cultural narrative. An emphasis on such an historical experience which is conveyed to youth today suggests a further relationship between subjective experience and historical experience, "Local and global dimensions of capitalist relations are inscribed with historical experience, suggesting that meaning in history appears as the hinge between subjective experience and objective positions in neoliberal economic systems (Narotzky 1997:94). Social and economic anxiety is rationalised by the proximity of the past crises and primarily expressed through narrative, combining past and present in polytemporal embrace and assisting the

rumour convey historical experience and inform existing norms (Knight 2013:2), and so the past is linked to the present. Knight's mechanism to convey historical experience is the author's concept of context shifting markers, "a mechanism of historically informed socialisation legitimised by the cultural narrative" (Knight 2013:2). In other words, a relationship between subjective experience and historical experience that is comparable to the importance of narratives¹⁶, the importance of iconicities to cultural intimacy and social poetics (Herzfeld 2005).

Following this, Graeber (2012: 110-118) argues that criticism of bureaucratic procedures is a matter of accountability and creates a certain conception of the nation through interpretive labour. Interpretive labour includes two critical elements; first, that the work required understanding social relations is done by subordinates in relations of domination. Second, is a resultant pattern of sympathetic identification where those at the bottom of the social ladder spend time imagining the perspectives of those at the top (Graeber 2012:119). Graeber (2012:117) further argues that "situations of structural violence invariably produce extreme lopsided structures of imaginative identification." Thus the effects of the crisis in Greece not only reveals the boundaries between political and economic insiders and outsiders but also highlights the structural violence. Coupled to this, Theodossopoulos (2014) argues that anti-austerity indignation shapes local interpretations of historical or economic causality, protects nationalism and assigns accountability. Moreover, he argues that anti-austerity indignation reveals injustice and inequality in the "World economic order (such as the current [2007 and on-going economic] crisis [in Greece]" (Theodossopoulos 2014:491).

negotiation of crisis experience (Sutton 2011, Knight2012a, Stewart 2012). People experience the present crisis by drawing on the past to construct alternative visions of the future." (Knight 2013:2)

¹⁶ The importance of narratives are discussed in the works of Abbink (2005:5), Craith (2009:198-208), Herzfeld (2005:119), Knight (2013:2- 6), Low (2003:401), MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000:20), Malaby (2003:9), Pechtelidis (2011:450), and White (2000:56- 69). I present these works throughout my dissertation.

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: AN INITIATIVE TO AVOID POLITICAL CLIENTELISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION: MEETING MY GATE-KEEPERS AT THE SOCIAL CLUB

Two surfboards hang above the entrance. The Social Club includes two outside areas that wrap, in a semi-circle, around the front of the shop. Two doors lead into the shop, one on the right and one to the left. Both doors open directly to the outside tables. The Social Club is located on a corner, and approximately ten meters from the entrances to the Social Club are the streets. The entrances are glass doors, fixed to large panes, allowing anyone walking or driving by to see inside the shop. Once inside the shop an ordering counter sits in front of you and stretches across the entire back wall. On the counter, from left to right, is space for customers to sit as if at a bar, homemade biscuits on glass plates, a serving counter for customers who order to go, a till, a glass display which shows off cakes and sandwiches, a juicer and a sink. The bar continues in the shape of a squared “U” and runs along the back wall. Against the back wall, from left to right, is a shelf displaying beverages, a bar fridge where milk and other ingredients for menu items are stored, a large coffee machine giving the user the option to make six coffees at once, and a toaster to heat sandwiches.

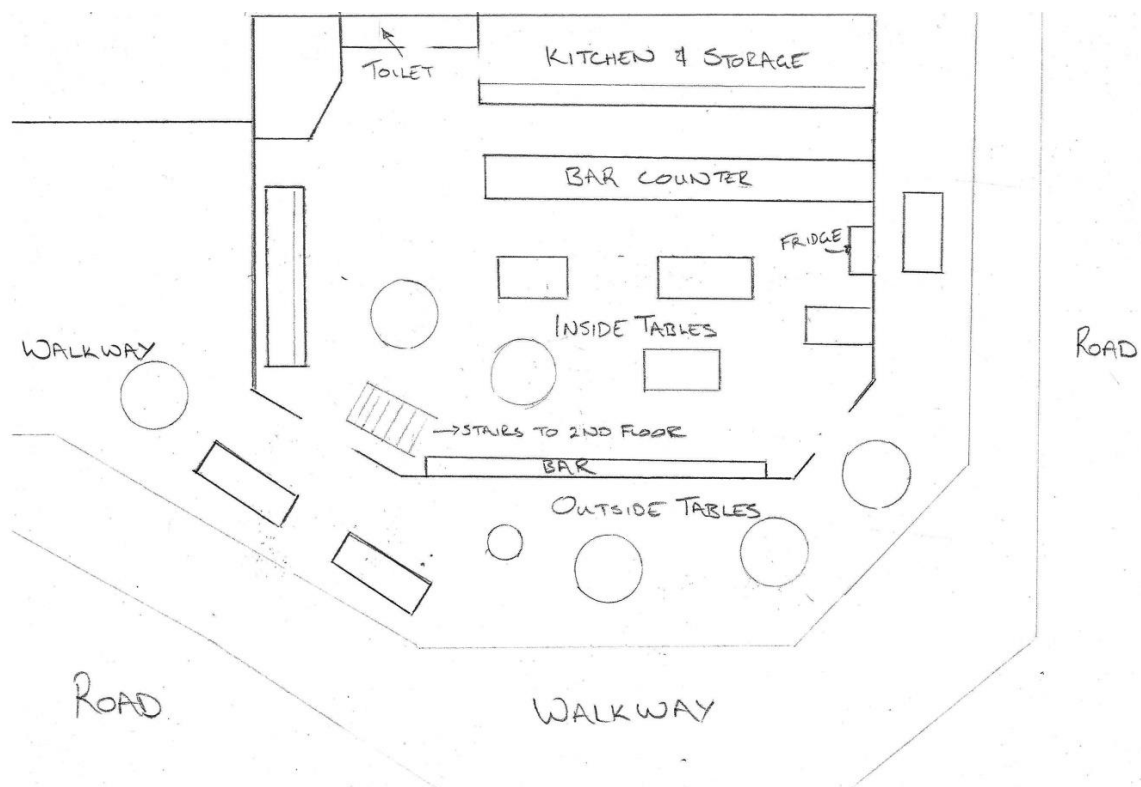


Figure 3.1: Map of the Social Club

On the back wall is mounted a blackboard. In white chalk a very well-drawn figure of a man is wearing traditional Mexican clothing, the shop name is written to the left of the figure, and the menu is written on the blackboard. Opposite the blackboard and against the glass panes that separate the outside and inside tables is a bar counter which runs the length between the two entrances. High, backless, stools let customers sit at the bar counter, and photographs hang as posters against the glass panes. Between the bar counter and the ordering counter is a long table and benches as chairs. To the left of this table and in between this table and the left entrance is a ladder and bookshelf combination that leads to a second floor. To the left of the ladder and bookshelf combination is a large pane of glass. Against this pane of glass is a bookshelf with old records, books and a wooden draughtsman's doll. A long table, like that in front of the bar counter, runs the length of the pane of glass. To the left of this table is the entrance to the toilet and to the left of the toilet is the storeroom. The rest of the inside shop floor (the space between the entrances and the two counters) includes five tables with space to seat two to four customers a table.

Katerina, Anastasia and I at first confuse the Social Club with a surf shop because of the surfboards positioned above the left entrance. Katerina is twenty-four, and a student enrolled at Deree, an American college in Athens. Anastasia, Katerina's younger sister, is twenty-two, and also a student at Deree. Both Katerina and Anastasia act as gate-keepers in my research, introducing me to their friends, helping me learn and translate Greek, and validating narratives I record during my fieldwork. One afternoon Anastasia sends me a phone message to join her and Katerina at the Social Club for coffee. I find Anastasia and Katerina at a long table to the left of the shop in the outside area. After greeting both Anastasia and Katerina, a waiter greets me and asks, "Pinis Kati?" ("Are you drinking something?"). I request a coffee. Detecting my foreign accent, the waiter, looking on with excitement, asks me in English where I am from. In Greece, my accent never failed to give me away as a foreigner. I smile and explain that I live and study in South Africa. The waiter introduces himself as George and asks me about the duration of my stay in Greece. I answer him saying a couple of months. George then asks me about the reason for the length of my stay. While sitting at the table, I explain to George in English that I am in Athens researching Greek citizen's views on and responses to the unfolding and ongoing economic crisis.

Laughing in response, perhaps surprised by my answer, George tells me that his coffee shop is a good place to be conducting research on this topic, adding that the “youth are crazy” and Athens is a good place for anyone doing research. Katerina and Anastasia, both also seated at the table, agree with George. George then suggests I meet his cousin, Nick. Like me, Nick is an outsider of sorts even though he is part of George’s family. He too is new to Athens and is learning how to speak Greek. Nick is from English-speaking Canada, and George suggests that the two of us get to know each other and keep each other company. After I accept his proposal, George leaves our table, smiling, only to return carrying a coffee and with Nick at his side. After he is introduced to us, Nick sits down at our table and we start talking. In the conversation that follows, with us seated at the coffee table in the café in Athens, Nick explains that George is the owner of the café and that he is in Athens to assist his cousin with the running of the Social Club. He also talks about Canada and then graciously offers to introduce me to some more people he had gotten to know through introductions made by George. As my two female companions and I get ready to leave, Nick and George say goodbye and implore us to return to the Social Club, specifically inviting us to a music event they are soon to host at the café.

3.2 A GREEK LESSON WITH ANASTASIA, AND GEORGE’S STORY AT THE SOCIAL CLUB: POLITICAL PATRONAGE VERSUS HARD WORK

A few days after my first visit to the Social Club, Anastasia and I are having a Greek lesson. During a cigarette break from the lesson, I ask Anastasia if she knows of any research related to my research question – how are Greek citizens reacting to the 2008 economic crisis? Anastasia was, during my fieldwork, pursuing a higher degree in psychology. She says she has not come across any research and suggests I meet her lecturer. In the process I learn something important about the way in which student placement at public universities in Greece works, which came to inform my understanding of the anti-government sentiment often expressed by my research participants.

I learned during fieldwork that high (secondary) school students are ranked by the national government based on tests they write in the final year of high school. Similarly, all public universities are ranked by the state. Unlike in South Africa where students can apply to any public university if they obtained matriculation exemption in their final year of school study,

in Greece the national government places students in universities. Students who score high marks are placed in universities that are ranked high while students with low scores are put in universities that are ranked lower. While students can re-write this test to obtain higher marks and thus increase their chances of being placed at a "better" university, students effectively do not have a choice as to where they will study for their higher degrees unless they opt for an international university outside of Greece or enrol at a private university in Greece, which is what Anastasia and Katerina did by enrolling at an American University in Athens.

This system has other consequences over and above taking away "choice" from students. If a student is placed at a university far from home, he or she has to move residence which in turn has financial implications for students (travel costs and renting accommodation) as well as political consequences for youth mobilisation. It has also created opportunities for patronage wherein those close to the state and thus to the decision-making mechanisms (political party leaders and state officials) can influence student allocations in return for patronage or material benefits. After telling Anastasia that in South Africa national political parties are present on all campuses and in some instances youth wings of national political parties play an important role in student governance and campus politics, she replied:

Exactly the same [as in South Africa], except here [in Greece] youth political parties bribe students with answers to tests [university acceptance tests and other school and university tests], cellphones and [social] parties. They [the political youth members] want students to join because they want more votes. If you join, you get all the benefits and you get new friends. Sometimes the teachers are part of these parties. I heard a story that a teacher who was part of a [political] party changed the scope of a test and only told the students part of the same [political] party [about this change]. The rest of the students failed the test.

What Anastasia describes is how youth formations of national political parties create opportunities for patronage owing to a lack of access to the safety nets provided by the state and the loss of social safety nets provided by families as students are separated from their families (Matsaganis 2013:20; Tinios 2015:13, 28).

This is a theme in the academic literature too. Tinios (2015:13) argues that a reliance on families to provide social safety nets in place of the welfare state is a characteristic of the Mediterranean Welfare State. Yet, the Greek Welfare State's recalibration of its social policy to relieve families from providing social safety nets came to a stop in the 1990s. The recalibration of Greece's social policy was considered a necessary condition for Greece's acceptance into the European Union (Tinios 2015:13). Although education is free in public universities, Anastasia reveals that household support is still necessary for allowing young people to be educated away from home. The continued reliance on the household to provide social safety nets for youth reveals undesirable 'gaps' in social policy of Greek governance. In the 2000s, Greece entered the crisis with an unreformed social protection system and employment infrastructure. Although minimum wage protection was considered a mechanism of social protection provided by welfare states, Greece's social protection policy left out the already unemployed and self-employed. Short-term social benefits were categorical: they addressed a given category of need, such as having a large family or disability, irrespective of income and other circumstances (OECD 2013b in Tinios 2015:19). A lack of safety nets and exclusive social policy means that political insiders, or those with political connections, take advantage of short-term social benefits while those who cannot access government resources are left to defend themselves or rely on community initiatives in times of crisis. For example, there is no official policy for the homeless; the initiative is taken by voluntary groups and NGOs (Tinios 2015:33).

Greek social policy cannot protect its younger citizens from the effect of the crisis without the social safety nets provided by families. This reveals a continued relationship between the household and a labour market that has been described as 'exclusive' in that it is characterised by a lack of employment opportunities for Greek youth (Matsaganis 2013; Tinios 2015). Secondly, these 'gaps' create opportunities for political patronage (Matsaganis 2013:20). This effectively creates a boundary between citizens who do not have access to state resources (political and economic outsiders) and political party classes who do have access to state resources (political and economic insiders). This shows that, despite those who want to portray the market as separate from the state, the economic and political spheres are intimately related in Greece. This is a point forcefully made by Polanyi in *The Great Transformation*:

No market economy separated from the political sphere is possible; yet it was such a construction which underlay classical economics since David Ricardo and apart from which its concepts and assumptions were incomprehensible. Society according to this layout, consisted of bartering individuals possessing an outfit of commodities – goods, land, labor, and their composites. Money was simply one of the commodities bartered more often than another and, hence, acquired for the purpose of use in exchange. Such a “society” may be unreal; yet it contains the bare bones of the construction from which the classical economists started. (Polanyi 1957:206)

Later, as I am writing up my fieldnotes, Anastasia remembers a street market that is set up and suggests we go for a photo walk. I agree. After the photo walk, I offer Anastasia a coffee to thank her for the Greek lesson and taking me to the market, and suggest we visit George at the Social Club. Anastasia and I walk into the right-hand entrance and sit at a bar counter by the window facing the street. George recognises us and greets us warmly. Remembering I am from South Africa, George tells me that he wants to play me a vinyl record. Soon I recognise the musical sounds of Rodrigues - the North American singer who became a hit among apartheid-era white South Africans and about whom a prize-winning South African documentary was recently made. Noticing that I was carrying a camera, George asks me about it and about photography. I told him that I am a photographer and that Anastasia and I had just gone for a photo walk through a street market. George insists on seeing the photos on my (digital) camera, explaining that he may want to exhibit them alongside the works of another photographer. The exhibition would be ready for the music event he was planning at the coffee shop the next week. Katerina arrives, greeting George and us, and George takes our order.

George returns carrying our coffees on a tray. As he places the first of the three coffees on the table, he turns to me and suggests I come back tomorrow with my camera and photographs. George explains to me that he is too busy today as the shop is full and he must still finish a table for his shop. I watch George put the tray behind the bar then walk to a table outside the left-hand entrance where he sits facing a surfboard. George takes a metal file in his right hand and begins scraping off the rubber foot grips. I apologise to both Katerina and Anastasia and excuse myself from the table, explaining that I want to talk to George about my research. I approach George and ask what he is doing. Answering me,

George explains that he got the surfboard for free from a friend to turn into a table for the Social Club. Telling George that the surfboard will make a cool table I pick up a second metal file. I sit opposite George and begin scraping off the rubber foot grips. George, taken aback by my action, quickly requests that I stop. I explain to him that I want to help, that if I help him, he can serve his clients while I finish removing the rubber foot grips. George, surprised at my explanation, laughs and agrees before offering me another coffee on the house. I accept his offer as I sense that George wanted to pay me in some way for the help as we are not friends.

George turns to me and asks, "What's your story?" I explain that I am doing a Master's degree and researching what Greek youth experienced during the economic crisis in 2008. George asks me why I came to Greece for my research. I explain that the research lets me spend ten months during summer in Greece, jokingly saying, "who would not want to spend ten months in this [Greek] summer?" George agrees and laughs at my comment. I repeat George's question back to him, "What's your story?" George reveals that he chose not to work in the corporate world but instead opened a bar and a café. George is not unique in this regard.

Small, family-run enterprises are a feature of Greek society and economy and are synonymous with small to medium enterprises (SMEs) (Erasmus+ 2016:10; Pliakogianni 2014; Szabo 2013:137). The statistics attest to this as small, family-run enterprises contribute to more than 80-85% of total local employment (Erasmus+ 2016:30-31; Szabo 2013:137-138). It is not surprising that this has been identified as a distinctive feature of Greek society and that it has featured in how scholars have theorised class in Greek society (Pliakogianni 2014). Papadopoulos (1987 in Pliakogianni 2014:9) identifies two categories of middle classes, the traditional and the new, in which he places the businessmen or self-employed that did not manage to expand the reproduction of their capital (usually they work aside from their employees as well) and the salaried employees whose job is neither managerial nor purely executive (Papadopoulos 1987 in Pliakogianni 2014:10). Poulantzas defines the middle strata according to productive and non-productive labour. Under non-productive labour, the new middle class, Poulantzas places the "white collar" employees who work in the service sector. Productive labour or the traditional middle class includes those in possession of a small amount of private property and the means of production,

such as small-scale manufacturing and family businesses. The traditional middle class has the characteristic that the owner is also the direct producer and uses only a small amount of paid labour, usually for short periods of time. Thus, the traditional middle class does not exploit labour directly but gains from the social production and distribution of surplus value (Pliakogianni 2014:10). Wright (1998 in Pliakogianni 2014:10) defines two different kinds of class locations, based on terms of exploitation, from which he traces the middle class. First, is the traditional middle class which is neither exploiter nor exploited; secondly, those who exploit on one dimension of exploitation but who are exploited on the other and are part of the new middle class.

Returning now to George, who proceeds to narrate “his story”, which is a story also about the small businesses of the Greek middle class:

I wasn't born here [in Greece], I was born in Germany. I am a full Greek, though. My dad is a civil engineer. Maybe you have seen those coloured steel supports for the toll gates on the highways? He built them. He had a good job in Germany but then we moved back to Greece, and I attended university here. I went to do my masters in economics in Barcelona [Spain]. After I had got my degree, I came back to Greece and now I make coffees [laughs]. I don't want to be in that world [of economics] man. I have a partner that I built a beach bar with, and I work there too but in the summer. We close it [the beach bar] in the winter to save money. No one goes that way [to the beach bar] when the weather is cold. I made that whole [beach] bar out of wood myself, what I can't build I ask my dad to help me build. It's like this place [the Social Club]; the chairs, tables, fittings, finishing and pretty much anything made of wood I did. I painted the shop; I have been here working alone on this shop for six months. I am going to get help soon, well when I can afford it [afford to hire staff to serve the clients, set up and pack away the tables and chairs, and clean the Social Club].

Based on the field notes I had written down after the conversation with George, I had also asked George about Greek youth. George told me that Greek youth do not make something of themselves and that they are afraid. He blames fear of not having family support, or

being self-reliant, as the reason why youth do not make something of themselves, adding that they are passive and lazy:

They [the youth] don't want to work; they [youth] wait for their parents to give them money, or their grandparents. They [youth] go to school and stay there as long as possible, and sometimes they fail on purpose. Others [youth] work if they really need to, but most of the time they are lazy and do nothing. They are afraid to go out and do something with their lives. In university, they all spoke about politics and economics, but they didn't know what they were really talking about. It wasn't real politics. Nothing came from it. I was at the University of Athens; I left and went to Barcelona like I said. The difference is that I am not afraid to go out and create something, make something of my life like I made this shop and the bar. The youth doesn't want to [make something for themselves], they are scared. I want to make something for myself and my family. My sister studies overseas and needs help too.

Clients walked into the Social Club and sit down, and George makes his way to serve his new customers. I return to Anastasia and Katerina. When Katerina and Anastasia leave, I stay behind to help George finish the table. I ask George if I can help him out with his shop and the music event. George happily agrees and tells me that he will do what he can to help me with my research; I just need to say what I need.

George's views about the passivity and laziness of Greek youth is a sentiment I am to hear often during my field research, especially amongst George's friends but also from older research participants. By articulating this sentiment, George effectively distances himself from the majority of lazy Greek youth who are afraid to make something of themselves. It allows him to give expression to his own sense of self as being different, as if belonging to a separate class or strata in society than the lazy youths. Moreover, George explains that youths and students think they participate in politics when in fact they do not as those youths and students who did participate in politics did so by participating in what Matsaganis describes as a clientelist political culture, "the exchange of favours for votes..." (Matsaganis 2013:20). A clientelist political culture is pertinent to my discussion in this chapter about how the structure of Greece's political economy effectively renders the youth

as economic and political outsiders, unless they opt for participation in the culture of political patronage and economic system.

Herzfeld argues that stereotypes are used as “iconicities”, a mark of collective similarity based on a cultural past which acts as a means to define an entire population (Herzfeld 2005:59, 95, 211). Stereotypes as iconicity are important as they signify the ways in which iconicities can be reproduced freely between those who are intimate revealing the boundaries between insiders and outsiders (Herzfeld 2005:95). Moreover, this youth stereotype is expressed in rumours and gossip. We know from anthropologists who have studied rumours and gossip (Herzfeld 2005; Knight 2013; Low 2003:401; White 2000) that gossip can create ties of intimacy between those gossiping. Gossip and scandal is a sign of, and brings to light, social boundaries. It also serves to define group membership as it relies on learned and lived practices that assert social values keeping individuals in line (White 2000:57). Narratives not only allow individuals to enter the historical record but are also a way for people to participate in the state and civil societies in which they live. Also, such speech may manage individuals’ behaviour by defining deviance and virtue based on stories, rumours and scandal (White 2000:58). Lastly, “Together speech and silence form discourse; speech or silence alone do not” (White 2000:66) so, “what is said can be used to get at what is not said” (Low 2003:401). The importance of silence is that it is not spoken of or heard; rather it is observable. The significant difference between what is said and done sits in the silence of narratives.

Following Herzfeld (2005), White (2000) and Low (2003), we can see how George’s narrative effectively serves to define himself in relation to the political and economic insiders in Greek society. For one, George distances himself from what he sees to be a lazy, fearful youth population. By doing this, George can claim agency yet signals his limited participation in a broad Greek society whose government cannot protect its younger citizens from the effect of the crisis without the help of social safety nets provided by families as a reaction to the on-going socio-economic crisis (Matsaganis 2013; Tinios 2015). Moreover, this stereotype and the gossip around this stereotype is a means for George and his friends to justify their hard work and their decisions, and to separate themselves as a group in a broad Greek

society characterised by a clientelist political culture (Matsaganis 2013:20). The use of the lazy, passive youth stereotype becomes a way to define both insiderhood and outsiderhood, revealing the boundaries between George and his friends, who share this sentiment with many of my older research participants who belong to the middle class (Pliakogianni 2014).

3.3 MEETING TASOS: WORK AND WHY TASOS LEFT GREECE

The following day I take my laptop with me to the Social Club to show George the photographs of Athens I have taken during the photo walk. I walk in through the left entrance and George is sitting at the end of a long table with benches. George stands up, greets me and introduces me to his friend Tasos. I learn that Tasos is twenty-seven years old and works as a waiter in hotels in China. George explains that Tasos is going to be helping him run the shop until such time as Tasos leaves for China again. I sit down with Tasos and George, and I tell George that I have brought the photographs on my laptop. George offers Tasos and me a coffee; Tasos and I agree. Tasos suggests that he makes the coffee and George refuses him, gets up and walks towards the coffee machine. Tasos asks me how it is that I know George. I explain that I came in for a coffee and when George heard my accent he inquired about my origins. George interjects and tells Tasos about the incident during which I helped to make the surfboard into a table.

When I inquire about his reasons for going to China, Tasos explains that as a result of the crisis he cannot make a career or enough money in the services sector in Greece. According to him Greek employers do not pay good wages and, unless you know the owner of a business or the employer personally, you will not get a good position with a good salary. In China, on the other hand, he can make good money while building his career – all the things he is unable to do in his native country. While the economic crisis no doubt played a role in the growing unemployment in Greece, the fact that meritocracy and hard work are not guarantees for participation in the labour market, clearly upset him. The sense that the labour market is not really a market but a network of people connected through kinship and friendship, frustrates him. These sentiments are backed up by the literature. Tinios (2015:13-14) reports that Greece favours “a two-speed labour market (insiders/outside)” in that private sector workers receive, in general, smaller wages, and struggle to enter and

stay in the labour market (see also Matsaganis 2013:27). Furthermore, Tasos' sentiments about bureaucracy echo those described by Matsaganis (2013:20) who has argued that the Greek state bureaucracy and political life is clientelist in that benefit fraud is pervasive.

Tasos expressed the same sentiment when it came to the state bureaucracy, underscoring the 'dark side' of bureaucracies that are not impersonal and based on contract. He tells me that the reason he has not yet traveled to China is because he is struggling to get his work visa, issued by the Greek state, renewed. He told me: "I work in China in hotels, I am back [in Athens] to renew my work visa. I was meant to be back [in China] a week ago but getting anything [government administration] done in Greece takes forever if you don't know someone [who works in the correct government department] that can do it [for you]. Until it's [working visa] is done I will help George with his shop. I'm getting bored man I want to work again."

George returns and puts down a tray with three coffees on it on the table. We each take a coffee and George asks me to roll a cigarette. I also offer Tasos a rolled cigarette, and he accepts. I roll three cigarettes and switch on my laptop. Spotting four people sitting at an outside table, George asks Tasos to take their order and look after them. George looks through the photographs on my computer. Liking the photographs, George asks me to pick eight photographs and print them in A4 size for the music event. George tells me that the other photographer does not mind that I put up my photographs and that I should come to the shop on the morning of the show.

Tasos, like George, considers himself an active youth, willing to work hard and 'make something of himself'. As mentioned above, Tasos is frustrated with the personal nature of business and bureaucracy in Greece, perhaps not seeing how his personal friendship with George is also at play in the work he does at the Social Club. During my field work, many of my research participants expressed similar sentiments concerning business and bureaucracy. Both George and Tasos react to the crisis through stressing their activities of hard work and by relying on personal relationships such as friendship to continue to work in light of an exclusionary labour market (Matsaganis 2013:27; Tinios 2015:13-14). Both George and Tasos define themselves through narratives that stress hard work and

sentiments concerning business and bureaucracy indicating that George and Tasos consider themselves as belonging to the same group – the political and economic outsiders. At the same time, they are defining themselves as separate from those Greek citizens who are the insiders: lazy youth and those participating in the patronage political and economic system.

During the conversation with George and Tasos described above, two interactions between George and Tasos reveal something about the nature of their working or labour relationship. The first interaction is when Tasos tries to insist that he will make the coffee for the three of us, but George refuses and tells him to sit and speak to me. The second interaction is when George orders Tasos to assist the new customers who sit down before I show George my photographs. These interactions reveal George's ability to dictate Tasos' work activities at the Social Club while keeping to his agreement to assist me with my research. Moreover, these interactions reveal the personal dimension of this work relationship between George and Tasos. Although George can direct Tasos' activities at the Social Club, George and Tasos are friends and clearly George will only reserve the right to direct Tasos' work activities as long as Tasos struggles to get his work visa and agrees to help out at George's business. Lastly, I learnt that Tasos is not being paid a set wage by George. One way to describe this relationship, that sits between a personal friendship and a private contract, is to use the concepts described by Simpson (1997) and Ozel (2007).

Ozel argues that the fundamental argument underlying the scholarly work by Marx, Schumpeter, Weber, and Polanyi is that capitalist societies represent a shift from community to society or a shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*¹⁷ (Tönnies 1988:234 in Ozel 2007:17). In Weber's terms this shift corresponds to two types of rationality, from natural will and freedom to rational self-interest (Ozel 2007:18). This labour relation between George and Tasos then falls in between the community and society continuum, representing what Simpson (1997:732) argues as the inter-penetration of kinship and economics in complex societies. Simpson argues that in complex societies the boundary

¹⁷ "Capitalist society is characterized by an institutional separation between the "economic" sphere, and the "political" sphere, as in the distinction between the "civil" and the "political" society. That is to say, capitalism, from a social theoretical point of view, can be represented by a shift from "community" to "society," or to put it in a terminology of Ferdinand Tönnies (1988), from the *Gemeinschaft* to the *Gesellschaft*. According to Polanyi, the sociological background of the distinction was first mooted by Hegel and developed by Marx in the 1840s." (Ozel 2007: 17)

between society (market) and personal relationships (family) activities lies between a variety of oppositions such as public and private, category and person, commodity and gift, market and household, and interest and emotion. These oppositions are what supposedly define the quality of relationships one expects to encounter on each side of the divide between market and family. Thus the work relation is personal rather than Tasos – as a labourer - becoming a “cog” (Marx 1975) in the workings of the Social Club for George and reveals how George acts in many ways as a social entrepreneur (Hulgard 2010). The music event described in the next section highlights the various ways George acts as a social entrepreneur (Hulgard 2010:293-300) and at the same time resonates with what Knight (2013) has argued elsewhere as the important principle of self-sufficiency in Greek society.

3.4 LIVE MUSIC AT THE SOCIAL CLUB: SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY AS REACTIONS TO AN ONGOING CRISIS

On the morning of the show where I was to exhibit my photographs, I arrive at the Social Club with the prints of the photographs. I walk through the left-hand entrance noticing that George is sitting at the same table the three of us sat at when I met Tasos. George is looking over photographs with someone I have not met. As I approach them, both look up, and George stands to greet me. George introduces me to Manos and orders me a coffee from Tasos as he takes his seat again to continue his conversation with Manos. I walk over to the coffee machine and greet Tasos and I walk to the table and sit opposite Manos. George asks to see the photographs and he explains that Manos is the other photographer that will be displaying his photographs. I thank Manos for agreeing to put up my photographs alongside his. George gets up as new customers enter the shop. Manos and I start speaking; first Manos asks me my ‘story’ and how I got to know George. By now I am getting used to the way in which Greek people introduce each other and how establishing the nature of relationships between people is an important aspect of such introductions. I talk about my research and how my foreign accent led me to get to know George, Nick and now Tasos. I then ask Manos the same question he asked me, “What is your story?”

Manos, who I learn is twenty-six years old, grew up with George; they are childhood friends. Manos tells me how there once was a time, before the crisis, when he was able to make enough money as a professional photographer to afford renting his own photography

studio. Now, in the midst of the unfolding economic and social crisis, Manos has to take on the odd job in construction, when they become available, in order to make a living. He says:

I have my studio around the corner [from the Social Club]. I used to work as a full-time photographer and would rent out my studio to other photographers [to make money]. The crisis went on, and less and less people want to pay me for photos so now I practise [in my spare time] to keep getting better [at photography]. I started working as a construction guy, fixing houses.

George returns to us, posing the question, “How are we going to put up [exhibit] the photos? We can’t mount the photos in frames because that is too expensive and to tape them against the windows will look cheap from the outside [looking in through the window]”. I suggest we use string, clips and hooks. I explain that we can tie the string to the hooks, which we can fasten to the wooden window frames to create a line, and clip the photographs so they hang from the string. George and Manos agree, and I walk across the street to purchase string, clips and hooks from a hardware store. When I return George asks me how much the string, clips and hooks cost because he wants to pay me back. I refuse and tell him to rather make me a coffee. We begin putting up all the photographs. We hang photographs back-to-back in front of the windows so anyone inside the shop or walking by will see them. Photographs hang above the ordering counter and along the corridor wall leading to the bathroom. Finished, and with George and Manos happy with the outcome, Manos says his goodbyes and takes his leave. George tells me to stay behind for a moment before asking, “Will you bring your camera tonight and take photos of the event for me?” I agree immediately and thank George for the opportunity to exhibit my photographs. I take my leave from the Social Club.

I return to the Social Club at eight o’clock that evening with Katerina, Anastasia and my camera. We enter through the right-hand entrance and find a space at the end of a long table nearby the entrance. George rushes over to us thanking us all for coming to the event, asking me if I brought my camera. Holding up the camera bag, George asks me to take as many photographs as I can. I warn George that the lighting in the venue may be an issue, affecting the quality of the photographs. George ignores my comment and tells us to get a

round of drinks on the house. Katerina, Anastasia and I thank George, and each takes a Corona before sitting down.

Katerina and Anastasia ask me to point out my photographs. At that moment I realise that George had re-arranged the entire shop. One of George's friends, whom I have not met, is selling hand-made jewellery in front of the vinyl player. The left entrance is closed off, and a dark blue curtain is hanging in front of the door. Two lights are attached to the left of the ladder and bookshelf combination, highlighting the instruments set up in front of the curtain. Most of the outside tables are now inside. The ordering counter has been turned into a long table with people sitting as if at a bar, and two waitresses unknown to me are taking orders. An array of drinks line up next to the till - red and white wine bottles stand next to bottles of Tsipouro (a clear Greek spirit). Greek (Fix) and imported (Heineken and Corona) beers fill a fridge just in front of and to the right of the ordering counter.

Over the next hour the shop fills up, and George makes the effort to greet every customer who walks in. The demographic of those attending the event is between the ages of seventeen and twenty-seven, between forty and sixty years old and some young adults between twelve and seventeen years. One attendee is not Greek but Brazilian. Present too is Nick. George seems to be familiar with all of those attending. Observing him interacting with those attending it becomes clear that many are George's friends and that others are related to George and his friends. The event brought together people from the same kin and friendship networks; a social event at the Social Club. That George's friends and family came with their friends and their families is also a show of support for his business in the moment of economic crisis.



Figure 3.2: Photograph of the Live Music Event at the Social Club

The band starts two hours late. The music is a postmodern mix of Rempetica¹⁸, poetry, Rock 'n Roll and Jazz. An hour into their performance, the musicians switch to more popular songs and the entire crowd, gripping their drinks, begins singing along. The show comes to an end, and the musicians thank the crowd. George switches on the lights and the people slowly make their way home as the musicians begin packing away their instruments and equipment. It is half-past one in the morning. I observe that the customers make an effort to greet George and wish him a goodnight. Together with four others whom I had not met during the night, along with the two new waitresses, we begin cleaning up the Social Club while George says goodbye to the departing customers. We empty the dustpans and wipe down the tables, while carefully packing glass bottles into crates for recycling.



Figure 3.3: Photograph of the Live Music Event at the Social Club

¹⁸ Rempetica, played by Rempetes, was introduced to Greece in 1923 by refugees from Asia Minor. Rempetica as a music movement was forbidden in Greece, and its performance in underground clubs from the 1920s to 1950s kept Rempetica alive. These underground clubs were male only. Rempetes were stereotyped as drug addicts; this could have been a reaction by the Greek people as Greece was economically and political unstable due to the damage done by the Balkan War, World War I and an influx of two million refugees from Asia Minor. In 2014, Rempetica was a popular genre amongst youth (Andreas 2014: *ethnographic interview*; Anastasia 2014: *ethnographic interview*).

As I am carrying a large black bag filled with rubbish out of the Social Club, I meet Andreas. Andreas, who I learn is twenty-two years old and half Italian and half Greek, points out that he is working at a restaurant around the corner. He is also close friends with George. In turn Andreas introduces me to Giorgos and Angelos, who are of the same age as Andreas. Once the Social Club is clean and George locks the entrance doors, Andreas, Giorgos and Angelos invite Nick, George and me to join them and some of their other friends for crepes (pancakes). George and Nick refuse as George wants to rest before he opens the Social Club in the morning. My new acquaintance Andreas insists I join them and offers me a ride to the Creperie (a shop that makes pancakes) and then home. I accept, and Andreas, Giorgos, Angelos and I greet George and Nick. On our way to the Creperie, Andreas questions me on my stay in Greece, life in South Africa and whether I want to move to Greece. I answer each of Andreas' questions, and then in what has now come to be my standard reply, I reciprocate by asking Andreas about 'his story'.

Andreas tells me that he is working as a waiter while studying full-time. Andreas is worried about whether or not he will find a job after graduating. In this climate of economic crisis he is concerned about what he will do if he cannot find a job: "Getting a job after graduating is difficult these days". Andreas and I arrive at our destination and Andreas parks the car just outside the Creperie. We walk in to find Giorgos and Angelos seated at a large table in the middle of the shop. Andreas introduces me to everyone around the table and I take a seat next to Angelos. As we sit down, Andreas insists I eat the special as it is my first time at this Creperie; he places the order for me. The waitress brings our crepes and Angelos, who I learn is twenty-one years old, turns to me and asks "What's your story, man?". I re-tell the story I told Andreas in the car on our way to the Creperie. After which I ask Angelos, "And what is your story?". Like Andreas, Angelos too is working while studying full-time. Also, like Andreas, he expresses some anxiety about whether or not he will find a job after graduating or what he will do if he cannot find a job. He tells me:

I study translation and work [as a waiter] with some of the guys here [pointing to Giorgos and Andreas] at the restaurant up the street. After I am done studying [translation], I will see what I will do [for work] because I have to specialise in an area of translation. Like you would do if you are studying law. And also to decide

what I will do with my life after that [studying]. I don't know what I will end up doing [for work].

Andreas and Angelos are both working while studying full-time. Both Andreas and Angelos express anxiety which is clearly the result of uncertainty they have about their futures. Both can see that, in the context of the current crisis, getting a job in Greece is difficult and their shared narrative represents wider socio-economic issues found in an exclusionary social policy (Matsaganis 2013; Tinios 2015) and the crisis of unemployment. As with Tasos, they consider themselves to be economic and political outsiders in Greek society, a situation made worse by the economic crisis.

Expressing anxiety about their futures is however not all they do. Both Andreas and Angelos assist George on a voluntary basis to clean the café. As part of the group that help with cleaning, they are not employed by George and were not asked to assist, yet they did help as they wanted George and his cousin to join them to celebrate the success of the event at the Creperie. They also want George to succeed in his business. Much of George's labour then is recruited not on the formal labour market but on a temporary basis through his social networks.

In his studies on how kinship groups in rural Greece respond to and overcome the crisis resulting from the famine, Knight (2013:6-11, 17-27) identifies the practice and principle of self-sufficiency. He shows how individual survival is not always the sole priority; in times of crisis the priority becomes the kin group. In Knight's ethnography, the group is the family who pools their labour and resources to provide for the group in times of famine. In some extreme cases, suicide was practised as a means to ensure enough food and resources for the remaining family members during the famine. Knight (2013:6-11) argues that the basis of self-sufficiency is reciprocity and that the practice of self-sufficiency is conveyed through narratives, gossip and rumours through a mechanism he terms context shifting markers – "a mechanism of historically informed socialisation legitimised by the cultural narrative" (Knight 2013:2). Knight highlights how food is one such context shifting marker which shifts from a sign of crisis (as in the case of the famine) to prosperity as in the case of those who survived the famine. This marker places great importance on eating plenty of food together as a family (Knight 2013:2). Moreover, that reciprocity within a group can be extended to

those individuals who belong to a collective identification at different levels such as kin, local, regional or national (Knight 2013:18). In other words, reciprocity is always present in individual and group behaviour but becomes more prominent as a principle in times of economic crisis when the state and market fail society.

Following Knight's (2013) argument and the data presented above, I suggest that in the city this is also relevant. George and his friends represent a group of individuals tied by personal and kin ties who pool their labour to help George succeed in his business. The business itself is not aimed at enriching George, but at assisting his family in surviving the crisis. The profit then is invested socially, as my next paragraph shows. A context shifting marker in the case of George and his friends is work, specifically hard work and working together as both a means to define themselves as a local group in a broad Greek society (outsiders) and a means to structure personal, sometimes temporary, labour relations underpinned by reciprocity.

Two days following the event at the Social Club I visit George to show him the photographs I had taken during the event. George is happy with the pictures and asks me to upload all the photographs to Facebook. I do so and George tells me that he wants me to come back to the Social Club tomorrow to meet a friend of his named Nick. George and I share a coffee and a cigarette before I take my leave. During the coffee and cigarette, I suggest to George that he should work with bakeries and re-sell their baked goods for a profit share. The bakeries could provide George with their products, which he sells to his customers, and from the profits made George and the bakeries, they could agree to a share each. George explains that he is already doing something similar. George explains that he is sharing his profits with his family and his friends who work for him. George's family bakes the cakes and makes the sandwiches he sells and in return George sends money to his sister who is studying overseas and pays for his family's expenses. For his friends, George explains that he advertises Manos's photography services at the Social Club through exhibitions such as at the music event. In this way he supports Manos's work and also refers Social Club customers to Manos.

These events are not only opportunities to support family and friends, they are also occasions to recruit new workers into the business. Sofia, for example, started working at

the Social Club on the night of the music event and is now a waitress. Sofia is also an art student who plans to begin teaching art to Social Club customers and their children. Her plan is to host these classes on the second floor of the same building. George explains to me that he wants everyone to feel comfortable in the Social Club. He develops personal relationships with his customers and he makes an effort to get to know customers over time. He does this by asking them about their interests and he memorises their previous orders and favourite drinks. He uses the space of the Social Club to introduce customers to each other, thus assisting people in making connections and introductions, often based on knowledge he has about shared or similar interests and personalities of customers. In a sense then George is much more than a businessman who is running a enterprise along rational lines. Central to this enterprise is the social dimension to the club, and the skills he has in listening, remembering, serving, making introductions and socialising. I experienced this myself as George introduced me to Manos after meeting me and also invited me to exhibit my photographs on the night of the music event. George articulated it as follows:

I want to be friends with everyone [customers] that comes to my shop. That's why I go and get to know them [customers]. I also like to introduce everyone to one another. I want everyone to feel like they are friends. I want to work with my friends.

Although George tries to be friendly with all the customers visiting the Social Club, he only allows close friends and family to participate in the business side of the café. Moreover, George makes sure no one other than himself can make changes to any part of the shop or make business decisions about prices of goods and who will be employed. Even if he works with friends and family he makes it clear that he is in charge. At the Social Club George directs the work activities of his friends the way an employer does.

According to this data, George can be described as a social entrepreneur. Hulgard (2010:296) argues that social entrepreneurs are similar to business entrepreneurs but work in the social sector. He also suggests that a social entrepreneur is guided by the idea to produce work for a social purpose and mediate between different interests and connect partners across various spheres and sectors. George can be likened to a social entrepreneur if we focus on his activities and the people who work at the Social Club, and when we consider that his business is being initiated during a time of economic crisis. George is an

entrepreneur as he started his own business, the Social Club. By wanting to make everyone feel comfortable, George connects people across different spheres and sectors. The result is that Tasos can continue working while he waits for his visa, Sofia can teach art and work as a waitress, Manos can find new customers, and George can support his family in Greece and overseas. Moreover, George recruits labour from his social network and his extended family network practise reciprocity aimed at greater self-sufficiency, not that different from what Knight (2013) described for rural Greece. George's friends assist him during and after the event by cleaning up while George greets and thanks those who are leaving, inevitably increasing his participation in a social sector.

3.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The on-going socio-economic crisis in Greece has revealed how the Greek Welfare State is still largely reliant on families and households to provide social safety nets, regardless of the requirement to recalibrate social policy and relieve families as a precondition for Greece to be accepted into the European Union. Moreover, the interruption of social policy recalibration after the 1990s means that 'gaps' in social policy leave Greek citizens exposed and vulnerable to socio-economic crises; there is not enough social protection in Greece for those who fall outside of the economic and political patronage system. The data presented in this chapter highlights how these 'gaps' in social policy and the effects of the Greek State's public education system, of placing youth away from their families, promotes political patronage and may propagate a clientelist political culture – the exchange of favours for votes (Matsaganis 2013:20; Tinios 2015:13-14) – in business and when dealing with bureaucracies.

The data I present highlights several reactions to a broad Greek society defined by political and economic insiders and outsiders, a clientelist political culture and the on-going crisis. These reactions include the anti-government sentiment about student placement in universities, the patronage political culture in universities, and the anger directed at the patronage culture in the labour market and state bureaucracies where it only matters "who you know". George and his friends use stereotypes such as "lazy youth" and anti-government sentiment to distinguish themselves as active and hard working in the midst of the crisis. By doing so, George and his friends distinguish themselves as a group separate

from the clientelist political culture; as outsiders. Instead of participating in a clientelist political culture and as a reaction to an exclusionary labour market, George and his friends work together to run a social business without support from the market or government, relying on social networks for the production of goods, the recruitment of labour, and sharing profits with friends and family.

These labour relations then fall in between community and society (Ozel 2007; Simpson 1997) which suggests that George is representative of a social entrepreneur (Hulgard 2010:293-300) as his business relies heavily on a social sector. George is an entrepreneur as he started his own business and connects people across different spheres and sectors benefitting his community. Yet, on another level, the Social Club is not a social enterprise. According to the *EMergence des Entreprises Sociales en Europe* (EMES) approach to social economy (Defourny and Nyssens 2010:289) social enterprises are:

a continuous activity producing goods and/or services; a high degree of autonomy; a significant level of economic risk; a minimum amount of paid work; an explicit aim to benefit the community; an initiative launched as a group of citizens; decision-making power not based on capital ownership; a participatory nature, which involves various parties affected by the activity; limited profit distribution.

The Social Club is not an example of a business activity that can be said to participate in the social economy. George remains the decision-making power, decides who can participate, is reliant on family and friends, and is a business opposed to an initiative. Thus the Social Club is more like a family business (Pliakogianni 2014) with aspects of social entrepreneurship. It builds on the principles of reciprocity and the search for greater self-sufficiency that Knight (2013) has found practised amongst kin in rural Greece. By relying on family, close friends, and an extended social network, George can distance himself from the clientelist political culture during the on-going socio-economic crisis as he does not rely completely on the Greek state, its social policy and the distribution of state resources for the survival of his business.

CHAPTER 4: GOSSIP, RUMOURS AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE: COPING WITH BEING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC OUTSIDERS

4.1 STEREOTYPES, WORK AND THE POLITICAL ELITE: GEORGE, TASOS AND NICK

I return to the Social Club the following day and find George and Tasos sitting outside, close to the right-hand entrance, with a male I do not know. I greet both George and Tasos before George introduces me to Nick, who I learn is twenty-seven years old and is also a close friend to Tasos. I take a seat between George on my left-hand side and Nick on my right-hand side. I take out my tobacco, cigarette filters and rolling papers and offer to roll cigarettes. Everyone accepts my offer. George insists we get something to drink or eat, and we order coffee and water. George stands and leaves to make the coffee. I ask Nick what it is he does for work and if he will also be helping George and Tasos at the café. Nick explains that he is a graphic designer and has started a small graphic design company that specialises in three-dimensional digital design. George returns with the coffee as I finish rolling the third cigarette. As I distribute the cigarettes, George suggests we speak about my research and explains that Nick and Tasos will contribute if they are happy to do so. Nick and Tasos agree, and I decide to ask the broad question of how youth in Greece are responding to the crisis.

George starts the conversation and Nick and Tasos also chip in. In the course of this interview, I again learn about the importance of first-hand experiences about and rumours of current socio-political issues, the pervasiveness of certain stereotypes in youth discourse, and the importance of gossip and scandal involving those elites who are seen to be controlling Greece. In an earlier interview, George had told me that the Greek youth are afraid to do something with their lives. Nick, on the other hand, spoke less about the fear of the youth and more about the unrealistic expectations of contemporary youth that are the result of the worldwide economic boom of the middle strata of capitalist societies that followed World War II (Pliakogianni 2014:6; Theodossopoulos 2014:493) and which offered this generation's parents a good life. He said:

They [the youth of today] want what their parents had and the stories they hear from the 1950s. These are success stories of getting a job in the public sector which meant high paying jobs, getting away with not paying taxes and the ability to compete with your neighbours. If your neighbour builds an additional floor, you must build an additional floor. More importantly, everything is organised under the table to avoid taxes.

When I asked them about the prevalence of doing things “under the table”, and the origin of this in Greece’s political culture, Tasos replied:

Well, now it's [the way taxes are avoided, or business is done ‘under the table’] taught in schools and universities you see. Teachers fix exams by adding a new chapter [of the material to be studied] into the test and only inform the students who were participating or had joined a political party [that the teacher is involved with]. So if you were not part of the [correct political] party or do not have friends in that political party, you are going to fail. The university youth political parties are the same; they swindle answers to exams, give away phones, and invite the [political] party's members to social events. They do this for votes, if you vote for them they make sure you pass the year and pass it with distinction. Those in power today were all big shots in these political youth parties when they were in university.

Tasos suggests that Greek youth are socialised into this clientelist political culture of patronage in schools and universities. It is the primary way in which those in powerful positions – teachers, lecturers – exercise power and corrupt normal procedures by providing and demanding favours. Importantly this political culture does not originate in the family but outside the family. Later on in the interview, Tasos did make a connection between this political culture and family life when he said that this political culture is “taught in schools. You do not need to work to make money. The government, as long as you support it, will organise everything for you. Or mom and dad will give you pocket money. It’s the same mentality.”

When I asked them how widespread such corrupt behaviour is outside universities, Nick responded as follows:

Yes the students that leave university sometimes leave the [political] parties, sometimes they stay on [and continue to vote for the political party they were apart of in university]. It depends on the person. If you need a job or something, sure they could definitely contact the [political] party again and organise something.

When I asked whether universities are therefore breeding grounds for the establishment of this political culture and whether politicians all come from the university structures and education system, Nick answered:

There is this story I heard of two months ago about an Albanian guy in prison who killed the policeman that kept on beating him. During the investigation, they found the Albanian guy hanging in his cell and called it *suicide* [sarcastically said]. It's like that movie Shaw Shank Redemption, you know it? Well to continue, when I was sixteen and in downtown Athens, I had a bike and the police would pick on us and treat us like criminals just for having bikes and being raised in another country and trying to talk back would only make it worse. So what I am saying is that there are problems, racism, and abuse of power mostly. The public sector does what they want and gets away with it.

Nick is suggesting here that those in power outside of universities get away with corruption and abuse of power. Those in power are not held accountable, and this is a problem especially in the public sector. Tasos then suggested that the problem is worse in Greece given the size of the public sector,

The 1980s was like the 1950s only this time the [Greek] government invented unnecessary jobs, so you will have one person with one stamp and another person with a brand new stamp for the second page of the same document and so forth and you will need to get every stamp for every page, and so the public sector became massive.

Nick chipped in by saying that "the bigger it [the public sector] got, the more people started hiding money and avoiding taxes. If you always hide money under the carpet, eventually the carpet mounts up."

Tasos is echoing sentiments expressed by the European Union and other members of the Troika that were supposed to 'assist' Greece during the economic crisis, that the Greek government had to cut wages and social spending in the public sector according to the Memorandum of Understanding (Sotiropoulos and Bourikos 2014:35). Moreover, the perception that the public sector is continually growing is shared amongst my research participants. This continued growth in the public sector is arguable as the size of the public sector has changed radically since 2007 owing to the requirements of the Memorandum of Understanding. In 2007, the Greek public sector represented above 30% of total employees and was amongst the largest in the European Union, with only three other member states (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) above the 30% mark. In 2015, the Greek public sector was reduced to below 20% of total employment, making the public sector one of the smallest public sectors in the European Union (Eichhorst and Tobsch 2017:3; Stamatelatos 2010:4).

He is also effectively criticising the Greek state for its bureaucracy, echoing Graeber (2012:110-118) who argues that criticism of bureaucratic procedures is a matter of accountability and creates a certain conception of the nation through interpretive labour. Interpretive labour includes two critical elements: first, that the work required to understand social relations is done by subordinates in relations of domination; second, that there is a resultant pattern of sympathetic identification where those at the bottom of the social ladder spend time imagining the perspectives of those at the top (Graeber 2012:119). In the case of the data I present, Tasos and Nick, who are political and economic outsiders, create a conception that the Greek nation is in constant conflict with the Greek government. Moreover, that the Greek government is controlled by political elite, comparable to the Ottoman Occupiers, and that this conflict between the Greek nation and the state eventually led to the Greek economic crisis of 2007.

Thus when I asked them whether this bloated public service and the lack of transparency and accountability in paying taxes and managing public funds were the cause of the crisis, Nick and Tasos started talking about the Greek government and the role of elites, echoing anti-government sentiments I often heard expressed during my field research. Nick said:

The Greek state has always been seen as the enemy of the Greek people. Since the Turks [Ottoman Occupation] were here.

When I asked them about the Troika and the “big three hundred families” that control Greece, Tasos replied by saying “Yes the big families [three hundred] that you say have always run things; it’s this that also contributes [to the crisis].”

When I asked Nick to explain the carpet analogy, he replied as follows:

Well people [business owners] were selling products for a lot more than they needed to sell them for. For example a shop like that [Nick points towards a tyre and auto body shop across the street] would sell tyres for one hundred Euros because he [the owner] knew the money was good [available] and no one would complain, when in fact, fifty Euros was the correct price to make profits for the shop and himself. The extra money was hidden to avoid higher taxes. So keeping this money under the carpet caused the crisis.

Tasos also chipped in:

Today people do not cut [print] receipts to hide profits from the tax man, and they even made it law that if a customer cannot produce a receipt the customer is fined some ridiculous amount like one thousand Euros. So to stop the shop owners in the private sectors from avoiding taxes they [government] threaten the customers.

Tasos was of the opinion that it has become very difficult to make money in the private sector without resorting to corruption:

Working and making honest money in Athens is very difficult today, especially if you are trying to start your own business. Look at George; he must now pay off people to maintain the shop, and this will make him struggle, he is struggling and will struggle. The government is the mafia, and the police do the dirty work. I've worked in China, and I've worked here in the food and beverage industry, and it's just too difficult to make it here, it takes too long to become successful, and so I work in China when I am not in Greece.

Tasos' contempt towards bureaucratic corruption attributes accountability to the Greek government for the economic crisis, which inevitably results in Tasos having to work in China. Theodossopoulos (2014) argues that anti-austerity indignation shapes local

interpretations of historical or economic causality, protects nationalism and assigns accountability. Moreover, he argues that anti-austerity indignation reveals injustice and inequality in the “[w]orld economic order (such as the current [2007 and on-going economic] crisis [in Greece]” (Theodossopoulos 2014:491). Tasos’ description of Greek government as a “mafia” assigns accountability for the economic crisis and the difficulties of working in Athens to the Greek government. At the same time, by assigning accountability to the Greek government, Tasos protects George and his friends’ actions as hard working in times of crisis. Thus rumours and gossip not only reveal boundaries between political and economic insiders and outsiders and regulate behaviours, but reveal structural violence (Graeber 2012) as I will attempt to argue in the next section of this chapter.

Returning to the ethnographic group interview and echoing what I had often heard in conversations and interviews with others, Nick said: “People here [in Athens] are lazy, and maybe they could be scared, the youth are the same, and so they do not go out and make something for themselves.”

When I asked Nick how he defines youth, he agreed with the widespread sentiment, also documented in the literature (Bell and Blanchflower 2015:15; Becker *et al* 2005:1; Eurofound 2014: 8; Tolgensbakk *et al* 2017:43) that Greek children stay with their parents for much longer into their adult life than in many other societies:

Well, it’s the norm to stay with parents until a person is thirty, even with [children having] children. So you will have three generations of a family in the same house. But everyone will be reliant on the first generation’s income which is usually a pension; they [“the lazy”] will not go out and make something for themselves [make their own money].

Nick and Tasos announce they must leave to pick up Tasos’ working visa. During our conversation, George is working alone. Now and then he sits down for a cigarette but never seems to find the time to contribute to the conversation. After saying goodbye, Nick and Tasos leave. Once George and I are alone, George turns to me and asks me whether or not the discussion helps me with my research. I tell him it does, and he smiles and shakes my hand. George then offers me a last coffee and cigarette before I leave.

I return to the Social Club a few days later. Tasos is behind the ordering counter, greeting me and calling me over. He had clearly been thinking about our last conversation and wanted to tell me a story that he thought I would find interesting. He tells me about the time he was working as a waiter in a restaurant in Athens and, together with other kitchen staff and waiters, saw two politicians fighting with each other on the television. They were screaming and shouting at each other, blaming each other for the state in which Greece found itself. A few hours later, still working, he saw the very same two politicians who were earlier that night on television, fighting each other, walking into the shop and sit down at a table. There they were, talking and drinking and laughing, and taking photos of each other. "I could not believe my eyes", Tasos told me. "They were fooling us, pretending on television to be enemies, but meanwhile backstage, they were friendly with each other."

Tasos then told me that this was not an isolated incident. There are rumours that two prominent politicians who belong to opposing political parties, Samaras and Georgios Papandreou, were at some point roommates. The rumours have it that these two politicians get together regularly to eat and drink and plot how they will continue with the façade that is party politics in Greece. They take turns playing hero and villain. Just recently, Tasos tells me, Samaras was caught or exposed meeting up with and giving money to the head of the Golden Dawn, a neo-Nazi party in Greece. He concluded: "What the fuck man [laughs] it's so messed up."

The ethnographic data above includes gossip and rumours of how those in powerful positions exercise power and initiate corrupt procedures by providing and demanding favours that result in a constant struggle to work and make money in Greece, especially for those who try and make a living without participating in the clientelist political culture. The ethnographic group interview with George, Nikos, and Tasos indicates that as a group of friends they all express similar stereotypes. These include a fixation with lazy and fearful youth on the one hand and, on the other, blaming an invisible political elite who behave like "the mafia", comparable to the rulers who ruled Greece during the Ottoman Occupation of Greece. Moreover, it suggests that public sector workers are protected by this ruling elite.

White (2000:59) argues that the use of bad or unsuccessful and successful gossip results in community disapprobation, acts as a useful historical source as it occupies the interstices of

respectability, allocates responsibility, naturalises the unnatural, and is a claim to knowledge and the right to speak it (White 2000:59-60). By historicising gossip and rumour, we can look at the boundaries and bonds of a community, “who says what about whom, to whom, articulates the alliances and affiliations of the conflicts of daily life” (White 2000:61). Lastly, White argues that how people talk about themselves and their experience derives from a folk past and historical and cultural meaning. Gossip reveals contradictions and rumour brings together and explains contradictions (White 2000:63).

Following White’s argument, the stereotypes detailed above indicate my participants’ dissatisfaction with a labour market that does not run like a market but rather depends on social connections. These reveal two aspects of Greek society that function as the truth in the minds of my research participants: that political patronage is normalised through the experience of public tertiary education and that the past influences the present. The stereotypes expressed by my research participants effectively normalise the clientelist political culture of patronage in two ways: firstly, they suggest that this culture of patronage is taught in universities and is perpetrated by lazy and fearful youth and continues after students graduate, indicating that this political culture does not originate in the family, but outside the family. Secondly, that as a public sector employee your job is protected by the state so that the only way for political and economic outsiders to compete with their neighbour (the political and economic insider) is to hide taxes by charging high prices and not printing receipts.

In his study on gambling and indeterminacy in Greece, Malaby (2003:9) argues that ethnographers of Greece overlook the importance of an indefinite future in everyday discourse and action, and do not consider the ways this future ties into present daily lives. Malaby’s argument serves two purposes for my understanding of youth responses to the crisis: his argument connects some of the sentiments expressed about youth to the uncertainty about their future in Greece but also makes it necessary to indicate that engaging in the clientelist political system is a way of protecting oneself from the crisis. There is no social protection for everyone in Greece so many of these “lazy and fearful youth” have no option but to engage in the patronage political system when sent away from their households. Similarly many small, family-run enterprises may have no choice but to

hide taxes to ensure economic stability, of not only the business or individual self-interest, but in the self-interest of the kinship group. Thus the contradiction is that in times of crisis, smaller groups (such as kinship, local or neighbourhood groups) who are political and economic outsiders in Greece must behave in the same way as the political and economic insiders by hoarding resources for a group of insiders to shield themselves from the crisis. Moreover, this contradiction is not only revealed but also explained through the use of rumours and gossip by my research participants.

To explain this contradiction contained in rumours and gossip by youth and also to further normalise the political culture of patronage, my participants historicise rumours and gossip. By stating that the modern Greek government is just as much an enemy of Greek citizens as the Ottoman occupiers in the 1800s, my participants historicise their experiences with public sector employees and government policy, which reveals the second aspect of Greek society in that the past informs current norms, a point made by Knight (2013:2).

The comparison of the Greek government to the Ottoman occupiers is a comparison that Knight (2013) discusses in his own work on rural Greece when investigating self-sufficiency among villagers and households. Knight argues that by comparing the Greek government to the Ottoman occupiers, behaviours of the past (or historical experience) are continued in present norms. The mechanism to transfer behaviour of the past to the present is what Knight terms context shifting markers, “a mechanism of historically informed socialisation legitimised by the cultural narrative” (Knight 2013:2). The way in which context shifting markers result in the continuities and discontinuities of culturally informed behaviours, such as self-sufficiency, is the basis for what Knight describes as polytemporality. These are behaviours that are structured according to historical experience and which inform present norms (Knight 2013:2). In the case of my participants, this context shifting marker is, as I argue in Chapter three, the idea of “hard work”.

Thus, according to Knight (2013), the practice of self-sufficiency by rural villagers is a continuation of their past behaviour, and it was used to shield the kinship group during times of crisis, such as during famine. Essentially, the context shifting marker is a lack of resources necessary for survival. In Knight’s work, food is the context shifting marker as it

results in survival, appropriate for the context of a past rural Greece in which the accumulation of money was not considered central to survival. In my dissertation, the idea of “hard work” functions as the context shifting marker among my research participants as it results in monetary gain which, in the city context, is central to survival as money is exchanged for food and other necessities, access to health care and shelter. In both my own and Knight’s argument, these context shifting markers indicate what is considered necessary for survival from the perspective of the research participants.

Herzfeld (2005), Knight (2013), Low (2003), and White (2000) argue that stereotypes, rumours and gossip create ties of intimacy, reveal social boundaries, and are a means to participate in society, allocate responsibility, and manage or regulate behaviour. Moreover, stereotypes, rumours and gossip normalise experiences between my participants and those in power positions by comparing those in power positions to the Ottoman Occupiers, indicating that political and economic outsiders identify with past crises. Graeber (2012:117) argues that “situations of structural violence invariably produce extreme lopsided structures of imaginative identification.” Thus the crisis not only reveals the boundaries between political and economic insiders and outsiders but also highlights the structural violence inherent in interactions between small, family-run enterprises and the Greek government.

4.2 SMALL-BUSINESS PEOPLE AND THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN GREEK ADMINISTRATION

At the beginning of June, Antonis and I are on our way to Kandyla when I convince Antonis to stop at the Social Club for a coffee. Antonis is fifty-three years old. We take a seat at a table in the outside section and order two coffees from Sofia, a twenty-two-year-old art student and a waitress George has employed. George joins us a moment later, and I introduce Antonis and George. George calls his dad, Manolis, to join us. I introduce Antonis and Manolis, and they start a conversation, and I listen in. After congratulating Manolis on his son, George’s, success in opening and running his own business, Antonis asks Manolis about the shop. Antonis tells Manolis about some of his troubles around administration documents. He had been waiting to draw money from the bank for a few months now as the bank froze his accounts until he completed these administration documents. At first, the

government tax office required him to get several forms stamped and cleared by the tax department to make the withdrawal. When he went to draw money last week the bank told him that he had to find a new form the government wanted as a record of paid taxes. When he asked the lady at the bank if she could tell him which form he needed to fill out, she claimed not to know because it is so new that the bank has no relevant information. She also said that the new tax was introduced the previous night and that the bank has not yet received the new forms from the government tax office. She did not even know what it looked like and suggested that Antonis try the tax office.

Frustrated, Antonis went to the tax office where they told him that they had no idea what form this bank needs. The tax office suggested he try an accountant. The accountant told him to go to the bank. Eventually, Antonis found the correct tax clearance form and took it to the bank. Shaking his head, Antonis tells us that what happened next was even more frustrating and also telling. The bank asked him whether they could make copies of the new form, first blanking out his information, so that they could use the form for their other clients as they suspected that up to three million people could be affected by this new tax clearance document. Suggesting that this was not an isolated incident, Antonis said:

But this happens all the time you see, the government puts in new laws, and no one knows about it until it's [a new law is] passed. The system is updated and then only do the banks, accountants and tax office find out. What are you supposed to do?

In a way similar to how suburban South Africans share stories and rumours about crime and violence, Manolis then shared a story about the trouble George experienced with administration documents when he was opening the Social Club: "George had the same problems getting the paperwork arranged so he could open the shop. It took several months to get six documents signed". Antonis' response is very casual and natural: "Do you know someone who can help out, speed things up from inside?". Manolis answers just as naturally: "Yes and even with that person's help it took us a few months, to be exact it must have been six months."

Antonis and George, both small-business people, are experiencing similar difficulties with government administration departments. This is an aspect of daily life in Greece remarked upon by scholars (Rakopoulos 2015, 2014; Theodossopoulos 2014; Sotiropoulos and Bourikos 2014) and through popular culture, for example, the wax caricatures of Angela Merkel, Christine Lagarde, Wolfgang Schauble, and various Greek politicians at the Patras Carnival in 2013 (Theodossopoulos 2014:498). Like many other Greek citizens, both Antonis and George have to try and solve the difficulties of dealing with government administration (time, inefficiency, and social benefits) by having a relationship with a government employee who can assist them informally in processing the required paperwork. Even George, as Manolis revealed, who distances himself from a lazy and fearful youth, had to rely on personal relationships with public sector employees to help get all the paperwork to open the Social Club legally. Forced reliance on personal relationships when dealing with government bureaucracies brings us once again to Polanyi's point that the market and political sphere cannot be separated (Polanyi 1957:206). Moreover, the comparison of the Greek government to the Ottoman Occupiers and the difficulties of dealing with government administration amongst my participants reveal the structural violence (Graeber 2012) inherent in the Greek bureaucracy.

Both Graeber (2012:110-118) and Theodossopoulos (2014) argue that criticism and contempt towards bureaucratic procedures assign accountability and create or protect certain conceptions of the nation. Graeber argues that structural violence which he defines as "forms of pervasive social inequality that are ultimately backed up by the threat of physical harm – invariably tend to create the kinds of wilful blindness we normally associate with bureaucratic procedures" (Graeber 2012:112). Graeber goes on to argue that structural violence is present when overt acts of physical violence are least likely to occur; rather, the threat of force is to be treated as a form of violence in itself, and situations of structural violence "inevitably produce extreme lopsided structures of imaginative identification" (Graeber 2012:117).

Thus the difficulty that participants experience in their daily lives with government administration departments and the subsequent paperwork required to run a business or prove taxes paid is a form of structural violence (Graeber 2012:112-118). Firstly, there is a

degree of interpretive labour (Graeber 2012:119) as participants who are political and economic outsiders attempt to make sense of their social relations and reliance on government employees (political and economic insiders) through the use of stereotypes such as a “mafia” government. Secondly, there is a degree of imaginative identification or the creation of the conceptions of the nation as participants compare the modern Greek government to the Ottoman Occupiers, thus identifying with the Greek resistance who fought the Ottoman Occupiers in the 1800s. Another form of this imaginative identification is in the way participants identify themselves as hard-working against a lazy and fearful youth and how they have to pay off a “mafia” government to keep the Social Club open. Lastly, the threat of physical violence is not overt physical violence, as is suggested by the image of the “mafia government”, but rather in participants’ inability to overcome difficulties in dealing with the government administration. For Antonis, his bank account was frozen until he found a tax clearance document that the bank or tax office was not able to supply, inevitably threatening his ability to survive in the city. For George, it took six months to complete the necessary paperwork to open the Social Club and even after this he struggles to make money as the “mafia” must be paid off first. In other words, the image of the “mafia government” invokes images of physical harm among my research participants.

4.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Rakopoulos (2015, 2014), Theodossopoulos (2014), and Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) argue that the Greek economic crisis and the resulting Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2010 and 2012 resulted in the rollback of the welfare state as social spending and wages were cut to fulfil requirements for bailout packages. These authors argue that as a result of the rollback of the welfare state some responses emerged at at a grassroots levels; from informal social networks and self-help groups to solidarity movements. This dissertation investigates the responses by small, family enterprises and young entrepreneurs to the Greek economic crisis and the lack of social protection during the on-going crisis.

As a response to the ongoing crisis and lack of social policy protection, George and his friends practise self-sufficiency in a way similar that that discussed by Knight (2013) as they

pool and horde their resources and combine their labour by reciprocity to sustain the Social Club. In this way, as I argue in the previous chapter, George can be seen a social entrepreneur as he relies on a social element in the labour market to continue operating the Social Club. As my research participants recall their experiences of work in Athens and their difficulties when dealing with government administration and paperwork, they use stereotypes of lazy, fearful youth and a mafia government comparable to the Ottoman Occupiers.

Herzfeld (2005), Knight (2013), Low (2003), and White (2000) argue that stereotypes, rumours and gossip reveal social boundaries, allocate responsibility, act as a means to manage or regulate behaviour, and allow historical experience and identification to inform present norms. Theodossopoulos (2014) argues that criticism and contempt towards bureaucratic procedures allocate accountability and create or protect certain conceptions of the nation. Moreover, Graeber (2012:110-118) argues that criticism and contempt towards bureaucratic procedures, and the ways in which they dictate behaviour, may reveal a form of structural violence, a concept I apply to make sense of my research participants' experiences of state bureaucracy in Greece.

Following these arguments and the use of stereotypes and images of Greek governance that my participants evoke during times of crisis not only reveals structural violence and inequality but also normalises these inequalities and structural violence as these stereotypes and images manage their behaviour. Thus, maintaining participants' clientelist relationships with government employees or the hoarding of resources and labour, as the Greek state does, is reserved only for insiders at the Social Club. Self-sufficiency practised by a group in a city context is essentially a familistic entity which can provide social protection. Moreover, the continued presence of self-sufficiency amongst my participants reveals the continued reliance of the Greek welfare state and on familistic entities to provide social safety nets (Matsaganis 2013; Tinios 2015).

Thus I argue that the ongoing crisis reveals political and economic boundaries between insiders and outsider, and structural violence and inequality. I also argue that "gaps" in the social policy of the Greek Welfare State means that familistic entities are still necessary for

the daily survival of research participants during the on-going economic crisis in Greece. Moreover, being a political and economic outsider is to be subjected to structural violence, where this two-fold reliance is based on necessity. First, political and economic outsiders are reliant on horizontal relationships and familistic entities, groups that practice self-sufficiency to provide resources that the Greek government cannot provide through its social policy. Secondly, that political and economic outsiders rely on vertical relationships with political and economic insiders that often take the form of a clientelist political culture. The second vertical reliance is often a hidden, but necessary, contradiction in the narratives of my participants as they evoke stereotypes of lazy, fearful youth who are dependent on vertical relationships such as youth political parties or parents and a “mafia” government while portraying themselves as “hard working”. Thus the crisis and a lack of social policy protection mean that this two-fold reliance is necessary for survival in a city context.

CHAPTER 5: A ROMANTICISED PAST: SURVIVING THE CRISES OF THE PAST AND THE PRESTIGE OF WORKING HARD AND SUFFERING AS A FAMILY

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO KANDYLA:

The very night I convinced Antonis to stop at the Social Club, I was leaving Athens for Kandyla. Antonis and I were on our way to stay with Antonis's parents, Mihalis and Anastasia. I learned later that at the time Mihalis is seventy-six and Anastasia is eighty-two. In Kandyla, I stay in Mihalis and Anastasia's home. I assist Mihalis and Anastasia with their daily work for the duration of my stay. I help Anastasia with cleaning, cooking, and maintaining the inside of the house. I assist Mihalis with farming and the maintenance of the outside of the house – repairs on the house, harvesting produce from and maintaining the farm. As has been documented in other studies, the division of labour in Greek villages remains highly gendered, with women typically doing work such as looking after smaller animals and cultivating gardens close to the household, while men work some distance from the household in activities such as farming, animal husbandry, and bureaucratic affairs or by assigning labour to those in the household (Bika 2012:241; Haland 2012:108-113; Theodossopoulos 1999:616). This gendered division of labour is based on an 'ideal' code and must be used with caution as women in Greece play an integral role in the prestige of the household and the household economy (Haland 2012:111, 113; Hadjikyriacou 2009; Theodossopoulos 1999:622).

During my stay in Kandyla, the daily life and routine of those who stay in the village is far different to what I experienced during my stay in Athens. In Kandyla, the day is split between morning, afternoon and evening opposed to hours of the day. As the day is split in three, the daily routine I experience in Mihalis and Anastasia's household is split accordingly by morning, afternoon and evening responsibilities which I explain in the next section. Observations of Mihalis and Anastasia's neighbours confirm a similar organisation of the day. In the morning the men travel to their farms or take their sheep into the mountains and return in the evening while the women stay close to the household and carry out domestic tasks. Children attend the local school from the morning to the afternoon. When the children are not at school they are either at the *platia* with their friends or assisting their

families. Some work in the shops around the *platia* as waitrons or behind the payment counter.

The time I spend in Kandyla is broken between a brief spell in the beginning of my fieldwork in November, which falls in winter, and again the following year from the end of June to August which are summer months. The inhabitants of Kandyla include those born and raised in Kandyla and Sinsi as well as Albanian migrant workers. The older members of the Kandyla population speak Greek while younger members speak both English and Greek. Most of the people who travel to Kandyla are visiting their family members or are traveling through Kandyla on their way to other villages or the city of Tripoli.

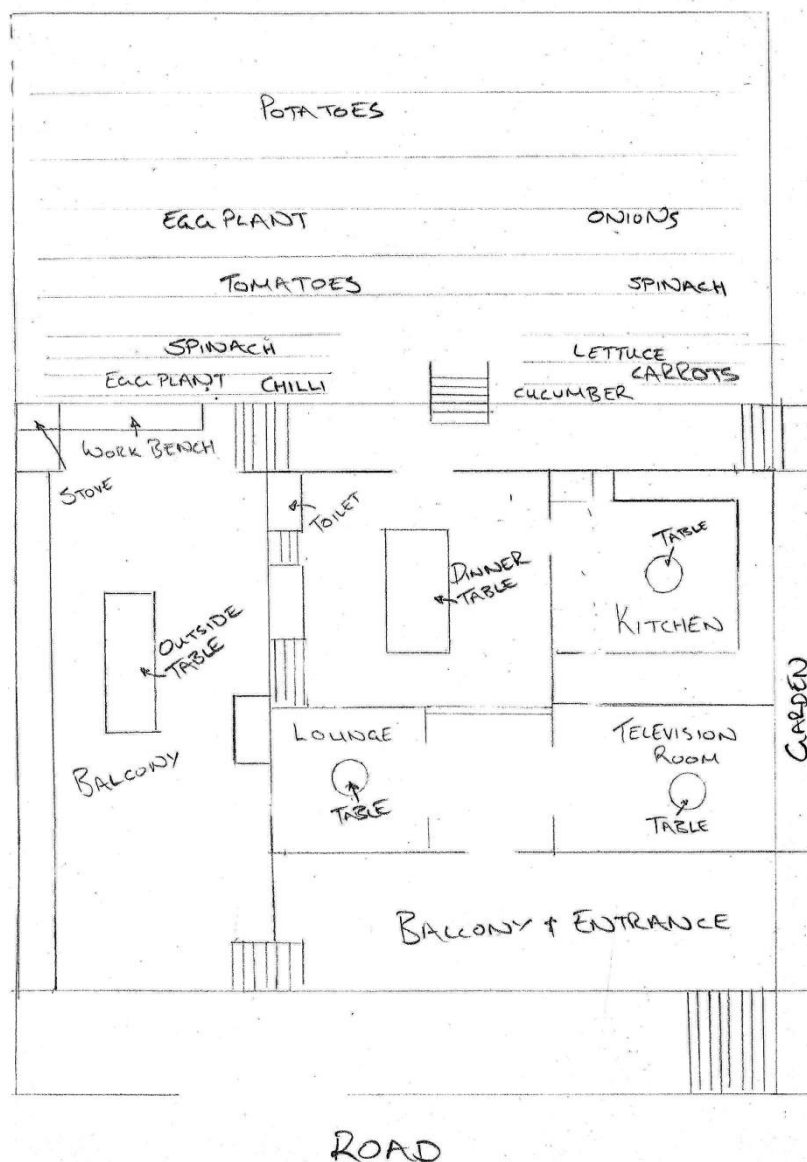


Figure 5.1: Map of the household in Kandyla

The piece of land Mihalis and I farm is at the back of the house on the same property. We harvest fruits, vegetables and potatoes by the end of the summer months. Mihalis explains that he only harvests produce for consumption (production for use) or to give to family and friends (production for exchange with friends and not for the market). During my stay in Kandyla, I conduct participant observation by recording the activities and narratives of Mihalis and Anastasia, as well as their family and friends. The narratives I record document my research participants' experiences of their youth and how it was different to the young people of today; their thoughts on work, and their opinions on young people today and politics.

The primary ethnographic site during my stay in Kandyla is the home of Mihalis and Anastasia. The home is three storeys high. The first level is rarely occupied and contains a lounge and bathroom. The middle level is often occupied and has a television and lounge, a kitchen and a dinner table. Two doors lead outside. One door leads to the front of the house facing the road. The other door leads outside to the farm. The top level has four bedrooms and two bathrooms. I record most of my ethnographic interviews and observations on the middle level as Mihalis and Anastasia spend most of their day on this level when they are not working or entertaining family or friends. Whenever family or friends visit Mihalis and Anastasia, they offer them coffee and invite them to sit at the dinner table. The dinner table occupies an important space in their home.

I see that friends and relatives visit Mihalis and Anastasia during special occasions such as birthdays, name days, funerals, and other religious or family based celebrations or events. During these occasions, Anastasia, Stella (Anastasia's daughter) and Stella's daughters prepare food, set the table and then clean the table. Usually, the whole family will assist in the set-up and cleaning of the table. It is usually the case that, at dinner time, Anastasia calls everyone to the table and serves the food. She dishes for Mihalis first. Mihalis then signals those at the table to begin serving themselves and begin eating. During family meals conversation flows freely and is not regulated or dominated by one particular family member. I learn much from these conversations around the dinner table, in much the same way as I learnt much at the tables of the Social Club in Athens. I learn about the way in which this Greek family relays experiences of the past and present, their individual and

household ideals and beliefs, and the social implications of these stories in the context of the economic and political crisis.

5.2 ANASTASIA AND MIHALIS: HOW WE WERE TAUGHT TO SURVIVE AS CHILDREN

At first, Anastasia and Mihalis insist I enjoy my stay in Kandyla by not helping them with their daily activities. As time went by I began to help Anastasia and Mihalis with their daily activities. Anastasia keeps Mihalis and me busy by delegating what work there is to do around the house. These activities include keeping the house clean, farming, cleaning and packing the produce from the farm, repairs on the house and farm equipment, building a small wall, and placing the foundations for a fence around the farm. From morning to lunch I help Mihalis with any work to be done on the farm. This work includes turning the soil, clearing the weeds, harvesting produce, building a wall, watering the farm and laying the foundations for a boundary fence. Mihalis built the irrigation system for the farm out of plastic pipes, which he connects to a tap.

Often after lunch, I assist Anastasia with cleaning and maintaining the inside of her house. Also, Anastasia looks after a small flower garden along the left side of the house where she mostly grows roses. In the late afternoon, Mihalis and I will work on the farm until it gets dark.

Anastasia and Mihalis agree to sit and let me ask them questions about their youth and childhood in Kandyla and Sinsi. On one such evening, I offer to brew Anastasia, Mihalis and myself Greek coffee. Greek coffee is a certain grind of coffee. One makes the coffee by mixing the coffee and water in a *biriki*, a metal coffee pot that fits onto a hot plate on the stove, and then boiling the coffee. To make a good Greek coffee, you must get the sweetness right and boil the coffee in a way to make a "cream" that must sit on the surface of each cup. I make the three coffees and set them down in front of Anastasia and Mihalis. Anastasia is disappointed with the cream on the surface of the coffees and insists I let her teach me how to make coffee next time. Mihalis teases Anastasia by insisting he teach me and that Anastasia does not know what she is doing. Both Anastasia and Mihalis then thank me for the coffee.

Beginning the interview, I ask Anastasia and Mihalis if I can record the conversation on a voice recorder. They both agree. I start by asking Anastasia and Mihalis what it was like growing up in a Greek village and how youth had changed from when they were young and today. Anastasia explains that she grew up in Sinsi, a small village two and a half kilometres from Kandyla. Anastasia then explains what Athens was like before explaining her school days in the village:

Athens was different back then, there was the city centre. The other neighbourhoods, like Kifisia and Penteli, were small surrounding villages [and not yet part of Athens]. The majority of the people [Greeks in Greece] still lived in villages all over Greece. As the city grew, more and more people went to Athens until it became what it is today. I grew up in Sinsi which is right next to Kandyla. There was one school and it was in Kandyla, I had to walk there. In our spare time we [Anastasia is speaking on behalf Mihalis and those her age] farmed and planted trees in the mountains¹⁹. We worked from very young ages, fetching water or farming. We are accustomed to hard work and have been doing it for years; the youth today are lazy and wait for someone else to make their lives comfortable. Most of the Greek youth in the cities have education because it is free but they not willing to work. They [today's youth] all want jobs in the public sector working for the government. They heard stories of their parents, they saw the people around them not working and making good money in the public sector. The people in the public sector would take days off and their friends would punch [sign] them in and register them as attending and then the next day they would take turns. No one did work and [yet] got paid, now there is no work and no pay and they don't know what to do, they [youth] never really knew how to work to begin with.

Mihalis also chipped in:

¹⁹ The mountains around Kandyla, Sinsi and Levithi are central in a number of folkloric fairy tales. Anastasia and Mihalis claim first-hand experiences with fairies, ghosts, and monsters. An interesting story was told to me by Mihalis. When he was six years old he was taking his family's sheep up the mountains. Mihalis came across a group of men who had killed and hung a snake from a tree. The snake's body hung upside down, and around the body the men built a fence from wood and stone. Mihalis asked the men what they were doing; they told him they were building this wall because the snake is a demon and tomorrow a beautiful garden will be growing under the snake's body. The fence is to warn people because eating from the garden is poisonous. When Mihalis passed the snake's body the next day it was bone and underneath the skeleton was a beautiful garden. When I had asked what the snake looked like, Mihalis told me it had hairs on its head.

I got one year of education when I was a child. Then my father made me work as my older brother's legs were not good for hard labour and my younger brother was too young still and needed to go to school. I started farming [with my family], and then became a shepherd. After that I worked as a stonemason and built buildings, bridges and did plenty of repair work. I got a job in Athens and started making a lot of money from the age of seventeen. I started saving money to buy a piece of land I liked, to build a place for my family in the city. Unfortunately, my father called me home and put me to farm again so the family would have food. Our parents taught us how to deal with a crisis and, remember, we went through a civil war; I escorted soldiers through the mountains when I was a child. We were taught how to live without money and grow our own food or make our own stuff. The youth today cannot do these things.

Talking about making a living in contemporary Greece, Anastasia said:

Look it is not everyone; there are people who are doing what they can to make a living today, like these two twin sisters after getting their education couldn't find jobs and were struggling to make ends meet. They decided to move back to their family's home village and start farming snails. Now they make lots of money selling the snails to restaurants in the villages near where they live.

Mihalis and Anastasia's narratives discuss their days of being young and dealing with a crisis and explain how family worked together to survive past crises, with Mihalis mentioning his experience of the Greek Civil War that lasted from 1946 to 1949. By working together and producing your own resources, Mihalis and Anastasia believe that a family or group can survive a crisis. Moreover, Mihalis and Anastasia suggest that surviving a crisis has little to do with wage labour and consumption and more to do with production and hard work. Moreover, hard work and working together as a family has a certain social value or prestige. Prestige gained through hard work and how children contribute to rural household work is well documented in rural Greece.

Theodossopoulos (1999:620) in his article on gendered forms of labour during the olive harvest in Zakynthos argues that that hard work or 'suffering' during work is a sign of

strength and prestige, with certain tasks dedicated to men and others to women. Moreover, the 'ideal' harvesting team includes men, women and children from a single household. At the time of his study it was revealed that educating children is the highest priority and so children contributed less to harvesting or working with the kinship group to support the household. Only if a child did not wish to go on to higher education did the child become completely involved in household labour (Theodossopoulos 1999:618).

In Kandyla, I make the observation that there is a division of labour between men and women. Anastasia stays in the house, and her work responsibilities are in the home. Mihalis works on the farm, outside of the home. Mihalis does not sell his labour for wages. Rather, Mihalis hoards the product of his labour for his family in Kandyla and Athens and to exchange his produce with his friends in Kandyla. As has been documented by anthropologists in many parts of the world, kinship and friendship groups mobilise their labour to produce and exchange resources (Abbink 2005:8-10, 19-17; Graeber 2010:199-210; Knight 2013; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000:10, 107-108; Theodossopoulos 1999; Osaghae 1995:5-8, 35-37). These resources are the agricultural production within a family and include meats, poultry, eggs, vegetables, and potatoes which will then circulate throughout a kinship or local ground. One family member or friend will provide eggs and chickens; another may provide potatoes.

This network of sharing extends beyond the rural setting, effectively stretching family and friendship networks over space and beyond the traditional family home. Household farms put aside resources for family members who stay in Athens, thus providing a "social safety net" (Tinios 2015:13) by sending resources to Athens with a family member or family friend travelling between Kandyla and Athens. In turn, those in Athens share these resources from Kandyla with their friends in the city. The provision of rural-based social safety nets into the city suggests dynamic connections between city and rural contexts.

According to Tinios, Greece is an example of the 'Mediterranean Welfare State', which relies on families for emergency social protection (Tinios 2015:13), more so than in many other welfare states. The recalibration of the familial welfare state by the Greek government was to relieve families from providing social safety nets by creating its own inclusive and flexible

labour market. This process of shifting the provision of social safety nets away from the family towards the state remains incomplete (Ferrera 2010 in Tinios 2015:13). I observed in Kandyla that the continued importance of economic self-sufficiency and the concomitant movement of resources between Kandyla and Athens suggests that families remain responsible for providing social safety nets. These family social safety nets are inclusive only as far as those individuals collaborate or are members of the family. In the same way that the Greek state has to draw a line between insiders who can lay claim to its wealth and outsiders who cannot, so the Greek family has to draw lines between those who can lay claim to the family social safety network and those who cannot. Whereas the family uses kinship to determine these lines, the Greek state uses an abstract ideal of citizenship but in practice the lines are often drawn differently, as I have attempted to show in chapters three and four. The division between insiders and outsiders is both localised at a family level and acts as a social resource up towards a broad Greek social level.

5.3 LEFTERIS: THE LAZY YOUTH AND THE DESTRUCTION OF FAMILY VALUES AND HARD WORK

Mihalis and Anastasia tell me that they will arrange for me to meet and speak to Lefteris. Lefteris is a family friend of Mihalis and Anastasia and is also a historian. One afternoon after lunch I am helping Mihalis to clean beans which we had harvested from the farm when Lefteris, walking up the stairs to the front door, yells hello to see if anyone is home. Mihalis calls Lefteris to the right side of the house where we are cleaning the beans. Lefteris greets us both and takes a seat. Anastasia, hearing the shouting, comes outside and also greets Lefteris. Anastasia then offers Lefteris coffee which Lefteris accepts, then turns to me.

Lefteris informs me that he is here to speak to me about Kandyla and the village. Anastasia returns with coffee for all of us. Lefteris thanks Anastasia, then turns to me and asks what I want to know. I ask if I can record our discussion and Lefteris agrees. Lefteris is sixty-eight years old. When I ask him about the differences between his childhood and how he understands the youth of today, he responded as follows:

Exactly the opposite, they [youth] don't care about anything, they don't care about their family, they demand, they take everything for granted, they just demand. Like I told you before, we all worked and participated as a group for the family, now it's exactly the opposite. And I blame the parents for that because the children sleep till noon and the parents work. They [youth] have their phones, cars, money, and they think they are Rockefeller sons and daughters. They demand. You know, our money was different then, it was just we cared for the family. And I blame the parents. Because the parents are illiterate, peasants and the children think they rich and Onassis kids here in the village. The kids in the city are different because they grow differently, because here they are different. They have no respect for anyone.

Lefteris is quite disparaging about the youth of today. While it is fairly common for old people to be critical of a younger generation, Lefteris takes the stance that the youth of today are completely different to how he grew up. Instead of working with the family the youth of today sleep all day and demand money and other goods from their parents as if they have a lot of money. Lefteris blames the parents for raising lazy youth, and this inability to work together as a family is in his opinion the demise of family and family values which he attributes to a lack of respect.

Knight (2013:7-8) and Theodossopoulos (1999:621) argue that in rural Greece family values may be summed up by the concept of 'self-interest' which refers to the welfare of the household rather than the individual. Self-interest as a group or household interest as opposed to individualistic self-interest is given meaning and importance from the concept of self-sufficiency or the priority of group survival opposed to individualistic survival. Thus, Lefteris's opinion of youth in Kandyla suggests that youth today are more concerned about themselves as individuals (not working but still demanding cars, phones and money) as opposed to supporting the family.

When I ask Lefteris about the common practice that children reside in their parental homes into adulthood, he speaks in positive terms, but he agrees with me that this contributes to children being dependent on parents: "I think this is good, it's Greek. Italians, Greeks, and Hebrews believe in family; we stick together".

Lefteris points out that the nature of work has also changed over time and across generations. When he grew up, work meant labouring in the fields and not wage labour (“go somewhere to get paid”). Also, back then, work meant working together. This living and working together also creates time for people to talk: “Yes it was a different atmosphere [back then] because the family was uniform. Living with parents and grandparents, you become educated, if you accept this word, you know a lot and you depend on yourself. You become more mature since you are six, seven years old, now sixteen, seventeen, eighteen and you don’t know anything.”

Lefteris also mentions that the family cared for children and the children cared for parents: there was what we may call intergenerational care when he was a child. Today’s children grow up, physically, but are socially immature in that they do not work:

They [youth] don’t work. Here in Kandyla they don’t work, they [youth] just work two months a year and they just...The job is easier you have all the machinery and equipment, it’s easier. You don’t use your hands because everything was done by hands in those days. But you enjoyed working, you enjoyed life, now they don’t enjoy life, I don’t think they enjoy life. Yeah, for example if I want to get a bike I work to get the money to get the bike and I enjoy it more, if someone else gives you the money to buy you the bike it’s a different story... In my days we didn’t have any tractors, just mules and horses to plough the fields, now they have the tractor, now for this piece of land we need ten days or twenty days, now with the tractors we need one or two days. Now everything is done by machinery. Its harvest time now, you can see how they do it now. Have you seen that? ... In my days it was done by hands. It was done by mules and mills. But people enjoyed it, they enjoyed themselves, they were happy. Now they are not happy.

Here, Lefteris is endorsing his opinion of a lazy youth who seemingly refuse to work and so are unhappy. In other words, in the past someone would work for what they wanted and when they got it they were happy with their achievement. Thus, hard work indicates a level of prestige or social value (Theodossopoulos 1999:620). Mihalis, Anastasia, and Lefteris hold the opinion that hard work is something to be proud of. As the youth in the Kandyla today do not work hard, Mihalis, Anastasia and Lefteris see the youth as lazy and demanding.

I ask Lefteris if migration to the cities for wage labour had a negative effect on families in the village. He responds:

Yes, this was a big problem when they left. The villagers moving to the city and the cities become big villages...In the 1850s and 1860s the people moved from the villages to the cities leaving behind houses and property to live in small apartments in Athens. Usually to do some small job like become a doorman or whatever. Diodori is the exact word. And they provided a tiny apartment in Athens...Six, seven, eight, nine are the average size of families back then so they had to go to cities to get a job and support their families left behind. And those men in cities became very successful, started poor with no shoes and became successful because they had the mind to work and become established.

When I ask Lefteris in what way things are different today he explains, "Now [instead of sending money back to the villages to support the family members who stayed behind] they [the youth] found everything from their parents and grandparents and they squander everything." In response to this I ask Lefteris if the families members in the village still support family members in the city and he responds by explaining that families in the villages have always supported their family members in the city and at the same time those in the villages support one another, "Living in the village, the village is a family because you know everybody else, you live for everyone else, and you care for everybody else, and you gossip about everyone else, yes because that's how things go around you see."

Lefteris describes how, in his childhood, work and education were still part of the home. Earlier, in the 19th century, the first wave of urbanisation took place in Greece which changed the nature of work in relation to family life as labour moved from the family to the market. In the 20th century, the same happened with education as the state took over the role of educating children. The sphere of the home became separate from that of work and education. The effects of urbanisation on rural villages have been well documented and include changes to household labour, gendered divisions of labour, dress, and issues of social mobility (Bika 2012; Friedl 2009; Hadjikyriacou 2009; Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2013; Papadopoulos 2006; Theodossopoulos 1999). The ways in which urbanisation have altered the rural is beyond the scope of this dissertation but what is important to my argument is

that these changes insist on various dynamic links between the city and the village. One specific dynamic connection I would like to focus on is the continued support given by village family members to those family members living in Athens, as Lefteris explains, “the villages have always supported the cities”. This continued support is the distribution of agricultural resources which is the extension of “social safety nets” (Tinios 2015:13) beyond the rural setting into that of the city setting. After spending four months in Kandyla I came to understand that self-sufficiency alone is not responsible for the villagers’ ability to support their family members in Greek cities. Rather, those in the village often take advantage of the structural violence and clientelist political culture, as I argue in chapters three and four, as well as the lower cost of living in rural settings due to the sharing of resources. By doing so, those living in a rural setting can gather surplus resources to be distributed and shared amongst family and friends.

5.4 TAKING ADVANTAGE OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND A CLIENTELIST POLITICAL CULTURE IN RURAL GREECE

One morning I find Antonis sitting outside on the balcony drinking coffee. I make myself coffee and then sit with Antonis. We greet one another, then I turn and ask Antonis if those living in Kandyla have a lot of money. Antonis, laughing at my question, shares his opinion that those people living in the villages have more money than those living in the cities. Antonis tell me that many Greeks living in the villages take advantage of agricultural grants. Also, collaboration amongst friends provides households with resources. In other words, those living in the village do not rely on money as much as those in the city. In the villages, families work together to farm or run a shop. Friends collaborate in a similar way. Friends engage in reciprocal acts of sharing what they produce from their farms and gardens with one another. I indeed observed Mihalis giving potatoes and other produce to friends when the harvest was done. In return, Mihalis’s friends bring fresh eggs, chickens, and other meats. Discussing his view that there is more wealth in the villages than in the cities, Antonis continues:

In the 1980s Andreas Papandreou [Prime Minister from 1981 – 1989 who was re-elected in 1993 – 1996] was pumping [providing] agricultural grants, incentives and

higher pensions into the villages²⁰. This is where a lot of the money comes from. The Greeks would take all this money [from the grants] and keep it. Not spend it. Why should they have to, you need maybe two hundred euros a month to live in a village? Everyone you know well [family and friends] brings you free produce from their farms and gardens so monthly expenses are low. So they kept this money as cash or in bank accounts. If the incentive was based on a specific agricultural product, that's what they [village residents] would plant. If the incentive was calculated at so many square meters, they would wait for the government official who inspected and signed off the qualifications [to receive the agricultural grants] and pay him off so he will report that there is more square meters where none existed to get more money, up to four times more for a cash bribe. That's how it's always been. If you think like that you make money. Now imagine the wealth of the villages, you see how the old can support the young. They steal money every day from the state so they can support their children.

When I express disbelief, given that I do not see much wealth in the village, Antonis replies as follows:

They [villagers] don't want fancy things, for example the man that owns the mini market down the road near the *platia*. He opened a new shop and then closed it, plus the work he has been doing elsewhere. The tax man came and he had three-hundred thousand euros of taxes to pay. He told the taxman to sit down and that his wife will make him coffee. After telling his wife the taxman is here and she must make him coffee he went to the bank and paid the taxes. Apparently he got back home before the taxman had finished his coffee and told him to leave after showing him the papers from the bank.

Such stories of large amounts of wealth hidden in the villages circulate among people in Kandyla via rumour and gossip. These rumours and gossip of hidden stores of wealth contradict the image of the crisis portrayed in mainstream media – how the crisis is making everyone suffer. Mihalis, Anastasia and Lefteris attribute this wealth to hard-working

²⁰ At the time of my fieldwork there was a medical aid scheme provided by the Greek government which, if a family had an agricultural license, qualified all the dependents of the licence holder for permanent residence in a village.

families who suffer through labour together. Yet, what Antonis reveals is that this wealth is obtained by participating in the clientelist political culture and taking advantage of it by bribing grant inspectors.

Knight (2013:12) argues that, in Trikala, suicide was a strategic decision made when there was not enough food or resources to feed a family, as there would be one less mouth to feed. Thus, participating in and taking advantage of the clientelist political culture (Matsaganis 2013:20) is a strategic decision to access Greek state resources for the benefit of the kinship or friendship group.

Taking advantage of the clientelist political culture is not solely out of necessity as this is not a last resort, as is the case of suicide in times of famine, but includes irony or as Herzfeld (2005:54-55) describes it – ‘mischief’. Thus, the story of the man in Kandyla who pays the taxman so effortlessly is like the story told by Herzfeld of the Cretan animal-thieves, “who first insisted on inviting the local police to a sumptuous meal and then inform them that they have together just eaten the evidence (Herzfeld 1985a:220-22).” Herzfeld (2005:54-55) argues that suffocating regulation, in this case taxation in times of economic crisis, can be resisted through a type of ‘routine subversion’ which turns the pose of conformism into real mischief. Thus, participation in the clientelist political culture is not only a strategic decision for the self-interest of the household but also acts as a cheeky victory over the Greek government.

Moreover, paying the taxman before he can finish his coffee not only evokes a sense of heroism and victory against the Greek government but also reveals two social norms in the Kandyla. First, women are still assigned their labour responsibilities within or close to the household, while the man’s responsibility and labour is outside of the household or when dealing with bureaucracy as is described in the literature on gendered forms of labour in rural Greece (Bika 2012:241; Haland 2012:108-113; Theodossopoulos 1999:616). Second, the man’s ability to pay the tax man in the rumour is a victory for the man and his family as it reinforces the notion that hard work is prestigious and can protect families.

Yet, as White (2000:63) argues, gossip reveals contradictions, and rumour brings together and explains contradictions, as I witnessed with Mihalis's anger towards the clientelist political culture practised between doctors and patients in Greece. One morning, sitting on the balcony before Mihalis and I begin farming, Antonis and Mihalis explain the *fakelaki* to me after Mihalis sees a discussion on the television about how much money Greek citizens have given to doctors with *fakelakia*. A *fakelaki* is a slang Greek term which means a bribe. This word for bribe derives from the Greek word *fakelo*, which means an envelope. A *fakelaki* is an amount of money placed into an envelope to be used as a bribe.

Mihalis is concerned about this form of bribery and believes that the government must enforce laws to stop bribery. Antonis reacts by explaining that this is a norm and that Greeks in general would not stop giving bribes as long as Greek citizens believe that this will help, saying:

This morning on the news they said that five million euros has been given to doctors in the forms of *fakelakia* [plural of *fakelaki*]. The laws need to become strict and these people need to be sorted out. The government should make it a law that if a doctor is caught taking a bribe the doctor should lose their licence. They are being paid by the state so why should doctors get more money to a job they are paid to do?

Responding to Mihalis, Antonis says,

Why? The Greek has been doing this since the 1800s or something ridiculous like that. It's a way of thinking and they believe that the *fakelaki* gets better, quicker service. Even if you told him that if he gave the *fakelaki* he would get his throat cut but his kid is sick, he would rather risk death.

Mihalis regards the use of a *fakelaki* as criminal and a sign of laziness. Antonis sees a *fakelaki* as an almost natural or normal aspect of dealing with bureaucracy, as is seen in chapter 4 when Antonis and Manolis discuss the need to know a public servant to speed up administrative requirements. The *fakelaki* works in a similar way to overcome difficulties when dealing with public officials, to ensure fast and reliable assistance from civil servants. Yet, there exist contradictory attitudes towards *fakelakia* and other forms of participation

within the clientelist political culture. Two possibilities explain this contradiction. Firstly, that the fakelaki does not include the dimension of hard work, although it may be seen as necessary in a case where a parent needs emergency attention given to a sick child. The difficulty of access to healthcare is documented by Matsaganis (2013) and Tinios (2015) but falls outside the scope of this work. Secondly, as Mihalis is Antonis's father, the difference of opinion is a generational difference or a difference between village and city settings.

The next section investigates generational differences while the difference between the village and city will be investigated in the next chapter.

5.5 RUMOURS AND GOSSIP ABOUT POLITICAL INSIDERS: INVESTIGATING GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES THROUGH RUMOUR AND GOSSIP

One late afternoon, after turning the soil and some clean-up work, I am in the kitchen, and Mihalis is in front of the television. I am speaking to Anastasia when Mihalis suddenly demands silence and then swears loudly at the television. Mihalis is completely engaged in what he is seeing. Confused and curious I look at the television and observe that Mihalis is watching a political debate. I realise that Mihalis is angry at the different political parties and their views; he comments passionately at how they embarrass Greece in the eyes of the world.

Herzfeld (2005:119) argues that in moments when national pride evokes strong emotions, the one being moved into such an emotion is subjecting him- or herself to a broad or collective identity beyond individual identity. Herzfeld (2005:119) calls identification beyond individual identity “collective identification” and argues that collective identification exists at different ‘levels’; kin, local, regional, and national. Thus, when Mihalis is angry enough to stand and swear at a television because Greek politicians are embarrassing all Greeks he is subjecting himself to a collective identification at a national level. By subjecting himself to this collective identification, Mihalis indicates that it is important to him who is representing Greeks on a political global stage.

On another morning, sitting with me around a small wooden table in Kandyla are Stella (Mihalis and Anastasia’s daughter), Katerina (Stella’s daughter), Mihalis, and Anastasia. We

are discussing politics and the way politicians behave. Stella is critical of the politician Antonis Samaras who she claims was wealthy before he was a politician and who has never known “real [hard] work”. Like Mihalis, Anastasia, and Lefteris, she extolls the virtues of hard work, suggesting that politicians never do any hard work and therefore cannot be trusted. After I ask a question about whether he is yet another of those politicians who were involved in youth political parties at universities, Stella replies:

Yes, the politicians are the same students who exchange [exam] papers and got through university by being a part of political youth parties. None of them know hard work. They [Greek politicians] are amateur politicians who don’t know what they are doing or talking about. When they walk into the big international meetings they agree on everything because they [politicians] actually don’t know what they are doing. They don’t understand politics and economics; they don’t know what it means.

Echoing Stella’s mistrust of politicians, Mihalis agrees: “I’m not a fool, I understand their [politicians’ political] games. Politicians are all dirty citizens and not a single clean one has tried to run [for Prime Minister or any political position].” At this point Katerina, who lives with Stella, in Athens, also chips in:

I agree, we [those living in Athens] see them [politicians] in Athens, also everyone tells their stories involving politicians and what they have seen them do. They have the biggest houses with pools [having a pool in Greece is seen as a luxury as pools incur extra taxes], new cars all the time. And they all live in the same place, go out together and marry into one another’s family.

This conversation around the table in Kandyla brings to light how Mihalis and Anastasia are concerned with political representation, while Stella and Katerina brush off politics as a ‘game’ and are more concerned with the way these political elites live and how they marry celebrities. Stella explains that the politicians are the same people who take advantage and participate in the clientelist political culture found at different levels in a wider Greek society.

Farthing (2010:181-191) argues that contemporary Australian youth are “radically unpolitical” by rejecting broad political representations and visions. Instead, these contemporary youth focus on “individual” issues such as sustainability, equality and global poverty and claim social change through daily actions. Following Farthing’s argument and applying it beyond youth and in Greece, the difference of opinion between Mihalis and Anastasia and their children (Antonis and Stella) and their grandchildren (Katarina and Anastasia, who taught me Greek in chapter three) is a matter of political representation and issue-specific actions. Thus, while Mihalis finds the fakelaki criminal and Greek politicians embarrassing, my other research participants disregard broad Greek politics and politicians and see the clientelist political culture as a norm and a means to access state resources when necessary.

Moreover, the generational difference in opinion can be described by Herzfeld’s collective identification at different levels. Following Herzfeld’s (2005:54-55) argument, I argue that Mihalis, Anastasia and Lefteris identify on all collective levels while Stella, Antonis and my younger participants identify with group or kin identification and the specific issues affecting these collective identities such as taxation, unemployment and corruption. Thus, this indicates a generational difference and may account for narratives in Athens to focus the above mentioned “individual” issues.

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS:

In Kandyla, my older participants express their concern about political representation but acknowledge their distrust of politicians. Moreover, research participants in Kandyla emphasise the social value and prestige of hard work and suffering through work as a family. The narratives I record in Kandyla include gossip and rumours that highlight how, by working together as a family, a group can survive crises, and how participation in the clientelist political culture is a means to access Greek government resources in times of crisis.

In Athens, the narratives I record do not discuss my participants’ concern for political representation. Yet, participants in Athens and participants in Kandyla may be compared via

group self-interest and self-sufficiency, an emphasis on hard work, and participation in the clientelist political culture. A comparison between participants in Athens and Kandyla suggests dynamic connections between a rural and city setting.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter three, I describe Anastasia, Katerina's sister, who is twenty two and a student. During a Greek lesson, Anastasia tells me how aspects of the public education system work and how political parties take advantage of this system by offering students patronage. After discussing this, I write about George, a small businessman who runs the Social Club. George discusses with me the hard work he put into his business and how there is a section of lazy Greek youth who are afraid to make something of themselves. In the next section, I write about Tasos, who is working with George for no remuneration while he waits for his visa, in order to go and work in China. Tasos discusses with me the difficulties he is having with obtaining his visa. Our interview highlights how people during the crisis are struggling to make money in Athens and their struggle with bureaucracy. It becomes clear to me that there are certain ways in which to navigate the Greek state bureaucracy and that this process in itself produces both insiders and outsiders. It is a theme I often hear in the course of my fieldwork.

Next, I write about Manos who is twenty-six and runs his photography studio while working in the construction industry as a labourer. I also introduce Andreas and Angelos who are both students and who work part-time. In our conversations, both of them express their anxiety about their respective futures. I then write about a live music event at the Social Club, and I focus my description on Manos, Andreas, and Angelos who end up assisting a group of George's friends to clean up the Social Club at the conclusion of the event. This incident and others provide me with a perspective on how George relies on his friends and family to keep the Social Club running. Specifically, I observe how George works only with a select few family members and friends that are unlike typical contractual wage labour agreements in that George does not always offer remuneration to those who assist him. This leads me to a consideration of the role of social entrepreneurship as a response to the deepening economic crisis.

Political youth party patronage highlights a lack of Greek government social safety nets, a clientelist political culture and the difference between political and economic insiders and outsiders. George's use of a lazy youth stereotype and his emphasis on hard work further

suggests a clientelist political culture and also reveals the difference between political and economic insiders and outsiders. Moreover, these stereotypes reveal the boundaries demarcated by George as to who he associates with and who he will work with, as these define George and his friends as hard working in the midst of the ongoing crisis in Greece. Tasos' experiences with bureaucracy further indicate a pervasive clientelist political culture. Tasos and George's working relationship reveals how small-business people rely on close friends or family and reciprocity to keep their businesses profitable. This reliance on personal or social relationship and the use of reciprocity highlights how George acts as a social entrepreneur while at the same time blurring the division between the home and the work sphere in a capitalist society.

In Chapter four, George and Tasos introduce me to Nick, who is twenty-seven and also a small-business person. Nick, Tasos, and George sit for a group interview. All three use the lazy youth stereotype and discuss the unrealistic expectations of contemporary youth after the economic boom their parents experienced. Moreover, they reveal the continuous growth of the public sector and how those in powerful positions (like police or teachers) abuse their power, behave like a 'mafia', and are an enemy of the Greek people. Also, the group tells me how there exists a ruling elite of three hundred families who control Greece. Tasos, a few days later, tells me how politicians put on a performance to shift accountability between politicians but are instead friends. Antonis and Manolis are both in their fifties. Antonis is a small-businessman, and Manolis works with his son George who owns the Social Club. When I introduce Antonis and Manolis, they begin discussing business and work. Manolis reveals how George had to struggle with bureaucracy and paperwork for six months before he was able to start operating his business. In response to this difficulty and in a natural way, Antonis asks if George has a personal connection in the Greek government who can help him speed up the process. Manolis reveals that George did use a personal connection and so George had to participate in the clientelist political culture he describes with contempt and from which he distances himself.

The group interview with George, Tasos and Nick indicates a pervasive bureaucratic corruption which reveals something akin to structural violence. Moreover, the group describe and refer to the state as 'mafia' and an enemy of the Greek people who they are

supposed to protect. The use of stereotypes of a 'mafia' and enemy Greek government who exploit the Greek people work in the same way as the lazy youth stereotype, as gossip and rumours reveal these stereotypes. Gossip and rumours allocate responsibility, naturalise the unnatural, and regulate the behaviour of insiders while distinguishing between insiders and outsiders. Thus, these stereotypes in rumours and gossip allow George and his friends to allocate responsibility for their struggles during the ongoing crisis to lazy youth and a mafia government. Moreover, these rumours and gossip keep George and his friends working hard and working together. Also, rumours and gossip of those who abuse power naturalise the structural violence experienced by research participants while allowing participants to define themselves as separate groups from the enemy government. Lastly, what is revealed by research participants' narratives is that although they separate themselves with hard work and by gossip and rumour, they still participate in the clientelist political culture as it is often necessary and can attribute to survival during the crisis.

Chapter five represents a shift from the Social Club, an urban context, to a household in Kandyla, a rural context. In Kandyla I observe a division between the work men and women do. Moreover, daily routine separates daily activity between morning, afternoon, and evening. Kandyla is mostly homogenous with few tourists and migrant labourers. Most people who travel to Kandyla are visiting family. The rest are passing through on their way to neighbouring villages or the city of Tripoli. I stay with Mihalis, seventy-six, and Anastasia, eighty-two, and after a month begin to assist them with their work. During a group interview with Mihalis and Anastasia, they explain how they grew up, how Athens grew from a set of villages into a large city with urbanisation, and how the youth do not work as hard as they did – using the lazy Greek youth stereotype. Mihalis and Anastasia emphasise the importance of hard work and attribute hard work to survival. I observe that Mihalis and Anastasia have extended family and a group of friends with whom they share the resources each produces and by sending a portion of their agricultural produce with family and friends who travel to Athens and back. Lefteris is sixty-eight years old and discusses his childhood and his opinion of contemporary youth. He describes how families worked together, educated their children, and were taught to work hard and how hard work created a sense of happiness. Mihalis and Antonis reveal that those in the village take advantage of grants and public funding for agricultural produce by bribing officials to increase the grant size and

this is a victory. Yet, the fakelaki (bribe) given to doctors to get quicker and better service is criminal. A conversation between Mihalis, Anastasia, Stella, and Katerina reveals that older research participants are concerned with who is in power as it is an embarrassment to Greeks in the eyes of the world. Stella and Katerina are instead concerned with how those in power can live lavish lifestyles while everyone else cannot.

The division of labour is as such: women tend to stay close to the household while men work further from the household. Moreover, hard work and working together is seen as prestigious and holds social value. The sharing of resources between friends and family and sending resources to family members in Athens suggests that those in Kandyla practise self-sufficiency and reciprocity and thereby become less reliant on money. Thus, as resources move from the village to the city with relatives, I argue that the family is still central in providing social safety nets where the Greek government does not. The self-sufficiency practised in Kandyla today and in the past reveals that self-interest is, like self-sufficiency, a focus on the group or family opposed to the individual. As self-interest and self-sufficiency prioritise group survival over the individual, families and friends have a means to work together and overcome the ongoing crisis. Those villagers who bribe officials take advantage of the clientelist political culture and can access state resources and hoard these resources for the self-interest of the family. The bribery of civil servants reveals the contradiction of how certain acts of bribery are criminal and others are not according to generational differences and levels of collective identification. Older research participants identify with group and kin, local, regional and national identities. Older research participants concern themselves with political representation and the well-being of the family, friends, Kandyla, and Greece. Younger research participants are concerned with group and kin identities and are concerned instead with specific issues. In other words, younger participants concern themselves with unemployment and lifestyle opposed to which politicians represent Greece.

6.2 NEW BLOOD: FRIENDSHIP AS FAMILY

Rakopoulos (2015, 2014), Theodossopoulos (2014), and Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) argue that the Greek economic crisis and the resulting Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2010 and 2012 resulted in the rollback of the welfare state as social spending and

wages were cut to fulfil requirements for bailout packages. These authors argue that as a result of the rollback of the welfare state some responses to a disappearing welfare state at a grassroots levels are observed: from informal social networks and self-help groups to solidarity movements. This dissertation investigates the responses by small, family enterprises and young entrepreneurs to the Greek economic crisis and the lack of social protection during the ongoing crisis.

The data I present highlights several reactions to a broad Greek society and the ongoing crisis. Thus I argue that the ongoing crisis reveals political and economic boundaries between insiders and outsider, structural violence and inequality and that “gaps” in the social policy of the Greek Welfare State means that familistic entities are still necessary for the daily survival of research participants during the ongoing economic crisis in Greece. George and his friends both distinguish themselves as a group separate from the clientelist political culture, as outsiders, and participate in the clientelist political culture. Their participation in the clientelist culture, I argue, is a strategy for the survival of the Social Club along the same cultural logic as I present in Chapter Five when Greek citizens in rural Greece bribe officials for greater grants to hoard this money for times of crisis. George and his friends work together to run a social business without support from the market or government, relying on social networks for the production of goods, the recruitment of labour, and sharing profits with friends and family. These labour relations then fall in between community and society (Ozel 2007; Simpson 1997) which suggests that George is representative of a social entrepreneur (Hulgard 2010:293-300) as his business relies heavily on a social sector. George is an entrepreneur as he started his own business and connects people across different spheres and sectors benefitting his community. Yet, on another level, the Social Club is not a social enterprise, rather more like a family business (Pliakogianni 2014). It builds on the principles of reciprocity and the search for greater self-sufficiency that Knight (2013) has found practised amongst kin in rural Greece. Research participants in Kandyla emphasise the social value and prestige of hard work and suffering through work as a family. The narratives I record in Kandyla include gossip and rumours that highlight how, by working together as a family, a group can survive crises, and how participation in the clientelist political culture is a means to access Greek government resources in times of crisis.

Herzfeld (1992:11, 26-30) argues that unobtrusive symbols of self and body, family and foes, seem natural and obvious, which allows people to manipulate these symbols. Herzfeld (1994:74-75) argues that the state not only tolerates such symbols but also exploits symbols of blood and family to naturalise the logic that government institutions represent. Blood, as Herzfeld (1994:11) argues, is the key metaphor in representations of kinship in Europe. Thus, the data and arguments I present in this dissertation suggest that the collaboration between friends in contemporary Athens is similar to the collaboration between family in rural Greece. What I suggest is that research participants manipulate the blood and family metaphor in a city context during times of crisis to structure group self-sufficiency and thus can implement the strategies found in Greek village life. By manipulating the blood and family metaphor between friends, research participants keep alive, both materially and discursively, strategies such as group self-sufficiency.

6.3 BUREAUCRACY AMONGST THE PEOPLE

In this dissertation, I show how research participants are reliant on horizontal relationships and familistic entities, groups that practice self-sufficiency (Knight 2013), to provide resources that the Greek government cannot provide through its social policy. Secondly, I infer that political and economic outsiders rely on vertical relationships with political and economic insiders that often take the form of a clientelist political culture (Matsaganis 2013; Tinios 2015). The second vertical reliance is often a hidden, but necessary, contradiction in the narratives of research participants as they evoke stereotypes of lazy, fearful youth who are dependent on vertical relationships such as youth political parties or parents and a “mafia” government while portraying themselves as “hard working”. By portraying the government as a “mafia”, research participants essentially demonise the Greek government. Research participants are not helpless victims forced to participate in a clientelist political culture. Research participants discuss how Greek citizens take advantage of the clientelist political culture.

Herzfeld (1994:8, 127) reminds us that the reactions of people to bureaucracy and how they manage and conceptualise bureaucratic relations is representative of the symbolic roots of

government bureaucracy. In other words, the behaviour and attitude of ordinary people towards the government is the same logic on which the state structures its symbols. Thus, the behaviour of government officials and the clientelist political culture that leads to the demonisation of the Greek government is the same amongst the people who express contempt towards the government.

Following Herzfeld's (1994:8, 127) argument I suggest that what research participants condemn - their clientelist relations with civil servants and how the Greek government hoards resources for political and economic insiders - is the same behaviour research participants valorise in their interactions with family and friends. Thus the bureaucracy of the Greek government is the bureaucracy found amongst the people.

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