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Critical Times in Greece

This volume brings together new anthropological research on the recent crisis in Greece and provides valuable ethnographic explorations of a period of radical social change. With contributions from scholars based both in Greece and abroad, the book addresses a number of key issues such as the refugee crisis, far-right extremism, new forms of resistance to crisis, and the psychological impact of increased poverty and unemployment. It provides much needed ethnographic contributions and critical anthropological perspectives at a key moment in Greece's history, and will be of great interest to readers interested in the social, political, and economic developments in Europe. It is the first collection to ethnographically explore this period of radical social change and its impact on anthropological understanding of Greece, and Europe overall.

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Georgios Agelopoulos is Associate Professor of Social and Political Anthropology at Aristotele University of Thessaloniki, Greece. He has carried out research in Greece and the Balkans since the 1980s and is part of the Europe-wide project 'Framing Financial Crisis and Protest'.

Routledge Studies in Anthropology

Critical Times in Greece

Anthropological Engagements
with the Crisis

**Edited by
Dimitris Dalakoglou and
Georgios Agelopoulos**

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Notes on the editors and contributors

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

De te fabula narratur? Ethnography of and during the Greek crisis

Dimitris Dalakoglou, Georgios Agelopoulos and Giorgos Poulimenakos

The discourse of the Greek crisis has captured the attention of worldwide audiences, initiated theoretical and political discussions and reinforced ethnographic interest in southern Europe. The 2015 electoral victories of SYRIZA, the political turnovers of 2016 and the refugee movements in the southeast Mediterranean have re-established Greece at the centre of the political debates in Europe and beyond (Badiou et al. 2013, Douzinas 2013, Galbraith 2016, Misik 2016). The social transformations taking place in Greece have become the main focus of attention within this renewed interest in the country. This book is an attempt to provide a concrete and collective contribution based on ethnographic works and critical anthropological approaches at a time when a host of new researchers[1] have turned their attention to Greece, asking questions, and those who have worked for many years on the country inevitably seek to re-shape their research toward the study of the crisis.[2] This situation creates the need to elaborate the context of such studies beyond the paradigmatic contribution of anthropological discourse to all the heated debates. The aim of this book is to provide a qualitatively different approach from that of the international media discourse, one which is empathetic and in solidarity with the dynamics and the everyday life of the structurally excluded, the weak and the victims of the crisis or the ones who decide to resist it, muted or not.

Ethnographically documenting the social transformations taking place in Greece does not provide per se an analytical discourse. To develop such an analytical discourse, we need to overcome three theoretical and methodological obstacles. The first obstacle refers to the tendency to identify the crisis either through its physical manifestations in everyday life (unemployment, braindrain, suicides, poverty, etc.) or its supposed causes (neoliberalism, capitalism, the Greek paradox, etc.). This confusion creates important difficulties regarding our ability to communicate the crisis both inside and outside academia. In order to cope with this problem, the authors of this volume have agreed, following Roitman (2013), to differentiate between ethnographic narrations ('first order observations') and explanatory statements ('second order observations'). The term crisis is used in this volume as a Weberian ideal type (*Gedankenbilder*). The second obstacle is a version of

anthropological advocacy. It relates to the tendency of most ethnographers to focus on those who suffer and resist in the context of the crisis. Such an approach neglects the experiences of those who take advantage of the crisis.[3] To overcome this obstacle, a number of papers included in this volume give light to the practices of those who find themselves in a better position due to the crisis. The third obstacle refers to the teleology of some approaches to the Greek crisis. These approaches are more evident in international media coverage than in the academic domain.[4] Teleology becomes evident in this discourse when, for example, journalists and scholars address the question: 'Was the Greek crisis unavoidable?'[5] Such a question most often leads to the search for a structural causality between the past, the present, and even the future. This version of a Greek 'original sin' points exclusively to continuities. To bypass this obstacle, authors of this volume have used ethnographic data to acknowledge the upgrading of the present and the future vis-à-vis the past.

Perceiving the Greek crisis as one of the many episodes of capitalist structural adjustments may end up ignoring its qualitative differences. Thus, it may prohibit us from conceptualizing the multiple experiences of the changes taking place in the current sociopolitical context. To overcome such a predicament the current volume aims to contribute beyond the ethnographic difference and toward a critical theoretical understanding of the dynamics taking place during the last two decades in Greece and beyond. The purpose is to go a step further from a simple critique of neoliberalism or the difference between local vs global understandings of phenomena. Moreover, one of the main purposes is to examine the impact of the crisis-discourse on anthropological understandings of Greece and vice versa. This understanding presents both continuities and discontinuities. Although the authors of this volume focus primarily on the present, we are highly critical of all approaches that argue the creation of an entirely new social, economic and political context during the last decade in Greece. While acknowledging the important transformations, we agree with those who point out the existence of the current dynamics since the late 1990s (Dalakoglou and Vradis 2011, Herzfeld 2011 and 2016b, Papataxiarchis 2005 and 2009, Rozakou 2012, Voutira 2016). This point is further investigated by Evthymios Papataxiarchis in the final chapter, the Afterword, of this volume.

The chapters of this volume provide the reader with multiple understandings of the socio-economic and political transformations taking place in Greece. They are relevant to a variety of issues which predominate in the recent anthropological theoretical debates such as moral economy, precarity, provisioning, anthropology and activism. The chapters are organized in four parts examining transformations evident at the structural level, transformations experienced as praxis, and both together. A closer look at the chapters provides a better understanding of this arrangement.

The first three chapters shift attention to the crisis as a mode of governance and assess the strategic changes in the neoliberal state's modalities of

power as they are located in the realms of brutal repression, the production of neoliberal subjectivities and discourses of legitimation, while at the same time arguing for the possibilities of resistance and counter-subjectifications. Athanasiou argues that neoliberal governmentality, simultaneously discursive and practical, does does not merely entail market domination over impoverished and economically dispossessed subjects, by narrating moments of state and parastate violence during the Greek crisis he explains how through the state of crisis a governmentality emerges that aims at rendering different social subjects (classed, gendered, racial subjects) invisible, vulnerable, assailable and deprived of any sense of material or moral security, creating therefore a totalized neoliberal discourse that produces different disposable others. At the same time though, Athanasiou explains how the dissemination of this totalizing-through-difference mode of power results in the agonistic emergence of a field of resistance throughout the public space that consists of bodies-in-solidarity who protect each other's vulnerability and at the same time maintain their plurality.

According to Athanasiou, the crisis always entails in advance a crisis in the premises that formulate subjectivities in a given historical moment, since it is that which pushes the subjects in the margins of their physical and moral existence. It is in this liminal moment though that agonistic subjectivities emerge as they recognize the need for solidarity and collective action. The question for Athanasiou is how those subjects-in-crisis will not be soaked by a nationalist-base monolithic social subject as 'the people', which resists neoliberalism by invoking a previous normal/disciplined condition, but will resist the 'crisis' by expanding it to the level of a constant critique.

In his chapter Gkintidis presents ethnographic data from his research among Greek technocrats involved with the European Union either academically and/or politically. Gkintidis is interested in analyzing discourses of power and financial resources disseminated by such agents regarding the relationship between Greece and the EU, especially after Greece entered the 'debt crisis'. He shows how the flow of the so-called developmental funds from the Union to Greece, already in place since the 1980s, has created a moral framework under which antagonistic and power relations are assessed. The funds are perceived by the technocrats as 'gifts' or 'aid' that helped Greece break away from its Balkanic past and enter the 'elite club' of Europe, implying a disinterested act on behalf of the Union and a respective moral obligation on behalf of Greece. Thus when the crisis has hit Europe, this almost anthropomorphic EU, as someone who acted with 'good intentions' in the past, appears to merely ask for reciprocity. In this sense the neoliberal reforms and the austerity measures facing Greece are a moral obligation that the Greeks have to fulfill, and any discontent has to be considered as ingratitude. Gkintidis notes that this scheme leads not only to enhancing EU hegemony but engineers the totality of Greek politics, as it also constructs what is, and mainly what is not, considered as politics. Drawing on a huge tradition from early anthropological accounts on how the circulation of materialities create

asymmetrical social relations to Lazzarato's 'indebted man' as the neoliberal governance technique par excellence, Gkintidis' case study informs the reader of how a set of allegedly rational institutions, practices and discourses are premised on moral claims and social relations between anthropomorphic entities.

The neoliberal state remains under scrutiny as Kallianos makes his own contribution in the disclosure of contemporary modes of governance and legitimation tactics in times of crisis. Kallianos is interested in how the Greek state is claiming legitimacy in times when its authority is widely contested or, in Gramscian terms, is under organic crisis. In accordance with Poulimenakos and Dalakoglou's argument, Kallianos notes that far from being absent, in a process of social transition to a neoliberal regime the state must actively recodify its governance mechanisms and locate them in the epicenter of people's everyday life for the neoliberal economic and political reality to be established. In order for such a huge intervention to take place, new tactics of legitimation must be deployed. Legitimation here is not referring to the typical, juridical right of the state to intervene, but rather to a process that correlates its interventions with the production of socially and culturally meaningful synapses in the minds of the people. The author argues that in order for the state to proceed to a series of moves that not only 'make sense' but are also considered as necessary, a whole 'symbolic universe', namely a system that connects various discourses in a meta-narrative of the need to exit the crisis, must be constructed. Under this symbolic universe of the crisis, every social and political practice of discontent, as for example a strike, is simultaneously *a priori* and *a posteriori* evaluated in relation to the proclaimed goal and thus is not only criminalized in the typical juridical sense but, more importantly, is delegitimized. The key element in this process is the discourse of uncertainty. Uncertainty, in the sense of the unpredictability and the always imminent 'worse' that surrounds the crisis, has been widely used by the state's discourse to make the goal 'to exit the crisis' more urgently and thus make possible a series of interventions at the juridical, social and subjective levels. In this way the state is morally confirmed as the only legitimate power to act.

The next four chapters (by Bampilis, Tsimouris and Moore, Sutton and Green) establish an ethnographic understanding of state structures. This allows a closer look at the representations and the experiences of the nation. One of the most disturbing features of the sociopolitical transformations in Greece is the significant rise of the neo-Nazi party, Golden Dawn, not only in absolute numbers in the elections but more importantly as a hegemonic current among the afflicted strata. Bampilis stresses the importance of qualitative research in our effort to understand the phenomenon, always in combination with the undoubtedly important structural-economic reasons that during the crisis have pushed people away from a center-centric political system. Bampilis is specifically interested in the way that political influence is gained through the performative action of Golden Dawn's members in the

Athenian public space. The author adduces specific events throughout recent years in which the neo-Nazis have intervened in an almost ritualized way in the public space in order to simultaneously construct and confirm a series of 'immoral', 'impure' and 'dangerous' events, behaviors and subjects that supposedly are endemic in modern Greek society and therefore legitimize their political presence. For example, in neighborhoods such as Kypseli and Patisia in which ethnic diversity predominates, the organized, performative presence of Golden Dawn aims at publicly creating clear-cut differences between the Greeks and the 'others' and provoking emotions regarding who is to blame for everything that goes wrong with the country. Bampilis' chapter is a great reminder of the performative rather than the intellectual nature of ideological dissemination and the way emotions and culture tend to mobilize people in times of social change.

Working on a similar agenda, Tsimouris and Moore (Chapter 5) discuss the intensification of anti-migrant policies as aspects of the authoritarian distillation of the neoliberal context. Here the authors proceed to an anthropological questioning of the border, revealing its nature as a political tool that crosses the entirety of the geographical and social space, producing lives that matter and lives that do not, and managing the grouping of the populations. Tsimouris and Moore are interested in bringing to the surface the experiences of the people trying to get into Europe through Greek borders as they are imprinted in social media and Internet blogs. Through the accounts of the immigrants it is becoming evident that the borders are not just geographical 'moments' that one crosses, but are attached to or fused with the very corporeal dimension of the immigrants. Since the distinctions, the exclusions and the accessibility are becoming possible through racial, bodily trails, one can say that the borders are always on the move, together with the immigrants. In times of crisis, borders function as *heterotopias* of death, to recall Foucault who signified the territorial spaces that remain – along with other inflicted social subjects – as indigenous lower strata under constant segregation due to social inequalities.

Being faithful to the critical spirit of this volume, this introduction could not ignore the fact that most of the contributions here, as well as the majority of ongoing research into crisis-ridden Greece, focuses on the capital, Athens. While Athens is becoming a kind of ethnographic *cliché*, few data are available regarding the experience of the crisis in the countryside or in smaller middle-class cities scattered all around Greece. In the next chapter, David Sutton works toward addressing this gap. Sutton's concern is to relate his ethnographic findings in the island of Kalymnos, regarding stories about concealed objects of value and hidden treasures, with hopes and rationales that surround the possibility of exiting the crisis through a more or less unexpected 'finding' and exploitation of hidden economic resources. As per Apostolidou, Sutton here also positions the reader to see beyond some of the seemingly irrational cultural and political beliefs and interpret them as cultural constants that help people to retain their identity in times of

neoliberal fluidity and uncertainty. Sutton argues that without sliding to an ontological culturalism, we should carefully consider the local perceptions and localized knowledge that link people with objects and the natural environment. In the Greek cultural context, hidden objects with economic or religious values seem to possess an agency to reveal or to conceal themselves from people, depending on the moral and social norms that the seekers have to abide by. Sutton notes that the discourses, of both the state and the people, that have appeared in the midst of the crisis regarding the possible existence of significant amounts of petrol and natural gas below the Aegean, follow the same cultural patterns. Therefore, for Sutton there is not a clear-cut, ontological distinction between folklore stories of local legends and the way people perceive and act on matters of international economy and relations, but that in fact the two can coexist.

Sutton's call for attention against ontological culturalism is also shared by Sarah Green in her contribution to this volume (Chapter 7). Green explores the ways contemporary migration to the city of Athens is shaped and experienced through transnational relations and political affiliations to Greece with other parts of the world. Green explains that the presence of a non-Greek person in Greece by itself does not say much about the way this person is perceived by the locals or how the person experiences his/her own presence in a particular time. This becomes evident as Green presents a historical account of how foreigners were perceived in different times in modern Greek history. For example, the concept of the 'immigrant' with all its negative connotations was only created in the early 1990s in the context of seismic changes that took place in Greece's neighboring countries due to the fall of Communist regimes and the consequent massive migration of people to Greece. In accordance with the EU directives at the time, Greece adopted a legal framework to deal with the phenomenon which was mainly based on the security doctrine designed by the EU, creating therefore the figure of the immigrant as a potential threat needing constant surveillance. This perception, according to Green's account, was unimaginable in Greece during the 1960s when non-Greeks were perceived as just foreigners who for various reasons were living in the country and were mostly unnoticeable both by the state and the locals. As is evident, extra-territorial forces and transnational political allegiances play significant roles in how foreign subjects are construed in certain times. With these points in mind, Green argues that today's influx of immigrants and refugees is depicted by the hegemonic discourse and the people as a crisis, and moreover a crisis within the ongoing financial crisis, more because of transnational political decisions that left Greece alone to deal with the issue and less because of the absolute volume of the incoming people.

The next four chapters deal with constructions of the self and the individual. In Chapter 8, Apostolidou focuses on the widely discussed correlation between the economic crisis and its repercussions and increasing rates of mental disorders within the Greek population. While research in the fields

of psychiatry and psychology have indeed confirmed such a correlation, Apostolidou adds an anthropological perspective to the phenomenon, tracing how the scientific discourse of mental health is grounded at the level of popular experience and how it functions in the everyday comprehension of life during the crisis. Apostolidou argues that the recourse of the people to the description of their condition in terms of mental health entails a source of agency that allows them to retain an indirect subversive positionality and a sense of distinct identity in times of neocolonial interventions. Processes such as self-stereotyping in terms of a positive 'madness' in the nature/culture of the Greeks that value a risky freedom more than a rational but uxorious life, or the construction of ostensibly irrational conspiracy theories provide a socially meaningful terrain in which people can remain empowered in an affective imaginary. Therefore, although discourses that pathologize social subjects or practices are usually considered as being in the service of the dominant power, a careful ethnographic assessment reveals the active negotiation of the dissemination of mental health terms in everyday life in an effort to construct their individual and social beings in times of crisis.

Through the use of dense ethnographic and biographic text Panourgiá (Chapter 9) attempts an exploration of the increasing impoverishment that a great proportion of the population has encountered during the Greek crisis. Her case study follows the life of a particular individual through the years of crisis, documenting the dramatic fallout from the systemic collapse of the Greek socio-economic compromise in the life of her informant as he becomes neo-poor. 'Neo', in neo-poor may imply a rapid descent from a middle-class social status to the raw struggle for biological survival, but for Panourgiá it does not comprise either a rupture with a previous condition nor a distinct ontology. This is not because the lives of the people have not significantly changed, but rather because a compromise is (was) nothing but a fine line which millions of *psyches* in Greece are constantly crossing back and forth, like quanta in a capitalist universe that occupy more than one place and await the crucial intervention that will determine their fate. Panourgiá's story, like a Levi-Straussian myth, can also be read backwards. Precarious employment, undocumented labour, 'flexicurity', all elements in the story that are detached from time, these are not the 'privilege' of the crisis nor the 'good times' that preceded it, but rather consist of the *noumenon*, drawing here from Kant, the thing itself that is concealed when narrating a linear story. Panourgiá argues that the crisis does not create but rather reveals. She invites us to think beyond such fixed, ontological categories as poor/non-poor or events or ruptures. The phenomenon, for Panourgiá, consists of the direct repercussions of the crisis in the life of the subject that appear through a historical void, accessible in the experience but blind to the structural supervision of the dialectics of the capital: every moment in the relational biography of the wage worker with the capital is present in today's condition. Becoming poor is becoming the end of that which was always-already included in the beginning. As Marx made clear in *Capital* volume one, the

proletariat is always-already a precariat. In this sense, Panourgiá is right to warn us to leave aside any certainty as to 'who is what when and why'.

Chapter 10 also discusses the construction of the self. However, the focus is on the relationship between the self, consumption and the development of respective geographies. Chatzidakis assesses the sociocultural and political antagonisms in the capital of Athens through the prism of consumption in time and space. He proceeds to a periodization of recent Athenian history in terms of the rise and fall of consumerism and explains how a Western-imported consumption ethos to a great extent structured the experience of how the people lived (in) the city and understood it. Athens, as a consumer city in the making back in the early 1990s and the so-called golden era of Greek developmental capitalism, saw unprecedented change in its urban landscape with shopping malls, gentrification projects and modern recreational centers carving a Western metropolis out of a Balkan quasi-traditional city. In a dialectical relationship with the remaking of the urban space, new subjectivities emerged as did a sense of class division mostly based on consumer choice rather than the realm of production. Chatzidakis then argues that the main political, antagonistic tendency of that middle-class consumption dream and the neoliberal turn in general has also been articulated in socio-spatial terms, as a counter-paradigm of life in the city. The author introduces the readers to the neighborhood of Exarcheia, a district in the city center that for complex historical reasons is presented as a 'heterotopia of resistance' due to the anti-capitalist practices taking place there. Exarcheia hosts many initiatives for alternative transactions, consumption and sociality, creating as a result a built environment, in Heideggerian terms, of a glimpse of a life beyond capitalism.

As the story covers the present day it becomes clear that due to the immense decline in people's purchasing power that often reaches levels of impoverishment, Athens is turning into a failed consumer city. Chatzidakis argues that consumption is to a great extent depoliti-cized as it now refers to basic needs, and political antagonisms are now expressed more through the concept of solidarity. As neo-Nazis and the state produce their own politics around the concept, e.g. Golden Dawn's soup kitchens are 'only for Greeks', new questions arise regarding how solidarity is expressed materially and how it divides social subjects, groups, and politics. This development poses a challenge for progressive social forces that had based their vision of an alternative way of life in the critique of consumption and have had to reorient their social intervention in terms of an everyday struggle for survival.

Papagaroufali's analysis (Chapter 11) points out the increasing number of Greek students trying to 'fill up' their CVs by participating in as many different academic 'actions' and initiatives as possible (European and international educational programs, conferences, workshops, seminars, etc.). According to Papagaroufali, this CV industry has emerged and intensified over the last decade. This is a process indirectly but firmly connected with the imposition of a neoliberal political and economic model that, along with

the high unemployment rate it has created, have simultaneously promoted an 'entrepreneurial ethos'. Based on what Bourdieu has labeled 'the rhetorical illusion of biography', Papagaroufali argues that writing a CV represents a claim to the illusion of 'self' that is cohesive and impervious to conflicting relations and structural constraints. This necessity for a totally new form of self-representation or self-archiving, a necessity which is increasingly enforced (although welcome), seems to take the age-old 'natural' linear-evolutionary narration of life (from the self's narrated past toward its present) as obsolete, as 'a waste of time'. Today, because of the current financial problems that have hit Greek families, all those who 'fill up' their CVs appear to continue to consent to, and invest in, the fictive promises of a 'good life', self-continuity and cohesion.

Poulimenakos and Dalakoglou's chapter (Chapter 12) focuses on the paradigmatic shift of the state's repressive strategy concerning squatted public buildings that are used as self-organized social-cultural-political centers by the antagonist movement in Athens – the authors emphasize the cruciality of material space in the formation of resistant or terrorized subjects during extreme neoliberalism. They study K*VOX, a squat that still stands in the Athenian cityscape after the operational raid and eviction of the most prominent and active squats by the police in 2013. In this case study Poulimenakos and Dalakoglou show how under conditions of extreme fragmentation of the social nexus due to neoliberal policies of individualization and precarious labour privatizations, the reformulation of collective subjects can be facilitated by spaces, the material and symbolic boundaries which can themselves be collectively shaped by the various subjects that concentrate in or around them, as well as provide antagonistic models for the remaining space. The strategic move for the state, the ethnographers argue, is not to face an already formed resistance but to intervene in the very prerequisite of it, namely the loci in which people can meet. In contrast with 'common wisdom', the state under neoliberalism is not only not rolling back, but is actively pursuing individualization of the people, by targeting space as the sine qua non of any collective activity.

The rise of the far right in Greece goes hand-in-hand with a general intensification of anti-migrant policies and the rise of racist discourses and practices on behalf of the state. In Chapter 13 Rozakou explores the dialects between the construction of a hostile status for increasing numbers of immigrants that have entered Greece in recent years and the rise and dissemination of grassroots solidarity politics. State-organized operations, such as 'Xenios Zeus', named after the Ancient Greek god Zeus and ironically referring to the Greek cultural context of hospitality, involved the creation of detention centers and the general criminalization and desocialization of social subjects during the 2013–2014 period. At the same time the pro-immigrant movements in Greece widely adopted the term solidarians (αλληλέγγυοι) to refer to themselves and their activities in helping immigrants gain human and social status not only in legal and moral terms but also by creating spaces in which

immigrants can socialize and interact with the locals as human beings. Rozakou, like Rakopoulos in his chapter, is interested in the particular terms that notions such as as 'solidarity' and 'solidarians' are taking in the specific socio-historical Greek context and how they relate to the more general processes of social transformation. Rozakou traces the contemporary meaning of the concepts to the cumulative experience of antagonistic moments in the last few years not only in pro-migration struggles but also other cases of anti-state mobilizations. The emergence of material structures of solidarity in the form of social centers which make possible the resocialization of 'bare lives' has helped in the proliferation of a sense of sociality that has taken an antagonistic form and emerged as the antidote to the disintegration of the Greek social fabric in times of extreme neoliberalism. In other words, Rozakou argues that solidarity is creating new forms of sociality and vice versa.

This pattern of sociality is also addressed by Rakopoulos (Chapter 14). While Panourgiá shows how elements of the past haunt the present lives of people, Rakopoulos documents projections of a different and probably optimistic future in current actions. Grassroots economic activities as responses to the direct threat to people's reproduction in the context of severe austerity have met with significant popularity during the crisis. In his chapter Rakopoulos investigates a particular informal, anti-middleman food distribution organization located in Thessaloniki. Such self-organized initiatives are part of a wider movement in Greece that have been branded as 'social and solidarity economy' ranging from time-banks and social infirmaries to self-organized factories that were abandoned by the capitalist owners in the midst of the recession. In his attempt to put 'social', 'solidarity', and 'economy' under common anthropological scrutiny, Rakopoulos argues that the dialectic combination of the meaning of those concepts take, in particular, a sociogeographic context of the Greek crisis and can allow us to hear the undercurrents of a new understanding of labor that is slowly constructed among the participants in such networks. Rakopoulos illustrates how deep ethnography can provide a better grasp of the concept of solidarity, which in its abstract, common-sense, interpretation usually departs from recognition of the participants' activities as labor as it is mostly related to volunteerism. While engaging in the distribution of foodstuffs directly from the farmers to their community and therefore helping people meet basic needs at a lower cost, the ethnographer argues that the participants envision their activity not only as helping, but as the framework of a whole new infrastructure of economy that can be based on cooperatives. As a result, they perceive the effort they put into mobilizing and synchronizing the people as a productive force, merging the social, the economic and the political in a horizon of radical social change.

Similarly to Rakopoulos, Agelopoulos' contribution (Chapter 15) deals with self-organized markets without brokers and new solidarity networks that aim to cover human needs outside the established paradigm. More

widely, a new moral economy of crisis has been shaped in recent years in Greece. He argues that the flows of currency and produce in the city have transformed radically, transforming urban conditions and functions both spatially and socially. His paper, based on autoethnographic accounts, is an attempt to discuss the so-called 'potato movement' in Greece, a key moment in the development of a social and solidarity economy in the country. The analysis approaches solidarity economy initiatives not from the view of those who support them, as Rakopoulos does, but from the view of those who oppose them.

Finally, Papataxiarchis' afterword is an attempt to present the relationship between austerity and pragmatism based on a review of anthropological studies conducted in the last decade in Greece. His contribution contextualizes all the chapters of this volume in wider anthropological debates. In order to make sense of what is happening in Greece, Papataxiarchis questions the analytical value of terms such as 'resistance', 'solidarity', 'neoliberalism', and 'crisis.' In search of new terminology, he introduces the term 'trouble.' Trouble is perceived as a deconstructive force and a generative power. The notion of 'trouble' avoids emic/etic confusion and allows us to systematically grasp the rich semantic terrain of the emic vocabulary of the 'crisis.' His main argument is that 'trouble was around for a long time and that it preceded the crisis.' The current crisis is the spread of the trouble that was long suspended in the sphere of the informal, the upgrading of trouble as an all-pervasive factor in the decomposition and/or reconfiguration of mainstream, official political and economic forms and the generation of new ones. Although one could claim that the choice of the term 'trouble' may be potentially too soft for the tragic dimensions of the crisis – for example if one thinks the British government's use of the term for the war in Northern Ireland – still Papataxiarchis does point out the multiple perspectives of developments in Greece. He distinguishes between two schools of anthropological thought: the short-term approach, which focuses on the present and leans towards exceptionalism, and the long-term approach, which puts the current Greek predicament in a historical context and is open to comparativism.

On completion of this volume, the reader will be in possession of clear answers to some popular questions regarding the socio-economic and political transformations taking place in Greece. As already pointed out, the authors of this volume do not wish to engage in discussing 'Greece as an exemption', the 'failures of modernization', or the 'malfunction of neo-liberal capitalism' in the country. For us, the crisis is neither a decisive change nor a condition (Vigh 2008). It is a moment which both creates and reveals. The very notion of crisis needs to be understood with its ancient Greek meaning: as both an unstable context and a process depicting assessments on the context itself. As a result, the ethnographic study of the Greek crisis brings messages referring to other people and other places: *De te fabula narratur*?

Notes

1 See Cabot 2014, 2016a, 2016b, Douzina-Bakalaki 2016, Kalanztis 2015, Knight 2013, Kosmatopoulos 2014, Rakopoulos 2014a, 2014b, 2016, Rozakou 2012, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, Stavrides 2012, Streinzer 2016.
2 See Agelopoulos 2015, Astrinaki 2009, Athanasiou 2012, Bakalaki 2016, Dalakoglou 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, Dalakoglou and Kallianos 2014, Dalakoglou et al. 2014, Herzfeld 2011, 2016a, 2016b, Kirtsoglou and Tsimouris 2016, Kirtsoglou 2013, Kozaitis 2015, Papailias 2011a, Papataxiarchis 2009, 2014, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, Spyridakis 2012, Theodossopoulos 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2016, Vradis and Dalakoglou 2011, Voutira 2016.
3 As Kosmatopoulos, following Bloor (1991), argues, 'the failure of some is the profit of others' (2014: 481).
4 See Tsakalakis 2016, Scherzer 2014 and Tzogopoulos 2013 for a critical approach of such media stereotypes.
5 Another way to paraphrase this question is by looking to 'what went wrong?'. Such queries produce a narration of the Greek crisis most often focused at 'the malfunction of modernization in post-1974 Greece'. Such an approach is evident in the works of Kirtsoglou 2013, Lapavitsas 2010, Laskos and Tsakalotos 2013, Mitsopoulos and Pelagidis 2011, Papaconstantinou 2016, Scherzer 2014, Theodossopoulos 2013, 2014a, Triandafyllidou et al. 2013.