

# 2020-2021 HELLENIC OBSERVATORY NEWSLETTER



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THE LONDON SCHOOL  
OF ECONOMICS AND  
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■



HELLENIC  
OBSERVATORY  
European Institute

Research at LSE ■

# EDITORIAL

This last year has been extraordinary and disturbing in so many ways. We hope that our readers and supporters are well and that we can all look forward to a better year ahead.

Despite the difficult circumstances of this last year, the Hellenic Observatory has risen to the challenge and has managed both to sustain its activities and to innovate in various ways. I am very grateful for the exceptional efforts of my colleagues in meeting these challenges – the Observatory has an amazing team.

In March 2020 we moved our public events online. In doing so, we have been able to attract larger and wider audiences. Our first online event – assessing the economic impact of COVID-19 – attracted a live audience of over 900. Some 5,345 people joined our online events and the total figure attending our events was 5,700.

Our programme involves events both in London and in Greece. We welcomed participants from Bangladesh, Nepal, South Africa, Mexico, the USA and Canada watching live and asking questions – as well as guests from across Europe and the UK – underscoring our position as one of the most prominent international platforms for exchanging knowledge and opinions about contemporary Greece and Cyprus.

In 2021, we are collaborating with other UK universities and charities to help celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Greek War of Independence. In doing so, we have explored the lasting legacies of the War and the circumstances behind the creation of the new state. The website '[21-in-21.co.uk](https://21-in-21.co.uk)' provides information on past and future events.

As part of our events programme, we launched a separate [YouTube channel](#) for the Hellenic Observatory in 2020 and this now hosts recordings of all our past events. The number and range of events constitutes a remarkable archive.

On the research front, the pandemic lockdown meant, of course, that our researchers and visitors could not meet on campus and interact in person. We did so online, though, and we were pleased to host several new visiting fellows. Our research calls on Greece and on Cyprus continued to enable high quality projects on important policy challenges to be undertaken. We are grateful for the funding support offered from the A. C. Laskarides Foundation, Vassilis Apostolopoulos and the Leventis Foundation for these Calls. In addition, our research seminars have flourished, allowing current research to be disseminated to a diverse audience.

With this activity, there were some 61,529 visits to the Observatory's webpages and 8,470 have been following our social media. Our discussion paper series [GreeSE] had 42,929 downloads in the same period.

Unfortunately, the pandemic meant that it was not possible to host our regular, biennial PhD Symposium on Modern Greece and Cyprus in 2020. But we very much hope it will be feasible to host the Symposium in 2022.

The academic year 2021-2022 will be the 25th Anniversary of the establishment of the Hellenic Observatory. We have exciting plans to commemorate this important milestone, both in the UK and in Greece. Do check our HO webpages for news of our celebratory events and publications.

**Kevin Featherstone**  
Hellenic Observatory Director

# HELLENIC OBSERVATORY EVENTS



*Last year the Hellenic Observatory quickly adjusted to the challenges of the pandemic and the new virtual era moving its events online. And while we missed welcoming you to our in-person events, we are thrilled we reached a global audience. This past academic year we hosted 14 events on COVID-19 related issues and also on economic, political, geopolitical and social topics attracting more than 4000 attendees from around the world. Our Athens Lecture Series, co-organised with the National Bank of Greece, also pivoted online and we organised events that formed part of LSE's [Shaping the Post-COVID World initiative](#) and of the [21 in 21 initiative](#), celebrating the 2021 bicentenary of the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 21 Greek-British encounters.*

*You can read more about our events and the distinguished speakers we hosted in the following pages.*

## Public Lectures

### **Greece and its New Geopolitical Challenges: which way forward?**

Nikos Dendias

5 November 2020

In an engaging discussion with Professor Kevin Featherstone on 5 November 2020, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nikos Dendias, analysed Greece's foreign policy strategy in the face of several external challenges, including changes in the EU, uncertainties in the Atlantic Alliance, opportunities and threats in the Eastern Mediterranean and instability in the Middle East. Minister Dendias focused on the Greek – Turkish relationship, the dispute over territorial waters in the Aegean Sea, Turkey's geopolitical strategy and provided an overview of Greece's foreign policy in the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean. 'Greece is always committed to international law and to the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, while promoting dialogue and good neighbourly relations. At the same time, Greece remains ready to defend its sovereignty and sovereign rights under any circumstances' he noted and reiterated the need for NATO and the EU to take action so as to respond to Turkey's aggression.



## **The Left in Power: reflections on SYRIZA's promise and achievements**

Euclid Tsakalotos

22 March 2021



The victory of SYRIZA in the January 2015 elections marked a critical juncture in modern Greek and European politics. Elected on a platform of breaking with the policies of austerity and monetarism set out by the Troika, what did SYRIZA eventually achieve in these roughly five years in Government? Euclid Tsakalotos, Speaker of SYRIZA Parliamentary Group and Coordinator of SYRIZA's Economic Policy, discussed the successes and defeats of SYRIZA with Professor Kevin Featherstone on 22 March 2021. Speaking both as a Government Minister and a Professor of Economics, he illustrated the difficulties his party faced in delivering on their election promises and negotiating yet another structural adjustment programme. He argued, though, that his government's reforms in health care and SYRIZA's rights agenda have left a lasting progressive mark in the Greek society. Overall, though he painted a mixed picture of what SYRIZA had achieved, he insisted this experiment was a learning lesson for both SYRIZA and the wider global Left.

## **18th Hellenic Observatory Annual Lecture**

### **Migration Crisis and its Impact for Europe**

Notis Mitarachi, Maria Gavouneli

22 June 2021



Our Annual Lecture was delivered by Notis Mitarachi, Greek Minister of Migration & Asylum, who explained the Government's approach to Greece's migration crisis. He argued that the government had improved the overall situation of the 900,000 or more people who had arrived in Greece since 2015. For Minister Mitarachi, Greece's migration policy is 'strict but fair', balancing the needs of 'islanders and migrants alike'. Arguing for the importance of doing 'more to provide legal pathways' and externalizing the 'management of migration to third-party countries', Mitarachi emphasized the need for the EU to consider new ways forward and a 'fair sharing of solidarity'. In response, Maria Gavouneli, Professor of International Law at the University of Athens and President of the Greek National Commission for Human Rights, commented that externalizing migration management 'is against the Geneva convention', questioned both the EU-Turkey deal and the practice of detention of people who arrive on Greek soil. Replying to questions regarding the legality of pushbacks and of local vigilantism against in-coming refugees, the Minister questioned the accuracy of these reports and stressed he would 'in no way whatsoever' accept an 'organized form of vigilantism'. This was a lively discussion, with many questions from around the world, and well worth watching online for those who have missed it.

# Panel Discussions

## Greece, Cyprus and the Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Kostas Ifantis, James Ker- Lindsay, Fiona Mullen

22 October 2020



The tensions between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean Sea during the summer of 2020 were the focus of this panel discussion, chaired by Dr Spyros Economides, Hellenic Observatory Deputy Director. Professor Kostas Ifantis, Panteion University of Social & Political Sciences, identified geopolitics, energy politics, and sovereignty claims as the causes of the tensions, while Fiona Mullen, Director of Sapiienta Economics Ltd, focused on the tensions caused by gas discoveries around Cyprus and the potential of a viable Eastern Mediterranean gas market through an energy deal in the region. James Ker-Lindsay, Visiting Professor at LSEE, LSE, argued that Turkey might pursue a greater linkage between the Cyprus problem and the bilateral Greek – Turkish issues, requiring greater communication between Greece and Cyprus to properly respond. Last but not least, Dr Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Bilkent University, referred to the spill-over of the unresolved Cyprus issue into the Greek-Turkish relations and to the internal Turkish issues, including Turkey's involvement in Libya and its 'Blue Homeland' project, as important parameters in the renewed tensions.

## COVID-19 and Economic Recovery in Greece: challenges and prospects

Christos Staikouras, George Handjinicolaou, Helen Louri-Dendrinou, Dimitris Vayanos

27 October 2020



On October 27 2020, the Greek Minister of Finance, Christos Staikouras, outlined the main pillars of the Government's plan for economic growth in the post debt crisis era amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. Minister Staikouras analysed the green and digital economy strategies and focused on the significance of the Recovery Plan for Europe. George Handjinicolaou, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Piraeus Bank, and Professor Helen Louri- Dendrinou, Athens University of Economics and Business, questioned the ability of Greece to absorb and make use of the funds, while Professor Dimitris Vayanos, LSE, discussed a strategy to boost exports in industrial products and provide incentives for SMEs. The event, chaired by Professor Kevin Featherstone, formed part of [LSE's Shaping the Post-COVID World initiative](#) and was hosted in collaboration with the [Hellenic Bankers Association- UK](#).

## A New Economic Plan for Greece: what future?

Sir Christopher Pissarides, Michael Haliassos, Louka Katseli  
16 November 2020



In January 2020 the 'Pissarides' committee' was tasked by the Greek Government to prepare a report for the development of a sustainable economic growth plan for Greece. Ahead of the publication of this report, the chair of the committee, Professor Sir Christopher Pissarides, LSE, discussed Greece's past failures to foster economic growth and noted that Greece needs all-encompassing reforms to deal with low productivity by attracting FDIs so as to reverse this situation. Professor Michael Haliassos, Goethe University, Frankfurt, focused on the reforms required to use the country's key unexploited assets, like the improvement of connectivity with the Greek diaspora and the international workforce. Professor Louka Katseli, University of Athens, provided a critical assessment of the report, arguing that the poor performance of the Greek economy was not caused by low productivity and the partial implementation of reforms amidst severe austerity, but rather by low quality governance, and set out a reform roadmap towards economic growth and social and environmental transformation. This event, chaired by Kevin Featherstone, was co-organised with [EENE- Hellenic Association of Entrepreneurs](#) and Dr Vassili G. Apostolopoulos, EENE President, delivered a welcome address.

## The 3rd Greek Bailout: lessons to be learnt?

Joaquín Almunia, Kari Korhonen, Iain Begg, Gikas A. Hardouvelis, Elena Panaritis  
25 November 2020



Joaquín Almunia, Chairman of the Board of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), discussed the findings of the independent evaluation report of the EU's financial rescue of Greece (2015-2018) on 25 November 2020. Mr Almunia argued that the 3rd bailout stabilised the Eurozone and the Greek economy at the cost though of Greece's economic growth, due to the prioritisation of fiscal adjustment. He also mentioned that while at the end of the evaluation period Greece was on a recovery path, the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the challenges. Kari Korhonen, Evaluation Manager & Senior Adviser to Secretary General, ESM noted that the delay in adjusting Greek policies resulted in an exceptional scale of adjustment and slowed down recovery. The event was chaired by Professor Kevin Featherstone and was followed by a vibrant discussion with Professor Iain Begg, LSE, Professor Gikas Hardouvelis, University of Piraeus, and Elena Panaritis, founder of Thought4Action.

# 21 in 21 Events

*A milestone for modern Greece, 2021 marks 200 years since the outbreak of the Greek Revolution of 1821 and the Greek War of Independence. The Hellenic Observatory, a proud member of [21 in 21](#), an initiative celebrating the 2021 bicentenary of the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 21 Greek-British encounters, hosted the following events:*

## **Power and Impunity: what Donald Trump and Boris didn't learn from the ancient Greeks**

Michael Cox, Simon Goldhill, Johanna Hanink  
28 January 2021



'The normative identity of Europe and of the West was fundamentally defined by what we ascribed to the Greek legacy', Professor Kevin Featherstone noted in his introductory remarks. In a discussion led by Professor Paul Kelly, LSE, Professors Michael Cox, LSE, and Simon Goldhill, University of Cambridge and Dr Johanna Hanink, Brown University, examined if and how Donald Trump and Boris Johnson relate to the ideals of the Athenian democracy, and to what extent they are vulgarizing politics and unleashing anti-democratic spirits. Professor Goldhill's talk disentangled the notion of tyranny, while Dr Hanink illustrated how both Trump and Johnson failed to learn from the ancient Greeks. 'Had Trump studied oligarchic coups, he might have had a sharper sense of democracy', she asserted. Professor Cox reminded us that 'the celebration of Greece should not be used as a whitewash of what has happened in its name', as '...indeed, the underside of slavery must not be forgotten when constructing the legacy of ancient Greece'. A lively Q&A followed on the dangers of populism, the role of expertise and social media for democracy, amongst others.

## **The Greek War of Independence: re-appraising its economic legacies**

Maria Christina Chatziioannou, Andreas Kakridis, Stathis Kalyvas  
24 June 2021



Can we reasonably assume path dependency between Greece's current economic woes and its tumultuous origins? Dr Maria Chatziioannou, Director of the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Dr Andreas Kakridis, Ionian University, and Professor Stathis Kalyvas, University of Oxford, delineated the various dimensions of this question in a discussion chaired by Professor Joan Rosés, LSE. Dr Chatziioannou focused on the difficulties of integrating the previously Ottoman regions into what became the early Greek state after the war of Independence. This historical background, she claimed, can explain today's economic dominance and overrepresentation of the regions of Attica and the Peloponnese— among the first to be integrated into the Greek state. Professor Kalyvas identified the structure of cleavages in today's Greece as being a crucial historical legacy of the war of independence, while Dr Kakridis took issue with the ways in which events on the Greek economy focus on how it is 'underachieving' or 'underdeveloped' and, instead, provided us with a reading in which the configuration of power in Greece has favoured social stability over economic efficiency. Following these inputs, a lively discussion touched upon Greek state capacity, trust in institutions, and the historical importance of tourism, amongst others.

# Book Launch

## The Oxford Handbook of Modern Greek Politics

Kevin Featherstone, Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, Brigid Laffan, Kalypso Nicolaidis, George Tsebelis

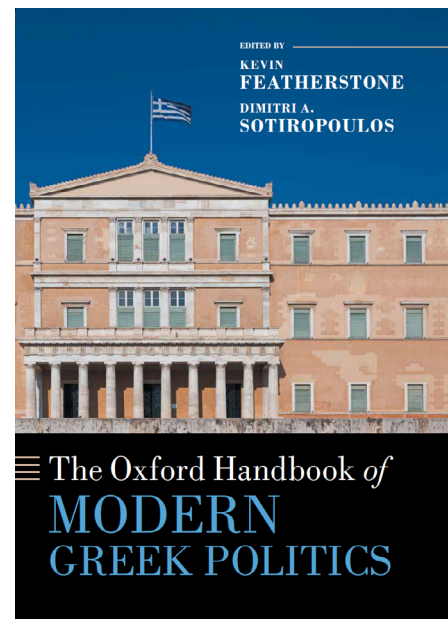
25 May 2021



As the editors, Professors Kevin Featherstone and Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos noted in [an interview hosted in the Hellenic Observatory's website](#), 'very little analysis was available in English on Greek politics, economy and society. A comprehensive academic and policy-oriented survey of contemporary Greece was missing'. [The Oxford Handbook of Modern Greek Politics](#) was created in an attempt to fill in this gap. This groundbreaking work consists of 43 reflective essays from esteemed scholars on the institutions, policies, personalities, and processes that shaped modern Greece since the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974.

Relevant to both first-time and informed readers of contemporary Greek developments, this volume of 752 pages provides the most comprehensive approach to modern Greece to this day, with easy cross-reference. 'It was created to reflect a diversity of perspectives, drawing on a range of authors, both younger and older' the editors underlined, 'offering the reader a comparative view'.

To celebrate this new major contribution to the study of contemporary European and Greek politics, the Hellenic Observatory organised a virtual book launch on 25 May 2021. There could not have been a more timely occasion than the 200 year anniversary of the Hellenic Republic for the Oxford Handbook of Modern Greek Politics to be launched. The Handbook, Kevin Featherstone assured, 'is not a chronological history'. Rather, this work signifies a commentary and analysis of the state of Greek politics, 'ecumenical in different interpretations', combining 'the empirical and conceptual' in a way that ensures comparability beyond Greece. The ambition is to introduce Greece to those novices who are eager to begin engaging with the study of the country. Professors Kalypso Nicolaidis, EUI, Brigid Laffan, EUI and George Tsebelis, University of Michigan, discussed the book's central themes between continuity and change. Discussing the historical paradigm of 'modernization' and the culturalist notion of 'Greek exceptionalism', as well as electoral systems and processes of internationalization in Greece in comparison to Ireland, Germany, and the United Kingdom, the panelists delineated how the Greek experience can prove useful for theorizing more general conclusions in the field of political economy and comparative politics. In sum, the editors concluded, the Greek project is exemplary for the potentialities of Europeanisation. But it is also a lens through which we can understand the incompleteness and limits of the current EU project.



**BOOK DISCOUNT:** Order this book from [this link](#) and enjoy a 30% discount. You can also apply the code ASFLYQ6 at checkout to enjoy the discount.



# Athens Lecture Series

Our [Athens Lecture Series](#) continued for a third year in collaboration with the National Bank of Greece and with the support of the Hellenic Alumni Association LSE. As the COVID-19 restrictions didn't allow us to travel to Athens, the Lectures were held online, giving us nonetheless the opportunity to host four vibrant debates on highly topical issues.

## **Golfing with Trump: economic decline, inequality, and the rise of populism in the US**

Andrés Rodríguez-Pose, Dimitris Kairidis, Antigone Lyberaki

1 October 2020



In our first Athens Lecture for this academic year, Professor Andrés Rodríguez-Pose, LSE, argued that the rise of populism in the US, as exemplified by the election of Donald Trump in 2016, cannot be explained by the decline in social capital and the increase in interpersonal inequality, but by the rise in interterritorial inequality due to the long-term economic and demographic decline of towns and rural areas. According to Professor Rodríguez-Pose, this interterritorial inequality led to the revenge of “places that don't matter” at the ballot box. Professor Dimitris Kairidis, Member of the Hellenic Parliament, commented that the ‘Trump effect’ was magnified by the electoral college, while cultural shifts initiated by the rise of the internet and social media, and the collapse of the left also played a major role in the rise of the populist right. Professor Antigone Lyberaki, Panteion University of Social & Political Sciences, discussed Greece as a prime example of demographic and economic decline, and of the rise of populism, which has been instrumentalised by all major political parties. The Lecture was chaired by Vassilis Monastiriotis, Associate Professor of Political Economy, LSE.

## **Trust, Resilience and the Effectiveness of Government: lessons from the COVID-19 crisis**

Tim Besley, Maria Petmesidou, Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos

3 December 2020



Professor Tim Besley, LSE, discussed the economic and policy responses to COVID-19, focusing on trust and resilience as the key to government effectiveness. Professor Besley identified the emerging lessons of the management of the pandemic, which, he argued, reaffirm the importance of long-standing challenges that must be faced when building effective economies and polities. Professor Maria Petmesidou, Democritus University, focused on the effectiveness of the Greek Government responses to COVID-19, noting that it deteriorated drastically between the first and second wave of the pandemic. She furthermore suggested potential ways of addressing the impact of the pandemic on inequalities through an EU-wide welfare settlement. Professor Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, University of Athens, commented on the dependence of trust, resilience and government effectiveness on state capacity and political legitimacy and focused on the case of Greece in a comparison to other medium-sized EU member states regarding state capacity.

Part of LSE's  
[Shaping the  
Post-COVID World  
initiative](#)

## Shaping Cities in an Urban Age

Ricky Burdett, Kostas Bakoyannis, Lila Leontidou, George Petrakos

11 February 2021



Professor Ricky Burdett, LSE, was joined by Professors Lila Leontidou, Hellenic Open University, and Georgios Petrakos, University of Thessaly, and the Mayor of Athens, Kostas Bakoyannis in a topical discussion on how cities -especially Athens- tackled issues of inequality, connectivity and governance in light of the COVID-19 pandemic and beyond. Professor Burdett brought forth ways of improving urban planning and design while Professor Leontidou, critical of how policy-makers dealt with COVID-19, depicted the consequences for the urban fabric, noting that they will leave their mark beyond the pandemic. Professor Petrakos offered an economic geography point of view towards urban growth challenges in times of COVID-19. Anticipating smaller and satellite cities to gain importance, Petrakos' analysis assumed that the public sector will be key for economic recovery post-COVID. Drawing from central findings of the LSE Athens Urban Age Task Force, Kostas Bakoyannis highlighted the importance of good governance and public space, but also Athens' struggles with sustainable mobility. A debate amongst participants and a Q&A with a very interested audience followed.

*This event formed part of LSE's [Shaping the Post-COVID World](#) initiative. The event was also part of the LSE Athens Urban Age Task Force, organised by [LSE Cities](#) and the [Alfred Herrhausen Gesellschaft](#).*

## Inequality, the Misallocation of Talent and Economic Development

Oriana Bandiera, Aristides N. Hatzis, Daphne Nicolitsas

15 April 2021



What is the relationship between opportunity, inequality, and economic development? In our last Athens Lecture for this academic year, Oriana Bandiera, Sir Anthony Atkinson Professor of Economics, LSE, explored this relationship through the ways in which talent is (mis)allocated. Professor Bandiera identified the unequal access to labour markets and education to be particularly important variables to this regard. Providing evidence from Italy and Bangladesh in particular, her talk paid careful attention to the class and gender dimensions of talent misallocation. What followed was a vivid discussion with Professor Aristides N. Hatzis, University of Athens and Dr Daphne Nicolitsas, University of Crete.

\*Visit the [event's page](#) on our website for more information or the [podcast page](#) for videos & podcasts of the events.

\*\*Visit the [research seminars webpage](#) on our website to find out more about our Research Seminars Series.

# Research Seminar Series

Nikos Vettas, Charalambos Tsekeris, Effie Bitrou, Calliope Spanou  
Julia Brouillard, Peter Sanfey, Dimitris Sourvanos, Athanasia Hadjigeorgiou, Othon Anastasakis, Foteini Kalantzi



Keeping a long tradition of hosting contemporary academic and policy-oriented research, our Series welcomed this academic year a strong line-up of academics and policy makers. Our online Seminars covered a diverse breadth of themes with a clear focus on Greece and Cyprus, ranging from labour market reforms and economy related topics to social and political ones, attracting a wide audience from various countries.

Professor Nikos Vettas (IOBE), opened the Series with the presentation of the findings of the research project '[Evaluating the Impact of Labour Market Reforms in Greece during 2010-2018](#)' funded by the Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme. Professor Vettas argued that further reducing the tax wedge can enhance labour market participation, while further labour market measures, in the direction of increasing labour productivity and reducing unemployment, need to be implemented.

Our next Seminar focused on an issue that became highly topical, especially amidst the pandemic: digital economy in Greece. Three esteemed speakers, Dr Charalambos Tsekeris (National Centre for Social Research), Effie Bitrou (National Bank of Greece) and Professor Calliope Spanou (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens) discussed the findings of the World Internet Survey and highlighted the importance of digital connectivity and digital literacy for economic and societal resilience, the reforms required for the digital transformation and the gender gap in digital illiteracy in Greece.



Staying in the economic sphere, Julia Brouillard, Dr Peter Sanfey and Dimitris Sourvanos (European Bank of Reconstruction & Development -EBRD) and LSE's own Professor Dimitris Vayanos, presented the EBRD Diagnostic Paper for Greece. The speakers supported that in order for the Greek economy to recover once again, it is required to assess and overcome a number of obstacles like public governance and underlined the potentials the Greek energy sector as a regional player. Our last seminars had a social and political focus. Dr Nasia Hadjigeorgiou (University of Central Lancashire, Cyprus) delivered a passionate presentation of her research project '[Exploring the Socio-legal Challenges Faced by Foreign Domestic Workers in Cyprus](#)', part of the 2019 [A.G. Leventis Research Innovation Programme on Cyprus](#). Drawing from a rich set of interview and statistical data, Dr Hadjigeorgiou illustrated three interrelated ways in which the frozen conflict in Cyprus sustains the dire working and living conditions of Foreign Domestic Workers. Closing the series, Dr Othon Anastasakis and Dr Foteini Kalantzi (SEESOX, St Antony's College, University of Oxford) focused on a topic that has been amongst the most contentious ones in modern Greek politics: The right of its citizens to vote abroad. With their highly relevant research, the speakers delineated the reasons that led to the 2019 bill and noted that this "breakthrough moment" was directly associated with the high number of Greeks that left the country during the crisis.

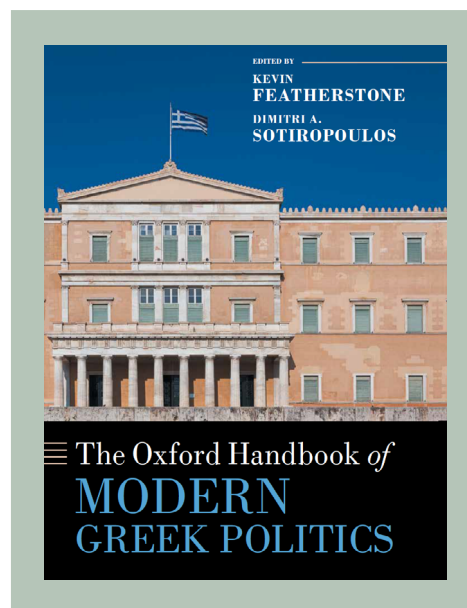
Our [Series](#) will return in the new academic year with presentations of projects funded by the Hellenic Observatory and topical research on Greece and Cyprus.

# RESEARCH

## Staff Research

### Kevin Featherstone

Kevin Featherstone co-edited (with Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos) [The Oxford Handbook of Modern Greek Politics](#), which was published in 2020, with an array of contributors and 43 chapters. He is working on three new projects: the eurosceptic discourse of the British Conservative Party (with Tom Hunter); long-term shifts in how national parliamentarians in EU member states have talked about EU enlargement (with Spyros Economides); and, with Dimitris Papadimitriou, a paper on the crisis management of Greek prime ministers during the debt crisis. He also co-edited a volume of conference papers (with George Alogoskoufis) entitled '[Greece and the Euro: from Crisis to Recovery](#)'.



### Spyros Economides

Spyros Economides contributed to [The Oxford Handbook of Modern Greek Politics](#) (OUP, 2020) edited by Kevin Featherstone and Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos. His chapter was on 'Greek Foreign Policy since the Metapolitefsi'. He is currently working on three new projects: the first is on European Security and Defence and is entitled, 'Rethinking Europe's Security Culture'; the second, in conjunction with Kevin Featherstone, examines long-term shifts in how national parliamentarians in EU member states have talked about EU enlargement ; the third is a chapter on the 'The Role of Member States: Europeanisation and renationalization' in the new edition of *International Relations and the European Union* (OUP 2022) edited Christopher Hill, Michael H. Smith, and Sophie Vanhoonaeker.

### Vassilis Monastiriotis

Vassilis Monastiriotis' research is in the areas of labour markets and regional/national economic development. In the past academic year he published five journal articles on topics such as the stickiness of individual displacement in times of economic recovery (*Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*), regional economic resilience and labour market adjustments (*International Regional Science Review*), the economic effects of political disintegration (*European Journal of Political Economy*), the drivers of regional convergence (*Urban Studies*) and the EU's smart specialisation policy (*Journal of Common Market Studies*). He also co-authored a policy report for the JRC (European Commission) on *Employment Mobility and Labour Market Flexibility in the EU* and a co-edited book on *Social Exclusion and Labour Market Challenges in the Western Balkans*. His current research examines the role of industrial policy and of public investment in mobilising private-sector investments and stimulating industrial diversification in national and regional economies.

# Recent Staff Publications

## Publication Highlight

### Greece and the Euro: From Crisis to Recovery

This [e-book](#) contains a broad selection of papers examining the economic, political and institutional pre-conditions for a sustained recovery of the Greek economy, based on the presentations of the contributors at two events. The Karamanlis Chair on Hellenic and European Studies at the Fletcher School of Tufts University and the Hellenic Observatory at the London School of Economics organized a workshop at LSE on December 14, 2018 and a conference on '[Greece and the Euro: From Crisis to Recovery](#)', at Tufts University, on April 12, 2019, with financial support from the Onassis Foundation.

These events were organised by Professor George Alogoskoufis, as Karamanlis Chair, Fletcher School, and Professor Kevin Featherstone, Venizelos Chair, London School of Economics, who act as co-editors of this e-book.

With ramifications for both Greece and the Euro-Area as a whole, the contributions consider the constraints that derive from the structural linkages between the domestic and the European levels. While concerned with the core economic agenda, they place it within its political, social, and institutional contexts in order to have a more complete assessment. They ask what scope there is for economic recovery in Greece, the priorities that need to be set, and the prospects for their attainment.



## Other Publications

### [Subjects in crisis: Paradoxes of emancipation and alter-neoliberal critique](#)

Dimitris Soudias

The Sociological Review, SAGE Journals, 24 May 2021

### [Professionalisation of short-term rentals and emergent tourism gentrification in post-crisis Thessaloniki](#)

Philipp Katsinas

Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, SAGE Journals, 20 January 2021

### [Crisis, Adjustment and Resilience in the Greek Labor Market: an unemployment decomposition approach](#)

Vassilis Monastiriotis, Angelo Martelli

International Regional Science Review, 6 October 2020

# Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme

The Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme supports high-quality academic and policy-related research within the social sciences on Greece and Cyprus, with generous donations from the [A.C. Laskaridis Charitable Foundation \(ACLFCF\)](#) and **Dr Vassili G. Apostolopoulos**. The Programme continues for the 4th year and so far, nine projects have been funded, while four have been completed, creating significant outputs and offering concrete policy suggestions: [Economic Growth in Greece: barriers and prospects](#), [Low Intensity Violence in Crisis-ridden Greece: evidence from the radical right and the radical left](#), [Immigrant and Refugee Segregation Dynamics \(InSert\)](#) and [Evaluating the Impact of Labour Market Reforms in Greece during 2010-2018](#).

Every year the Call has a different thematic focus, with the [2021](#) one focusing on sustainability and climate change, culture war issues, and social mobility. The successful projects will be announced in September. Until then, you can meet the 2020 Projects below:

## **An Intelligent Industrial Policy for Sustainable Growth**

Aikaterini Effraimia Karadimitropoulou, University of Piraeus

Greece has so far failed to shift its production structure towards more complex, high value-added activities, incorporating knowledge-intensive entrepreneurship. Following a two-dimensional approach consisting of (a) horizontal policies, designed to raise productivity across sectors, and (b) vertical policies, targeting specific industries, this project will deliver a comprehensive study on a new intelligent industrial policy for sustainable growth for Greece. The project addresses the issue of upgrading industrial activities to usher in a new growth paradigm through raising productivity, climbing up the structural competitiveness ladder, building and participating in more resilient and flexible value chains, enhancing its competitive production position in the international division of labour and empowering capabilities within and across functions. Preliminary results focusing on skills mismatch and management practices document some novel facts: Greece has by far the largest over-skill mismatch for “professional” (high-skilled) occupations out of a sample of 17 OECD countries, and this mismatch has a significant negative effect on productivity. We also show that employees of Greek firms have the lowest degree of autonomy among their peers. Moreover, we are currently assessing the impact of skill dimensions and innovation capacity as conducive factors for FDI spillovers in Greek manufacturing, by building a rich firm-level dataset using sectoral FDI data from the Bank of Greece, structural sector data from OECD and Eurostat as well as firm balance sheet data from ORBIS. Our next steps will focus on specific industries, which merit targeted support, by identifying the product categories where Greece enjoys a comparative advantage.

## **Deciphering the formulation of Greek economic diplomacy towards the Western Balkans**

Nikolaos Tzifakis, University of the Peloponnese

The economic crisis had a deep impact on Greece’s external economic relations, causing the diminution of the country’s influence in the Western Balkans. Moreover, Greek businesses have been confronting an increasingly challenging environment due to new regional realities such as the slowdown of EU enlargement and the rise in influence of external actors, such as China, Russia and Turkey, as well as domestic trends such as democratic backsliding, state capture and deterioration in the rule of law.

This project maps out economic linkages between Greece and the six Western Balkan states, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia. Our aim is to explore how the preferences of different state agencies and private actors shape the formulation of Greece's economic diplomacy priorities. We are in the process of interviewing stakeholders from the region, including representatives of professional associations and top managers/executives of large exporters and investors from a variety of sectors of the economy. We ask our interviewees to evaluate the opportunities and challenges of doing business in the Western Balkans and to outline concerns and problems that stem from their own personal experiences. We also ask them to evaluate the scope and quality of support Greek businesses receive from the Greek state authorities and/or other Associations concerning problem solving, legal issues, access to local authorities etc. The project aspires to make recommendations for the optimization of the Greek foreign policy decision-making.

## **Intelligent Modeling of e-Government Initiatives in Greece**

Diomidis Spinellis, Athens University of Economics & Business

Greece lacks a long-term e-Government (eGov) strategy, with initiatives revised every 2-3 years. They usually compile lists of ICT projects, rather than coordinated reforms. Process re-engineering is poorly designed and executed, while legislation and regulations usually constraint paperless transactions. Despite recent steps and the accelerated digitalization during the COVID-19 era, public administration still offers costly and time-consuming services with reduced transparency. Our research aims to contribute to addressing these well-documented problems. As a first step, we review ICT initiatives and projects to identify their impact on digital maturity indicators. We present an overview of the administrative burden imposed on G2B transactions as well on ICT procurement and identify recent eGov projects in the EU and Greece which upgraded the eGov landscape. Then our focus will shift to map, analyze, and visualize data using intelligent modeling tools. More specifically, we will augment historic data analysis with artificial intelligence soft tools to model the multi-dimensional causal relations in such complex reforms. Strategy and projects are modelled together among others with stakeholder needs, process changes, regulatory constraints, procurement tactics, reform coordination to set up a comprehensive "intelligent" x-ray of eGov. The predictive capabilities of this model will be utilized to identify gaps and compare comprehensive what-if scenarios. Cyclical relations which exist widely in such complex environments are modelled as well. Our interdisciplinary research will conclude with realistic policy recommendations on how to implement eGov reforms in Greece.

Visit the [Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme webpage](#) on our website to find out more.



# A.G. Leventis Research Innovation Programme on Cyprus

Launched in 2019 with the generous support of the [A.G. Leventis Foundation](#), this research initiative has a clear focus on Cyprus and compliments the Research Calls Programme. It supports innovative research on issues of contemporary academic and policy-relevant significance, while fostering collaboration with LSE-based academics. So far, the research projects have focused on a range of cutting-edge topics, providing important policy suggestions for addressing societal issues. Dr Charis Psaltis and his colleagues offered specific recommendations for the Cyprus peace process by exploring the [views of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot youth on the resolution of the Cyprus Problem](#), while Professor Spyros Spyrou and his team shed light on [the role of youth activism in the fight against climate change](#). Furthermore, Dr Nasia Hadjigeorgiou offered concrete recommendations on addressing the [socio-legal challenges faced by foreign domestic workers](#) and Dr Ioanna Katsounari and her team suggested policy measures to ensure the [education of refugee children in Cyprus](#).

Our new projects have shifted their focus on the impacts of Covid-19 and the economic climate of precariousness in Cyprus. Meet them here:

## **Mobile Citizenship, States of Exception and (non)Border Regimes in post- COVID19 Cyprus**

Nicos Trimikliniotis, University of Nicosia

After three lockdowns and as the mass vaccination rollout unfolds, this project examines the contradictory consequences of pandemic-related restrictions to mobility rights. On the one hand we are witnessing various states of exception and on the other, there is an intensification of new (and old) forms of solidarity that counter those restrictions as well as a new impetus in activism for rights and reunification. Examining public discourse that justifies (or contests) the re-bordered reality, the project engages with different actors, including asylum-seekers and migrants who have been absent from the public debate. We seek to relate how states of exception in the form of border regimes have been utilised to justify, legitimise or contest restrictions within and between communities, and between citizens and non-citizens in Cyprus during the COVID-19 pandemic. The project examines how the processes of internal and external borders are mobilised to separate 'us' from 'them', raising fear/hostility/suspicion against the Other. It explores the processes of otherisation in regards to i) the migrant and asylum seeker as Other, ii) those on the other side of the Green Line as Other. In this context, the project locates the various forms and performances of solidarity, shaping mobile commons and contesting border regimes (online and offline). It examines how digitisation is utilised to substitute for restricted mobility and physical encounters. Moreover, it examines how solidarity is digitally reconfigured and how the discursive construction of borders, citizenship and mobility compare between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot community.



## **Addressing and Measuring the Phenomenon of Precariousness in Cyprus: challenges and implications**

Petros Kosmas, Cyprus University of Technology

In a period of growing uncertainty, a sharp increase of insecure, flexible and precarious forms of employment was noted as a consequence of the economic crisis, mass unemployment and austerity, making employment more precarious nowadays than it was a decade ago. A major shock for all economies, the COVID-19 pandemic crisis has enhanced the promotion of flexible forms of employment by exacerbating labour market deregulation and income inequalities.

The Cyprus labour market is characterised by relatively high shares of non-standard employment and labour fragmentation and has also been marked by one of the highest adjusted wage gaps in the EU among permanent and temporary employees.

This project is investigating the variety of employment relationships and the perceptions regarding precarious work in Cyprus. The methodological framework of the study involves an extensive, international literature review and a 3-stage mixed method analysis approach. We have already highlighted the main scientific and methodological issues concerning the phenomenon of precarity in the literature review, and the next step is to introduce the empirical approaches to address precarious work in Cyprus with a view to its reduction, or elimination.



A new [Call for Research Projects](#) was announced on July 2021, inviting the submission of research proposals on one of the following themes:

1. Decolonizing the study of Cyprus
2. Culture Wars

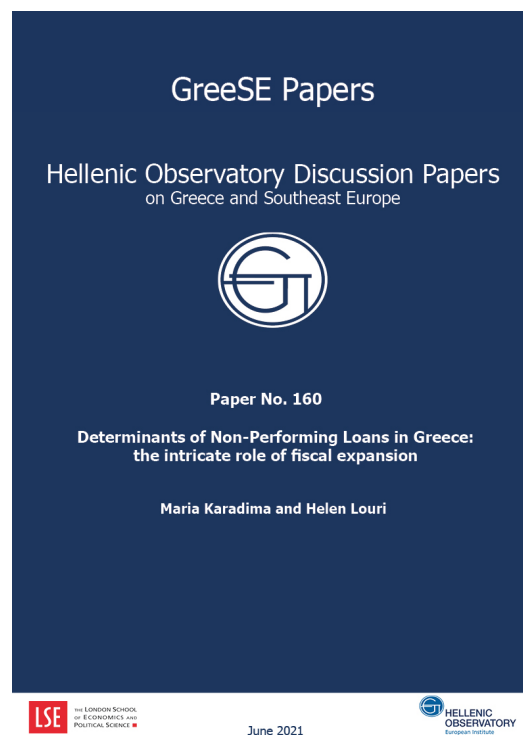
The deadline for submissions is 30 September 2021.

Visit the [A.G. Leventis Research Innovation Programme on Cyprus webpage](#) on our website to read more.

# GreeSE PAPERS

## GreeSE Papers 2020/21

The Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe (GreeSE Papers) are published monthly since 2007, reaching their 162 issue this year. The Papers cover a large range thematically but also in terms of authors, welcoming contributions from all disciplines within the social science spectrum. The past academic year saw the publication of 11 GreeSE papers and one Special Issue, covering a range of topics, from the economic impacts of COVID-19 ([Special Issue](#)) to digital literacy in Greece ([GreeSE Paper 153](#)), multiple deprivation in Athens ([GreeSE Paper 157](#)), and an overview of historical cycles of the Greek economy since 1821 ([GreeSE Paper 158](#)), with a clear focus remaining on the Greek economy after the completion of the economic adjustment programmes (GreeSE Papers [152](#), [155](#), [156](#), [159](#)). The Papers are published online-only, and with nearly 28,300 (September 2020 - August 2021), they influence scholarly research and the public debate on Greece and Cyprus within the Southeast European context.



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### Latest Papers in the Series

- 162. Chrysoula Papalexatou, [The Evolution of Bank–State Ties under Economic Adjustment Programmes: the case of Greece](#), August 2021
- 161. Ioanna Katsounari, Phivos Phylactou and Helena Heracleous, [No Lost Generation: refugee children education in Cyprus](#), July 2021
- 160. Maria Karadima & Helen Louri, [Determinants of Non-Performing Loans in Greece: the intricate role of fiscal expansion](#), June 2021
- 159. Gikas A. Hardouvelis, [Financial Crisis and Non-performing Exposures in Greece](#), May 2021
- 158. George Alogoskoufis, [Historical Cycles of the Economy of Modern Greece from 1821 to the Present](#), April 2021
- 157. Vassilis Arapoglou, Nikos Karadimitriou, Thomas Maloutas and John Sayas, [Multiple Deprivation in Athens: a legacy of persisting and deepening spatial division](#), March 2021
- 156. Georgios Gatopoulos, Alexandros Louka, Ioannis Polycarpou and Nikolaos Vettas, [Evaluating the Impact of Labour Market Reforms in Greece during 2010–2018](#), February 2021

# Hellenic Observatory Researchers

## Hellenic Observatory Research Officer

Dr Philipp Katsinas



'Exploring transformations in the Greek housing system in the aftermath of the economic crisis, my research focuses on the impact of property foreclosures, evictions, short-term rentals and the entry of institutional investors into the housing market. In this respect, I recently published a paper on the professionalisation of short-term rentals and emergent tourism gentrification in Thessaloniki, while I have two further papers in preparation, on the financialisation of housing in Greece, and the privatisation of public space during the pandemic.

As the Hellenic Observatory Research Officer, I am also coordinating the research projects funded by the Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme and A.G. Leventis Research Innovation Programme. It is both exciting and rewarding to be in direct contact with early career and more established scholars working on a variety of policy relevant themes and to learn about, but also from, their research on Greece and Cyprus.

Despite the pandemic, social isolation and the resulting major difficulties in conducting fieldwork, the Hellenic Observatory continued to offer a unique interdisciplinary environment for research on Greece. The virtual research seminars and public lectures facilitated stimulating discussions with leading scholars, while all HO staff members helped to maintain an excellent collaborative environment, providing encouragement and advice.'

## Hellenic Bank Association Postdoctoral Research Fellow

Dr Dimitris Soudias

'I started my Hellenic Bank Association Postdoctoral Fellowship in strange circumstances. Between Brexit and the pandemic, there were many uncertainties to navigate before the Fellowship even started. I can say with confidence however, that my year at the LSE was one of the most rewarding academic opportunities I have been given.

The Fellowship has allowed me to investigate how entrepreneurs in the Cultural and Creative Industries and the Social Economies of Athens and Berlin imagine and confront the future, and how this is changing in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on interviews with entrepreneurs in both cities and via Zoom, my research revealed the precarity of uncertainty. At the same time, however, I also found out that uncertainty is a force that creates the future.

In providing me with the time, space, resources and intellectual exchange to develop this research, the Fellowship has set a seminal stage for my broader academic research agenda of theorizing a 'cultural economy of uncertainty': how we imagine the future and confront uncertainty in increasingly economized terms. Against this backdrop, I have been able to produce numerous articles in international peer-reviewed journals and present my findings at the conference of the European Sociological Association, the European Workshops of International Studies, as well as the Centre for Urban Research on Austerity, amongst others.

At the same time, the mentoring and guidance I have received at the Hellenic Observatory has given a much clearer picture of how to navigate my very own uncertainty of what may come after this Fellowship. I might not have had the usual Postdoctoral experience at the LSE, as this year was a truly exceptional one. But so was the collegiality, support, and benevolence of all my colleagues at the Hellenic Observatory, for which I am truly grateful. Thank you!'



Photo: © Vangelis Patsialos

# Fellows and Associates

Each year the Hellenic Observatory offers affiliation to a group of selected academics and policy practitioners who wish to spend a period of between 6-12 months at the LSE to conduct independent research on a topic relevant to the work of the Hellenic Observatory. The Visiting Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows & Visiting Professors play an active part in the intellectual life of the Observatory during their fellowship.

## VISITING FELLOWS & PROFESSORS

### **ATHANASIA CHALARI**

Senior Lecturer in Sociology,  
University of Northampton

### **GEORGIOS KAZAMIAS**

Associate Professor in Modern  
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### Professor Kevin Featherstone, has been bestowed the award of Grand Commander, Order of the Phoenix of the Hellenic Republic

The award was presented to Professor Featherstone by H.E. Mr Ioannis Raptakis, Ambassador of Greece on Monday 19 April 2021 at the Ambassador's residence in London. Professor Featherstone was among the five distinguished philhellenes to be awarded honorary distinctions in recognition and as reward of their contribution in enhancing knowledge about Greece in the UK and reinforcing the ties between the two countries.



April 19th, day of Philhellenism and International Solidarity, was chosen for its symbolic meaning, as Greece celebrates the 200 years since the outbreak of the Greek Revolution of 1821 and the Greek War of Independence. Professor Featherstone is one of the few that holds two insignia, since in 2013 he had been conferred Commander, Order of the Phoenix.

Commenting on his award, Professor Featherstone said 'This is a very great honour – but I see it as a recognition of what we've achieved together in the Hellenic Observatory over many years. I'd like to pay tribute to my excellent colleagues, past and present – I couldn't have achieved this without them'.

# Advisory Board

The Hellenic Observatory is governed by School policies and regulations and as a departmental research unit is part of the European Institute. It also benefits from the advice and support of its Advisory Board. This comprises academic and public figures, as well as representatives of the original donors. Its members are:

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# FORTHCOMING EVENTS

## Michaelmas Term 2021/22

Below you can find some of our upcoming virtual events. More will be announced in our [event's page](#).



### RESEARCH SEMINARS

**Tuesday 5 October 2021**

[Youth and Politics in Protracted Conflicts: a comparative approach on hope for a settlement and return of IDPs](#)

**Speakers:** **Huseyin Cakal**, Keele University, **Oded Adomi Leshem**, Hebrew University, **Neophytos Loizides**, University of Kent, **Charis Psaltis**, University of Cyprus



**Tuesday 2 November 2021**

**Trust levels in Government & Citizens' Engagement in Public Affairs**

**Speakers:** **Stefanos Loukopoulos**, Co-founder & Director of Vouliwatch, **Lamprini Rori**, University of Athens, **Vasiliki Georgiadou**, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences



**Tuesday 16 November 2021**

**Entrepreneurializing Solidarity? A Pragmatic Sociology of the Social and Solidarity Economy in Greece**

**Speaker:** **Dimitris Soudias**, Hellenic Bank Association Postdoctoral Fellow, LSE

### BOOK LAUNCH



**Thursday 30 September 2021**

[Greece and the Euro: from Crisis to Recovery](#)

**Speakers:** **George Alogoskoufis**, Athens University of Economics and Business  
**Eleni Louri**, Athens University of Economics and Business

### ATHENS LECTURE SERIES



**Thursday 21 October 2021**

[The Brexit Deterrent? How Britain's Exit has Shaped Public Support for the EU](#)

**Speaker:** **Sara B. Hobolt**, LSE

**Discussant:** **Sofia Vasilopoulou**, University of York

*Co-organised with the National Bank of Greece, with the support of the LSE Hellenic Alumni Association.*

### PANEL DISCUSSION



**Thursday 28 October 2021**

[The Geopolitics of Greece: continuities and discontinuities](#)

**Speakers:** **Konstantina Botsiou**, University of the Peloponnese, **Erik Goldstein**, Boston University, **George Prevelakis**, Permanent Representative of Greece, OECD

*Part of the '21 in 21' activities: Celebrating the 2021 in 21 Encounters.*



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