



**HELLENIC
OBSERVATORY**
European Institute



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The election of the new SYRIZA-led government and the subsequent negotiations with the EU and the IMF has certainly kept Greece in the media headlines around the world. Similarly, the prospect of a resolution of the partition of Cyprus has raised the hopes of many people.

The Hellenic Observatory has matched this interest in both its research outputs and its programme of public events. These included lectures by Professor Yannis Stournaras, former Finance Minister and Governor of the Bank of Greece; Dr Costas Simitis, former prime minister of Greece; Yannis Palaiologos, journalist; and a panel discussion (held jointly with the HBA-UK) comprising Holger Schmieding, Paul Mason, Yiannis Miliotis, and Miranda Xafa.

A wider perspective on the crisis and society was given in separate lectures by the Bishop of Volos – on the Greek Orthodox Church and the economic crisis – and the Mayor of Thessaloniki, Yiannis Boutaris, on local governance in times of crisis. What the January 2015 elections meant for Greece and the implications of the rise of the Golden Dawn were also the subject of two separate discussions.

Our coverage of developments in Cyprus included a public lecture by Ambassador Andreas Mavroyiannis (lead negotiator of the Republic of Cyprus); a book launch by Dr James Ker-Lindsay (‘Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution’); and a one-day conference on the Cyprus Economic Recovery Plan.

A very important dimension of the HO’s activities is our research, of course. This includes the individual research by staff members ; research by our fellows ; research projects supported by the HO ; and our working paper series, ‘GreeSE’, which has recently published its 93rd paper. This represents a

mix of researchers and of disciplines and, together, it has established the HO as the major international centre for social scientific research on contemporary Greece and Cyprus.

The HO exists to promote understanding and dialogue about both contemporary Greece and Cyprus. Its establishment remains unique amongst foreign universities. We are part of a wider scholarly community, internationally, that focuses on ‘Modern Greek Studies’. We were delighted, therefore, to be able to invite the holders of many chairs in MGS from around the world to a private symposium at the LSE in November 2014. This was followed by a public discussion the same evening addressing the sensitive question of: “What is ‘modern’ about Modern Greece?”

Such events evidence the fact that the HO is not insular, narrow or local in its programmes. Two further major examples of this can be highlighted. In June 2015 the HO hosted its 7th Biennial PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, providing students from around the world the opportunity to present their research in the format of an international conference. We are very grateful to the A.G. Leventis Foundation for providing financial assistance to make the Symposium possible.

A final example of the HO’s outreach is the new series of public lectures it arranged in collaboration with the Megaron Plus programme at the Megaron cultural centre in Athens, which was supported by the Hellenic Alumni Association of LSE.

The HO is well-placed to continue its mission of combining relevant, high quality research with important public debate on Greece and on Cyprus. We hope many of our readers will wish to join us for at least some of these activities. After all, no-one can claim our mission or our agenda lacks relevance or international interest!

Kevin Featherstone

Director

HO Annual Lecture with Yannis Stournaras 'The Greek Economy: Current Developments and Future Prospects'

The Governor of the Bank of Greece and **former Greek Minister of Finance, Professor Yannis Stournaras**, gave the 14th Hellenic Observatory Annual Lecture at the LSE on **25 March 2015**. The Sheikh Zayed Theatre was full to hear his lecture on "The Greek Economy: Current Developments and Future Prospects".



Professor Yannis Stournaras in the Sheikh Zayed Theatre

The Governor focused on Greece's achievements during the difficult years of economic adjustment to date and on the current developments in the Greek economy, highlighting future challenges and prospects. He argued that 'GREXIT' was not an option and he discussed the sustainability of the public debt. He commented on Greece's options in the context of the 20 February 2015 Eurogroup agreement and the 20 March high level agreement between the Greek government and the EU partners.

The lecture was followed by a lively Q&A session with the audience and a private dinner. The event received widespread media attention: it was quoted in the Wall Street Journal, Le Figaro, and Daily Telegraph and was covered by CNBC and Skai, for example.



Dr Spyros Economides; H.E Konstantinos Bikas (Greek Ambassador); Prof Kevin Featherstone (chair); Prof Yannis Stournaras (speaker); Prof Stuart Corbridge; Mr Stratos Chatzigiannis; Prof Maurice Fraser

Below: The audience in the full Sheikh Zayed Theatre, NAB



Find out more about this event on the [event section of our website](#).





Panel Discussion

'Is austerity winning the argument on 'euro-zone' recovery? Can the solutions to the crisis also be socially just?'

The HO was pleased to be able to once again co-organise a panel discussion with the Hellenic Bankers Association UK. Held at the LSE on **30 April 2015**, this year's panel faced the twin questions: 'is austerity winning the argument on 'euro-zone' recovery?' and 'can the solutions to the crisis also be socially just?' The panel brought together four leading speakers: **Paul Mason**, Economics Editor for Channel 4 News; **Yiannis Milios**, member of the Central Committee of SYRIZA; **Holger Schmieding**, Chief Economist of Berenberg Bank and **Miranda Xafa**, Senior Scholar, CIGI and a former member of the IMF Executive Board. The session was chaired by **Professor Kevin Featherstone**.

A very lively debate ensued, with various themes raised - variously: the EU was seeking to wreck Greek democracy; the new SYRIZA government was demolishing the economic progress made in 2014; the Greek economy had to shed its statist distortions of the market and the current austerity programme was preventing a return to growth that was in the interests of all. The large and diverse audience enjoyed the opportunity of the Q&A to highlight issues and comments.

CO-ORGANISED WITH



The panel in the Old Theatre during the Q&A

Find out more about this event
on the [event section of our website](#).



From Left to Right: Antonis Ntatzopoulos (Treasurer, HBA); Prof Kevin Featherstone (chair); Vassiliki Campbell (Vice-Chairman, HBA); Holger Schmieding (Chief Economist, Berenberg Bank); Prof Yiannis Milios (Member of the Central Committee of SYRIZA); Miranda Xafa (Senior Scholar, CIGI and Former Member of the IMF Executive Board); Stratos Chatzigiannis (Chairman, HBA); Paul Mason (Economics Editor, Channel 4 News); Dr Vassilis Monastiriots (Associate Professor, LSE)

The 7th Biennial HO PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus



On 4-5 June 2015 the Hellenic Observatory hosted the 7th Biennial PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus. The generous financial support by the **A. G. Leventis Foundation** was crucial in order to allow us to welcome 37 participants from 23 different universities working on relevant subjects in social sciences. The basic aim of the Symposium is to create a space for dialogue where PhD candidates conducting research on Greece and Cyprus will be able to present a part of their thesis.

The second plenary session was given by **Professor Manolis Galenianos** (Professor of Economics, Royal Holloway University) who shed light to an interesting and burning issue; the external dimension of the Greek economic crisis. **Dr Vassilis Monastiriotis** chaired the session and also offered his valuable insights to the topic. The first part of the presentation focused on the origins of the Greek crisis and the second part was devoted to the challenge of trade adjustment in Greece.



Prof Kevin Featherstone introducing the participants

The third plenary session which took place on the second day was appreciated by all PhD candidates. **Professor Kevin Featherstone** explained all stages of the PhD process and offered a detailed guide for students researching Greece and Cyprus. Having the experience of supervising over 30 PhD candidates, Professor Featherstone advised the students on multiple issues related to their current research and their future publications.

We feel that the PhD Symposium is one of the most important international meetings for PhD students working on contemporary Greece and Cyprus in the social sciences and we hope to continue this tradition in the following years.

The presentations were divided in 12 panels that took place over both days. The research students presented their work in front of experienced scholars and academics and had the opportunity to exchange ideas and gain valuable feedback. Moreover, they benefited from a unique workshop on Quantitative Political Analysis, offered by **Dr Spyros Kosmidis** (Oxford University) on the second day.

Traditionally, key experts provide their insights in plenary sessions and facilitate the debate in current topics. The first plenary session of the 7th Symposium was given by **Professor Nicos Christodoulakis** (Professor of Economic Analysis, Athens University of Economics and Business) who presented the relation between the socio-economic conditions in Greece since 2009 and the sudden rise of Golden Dawn. **Professor Achilleas Mitsos** (Professor of International Economic Relations, University of the Aegean) chaired this session and coordinated the discussion after Professor Christodoulakis' presentation. The historical far-right voting behaviour was a topic discussed during the Q&A section where the PhD participants had the opportunity to ask their questions.



The participants' discussion in one of the sessions

Podcasts and Videos from all the sessions of the Symposium can be found on our [website](#)





The 7th Biennial HO PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus



The 7th Biennial HO PhD Symposium participants and organisers outside the New Academic Building, LSE

Thursday, 4 June 2015

09:00 - 09:15	Registration
09:15 - 10:45	<p>Welcome Address by Professor Kevin Featherstone (HO Director, LSE)</p> <p>Plenary Session I: “The Emergence of the Far-Right in Greece in the Context of the Socio-Economic Crisis”</p> <p>Speaker: Professor Nicos Christodoulakis (Professor of Economic Analysis, Athens University of Economics and Business)</p> <p>Chair & Comment: Professor Achilleas Mitsos (Professor of International Economic Relations, University of the Aegean)</p>
11:15 - 12:45	Panel Meetings - Session I
14:00 - 15:30	<p>Plenary Session II: “The External Dimension of the Greek Economic Crisis”</p> <p>Speaker: Professor Manolis Galenianos (Professor of Economics, Royal Holloway, University of London)</p> <p>Chair & Comment: Dr Vassilis Monastiriotis (Associate Professor in the Political Economy of South Eastern Europe, Hellenic Observatory, LSE)</p>
16:00 - 17:30	Panel Meetings - Session II

Friday, 5 June 2015

10:30 - 11:45	<p>Plenary Session III: “How to Write a PhD (on Greece)”</p> <p>Speaker: Professor Kevin Featherstone (Eleftherios Venizelos Professor of Contemporary Greek Studies and Professor of European Politics; Director, Hellenic Observatory, LSE)</p>
12:00 - 13:30	Panel Meetings - Session III
15.00-17.00	Workshop

Public Lectures

'The European Debt Crisis: The Greek Case' by Costas Simitis

On **9 December 2014**, the Hellenic Observatory was extremely pleased to be able to host former **Prime Minister Costas Simitis** for the launch of the English edition of his book, ['The European Debt Crisis: The Greek Case'](#). In a packed, and expectant Hong Kong Theatre, Costas



Former Prime Minister Costas Simitis addressing the audience in the Hong Kong Theatre

Simitis started by presenting the main elements of his arguments.

In the book Costas Simitis examines the European debt crisis with particular reference to the case of Greece. Greece was the first Eurozone country to face an enormous deficit, which reached 15% of GDP in 2009. As the Greek crisis unfolded, other Eurozone countries displayed identical symptoms, albeit in varying degrees of severity. From a strictly Greek predicament the debt

crisis quickly turned into a problem for the European Union as a whole. Costas Simitis pointed out that his book investigates the causes of this spillover and chronicles the policy responses to combat it. It also discusses Greece's troubled political economy, the country's difficulties in adjusting to the demands of its creditors and the vehement social and political reactions to the policy of austerity.

From the audience's, and a broader public point of view, the publication of the book and especially the launch at the LSE, could not occur at a more opportune moment nor could the author be more central to the whole process of Greek membership of the Eurozone – a key ingredient in the topic. Greece entered the Eurozone under the stewardship of Costas Simitis, and at the time of the book launch, Greece was deep into the fifth year of crisis, and because we were on the cusp of a general election campaign that would lead to the election of the Syriza government.

As such, much of the lively question and answer session that followed Costas Simitis's presentation centred on the developments of the last few years and what we should expect next in the political and economic life of Greece. While the former Prime Minister would not be drawn on the day to day developments in Greek politics, he keenly supported that any future settlement, by whichever government, should be grounded within the EU and the Eurozone.

'Cyprus Question; Current state of play in the settlement negotiations and prospects in 2015' by Andreas Mavroyiannis

On **2 March 2015**, the Hellenic Observatory was delighted to be able to welcome back **Ambassador Andreas Mavroyiannis**. When he had previously spoken at the HO, in October 2012, he had done so as the Deputy Minister to the President of the Republic for European Affairs during Cyprus's Presidency of the European Union. This time, however, he came to the School in his new capacity as the Chief Negotiator for the Greek Cypriot Community in the UN-sponsored intercommunal talks. At the time of the lecture, the negotiations between the two sides were at a particularly low point. The direct discussions had been put on hold the previous autumn following rising tensions over energy exploration off the coast of the island. This had led to fears of a direct confrontation between Cyprus and Turkey. The [presentation](#) therefore provided an important opportunity to clarify where the talks stood as well as present the latest Greek Cypriot thinking on the possible ways to break the dead-

lock. The event was particularly valuable in as much as it provided a chance for Ambassador Mavroyiannis to engage with members of the London Cypriot community and try to answer some of their questions and concerns about the process and substance of the settlement efforts.



Dr James Ker-Lindsay (left) and Ambassador Andreas Mavroyiannis (right)





'The Greek Orthodox Church and the Economic Crisis'

by **H.E Metropolitan Ignatius**

What role should the Church play in the current economic crisis in Greece? Indeed, does the crisis oblige it to reflect on its own role prior to the crisis? These questions were addressed head-on in a [public lecture](#) given for the HO by His Eminence Metropolitan Ignatius of Demetrias and Almyros on 12 November 2014.



H.E Metropolitan Ignatius of Demetrias and Almyros (left) speaking in the Hong Kong Theatre

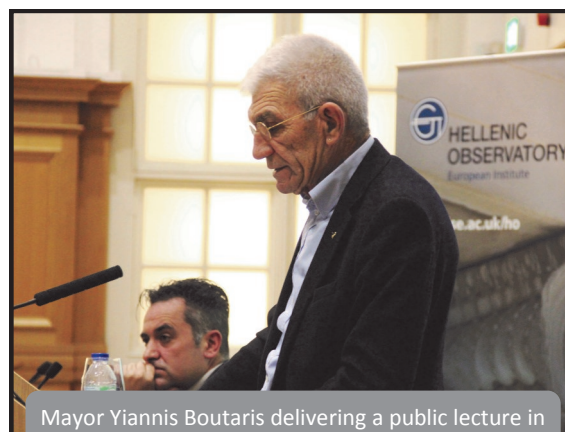
His Eminence is well-known in Greece for having presented a religious programme on TV for some 20 years. He began his lecture by responding to the question of whether the Church should get involved in political and

economic issues. Such a proposition ignores the fact that the current economic crisis has serious consequences for all Greek citizens and therefore for the Church's flock; secondly, it seems to forget that the very identity and mission of the Church is best encapsulated in the biblical "in the world, but not of the world," namely in the dialectic between history and eschatology, His Eminence declared. The Church, of course, is not a secular institution; it is focused on the eschatological vision of "a new heaven and a new earth" (Rev. 21:1 RSV), a new human being and a new creation (2Cor. 5:17)—but not for the purpose of exhibiting a smug rejection of, or contempt for, the world and its history, rather to place at its centre the human being made in the image of God, and not the 'homo economicus', who is ruled by finances and consumerism. At the same time, the Church's approach should be accompanied by a sincere attitude of self-criticism for the "wrongs" which, unfortunately, found their way even into the body of the Church. As faithful Christians, we are called, His Eminence said, not only to denounce the domination of the markets and social evil, but first and foremost to examine our own mistakes and omissions. This led His Eminence to address the issue of the Church's role in the Greek public sphere.

'Local Governance in Times of Crisis - Lessons for Greece from the City of Thessaloniki' by **Yiannis Boutaris**

Yiannis Boutaris, the mayor of Thessaloniki, is a highly unusual figure in Greek (local) politics. Outspoken, uncompromising, hardly ever constrained by political etiquette, and with views that are often taboo in Greek politics and society (from gay pride to street parking and from issues of national identity to issues of environmental protection). But what is perhaps more unusual for a Greek mayor is the amount of publicity he has received internationally for the policies and style of governance that have been introduced under his mayorship. His mayorship has been decried such as a "beacon of hope" and a "model for all Greece" and was chosen as a World Mayor of the Month (October 2012) achieving the 8th place in the City Mayors 2014 World Mayor of the Year contest.

His lecture at the LSE's Hong Kong Theatre on 11 December 2014 lived up to the expectations raised by this profile. Speaking on the theme '[Local Governance in Times of Crisis](#)', he talked forthrightly and candidly about the challenges facing his city, both during the crisis and before, and about the initiatives he has pursued for encouraging the city to become more extro-



Mayor Yiannis Boutaris delivering a public lecture in the Hong Kong Theatre

vert, more confident, more entrepreneurial, as well as more 'liveable' and more aware of its diverse cultural heritage and its place in the wider geo-strategic environment of today. The lecture, which was coordinated with LSE London, attracted a wide audience of LSE students and members of the public and was followed by a lively Q&A session.

Symposium

'The Future of Modern Greek Studies' with Chairs of Modern Greek Studies from around the world

This question was the central focus for a symposium of full professors and chairs of Modern Greek Studies from around the world, organised by the HO at LSE on **7 November 2014**. The [Symposium](#) was a unique opportunity to discuss the challenges and opportunities such programmes face – indeed, it was the first time an assembly of these professors had been organised. It was particularly useful in that the discussions were conducted privately, allowing the participants to discuss more sensitive matters easily. Several other guests were invited, including LSE Pro-Director Professor Paul Kelly. The Symposium was facilitated by legacy funding from the endowment to the Venizelos Chair at LSE.

The Symposium's agenda covered a range of subjects: mapping the content of MGS programmes; aims and missions; accountability and governance; funding and endowments; public outreach and local engagement; and future priorities.

The Symposium comprised a diverse group. Of the 16 professors, 8 were from the USA; 3 from the UK; 2 from Australia; 1 from Austria; 1 from Canada; and 1 from Portugal. Others had sent their apologies for not being able to attend. Of the 16, 11 were in the fields of literature, language and culture; 5 were historians; and 2 were political scientists. The origination of the chairs and pro-

grammes ranged over a long period: Birmingham and KCL from pre-1945; Princeton, Sydney and Vienna from before the 1980s; Columbia, Flinders, LSE, Michigan, Missouri, NYU, San Francisco State, and Simon Fraser in the 1980s-90s; and Lisbon, UC San Diego, and Yale since 2000. 12 of the chairs/programmes involved funding endowments. 12 had advisory boards that included external members. The diversity of programmes – and, perhaps, purposes – was also made evident: not only across disciplinary fields, but also in relation to the inclusion of language teaching, the promotion of research, and the outreach of public events, etc. Added to that, are the different institutional contexts of governance and accountability, as well as the importance of external funding.

The Symposium facilitated very valuable discussions and the means to learn from each other. Important issues were shared and each was prompted to reflect upon them. It is hoped that a similar event may be held at some stage in the future, to enable all to build on what was aired. In any event, this was an excellent starting point.

We gratefully acknowledge

The Society for the Promotion of Contemporary Hellenic Studies & Hellenic Foundation for Culture , UK



Symposium Participants: Prof Kevin Featherstone (LSE); Prof Roderick Beaton (KCL); Prof José António Costa Ideias (Universidade Nova de Lisboa); Prof Michalis Cosmopoulos (University of Missouri); Prof Molly Greene (Princeton University); Prof Thomas Gallant (University of California); Prof André Gerolymatos (Simon Fraser University); Prof Stathis Gourgouris (Columbia University), Prof Martha Klironomos (San Francisco State University); Prof Stathis Kalyvas (Yale University); Prof Vassilis Lambropoulos (University of Michigan); Prof Maria Stassinopoulou (University of Vienna); Prof Liana Theodoratou (University of New York); Prof Michael Tsianikas (Flinders University) and Prof Dimitris Tziovas (University of Birmingham)



Public Debates



'What is 'modern' about Modern Greece?'

What is 'modern' about 'Modern Greece' is a provocative title. Even the notion of 'Modern' Greece is a concept with a baggage of assumptions. And the meaning of 'modernity' is a contested one across different national contexts. Is 'modernity' in this case simply a matter of emulating Western Europe, for example? Can we assume a single definition or a linear process of development? How does the euro-zone crisis complement or contradict such understandings? Is Greece more or less 'modern' than other bail-out states? Alternatively, is the very act of self-reflection or of interrogating the salience of 'modernity' an indication of the description itself? What can a longer historical perspective – highlighting the 'before' and the 'after' – teach us about the extent of socio-cultural change since the creation of the Modern Greek state? Is this a core contribution to be made by Modern Greek Studies? These important questions – and others – were explored in a panel discussion organised by the HO on **7 November 2014**. The discussion began with 'kick-start' contributions from professors **Vassilis Lambropoulos** (Michigan); **Stathis Kalyvas** (Yale); and **Molly Greene** (Princeton), followed by many valuable contributions from the audience. The latter comprised other professors of Modern Greek Studies, from the UK and abroad, who each had attended a private (business) symposium during the day. (see page 8)

Find out more about this event on the [event section of our website](#).



Prof Vassilis Lambropoulos (left) and Prof Stathis Kalyvas (right)



The audience during the Q&A session

'What do the Greek elections mean for Greece's future?'

Following the Greek elections, on **5 February 2015**, a panel discussed their implications, chaired by HO Director, Kevin Featherstone. The elections led to the formation of a new Greek government, a coalition comprising the SYRIZA and ANEL parties. The government immediately declared a new path for economic recovery and an end to austerity. The panel considered the shifts occurring in voting behaviour and in the party system; the politics of protest and of new forms of engagement; the feasibility of a new policy path for Greece; and the role of the EU in domestic politics. The panel comprised: **Dr Dionyssi Dimitrakopoulos** (Birkbeck); **Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou** (Reading); and **Professor Dimitris Vayanos** (LSE).

Find out more about this event on the [event section of our website](#).



The panel during the Q&A session

Conference

'The Cyprus Recovery Plan: A Midterm Assessment'

On 6 March 2015, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Cyprus bail-in, the Hellenic Observatory, in association with the University of Nicosia and supported by the Neapolis University, hosted a conference to debate the causes and consequences of that momentous event. The conference was the sequel to an earlier event jointly organised by the Hellenic Observatory and Neapolis University in Cyprus, in September 2012, to discuss the then worsening economic situation in Cyprus and the challenges ahead.

Two and a half years later, and with a recovery plan in place, the conference revisited the topic of the Cyprus economy. The central question addressed in the conference by four panels of experts was whether the financial disaster of March 2013 which resulted in the collapse of the banking sector and triggered a deep recession has also provided an opportunity for addressing deep-rooted political and economic problems and implementing long-overdue reforms. **Daniel Gros, Alexander Michaelides**

and **Elias Papaioannou** analysed the causes of the financial debacle and evaluated both the rationale and the impact of the bail-in. **Maarten Verwey, Michalis Sarris** and **Marios Clerides** discussed the problems and difficulties of implementing the recovery programme, whereas **Nicos Peristianis, Stavros Zenios** and **Maria Hadzipavlou** examined the need for economic, institutional, political and social reforms in Cyprus. In the last panel **Libor Krkoska, Tony Yerole mou** and **Toula Onoufriou** assessed the potential of the Cyprus economy post-crisis, and proposed policies for improving its long-term prospects.

The conference was concluded with an address by Nobel Laureate **Sir Christopher Pissarides** on the way forward for the Cyprus economy.



UNIVERSITY OF NICOSIA



Sir Christopher Pissarides delivering the Key-Note speech



Maarten Verwey, Former EU Mission Chief for Cyprus Financial Assistance Programme



Session 3: Nicos Peristianis, Stavros Zenios, Maria Hadzipavlou and James Ker-Lindsay (chair)

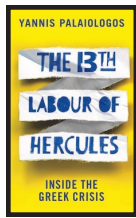
Find out more about this conference on the [event section](#) of our website.





Book Launches

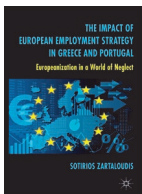
'The Thirteenth Labour of Hercules Inside the Greek Crisis' by Yannis Palaiologos



On **15 October 2014**, **Yannis Palaiologos**, a features reporter for the "Kathimerini" newspaper in Greece came to the LSE to [launch](#) his new book on the crisis: 'The 13th Labour of Hercules'. The book is a very accessible introduction to the social and political mores surrounding the crisis. Its narrative is anecdotal, in the fashion of a good features report: from a cancer sufferer depending on chari-

table health care, to the Finance Minister charged with clearing up tax evasion, to the union bosses fighting mass unemployment and the workings of a prejudiced, corrupt government. The book contains a plea for reform, without itself proposing the shape of such a programme. Kevin Featherstone, HO Director, and Philippe Legrain, Senior Visiting Fellow at the European Institute, LSE, commented on the book.

'The Impact of European Employment Strategy in Greece and Portugal' by Sotiris Zartaloudis



The Hellenic Observatory was pleased to welcome back **Sotiris Zartaloudis** (University of Birmingham), a former LSE PhD student, to present his recent book. Entitled, 'The Impact of European Employment Strategy in Greece and Portugal', the book is published by Palgrave (UK). It offers an original and detailed investigation into

how well the EU's Employment Strategy is driving labour market reform at the domestic level, with particular reference to Greece and Portugal. The [book launch](#) was held at the LSE on **20 October 2014** and was chaired by the HO Director, Kevin Featherstone. A lively discussion focused on the EU triggers for domestic adaptation and the conditions promoting or inhibiting the response in the two countries.

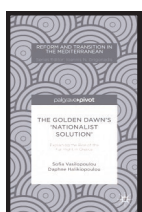
'Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution' by James Ker-Lindsay



On **27 November 2014**, the Hellenic Observatory hosted the launch of James Ker-Lindsay's latest edited book: 'Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution'. Bringing together 30 leading analysts and observers of the Cyprus issue, the book poses one deceptively simple question: Can Cyprus be solved? The [book launch](#) included nine of the contributors: **Emel Akcali**, **Yeshim Harris**, **Professor Robert Holland**,

Klearchos Kyriakides, **Neophytos Loizides**, **Robert McDonald**, **Mustafa Ergun Olgun**, **Zenon Stavrinides** and **Birte Vogel**. After briefly presenting their chapters, the panellists engaged in an open roundtable discussion on the current state of the Cyprus talks and the prospects for a breakthrough. In view of the wide range of ideas contained in the work, and the very different political positions of the speakers on the night (including the Turkish Cypriot Chief Negotiator), it proved to be a very stimulating and thought provoking evening.

'The Golden Dawn's 'Nationalist Solution': Explaining the Rise of the Far Right in Greece' by Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou



On **14 May 2015**, **Daphne Halikiopoulou** and **Sofia Vasilopoulou** launched their new book at the LSE, titled 'The Golden Dawn's 'Nationalist Solution': Explaining the Rise of the Far Right'. Their [presentation](#) placed the rise of the Golden Dawn in the context of the Eurozone crisis and their book argues that its rise is not merely the product of economic malaise. Rather, the success of the Golden Dawn is dependent on the extent to which it was able to

propound plausible solutions to the three sets of crises - economic, political and ideological. The authors argue that much of the party's success can be attributed to its strategic choice to tap into the widespread disillusionment of the Greek people by offering them a 'nationalist solution': a rhetoric that emphasizes the twin fascist myths of social decadence and national rebirth.

Dr Othon Anastasakis (Oxford) was the discussant after their presentation and HO Director, Kevin Featherstone, chaired the Q&A.

Megaron Plus Lecture Series

The HO collaborated with the Megaron Plus programme of the Megaron Mousikis Centre in Athens, and the Hellenic Alumni Association of the LSE, to instigate a new public lecture series at this prestigious venue. The public lectures are open to all and they involve professors from across the LSE presenting their work and responding to comments from a senior Greek academic as a discussant and from the audience – a forum of lively debate on topics of international concern.

Craig Calhoun, LSE Director, inaugurated the lecture series. **Maria Xytaki**, President of the Hellenic Alumni Association, gave a welcome to the audience and introduced the lectures. The series continued with lectures by **Prof Michael Cox**, **Prof Kevin Featherstone** and **Prof Anne Phillips** which also included a series of discussants (**Prof Nikos Mouzelis**, **Prof George Pagoulatos**, **Prof Loukas Tsoukalis**, **Prof Thalia Dragonas** and **Dr Dimitri Sotiropoulos**)

We are delighted to announce that the Megaron Plus Series will be repeated in the forthcoming academic year with the following events:



THE HELLENIC ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
OF THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE ■

Find out more about the
2014-15 lectures on the
[event section of our website.](#)

LECTURE SERIES 2015-16 *Provisional Schedule*

Lecture 1: [Prime Ministers and the Paradox of Power in Greece](#)

Thursday, 15 October 2015

Speakers: **Professor Kevin Featherstone**, Director, Hellenic Observatory and **Professor Dimitris Papadimitriou** Professor of Politics, University of Manchester.

Lecture 2: [The Rule of Law in Europe: Friend or Foe of Democracy?](#)

Wednesday 2 December 2015

Speaker: **Professor Conor Gearty**, Professor of Human Rights Law; Director, Institute of Public Affairs (LSE)

Lecture 3: [Debt Crises and Policy Responses: Greece, Argentina, and international lessons](#)

Tuesday, 2 February 2016

Speaker: **Professor Silvana Tenreyro**, Professor of Economics, LSE

Lecture 4: [The importance of Greek irregular verbs: Churchill, Thucydides and the future of war](#)

Thursday, 3 March 2016

Speaker: **Professor Christopher Coker**, Professor of International Relations, LSE

Lectures will take place at 19.00 at Megaron Mousikis, Athens. More information will be available on our website.





Research Seminars 2014-15

The HO Research Seminars have always hosted a mix of policy and academic presentations, from disciplines across the social sciences and humanities and often from competing schools of thought. While



Dr Dimitris Theodossopoulos (left) and Dr Rebecca Bryant (right)

maintaining this diversity, increasingly in recent times our seminar series has obtained, unavoidably, a disproportionate focus on aspects of the crisis in Greece. There is nothing wrong with this, of course. But it does create a 'technical' problem for the organisers: to keep locating possible presentations that are on 'new' and relevant topics satisfying the criterion of academic rigour and high-quality policy analysis. In the

past academic year it seemed as this problem never existed! Our series hosted ten particularly high-calibre presentations on a range of themes, all under the broader frame of the Greek crisis, by presenters with variable degrees of policy exposure, different age profiles and levels of seniority, and representing great disciplinary and gender diversity.

In the 'economics' sphere, we had some important retrospective presentations on reforms and adjustment during the crisis by experts with significant experience in public office, including former Deputy Governor of the Bank of Greece Prof Louri-Dendrinou, former Chairman of the Greek Council of Economic Experts Prof Tsakloglou, and former Prime Minister Dr Costas Simitis. We also had a more prospective presentation, by Prof Skreta, drawing on her recent publication at the Journal of Economic Theory on optimal auction (privatisation) design during a crisis.

The series also had a strong sociological and anthropological focus, with important presentations by some more junior but highly accomplished Greek scholars, including Dr Fokas (The relationship between religion and national identity); Dr Kentikelenis (The newly disadvantaged); Dr Kirtsoglou (The fragility of the social contract in Greece); Dr Theodossopoulos (Everyday strategies against austerity); and our very own Dr Rosa Vasilaki (NBG Post-doc Fellow), who presented her innovative work on how the crisis has been experienced by police officers in Greece.

One important presentation from the field of 'politics' completed our line-up: Dr Sotiropoulos presented preliminary findings from his ongoing work, partly funded by the Hellenic Observatory, on the perceptions of Greek political elites about Europe and the crisis.

Together, these presentations, as well as those of previous years, make for a substantial resource for those interested on aspects of the crisis in Greece. We encourage you to take a look at them and listen to the podcasts on our [Seminars page](#).

MICHAELMAS TERM 2015-16 Provisional Schedule

Tuesday, 13 October 2015

Evaluating the structural reform of central government departments in Greece

DR PANAGIOTIS D. ZERVPOULOS, Assistant Professor in Quantative Methods, Department of International Trade, Bursa Orhangazi University (Turkey)

Tuesday, 27 October 2015

Exploring the psychological effects of the Greek financial crisis

PROFESSOR BETTINA DAVOU, Professor of Psychology, Department of Communication & Media Studies; Director of Laboratory for Psychological Applications & Communication Planning, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens.

Tuesday, 10 November 2015

Pension Poor and Housing Rich: A generational perspective of the Greek crisis, its aftermath and possible ways out

DR PLATON TINIOS, Assistant Professor Piraeus University and Visiting Senior Fellow, Hellenic Observatory

Tuesday, 24 November 2015

Political development and the rise of the Golden Dawn in Greece

PROFESSOR ANTONIS ELLINAS, Assistant Professor Department of Social & Political Sciences, University of Cyprus

Tuesday, 8 December 2015

Of Austerity, Human Rights and International Institutions

DR MARGOT SALOMON, Associate Professor, Law Department and Centre for the Study of Human Rights, Director of the Laboratory for Advanced Research on the Global Economy, LSE

GreeSE Papers 2014-15: Continuity and Change

This year has been a very fruitful year for GreeSE Papers, and we are delighted that it ends with a combination of continuity and change. A notable change is that Dr Andreas Kornelakis is stepping down from his role as Editor for the Series. Following a three-year term, he is handing over to Dr Rebecca Bryant. Rebecca has excellent academic credentials; she is currently Andreas N. Hadjiyiannis Senior Research Fellow with the HO and holds a PhD from the University of Chicago. Ms Polly Liouta remains in her role as Editorial Assistant for the Series.

One element of continuity is that the Series' papers keep up with influencing on-going academic debates, as evidenced by citations in journal articles published in 2014 or 2015. For example, GreeSE No.45 was cited in the journal *Health Policy* (2014) and in *South European Society and Politics* (2015); No. 17 was cited in the *British Journal of Religious Education* (2015); and No.46 was cited in *Business History* (2015). Another element of continuity is the adherence to the peer-review process as a basic quality assurance mechanism. I would like to take this opportunity and thank our referees in 2014/15: Andreas Antoniadis (Sussex); Antonis Kalyvas (Greenwich); Daniel Knight (Durham); Spyros Kosmidis (Oxford); Stella Ladi (Queen Mary) and Theodoros Panagiotidis (Macedonia).

It is usually expected by an outgoing Editor to take stock

of achievements and consider the prospects for the future. Over the past three years we published over 30 papers and these had over 1,400 downloads and more than 3,500 abstract views. Thus, it is safe to conclude that the Series remained a reputable point of reference for current research in Greece with a wide readership and high visibility. The papers covered a wide spectrum of disciplinary areas and methodological tools, but -as expected- the economic and social crisis in Greece dominated as thematic focus. We encouraged the publication of a variety of papers including academic papers, novel scoping studies and original think pieces. Overall, we are confident that the future looks bright with the new Editor, who will be taking the Series to new levels of success.



Series Editor
Andreas Kornelakis
(University of Sussex)

Editorial Board
Kevin Featherstone
Spyros Economides
Vassilis Monastiriotis

Editorial Assistant
Polly Liouta

Latest Papers in the Series

- (86) **Thomadakis, Stavros, Gounopoulos, Dimitrios, Nounis Christos, and Riginos, Michalis**, *Financial Innovation and Growth: Listings and IPOs from 1880 to World War II in the Athens Stock Exchange*, September 2014.
- (87) **Monokroussos, Platon**, *The Challenge of Restoring Debt Sustainability in a Deep Economic Recession: The case of Greece*, October 2014.
- (88) **Panagiotidis, Theodore; Printzis, Panagiotis**, *On the Macroeconomic Determinants of the Housing Market in Greece: A VECM Approach*, January 2015.
- (89) **Dimelis, Sophia; Giotopoulos, Ioannis; Louri, Helen**, *Can firms grow without credit? Evidence from the Euro Area, 2005-2011: A Quantile Panel Analysis*, February 2015.
- (90) **Arapoglou, Vassilis; Gounis, Kostas**, *Poverty and Homelessness in Athens: Governance and the Rise of an Emergency Model of Social Crisis Management*, March 2015.
- (91) **Thomadakis, Stavros B**, *Growth, Debt and Sovereignty : Prolegomena to the Greek Crisis*, May 2015.
- (92) **Tsekeris, Charalambos; Kaberis, Nikos and Pinguli, Maria**, *The Self in Crisis: The Experience of Personal and Social Suffering in Contemporary Greece*, June 2015.
- (93) **Tsirbas, Yannis and Sotiropoulos, Dimitri A.**, *What Greek political elites think about Europe and the crisis? An exploratory analysis*, July 2015.

For a list of all the previous GreeSE papers and to download the readable pdf files please click [here](#)



A.N. Hadjiyiannis Senior Research Fellow



Dr Rebecca Bryant

Dr. Rebecca Bryant has focused on three research areas in the past year. The first is her continuing research on practices of coexistence, historical reconciliation, and everyday peacebuilding, for which she completed an edited volume,

Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict, to be published by Berghahn Books in March 2016. She has also participated in workshops in Istanbul and Paris on the themes of historical reconciliation and sharing religious sites.

The second research theme is her work on the sociology of unrecognised states, for which she has recently completed a book manuscript entitled *Unbecoming Subjects: Sovereignty and Sociality in a De Facto State* (with Mete Hatay). As part of this research, she published a paper entitled, 'Nostalgia and the Discovery of Loss: Essentializing the Turkish Cypriot Past' in the

volume *Anthropology of Nostalgia*, edited by David Berliner and Olivia Ange (Oxford: Berghahn Books). She has also begun preliminary fieldwork in the unrecognised state of Abkhazia as part of a collaborative research group working on sovereignty and globalisation, funded for four years by the Norwegian Research Council.

The third strand of Dr. Bryant's research was pursued while she was on research leave for the Michaelmas Term under a Leverhulme Trust Fellowship. For that fellowship, she conducted archival and ethnographic research in Istanbul on the uses of 'culture'—as concept, discourse, and practice—in the everyday of a Turkish bourgeois modernity.

**The Hellenic Observatory is grateful to
Mr Andreas N. Hadjiyiannis for his generous donation
for the establishment of a Research Fellowship
on Contemporary Cyprus**

The HO Welcomes Visiting Fellows & Professors

The Hellenic Observatory welcomes applications for Visiting Fellows and Professors by academics or policy practitioners who may want 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. It is anticipated that Visiting Fellows will play an active part in the intellectual life of the Hellenic Observatory during their fellowship.

HO Visiting Fellowship: Visiting Fellowships target researchers at an early stage of their career (pre-major review) who already hold a tenure-track university affiliation and wish to conduct a specific piece of research on a topic relevant to the research of the Hellenic Observatory. Applications by practitioners and researchers outside the academia may also be considered, but normally applicants should hold at least a PhD degree or have equivalent professional experience.

HO Visiting Senior Fellowship: The Visiting Senior Fellowship category is aimed at academics that are of the Lecturer (post major review), Senior Lecturer or Reader level, and practitioners or professionals at a broadly comparable level in their profession. The title of Visiting Senior Fellow is given to individuals from outside the School associated with School Departments/Institutes/Centres. The status is intended to apply to scholars who have already published work of distinction, as well as recognising the contribution from those in government service, in professional practice, in the private sector, or in other appropriate fields, to engage in research and other Institute/Centre activities.

HO Visiting Professors: The School may confer the title of Visiting Professor for a defined but renewable period on persons of appropriate distinction whose connections with the School are appropriate to the visiting title. It includes individuals with a non-academic background who may have achieved prominence in public life, or who have attained distinction in their profession.

In 2014-15 the Hellenic Observatory welcomed: **Eleni Louri-Dendrinou** Assistant Professor of Political Sociology, Department of European and International Studies in the University of Piraeus. **Elias Dinensis**, Professor of Finance and Management and former Rector at Neapolis University, Pafos, Cyprus; **Daniel Knight**, Addison Wheeler Fellow in the Department of Anthropology, Durham University and **Bernard Casey** Principal Research Fellow, Institute for Employment Research, Warwick University continued their fellowships at the HO from the previous year





NBG Post-Doctoral Research Fellow 2014-15



Dr Rosa Vasilaki

My time at the Hellenic Observatory was extremely productive in terms of advancing my research and being part of an intellectually stimulating community. It was also very pleasant to work in the friendly and supportive environment provided by all

the members of the HO.

My research revolves around the unexplored topic of policing the crisis in Greece with a particular focus on the views and experiences of police officers. The fellowship gave me the opportunity to carry out my fieldwork, to produce articles for publication, but also to present my work at seminars at the HO, the LSE and at Columbia University. It also gave me the opportunity to attend a variety of seminars, conferences and other events which deepened my understanding of the complexity of issues faced by Greece today.

I am extremely grateful to Kevin, Spyros and Vassilis for

their availability and willingness to discuss aspects of my work whenever I needed it, and to Ismini and Polly who always catered for all practical matters in the most polite and supportive way thus allowing us, the researchers, to focus efficiently on our endeavours.

I am also deeply grateful to the other research fellows, such as Bernard, and research assistants, such as Dimitris, with whom I shared endless conversations about developments, concerns and achievements with regards to my research. Finally I would like to thank the National Bank of Greece for making this post possible through their generous funding.

In sum, my experience at the HO has been extremely valuable and I look forward to developing this relationship further after the completion of my fellowship.



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The Hellenic Observatory gratefully acknowledges the National Bank of Greece for the funding of the post-doc research fellow posts

HO Interns

The Hellenic Observatory would like to express their gratitude to the LSE students and interns **Nicholas Charalambides, Michael Cottakis and Antonios Fiala** who have supported the HO team and its work over the 2014-15 academic year. We wish them good luck in their future careers!

Research Associates

GEORGE ALOGOSKOUFIS, Professor of Economics, Athens University of Economics & Business; Former Greek Minister of Economy & Finance, 2004-2009

ATHANASIA CHALARI, Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Worcester; A.C. Laskaridis Post-Doctoral Fellow 2011-12, Hellenic Observatory, LSE

NICOS CHRISTODOULAKIS, Professor of Economics, Athens University of Economics & Business; Former Greek Minister of Economy & Finance, 2001-2004

EFFIE FOKAS, LSE; Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)

PANAYIOTIS C. (TAKIS) IOAKIMIDIS, Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens

ELENI LOURI-DENDRINO, Professor of Economics, Department of Economics, Athens University of Economics and Business

COSTAS MEGHIR, Professor of Economics, University College London; Douglas A. Warner III Professor, Yale University; Co-Director ESRC Research Centre, Institute for Fiscal Studies

ACHILLEAS MITSOS, Professor of International Economic Relations, University of Aegean

DIMITRIS PAPADIMITRIOU, Professor in European Politics, University of Manchester; Co-Director of the Manchester Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence (JMCE)

DIMITRIS SOTIROPOULOS, Associate Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens

PANOS TSAKLOGLOU, Professor of International & European Economic Studies, Athens University of Economics & Business; Research Fellow, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA, Bonn)

DIMITRI VAYANOS, Professor of Finance, LSE; Director of the Paul Woolley Centre for the Study of Capital Market Dysfunctionality

Staff Publications



[Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution](#)

Editor: **James Ker-Lindsay**
I.B. Tauris, 2014



[The Subjective Experiences of Three Generations during the Greek Economic Crisis](#)

Author: **Athanasia Chalari**
World Journal of Social Science Research, Vol. 1 (1), pp. 89-109, 2014



[External conditionality and the debt crisis: the 'Troika' and public administration reform in Greece](#)

Author: **Kevin Featherstone**
Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 22 (3), pp. 295-314, September 2014



[Civil Society in Greece in the Wake of the Economic Crisis](#)

Author: **Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos**
Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and ELIAMEP, 2014



[The social situation of Greece under the crisis; Basic socio-economic data for Greece, 2013](#)

Author: **Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos**
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung,
May 2014



[Between equity, efficiency and redistribution: An analysis of revealed allocation criteria of regional public investment in Greece](#)

Authors: **Vassilis Monastiriotis**
Yannis Psycharis, European Urban and Regional Studies, vol.21 (4), pp.445-462



[Economic Crisis, Social Solidarity and the Voluntary Sector in Greece](#)

Authors: **Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos**,
Dimitris Bourikos, Journal of Power, Politics & Governance, Vol. 2 (2), pp. 33-53, June 2014



[The regional impact of EU association agreements: lessons for the ENP from the CEE experience](#)

Authors: **Vassilis Monastiriotis**, **Dimitris Kallioras**, **George Petrakos**
LEQS Discussion Paper No80, October 2014



[Prime Ministers in Greece: The Paradox of Power](#)

Authors: **Kevin Featherstone**,
Dimitris Papadimitriou
Oxford University Press, 2015



[The Chronicle of a Great Crisis: The Bank of Greece 2008-2013](#)

Bank of Greece, September 2014



[The Europeanisation of Statehood: The EU in northern Cyprus](#)

Author: **George Kyris**
Ashgate, 2015



[Re-organising Everyday Greek Social Reality: Subjective Experiences of the Greek Crisis](#)

Author: **Athanasia Chalari** in [The Politics of Extreme Austerity: Greece beyond the Crisis](#), London: Routledge, 2015



[Wit and Greece's economic crisis: Ironic slogans, food, and anti-austerity sentiments](#)

Author: **Knight, Daniel M.**
American Ethnologist, Volume 42 (2), pp. 230–246, May 2015



[History, Time, and Economic Crisis in Central Greece](#)

Author: **Daniel M. Knight**
Foreword: **Robert Layton**
May 2015



[The evolution of wage returns across the Greek regions during the crisis](#)

Author: **Vassilis Monastiriotis**
Conference Proceedings, Regional Studies Association Winter Conference, London, 27-28 November, 2014



[Convergence through Crisis? The Impact of the crisis on the wage returns across the Greek regions](#)

Author: **Vassilis Monastiriotis**
Région et Développement, vol.39, November 2014





National Bank of Greece - External Research Projects

In July 2015 the Hellenic Observatory invited researchers with a recognised interest in contemporary Greece to submit an application for funding, in order to carry out a project on one of the following themes:

- (1) An evaluation of reform implementation;
- (2) What model of employment relations for Greece?
- (3) Immigration, asylum, and the EU.

The Call is open to all researchers with a university affiliation, who already hold a doctorate (PhD degree) with at least two years of post-doctoral research experience. Applications from groups of researchers are also eligible. The deadline for submission of applications is **Sunday 27th September 2015 (10pm GMT)**. Further details can be found on the Hellenic Observatory website.

This call has been made possible by funding generously provided by the National Bank of Greece, to which we wish to record our gratitude. This initiative is consistent with the Observatory's mission to promote public policy research and to foster academic collaboration and networks and follows on from previous successful calls made in 2009, 2011, 2013 and 2014.

In 2014 three projects on the following themes were accepted and are on-going:

The Crisis and Gender

Project title: Can the crisis lead to backtracking on gender progress in Greece? A need to rethink gender balance policies.

The Crisis and Political Extremism

Project title: Radicalising the Mainstream? The Rise of the Golden Dawn and its impact on Greek Party Politics.

Outward Migration from Greece during the Crisis

Project title: Outward Migration from Greece during the Crisis.



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For more information
on all Research Calls
please visit our [website](#)

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Dimitri Vayanos, [Professor of Finance; Head of the Department of Finance, LSE]

Donors

The programme of activities sustained by the Hellenic Observatory depends crucially on the financial support it receives from outside bodies. For this reason, we wish to record our very sincere gratitude, once again, to the following donors for their generosity and for the confidence they place in us.

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1996-2016 Celebrating 20 years!

In 2016, the Hellenic Observatory will be celebrating its 20 year anniversary launching an exciting public programme of events which will include, lectures, conferences, panel debates as well as social events. More information will become available on our website from December 2015.



The Hellenic Observatory Team

Front row from left to right: **Prof Kevin Featherstone** (Hellenic Observatory Director), **Ms Aleksandra Stankova** (Administrative Assistant), **Dr Vassilis Monastiriotsis** (Associate Professor in the Political Economy of South East Europe), **Mrs Ismini Demades** (Hellenic Observatory Manager) and **Mr Dimitris Sourvanos** (Research Assistant)
Back row from left to right : **Ms Polly Liouta** (Events Coordinator), **Dr Rebecca Bryant** (A.N. Hadjiyiannis Senior Research Fellow), **Dr Spyros Economides** (Associate Professor in International Relations and European Politics), **Dr Andreas Kornelakis** (Hellenic Observatory Discussion Paper Series Editor) - not pictured



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