



editorial



When I joined the Hellenic Observatory in August 2004 my hair was black and the HO was a small grouping within LSE's European Institute, engaging with the Greek community in London and organising public events aiming to bring the study of contemporary Greece to British academic audiences. Fast forward 20 years and the small unit became a vibrant Research Centre. It developed an established discussion papers series; a regular research seminar series; a long record of conferences, workshops and public events; a programme of visiting fellowships and external and internal research calls. It also built a strong presence in public policy debates in Greece and Cyprus, with a wide membership of academics with expertise on the two countries, comprising a community of junior and senior researchers working on

projects ranging from social anthropology to behavioural economics, and from media/communications to politics.

While much of the transformation happened gradually, through the joint efforts of my predecessor Profesor Kevin Featherstone and my good colleague Dr Spyros Economides, the critical juncture has been our transition into an LSE Research Centre in September 2024 – one of the 22 hosted by LSE and one of only five with a geographic focus within the School. This transition was made possible not only through our own dedication and efforts, but also thanks to the invaluable support of both longstanding and newly engaged donors, whose generosity we gratefully acknowledge. Working on a new vision under my leadership the Centre aspired to become a hub for world-leading research on Greece and Cyprus in the social sciences under the motto "explaining Greece, evidencing Greece, informing Greece" (and Cyprus). This involves studying aspects of exceptionalism/interest in the two countries (*explaining*), using the two countries as study cases to contribute to important questions and wider analytical debates in the international literature (*evidencing*) and drawing on other comparable cases to derive policy insights and lessons on societal concerns in the two countries (*informing*).

A large group of research associates, affiliates, pre-/post-docs and doctoral students joined the team and by the end of our first year as an LSE Research Centre we had launched new research projects on a significant number of new areas, from femicides, gender stereotypes and female entrepreneurship to AI, skills and labour market discrimination to political discourses and democratic backsliding to industrial restructuring and the green transition and so much more.

Our thematic and physical expansion has been coupled with a new-found extroversion. Launching new collaborations with academic and policy institutes in Greece and Cyprus and working with various think-tanks and professional organisations, we have sought to bring the HO closer to Greece and Cyprus and to engage with new and wider audiences as we strive to add to the knowledge and evidence-base informing policy and public debates in the two countries.

Our first year as a Research Centre has been a fantastic journey of (self-)discovery and experimentation. As the following pages testify, we have done a lot – but we have only started! I look forward to building on this solid basis as we open-up our activities to the 2025/26 academic year.

Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis

Eleftherios Venizelos Chair of Contemporary Greek Studies
Professor of Political Economy, European Institute
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on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus

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HELLENIC OBSERVATORY

news & highlights

The Hellenic Observatory has undergone a transformative academic year, marked by its elevation to a Research Centre. Following the appointment of Prof Vassilis Monastiriotis as the Eleftherios Venizelos Chair in Contemporary Greek Studies, the Observatory was relaunched as the LSE Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus. Aligned with LSE's strategic vision, the Centre is committed to producing academically rigorous, policyrelevant research on Greece and Cyprus, as well as on Southeast Europe more broadly, through the integration of LSEE as its Research Group on Southeast Europe. Research activity is now structured around three key thematic priorities: gender and the position of women in the Greek and Cypriot economy and society; growth strategies and the green transition; and citizenship, civic engagement and the state. The new status has enabled a dynamic and enriched research environment, drawing on an expanded team of LSE academics, external





Hellenic Observatory Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus

Research at LSE

research associates, junior and senior researchers, and doctoral affiliates. The first year under this new framework has been particularly active, with numerous new projects initiated across these areas. Read more on page 23.

The Centre opened its inaugural academic year with a compelling <u>public lecture by Professor Costas Arkolakis</u> (Yale University), exploring the global shift toward renewable energy. The event, which was opened by Professor Charles Stafford, LSE's Vice President and Pro-Vice Chancellor, marked the official launch of the Centre setting the tone for a dynamic calendar of events and collaborations.

Our topical programme of events centred on the themes of growth and gender, while also engaging with the legacies of key historical developmentssuch as the 50th anniversary of the 1974 events in Cyprus. Economic development featured prominently, with high-level panels addressing financial internationalisation, capital markets integration, and the structural reforms needed for long-term growth in Greece. In May, at a joint event in Athens with Adecco (Greece), Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis presented research from a major employer survey on hiring, training, and remuneration practices, attracting significant media attention. Gender emerged as a powerful theme in the Centre's winter programme, with thought-provoking events addressing inequality, representation, and resistance to change. Topics ranged from barriers to female entrepreneurship to media narratives surrounding femicide, sparking essential conversations on gender justice and inclusive transformation in contemporary Greece. Read more on page 6.





Fostering international collaborations and knowledge exchange is a strategic priority of the relaunched Hellenic Observatory. and from the outset the Centre has actively pursued partnerships that strengthen its role in advancing the study of contemporary Greece. It has developed research partnerships with a range of external research bodies and think tanks, including ETERON, IOBE, and the Institute for Regional Development. Its members have also engaged through research and policy dialogue with various government bodies and related organisations, such as the Ministry of Labour, the Hellenic Financial Stability Fund, and the Public Employment Service. Notably, February saw the launch of Greece in Numbers, a groundbreaking online data platform developed in collaboration with the Foundation for Economic & Industrial Research (IOBE) in Greece and Yale University's Hellenic Studies Program.

Greece in Numbers The data hub about Greece





in sollaboration with



A Yale MACMILLAN CENTER
Hollowic Stroller Program

Designed to provide reliable, up-to-date information on the Greek economy and society, the platform was unveiled at a high-profile press conference featuring Yannis Stournaras, Governor of the Bank of Greece, among other distinguished speakers. Greece in Numbers exemplifies the Centre's commitment to enhancing data-driven policy discussions and advancing academic research on contemporary Greece.

A major highlight of the year was a special event in Athens marking the retirement of Professor Kevin Featherstone, who led the Hellenic Observatory for over two decades. Co-hosted with the British Embassy in Athens, the celebration brought together a distinguished group of guests who paid tribute to Kevin Featherstone's enduring impact on the field and the institution. In his special message, Larry Kramer, President and Vice-Chancellor of the LSE, highlighted Professor Featherstone's multifaceted contributions to the School as a leader of the Hellenic Observatory and Head of the European Institute.

Professor Featherstone was further distinguished by wider recognition of his achievements, most notably the award of an OBE in the 2025 King's Birthday Honours, acknowledging his outstanding service to UK–Greece relations and his long-standing academic leadership. This distinction underlined the significance of his contributions at both national and international



levels and provided fitting recognition at a moment of transition to retirement. Professor Featherstone now holds the title of Professor Emeritus at the European Institute of the LSE and remains active in his research through the Hellenic Observatory's activities in the field of politics and geopolitics.



With great sadness, this year we mourned the passing of Achilleas Mitsos, a founding member of the Hellenic Observatory Advisory Board. His contributions through his roles as a senior figure in the European Commission, Visiting Professor at LSE and the University of Pittsburgh, and Professor at the University of the Aegean were invaluable. His legacy will be remembered and honoured through the Observatory's continuing work.

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY EVENIUS

Research Centre Launch Event

Clean growth: challenges and opportunities in the renewable energy paradigm

Wednesday 9 October 2024

The Centre launched with a public event exploring the global shift toward renewable energy—one of its core priorities and a defining challenge of our time. Professor Costas Arkolakis (Yale University) presented his fascinating research evaluating the regional and global impact of the increasing technology advancements and cost reductions of renewable energy. The event opened with remarks from Professor Charles Stafford, LSE's Vice President and Pro-Vice Chancellor, who welcomed guests and highlighted the Observatory's growth from a small research group into an influential centre. He emphasised how the establishment of the Centre reflects LSE's recognition of its high standards and research excellence. Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis, the new Eleftherios Venizelos Chair and Director of the Hellenic Observatory, then formally launched the Centre, briefly outlining its future strategic directions. He welcomed the



speaker and introduced a discussion that underscored the Centre's commitment to research on global challenges that affect many countries, including Greece. An expert in economics, Arkolakis focused on the monumental task of transitioning to cleaner economic growth, which he described as one of the most significant industrial challenges of our era. His presentation provided a detailed analysis of the challenges and opportunities within the renewable energy paradigm, highlighting dramatic advancements in solar and wind energy that could replace traditional energy sources and transform energy markets. He introduced a novel economic framework to evaluate the regional and global impact of cost reductions. The talk covered the critical role of learning-by-doing in renewable energy and storage technologies, the implications of subsidies, and the need for investment in electricity grid infrastructure to support this transition. Arkolakis's study also considered the varying welfare impacts of renewable energy adoption in countries with different levels of fossil fuel dependency and grid capacity. He emphasised the importance of understanding these differences when developing transition strategies and outlined the economic and institutional challenges that must be addressed for the European Union to meet its energy decarbonisation target by 2050.



Britain, Cyprus and the fall of the Greek junta

Thursday 7 November 2024



The panel discussion Britain, Cyprus and the Fall of the Greek Junta examined the role of British diplomacy and policy in the period leading to the collapse of the Greek military junta, with particular attention to the Cyprus crisis. Speakers included Eirini Karamouzi, Senior Lecturer in Contemporary History at the University of Sheffield; Neophytos Loizides, Professor of International Conflict Analysis at the University of Warwick; and Konstantina Maragkou, contemporary historian at Newcastle University, who analysed the complex international relations, military interventions, and political developments shaping the junta's fall. The discussion featured a video interview with Sir Roger Tomkys, who served at the British Embassy in Athens during 1972–1975. Chaired by Professor Kevin Featherstone, the event provided insights into a period that significantly influenced Greek politics and its relations with the UK and Cyprus.

Regional financial centres: pathways for Greece and Cyprus

Monday 25 November 2024





In November the Hellenic Observatory brought together a panel of leading experts to discuss Regional Financial Centres: Pathways for Greece and Cyprus. Executive Nikolaos Karamouzis. Chairman of SMERemediumCap and Chairman of Grant Thornton Greece; Charlotte Ruhe, Managing Director for Central and South Eastern Europe at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD); Michael Sarris, Chairman of the Board at AstroBank; and Dr. Apostolos Thomadakis, Head of Research at the European Capital Markets Institute (ECMI), shared their insights on the potential for Greece and Cyprus to develop into strong regional financial centres. The panel explored the current economic landscape, necessary

reforms, and strategies to foster growth and attract investment. They also discussed challenges facing both countries and the opportunities presented by their positions within the European Union and the wider international financial community. The event provided a valuable platform for experts and stakeholders to exchange views on the future of the Greek and Cypriot economies, the importance of strengthening financial services sectors, and the wider implications for regional economic integration. The discussion was moderated by Professor Anthony Bartzokas and chaired by Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis, who both helped frame the issues and keep the debate focused on the key opportunities and challenges for Greece and Cyprus.

Discourses of happiness in Greece: co-optation or emancipation?

Thursday 23 January 2025

This panel discussion explored how happiness is conceptualised and mobilised in Greek society. The event featured Athanasia Chalari (Open University), Nikos Erinakis (University of Crete), Philipp Katsinas (Open University, REDEFINE project), and Dimitris Soudias (Principal Investigator, WELFAIR), with Professor Myria Georgiou (LSE) chairing the session. The dialogue examined whether happiness discourses in Greece serve as tools of political or economic co-optation or as pathways to individual and collective emancipation. Drawing on their diverse academic backgrounds, the speakers offered insights into how notions of happiness have evolved amid contemporary challenges, including economic hardship and shifting cultural values. Key themes included the role of media in shaping public perceptions of happiness, the legacy of the economic crisis on Greek understandings of well-being, and the influence of philosophical and cultural traditions. The discussion also addressed how happiness is framed within policy, social movements, and everyday life. The event aimed to deepen understanding of the complex relationship between happiness, power structures, and the pursuit of wellbeing in modern Greek society, contributing to broader debates on emotional life and social transformation.





Gender Divide

Monday 27 January 2025

In January, the Centre co-hosted a panel discussion with King's College London on the topic of Gender Divide. The event brought together academics and practitioners to examine persistent gender disparities and potential approaches to address them. The panel featured Nikos Erinakis, Assistant Professor of Social and Political Philosophy, University of Crete; Ioanna Gkoutna, PhD student, UCL; Irini Moustaki, Professor and Deputy Head, Department of Statistics, LSE; Christos Papagiannis, Director, ETERON Institute for Research and Social Change; and Gonda Van Steen, Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History and Director of the Centre for Hellenic Studies. The discussion was chaired by Georgios Samaras, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, King's College London, and Research Associate at the Hellenic Observatory. Speakers explored the philosophical foundations of gender inequality, the influence of cultural norms and historical legacies on gender roles, and statistical evidence of disparities. They discussed policy implications, focusing on institutional reforms to close the gender gap, and considered practical strategies for social change. The conversation also addressed ongoing barriers in public and private spheres. The event fostered an interdisciplinary dialogue emphasizing the need for evidence-based approaches to advance gender equality.



Battling cultural and economic barriers to female entrepreneurship: a Greek perspective

Thursday 20 February 2025



What are the key barriers to female entrepreneurship in Greece; cultural, economic, and structural? How do access to finance, professional networks, and societal perceptions shape women's entrepreneurial journeys? These critical issues were explored in a panel discussion event that was organised by the Hellenic Observatory, LSE's Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece & Cyprus, in collabo-

ration with the UK-based Hellenic Female Leaders network. The event, chaired by the Centre Director Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis, hosted a panel of distinguished speakers, including Stella Kasdagli, co-founder of 'Women On Top', Sophia Kounenaki-Efraimoglou, First Vice-President of the Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry and Elected President of the National Chamber Network of Greek Women Entrepreneurs (EEDEGE), and Antigone Lyberaki, Professor of Economics at Panteion University. The panel discussed the economic and cultural barriers to female entrepreneurship and the necessary policy changes drawing comparisons with European and international experiences in overcoming the challenges faced by women in this traditionally male-dominated field. The conversation brought to the forefront challenges women encounter in the business world, along with potential progress pathways.



Ms Kounenaki-Efraimoglou discussed the importance of female entrepreneurship for economic progress, emphasizing the need for resilience, vision, and innovative ideas to navigate the challenges. She noted: "Empowering women is not only about providing equal opportunities but also promoting

development for society as a whole". The Vice-President of ACCI highlighted the Chamber's commitment to supporting and empowering women entrepreneurs through various programmes and initiatives. Despite significant progress, women still face barriers such as access to funding, lack of networking and mentorship, lack of entrepreneurial skills, and societal perception-based challenges such as lack of self-confidence and fear.

Professor Lyberaki highlighted three key areas of focus: gender role expectations, sociocultural dimensions, and the entrepreneurial environment, including access to resources, capital, and networks. Drawing international comparisons, she noted that while Greece has made progress in gender equality, perceptions often lag behind reality, due to conser-



vative stereotypes rooted in family roles and the division of labour in households, which slow the pace of change. She emphasised the need for continued efforts to close the gender gap, particularly in the private domain, and warned against complacency, as subjective perceptions can impact objective performance. Lyberaki remarked, "Unless we change our perceptions, our eyes cannot see reality."

Ms Kasdagli presented findings from Women On Top's research showing that only 25.1% of enterprises in Greece are run by women, with most being small businesses driven by necessity. High-tech female entrepreneurs face even greater challenges, with only 16% of Greek start-ups having a woman in their founding



team and just 3% founded by all-female teams. Kasdagli discussed the many faces of the gender financing gap, including the low participation of women in high-tech fields, the closed nature of funding ecosystems, and systemic biases against women entrepreneurs. She stressed the need for systemic changes, including better access to resources, capital, and networks, as well as targeted financial literacy initiatives. To bridge the gap, she outlined a twofold strategy including ecosystem-wide reforms to create a more inclusive environment, and empowering women through financial literacy, upending social stereotypes, and encouraging participation in STEM fields.

The event was marked by a lively Q&A session with the audience engaging on key issues reinforcing the necessity of continued dialogue and collaboration between policymakers, business leaders, and civil society to foster a more inclusive entrepreneurial landscape in Greece.

Femicides and the Greek media

Wednesday 12 March 2025

The panel discussion on "Femicides and the Greek Media" examined media framing of femicide in Greece and its influence on public understanding, legal responses, and policy formulation. The event drew on research funded by the Hellenic Observatory's project Femicides in Greek media, which analyses media narratives and discursive strategies surrounding femicides between 2020 and 2024, with particular focus on intersections of gender, race, and class. Speakers included Lilie Chouliaraki, Professor in Media and Communications, LSE, and Research Affiliate of the Hellenic Observatory; Rachel Condry. Professor of Criminology, University of Oxford; Afroditi Koulaxi, LSE100 Fellow, LSE, and Research Affiliate of the Hellenic Observatory; and Maria Liapi, Scientific Responsible, Diotima - Centre for Gender Rights and Equality. The event was chaired by Irini Moustaki, Professor of Social Statistics, LSE, and Research Affiliate, Society, Identity & Rights Cluster, Hellenic Observatory. The panel

explored how mainstream and social media construct narratives of "ideal" victims and perpetrators, and how these representations shape societal attitudes and legal processes. Speakers highlighted trends in sensationalism, omission, and stereotyping, especially noting which categories of women are rendered visible or invisible in public discourse. Drawing on both quantitative analysis



and critical discourse perspectives, the discussion advocated for more responsible and informed media practices to support policy interventions and social awareness.

Street Power: citizens' protests and polarization in Southeast **Europe and Greece**

Tuesday 2 April 2025

Amid ongoing political, economic, and environmental challenges, citizens across the region have increasingly protested against perceived unresponsive governments. Hosted jointly by the Hellenic Observatory and LSE's Research on South Eastern Europe (LSEE), the virtual panel discussion "Street Power: Citizens" Protests and Polarization in Southeast Europe and Greece" examined the growing phenomenon of citizen-led protests and their relationship to political polarisation in Southeast Europe and Greece. The discussion built on recent episodes of social mobilisation across the region, situating them within a broader context of economic, political, and environmental crises, as well as rising geopolitical tensions. Contributions came from Georgios Karyotis, Professor of Security Politics, University of Glasgow; Paula Pickering, Richard S. Perles Professor of Government, College of William & Mary; and Nebojša Vladisavljević, Professor, Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade. Drawing on their respective areas of expertise, the speakers assessed the drivers of mobilisation, from perceptions of government unresponsiveness to identity-based grievances. They also reflected on the diversity of protest forms-from peaceful assemblies to more confrontational actions—



and the dual potential of such activism to generate democratic renewal or deepen divisions. Moderated by **Denisa Kostovicova**, Professor in Global Politics and Coordinator for LSEE, with **Vassilis Monastiriotis**, Professor of Political Economy and Director of the Hellenic Observatory, chairing, the event addressed recent student protests in Serbia and patterns of civic mobilisation in Greece. The debate offered a comparative lens on the promises and limitations of "street power" in shaping political and social change.

Searching for growth drivers: a debate with the Chief Economists of the systemic Greek banks

Tuesday 29 April 2025

Greece is showing signs of a gradual recovery fifteen years after the sovereign debt crisis, with real GDP growth surpassing the euro area average in recent years. However, significant structural challenges remain, including low productivity growth, limited export diversification, and a continued reliance on domestic consumption. The severe contraction during the crisis saw the economy shrink by over 25 per cent, meaning returning to pre-crisis output levels will require sustained, productivity-led growth supported by strategic policies. In April, the Hellenic Observatory - Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece & Cyprus, brought together the chief economists of Greece's four systemic banks — Dr. **Tasos Anastasatos** (Eurobank), Dr. Panayotis Kapopoulos (Alpha Bank), Dr. Ilias Lekkos (Piraeus Bank), and Dr. Nikos S. Magginas (National Bank of Greece) — to discuss the risks and opportunities shaping the country's economic future. The discussion identified five key growth drivers: investment, productivity, human capital, exports, and governance. Investment remains a weak link despite some progress, with productive sectors such as technology and green energy still underfunded. Improving labour productivity through innovation and SME modernisation is critical. The labour market faces skill mismatches and demographic challenges, requiring targeted policies on reskilling and inclusion. Export growth needs diversification beyond tourism and shipping, while governance reformsmustaddressjudicial inefficiencies and regulatory

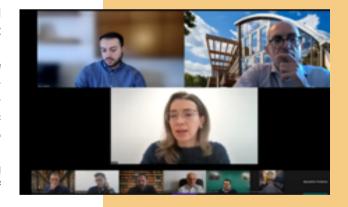


barriers. The debate was moderated by Professor Anthony Bartzokas, Development Economist, University of Athens, and chaired by Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis, Director of the Hellenic Observatory. A detailed event report is available on the Hellenic Observatory blog Greece@LSE, offering further insights into these themes and their implications for Greece's economic trajectory.

Housing market developments in Greece

Saturday 14 December 2024 & Thursday 25 April 2025

Housing markets are a key part of economic and social life, shaping household decisions, influencing investment behaviour, and affecting financial stability. In Greece, questions about affordability, regional disparities, and the impact of policy uncertainty have drawn increasing attention from researchers and policymakers. To promote informed debate and evidence-based analysis, the Hellenic Observatory supported two academic events in 2024-25 examining trends and uncertainties in the Greek housing market. The workshop Housing Market and Housing Market Uncertainty was co-hosted with the Department of Economics at the University of Macedonia, in December, as part of the research project Housing Affordability, Housing Investment, and the Residential Rental Market in Greece, funded through the LSE Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme. It brought together leading scholars, including A. Kontonikas (University of Essex), R. Chowdhury (Swansea University), E. Pavlidis (Lancaster University), J. Siljander (Imperial College London), N. Syrichas (Free University Berlin), S. Malkidis (New York University), and T. Panagiotidis (University of Macedonia), with G. Voucharas (Liverpool Hope University) and P. Tzika (Swansea University) as session chairs. Presenta-



tions examined residential property transactions, regional house price convergence, behavioural dynamics, and the effects of tax policy uncertainty. Building on these discussions, in April 2025 a virtual roundtable on **Housing Market Developments** was co-hosted with the Master in Applied Economics and Finance at the University of Macedonia. Featuring contributions from **Tasos Anastasatos** (Eurobank) and **Dimitrios Papastamos** (Cerved) and moderated by the HO Director **Vassilis Monastiriotis**, the discussion explored current trends, structural challenges, and policy implications for the Greek housing market.

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY

event contributions

During the academic year 2024–2025, members of the Hellenic Observatory actively contributed to a range of conferences, forums, and public events in Greece, Cyprus, and the UK. Through panel participation, research presentations, and institutional partnerships, the Centre engaged with key debates on economic policy, European integration, industrial strategy, and public discourse. These activities reflect our new Centre's commitment to fostering academic dialogue, informing policy, and supporting student involvement in the study of Greece and Southeast Europe. The following highlights showcase our presence across diverse platforms:

European Industrial Policy & Reindustrialisation in Greece Wednesday 13 November 2024, Athens



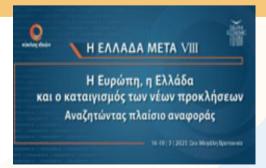
The 8th Annual Economic Forum of the Hellenic Entrepreneurs Association (EENE) focused on Greece's industrial strategy and its role within the European framework. Our Director, Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis, contributed to the discussion with a presentation on European industrial policy and its implications for Greece's reindustrialisation efforts. The session was chaired by Mr Pavlos Efthymiou, Director General of EENE. The event brought together entrepreneurs, policymakers, and economists to examine pathways for enhancing competitiveness and sustainable growth in the Greek economy.

Extremisms on the Rise - Revolution, Reform or Ruin? Monday 14 October 2024, Cyprus

The issue of the increasing forms and manifestations of extremism was the subject of an <u>open discussion</u> organised by the **Cyprus Alumni Association of the LSE**. Contributing their reflections and recommendations were Professor **Vassilis Monastiriotis**, Director of the Hellenic Observatory at LSE; Professor **Grigoris Ioannou** of Manchester Metropolitan University; former Ministers **Constantinos Petrides** and **Anna Koukkidou Procopiou**; and moderator **Demetris Georgiades**, Chair of the Council of Economy and Competitiveness — all LSE alumni. Speakers and participants stressed that extremism stems from multiple causes —from weak institutions to unaddressed daily concerns— and noted that such events can inspire active civic engagement and solutions.

Ellada Meta VIII: Europe, Greece, and the Storm of New Challenges

Sunday 16 - Tuesday 18 March 2025, Athens



Professor Kevin Featherstone participated in the annual conference jointly organised by the Circle of Ideas (O Kyklos Ideon) and the Delphi Economic Forum. He spoke in the fifth cycle of the programme on Geopolitics and Economy: New challenges for the EU and Greece, contributing insights from his research on European integration and Greek politics and society. The session featured speakers from academia, banking, and policy, including Costas Kostis (MIET), George Zanias (Eurobank) Gikas Hardouvelis (National Bank of Greece), Manousos Manousakis (IPTO), and Maria Damanaki (Climate and Maritime Policy

Advisor). The conference addressed current geopolitical and economic developments affecting Greece and the EU.

LSESU Hellenic Conference 2025

Sunday 16 - Tuesday 18 March 2025, London

The Hellenic Observatory sponsored the <u>LSESU Hellenic Conference 2025</u> as part of its commitment to supporting students and their engagement with the study of Greece and public dialogue on Greek affairs. The conference brought together Greek professionals, academics, and students for a weekend of discussion on current political, economic, and cultural issues. Speakers included **Margaritis Schinas** (former European Commission Vice-President), **Victoria Hislop** (author), and **George Pagoulatos** (AUEB). Our own **Vassilis Monastiriotis** and **Spyros Economides** chaired these insightful sessions.

Delphi Economic Forum X

Wednesday 9 - Saturday 12 April 2025, Delphi

The Hellenic Observatory participated as a content partner in the 10th Delphi Economic Forum, continuing its support for research-informed dialogue on policy issues. On Day 3, Friday 11 April, the Observatory hosted a panel titled: The EU's New Industrial Strategy: Will Small States be Squeezed out by the 'Strategic Autonomy' Ambition? The panel featured Elżbieta Bieńkowska (former EU Commissioner), Michalis Stassinopoulos (Member of the Board of Direc-



tors, ElvalHalcor), and **Ana Abrunhosa** (former Minister for Territorial Cohesion, Portugal) and was chaired by Professor **Vassilis Monastiriotis**. The discussion focused on the implications of EU industrial policy for smaller member states.

The World in a New Synthesis

Monday 5 May 2025, Athens

The **Economic Chamber of Greece** hosted its high-profile conference 'The World in a New Synthesis', last May bringing together leading voices to address key global and national challenges. The presence of the LSE's Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece & Cyprus was strong with contributions by Professor **Vassilis Monastiriotis** speaking on 'The Demographic Challenges in Europe and Greece' and Professor **Kevin Featherstone** on 'The Shifting Power Map'. The conference proceedings explored pressing issues such as the impact of AI on finance, evolving demographic trends, and Greece's economic trajectory in the post-recovery period.



Cyprus London Forum II

Thursday 22 May 2025, London

The <u>second Cyprus London Forum</u> was held at the High Commission of the Republic of Cyprus, bringing together international experts and policy leaders to discuss key issues affecting Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. The Hellenic Observatory participated again this year as official knowledge partner. Dr **Anastasia Dimiski** (Economy & Public Policy Research Officer, Hellenic Observatory Centre) spoke on the panel Recalibrating EU–UK Re-



lations in a Shifting World, alongside **Pedro Serrano** (Ambassador of the European Union to the UK), **Anna Koukkides Procopiou** (President, Politeia Think Tank), and **Constantin Cotzias** (European Director, Bloomberg LP) while the session was moderated by Professor **lain Begg** (LSE).

The Political Economy of the Eurozone's Rollercoaster

Monday 26 May 2025, Athens

In partnership with the **LSE Hellenic Alumni Association (HAALSE)**, the Hellenic Observatory co-hosted a panel discussion exploring the Eurozone's trajectory through crisis and recovery. The event marked the publication of the book The Political Economy of the Eurozone's Rollercoaster by Dr **Konstantinos Myrodias** (Lecturer, King's College London and Research Associate, Hellenic Observatory). The panel featured Dr Myrodias, Professor **Vassilis Monastiriotis**, and **Panagi Panagiotopoulos** (Associate Professor of Sociology, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), and examined the Eurozone's evolving role in a shifting global environment.



Hellenic Observatory Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus Research at LSE •



29 May 2025

On 29 May, the Hellenic Observatory held its 11th PhDSymposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, welcoming a new cohort of promising young researchers. Participants had the opportunity to present their work to peers and experts in the international academic setting of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

This year's Symposium marked a significant milestone, being the first to take place under the auspices of the newly established LSE Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus reflecting the new Centre's commitment to advancing scholarship and supporting early-career researchers in the field. The programme featured 51 doctoral candidates presenting across a broad spectrum of themes—including gender, political leadership, cultural diplomacy, and economic risk—demonstrating both the intellectual depth and interdisciplinary nature of current research on Greece and Cyprus. Students came from a wide range of institutions and countries. While the majority were based in Greece,

Cyprus, and the UK, many also travelled from across Europe—including Ireland, Germany, France, Poland, Turkey, the Netherlands, Austria, and Italy—as well as from the United States and Australia, highlighting the Symposium's truly international reach.

The research presentations reflected the richness and diversity of contemporary social science scholarship. Topics ranged from gender dynamics, cultural identity, and education, to media, foreign policy, and economic resilience. Several papers explored gender roles and inequalities—such as the experiences of Polish migrant women in Greece, gender bias in cybersecurity, and LGBTIQ+ narratives in tourism. Other presentations focused on education and social inclusion, media and populism, and the construction of cultural memory in Greece and Cyprus, particularly through lenses of trauma and resilience. The Cyprus issue featured prominently, with multiple studies addressing its political, symbolic, and social dimensions. In economics





and business, students examined financial risk, labour precarity, and entrepreneurship in maritime tourism. Political science contributions addressed leadership, EU integration, cultural diplomacy, Greek-Russian relations, and public perceptions of corruption and political careers.

The programme featured two plenary sessions. In the Keynote Plenary Session, Professor Elias Dinas (European University Institute), examined the enduring political and ideological legacies of authoritarian regimes, drawing on examples from across Europe. The PhD Plenary Session was given by Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis (LSE) who discussed questions of methodology and planning in the delivery of a PhD thesis, with specific reference to social science research on Greece & Cyprus.

Since its launch in 2003, the Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus has evolved from a small student initiative into a wellestablished international forum for doctoral research on Greece and Cyprus. It offers early-career researchers the opportunity to present their work, receive constructive feedback, and build valuable academic networks. Many alumni have gone on to success-

ful academic and public sector careers, reflecting the long-term impact of the Symposium. The event's primary aim is to promote the exchange of ideas among young scholars and to provide a platform for presenting new research to an international audience. Unique in its thematic focus, the Symposium enables the exploration of Greece and Cyprus related issues through a range of social science disciplines, fostering innovative perspectives and cross-disciplinary dialogue.





Contributors

The Symposium also benefits greatly from the active involvement of LSE academic staff, whose mentoring and feedback are central to its success. We are grateful to all the friends of the Hellenic Observatory who have worked with us and supported our efforts since the first Symposium in 2003. For the 11th PhD Symposium, we are especially thankful to the following friends and colleagues:

Othon Anastasakis, Director, South East European Studies, Oxford (SEESOX)

Theodoros Arvanitopoulos, Lecturer (Assistant Professor), Economics, Cardiff University Athanasia Chalari, Lecturer, New York University (London)

Anastasia Dimiski, Research Officer, Hellenic Observatory Centre, LSE

Spyros Economides, Associate Professor, International Relations and European Politics, LSE Theofanis Exadaktylos, Senior Lecturer, European Politics, University of Surrey

Kevin Featherstone, Emeritus Professor & Professorial Research Fellow, LSE Maria Kaparou, Employability Leadership, Southampton Education School Philipp Katsinas, Postdoctoral Researcher,

REDEFINE, Open University

Maria Koumenta, Associate Professor, Queen Mary, University of London

Ilias Kyriopoulos, Assistant Professor, Department of Health Policy, LSE

Konstantina Maragkou, Contemporary History, Yale University & LSE

Georgios Melios, Research Officer, Hellenic Observatory Centre, LSE

Irini Moustaki, Professor of Social Statistics, LSE Roula Nezi, Senior Lecturer, Political Science, University of Surrey

Georgios Samaras, Lecturer, Public Policy, King's College London

Nikos Skoutaris, Professor, European Constitutional Law, University of East Anglia

Sofia Vasilopoulou, Professor, European Politics, King's College London

Kostas Zachariades, Professor, Financial Economics, School of Economics and Finance (SEF), Queen Mary University of London

Sotirios Zartaloudis, Assoc. Professor, Comparative European Politics, Univ. of Birmingham

The Centre is deeply grateful to the **A.G. Leventis Foundation** for its generous and ongoing support, which ensures broad international participation and enhances the overall impact of the PhD symposium.



Nicos Mouzelis Award for Best Paper

A highlight of the 11th Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium was the presentation of the Nicos Mouzelis Award for Best Paper to Martha Kapazoglou (University of Amsterdam) for her work Enduring deregu- lation: Precarious public sector workers in Greece. The paper examines how municipal frontline workers in Thessaloniki, employed on insecure and underpaid contracts, experience and respond to precarious em- ployment within the reconfigured Greek state. Using the concept of "stuckness," Kapazoglou explores how daily interactions with both citizens and superiors generate resentment, revealing contradictions in worker subjectivity and the blurred boundaries between state and citizen. Her research provides an incisive analysis of the effects of public sector deregulation and class transformation in contemporary Greece.



The Nicos Mouzelis Award, inaugurated in 2017 at the 8th Symposium, honours Nicos Mouzelis, Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the LSE, for his contribution to the study of modern Greece and the development of young researchers. Awarded to one doctoral student per Symposium, it recognises exceptional research potential while paying tribute to Professor Mouzelis' enduring academic legacy and his commitment to mentoring the next generation of scholars.

11th PhD Symposium Keynote Lecture

Post-Authoritarian Norms and the Ideological Legacy of Dictatorships

Authoritarian legacies can leave a lasting imprint on democratic politics, subtly shaping the choices available to voters long after regime change. In the PhD Symposium Keynote Lecture, Professor Elias Dinas, Swiss Chair in Federalism, Democracy and International Governance, European University Institute, examined why party systems in new democracies often lean away from one side of the ideological spectrum and how parties linked to a discredited past adapt to electoral competition.

Drawing on cross-national data and original survey experiments, Elias Dinas showed that parties tend to avoid the dictator's ideological side not only in their policy positioning but also in their naming strategies. This "stigma effect" fosters asymmetric fragmentation, ideological distortion, and strategic ambiguity in party branding. Together, these patterns reveal how the shadows of authoritarian rule can quietly constrain political competition and limit ideological diversity. His thought-provoking talk sparked lively discussion and provided a fitting close to a day marked by intellectual exchange and critical engagement.

Elias Dinas's research sits at the intersection of political socialisation, institutional effects, and the study of authoritarian legacies. His work has appeared in leading political science journals, including the American Political Science Review, the American Journal of Political Science, and the Journal of Politics, and has been featured in outlets such as The Economist, The Atlantic, and The New York Times.









HELLENIC OBSERVATORY

research seminars

As part of its transformation into a Research Centre, the Hellenic Observatory has evolved its long-standing Research Seminar Series into a more structured platform for the presentation and discussion of cutting-edge academic work. This renewed format is designed to foster the exchange of ideas and approaches, encouraging constructive dialogue among scholars from a range of disciplines. By providing a regular space for in-depth engagement with ongoing and recently completed research, the series helps to strengthen our academic community, create opportunities for collaboration, and broaden the scope of our research agenda. The seminars aim to place individual projects within wider scholarly and policy debates, offering participants the opportunity to test arguments, refine methodologies, and gain feedback from peers. This year, the Hellenic Observatory hosted a diverse set of seminars, presented by established academics and emerging scholars alike, covering topics that ranged from political economy and governance to social policy, migration, and regional development. The seminars presented below reflect the breadth and depth of our current research conversations.

The Republic of Cyprus and the EU sanctions on Russia: navigating shelter seeking and political shocks

Tuesday 1 October 2024



Revecca Pedi Associate Professor in International Relations, University of Macedonia, Greece

In the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the EU's subsequent sanctions, Cyprus' long-stand-

ing foreign policy orientation has undergone a significant shift. In this timely Research Seminar, Dr Revecca Pedi discussed the findings of the project "Cyprus and the EU Sanctions on Russia: Emancipation or Entrapment? Elites and Public Opinion Perceptions & The Way Forward," funded by the A.G. Leventis Research Innovation Programme on Cyprus. The talk explored whether Cyprus found itself entrapped within the EU's political shelter or whether it used the crisis as an opportunity to reorient more decisively towards the West. Dr Revecca Pedi examined how the political shock of the Ukraine conflict has affected Cyprus' traditionally close relationship with Russia and contributed to a deepening alignment with the EU and the US. The talk offered a dual-level analysis of elite and public perceptions, shedding light on how this foreign policy reconfiguration is reshaping the island's domestic political landscape and informing the future of the Cyprus Question. Chaired by Professor Spyros Economides, the seminar generated a lively discussion. Participants debated the viability of Cyprus strategic realignment, the challenges of small state diplomacy in turbulent times, and the broader implications of the island's evolving geopolitical identity.

Migration diplomacy and electoral politics in Greek-Turkish relations

Tuesday 15 October 2024



Gerasimos Tsourapas Professor of International Relations, University of Glasgow & Visiting Professor, Hellenic Observatory, LSE

Migration has become a politically salient issue across the

Eastern Mediterranean, yet we know relatively little about how states' migration diplomacy influences domestic political dynamics. In October 2024, Professor Gerasimos Tsourapas addressed this gap by examining Greece and Turkey as a crucial dyad in the region. He asked: how do governments strategically manage migration flows and foreign policy bargaining to shape domestic public opinion and electoral behaviour? Drawing on earlier research on Greece during the 2015-16 refugee crisis and new face-toface survey data from Turkey after the 2023 elections (over 2,000 respondents nationwide), he showed how ruling elites in both contexts employed coercive migration diplomacy to consolidate political support. In Turkey, for instance, survey results indicate that a majority of respondents viewed Erdoğan's threat to 'open the doors' to Europe as a legitimate assertion of sovereignty, with nationalist voters especially receptive to this framing. This suggests that migration diplomacy can act as a domestic rallying tool, shaping perceptions of leadership strength and external leverage. The findings advance our understanding of how cross-border mobility intersects with electoral incentives, highlighting the domestic constraints and opportunities that foreign policy strategies around migration can generate.

The missing links: mismatch, mismanagement and technological backwardness in Greek industry

Tuesday 19 November 2024



Filippos Petroulakis Research Economist, Economic Analysis and Research Department, Bank of Greece

In this research seminar, Filippos Petroulakis presented the find-

ings of the research project "An Intelligent Industrial Policy for Sustainable Growth", funded by the Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme. The research team documents and analyses key deficiencies of the Greek economy, with the view to providing new insights and articulate policy proposals. They consider issues which are the purview of both horizontal policies, raising productivity across sectors, and vertical policies, which allow for realignment of activity. With respect to the first dimension, they focus on two specific problem-areas of Greek industry, with high importance: skills and management practices. They also use information from a novel survey on entrepreneurship, technological developments, and regulatory change and examine structural characteristics of innovation and technology adoption of Greek firms, with a focus on the role of size, ownership structure, and global value chain participation. With respect to the second dimension, they provide an overview of Greece's export performance and analyse its sectoral comparative advantage. In an empirical study they also focus on the determinants of export sophistication. Overall, the collection of their empirical findings provides ample fodder for concrete policy proposals to increase productivity in Greek manufacturing.

Greek diaspora identity(ies) in the UK in the light of integration and social cohesion

Wednesday 29 January 2025



Athanasia Chalari Lecturer, New York University (London) and Programme Manager of Culture Education and Psychology

This study explores the effect of Brexit on Greek diaspora in UK by comparing Greek nationals cur-

rently residing in UK under the 'settled status' and Greek nationals having received the British citizenship. This project focuses on the interplay between immigration, citizenship and national identity(ies) in order to explore the ways Greek diaspora in UK had been forming their own sense of belonging into the British culture. Based on 60 in-depth

interviews with first generation Greek settled-holders and British citizenship holders, residing in UK between 5 and 50 years, this study explores, a) the multilayered effects of Brexit, b) the identity formation of Greek nationals residing in UK and c) their sense of belonging in the British culture.

Understanding public policy weakness in Greece: three 'puzzles'

Wednesday 5 February 2025



Dimitris PapadimitriouProfessor of Political Science,
University of Manchester

Why is Greece having so many public policy disasters? Why do legitimate ambitions such as the rethink of Greece's economic par-

adigm, the spatial remodelling of the Greek state or the upskilling of Greek youth hit a brick wall and degenerate into pointless slogans? The presentation focused on three case studies, spanning the governmental tenures of three different political parties, to illustrate key weakness in Greece's 'reform capacity'. The case studies include (i) the reconfiguration of Greece's growth model outlined by the Pissaridis report; (ii) the distribution of resources in secondary education and the (iii) the model of Greece's territorial organisation and the associated decentralisation agenda. Papadimitriou argued that in all three case studies, there are evident shortcomings related to the lack of evidence-based policy, poor coordination and accountability within the Executive in reform delivery, frequent incidents of state capture and a political culture that is averse to change and consensus building.

Collective action problems and economic incentives

Wednesday 12 February 2025



Dimitrios Minos Associate Professor, King's College London **Ioannis Laliotis** Assistant Professor, University of Patras

Overcoming collective action problems in low-trust democracies can present a significant challenge

as conventional policy tools of positive and negative incentives may not be effective. In this paper we look at vaccination rollout in 2021 in Greece and exploit an exogenous demand shock in tourism that created labour market opportunities and hence a strong economic incentive that stemmed from the private sector rather than a government. We use administrative data to demonstrate an increase in employment in tourism-related occupation that simul-

taneously exhibits an increase in vaccination rates. Our difference-in-difference estimations suggest that strong economic incentives causally and significantly increased vaccination uptake in treated areas. These results can better inform policymakers about effective policy design during crises.

The transition of Cyprus to a climateneutral economy: techno-economic and behavioural approaches

Wednesday 19 February 2025



Theodoros ZachariadisProfessor of Energy and
Environmental Policy, Cyprus
Institute

As an EU Member state, Cyprus is committed to achieving net zero carbon emissions by

2050, but this transition is full of challenges. Professor Theodoros Zachariadis presented the work of the Cyprus Institute's team that serves as the main scientific advisor of the Cypriot government on its energy and climate plans and linked this work to the project funded by the LSE HO, which involved techno-economic models and behavioural approaches to plan a successful decarbonisation strategy. He outlined the investment needs for Cyprus to achieve climate neutrality, the challenges for the production structure of the economy, and an outline of the fiscal and broader economic impacts of deep decarbonisation. Apart from long-term planning, effective implementation of green policies is key. Drawing from his team's recent work for Cypriot authorities, the speaker also provided a background on behavioural barriers that should be overcome, as the lack in understanding human behaviour is at the heart of the sustainability challenge. The presentation stimulated a lot of interaction with the audience that was interested in the ways that a carbon-intensive service-based economy can turn to net zero within 25 years.

Mapping the Greek housing market and housing uncertainty

Wednesday 5 March 2025



Theodore Panagiotidis Professor, Department of Economics, University of Macedonia

The role of the housing market in today's landscape is crucial, since it reflects the well-being and economic growth, and

underscores policy impacts. The Greek housing market, in particular, over the last two decades, has been shaped by the financial crisis, tax reforms, the Golden Visa scheme, the effects of the pandemic, and, more recently, the energy crisis. Professor Panagiotidis, presented the first insights of a research project, in collaboration with Dr Georgios Voucharas and Dr Evi Tzika, on Mapping the Greek Housing Market and Housing Market Uncertainty. Aiming to monitor the Greek housing market and provide insights on the economic situation and policy-making, they have constructed the Housing Market Uncertainty index (HMU) for Greece. This index, which uses newspaper coverage frequency data, is the first measure that quantifies uncertainty in the Greek housing market. Moreover, they evaluate the efficacy of the HMU and examine, using advanced econometric methodologies, the nexus between the HMU and fundamental housing market variables. The results presented in the seminar, underscore the impact of HMU changes on housing prices, construction volume and housing loans, show how this impact changes under different regimes and reveal the time-dependent nature of those effects.

The corporate governance of Greek banks

Wednesday 19 March 2025



Dimitri Vayanos Professor of Finance, Department of Finance, LSE

Dimitri Vayanos presented joint research with **Luis Garicano** and **Daniel Paravisini** on the evolution of the corporate governance of Greek banks during

the economic crisis of the last decade. The research was part of a project conducted jointly by IOBE and LSE/FMG on behalf of the Hellenic Financial Stability Fund. The research shows that the corporate governance of Greek banks improved drastically during the crisis, with the improvement being larger than in other countries experiencing crisis episodes. The fraction of independent non-executive directors (INEDs) increased, and board committees became more formalized. The fraction of board members with prior senior experience in the financial sector and of non-Greek board members increased, especially during 2015-2017. Board members became more engaged in board discussions from 2016 onward, especially INEDs, and the extent of diversity of opinions expressed in board meetings increased. Both HFSF and SSM contributed to the improvements in governance, with the efforts by the two agencies being complementary in some ways. The governance changes caused the combined asset value of the four systemic Greek banks to rise by 15-20bn euros.

Reflections on institutionalising evidence-informed policy making in Greece

Wednesday 26 March 2025



Stella Ladi Professor in Public Policy, Queen Mary University of London; Associate Professor, Panteion University, Athens

The presentation discussed the process of advising the Greek govern-

ment in view of improving evidence-informed policymaking in the country. It focused on how such advising is conducted within the context of EU-sponsored programs, including a discussion of how the Greek government and international stakeholders approach such partnerships. The presentation also offered insights regarding the opportunities and hurdles of establishing evidence-informed policymaking as a dominant modus operandi within the Greek public administration. Overall, the presentation aimed to reflect both on how EU-driven reforms are promoted in the post-pandemic era and vis-à-vis their overall effect in member states.

Exploring seasonal hospitality work in post-crisis Greece: workforce dynamics, mobilities, and precarities in a deregulated tourism context

Wednesday 2 April 2025

Gregoris Ioannou Reader, Faculty of Business and Law, Manchester Metropolitan University

What are the dynamics of work mobility and immobility within the context of seasonal tourism employment in Greece and how are these situated within the broader political and economic transformations of the past fifteen years? To answer this question the structural conditions of Greek capitalism need to be examined as they have a shaping influence on the composition, motivations, and decisions of the seasonal workforce. Given that Greece's post-crisis economic recovery has been heavily reliant on tourism-driven growth and labour mobility, the research outlined here provides a timely case study that illuminates the implications of crisis-induced economic restructuring for seasonal tourism workers in general. By foregrounding the lived experiences of workers, this analysis contributes to the scholarly discourse on labour mobility in tourism studies (Valente et al., 2023), offering a nuanced understanding of how structural imperatives intersect with individual agency. In doing so, it advances a more comprehensive understanding of the precarious labour conditions and socio-economic constraints that underpin contemporary mobility-immobility dynamics in tourism employment.

Too old to rock 'n' roll? Age-based skill stereotypes and the employability of older workers in Greece

Wednesday 30 April 2025



Vassilis Monastiriotis
Director, Hellenic Observatory
Centre; Eleftherios Venizelos
Chair of Contemporary
Greek Studies, Professor in
Political Economy

It is well known that age-related biases in the labour market can lead to significant employment challenges for older individuals, affecting hiring decisions, job retention, and workplace dynamics. We draw on a survey experiment conducted with recruiters from a sample of firms in Greece to elicit employers' perceptions about older workers' skills and attitudes towards hiring them into specific jobs. Our econometric analysis reveals elements of both positive and negative discrimination on the basis of the skill requirements of each job: older workers have positive marginal hiring probabilities in jobs where managerial and decision-making skills are deemed as important; and negative marginal hiring probabilities in jobs where digital and creative skills are dominant. We further document that age discrimination is higher for jobs that require initial training, in medium-sized firms and in employers who rely exclusively on the domestic labour market for their recruitment; while it is lower for employers who reportedly experience skill shortages. We discuss the implications of our findings in the context of two opposing "mega-trends": rising automation and declining (aging) population.

Electoral swings amidst globalization pressures: insights from Greece

Wednesday 14 May 2025



Nikolaos Terzidis Assistant Professor, University of Groningen

The seminar examined the deepening ideological divide in many advanced Western economies over the past two decades. Dr Terzidis highlighted the glob-

al pattern of a marked rightward shift—evident in the re-election of Donald Trump and the rise of parties such as France's Front National, Germany's AfD, and the Netherlands' PVV—alongside more modest leftward shifts, such as Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain, which have drawn on anti-establishment sentiment. Drawing on cross-national evidence and the Greek case, the seminar explored the underlying drivers of these trends. While global economic integration has spurred growth, it has

also generated uneven distributional effects, leaving some regions and social groups behind. Economic insecurity in areas exposed to import competition, job losses linked to technological change, and migration flows perceived as threats to employment or identity have all contributed to polarisation. Together, these pressures have shaped electoral swings and reconfigured the political landscape in Greece and beyond.

Anatomy of the Greek depression with firm-level data: the importance of demand shocks

Wednesday 28 May 2025



Plutarchos Sakellaris
Professor of Economics and
Finance, Athens University
of Economics and Business

The Greek Depression (2009–2014) was the deepest and lon-

gest economic contraction in the developed world since the 1930s, with output shrinking by 22%. In this presentation. Plutarchos Sakellaris analysed how this unprecedented crisis affected firms differentially, drawing on detailed balance-sheet and income data for over 30,000 Greek firms. The study explored the role of firm-specific demand shocks and financing constraints in shaping firm growth during the crisis. It found that small and young firms suffered the sharpest sales contractions, primarily due to more severe demand shocks and heightened sensitivity to them. Financial constraints further amplified this vulnerability. Together, these mechanisms explain a significant share of the aggregate output loss-over 23% of which was attributable to the excess decline of small and young firms. The findings have direct policy relevance, highlighting the need for targeted support that considers both firm size and age, and for crisis response measures that address not only access to finance, but also demand-side risks that disproportionately affect vulnerable firms.

Digital consumers and platform workers in Greece

Wednesday 11 June 2025





Eleftheria Lekakis Associate Professor (Senior Lecturer), University of Sussex Photini Vrikki Lecturer in Digital Methods in the Humanities, UCL

In September 2021, one of the most popular delivery service apps in Greece suddenly requested its workers who were on short-term expiring contracts to switch to freelance contracts. The instant uproar that followed included nation-wide mass mobilisations, as well as a trending topic on Greek Twiter #cancel efood inviting consumers to uninstall the app and give it the lowest possible rating. In this talk, we interrogate the complex interplay of power, resistance, and complicity within the platform economy. We explore how social media, while integral to the platform economy, simultaneously serves as a space for contesting its politics. Drawing on the concept of consumer solutionism (Lekakis, 2022), we critically examine narratives that frame consumer action as a primary mode of social change. Using the #cancel_efood campaign as a case study, we evaluate the campaign's impact and the shifting dynamics between consumers, workers, and platform corporations. We argue that digitally enabled consumer practices, grounded in connectivity and solidarity, can enhance the visibility of workers' struggles and exert targeted pressure on platform actors threatening labour rights. This analysis contributes to broader debates on digital activism, labour politics, and the limits and possibilities of resistance within platform capitalism.

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY

Our re-establishment as an LSE Research Centre saw a widening of our research and public engagement activities to a broader range of topics and disciplinary fields. While continuing with the Hellenic Observatory's long-established research in the fields of Politics, International Relations and Economics (covering questions of governance, reforms, politics, security, the labour market and others), the new Centre opened up to new issues and key societal and policy challenges with broader representation of disciplinary fields. We welcomed researchers from the fields of Finance, Business, Management, Law, Industrial Relations, Social Policy, Sociology, Psychology, Media & Communications, Geography, Environment and even Statistics.

Drawing on such a wide range of disciplines and underlying areas of expertise, the Centre has established three cross-disciplinary thematic areas as its main research priorities for the period 2024-2027. These are as follows:

Gender This thematic priority seeks to examine – and call attention to – the position of women in Greece and Cyprus, from various disciplinary and cross-disciplinary angles, both domestically and in a comparative perspective. Starting with a project on media discourses on femicides in Greece (see p. 25), the aim is to produce research examining a range of issues of social and economic significance, including gender-based occupational segregation, the position of women in Greek politics, everyday sexism and attitudes to domestic violence against women, intra-household inequality and female poverty.

Growth A key focus here is the question of the 'productive model' of Greece and Cyprus, with its overreliance on real estate finance, tourism and related activities and a weak (even if improving) export and industrial base. Our main projects in these areas concern studies on industrial policy and industrial transformation (particularly in relation to the green and digital transitions), energy diversification, and the economic impact and distributional effects of foreign as well as public and private investments (including 'strategic' investments and investments in the housing market). They extend also to the study of the labour market, particularly in relation to questions of skill mismatch, Al and digitalisation, financial literacy and wages.

Citizenship This research theme seeks to encourage and facilitate research on the particular notion of citizenship in Greece and Cyprus and on citizen-state relations.



This encompasses questions of democracy and institutional quality as well as ideational and social-organisation issues concerning civic engagement, social solidarity, migration, cultural minorities and other such issues.

Within (as well as outside) these themes, in its first year the Centre saw a number of projects developing, some of which are highlighted in the following pages. Adding to these, in 2025/26 we are launching new collaborative projects with the Bank of Greece (on Al skills and occupational shifts), the University of Athens (on FinTech adoption), the Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE – on the activation and welfare effects of Greece's recently-piloted unemployment benefit system), the Institute for Regional Development of Panteion University (on the geographical footprint of national investment policies) and the Institute for Research and Social Change (ETERON – on the composition of horizontal and vertical measures in Greece and elsewhere under EU's new industrial policy).

research highlights

The demand for skills in Greece: hiring, training and remuneration practices



What drives skills demand and employer preferences in Greece, and how are these reflected in training and reward practices?

This <u>research project</u>, led by Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis and conducted by a team at the Hellenic Observatory, investigates the evolving landscape of skills demand in Greece. In the context of rapid technological change and economic transformation, understanding labour market needs is essential for shaping effective policy, education, and workforce strategies.

Central to the project is a large-scale employer survey, carried out in collaboration with Adecco Greece, which examines employer preferences for skill sets and worker characteristics. It also explores training provision—particularly in green and digital skills—and how firms reward experience and tenure. The project applies advanced econometric and quasi-experimental methods to generate insights into hiring practices, wage structures, and barriers to workforce development. Expected key academic outputs include:

- A study on age discrimination and its impact on hiring decisions.
- A mapping of Greece's skills demand landscape, identifying gaps and opportunities.
- An analysis of employer preferences for repatriated professionals, offering new evidence on brain drain and return migration.

The research team brings expertise in labour economics and policy analysis. Findings from the completed first phase of the project were published in a White Paper by Adecco Greece (April 2025) and show that labour demand is driven mainly by large, internationally active firms, with 92% reporting active recruitment. Employers prioritise work experience (84%) over academic relevance (51%), while overseas experience is valued by only 15%. Recruitment from abroad is

typically driven by domestic labour shortages.

One-third of firms—rising to 45% among small enterprises—hire only experienced candidates, limiting entry-level opportunities. Training in green and digital skills remains limited, and the green transition has minimal influence on hiring decisions. Skills shortages are the top constraint on business growth, followed by wage demands (in large firms) and economic conditions (in small firms). Wage structures are compressed, offering limited progression and weak incentives for tenure or talent. Although employers seek experienced staff, higher wage costs often deter such hires.

Overall, the findings highlight structural weaknesses in aligning Greece's labour market with global trends, particularly among SMEs. The project contributes to academic literature on skills and informs public debate on employment, brain drain, and economic reform in Greece.

In May 2025, the Hellenic Observatory and Adecco Greece co-hosted a public event in Athens to present the initial findings of their joint research on skills demand in Greece. Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis shared insights from the employer survey, highlighting key trends in recruitment, training, and labour market challenges. The event attracted significant media attention, reflecting growing interest in the alignment between workforce needs and economic transformation and in evidence-based research on employment, skills development, and labour market reform in Greece.

Research team: Professor Vassilis Monastiriotis, Dr Ioannis Laliotis, Dr Eleni Kyrkopoulou, Dr Georgios Melios, Mr Apostolos Apostolou.

Femicides in Greek media

What are the dominant trends in narratives and discursive strategies surrounding femicides in Greek mainstream and social media from 2020 to 2024?

In the shadow of the femicide epidemic taking place in Greece today, with eighty femicides occurring between 2020 and 2024 alone, this research proposal focuses on Greek public discourse. It emphasises the rhetoric of mainstream and social media. aiming to examine the dominant trends in narratives and discursive strategies surrounding lethal violence against women, specifically focusing on femicides involving both Greek and non-Greek women. Current conversations on femicides. while very important, often disregard an intersectional (race and class) aspect of these crimes. This focus is crucial to explore which categories of women are deemed "worthy" of being victims, and therefore being visible in public discourse, and which ones are overlooked.

As we move into the era following the #MeToo movement in Greece (2021),

the research adopts a longitudinal framework (2020-2024) that focuses on the dimensions of gender and race (but also inevitably class) in the mediated representations of femicide. The aim is to shed light on how these dimensions of identity are used to construct ideal victimhood in the context of gender-based violence. Specifically, through the use of both quantitative (quantitative content analysis and descriptive statistics) and qualitative approaches (discourse analysis), the study will analyse the mediated representations of ideal masculinity and ideal femininity, and how these ideals influence the



portrayal of both victims and perpetrators across mass media and social media platforms.

The purpose of this research is to initiate a systematic effort to record and critically analyse the dominant communicative practices through which Greek society understands lethal violence against women, and particularly whether/how these communicative practices potentially legitimise and perpetuate hierarchical valuations of women's lives (and deaths) along the axes of race and class.

Research team: Professor Lilie Chouliaraki, Professor Myria Georgiou, Dr Afroditi Koulaxi

HOC Research Fund

With the generous support of Mr **Michalis Stassinopoulos**, the Centre launched its Internal Research Fund in early 2025. Designed to support short-term, exploratory research projects by members of the Centre, the Fund aims to provide a flexible mechanism for initiating new lines of inquiry with the potential to evolve into larger-scale academic publications or externally funded projects.

The Fund was launched in February 2025 and has already begun supporting a number of promising initiatives. These projects span a range of disciplines and reflect the Centre's commitment to fostering original research that engages with contemporary issues in Greece and Cyprus. By offering targeted support for early-stage work, the Fund enables researchers to test ideas, gather preliminary data, and develop collaborations that may lead to more substantial outputs.

Economic incentives and vaccination

by Ioannis Laliotis and Dimitris Minos

The objective of this project is to examine the impact of market-driven economic incentives on vaccination uptake in a low-trust society, using Greece as a case study. Specifically, the research aims to assess the causal relationship between external economic shocks and public health behaviour, focusing on how changes in travel policies influenced vaccination rates, and consequently employment, during the summer of 2021. The study will investigate the broader implications of this shift, particularly on public health outcomes and labour market dynamics in tourism-dependent regions. A key focus will be on how increased demand for tourism-related services affected vaccine hesitancy, especially among workingage individuals who were incentivised to vaccinate in order to formally participate in the labour market.

Chinese and Israeli investment in housing in Athens and Thessaloniki by Philipp Katsinas

Greece currently faces a housing crisis due to increasing housing unaffordability and unavailability, caused by housing financialisation - its increasing treatment as a commodity. Key drivers of the process are institutional investors, but the role of other types of investors, especially small-scale amateur investors purchasing a second property to rent out (buy-to-let) has remained little researched. Through the conduction of qualitative interviews with key stakeholders, the project will analyse the role of small- and medium- scale investors and investment brokers and their reasons for investing in Athens and Thessaloniki. It thus seeks to contribute to the wider literature on housing financialisation and to current public debates about how the process unfolds in Greece and affects housina.

The impact of US tariff shocks on the Greek economy

by Theodore Panagiotidis

This project investigates the macroeconomic impact of US tariff shocks on EU countries, using Termsof-Trade (ToT) as a proxy for multi-channel effects on export and import prices. Employing a Panel Vector Autoregression (PVAR) model on quarterly data (2000-2023), it estimates impulse responses of GDP, inflation, trade balance, and exchange rates. The study explores cross-country heterogeneity, with a special focus on Greece, assessing whether its structural characteristics lead to distinct responses. Additional models test asymmetries between import and export price shocks. The research aims to inform EU-level trade vulnerability assessments and policy design, offering insights into the transmission of global trade shocks and the suitability of common versus country-specific mitigation strategies within the EU.

The impact of Brexit on Greek diaspora in UK

by Athanasia Chalari

This project explores how Brexit has shaped identity formation among two groups within the Greek diaspora in the UK: those under the settlement scheme and those who have acquired British citizenship. In its first phase, 30 in-depth interviews revealed that many Greek residents experience a complex sense of non-belonging, without feeling unwelcome, reflecting broader post-Brexit identity tensions. The second phase, currently underway, involves interviews with Greek-born British citizens to examine how citizenship status influences perceptions of belonging and cultural integration. By comparing both groups, the study aims to understand the differentiated impact of Brexit on identity and belonging, offering insights into the evolving place of the Greek diaspora in contemporary Britain.

LSEE: a hub for research on South Eastern europe



Drawing on decades of expertise on Southeast Europe within the Hellenic Observatory, LSEE, the LSE Research Group on Southeastern Europe, was established in 2010 as part of the European Institute and has developed into a prominent forum for independent, rigorous research and public engagement on the region. Relaunched in 2024 as a Recognised Research Group under the leadership of Professor Denisa Kostovicova, in the newly established Hellenic Observatory research centre, LSEE continues to contribute to scholarly debate on key issues including social and economic development, European integration, democratic governance, and post-conflict state-building.

In 2024-25, LSEE has maintained an active presence in academic dialogue, public engagement, and policy events. These included the panel discussion Street Power: Citizens' Protests and Polarisation in Southeast Europe and Greece, which examined patterns of civic mobilisation amid political, economic, and environmental pressures, with reference to recent protest movements in Serbia, Greece, and across the region. In April, LSEE also took part in the Non-Nuclear Deterrence Conference, held at the LSE, which brought together experts including Professor Mary Kaldor and Dr Bryan Wells to consider deterrence strategies beyond Cold War frameworks. Discussions addressed gender perspectives, non-offensive conventional defence, civil resilience, and the application of sanctions.

Two major policy-focused events marked the year. The Western Balkans workshop, Challenges, Risks and Opportunities: The Western Balkans Before the 2025 London Summit, was held in the run-up to the UK-hosted Summit and



brought together academics, analysts, and policymakers to discuss regional priorities such as security, economic growth, and migration. In June 2025, LSEE co-organised the JUSTINT Roundtable on Reconciliation in the Western Balkans: Obstacles, Opportunities and Innovations with the Justice Interactions and Peacebuilding project, supported by the European Research Council. This event gathered scholars and policymakers under Chatham House Rule to examine barriers to reconciliation at multiple governance levels, explore innovative practices, and propose actionable recommendations on regional cooperation, access to justice, truth-telling, and repairing inter-group relations.

Hellenic Observatory Research Call Programmes

Since the launch of its two flagship Research Call Programmes in 2018 and 2019, the Hellenic Observatory has funded 31 social science research projects focusing on Greece and Cyprus. These initiatives – the Hellenic Observatory Research Calls Programme on Greece and the A.G. Leventis Research Innovation Programme on Cyprus – have quickly established themselves as key platforms for innovative, policy-relevant research, fostering academic exchange between the UK, Greece, and Cyprus. Projects were selected through a rigorous, peer-reviewed process overseen by the Observatory and its dedicated Research Advisory Groups, comprising experts from the UK, Greece, and Cyprus.

The range of topics is extensive: on Cyprus, projects have examined youth green activism, precarious employment, foreign domestic workers, decolonisation, COVID-19, climate neutrality, and the impact of EU sanctions on Russia. On Greece, funded research has addressed economic extroversion, barriers to growth, entrepreneurship, housing affordability, media freedom, the migration crisis, vaccine hesitancy, environmental sustainability, climate change, social mobility, and the justice system. Full details of the projects are available online at www.lse.ac.uk/HO/Research.

This academic year marked the completion of five research projects under the Hellenic Observatory's research calls programme, alongside a dynamic programme of dissemination activities:

Housing Market and Housing Uncertainty in Greece

Led by Professor **Theodore Panagiotidis** (University of Macedonia), this project investigated housing market dynamics and uncertainty in Greece. A key output was the **Housing Market Uncertainty (HMU) Index**, the first housing-specific measure for Greece, which captures risks across regions, dwelling types, and economic regimes. The research examined the effects of major events—including the financial crisis, the Golden Visa Scheme, COVID-19, and the energy crisis—on house prices, lending, and construction. Findings were shared through a December 2024 workshop and an April 2025 online panel, providing actionable insights for policymakers and stakeholders on housing trends, market vulnerabilities, and evidence-based interventions.

Innovation and Export Opportunities

Dr **Kyriakos Drivas** (University of Piraeus) examined the role of innovation in generating value-added trade opportunities. Using data from 77 countries (2008–2022), the study highlighted the importance of aligning technological and market capabilities to support export specialisation. Greece's innovation profile revealed gaps in intellectual property activity, with policy recommendations focused on improving IP legislation and supporting commercialisation. Preliminary findings were presented at the 49th EBES Conference in Athens (October 2024).



Media Plurality in Greece

Dr Yani Kartalis (University of Copenhagen) investigated content plurality in Greece's online news sector, analysing over 3.37 million article titles. The study found high thematic homogeneity, reliance on state news sources, and concentrated ownership linked to reduced content diversity. Structural issues such as weak regulation and political influence were identified as key challenges. Dr Kartalis presented his findings at the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) in Athens, calling for stronger transparency rules and independent media monitoring.



Climate Neutrality and Energy Security in Cyprus

Professor Theodoros Zachariadis and Constantinos Taliotis (The Cyprus Institute) explored the potential of enhanced electricity interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East (EMME). Their modelling showed that regional cooperation—particularly through the Great Sea Interconnector—could reduce costs, increase renewable energy use, and improve energy security. Findings were presented in a HO seminar in February 2025, highlighting the strategic and environmental benefits of coordinated infrastructure planning.



Natural Resources and Divided Societies

Professor **Charis Psaltis** (University of Cyprus) led a study on co-management of natural resources in divided societies, using Cyprus as a case study. The research employed conjoint survey experiments to identify zones of agreement on green transition policies, offering insights into how shared environmental goals could support cooperation in politically sensitive contexts.

new initiative

Research Innovation Programme on Greece & Cyprus



Building on the success of its past research call programmes, the Hellenic Observatory has launched a new Research Innovation Programme on Greece & Cyprus, thanks to the generous support of the A.G. Leventis Foundation. Starting in summer 2025, this expanded programme will fund original research projects addressing critical questions about the economies, politics, and societies of both countries. The new programme continues the Observatory's mission to promote high-quality, policy-relevant research and foster informed debate on key public policy challenges. Projects will be selected through a rigorous peer review process, supported by the Centre's academic staff and Research Advisory Group. In line with the development of the Hellenic Observatory into the LSE Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, this programme reflects a renewed commitment to advancing knowledge and public dialogue on Greece and Cyprus at national and international levels.

The first Call under the new programme invited proposals for research project funding under the following themes:

Democracy under strain: trust, accountability and political legitimacy in Greece and Cyprus

Across Europe, liberal democratic norms are being tested. In Greece and Cyprus, longstanding concerns about corruption, state capture, and institutional performance intertwine with emerging debates on surveillance, transparency, new polarisations and civic disaffection, producing an increasingly complex political and social landscape reflected in voting behaviour, party affiliation, civil mobilisation, and the rise of unconventional political formations.

This theme focuses on the structural challenges to democratic functioning in both Greece and Cyprus. It seeks to explore the erosion of trust in institutions, the role of corruption, political alienation, state capacity, and the evolving boundaries between state, market, and civil society. It also opens space to examine issues like deep state narratives, establishment resilience, authoritarian drift, or new forms of citizen activism.

Relevant research topics may include:

- Trust in democratic institutions and corruption perceptions: causes and consequences
- Surveillance, citizenship, and state power
- Forms of state capture (party/corporate), quality of institutions and political legitimacy
- Electoral disengagement and civic response to institutional failures; forms and impact of civic mobilisations.
- Role of media and misinformation in democratic erosion
- Democracy and political legitimacy in multicrisis contexts (e.g., debt, pandemic, migration)
- New forms of populism: social media influencers in politics, "deep state" or anti-establishment narratives, and their impact in shaping political attitudes and behaviour

Climate risk and social inequality: institutional capacity and community resilience

Climate-related disasters such as wildfires, heatwaves and floods are increasingly frequent and severe in Southern Europe. In Greece and Cyprus, these events expose not only ecological vulnerability but also social and institutional weaknesses. This theme explores how climate change and extreme events (e.g. wildfires, floods, heatwaves) intersect with socio-economic aspects such as housing, inequality, financial security, or public health. While climate change mitigation remains a long-term imperative, this theme seeks to move beyond general sustainability discourse and explore the social and institutional capacity to manage climateinduced risks, protect the vulnerable and build resilient local systems.

Relevant research topics may include:

- Housing markets, mortgage risk and urban planning: adaptation and responses to climate shocks
- Public health and public mental health systems: preparedness and response to climateinduced events
- Vulnerability, environmental justice and inequalities: social and economic impacts of extreme climate events and adaptation strategies across different regions or population groups
- Civic preparedness and local governance efficacy: the role of local governance and citizen engagement in building adaptive capacity
- The efficacy, political-economic drivers and distributional consequences of government policies for climate change mitigation and the green transition

Optimal policy responses to geopolitical fragmentation and militarisation

The global policy landscape is undergoing a profound transformation, driven by escalating geopolitical tensions associated with unconventional trade measures and the resurgence of militarised conflict. This theme invites proposals that critically examine optimal policy responses to these developments, with a focus on small states / small open economies, such as those of Greece and Cyprus. Proposals are invited across disciplinary fields, examining aspects of security, economy, society, psychology and politics. While proposals should take issue with recent policy developments, they should be grounded empirically on analysis of past historical examples or comparative cases. Theory-building proposals are also welcome.

Relevant research topics may include:

- How do small states respond to shifts in trade relations (e.g., US-EU Framework Agreement) to support their competitiveness, growth and successful participation in value chains?
- International realignments (e.g., in response to trade measures or militarised conflicts) and the management of domestic politics and the public's normative concerns (e.g., on humanitarian issues)
- Policies on military conscription, defence readiness and the defence industrial base
- Normative and positive analyses (including in legal studies) of the tension between geopolitical interests and moral imperatives
- Securitised statecraft and the erosion of international accountability mechanisms
- Psychological and sociological effects of increased militarisation (including questions of citizen mobilisation and/or disaffection)

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY Publications

GreeSE Papers

The Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe (GreeSE Papers) continue to be published monthly, reaching their 210th issue by the end of the academic year September 2024 – August 2025. The series remains interdisciplinary, welcoming contributions from across the social sciences and addressing key issues in Greece, Cyprus, and the broader Southeast European region. These papers are published online-only and continue to shape academic discourse and public debate on Greece and Cyprus within the Southeast European context.

During this academic year, eleven GreeSE Papers were published, covering a wide spectrum of topics:



- 210. From Ostensible to Actual Media Pluralism. An examination of content diversity in Greece's fragmented online media system, by Yani Kartalis (August 2025)
- 209. Wage Reforms and Equality Gains: Evidence from Greece by Aikaterini E. Karadimitropoulou, Tryfonas Christou, Michael Chletsos and Alexandros P. Bechlioulis,, (July 2025)
- 208. A Climate Neutrality Strategy for Cyprus by Theodoros Zachariadis, Constantinos Taliotis, Melina Moleskis, and Pantelis Solomou (June 2025)
- 207. On the Role of Innovation in the Generation of Value-Added Trade Opportunities by Kyriakos Drivas and Afroditi Anagnosti (April 2025)
- 206. Transitioning from European Citizenship towards Immigration Identities after Brexit (the case of Greek diaspora in the UK) by Athanasia Chalari (March 2025)

- **205.** The Anti-vaccination Movement in Greece by Manussos Marangudakis, Theodore Chadjipadelis, Maria Zampoka, and Christos Kouroutzas (February 2025)
- **204.** A Comprehensive Analysis of Transactions in the Greek Residential Property Market by Alexandros Kontonikas and Emmanouil Pyrgiotakis (January 2025)
- **203.** Cultural Identities Among Greek Diaspora in the UK by Athanasia Chalari (December 2024)
- 202. Small States Navigating Shelters and Political Shocks:
 The Republic of Cyprus Between EU Sanctions and
 Multivector Foreign Policy by Revecca Pedi and Iannis
 Konstantinidis (November 2024)
- 201. Re-framing Photographic Archives: Archaeology and Colonial Cyprus by Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert and Antigone Heraclidou (October 2024)
- **200.** EU Sanctions on Russia and Implications for a Small Open Economy: The Case of Cyprus by Konstantinos Mavrigiannakis and Stelios Sakkas (September 2024)

Staff publications (September 2024-August 2025)

While our research group produces a wide range of publications across their respective disciplines, the following is a selection of recent works that are directly relevant to Greece, Cyprus, and Southeastern Europe:

- Bartlett, W., El Ouizgani, I., & Prica, I. (2025). *The transition* to work and graduate qualification and skill mismatch:

 <u>Case studies of Morocco and Serbia</u>. In From skills anticipation to skills action: Collection of articles to understand skills demand in EU neighbouring countries (Chapter 5). European Training Foundation.
- Featherstone, K., & Papadimitriou, D. (2025). <u>Greek prime</u> ministers in the eye of the storm: Crisis management and <u>institutional change</u>. Oxford University Press.
- Fokas, E. (2024). Nationalism in the judicialization and culturalization of religion: The case of religious education in Greece. Religions, 15(8), 952.
- Katsinas, P., & Soudias, D. (2024). <u>Constructing a governmental vision of happiness:</u> Insights from Greece. <u>Environment and Planning</u> C: Politics and Space, 43(4), 696-712.
- Bojicic-Dzelilovic, V., Kostovicova, D., & Causevic, F. (2024). <u>Tested by the Covid-19 economic shock: Peace-positive entrepreneurship and intergroup collaboration in post-conflict business recovery.</u> Conflict, Security & Development, 24(5), 425–450.
- Kostovicova, D., Sokolić, I., & La Lova, L. (2024). <u>Legislative</u> debates and transitional justice in the Balkans. In S.-A. Mildner & T. Bories (Eds.), Reconciliation in the Western Balkans. Aspen Germany.

- Kornelakis, A., & Petrakaki, D. (2024). <u>Technological innovation, industry platforms or financialization? A comparative institutional perspective on Nokia, Apple, and Samsung.</u> Business History, Business History, 1–26.
- Krakowski, K., Kyrkopoulou, E., Reinhardt, L., & Sambanis, N. (2024). Good citizenship and native-immigrant conflict: <u>Experimental evidence from Europe</u>. Comparative Political Studies, 58(13), 2939-2972.
- Kyrkopoulou, E., Louka, A., & Fabbe, K. (2024). Money under the mattress: Economic crisis and crime in Greece.

 Journal of Policy Modelling, 46(1).
- Ladi, S. & Wolff, S. (2025). *The EU's vaccine strategy:*<u>A glimpse of protean power?</u> Comparative European Politics, Volume 23, pages 727–744.
- Ladi, S., Copeland, P., & Tsarouhas, D. (2025). Negotiating the Recovery and Resilience Facility: The emergence of coordinative conditionality. Comparative European Politics, Volume 23, 18–39.
- Laliotis, I. (2025). Foreign doctors and hospital quality: Evidence from the English NHS. Labour Economics, 94, 102707.
- Monastiriotis, V., & Gamtkitsulashvili, T. (2024). <u>Taking the territorial dimension of industrial policy seriously: Industrial and cohesion policy in the EU.</u> In LUHNIP EU Industrial Policy Report 2024 (Chapter 7). Luiss Hub for New Industrial Policy and Economic Governance (LUHNIP).
- Monastiriotis, V., Alibegović, J.D., & Nikolov, M. (2025). *Mayor's political party affiliation and local outcomes: Evidence from SEE*. East European Politics, 41(3), 485–510. ISSN 2159-9165.
- Monastiriotis, V., Laliotis, I., Kyrkopoulou, E., & Apostolou, A. (2025). *Demand for skills and HR hiring & remuneration practices in Greece [White Paper, published in Greek]*. Adecco Hellas.
- Myrodias, K. (2025). A turn to export-led growth? Rethinking the growth models in Greece and Portugal. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 63, Issue1, 246-266.

- Myrodias, K. (2024). The political economy of the Eurozone's rollercoaster: Greece and Portugal from the Global Financial Crisis to Covid-19. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mavrigiannakis, K., & Sakkas, S. (2025). <u>EU sanctions on Russia and implications for a small open economy: The case of Cyprus.</u> Open Economy Review, 36, 745–780.
- Panagiotidis, T., Milas, C., & Papapanagiotou, G. (2024). *UK*Foreign Direct Investment in uncertain economic times.

 Journal of International Money and Finance, volume 147, 103132.
- Panagiotidis, T., Psarras, A., & Andronikidis, A. (2023). COVID-19, tourism and road traffic accidents: Evidence from Greece. Journal of Transportation Safety & Security, 16(8), 893–913.
- Parma, A., Matsaganis, M., Montanari, M. G., et al. (2025). Incidence and distribution of earnings shocks: Southern Europe in comparative perspective. Social Indicators Research, 178, 559–579.
- Dimakopoulou, V., Economides, G., & Philippopoulos, A. (2025). Repayment of EU bailout loans in a member-country of the ES: The case of Greece. Open Economy Review.
- Samaras, G. (2025). Derailing truth: Tripartite discourse and public outrage over Greece's Tempe Valley disaster.

 Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management,
 Volume 33, Issue 3, e70062.
- Samaras, G. (2025). <u>Hide and seek: Extreme-right leadership and communication tactics behind bars in Greece</u>. Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory, 1–22.
- Fernandes, J. M., Sánchez-Cuenca, I., & Sotiropoulos, D. A. (2024). <u>Democratisation in Southern Europe: A contingent or inevitable process?</u> South European Society and Politics, 1–26.
- Sotiropoulos, D. A., & Mouzelis, N. P. (2025). <u>Global governance and social democracy: Between neoliberal and authoritarian capitalism.</u> Routledge.

Greek prime ministers in the eye of the storm: Crisis management and institutional change



A new volume by **Kevin Featherstone** (Emeritus Professor, LSE) and **Dimitris Papadimitriou** (Professor of Political Science, University of Manchester) offers fresh insights into political leadership during Greece's turbulent eurozone crisis (2009–2018). Published by Oxford University Press in July 2025, Greek Prime Ministers in the Eye of the Storm: Crisis Management and Institutional Change examines how successive leaders managed unprecedented external pressures, political fragmentation, and weak government coordination. Drawing on exclusive interviews with every prime minister of the era, the authors assess whether crisis conditions centralised power, strengthened leadership, and left a lasting mark on Greece's core executive. Building on their earlier landmark work The Paradox of Power (2015), this study combines rigorous analysis with first-hand accounts to explore how moments of acute crisis can reshape political institutions.

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY In the news

- **Στιγμιότυπα» στον ΣΚΑΪ 100,3** Vassilis Monastiriotis, interview to Vassilis Koufopoulos on the landscape of skills demand in Greece (in collaboration with the Adecco Group), *Skai 100.3*, 6 June 2025.
- **Epilogos, ERT**, Kevin Featherstone interview with Apostolos Mangiriadis, 22 May 2025.
- Inside EU Crisis Management: Kevin Featherstone on Greece, the European Union, and the Road Ahead, interview, *The Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 17 March 2025.
- Χρειαζόμαστε ανάπτυξη βιώσιμη και μετά το τέλος του RRF Αύξηση παραγωγικότητας για υψηλότερους μισθούς Vassilis Monastiriotis, interview to Yiannis Foskolos on Greek economic growth, *Imerisia*, 16 March 2025.

- US Elections: What a Trump or Harris Presidency Could Mean for Greece Spyros Economides, interview to Moira Lavelle, Vima International Edition, 1 November 2024.
- Apo mera se mera Vassilis Monastiriotis, interview to Katerina Charalambous on the new LSE Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, *RIK*, 11 October 2024.
- Nai men alla Vassilis Monastiriotis, interview to Evagelia Baltatzi on the new LSE Centre for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, *Programme One, Greek Broadcaster ERT*, 8 October 2024.
- Update Vassilis Monastiriotis, interview to Kostas Laskaratos about the HO's upgrade to the LSE Centre: for Research on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, EPTNews, 6 October 2024.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES:

- Διάλογος στο Β: Πότε αποτυγχάνουν οι κυβερνήσεις, Kevin Featherstone and Dimitris Papadimitriou,
 To Vima, 27 July 2025
- Εκεί που σκοντάφτει το ελληνικό brain regain, by Άγγελος Αλεξόπουλος on the Hellenic Observatory and Adecco, Greece research, news247.gr, 30 May 2025
- Το 70% των ελληνικών επιχειρήσεων αναζητεί προσωπικό. Έρευνα του Ελληνικού Παρατηρητήριου & της Adecco, Greece, Kathimerini, 28 May 2025
- Η δύναμη των διαδηλώσεων στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη και την Ελλάδα, The Hellenic Post, 2 April 2025
- Μια διαφορετική «Ανοιξη» στα Βαλκάνια, comments by Kevin Featherstone and Denisa Kostovicova. Iliana Magra, Kathimerini, 28 March 2025
- Δεν έχουμε πλέον «Δύση», έχουμε «Ευρώπη», Kevin Featherstone, OpEd, Kathimerini, 24 February 2025
- Ο πρωθυπουργός που στεκόταν στην ουρά του κινηματογράφου, Kevin Featherstone, OpEd, Kathimerini, 12 January 2025
- Πρέπει η Αριστερά να μοιάζει με ανέκδοτο; Kevin Featherstone, OpEd, Kathimerini, 1 December 2024
- Ελλάδα ΗΠΑ : Τα πρακτικά μίας σχέσης, Kevin Featherstone, OpEd, Kathimerini, 3 November 2024

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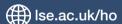




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