

GEORGE PAGOULATOS

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Born in Athens, 1967.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2011 – present **Professor** of European Politics & Economy, Department of International and European Economic Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business.
- 11/2011 – 6/2012 **Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister and Director of Strategic Planning**, Office of the Prime Minister, Athens.
- 2006 – present **Visiting Professor**, European General Studies Programme, College of Europe, Bruges.
- 2006 – 2011 **Associate Professor** of Politics, Department of International and European Economic Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business.
- 2000 – 2006 **Assistant Professor** of Politics, Department of International and European Economic Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business (tenured since 2004).
- 1999 – 2000 **Adjunct Assistant Professor (407/1980)**, Department of International and European Economic Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business.
- 7/1998 – 8/1999 **Hannah Seeger Davis Post-doctoral Fellow**, Program in Hellenic Studies; **Fellow**, Southern European Research Group, Center of International Studies, and **Research Associate**, Department of Politics, Princeton University.
- 1998 **Adjunct Lecturer (law 1268/82, PD 473/83)**, Sector of Administrative Science, Dept of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens.

STUDIES

- 1997 **DPhil Politics**, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford.
- 1993 **MSc Sociology**, Jesus College, University of Oxford.
- 1990 **Bachelor of Laws**, Athens Law School, University of Athens.

SCHOLARSHIPS - DISTINCTIONS

- 1992 – 1995 **Rhodes scholar**, University of Oxford.
- 10/1996 Finalist, **Rudolf Wildenmann Prize** for the “best paper”, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) 24th Annual Joint Sessions of Workshops (Oslo, 29/3 – 3/4/1996).
- 1994-97 **Research scholarships** (Carr Fund of St Antony's College and the Graduate Studies Committee of the University of Oxford).
- 12/2003 **Award of the Academy of Athens** (Best Book in Economics Award) for the book *Greece's New Political Economy*.

2002-2006 Member (scientific partner for AUEB) of the only social science research project (“Domestic Structures and European Integration –DOSEI) (European Commission RTD project) nominated for the **European Union Descartes Research Prize 2006**.

FIELDS OF RESEARCH

EU and comparative political economy; public policy; Southern Europe; Greece and Eurozone economic crisis; political economy of banking and finance; privatization and regulatory reform; governance in the European Union; civil society.

TEACHING

- Undergraduate: *Political Economy of the European Union, Comparative Politics and Government, Political Economy of Contemporary Capitalism, Introduction to Politics and Government.*
- Postgraduate: *Politics of European Integration; Politics of European Economic Policies; Politics and Institutions in the EU; Political Economy of the European Union; Economic Governance and Democracy in the EU; Political aspects of European economic policies.*

ACTIVITIES (non-exhaustive list)

- Member of the High Council, European University Institute (EUI) Florence (2010-present).
- Academic Fellow, European Policy Centre (EPC), Brussels (2012-present)
- Senior Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation of European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) (2006-present).
- Regular columnist, Sunday edition of main centrist daily newspaper *Kathimerini* (2007-present) (over 100 articles).
- Member of the Governing Board: Centre of Planning and Economic Research (KEPE) (2002-4); State Scholarship Foundation (2010-2011); University Association for European Studies (EUSA-Greece) (2006-present).
- Member of the Editorial Board: *South European Society and Politics* (2004-present); *Hellenic Studies/Etudes Helleniques* (2009-present); *Greek Review of Political Science* (2000-2011).
- Member of the Academic Advisory Board: National School of Public Administration (2001-4); Hellenic Centre for European Studies (EKEM) (2005-6); Fellow of the Greek Centre of European Studies and Research (EKEME) (2007-present)
- Member of the Greek Government’s Council of Economic Advisors (SOE) (2002-4).

RESEARCH PROJECTS (non-exhaustive list)

- “Politics, Labour, Regulation and Performance: Lessons from the Privatization of the Greek Telecom”, competitive research project of the Hellenic Observatory, European Institute, London School of Economics (2009-2010) (scientific coordinator with N. Zahariadis).
- “Study on Social Impact of Globalization in the EU (SIMGLOBE)” (VC 2005/0228), European Commission DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (2005-2006) (Coordinator CEPS).
- “Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-Level Europe”, *Connecting Excellence on European Governance (CONNEX)*, Network of Excellence (European Commission 6FP, 2004-8) (43 partner academic institutions from Europe; national representative for Greece).

- “Domestic Structures and European Integration. A multi-stage two-level analysis of the constitution building in the European Union” (DOSEI) (European Commission RTD project, 2002-6; partner) (*nominated for the European Union Descartes Research Prize 2006*).
- “Research Project on University Education in Greece”, ELIAMEP (2005-6).
- “Ministerial Elites in Southern Europe, 1950-2000” (South European Research Group, Dept of Politics, Princeton University: project co-director and coordinator for Greece) (2000-1).

REFEREEING

Oxford University Press (book manuscripts), Palgrave Macmillan (book manuscript), West European Politics, European Journal of Political Research, Journal of Common Market Studies, Comparative European Politics, South European Society and Politics, Public Administration, Social Science Quarterly, Journal of Political Ideologies, European Journal of Political Economy, Current Politics and Economics of Europe, Industrial Relations Journal, Greek Review of Political Science.

External evaluator, European Commission, FP5-FP6-FP7.

External examiner of Ph.D. theses (LSE, Trinity College, Dublin).

ACADEMIC CITATIONS (excluding self-citations, excluding Greek).

Over 200 (including working/discussion papers).

MEDIA

- Interviewed and quoted extensively in the international press (*Financial Times, New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, International Herald Tribune, Le Monde, Time, Associated Press, Reuters, AFP, Guardian, Spiegel, Repubblica, Handelsblat, O Globo, Kurier, Der Standard, El Periodico, Irish Times, Hurriyet, La Vanguardia, Presseurop, Politiken, China Times, Kyodo, Foreign Policy*, etc).
- Interviewed extensively on international radio and television (BBC, BBC World, Al Jazeera, Reuters, Sky News, etc).
- Interviewed and quoted extensively in the Greek press, television and radio.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

1. *From Stagnation to Forced Adjustment: Reforms in Greece, 1974-2010*, edited by S. Kalyvas, G. Pagoulatos and H. Tsoukas, London and New York: Hurst/ Columbia University Press (forthcoming 2012).
2. *The Anatomy of the Crisis* (with T. Veremis, S. Kalyvas, T. Couloumbis, L. Tsoukalis, and H. Tsoukas), Athens: Skai 2011 (selected articles from *Kathimerini* –in Greek).
3. *The National Bank of Greece, 1940-2000*, NBG Historical Archives, Athens 2006, pp. 512 (in Greek).
4. *The Last Greek Presidency: Greece in European Integration and the Four Greek Presidencies of the EU* (with S. Blavoukos), Athens: Papazissis 2004, pp. 335 (in Greek).

5. *Greece's New Political Economy: State, Finance and Growth from Postwar to EMU*, London and New York: Oxford St. Antony's Series, Palgrave Macmillan 2003, pp.272 (Academy of Athens award).
6. *UK/Greece: New Look at Relations* (editor and concluding chapter), Athens: ELIAMEP, LSE & British Council, 2001, pp.121.

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

1. "Accounting for Coalition Building in the European Union: Budget Negotiations and the South", *European Journal of Political Research*, 50(4), 2011, 559-581 (with S. Blavoukos).
2. "The Return of the Greek Patient: Greece and the 2008 Global Financial Crisis", *South European Society and Politics*, 14(1), March 2009, pp. 35-54 (with C. Triantopoulos) (SESP top-3 downloaded article for 2010).
3. "The Limits of EMU Conditionality: Fiscal Adjustment in Southern Europe", *Journal of Public Policy*, 28/2, 2008, 229-253 (with S. Blavoukos).
4. "Enlargement Waves' and Interest Group Participation in the EU Policy-Making System: Establishing a framework of analysis", *West European Politics* 31/6, 2008, pp. 1147-1165 (with S. Blavoukos).
5. "Negotiating in Stages: National Preferences and the Reform of the Stability and Growth Pact", *European Journal of Political Research*, 47, 2008, pp. 247-267 (with S. Blavoukos).
6. "A President for the European Union: A New Actor in Town?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45/2, June 2007, pp. 231-52 (with S. Blavoukos and D. Bourantonis).
7. "The Politics of Privatization in Greece: Redrawing the Public-Private Boundary", special issue on "The Challenge of Modernization: Politics and Policy in Greece", ed. K. Featherstone, *West European Politics* 28/2, March 2005, pp. 359-81.
8. "Civil Society and Citizenship in postwar Greece" (with N. Mouzelis) *Greek Review of Political Science*, 22, December 2003, pp. 5-29.
9. "Believing in National Exceptionalism: Ideas and Economic Divergence in Southern Europe", *West European Politics* 27/1, January 2004, pp. 43-68.
10. "Financial Interventionism and Liberalization in Southern Europe: State, Bankers, and the Politics of Disinflation", *Journal of Public Policy*, Cambridge University Press, 23/2, 2003, pp. 171-199.
11. "A Medium Country's Middle-of-the-Road Success: The 2003 Greek Presidency of the European Union", *South European Society and Politics*, 8/3, Winter 2003, pp. 145-162 (with S. Blavoukos).
12. "EMU and the New Stabilization State: Demand Disturbances and Asymmetric Responses", *Current Politics and Economics of Europe*, 13(1), 2004, pp. 1-16 (with T. Pelagidis).
13. "The Enemy Within: Intragovernmental Politics and Organizational Failure in Greek Privatization", *Public Administration*, 79/1, 2001, pp.125-146.
14. "European Banking: Five Modes of Governance", *West European Politics*, 22/1, January 1999, pp. 68-94.
15. "Strength Without Independence: Central Bank and the Politics of Greek Financial Deregulation", *Current Politics and Economics of Europe*, 9(3), 2000, pp. 339-359.
16. "Economic Adjustment and Financial Reform: Greece's Europeanization and the Emergence of a Stabilization State", *South European Society and Politics*, 5(2), 2000, pp.191-214.

17. "The Politics of Industrial Privatization: Spain, Portugal and Greece in a European Perspective", *Rivista Trimestrale di Diritto Pubblico*, 3, October 1999, pp.613-662 (with V. Wright).
18. "Governing in a Constrained Environment: Policy Making in the Greek Banking Deregulation and Privatisation Reform", *West European Politics*, 19/4, October 1996, pp.744-769 (paper short-listed for the 1996 ECPR "best paper" Rudolf Wildenmann Prize)
19. "Ideas, Institutions and Interests in Public Policy: The Case of European Economic Policies", *Greek Review of Political Science*, 13, May 1999, pp.45-82 (in Greek).
20. "Privatization as European Regulatory (or Distributive?) Policy: An Approach of Theoretical Realism", *Greek Review of Administrative Science*, 6, June 2000, pp.37-65 (in Greek).
21. "Rational Choice, Positive Sum Games, and the Emergence of Cooperation", *Review of Social Research*, 100 (3/1999), pp.143-72 (in Greek).
22. "Public Opinion Stances vis-à-vis Capital Punishment", *Greek Review of Criminology*, 5-10, 1993, pp. 183-224 (in Greek).

BOOK CHAPTERS

1. "Italy and Greece: Financial Crisis as Sovereign Debt Crisis" (with L. Quaglia), in I. Hardie and D. Howarth (eds) *Market-Based Banking, Varieties of Financial Capitalism and the Financial Crisis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press (book proposal under final review).
2. "The EU and the Political Economy of the Greek State", in K. Featherstone (ed.) *Changing Conceptions of Europe in Modern Greece*, London, LSE, forthcoming 2012.
3. "Multilevel Governance in the European Union" (with L. Tsoukalis), in E. Jones, A. Menon and S. Weatherill (eds) *Handbook on the European Union*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2012.
4. "The Political Economy of Forced Reform: Reflections on the 2010 Greek Economic Adjustment Program", in Kalyvas, Pagoulatos and Tsoukas (eds.) *From Stagnation to Forced Adjustment: Reforms in Greece, 1974-2010*, London and New York: Hurst/ Columbia University Press, forthcoming 2012.
5. "Europe othered, Europe enlisted, Europe possessed: Greek public intellectuals and the European Union" (with X. Yataganas), in J. Lacroix and K. Nikolaidis (eds) *European Stories: How National Intellectuals Debate Europe*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp.183-202.
6. "Latecomer, uphill adjustment: the Bank of Greece", in K. Dyson and M. Marcussen (eds) *The Changing Central Banks in the Age of the Euro. Europeanization, Convergence and Power*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.161-181.
7. "Regulating Financial Capitalism: the EU's global responsibility", in Roger Liddle (ed.) *After the Crisis: A new socio-economic settlement for the EU*, London, Policy Network, 2009, pp. 31-43.
8. "Grèce", in Y. Bertoncini, T. Chopin, A. Dulphy, S. Kahn, A. Levade, C. Manigand (eds), *Dictionnaire Critique de l' Union Européenne*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2008.
9. "Some Thoughts on the 2008 Riots in Greece", in S. Economides and V. Monastiriotis (eds) *The Return of Street Politics? Essays on the December Riots in Greece*, London, Hellenic Observatory, 2009, pp. 45-48.
10. "Public Administration, political system, economy: the structural constraints", in T.Giannitsis (ed.) *Greek Economy: Crucial Issues of Economic Policy*, Athens, Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2008, pp. 211-222 (in Greek).

11. "Greece in the European Union: the *acquis* of Europeanization" (with S. Blavoukos), in N. Maravegias and T. Sakellaropoulos (eds) *European Integration and Greece: Economy, Society, Policies*, Athens, Dionikos 2007, pp. 47-70 (in Greek).
12. "Europeanisation as Socio-Economic Change: Lessons from Greece's EU Membership", pp. 131-148 in: Kabaalioglu, Haluk, Muzaffer Dartan, M. Sait Akman and Cigdem Nas (eds.), *Europeanisation of South-Eastern Europe: Domestic Impacts of the Accession Process*, Turkish University Association for European Community Studies (TUNAECS) and the European Community Institute at Marmara University - Istanbul, Turkey, 2005, pp.131-148.
13. "Greece: Overcoming Negative Stereotyping" (with S. Blavoukos), in T. König and S. Hug (eds) *The Politics of the 2004 EU Intergovernmental Conference*, London: Routledge/ECPR, 2006.
14. "Portugal: in Quest for a New Role" (with S. Blavoukos), in T. König and S. Hug (eds) *The Politics of the 2004 EU Intergovernmental Conference*, London: Routledge/ECPR, 2006.
15. "Cyprus: Under the Shadow of the Inter-Communal Conflict" (with S. Blavoukos), in T. König and S. Hug (eds) *The Politics of the 2004 EU Intergovernmental Conference*, London: Routledge/ECPR, 2006.
16. "State and financial system from the postauthoritarian period to the EMU", in Bitros G. and K. Prodromidis (eds) *Institutions, Politics and the Economy in Greece, 1950-2000, Economic Policy Studies*, EMOP, Athens, 2005.
17. "The US in the Era of Unilateralism: The Domestic Sources of G.W. Bush's Foreign Policy", in S. Dalis (ed.) *Transatlantic Relations: Cooperation or Competition?* Athens: Papazissis 2004, pp. 117-138 (in Greek).
18. "Civil Society and Citizenship in Postwar Greece" (with N. Mouzelis), in F. Birtek and Th. Dragona C. (eds) *Citizenship and the Nation State in Greece and Turkey*, Abington and New York: Routledge, 2005, pp.87-103 (also published in Greek by Alexandria) (revised version of article on the *Greek Review of Political Science*).
19. "A Comprehensive Reform Agenda: Report and Conclusions on the Conference Proceedings", in G. Pagoulatos (ed.) *UK/Greece: New Look at Relations*, Athens: ELIAMEP, LSE & British Council (2001), pp.73-100.
20. "Policy Paradigms, Convergence and Divergence: Lessons from the European South ", in E. Katsoulis (ed.) *The New Social Democracy. Policies, Institutions and Organizational Structures*, Athens: Papazissis 2002, pp. 231-63 (in Greek).
21. "The Scientific Contribution of Professor Pan Yotopoulos (in the eyes of a political scientist)", in *Towards a Third Way in Agriculture and Development. Minutes of Conference in Honor of Professor P.A. Yotopoulos*, Athens: National Foundation of Agricultural Research, 2002, pp.9-16 (in Greek).
22. "Perceptions of Governance in Greek State Retreat: Implementing Policy Change against Policy-Making Persistence", in Beate Kohler-Koch and Rainer Eising (eds) *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union*, London and New York: Routledge 1999, pp. 189-207.
23. "The Six Syndroms of Structural Adjustment or What Greek Privatization Can Teach", in Achilleas Mitsos and Elias Mossialos (eds.) *Contemporary Greece and Europe*, Aldershot, Sidney, Singapore and Brookfield USA: Ashgate 2000, pp.223-242.
24. "The Politics of Industrial Privatization: Spain, Portugal and Greece in a European Perspective" (with V. Wright), in Heather Gibson (ed.) *Economic Transformation, Democratization and Integration into the European Union: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2001, pp. 231-273.
25. "The Greek Banking System and its Deregulation: History, Structure and Organisation in a European Context", in Kostas Kostis (ed.), *Modern Banking in the Balkans and West European Capital in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Aldershot: Ashgate 1999, pp. 98-133.

26. "Intervention (on EU Institutional Reform and the Democratic Deficit)", in P. Kazakos et al. (eds) *The Maastricht Treaty Reform and its Importance for the Future of the EU*, Athens: Sideris, 1997, pp.121-27 (in Greek).
27. "Liberalism and the Social Issue: The American Case", in M. Angelidis et al. (eds) *Liberalism and the Social Issue*, Athens: Estia 1993, pp. 155-77 (in Greek).
28. "Privatization Policy and the Press (1990-93): Strategies of Support and Opposition by Four Daily Political Newspapers", in R. Panayotopoulou (ed) *The Construction of Reality and the Mass Media*, Athens: Alexandria 1997, pp. 464-89 (in Greek).

WORKING PAPERS

- "Politics, Labor, Regulation, and Performance: Lessons from the Privatization of OTE", GreeSe Hellenic Observatory Working Paper No. 46, LSE, April 2011 (with N. Zahariadis)
<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/pdf/GreeSE/GreeSE46.pdf>
- "Greece, the European Union, and the 2003 Presidency" (forward by President Jacques Delors), *Notre Europe* Institute, Research and European Issues, No.21, December 2002,
<http://www.notre-europe.asso.fr/> (available in English and French).
- "Governance in the EU social and employment policy: A survey", ELIAMEP working paper, 2007 (with M. Stasinopoulou and D. Sotiropoulos) <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/european-integration/publications-european-integration/gpagoulatos-mstasinopoulou-dsotiropoulos-governance-in-eu-social-and-employment-policy-a-survey/>

BOOK REVIEWS

- *Privatisation in the European Union. Public Enterprises and Integration*, by Judith Clifton, Francisco Comín and Daniel Díaz Fuentes, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42/5, December 2004, p.1064.
- *Banking on Privilege. The Politics of Spanish Banking Reform*, by Sofia Perez, *South European Society and Politics*, 4(2) 1999, pp.256-8.

OTHERS

- Introduction to the Greek edition of Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, *Comparative Government and Politics. An Introduction*, Athens, Kritiki, 2005.
- Introduction to the Greek edition of Spyros Economides and Peter Wilson, *The Economic Factor in International Relations*, Athens, Themelio, 2006.

WORK IN PROGRESS

- *Close to the Edge: The Political Economy of the European Periphery*, N. Hardiman, S. Dellepiane, S. Blavoukos, G. Pagoulatos, book manuscript in progress.
- "Politics, Privatization and Performance in Greek Telecommunications" (with N. Zahariadis) (under journal revision).
- "When EU Policy Programs met Mixed Market Economies: Fiscal Consolidation and Structural Convergence Revisited" (with S. Blavoukos) (paper presented at the June 2010 ECPR, available at <http://www.jhubc.it/ecpr-porto/virtualpaperroom/090.pdf>)