

## Dr Sotirios Zartaloudis

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### Education and qualifications

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- **London School of Economics and Political Science**

PhD in European Studies

**March 2013**

Title: 'Wielding soft power in a world of neglect: the impact of the European Employment Strategy in Greece and Portugal'

Supervisors: Prof. Kevin Featherstone and Prof. Waltraud Schelkle

Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education (PGCHE) – Full level

Fellow of the Higher Education Academy (FHEA)

**August 2012**

MSc in European Politics and Governance (graduated with merit)

**October 2006**

- **European University Institute, Florence**

**2007**

2<sup>nd</sup> Newgov-Connex Training Course Training Course on Research Design and Methods  
(qualitative and quantitative)

Competitive entry through submission of a PhD chapter

- **University of Crete, Greece**

**2004**

BA in Sociology – (Best annual performance every year; graduated with the best overall performance in the Social Sciences School; overall grade 9.8/10)

### Research interests

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My research lies at the intersection of EU and European politics along with comparative public policy and political economy. More specifically, my research interests are:

- Discourse and its effects on EU policy on the Eurozone crisis.
- Europeanization of domestic employment policies in Southern Europe.
- The impact of financial crisis on domestic policies and politics in Southern Europe.
- Migration and the Syrian Refugee crisis.

## Publications

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### Monographs

Zartaloudis, S. (2014) [The impact of the European Employment Strategy in Greece and Portugal: Europeanization through soft power in a world of neglect](#), Palgrave Macmillan

- Reviewed at peer-review Journals of: [Governance](#) and [West European Politics](#)

### Journal articles

Tsourapas, G. and Zartaloudis, S. (2022) [Leveraging the European Refugee Crisis – Forced Displacement and Bargaining in Greece’s Bailout Negotiations](#), *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60 (2), 245-263.

Papadimitriou, D. Pegasiou, A. and Zartaloudis, S. (2019) [‘European Elites and the Narrative of the Greek Crisis: A Discursive Institutional Analysis’](#) *European Journal of Political Research*, 58 (2), 435-464.

Zartaloudis, S. and Kornelakis, A. (2017) [‘Flexicurity between Europeanization and Varieties of Capitalism? A comparative analysis of employment protection reforms in Portugal and Greece’](#), *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55 (5): 1144-1161.

Moumoutzis, K. and Zartaloudis, S. (2016) [‘Europeanization mechanisms and process tracing: a template for empirical research’](#), *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54 (2): 337-352.

Zartaloudis, S. (2015) [‘Money, empowerment and neglect: the Europeanization of gender equality promotion in Greek and Portuguese employment policies’](#), *Social Policy and Administration*, 49 (4): 530–547.

Afonso, A., Zartaloudis, S. and Papadopoulos, Y. (2015) [‘How party linkages shape austerity politics: clientelism and fiscal adjustment in Greece and Portugal during the eurozone crisis’](#), *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22 (3): 315-334.

Zartaloudis, S. (2014) [‘The impact of the fiscal crisis on Greek and Portuguese welfare states: retrenchment before the catch-up?’](#), *Social Policy and Administration*, 48 (4): 430-449.

Zartaloudis, S. (2013) [‘Wielding Soft Power in a World of Neglect: The Europeanization of Greek and Portuguese Public Employment Services’](#), *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51 (6): 1178-1195.

Zartaloudis, S. (2011) [‘When soft law overshadows other European resources: Portuguese reconciliation policies and usages of Europe’](#), *European Journal of Social Security*, 13 (1): 106-124.

Zartaloudis, S. (2011) [‘Income inequality in Europe and the US: a partisan issue?’](#) *Journal of Social Cohesion and Development*, 6 (1): 5-25.

Monastiriotis, V. and Zartaloudis, S. (2009) [‘The Euro and labour market reform’](#), *International and European Politics (in Greek)*, 15: 203-244.

## **Book chapters**

- Papadimitriou, D. and Zartaloudis, S. (2020) 'Greece: A Critical Test Case of Europeanization', in S. Bulmer and C. Lequesne (eds.), [\*The Member States of the European Union\*](#), Oxford University Press, 3rd Edition, pp. 123-148.
- Papadimitriou, D. and Zartaloudis, S. (2015) 'European discourses on managing the Greek crisis: denial, distancing and the politics of blame', [\*The Politics of Extreme Austerity: Greece beyond the Crisis\*](#), Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 34-45.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2013) 'Greece and the recent financial crisis: meltdown or configuration?', in F. Panizza and G. Phillip (eds) [\*Moments of Truth: The Politics of Financial Crises in Comparative Perspective\*](#), Routledge, pp. 158-176.
- Featherstone, K., Kornelakis, A. and Zartaloudis, S. (2012) 'Conceptualising the Lisbon Agenda: Europeanisation and Varieties of Capitalism', in D. Papadimitriou and P. Copeland (eds.) [\*10 Years of the EU's Lisbon Agenda: Evaluating Success, Understanding Failure\*](#), Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 50-67.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2011) 'A compass or a spear? The partisan usage of Europe in Portuguese employment-friendly reforms' in P. Graziano, S. Jacquot and B. Palier (eds.) [\*The EU and the domestic politics of welfare state reforms: Europa, Europae\*](#), Palgrave Macmillan.

## **Book reviews (requested/commissioned by the relevant editors that published them)**

- Zartaloudis, S. (2019) [\*European Disintegration: A Search for Explanation by Hans Vollard\*](#), EuropeNow Journal, published by the Council for European Studies (CES) at Columbia University.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2015) [\*Politics in Contemporary Portugal: Democracy Evolving\*](#), *West European Politics*
- Zartaloudis, S. (2014) '[\*The Liminal Worker: An Ethnography of Work, Unemployment and Precariousness in Contemporary Greece\*](#)', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 22 (4): 544-546.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2010) '[\*Privatisation against the European social model: a critique of European policies and proposals for alternatives\*](#)', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44 (8): 1157-1158.

## **Media/policy outreach (selected)**

- Tsourapas, G. and Zartaloudis, S. (2021) [\*Using refugees as leverage? Greece and the instrumentalisation of the European migrant crisis\*](#), LSE blog 'EUROPP – *European Politics and Policy*'.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2019) '[\*How Could Tactical Voting Have an Impact on the General Election?\*](#)', University of Birmingham Social Sciences Blog.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2017) [\*Theresa May wins election, but ends up the biggest loser\*](#), Invited op-ed, The Globe and Mail, Canada.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2016) [\*From U-turn to U-turn: did pro-Brexit politicians mislead the British public?\*](#), invited op-ed at University of Birmingham Perspectives.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2016) Invited op-ed [\*Why Greece's Syriza Party Is Embracing Austerity Now\*](#), Fortune Magazine, US

- Zartaloudis, S. (2016) Invited op-ed [Why Grexit is not an option](#), *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2016) Invited commentary on Greek elections in the Conversation's [2015: the year in elections](#), January 1, 2016.
- Afonso, A., Zartaloudis, S. and Papadopoulos, Y. (2015) [Portuguese parties did not promise so much](#), *Financial Times*, Letters, September 21, 2015.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2015) [Greek election: Tsipras trounces his opponents, but at what cost?](#), The Conversation; republished at [EA World View](#).
- Zartaloudis, S. (2015) [Why Alexis Tsipras has called a snap election in Greece](#), The Conversation; republished at [EA World View](#). The article attracted more than 50.000 views making it one of most viewed pieces of the University of Birmingham for September 2015.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2015) [Syriza risks an EU exit in a referendum wracked with problems](#), The Conversation.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2015) [Greek elections 2015: the beginning of the end or the end of the beginning?](#), LSE blog *'The Euro Crisis in the Press'*.
- Afonso, A., Zartaloudis, S. and Papadopoulos, Y. (2014) [Lower levels of clientelism in Portuguese politics explain why Portugal handled austerity better than Greece during the crisis](#), LSE blog *'EUROPP – European Politics and Policy'*.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2014) [The financial crisis has badly damaged the Greek and Portuguese welfare states](#), LSE blog *'EUROPP – European Politics and Policy'*.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2014) [The impact of the European Employment Strategy in Greece and Portugal: soft power in a world of neglect?](#), LSE blog *'The Euro Crisis in the Press'*.
- Papadimitriou, D. and Zartaloudis, S. (2014) [Failure of Euro leaders will be felt at the polls](#), *Manchester Policy Blogs: Europe*.
- Papadimitriou, D. and Zartaloudis, S. (2014) [European Discourses on managing the Greek crisis: denial, distancing and blaming](#), *Political Studies Association* blog. Re-published at LSE's *Euro Crisis in the Press* blog [here](#).
- Zartaloudis, S. (2013) 'Greek politics and society in crisis: towards a meltdown?', *Cosmopolitics Journal*, Politics Society, University of Manchester.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2011) [Reforming Greek industrial relations: towards a better social partnership](#), Greek Public Policy Forum, 23-24 June 2011, Nuffield College, Oxford University.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2011) [Imposing cuts in Greece and Portugal: the sooner the better?](#), Dahrendorf Symposium blog, LSE and Hertie School of Governance.
- Monastiriotis, V. and Zartaloudis, S. (2010) [Beyond the crisis: EMU and labour market reform pressures in good and bad times](#), LSE *'Europe in Question' discussion paper series (LEQS)*, paper no. 23.
- Zartaloudis, S. (2007) [Equality: A political choice](#), *Policy Network*. Invited translation in Spanish: Zartaloudis (2008) 'La igualtat: una decisió política', *Fundació Rafael Campalans (FRC)*, No154 paper.

## Selected conference papers

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Papadimitriou, D. and Zartaloudis, S. (2022) Narrating Austerity: Analysing Competing Discourses on the Greek Bailout During Syriza's First Tenure in Office (January-July 2015), UACES 52nd Annual Conference, 5-8 September 2022, Lille, France. (also presented at Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) 79th Annual Conference, April 7–10, 2022, Chicago, Illinois.

Zartaloudis, S. (2022) 'Explaining Brexit: A Bullingdon Dinner Gone Wrong?', EUSA 17th Biennial Conference, May 19-21, 2022, Miami Florida.

Tsourapas, G. and Zartaloudis, S. (2019) 'Exploiting a Refugee Crisis? Syria, Forced Displacement, and Greece's Bailout Negotiations', 26th International Conference of Europeanists, Madrid, Spain, June 20-22, 2019.

Papadimitriou, D. Pegasiou, A. and Zartaloudis, S. (2018) 'European Elites and the Narrative of the Greek Crisis: A Discursive Institutional Analysis', ISA 59th Annual Convention, April 4-7 2018, San Francisco, California.

Papadimitriou, D. Pegasiou, A. and Zartaloudis, S. (2017) 'European Elites and the Narrative of the Greek Crisis: A Discursive Institutional Analysis', EUSA Fifteenth Biennial Conference, May 4-6, 2017, Miami Florida

## Principal Research Grants

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- ESRC Governance after Brexit Phase 1 Larger Grants (Grant Reference: ES/S007628/1), value: £569,629.60; Co-investigator; result: unsuccessful. **2018**
- Research grant, POLSIS, University of Birmingham (£5,000) **2016, 2017, 2018, 2019**
- Seed Corn Funding, Department of PHIR, Loughborough University (£ 580) **2014**
- 'Reconciling Work and Welfare in Europe' (RECOWE) Research Network of Excellence (30 partner institutions from Europe, European Commission FP6, Contract No. 028339-2, 2006-2011) (€ 4,500) **2008-2011**
- Central Research Fund grant; University of London (£ 1,000) **2010**
- Bodossakis Foundation Scholarship (MPhil/PhD) (£ 37,500) **2007-2011**

## Work Experience

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### **Associate Professor in Comparative European Politics**

Since August 2020

Department of Political Science and International Studies,  
University of Birmingham

### **Lecturer in Politics (research and teaching – open ended)**

August 2016-2020

Department of Political Science and International Studies,  
University of Birmingham

### **Lecturer in Politics (teaching focused)**

Department of Political Science and International Studies,  
University of Birmingham

January 2015-August 2016

### **Lecturer in Politics (research leave cover)**

Politics, History and International Relations,  
Loughborough University

September 2013-December 2014

### **Lecturer in International Politics (teaching focused)**

Politics, School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester

January 2012-June 2013

## Teaching experience

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### **Lecturer in Politics**

Department of Political Science and International Studies,  
University of Birmingham

Since January 2015

- Module convenor for: 'Research Skills and Methods', 'Varieties of Capitalism', 'International Relations Theory', 'Controversies in Contemporary Democracies: Comparative Perspectives' (UG) & 'Economic Diplomacy' (PG); Undergraduate/postgraduate tutor, dissertation supervisor/marker

### **Lecturer in Politics**

Politics, History and International Relations,  
Loughborough University

September 2013-December 2014

- Module convenor for: 'Comparative European Politics', 'Introduction to Democratic Government', 'Varieties of Capitalism' (UG) and the 'Politics of the European Union' (PG); Undergraduate/postgraduate tutor, dissertation supervisor/marker
- Awarded the Departmental 'Highly Commended Award' as one of the best lecturers for 2013-14

### **Lecturer in International Politics (teaching focused)**

Politics, School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester

January 2012-June 2013

- Responsible for lecturing and class teaching on 'European Union' (UG) German & Mediterranean politics (UG), and Europeanisation (PG); Undergraduate/postgraduate tutor, dissertation supervisor/marker
- Evaluated as excellent by 82%-96% of students (teaching reports available upon request)

### **Graduate Teaching Assistant**

#### **Geography & Environment Department, LSE**

**2007-2012**

- Class teacher and 2nd exam marker of the module ‘Contemporary Europe’; Lecturer on Pensions and Ageing in Europe
- TQARO teaching assessments (1= “excellent”, 5= “very poor”): 2008-09: 1.7; 2009-10: 1.8; 2010-2011: 1.5; 2011-12: 1.6 (teaching reports available upon request)

#### **Government Department, LSE**

**2008-10**

- Class teacher on ‘Government, Politics & Public Policy in the EU’
- TQARO teaching assessments: 2008-09: 1.0; 2009-10: 1.3 (teaching reports available upon request).

### **Lecturer**

**July 2010**

#### **Summer School for BSc students in Economics and Finance, South-Western University of Finance and Economics of China**

- Designed, lectured, and assessed on the course ‘European Studies’

### **Invited Lecturer**

**July 2008 & 2009**

#### **College of Europe, Bruges**

- Designed and delivered the course ‘Social and Employment Policy in the EU’ in the Summer school ‘European Union’ (targeting exclusively civil servants and policy practitioners/makers)
- Received best overall score on students’ teaching evaluations (teaching reports unavailable)

### **Management/administrative experience**

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- Deputy Head of Department and Director of Teaching and Learning and UG Programme Lead, Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham. (July 2022-now).
- Postgraduate Teaching Assistant (PGTA) and Part-Time Lecturer (PTVL) Coordinator, Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham. (September 2021-July 2022).
- Deputy Head of Teaching, School of Government, University of Birmingham (September 2018-2021).
- Director of Postgraduate Studies, Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham (August 2016-September 2018).
- Member of the Management Committee at Department of Political Science and International Studies (August 2016-August 2018 & July 2022-now).
- Member of the School of Government Academic Committee (August 2018-August 2021).
- Member of the University of Birmingham College of Social Sciences Quality Assurance (CQAAC) Committee (August 2018-2021).

- Participated in more than 20 University of Birmingham College of Social Sciences Misconduct Committee meetings as a Panel member (part of my role as Academic Integrity lead in School of Government).
- Co-organiser of Departmental Research Seminars, Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Responsible for Admissions (student recruitment through social media); Departmental Brussels trip; website co-ordinator, PHIR, Loughborough University (2013-2014).

## **Memberships and related positions**

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- Fellow of the Higher Education Academy (FHEA) – registration number: 51836
- Advisory member: Greek Politics Specialist Group, Political Studies Association (May 2014-now)
- Member of: British International Studies Association; University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES); European Union Studies Association (EUSA); European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR).
- Reviewer for: Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS); Journal of European Public Policy (JEPP); West European Politics; Government and Opposition; Policy Studies; Review of International Political Economy (RIPE); International Social Security Review (ISSR); European Integration Papers Online; Journal Politics; Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe, LSE; Manchester University Press.
- Invited reviewer for several textbooks of Oxford University Press, Palgrave Macmillan on comparative politics and comparative political economy.

## **Professional recognition**

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- Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) 2022-23 Academic Mentor.
- More than 60 appearances in Media as an expert on Brexit, European politics, the Greek and Eurozone crises. Examples of such appearances:
  - UK media (e.g. BBC news live; Sky News live; BBC Radio; ITV news; BBC West Midlands; Channel 4 and Channel 5 TV);
  - European media (e.g. Radio France International; BNL Dutch radio special podcast on Brexit; La Razon Newspaper, Spain), Greek (ANT1TV; REAL newspaper); Cypriot (Fileleutheros newspaper);
  - Global media (e.g. Al Jazeera, the Conversation; EANEWS.com; O Estado de S. Paulo, San Paulo Brazil; Veja Magazine in Brazil; and The Globe and Mail newspaper in Canada).



- Invited to Chair a Flash Talk Session in International Studies Association (ISA) 2020 Annual Convention, Honolulu, USA titled 'FE01: European Democracy and Brexit'.
- Invited to be Discussant of a panel in the ISA 2020 Annual Convention, Honolulu, USA, of Panel SA33: Human Rights in Economic Spaces: Trade, Economics and Labour.
- External Academic Expert for Institutional Approval Event for University of Essex partnership with Chulalongkorn University, BA Social Sciences (2019)
- Invited Keynote Speech at the School of Government and Society's Doctoral Colloquium Annual Conference (April 2018).
- Invited Lecturer at Stanford History Group on 'The concept of Democracy' in 2018 and 'The politics of France and Germany in historical perspective' and 'The history, aims and working of the European Union: myth and reality', in 2019, Stanford Village Hall, Stanford Bridge, WR6 6ST.
- Chair and discussant of panel 705 'Europeanisation within the EU (I)' at UACES 45th Annual Conference. Bilbao, Spain, 7-9 September 2015.
- Invited presentation at POLSIS [seminar](#) on Greek elections (03 February 2015)
- Awarded the departmental 'Highly Commended Award' (PHIR, Loughborough University) as one of the best lecturers for 2013-2014.
- Invited Lecture at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland titled 'The problematic future of the EU: why the bailouts show that the EU is not working well' (February 2014).
- [Book launch](#) of 'The Impact of European Employment Strategy in Greece and Portugal', European Institute and Hellenic Observatory, LSE (20 October 2014)
- Invitation to the roundtable of the 'Beyond "Core-Periphery"? The European Crisis and the Global Political Economy Graduate Conference', Manchester Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence (June 2014)
- Invited presentation at the Manchester Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence on the Greek crisis (February 2013)
- Invited lecture at the Foundation of German Business Fellowship Programme (UK Group) at the LSE, titled: 'Explaining the Euro crisis: all Greek to us?' (November 2012)
- Invited expert by PM Gordon Brown to a cabinet seminar on Social Mobility (February 2008).
- Invited expert at the EU's French Presidency *Work Attractiveness* OECD Meeting (October 2008).