

Volume #4

# Scholars' Policy Papers

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**Views of young professionals on current challenges**

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Our fourth volume entails four essays on a variety of topics: the first essay is dedicated to the European Capital of Culture 2023, Eleusis and its attempt to rebrand itself as a cultural and touristic hub. The second author sheds light to the role of the EU in the efforts towards the reunification of the island of Cyprus, prior to the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU, whereas the third is attempting an analysis of the content of the notion of globalization und the prism of realism and liberalism. The fourth essay is focusing on the axiom of sustainable and innovative solutions for the booming Greek tourism on the basis of the case of Mykonos.

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# The European Capital of Culture program as a tool for place branding:

## The transition of Eleusis from an industrial city to a cultural and tourist hub

Athina Fatsea

In recent years, cities have been using cultural events more often to improve their public image, spur infrastructural and urban development, and attract visitors, tourists, and investment. Within the context of the European Union (EU), the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) program constitutes such an opportunity for the selected cities. For the year 2023, the designation of the title to Greece, and specifically to Eleusis (Elefsina in modern Greek), together with Timisoara (Romania) and Veszprém (Hungary), provides an opportunity for the city to reintroduce itself to the international public as a cultural destination and to offer an alternative tourist experience.

### Introduction

The European Union (EU) attaches great importance to cultural heritage due to its positive effect on Europe's society, its economy and international relations. Cultural heritage contributes to the intellectual cultivation of citizens by establishing a creative relationship with the past and acting as a source of inspiration for the future. It also plays a key role in shaping

a sense of common European identity, history, and values, as well as in promoting diversity and unity across the continent. In recent years, cultural heritage has become an increasingly valuable resource for innovation, economic and urban development, for creating new jobs, and for strengthening social cohesion and well-being. In this context, the EU supports culture through a wide range of activities and funding programs, such as the European Capital of Culture.



## European Capital of Culture program

The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) program was initially called the European City of Culture and was proposed by Melina Mercouri. Athens served as the first titleholder when the program was launched in the summer of 1985. Initially called the European City of Culture, the program was renamed to European Capital of Culture in 1999. The program has undergone significant changes from an intergovernmental activity to an initiative supervised by the European Commission. Since 1985, it has been awarded to more than 70 cities across the EU and beyond. The ECoC program aims to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures, to draw attention to the cultural features that all Europeans share, to increase the sense of cultural belonging among Europeans, and to promote the role that culture plays in urban development. The designation of the European Capitals of Culture is based on a documented selection procedure with long-term planning, so that there is sufficient time for the preparation of the event at every level.

As it is clearly stated in the New European Agenda for Culture (2018)<sup>1</sup>, the successful 30-year history of the European Capitals of Culture demonstrates that culture is a transformative force for community regeneration. Indeed, economic and artistic activities are strengthened both during the preparation period and during the year of the event, while the participation of local communities is supported with the aim of maximizing the positive impact. In addition to the above, the specific city and the wider region to which it belongs become the focus of the attention of the rest of the European states, gaining greater recognition, as well as tourism and investment attractiveness. Furthermore, the designation process itself helps to leverage forces

and resources in the candidate city to pursue the main purpose with a multiplier effect to develop strategies and policies, which have a significant contribution to the prospects of the area, even if the city is not eventually chosen<sup>2</sup>.



## Place (re-)branding

Based on the above, we can see that the European Capital of Culture institution serves as a vehicle for place branding. Place branding is the process of developing a location's identity, image and partnerships in order to attract visitors, tourists and investment. The title designation can also help each city to introduce itself to the public and achieve an image renaissance. To this end, the European Capital of Culture provides funding and support for cultural events and projects that can contribute to the development of a vibrant cultural scene, drawing international attention to the city and providing a unique opportunity to promote itself as a cultural and tourist destination. At the same time, they reap important political, social, and economic benefits, as the preparation of the infrastructure, the planning of the events, and the final presentation of the planned artistic interventions follow a plethora of activities.

<sup>1</sup> European Commission (2018). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. A New European Agenda for Culture. [COM(2018) 267 final]. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52018DC0267>

<sup>2</sup> Boutsiouki S. (2015). Multilateral Cultural Diplomacy: The Council of Europe and the European Union in Cultural Diplomacy. Kallipos. p. 109.

## Eleusis, Greece

### Background

Especially for Greece, the designation of this title has proven to exert a positive influence on city's image and on local development<sup>3</sup>. More specifically, Greece has hosted the institution four times to date (Athens 1985, Thessaloniki 1997, Patras 2006 and Eleusis 2023). Experience has demonstrated that this European program constitutes a great opportunity for regenerating cities, upgrading their international profile, enhancing their image, giving new life into a city's culture, and boosting tourism.



The word "eleusis" means arrival in Greek. In the past, sworn to secrecy, people walked on the "sacred way", a 13-mile road from Athens, to take part in the Eleusinian Mysteries, one of the most important religious ceremonies of ancient Greece. Eleusis has always had a major position on the Greek map as a result of its port and strategic location. The city evolved as a production force after the 19th century, while being connected to the cultural sector. More specifically, the Aeschylia Festival is one of the most remarkable events in the field of culture and the arts and has been held in the city every year for the past 40 years.

### Current image

Eleusis is the smallest and oldest city to have been designated as the European Capital of Culture. The city differs radically from the stereotypical "sun and sea" tourism model of Greece. Eleusis represents an overlooked aspect of Greece, its productive sector. An important part of the country's GDP (around 30%) is generated in the wider area of Eleusis; a percentage that is almost equal to the contribution of tourism to the national GDP. The industry has generated many jobs for the community, but at the same time it has resulted in major environmental degradation due to the nature of the local economic activities. Nevertheless, in the past two decades, the industry has declined, green regulations and policies have been implemented on a wider scale, and much effort has been put to reduce pollution to the environment.

Differentiating itself from the other Greek cities, Eleusis made an alternative proposal as regards its candidacy for the program, as an industrial city struggling to find its position in the post-industrial period, using culture as its means of expression. Reflecting the unique characteristics of the city and the modern challenges faced by both Eleusis and Europe, the program, under the title "Mysteries of Transition" and with "Man/Society, Environment and Work"<sup>4</sup> as its central thematic pillars, brought together 192 Greek and 137 international artists from 17 different disciplines<sup>5</sup>.

Based on Article 12 of Decision No 445/2014/EU<sup>6</sup> of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing a Union action for the European Capitals of Culture for the years 2020 to 2033, cities designated for the same year should seek to develop links between their ECoC programs. In this context, Eleusis has already established

<sup>3</sup> Boutsiouki S. (2021). The Greek cultural diplomacy in the international context in Greek Cultural Diplomacy: Contemporary Approaches – Future Challenges. Kizlari D., Shehade M. (eds.). Athens: Epikentro. p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> 2023 Eleusis (2023). The History of Elefsina. Available at: <https://2023eleusis.eu/en/the-city/>

<sup>5</sup> European Commission (2022). Elefsina, European Capital of Culture 2023, Third Monitoring Meeting, Report by the ECOC Expert Panel, Virtual Meeting, November 2022. Available at: <https://culture.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2022-12/ecoc2023-elefsina-third-monitoring-report.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> European Commission (2014). Decision No 445/2014/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 April 2014 establishing a Union action for the European Capitals of Culture for the years 2020 to 2033 and repealing Decision No 1622/2006/EC. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:02014D0445-20210101&qid=1683610404657>

collaboration with European networks, other ECoC cities, as well as the EU-Japan Fest. Furthermore, the collaboration with European and international artists, cultural professionals and scientists includes European and international stakeholders from more than 30 countries. This connection among the designated cities and other partners builds a bridge for communication, as well as for knowledge and best practices exchange.

## Conclusions & Recommendations

The history of Eleusis has been one of continuous transitions over the ages. The city must once more make the shift to a new model of development in the present. Besides, transition is inscribed in the city's myth, that of Persephone, which symbolizes the change of seasons and the transition from the land of the dead to the land of the living. The ECoC institution can function as a bridge of the city's industrial tradition with art, highlighting culture at the center of local development in a new era for the city and its people.

After all, Eleusis can be seen as a micrograph of Europe, facing the same challenges that Europe is facing today at the micro-level. Following the economic crisis, this institution can promote the image of productive Greece, as well as its history, promoting dialogue and mutual understanding between Greeks and the other peoples of Europe. By viewing this program as the beginning of its cultural, economic, and social regeneration, this post-industrial city, which is plagued by unemployment and pollution but possesses a rich cultural heritage, can transform itself and find a position on the international travel radar, offering an alternative tourist experience.



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All photos of this article are from the official website: ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ | EUROPEAN CAPITAL of CULTURE <https://2023eleusis.eu/>

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# The EU's role in the mediation efforts for the reunification of Cyprus; a critical overview of the 1990-2004 period and Cyprus' pre-accession negotiations

Georgios Karanikas

The Cyprus' question is one of the most contentious and long-lasting unresolved issues in the world, having attracted the attention of the international community for several decades. Although not a directly engaged party to the dispute, the European Union constitutes a significant stakeholder, sharing some strong ties with all the parties involved. This policy brief aims to examine the role and the efficacy of the EU in the mediation efforts for the reunification of Cyprus, with a special focus on its pre-accession period (1990-2004). In that regard, we will try to investigate how and to what extent the EU has been an effective peace-broker in the resolution efforts for Cyprus and whether the EU's involvement has had a catalytic effect on the process or not. The main reasoning of the paper is that the EU's strategy was inconsistent and asymmetrical; although the EU tried to introduce an inclusive and "problem-solving" approach in the negotiations, it ended up applying "bargaining" tactics, feeding centrifugal tendencies to all sides.

## 1. Introduction: A historical eyesight on the Cyprus' question

The Cyprus issue initially arose as an issue of self-determination in the context of the decolonization process. In 1959, the Treaties of London and Zurich signed between Great Britain, Greece, Turkey, the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities, put an end to British rule over the island and recognized the independence of the Republic of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

The vast majority of the Greek-Cypriots, who made up 75% of the island's inhabitants, considered this development as a painful

compromise, which did not satisfy their national desires and the demands for self-determination and "Enosis" (Union) with Greece. Riots between the two communities ensued, culminating in a failed coup in 1974 instigated by a Greek-Cypriot paramilitary group named "EOKA-B" and Greece, which was under a Junta Regime at that time. This move gave Turkey the opportunity to invade the northern part of Cyprus (July 1974), which remains under military occupation. In 1983, the Turkish-Cypriots declared the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is not recognized by any member of the international community, with the only exception of Turkey.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding", *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 3 (2007), 355.

<sup>2</sup> Andreas Theophanous, *The Cyprus Question and the EU: The Challenge and the Promise*, 1st ed. (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2004), 25-34.



In 1977, negotiations between the parties started on the basis of the "Makarios-Denktaş High Level Agreement" which laid the foundations for the solution of the Cypriot conflict with the perspective of establishing a sovereign, bi-zonal, bi-communal Cypriot federal state, in compliance with the UNSC Resolution 367/1975. Since then, there have been several mediation efforts under the auspices of the UN and the UN Secretary General on the basis of these general guidelines. Nevertheless, an agreement has never been reached.

For systematic purposes of our study, we can divide the resolution efforts of the Cyprus dispute in three main periods<sup>3</sup>:

The first period (1960-1974) refers to the conflicts that arose between the two communities, the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot, but also the first attempts for inter-community negotiations aiming to a peaceful settlement of the issue, before the Turkish invasion of the island.

The second period concerns the period that followed the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, and the resolution/de-escalation efforts that took place in the following decades, and especially in the period before Cyprus's accession to the EU (1990-2004), leading to the rejection of the Annan Plan in the referendum held by the Greek-Cypriots (April 2004).

The third and last period starts from Cyprus' accession to the EU (May 2004), which led to the "Europeanization" of the issue, refers to the attempts for negotiations that took place afterwards leading to the Failure of the Crans-Montana talks in 2017, and the developments that followed until nowadays.

## 2. The role of the EU in Cyprus' pre-accession period (1990-2004)

Although not a directly involved party, the EU is undoubtedly interested in the dispute, sharing some significantly close ties with all

<sup>3</sup> Alexandros Fysekis, "The Cyprus' question and its resolution efforts; an overview", The SAFIA Blog, 3 June 2021, accessed 28 November 2022, <https://thesafiablog.com/2021/06/03/%CE%84%CE%BF-%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BA%CE%BF-%CE%B6%CE%B7%CF%84%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%B1-%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%B9-%CE%BF%CE%B9-%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%80%CE%B1%CE%B8%CE%B5%CE%B9%CE%B5%CF%82/>

the involved parties and stakeholders; namely, Greece has been a member of the European Economic Community (hereinafter referred to as EEC) since 1981, so did the UK since 1973, whilst Turkey applied for EEC membership in 1987.<sup>4</sup> In 1990, Cyprus submitted its application to become a member of the EEC, having the full support of the Hellenic Republic. Three years later, in 1993, the European Commission issued an opinion<sup>5</sup> favouring the application of Cyprus, the Greek-Cypriot President of which invited Turkish-Cypriots to get actively involved in the pre-accession negotiations. This invitation was not accepted by the Turkish-Cypriots and the Republic of Cyprus started (April 1998) and finally concluded the accession negotiations without their participation.<sup>6</sup>

At this point, it is imperative that we make the following observation: the EU never undertook a direct responsibility to endorse the resolution of the Cyprus' dispute, introducing a solution for it. On the contrary, it was content to support the continuation of negotiations in the formula of 'intercommunal talks under the auspices of the United Nations'<sup>7</sup> avoiding any possible internalization of the conflict, and to deal exclusively with accession negotiations. The latter can be divided in three main phases: 1990-1994, 1994-2001, 2001-2004.

## 2.1. The first-phase (1990-1994)

In 1993, the opinion (avis)<sup>8</sup> of the Commission highlighted that the Cypriot candidacy fulfilled the economic conditions to join the EEC. Cyprus

was facing no serious financial problems; however, it was noted that solving the political problem of the de facto division of the island would strengthen the European orientation of Cyprus. And vice versa, the EU accession perspective of Cyprus could have a catalytic effect on reaching an agreement between the two sides, offering a possible Solution At the Table (hereinafter SAT).<sup>9</sup>

Consequently, Cyprus was deemed eligible for membership, for the successful realization of which a "peaceful, balanced and lasting settlement of the Cyprus conflict" would be highly desirable.<sup>10</sup> It had thus become apparent that the accession negotiations and the resolution efforts would remain two distinct "parallel procedures" which, nonetheless, be inextricably interwoven.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the reactions inside but mainly outside the EEC, the European Council accepted the opinion of the Commission in 1993 and decided to help the transition of the island (politically and economically) towards full integration,<sup>12</sup> disbursing a sum of 136 million euros as pre-accession aid.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, the Commission recommended to the Council the start of substantive talks with Cyprus hoping that they would facilitate the accession negotiations and recommended that the application be reviewed after two years, meaning in 1995.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Theophanous, op. cit., 34-42.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Brewin, "European Union Perspectives on Cyprus Accession", *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, no. 1 (2000), 25.

<sup>6</sup> Fysekis, op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>8</sup> Commission of the European Communities, Commission Opinion on the Application by the Republic of Cyprus for Membership, COM(93) 313 final, Brussels, 30 June 1993.

<sup>9</sup> Lempereur & Colson, op. cit., 40-43.

<sup>10</sup> Commission of the European Communities, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> George Vassiliou, "Cyprus Accession to the EU and the Solution of the Cyprus Problem", *Interaction Council.org*, January 2004, accessed 28 November 2022, <https://www.interactioncouncil.org/publications/cyprus-accession-eu-and-solution-cyprus-problem>

<sup>12</sup> Eralp & Beriker, op. cit., 180-181.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph S. Joseph, *Cyprus Ethnic Conflict and International Politics: From Independence to the Threshold of the European Union*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 113.

<sup>14</sup> Eralp & Beriker, op. cit., 181.

## 2.2. The second-phase (1994-2001)

In 1994, the European Council at its Corfu Summit declared that Cyprus would be included in the next round of enlargement. This was a shift in the EU's stance towards the settlement of the Cyprus' dispute, which for the first time was no longer a precondition for Cyprus' accession to EEC.<sup>15</sup> The reason behind this change of attitude, was the insistence of Greece, which was already a member-state to condition the realization of the Eastern Enlargement by the accession of Cyprus, threatening to use its veto power.<sup>16</sup>

Another milestone in Cyprus' accession process were the conclusions of the Helsinki Summit in December 1999, stressing that "If no settlement has been reached by the completion of accession negotiations, the Council's decision on accession will be made without the above being a precondition. In this the Council will take account of all relevant factors."<sup>17</sup> Since then, the EU officially abandoned conditionality, at least as far as regards the Greek-Cypriot side. Besides, the Helsinki Summit granted Turkey conditional membership aiming to create a platform for communication and convergence between all the involved parties and encourage Turkey and Turkish-Cypriots to continue on the path of dialogue towards a viable and sustainable solution.<sup>18</sup>

Although at first glance this seems to be a "problem-solving" approach on behalf of the EU, this "asymmetry" in EU's conditionality towards Turkey and the Turkish-Cypriots on the one hand, and Cyprus on the other, affected the negotiations' dynamics in terms of pure "bargaining".

Turkish-Cypriots and Turkey escalated the tension, requesting recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the lifting of the EU's embargo on the TRNC exports of fruits and other products. The EU tried to respond with incentives, starting with a small financial aid on an annual basis that would benefit the Turkish-Cypriots and bring the two sides closer.<sup>19</sup>

In the years that followed, Cyprus' accession negotiations proceeded rapidly; nevertheless the conflict-resolution negotiations remained stable. In 2001, Turkey threatened to annex the TRNC if Cyprus' accession to the EU was completed without the Turkish-Cypriots. The EU responded accordingly, insisting on the implementation of the Helsinki conclusions by the Turkish Government.<sup>20</sup>

## 2.3. The third phase (2001-2004)

From the Greek-Cypriot perspective, the shift in the EU's stance deprived Cyprus of the motivation and the necessary political capacity of its government to get involved in constructive and inclusive negotiations, with a "problem-solving" mindset. On the contrary, it offered Greek-Cypriots a "Solution Away From the Table" (SAFT)<sup>21</sup> narrowing the avenues for concessions. Followingly, the impression that prevailed among the Greek-Cypriots was that the accession of Cyprus to the EU would strategically upgrade its position, and would constitute a political capital that could be used in the future to achieve a more convenient solution to the dispute.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 184.

<sup>18</sup> Tocci, op. cit., 45.

<sup>19</sup> Eralp & Beriker, op. cit., 183.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Lempereur & Colson, op. cit., 46.

In 2001, UN-sponsored negotiations started all over again, leading to the drawing of an extensive 137-page plan, drafted by the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, hereinafter referred to as the “Annan Plan”. The plan was presented to the parties and the three guarantors in November 2002 and was supposed to be put to simultaneous referenda in both communities before the end of March 2003, prior to the signing of the Accession Treaty of Cyprus and nine other countries to the EU (Athens, April 2003).<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime, the Commission and the European Council in Copenhagen verified that Cyprus would join the EU in May 2004, no matter whether the Cyprus conflict would be resolved or not. Bi-communal negotiations based on the Annan Plan continued until the following year, with the EU highly endorsing the resolution of the problem.<sup>23</sup>

The referenda took place, one year later than initially expected, on 24 April 2004. The Turkish-Cypriots accepted the plan by 65%, whilst the Greek-Cypriots rejected it with a 76% majority of the votes. In May 2004, Cyprus became a member of the EU, although the EU legislation “is suspended in areas where the government of Cyprus does not exercise effective control”.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. The role of the EU in Cyprus’ post-accession period (2004-2022)

Following the accession of Cyprus to the EU in 2004, the Cyprus’ question has been “Europeanized”<sup>25</sup> and the EU is no longer a neutral agent but an interested third-party to the dispute.<sup>26</sup> Since then, the EU has made

several efforts to facilitate the process and promote the economic integration of the Turkish-Cypriots. For example, in 2006 the European Commission launched an Aid Program for the Turkish Cypriot Community<sup>27</sup>, aiming to counter off its de facto isolation from the international community and prepare the ground for a comprehensive solution to the problem. In that regard, we observe again a shift of the EU’s stance towards a



more inclusive “problem-solving” approach rather than conventional “bargaining tactics”. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of this policy remains finite. Ever since the rejection of the Annan Plan, there have been several rounds of talks and negotiations between the two sides, leading to the grand failure of the negotiations in Crans-Montana in 2017. Since then, notwithstanding some efforts, the Cyprus issue remains unresolved still to this day.

<sup>22</sup> Eralp & Beriker, op. cit., 184.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 185.

<sup>24</sup> European Union, “Cyprus-Country Profiles”, accessed 28 November 2022, [https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/country-profiles/cyprus\\_en](https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/country-profiles/cyprus_en)

<sup>25</sup> Fysekis, op. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Larry Crump and Ian A. Glendon, “Towards a Paradigm of Multiparty Negotiation”, *International Negotiation* 8, no. 2 (2003), 198, 202.

<sup>27</sup> European Commission, “Aid Programme for the Turkish Cypriot community”, accessed 28 November 2022, [https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/find-funding/eu-funding-programmes/support-turkish-cypriot-community/aid-programme-turkish-cypriot-community\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/find-funding/eu-funding-programmes/support-turkish-cypriot-community/aid-programme-turkish-cypriot-community_en)

<sup>28</sup> Crump & Glendon, op. cit., 197.

## 4. A critical overview & conclusions

Apart from the deep-rooted nature of the conflict and its significant geopolitical background, the negotiations for the resolution of the Cyprus' dispute are complicated, because they involve many parties (primary parties, agents opposing, neutral etc.) and many interacting variables.<sup>28</sup>

Following Cyprus' application to join the EEC in 1990, the EU has become increasingly involved in the resolution process; it has thus followed a "mixed bargaining" strategy that combined not only integrative bargaining tools but also distributive sticks and carrots.<sup>29</sup> However, none of them sufficed to promote a sustainable agreement and avoid the deadlock of the negotiations. Nonetheless, the future of Cyprus is now inseparably connected with the EU, and so is the last opportunity for a reunification of the island. The pursuit of a solution must remain a priority for the EU, in its capacity as a directly interested third party to the dispute.<sup>30</sup> For this purpose, the EU shall make use of its normative power to overcome all the obstacles whilst using a wide range of long-term or short-term means, mechanisms and methods that can allow it to act as an efficient conflict resolution system.

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<sup>28</sup> Crump & Glendon, op. cit., 197.

<sup>29</sup> Goodpaster, op.cit., 313-315

<sup>30</sup> Crump & Glendon, op. cit., 202.

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# Globalization under the Prism of Realism & Liberalism

Vassilis S. Kessidis

The essay was written with the contribution of Mr. Aimilios Saber.

## Definition of Globalization

What is widely called 'Globalization' is nothing more than a phenomenon, a process that continues to unfold and weaken the power of state borders, moving security, trade and economic issues from the level of the state-dominated international mosaic to the level of supranational transgression (Chibber, 2022: 170). The end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the eventual predominance of the 'first world' over the 'second world', ushered humanity into an era in which the capitalistic model of economy gradually prevailed throughout the world, building a global system. Globalization is not just the consideration of phenomena and situations at a global level, but also the existence of local phenomena that are linked to globalization in their manifestation (Sassen, 2003: 3). The realization of the existence of globalization entails a revision of the content of traditional concepts (Sassen, 2003: 3).

## The Prism of the Realist School of Thought

It is precisely this realist assumption of the central role of the state in the international system that primarily confronts the challenge of the globalization theory, which downplays the role of the individual state (Hill, 2017: 46). Kenneth Waltz, the founder of neorealism or structural realism, emphasizes that anarchy is an enduring condition of the international system and that any change in the relations and interactions between states is not capable of mitigating its anarchic nature (Gofas; Tzifakis, 2017: 39). Waltz points out the difference between structural changes and changes at the level of the units of the international system, i.e. states (Waltz, 2000: 6). He responds to those who accuse realism of outdated assumptions that the anarchy of the international system is unchanging in time and space because there are no changes in the system, but only within the system, in the interactions between states (Waltz, 2000: 5).





Both Morgenthau's classical realism and Waltz's neorealism or structural realism are based on the same assumption, namely that the internal and external environments of states are clearly distinct (Iraklidis, 2015: 43-44). Waltz in particular stresses that all states in the international arena perform the same functions based on the distribution of power between them, regardless of other factors, including the internal environment.

The evolution of globalization and its intensification has led to the consolidation of a global capitalistic system, where non-state actors are becoming increasingly important in international relations. The economic interdependence between states is becoming even tighter. Some tend to believe that the growing economic interdependence implies a weakening of the role of the nation-state in the international system and the emergence of non-state actors as protagonists in international affairs. Indeed, some theorists go so far as to consider that economic globalization more or less alters the structure of the international system, which may even challenge the timelessness of international anarchy (Evagorou, 2005: 10 - 11).

Realism, in all its manifestations, rejects the position that states are losing the dominant role they used to play. For realism, any interdependence between states exists solely to serve the interests of the powerful states. In particular, interdependence for realists is a weak factor in the pursuit of power. Interdependence is a relationship between states with asymmetric capabilities, with weak states being dependent on strong states (Waltz, 2000: 15 - 16). Realists argue that the non-state actors of the international system born out of economic interdependence and globalization are nothing more than tools to serve the national interests of the great powers, which have breathed life into these non-state actors.

In the case of NATO, Kenneth Waltz rejects the role that many are quick to attribute to it, claiming that after it was established, it acquired its own consciousness and self-activity in defending its members. He sees NATO, like any other transnational cooperation, as a partnership between states - which never cease to pursue their national interests - among which the hegemonic state takes control of the organisation. For Waltz, NATO is nothing more than an extension of the US foreign policy over European states (Waltz, 2000: 20). Schwarzenberger observes that non-state

actors have negligible capacities to influence international relations, as their scope of activities is limited to a specific aspect of international relations, which is absent from high policy issues (Evagorou, 2005: 12).

For the realists, globalization, as a concept and historical context, is not non-existent, but it is neither something new, nor something as great as it is projected, nor can it, as a process, bring about changes in the anarchic structure of the international system. First of all, for realists, economics follows politics (Wivel, 2004: 8). If, therefore, globalization is primarily an economic phenomenon, then its role in the global sphere is clearly dependent on political developments (Wivel 2004: 8). Secondly, globalization bears similarities to processes of the early 20th century, while the spread of markets, production and trade today recall the years before the outbreak of the First World War (Wivel 2004: 8), which was ultimately not averted despite the interdependence between states.

Third, realists like Waltz complain that the so-called economic globalization is limited to certain parts of the world, with regions such as Africa and others not largely integrated into the global market (Wivel, 2004: 8 - 9).

Anders Wivel (2004: 9) describes the three ways through which globalization is studied by realists, in which the role of globalization in the international system can be that of: a) the independent variable, b) the dependent variable, and c) the intervening variable.

As an independent variable, globalization, in cooperation with other factors, contributes to the increase of economic and - by extension - national power, and in the long run to the increase of the military power of the state in question.

While economic robustness is a factor of national prosperity, in the long run the structure of the international system is changing, with forces being strengthened over others. Unlike liberals, realists see globalization as a source of competition between states, and not of convergence.

In particular, they underline that since in the era of globalization the success or failure of states is based on their successful economic and fiscal policies, the "economy" factor becomes more important for states, and thus becomes the reason

for the intensification of competition between them (Anders Wivel, 2004: 9).

Randall Schweller discusses that economic growth indicators are unequal compared to each other in globalization, leading to a situation in which the status quo of the international system is under revisionary pressure (Wivel, 2004: 9).

As a dependent variable, globalization is perceived as a consequence of American hegemony in the international system. In particular, Wolfowitz (Wivel, 2004: 9) points out that interdependence between states takes place within the context of American



economic and political primacy, while Kapstein (Wivel, 2004: 9) rules out the prosperity of a state if it does not align itself with American economic forces to enable it to modernise its economy.

In short, globalization is only possible with the existence of a hegemonic state in the international system, whose projection of hegemonic power will force the economic policies of other states to conform to that of the hegemonic power.

## The Prism of the Liberal School of Thought;

The liberal school of thought is divided into four theories, institutional liberalism, interdependence liberalism, sociological liberalism, and democratic liberalism.

Institutional, interdependence and sociological liberalism are the macro level of analysis (in the international system always). The first emphasizes the contribution of international institutions, the second emphasizes economic interdependence as a factor of stability and peace, while the third

examines the impact of transnational contacts between individuals and social groups.

The only Liberalism that is distinguished as a Micro level of analysis is the democratic one, which examines relations between states with a democratic regime that are also peaceful.

Worth mentioning is the Kantian Triangle of analysis, regarding the process of applying the theory of Liberalism on the structures and conditions of a modern society.

Stephen M. Walt (International Relations: One World, Many Theories, Spring 1998) states how the main challenge to Realism came from a wider "family of Liberal theories". On the one hand, Liberal thought supported how economic self-sufficiency and independence would discourage states from using and enforcing force against one another because such rivalry would threaten the prosperity of both. Another aspect, usually associated with President W. Wilson, saw the spread of democracy as a key to world peace, based on the theory that democratic states were by far more peaceful than authoritarian ones.

And another, recent theory argues that international organizations/structures such as the International Energy Agency and the International Monetary Union could help overcome and bypass selfish behaviour of states, mainly by encouraging states to promote direct gains for greater benefits of forging partnerships.

Although Liberals considered the idea that new transnational factors, particularly such as multinational integration, were gradually increasing the power of states, more generally Liberalism saw states as central players in International Relations. All Liberal theories established that cooperation was more offensive than the defensive version of realism, but each perspective offered a different formula for promoting it.

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# Sustainable and Innovative Solutions for Greek Tourism: The case of Mykonos.

**Minas Lyrstis**

This essay is part of a broader analysis of Mr. Lyrstis on the same topic.

The Greek tourism industry faces significant challenges, including overcrowding, environmental impact, seasonality, and low profitability. A new approach is needed to address these issues and ensure a sustainable and innovative future. This paper aims to propose sustainable tourism policies and strategies for Mykonos.

## Introduction

Greece's tourism industry significantly contributes to its economy, accounting for 18% of its GDP and employing over 900,000 people. However, the rapid growth of tourism has put pressure on the country's infrastructure and natural environment and has highlighted the need for sustainable and efficient tourism practices. Mykonos is one of the most popular

tourist destinations in the Mediterranean, attracting millions of visitors yearly. While tourism has brought significant economic benefits to the island, it has also created environmental, social, and cultural challenges that must be addressed. This paper highlights the importance of the sustainability of tourism. It uses Mykonos as an example by proposing policies that could effectively be used to steer the island in that direction.

## Background and importance of sustainability

Tourism significantly contributes to the global economy, generating revenue and employment for many countries. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the tourism industry contributed by 10.4% to the world's GDP in 2019, and this number is expected to increase in the upcoming years<sup>1</sup>.

It has also significantly contributed to Greece's economy for decades. Greece's beautiful landscapes, rich history, and cultural heritage attract millions of visitors annually<sup>2</sup>. The country's tourism industry experienced significant growth during the 1960s and 70s, with many tour operators and hotels being established to cater for the increasing number of tourists<sup>3</sup>.

In recent years, the sector has seen a steady increase in both visitor arrivals and revenue. In 2019, Greece welcomed a record 34 million visitors, generating over €18 billion in tourism revenue<sup>4</sup>.

Mykonos, a small island in the Cyclades, is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Greece, attracting over 2 million visitors annually<sup>5</sup>. However, the island's tourism boom has also brought challenges such as overcrowding, environmental degradation, and a strain on infrastructure. Over-tourism has become a significant concern for residents and visitors, highlighting the need for sustainable tourism practices.

Sustainable tourism is "tourism that considers the impact of its activities on the environment, the economy, and the local community, and seeks to minimise negative impacts while maximising positive ones". This approach to tourism ensures that the natural and cultural resources are protected, and the benefits of tourism are shared equitably among the local communities.

Implementing sustainable tourism practices has several benefits. Firstly, it helps to preserve the natural environment and biodiversity, which is vital for the tourism industry<sup>6</sup>. Secondly, it promotes the conservation of cultural heritage and traditions, which attract tourists to experience authentic and unique destinations<sup>7</sup>. Thirdly, it helps create employment and income opportunities for the local communities, reducing poverty and supporting economic development.

Efficient tourism refers to using resources optimally, reducing waste and minimising negative impacts on the environment and local communities. This can be achieved through measures such as energy and water conservation, waste reduction, and the use of renewable energy sources. Efficient tourism practices go hand in hand with sustainable tourism practices. The latter has significant economic benefits, such as cost savings for tourism businesses and increased competitiveness in the global market. Furthermore, it helps reduce the tourism industry's carbon footprint, responsible for 5% of global greenhouse gas emissions.

<sup>1</sup> "Travel and Tourism Economic Impact 2021," World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC). [Online]. Available: <https://wttc.org/Research/Economic-Impact>. [Accessed: April 19, 2023].

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<sup>3</sup> A. N. Yiannakis and L. A. Gibson, "The Tourism System: An Introductory Text," 5th ed., Channel View Publications, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> "Greece welcomes a record of 34 million international visitors in 2019," Enterprise Greece. [Online]. Available: <https://www.enterprisegreece.gov.gr/en/about-us/press-office/news/greece-welcomes-record-34-million-international-visitors-2019>. [Accessed: April 7, 2023].

<sup>5</sup> "Mykonos," Greek National Tourism Organization. [Online]. Available: <https://www.visitgreece.gr/en/greek-islands/cyclades/mykonos>. [Accessed: April 7, 2023].

<sup>6</sup> S. Gössling, C. Scott, and D. Hall, "Tourism and Water: Interactions, Impacts and Challenges," Channel View Publications, 2013.

<sup>7</sup> J. N. M. Garrod and C. M. Goodey, "Consumption, Culture and Tourism," Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

In conclusion, sustainable and efficient tourism practices are essential for the long-term viability of the tourism industry. It helps to protect the environment, preserve cultural heritage, and benefit local communities. Implementing sustainable and efficient tourism practices can bring economic, social, and environmental benefits, making it a win-win situation for all stakeholders involved.

## Case Study: Mykonos Island

Mykonos is a popular tourist destination in Greece, known for its beautiful beaches, vibrant nightlife, and traditional architecture. However, Mykonos is familiar with the current challenges facing Greek tourism. This chapter will identify potential opportunities for sustainable and innovative tourism in Mykonos, including cultural and gastronomic, wellness and health, digital and experiential, and community-based tourism.

1. **Cultural and Gastronomic Tourism:** Mykonos has a rich cultural heritage and a unique gastronomic tradition that can be leveraged to attract tourists interested in cultural and culinary experiences<sup>8</sup>. The island's traditional architecture, museums, and archaeological sites can be promoted to attract visitors interested in cultural tourism. Additionally, the island's unique cuisine, which includes fresh seafood, local cheeses, and traditional pastries, can be promoted to attract visitors interested in gastronomic tourism.
2. **Wellness and Health Tourism:** The island's natural beauty and serene environment make it an ideal location for wellness and health tourism<sup>9</sup>. Opportunities for wellness and health tourism in Mykonos include yoga and meditation retreats, spa treatments, and outdoor activities such as hiking and cycling.

3. **Digital and Experiential Tourism:** The increasing use of technology in tourism presents opportunities for Mykonos to attract tech-savvy travellers interested in digital and experiential tourism<sup>10</sup>. Mykonos can leverage its natural and cultural resources to create immersive and interactive visitor experiences, such as virtual tours, augmented reality experiences, and interactive exhibits.



4. **Community-Based Tourism:** Community-based tourism offers opportunities for visitors to connect with local communities and learn about their traditions and ways of life. Mykonos can promote community-based tourism by allowing visitors to participate in cultural activities, such as traditional dance and music performances, and by promoting local handicrafts and products.

Thus, Mykonos has excellent potential for sustainable and innovative tourism practices that can help overcome the current challenges facing Greek tourism. Cultural and gastronomic, wellness and health, digital and experiential, and community-based tourism are potential opportunities for sustainable and innovative tourism in Mykonos. These opportunities can

<sup>8</sup> "Mykonos Cultural Heritage," Mykonos Tourism Organization. [Online]. Available: <https://www.mykonos.gr/en/culture>. [Accessed: April 7, 2023].

<sup>9</sup> "Wellness & Health," Mykonos Tourism Organization. [Online]. Available: <https://www.mykonos.gr/en/wellness-health>. [Accessed: April 7, 2023].

<sup>10</sup> Buhalis, D. (2016). Technology as a catalyst of change: enablers and barriers of the tourist experience and their consequences. The Routledge Handbook of Transport Economics, 125-141.

help diversify the island's tourism offering, promote sustainable tourism practices, and support the local community.

## Policy Proposals

This chapter proposes four policy proposals to promote sustainable tourism in Mykonos. These proposals aim to diversify and promote alternative forms of tourism, develop sustainable tourism infrastructure and governance systems, enhance the digitalisation and innovation of tourism, and foster a collaborative and responsible tourism ecosystem. The proposals are based on best practices and recommendations from international organisations and academic literature on sustainable tourism. By diversifying and promoting alternative forms of tourism, developing sustainable tourism infrastructure and governance systems, enhancing the digitalisation and innovation of tourism, and fostering a collaborative and responsible tourism ecosystem, Mykonos can ensure the long-term sustainability of its tourism industry.

### Proposal 1: Diversify and Promote Alternative Forms of Tourism

The first proposal aims to diversify and promote alternative forms of tourism in Mykonos. This can be achieved by focusing on experiential and sustainable tourism products and services that reflect the island's unique identity and cultural heritage. This proposal aligns with the United Nations World Tourism Organisation's (UNWTO) vision of "tourism that thoroughly considers its current and future economic, social, and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment, and host communities"<sup>11</sup>.

### Proposal 2: Develop a Sustainable Tourism Infrastructure and Governance System

The second proposal aims to develop a sustainable tourism infrastructure and governance system in Mykonos. This includes sustainable transportation, waste management, energy efficiency, and water conservation measures. It includes stakeholder engagement and community participation in tourism planning and management processes. This proposal aligns with Gössling, Scott, and Hall's (2015) recommendations, which argue that "sustainable tourism development requires a holistic approach that integrates economic, environmental, and social concerns"<sup>12</sup>.

### Proposal 3: Enhance the Digitalisation and Innovation of Tourism

The third proposal aims to enhance the digitalisation and innovation of Mykonos tourism. This can be achieved by leveraging new technologies and data analytics to improve tourism management, visitor experience, and competitiveness. This proposal aligns with the UNWTO's vision of "tourism that is smarter, more competitive, and more responsible, using innovation and technology to enhance sustainability"<sup>13</sup>.

### Proposal 4: Foster a Collaborative and Responsible Tourism Ecosystem

The fourth proposal aims to foster a collaborative and responsible tourism ecosystem in Mykonos. This includes encouraging public-private partnerships, social entrepreneurship, and responsible tourism practices that benefit tourists and locals. This proposal aligns with the UNWTO's vision of "tourism that fosters mutual

<sup>11</sup> United Nations World Tourism Organization. "Sustainable Tourism." <https://www.unwto.org/sustainable-development> . Accessed April 7, 2023.

<sup>12</sup> Gössling, S., Scott, D., and C. M. Hall, eds. *Tourism and Water: Interactions, Impacts, and Challenges*. Channel View Publications, 2015

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understanding, respect, and tolerance between cultures and societies, promotes human rights and gender equality, and contributes to social development and poverty reduction<sup>14</sup>."

## Conclusion

To achieve the objectives outlined in this plan, a collaborative effort will be required from various stakeholders, including government agencies, local businesses, community organisations, and tourism industry associations. Implementing the proposed measures will require significant resources and funding, and a phased approach will be needed to ensure the successful implementation of the policies.

But by doing so, Mykonos can ensure the long-term sustainability of its tourism industry while preserving its unique natural and cultural heritage. Benefiting the local economy, environment, and community and ensuring that future generations can continue to enjoy the island's beauty and charm. Additionally, Mykonos will act as an example for the reformation of the entire Greek tourism industry.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

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