THE GREEK-BALKAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION DURING AND AFTER THE ECONOMIC CRISIS (2008-2018). A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GDP, FOREIGN TRADE AND FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT

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Abstract: *The main focus of this study is Greek-Balkan economic cooperation during and after the economic crisis (2008), and so a comparative analysis of GDP, foreign trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) of the Balkan countries (BCs) is presented. Using relevant literature, GDP quantitative data, foreign trade and FDI are analyzed in relation to economic cooperation during the period 2008-2018. In addition, trade balance data, volume of trade, terms of trade and FDI in BCs and Greece are examined. This paper analyzes the impact of the crisis on GDP, trade balance, post-crisis evolution of FDI and the impact of the crisis on Greek foreign trade with the other BCs. Within the framework of Greek-Balkan economic cooperation, FDI development in Greece and the BCs during and after the crisis is discussed and correlated with GDP, foreign trade and FDI changes. The main findings suggest that during the early crisis years all metrics declined for all BCs, including Greece, but in the following years showed signs of recovery.*

Key words: Greece, Balkans, economic cooperation, economic crisis.

JEL Classification Codes: F10, R10

1. INTRODUCTION

The 2008 economic crisis extensively affected the macroeconomic environment in Balkan Countries (BCs) and this was reflected in GDP decline which, in turn was the result of declining private and public consumption as well as reduced investment activity. Private consumption decline is attributed to decreasing disposable household income caused by the reduction in salaries, a significant drop in employment levels, bank funding allocation and pervasive uncertainty. However, the recession caused a drastic trade deficit reduction, as import costs, which had previously been more than double export earnings, decreased due to restricted consumption and investment activity and exports grew because of increased efforts by exporters to gain access to foreign markets in order to compensate for the lower internal market demand. In the wider South Eastern Europe (SEE) region, the apparent slowdown in the initially strong recovery of most economies can be attributed to three external factors. The first is connected to the real economy and the slowdown of growth in 2011 compared to 2010 in the major non-European economies (USA, Japan and China) as well as the slowdown in Europe itself. The second element is related to the presence of large banking groups in the Eurozone and the weakening in credit expansion in most countries. Finally, the third element refers to the role of the financial markets and increasing "risk aversion" in investor behaviour,

which possibly triggered funding problems in countries with high levels of short-term debt, as could be seen during the 2008 crisis (Bank of Greece, 2011).

During the period 2008-2018, GDP increased in all BCs, with the exception of Greece, where it dropped by 23.66%. Kosovo presented the largest increase, followed by Northern Macedonia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Albania, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia. All BCs reported GDP growth rates in the same period, which were twice those of both Eurozone and EU28 members. However, in 2008-09 GDP then declined in almost all BCs as a result of the economic crisis (Table A1, appendix section). BCs GDP per capita (2018/2008). After continuing to fall till 2012 it returned to growth in some countries, with significant increases of more than one third recorded in Romania, Bulgaria, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia and Albania. Once again, Greece was an exception as growth rates further declined by a quarter during the same period (Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/).

This paper examines Greek-Balkan economic cooperation during and after the economic crisis, using GDP, foreign trade and FDI quantitative data for the period 2008-2018. In particular, Greek and the BCs GDP, Greek exports and imports between BCs, trade volume and balance, trade terms and FDI have been examined. The research questions focus on;

- The consequences of the crisis on GDP and its gradual evolution afterwards.
- The effect of the crisis on foreign trade between BCs,
- Changes in the FDI structure in Greece and BCs during and after the crisis.
- Changes in GDP, foreign trade and FDI related to Greek-Balkan economic cooperation, particularly the differences between the "BCs inside the European Union (EU)" and "BCs outside the EU" groups.

In order to study these questions, a comparative analysis of GDP, foreign trade and FDI of Greece and BCs in and outside the EU is employed in the fourth section of this paper. The BCs are classified into two distinct groups, the "BCs in EU" and the "BCs not in EU" and the two groupings are compared across all indexes of this study. Paired samples t-test are applied and the Pearson correlation coefficient calculated among each BC and the two groups for each index in order to indicate the existence of significant difference between the mean values of the groups as to determine whether there are correlations among BCs.

The second section provides an extensive literature review of studies regarding the issue. The study of how the economic crisis affected the economic cooperation between Greece and the BCs is presented in the third section. The fourth section provides a comparative analysis of GDP, foreign trade and FDI of Greece and BCs in and outside the EU and the fifth section presents the paper's conclusions.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In 2016, the international commodity trade declined for a second successive year, the 16.0 trillion in total exports was 502 billion dollars or 3% less than in 2015. Consequently, global exports fell to US $16.1 trillion, a level last seen in 2008, when the global credit crisis began. China ($2.1 trillion), the U.S.A. ($1.5 trillion) and Germany ($1.3 trillion) were the largest export-led economies. These three countries account for 30% of global exports. In general terms, global exports were dominated by developed economies with a total of 53% of the export market, followed by developing economies with 44% (82% originating in Asia and Oceania and 18% in Africa and Latin America) and transition economies which made up 3%. In 2016, as in the past, developing and transition economies recorded surpluses in their trade balances whereas developed economies recorded deficits, Though the surpluses in developing and transition economies were lower than they had been three years previously. Of the total 16 trillion dollar global export market, 5.8 trillion dollars, or 36.3% was accounted for by the

trade of commodities among developed economies, i.e. traded between North to North countries, while the trade among developing and transition economies, South to South countries, amounted to $4.3 trillion or 27% of global exports (UNCTAD, 2017).

In research carried out into the degree to which economic conditions contributed to the reduction in sales for businesses during the global economic crisis of 2008-09 in six developing Asian nations; China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan and Thailand it became clear that that the economic conditions of the period negatively affected sales and that the use of trade credit played an important role in relative business performance. In particular, when financing conditions became less favourable, more economically vulnerable enterprises resorted to the use of credit in their dealings with suppliers. Those businesses that could replace external financing with trade credit had better sales performance (Coulibaly, Sapriza, Zlate, 2011, p. 17-18).

The financial crises negatively influenced the efficient and secure allocation of resources and in terms of international trade this manifested itself in reduced access to trade credit for businesses, insurance contracts, exchange rate volatility and imperfect information concerning their own creditworthiness as well as that of foreign institutions, etc. Historical events such as the Great Depression demonstrate that the shift to protectionism is more pronounced during periods of economic uncertainty and that this can put in jeopardy relatively rapid economic recovery. In response to this threat, a growing number of developed and developing nations have established public financing programs for exports in which the State guarantees export credit and insurance contracts in the hope that government intervention will correct market inefficiencies (Herger, 2009, p. 14).

By analysing both restrictive trade measures applied in both, developed and developing countries in political response to the 2008 financial crisis and the interaction of applicable multilateral WTO trade rules, we can see that these rules have effectively been used as a bulwark against protectionism, prompted by concerns over possible global recession. However, the WTO rules seem to be insufficient for current, rapidly evolving economic conditions, where international trade encompasses far more complex processes than before, as more countries, enterprises and products are involved with and trade rules reflect a wider range of non-commercial issues such as environmental protection. Therefore, the largest developed and developing economies appear to be increasingly favouring regional or bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) so replacing the previous multilateral trading framework rules which did not cover such considerations (United Nations, 2010).

Bastian (2011), when considering the impact of the Greek crisis on the neighboring countries of South East Europe (SEE), highlights the main effects of the Greek crisis on three key areas; the volume of external trade, Greek remittance flows and the borrowing costs of Greek and local banking subsidiaries. The secondary effects of the global economic-financial crisis on the SEE region are parameters of their real economies (decreasing demand, enterprise and household over-indebtedness, rising unemployment). Over the past decade, direct Greek foreign investments abroad along with the increasing trade volume and number of economic migrants have aided the economic transition of Greece's neighbors'. However, the economic crisis means that the positive effects of such developments may not fully become apparent for a long time (Bastian, 2011, pp. 95-96).

The full impact of the global economic recession negatively affected the (South Eastern Europe) SEE region in various ways: a) between 2000 and 2008 the external debt to GDP ratio increased from 45% to 51% in both central and south east Europe, b) FDI was predicted to decline and c) the exports were close to zero in most BCs in 2009. For all BCs, the European Union was then, as it is now, the most important export destination, however, due to a sharp drop in consumer demand in Germany, France, Italy, and Austria, exports to these

countries declined and this adversely affected the BCs economically. Greece had enjoyed a growing trade surplus with BCs for more than a decade and most of this was reinvested in the neighboring economies in commercial banks, telecommunications, construction and the food industry. This geographical proximity also prompted Greek enterprises to invest in emerging markets in the Balkans, however, this geographical proximity also had a negative effect on Greece's neighbors as BCs' economies were significantly affected by external conditions in the region, especially in terms of bilateral trade relations, the spread of financial trade credit and FDI between the BCs and Greece (Bastian, 2009).

Greek exports to BCs remained exceptionally high and their share markedly increased over the previous 15 years, making Greece one of the top ranking exporters in the region. This increase in exports to neighboring countries indicated a significant change in the Greek export activity structure prompted by changes in the area. The most important enterprises export incentives were the economic and political environment, as well as the potential profit accruing from exports to the markets of SEE region. Research into the motivations of those operating in the Balkan business environment showed that 22% of all respondents placed a high value on market characteristics, the economic and political environment, and a competitive advantage in quality. By correlating the competitive advantage in quality with the variables of profit margin and relative market share, a clearer picture of the connection between these variables and initial estimations can be discerned. All initial forecasts made by businesses where either slightly better than or close to their original expectations (Liargovas and Skandalis, 2008).

It can be argued that huge opportunities opened up in Western Balkan Countries (WBCs) for Greek trade and entrepreneurs in terms of investment, since they were already important markets for Greek products. At the same time, the WBCs introduced more liberal, free-market orientated business regimes with the aim of improving the flow of services as well as promoting the establishment and operation of foreign enterprises. Financial services, construction, telecommunications and retail sectors in particular offered investment possibilities investment opportunities, (Michalopoulos, 2002). However, the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU established more international players in these markets, posing a challenge for the Greek enterprises in terms of strategic planning and their competitive advantages (Kitonakis, Kontis, 2008). During the accession process of the Central Eastern European Countries (CEECs), trade and direct foreign investment were considered a crucial part of reforming and modernizing the new members' economies, and so key factors contributing to growth and convergence with the rest of the EU. This trade liberalization between the EU and CEECs in turn, further intensified bilateral relations in the region. Measurement models examining the factors affecting overall and sector trade flows and foreseen trade possibilities between the CEECs and trade flows among the CEECs and EU countries stipulate that geographical and economic factors must be taken into account when considering the effect in terms of trade during the EU's enlargement process in the region. Although the potential for cross-border trade for most (CEECs and EU) in the short term has been weakening, there are still some expanding trade possibilities under other conditions. Empirical analysis indicates a further EU-CEECs improvement of trade relations, mainly due to the economic growth of new member states is possible.

We can conclude that the CEECs internal trade will continue to grow faster than that between the rest of the EU and its new members. This may be a consequence of industrial strategies by Western multinationals, which led to the appearance of capital flow within CEECs. Trade flows tend to increase since income levels and demand structures become convergent, and international production networks expand (Caetano, Galego, 2006).

Greece has also benefited from participation in the Eurozone in terms of foreign trade advantages by eliminating currency risks and currency conversion costs. Additionally, the external trade liquidity improved, as Eurozone trade with non-Eurozone countries means that transactions such as invoicing and payment for imports, are now performed in euros. On the other hand, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates that the Greek economy's competitiveness has been reduced by to 25% in the last 10 years. Furthermore, most Greek product prices that are determined internationally are constantly converging with those charged by other EMU countries, so driving up prices, which in turn adversely affects foreign trade (Kotios, Pavlidis and Galanos, 2011).

Traditionally, the key elements which affect direct foreign investment in a country relate to the existence of productive factors necessary for foreign capital and multinational enterprises, which include untapped resources, low-cost labour and other comparative advantages. Modern approaches to attracting FDI take into account the provision of adequate public infrastructure, such as road and rail links, ports, energy and telecommunications networks. Furthermore, they also take into account human resource quality, training, and specialization, the technological level of the host nation as well as the existence of external economies of scale in terms of business networks, joint research programs, etc.. Additionally, the size of the country's market as well as that of the wider region, taxation and financial incentives, the degree of bureaucracy and the existence of business infrastructure in the form of industrial zones, technology parks etc. plays a role. For example, after 1990 investments from the EU member states to the former socialist countries of CEE can be linked to low labour costs, low tax rates, adequate human resources existence, the geography of the area, and the CEE countries' vicinity to major European markets (Magoulios, 2006).

3. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS EFFECT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH BCS

3.1 The effect of the economic crisis on Greece's foreign trade with BCs

Through an examination of the progress of Greek exports during the decades (1980-2007), it is clear that exports have been strongly affected by previous global recessions. During the global recession of 1981-1983, exports declined in 1981 by 17%, remained stagnant in 1982, rose slightly in 1983 (4%) and only surpassed their 1980 levels six years later. During the 1991-1993 recession, the impact appears to have been delayed with exports in 1991 increasing by 8% compared to 1990. They then rose again by 14% in 1992, but fell by 15% in 1993. During the recession of 1996-1998 exports fell by 6% in 1997 and approached 1996 levels only in 2000. In the recession of 2000-2002, exports declined by 2% in 2001 compared to 2000 and dropped by 1% again in 2002. Recovery began in 2003 and continued until 2007. It is clear from this data, that Greek exports have been adversely affected by global recessions over the last three decades, however, the length and depth of those recessions within Greece suggest that the reduction in global economic activity is not the only cause of negative domestic consequences.

Export activity is also affected by endogenous causes, such as competitiveness and the mix of export. As with most Greek exports, income elasticity of demand compared with disposable income is high (e.g. olive oil). For some, it is directly linked to industrial and manufacturing activities as is the case with aluminum, copper, iron and steel products. In the current crisis, there is no doubt that a weakening in economic activity has lead to lower demand for imports in developed countries and elsewhere and so a reduction in international trade, with the accompanying unfavorable effects on Greek exports. Sluggish global economic

activity and weak growth or even international trade stagnation affect Greek exports overall, as the vast majority of exported Greek products do not constitute basic needs.

Those products that are negatively impacted by this process are related to industrial production, for example, non-ferrous metals and products directly related to building projects and steel construction (e.g. cement, steel, aluminum) as they are directly affected by declines in industrial and manufacturing activity. In addition this same downturn can be seen in sectors where income elasticity of demand is high as is the case with clothing and most Greek exported food products along with those sectors affected by increased international competition and declining international demand (Hellenic Exporters Association, Export Research & Studies Center, 2008).

According to The Foundation For Economic and Industrial Research et al. (2011) the financial crisis affected the entire Greek business community, with sales falling by 20% during the period 2009-2011. Many enterprises were vulnerable to issues connected to liquidity with 48% of businesses reporting issues with their customers or suppliers and 36.5% of enterprises faced issues due to the limited bank funding flows. A critical determinant of the financial performance of enterprises is how export orientated they are since exporters tend to be more resilient in times of economic crisis since they can partially compensate for losses in domestic turnover with export sales. Exporters expected sales growth in 2011 and there was considerable scope for improving both the export base and export intensity, as only 45% of the country's enterprises were exporters (70% in manufacturing) (SEV et al., 2011).

BCs exports (excluding Montenegro's) rose significantly in the years between 2008 and 2018, ranging from 53.88% in Croatia to 245.8% in Albania. Overall, BCs export growth was 80.55%, compared to 49.55% for EU28 nations, while Serbia, Northern Macedonia and Romania more than doubled their exports in the same period. However, 2008 and 2009 for BCs' exports in total saw a decrease of 17.68%. BCs' share of EU28 exports, after declining in the early years of the crisis, showed signs of improvement (Eurostat, international trade).

BCs imports declined from 2009 to 2012 as a result of the economic crisis, in particular, in 2008/2009 most saw a reduction of a quarter in imports, while in some countries it was more than one third. After 2014, however, imports figures gradually recovered, reaching pre-crisis levels or even exceeding them (Eurostat, international trade).

Throughout the period 2008-2018, BCs recorded a negative trade balance, however, in the first years of the crisis, trade deficits began to shrink as declines in imports outpaced those of exports (Table A2, appendix section).

During the period 2008-2009 for almost all BCs saw both exports and imports decline, at approximately the same rates as those in EU28 states. On the other hand for the period 2008-2018 there was an increase in exports and imports, as well as an improvement in the trade balance, along with a reduction in deficits. Export growth was significantly higher than in the EU28, while imports grew at about approximately the same rate (Table 1).

Table 1: Changes in imports and exports in BCs for the period 2008-2018 (%)

Countries	Changes in exports 2018/2008	Changes in exports 2009/2008	Changes in imports 2018/2008	Changes in imports 2009/2008	Changes in trade balance 2018/2008
Albania	245.8	10.95	32.40	-14.14	-16.12
Northern Macedonia	117.2	-28.20	64.49	-22.01	-7.93
Bosnia & Herzegovina	77.30	-17.59	18.30	-24.16	-23.04
Bulgaria	84.79	-23.05	27.93	-32.74	-59.46
Greece	57.58	-15.13	-17.50	-18.90	-53.47
Kosovo	87.75	-15.81	73.41	0.31	71.85

Croatia	53.88	-21.58	14.74	-26.89	-18.65
Montenegro	-3.84	-33.41	0.94	-34.62	1.84
Romania	100.1	-13.64	44.93	-31.84	-34.36
Serbia	122.3	-20.04	29.60	-28.03	-47.64
Slovenia	61.28	-19.42	42.19	-24.33	-18.02
BCs in Total	80.55	-17.68	21.13	-25.73	-42.30
EU28	49.55	-16.40	24.90	-22.00	-91.85

Source: Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/, gross domestic product at market prices, analysed data

All BCs (except for Montenegro) became more export orientated, if we look at the proportion of GDP made up of export earnings (exports/GDP). Over the period from 2008 to 2018, this proportion increased from 65.62%, compared to 23.1% in the EU28. Albania, Greece, Serbia and Kosovo saw the largest increases with Bulgaria and Slovenia exhibiting lower levels. Greek figures were well below the BCs average throughout review period and 2018, Greece was in the last place, below Montenegro and Kosovo (Table 2).

Table 2: BCs' export orientation (exports/GDP) for the period 2008-2018 (%)

Countries	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	Change 2018/2008 (%)
Albania	7.98	12.99	15.97	18.32	16.52	19.01	138.2
Northern Macedonia	39.83	35.66	41.18	43.76	45.46	54.59	37.05
Bosnia & Herzegovina	26.30	27.97	29.96	31.73	31.49	36.30	38.02
Bulgaria	40.85	40.90	49.41	51.41	49.40	50.09	22.61
Greece	8.77	9.36	14.37	15.16	14.41	18.10	106.3
Kosovo	5.04	6.72	5.45	5.83	5.10	5.47	8.53
Croatia	19.96	19.74	21.91	24.03	26.79	28.59	43.23
Montenegro	13.40	10.55	11.53	9.63	8.24	8.57	-36.04
Romania	22.97	29.82	33.81	34.89	33.68	33.23	44.66
Serbia	19.71	22.40	24.49	29.77	34.69	36.51	85.23
Slovenia	61.18	60.57	69.05	71.94	73.68	81.79	33.68
BCs Total	20.13	22.27	28.03	30.25	30.70	33.34	65.62
EU28	10.00	10.53	12.47	12.09	11.64	12.31	23.10

Source: Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/, analyzing data

Greek international freight trade with the BCs (2018/2008) increased by 16.39%, which is lower than exports to third countries (84.95%), the EU28 (39.29%) and the worldwide total (57.64%). Exports to Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Albania declined, while those to to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Northern Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria increased. The BCs share of Greek exports decreased from 19.93% to 14.62%. During the early crisis years (2010/2008) Greek exports to BCs declined overall by 23%, except for those to Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was part of a reorientation of Greek export destinations away from the EU to third countries, with a resulting decrease in the EU's share of Greek exports, amounting to 11.63% and a 26.4% decrease in the BCs' share (HSA, 2021).

Greece's imports from the Balkan countries 2008 to 2018 increased by 41.26%, compared to a decrease of 22.9% in imports from the EU28, 11.10% drop in imports from third countries and 17.47% drop in imports from the world. Imports from Montenegro, N. Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina decreased, while imports from Kosovo, Croatia, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Serbia grew. While the BCs increased their share of Greek imports by 71.03%, this figure decreased when it comes to the remaining EU states (-6.07%). During the period 2008-10 imports into Greece decreased (-8.44%) (HSA, 2021).

Greece's trade balance with BCs was in surplus during the period (2008-2018). The terms of trade with Bulgaria, Croatia for the years 2012, 2014, Romania for the years 2016, 2018 and Slovenia for the years 2010, 2014, 2016 while remaining favourable, became less so. For the period 2008-18 Greece's trade surplus shrank by 47.78%, while in the same period Greece's trade deficit with the EU, third countries and the world came to 55.21%, 51.40% and 53.46%, respectively (Table A3, appendix section).

On the other hand, Greece's terms of trade with BCs remained favourable throughout the period 2008-2018, with the exception of trade with Bulgaria, Croatia (for the years 2012, 2014), Romania (for the years 2016, 2018) and Slovenia (for the years 2010, 2014, 2016), though Greece's these advantageous terms of trade with BCs gradually worsened (17.72%). During the same period Greece's terms of trade with the EU, third countries and the world overall was negative, but it later improved due to a decrease in this negative metric of 82.35%, 110.3% and 90.62%, respectively in the (Table 3).

Table 3: Greece's terms of trade (exports/ imports) with BCs for the period 2008-2018

Countries	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	Change 2018/2008
Albania	6.04	4.71	5.05	4.51	3.30	4.42	-26.82
Northern Macedonia	1.28	1.99	4.85	3.49	2.56	3.08	140.6
Bosnia & Herzegovina	3.70	10.9	10.5	6.49	8.14	10.76	190.8
Bulgaria	1.07	0.97	1.13	0.93	0.81	0.79	-26.16
Kosovo	289.2	279.6	221.0	31.1	24.84	32.49	-88.76
Croatia	8.14	1.12	0.49	0.67	1.52	1.83	-77.51
Montenegro	2.57	2.18	3.19	3.88	378.2	30.6	1090
Romania	1.52	1.21	1.19	1.04	0.99	0.99	-34.86
Serbia	1.81	1.08	1.84	1.27	1.49	1.37	-24.30
Slovenia	2.67	0.63	1.35	0.58	0.97	1.87	-29.96
BCs in total	1.58	1.33	1.65	1.30	1.19	1.30	-17.72
EU27	0.34	0.42	0.53	0.56	0.59	0.62	82.35
Third countries	0.29	0.43	0.60	0.59	0.61	0.61	110.3
World	0.32	0.42	0.57	0.58	0.60	0.61	90.62

Source: HSA (2021), analysed data

3.2 The Economic Crisis's impact on Greek Investment in BCs

BCs' FDI inflows declined (47.78%) throughout the period 2008-2018. Although increases were recorded in Albania, Northern Macedonia and Slovenia, decreases were noted in all other countries, with the largest recorded ones being in Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. The BCs' share in world's FDI dropped by 2.86% in 2008 and 1.70% in 2018 with an overall decline of 47.78% (Table A4, appendix section).

In particular, FDI inflows to BCs as a proportion of GDP during the period 2008-2018, shrank in Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Northern Macedonia, while increasing in Greece, Slovenia and Albania. During the same period, FDI worldwide decreased more than one third (Table 4).

Table 4: FDI inflows to BCs as a GDP percentage per BC (%)

Countries	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	Change 2018/2008
Albania	7.56	8.81	6.94	8.39	9.26	8.46	11.90
Northern Macedonia	5.91	2.26	1.47	2.40	3.51	5.81	-1.69
Bosnia & Herzegovina	5.24	2.36	2.29	2.96	1.89	2.36	-54.96
Bulgaria	18.11	3.06	3.15	0.81	2.08	3.18	-82.44
Greece	1.27	0.11	0.71	1.13	1.42	1.95	53.54

Kossovo	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
Croatia	7.55	1.93	2.67	4.99	3.50	1.91	-74.70
Montenegro	21.13	18.37	15.16	10.83	5.17	9.04	-57.21
Romania	6.32	1.80	1.86	1.61	2.66	2.45	-61.23
Serbia	8.21	4.80	3.37	4.26	5.76	7.82	-4.75
Slovenia	2.19	0.22	0.73	2.10	2.79	2.62	19.63
World	2.33	2.07	1.96	1.72	2.54	1.52	-34.76

Source: https://unctadstat.unctad.org/

According to several studies cited, Greece lack of success in attracting FDI (as a proportion of GDP) compared to other BCs can be explained by the following factors;

- Greece small internal market and its distance from larger, more developed EU ones.
- It's inability to exploit its initial advantages as the only EU member state in the Balkans and as an FDI host country focused on the Balkan and Black Sea areas.
- The loss of the comparative advantage of low labour costs, which the developing countries such as neighbouring BCs retained along their lower tax rates.
- Limited research and technology, lack of human resources especially in areas which require high levels of training and specialization.
- An absence of technical and other social infrastructure and business networks.
- Public sector bureaucracy and weaknesses.
- Greece's inability to emphasize and exploit the comparative advantages of its tourism, culture, agricultural sectors.

These factors offer an explanation of Greece's FDI deficit and suggest that Greece not only lacks the advantages of developing countries, it is also missing the structural characteristics of developed ones. Consequently, in order to boost Greece's FDI attractiveness it should avoid the policy of lowering labour costs adopted by some developing countries, and instead look to the future by adopting the higher standards of developed countries. This can be achieved by focusing on research and technology, upgrading human resources, investing in infrastructure modernization and public services, along with a more outward-looking business environment which would contribute to systematizing the country's comparative advantages (Magoulios, 2006). BC's FDI in Greece (2008/2018) increased by 200%. FDI from around the world increased by 9.54%, while FDI from Europe decreased by 12.71% (Table 5).

Table 5: Net FDI by non-Greek residents in BCs (in million €)

Countries	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018*	change 2018/2008(%)
Albania	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	1	1	2	-
Northern Macedonia	0	0	0	0	-4	0	0	3	4	0	0	-
Bosnia & Herzegovina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
Bulgaria	5	1	-2	1	1	4	2	-4	32	21	28	460
Kossovo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
Croatia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
Montenegro	0	0	1,0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	-
Romania	-2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	6	400
Serbia	0	0	1	-1	0	0	1	1	1	2	10	-
Slovenia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-1	-
BCs in total	3	2	2	1	-2	5	7	2	41	25	9	200
Europe	2,980	1,624	301	456	1,718	1,923	736	463	1,800	2,735	2,601	-12.71
World	3,071	1,754	249	822	1,354	2,122	2,022	1,143	2,498	3,085	3,364	9.54

Source: Bank of Greece, analyzed data, *temporary data

Overseas Greek FDI (2018/2008) declined worldwide (75.51%), while investments in Europe fell 66.45% and in other BCs declined 125.81%. The largest decline in Greek investments was recorded in Romania, Albania, Bulgaria and Serbia, though an increase was

recorded in N.Macedonia and Slovenia. The sharp drop in Greek FDI in BCs can be explained by the fact that large Greek businesses during this period faced issues of liquidity (Table 6).

Table 6: Net FDI of Greek residents origin by BC (in million €)

Countries	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018*	Change%
Albania	44	135	55	14	11	-1	26	-28	-25	-54	-144	-227.2
Northern Macedonia	-11	-7	8	19	26	30	105	37	46	47	42	281.8
Bosnia & Herzegovina	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	-
Bulgaria	122	131	67	-19	-58	-727	517	499	235	-484	36	-70.49
Kossovo	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	-
Croatia	9	7	24	1	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	-
Montenegro	48	110	-37	-262	-269	-78	181	-94	48	-1	-300	-525
Romania	121	6	2	-16	-16	-1	2	-43	27	-100	-61	-49.58
Serbia	2	3	0	2	4	0	0	0	1	2	3	50
BCs in total	337	387	-11	-261	-302	-778	831	371	335	-589	-424	-125.81
Europe	924	1,334	1,191	1,251	462	-350	2,214	1,321	-1,885	-3	310	-66.45
World	1,650	1,479	1,176	1,275	527	-592	2,273	1,422	-1,506	149	404	-75.51

Source: Bank of Greece, analyzed data, *temporary data

4. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GDP, FOREIGN TRADE AND FDI BY GREECE AND OTHER BALKAN COUNTRIES, BOTH IN AND OUTSIDE THE EUROPEAN UNION

In 2008 GDP across the BCs was increasing, except for Greece, which saw its GDP decrease by 0.2%. In 2009, as a result of the 2008 financial crisis, GDP declined in all BCs, except for Albania. By correlating changes in the GDP across BCs with exports-imports between Greece and BCs, we can see that 2009 was marked by a deep recession in almost all BCs. This was also accompanied by a sharp decrease in Greek exports (22.23%), as well as Greek imports (23.98). Moreover, most of the countries that saw the deepest recessions in 2009 were also the countries that saw the largest decline in their exports to Greece (in order; Slovenia, Croatia, Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria) as well as in the countries with the sharpest decrease in Greek imports. Subsequently, we can conclude that the severity of the recession in BCs is directly related to the pattern of exports-imports and trade volume between them and Greece (Magoulios, Chouliaras 2014).

In general, FDI flows to the Balkans fell by 47.78% throughout the period 2008-2018. While an increase was recorded in Albania, Northern Macedonia and Slovenia, there was a general decrease in all other countries, with the largest recorded being in Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro (Table 7).

Table 7: GDP changes, Exports (X), Imports (M), Trade Balance (X-M), Balkans' FDI for the period 2008-2018 (%)

Countries	GDP 2018/2008	GDP 2009/2008	X 2018/2008	X 2009/2008	M 2018/2008	M 2009/2008	X-M 2018/2008	FDI* 2018/2008
Albania	45.24	-1.56	245.8	10.95	32.40	-14.14	-16.12	32.85
Northern Macedonia	58.51	-8.26	117.2	-28.20	64.49	-22.01	-7.93	25.76
Bosnia & Herzegovina	28.44	-2.82	77.30	-17.59	18.30	-24.16	-23.04	-53.29
Bulgaria	50.69	0.49	84.79	-23.05	27.93	-32.74	-59.46	-79.10
Greece	-23.66	-1.84	57.58	-15.13	-17.50	-18.90	-53.47	-5.37
Kossovo	73.22	4.81	87.75	-15.81	73.41	0.31	71.85	0
Croatia	7.46	-6.11	53.88	-21.58	14.74	-26.89	-18.65	-78.20
Montenegro	50.26	-3.52	-3.84	-33.41	0.94	-34.62	1.84	-48.95
Romania	38.40	-14.58	100.1	-13.64	44.93	-31.84	-34.36	-56.35
Serbia	20.00	-9.03	122.3	-20.04	29.60	-28.03	-47.64	-3.01
Slovenia	20.64	-4.40	61.28	-19.42	42.19	-24.33	-18.02	16.50
BCs in total	9.00	-5.81	80.55	-17.68	21.13	-25.73	-42.30	-47.78
EU 28	21.52	-5.78	49.55	-16.40	24.90	-22.00	-91.85	-

Source: Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/, *https://unctadstat.unctad.org/, foreign direct investment

For the sake of this analysis, the BCs are classified into two distinct groups: the "BCs in EU" group which includes countries that are members of the EU, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania and Slovenia and the "BCs not in EU" group that includes countries that are not members of the EU, which includes Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia. The question is whether these two groups present two distinct patterns of behavior, with respect to the indices of our study. Since the question is posed at a group level, it can be answered by comparing the data from both groups (Chapsa, Athanasenas, Tabakis, 2019), For that reason, in the following figures the average index of the groups "BCs in EU" and "BCs not in EU" is shown along with Greece and the specific BC or BCs with the best performance in each index. Furthermore, the results of paired samples t-test and the Pearson correlation coefficient of Greece, individual BCs and the two groups; BCs in EU and BCs not in EU are indicated for each index.

Figure 1 shows the GDP of Romania, Greece and both BC groups. Both BC groups show little change in terms of GDP whereas Greece's performance was most affected by the crisis as its GDP continued decreasing until 2016. On the other hand, Romania's GDP constantly increased and in 2018 had almost reached the levels seen in Greece at the beginning of crisis. There is a significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% confidence interval (CI) of the difference is [79432.63,86688.64]. Greece's GDP is not correlated with the GDP of Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and BCs in EU. Neither is Bulgaria's GDP correlated with the GDP of BCs in EU, Croatia's with Kosovo and N. Macedonia and BCs in EU with Albania, Kosovo and N. Macedonia. However, Greece's GDP is negatively correlated with GDP of BCs not in EU.

Figure 2 shows the BCs exports. The BCs not in EU show just minor fluctuations in their exports data, although there is a slight upward trend. BCs in Europe increased their exports over the 10 years of the crisis and their performance converged with that of Greece. On the other hand, Romania's exports increased, except for the years 2009 and 2018 and were more than 1.63 times higher than the exports of the average of the BCs in EU. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [19922.65,25929.57]. Correlation coefficients indicate that there are very strong positive correlations between the exports of Greece, Romania, BCs in EU and BCs not in EU. It should be noted that the only country without a demonstrable correlation with other BCs is Montenegro.

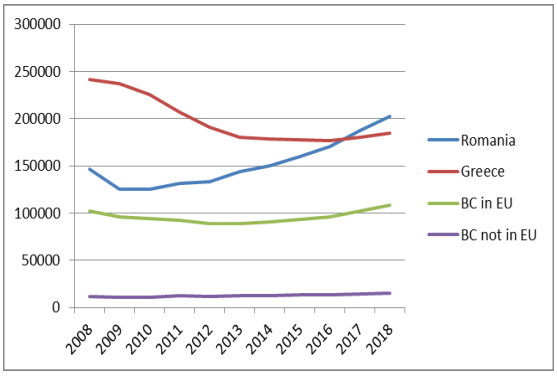

Figure 1. GDP of BCs (2008-2018)

Figure 2. BCs Exports (2008-2018)

Figure 3 shows the BCs imports. Once again, the BCs not in EU group data shows minor fluctuations in terms of their imports in average albeit it with a slight overall upward trend. The BCs in Europe group slightly increased its imports over the 10 years of the crisis

and their performance converged with that of Greece. Romania's imports increased, except for the year 2009 and overall were more than 1.8 times higher than the export average of the BCs in EU after 2016. The data for Greece, Romania and BCs in EU follow a similar pattern, which shows that there is a convergence in import values among these countries, however, there is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [27058.88,32296.44]. The only very strong correlation appears between imports of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU (correlation is 0.979 and p-value is 0.000.) Kosovo's imports are not correlated with Montenegro and the only country that is not correlated with the others is Greece.

Figure 4 shows the trade balance of the BCs members. Slovenia is the only BC with a positive trade balance, a trend starting in 2012 while Greece's trade balance is the weakest among all BCs. It should be noted that the BCs not in EU have, on average, a greater negative trade balance than the BCs in EU. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [-8517.88,-4517.25]. The figures for BCs not in EU are not correlated with the data for most of the other BCs.

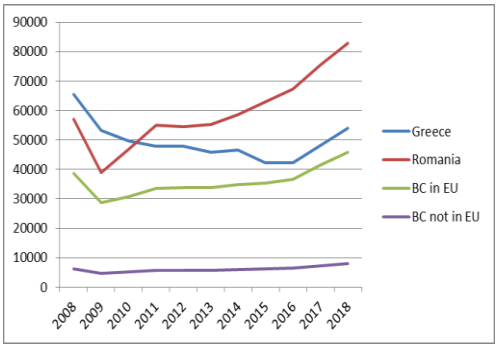

Figure 3. BCs imports (2008-2018)

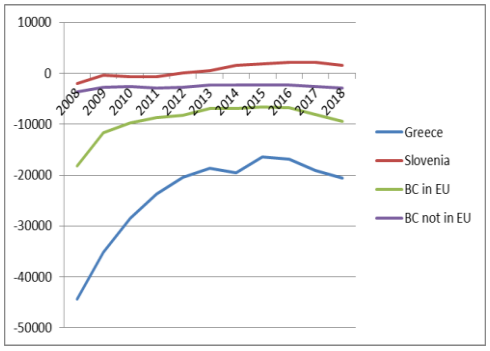

Figure 4. Trade balance of BCs (2008-2018)

The dynamics of BCs' FDI is shown in Figure 5. The BCs in EU group dynamics are again better than the that of the BCs not in EU group. Greece's figures fluctuate wildly, as its lowest figure in 2010 is lower than the lowest point of the BCs not in EU and after 2016 the increase is greater than that of the BCs in EU. Once again, Romania is the BC with strongest FDI dynamics. In general, all BCs showed an upward trend in terms of FDI for the last 2-4 years of the period in question. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [505.53,2346.04]. FDI of each BC not in EU is not correlated with other BCs. We continue our group analysis with the secondary indices. GDP per capita is shown in Figure 6.

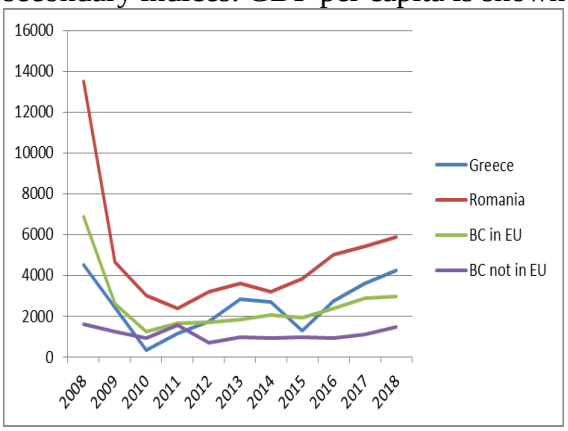

Figure 5. FDI in BCs (2008-2018)

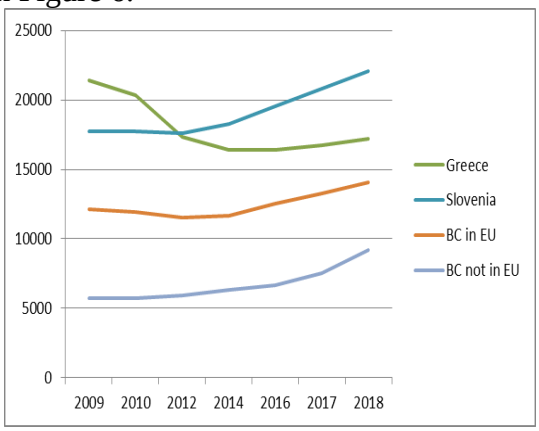

Figure 6. GDP per capita of BCs (2008-2018)

Greece and Slovenia are the countries that belong to the BC in EU group that most helped raise the group average, while Bulgaria is the country that most lowered this average. There is a slow convergence between the average of BCs in and not in EU, as their ratio decreased from 2.1 times greater in 2009 to 1.5 times greater in 2018. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [5223.97,6197.28]. GDP per capita of BCs in EU and not in EU is very strongly correlated (r is 0.933 and p-value is 0.002), though the GDP per capita of Slovenia is strongly correlated with that of both groups of BCs. Greece's GDP per capita only correlates with that of Albania and Montengro's in terms of GDP per capita, though there is no correlation with that of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

Greece's exports to BCs are shown in Figure 7. Bulgaria and Romania were the most important BCs destinations for Greece's exports. It is worth noting that this figure is the first one where members of the BCs not in EU group occupy the top position in any index we have chosen to analyze, since North Macedonia and Albania exceeded the average of BCs in EU and are placed in the third and fourth position in the list of Greece's exports for the final years referred to in the data. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [287936.63,359271.91]. There is very strong correlation between Greece's exports to BCs in EU and not in EU and to Bulgaria and Romania (correlation is 0.794 and p-value is 0.004).

Greece's imports from BCs for the period 2008-18 are shown in Figure 8. Bulgaria performed best in this index, followed by Romania. However, Romania's performance is similar to the BCs in the EU group average. The average of the BCs not in EU group is very low, with few serious fluctuations, and remains close to zero. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [442112.24,597075.77]. There is no correlation between Greece's imports from the BCs in EU and BCs not in EU group, but there is a very strong positive correlation between Greece's imports from BCs in EU and those from Bulgaria and Romania.

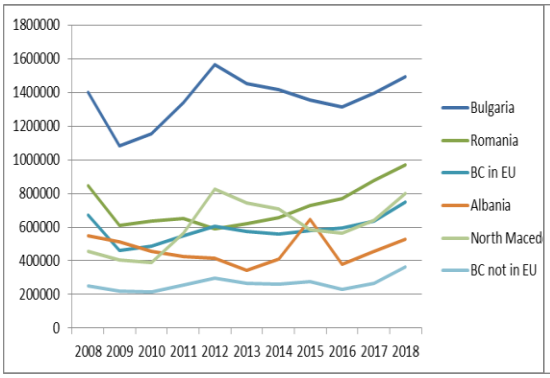

Figure 7. Greece's exports to BCs by nation (2008-2018)

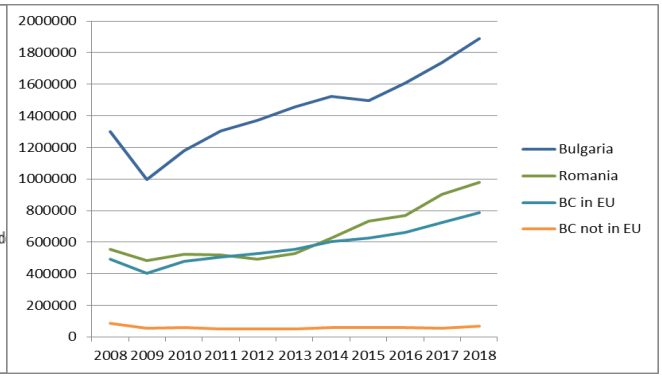

Figure 8. Country of origin of Greek imports from BCs (2008-2018)

In Figure 9 we can see that the performance of the BCs not in EU group is significantly better than that of the BCs in EU. The trade surplus of North Macedonia and Albania with Greece is the greatest and the average of BCs not in EU consistently showed a trade surplus, in comparison with BCs in the EU that even showed a trade deficit from 2013 onwards. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [-226067.51,-103884.25]. As we can see there are strong positive

correlations between trade balance of Greece with BCs in EU, BCs not in EU, North Macedonia and Albania.

Greece's volume of trade with the BCs is shown in Figure 10, Bulgaria holds the top position in this index. Once again, North Macedonia and Albania also hold positions near the top of this index, though other BCs not in EU do not fare so well. There is significant difference between the mean values of BCs in EU and BCs not in EU and the 95% CI of the difference is [720843.17,932379.11]. The volume of trade between Albania and Greece does not correlate with the other groups and countries presented in the figures.

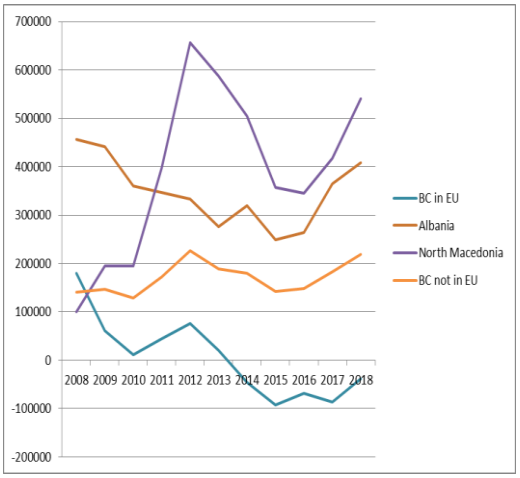

Figure 9. Trade balance of BCs with Greece (2008-2018)

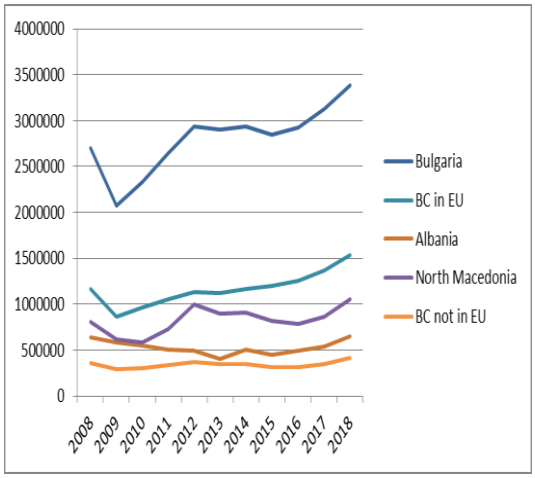

Figure 10. The trade volume of the BCs with Greece (2008-2018)

5. CONCLUSIONS

Between 2008 and 2009 GDP declined in almost every BC, the result of the outbreak of the economic crisis, however, if we look at the period from 2008 to 2018, GDP rose significantly in all BCs, with the exception of Greece where it dropped 23.66%. Overall, GDP growth in the BCs was just half of the Eurozone and the EU28 in general during this period

On the whole, BCs' exports during the period 2008-18 increased, though there was an initial fall in the years 2008-09, as did BCs imports which also declined in the period 2009 to 2012 as a result of the crisis. In particular, in most countries, this decrease amounted to a quarter of imports, while for some, that figure was closer to one third. After 2014, imports gradually returned to pre-crisis levels or even exceeded them in some cases. Throughout the period 2008-2018, the BCs recorded a negative trade balance and in the early crisis years, trade deficits shrank in all countries, the result of a fall in import figures that outweighed the accompanying drop in exports. In the BCs, the degree of export – orientation of their economies, as measured by the ratio of exports to GDP, increased from 2008 to 2018. However, Greece was far below the BC average throughout the period in consideration, ranking bottom in the official figures.

The progress of Greek' exports for the three decades (1980-2007) seems to be strongly linked with global economic downturns. In early years of the latest crisis, (2010/2008), Greek freight trade exports to the BCs declined. Although during the period 2008 to 2018 Greek exports in general kept rising, this increase was lower than the increase seen in in third countries, the EU28 and worldwide data as a whole. The BCs' share of the Greek export market declined while Greek imports from the BCs rose after an initial drop during the period to the 2008 – 2010. Imports from EU28, third countries and the international economy as a

whole fell and the BCs' share of the Greek import market increased, though their share of the EU import market shrank.

Greece's trade balance with BCs was in surplus during the period under consideration, though initially in the first two years that surplus decreased. The importance of geographical proximity, remained important during the crisis, though there was an equivalent negative impact on Greece's Balkan neighbours. The impact of the Greek crisis on BCs also became more apparent in the both the volume of imports and exports. The reduction in the volume of trade with the EU and a corresponding rise in trade with BCs appears to have been the result of the geographic proximity of BCs to Greece and the lower level of Greek trade integration with other BCs compared to that with other EU members. From 2009 to 2018, Greece's terms of trade with BCs were favourable although they did deteriorate. During this same period, terms of trade between Greece with EU, third countries and the world became less favourable but they did improve to a certain degree.

FDI inflows to the Balkans fell for the period 2008-2018, resulting in a decrease in BCs' share in global FDI total. FDI inflows into Greece between 2008 and 2018 from other BCs and the rest of the world increased, though FDI origination from Europe decreased. Greek FDI overseas (2018/2008), declined not just in Europe but also worldwide Europe. Greek FDI in BCs, saw the largest reduction and can be interpreted as the result of Greek enterprises attempting to deal with liquidity issues during the crisis. The diversification of the geographical distribution of Greek foreign trade saw a stronger focus on regions with greater margins for development, such as BCs, that would allow for more favourable terms of trade for Greece.

In 2009, GDP declined in almost all BCs as a result of the 2008 financial crisis and by examining the changes in BCs' GDP and exports-imports between Greece and other BCs, 2009 can be seen as worst point in the years of the recession for almost all BCs. In particular, there was a sharp decrease in Greek imports and exports during this period caused by the fact that in 2009, most of the countries hit worst by the recession, were those that showed the sharpest drop in terms of Greek exports and imports. Consequently, the severity of the economic impact felt by BCs during the recession is directly related to the level of Greek exports to these nations.

By looking at the group index average of the "BCs inside the EU" group and "BCs outside the EU" group, together with the data for Greece and that of the BCs with the best performance per index we can see that that the average indexes of EU members are higher than those of non-EU members. Only in terms of balance of trade with Greece do we see the non-EU BC members' data outperform those of BC members in the EU.

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Appendix

Table A1: GDP of BCs for the period 2008-2018 (in million €, current prices)

EU28	Eurozone	BCs in total	Slovenia	Serbia	Romania	Montenegro	Croatia	Kosovo	Greece	Bulgaria	Bosnia & Herzegovina	N.Macedonia	Albania	Countries
13,082,102.5	9,622,963.1	583,041.4	37,925.7	35,712.5	146,590.6	3,103.3	47,998.3	3,882.7	241,990.4	37,217.7	13,047.8	6,772.1	8,800.3	2008
12,324,697.3	9,274,983	549,125	36,254.9	32,486.2	125,213.9	2,993.9	45,064.1	4,069.6	237,534.2	37,400.2	12,679.3	6,766.5	8,662.2	2009
12,845,663.4	9,534,698.9	539,106.8	36,363.9	31,545.8	125,408.8	3,125.1	45,111.8	4,401.9	226,031.4	38,044.1	12,968.9	7,108.3	8,996.6	2010
13,235,225	9,799,207.6	535,793.8	37,058.6	35,431.7	131,925.4	3,264.8	44,793	4,814.5	207,028.9	41,252.6	13,411.8	7,544.2	9,268.3	2011
13,501,734	9,836,956.2	519,076.4	36,253.3	33,679.3	133,147.1	3,181.5	43,940.8	5,058.9	191,203.9	42,033.5	13,407.5	7,584.8	9,585.8	2012
13,615,090.5	9,933,833.1	523,081.4	36,454.3	36,426.7	143,801.6	3,362.5	43,703.2	5,326.6	180,654.3	41,885.4	13,691.8	8,149.6	9,625.4	2013
14,091,451.2	10,167,903.8	530,038	37,634.3	35,467.5	150,458	3,457.9	43,401.3	5,567.5	178,656.5	42,876.1	13,988.3	8,562.0	9,968.6	2014
14,854,106.4	10,524,438.1	545,831.8	38,852.6	35,715.5	160,297.8	3,654.5	44,616.4	5,807	177,258.4	45,675.8	14,617.4	9,072.3	10,264.1	2015
14,984,271.9	10,816,964.5	564,897.7	40,366.6	36,723.0	170,393.6	3,954.2	46,615.5	6,070.1	176,487.9	48,620.5	15,289.9	9,656.5	10,719.9	2016
15,409,861.4	11,200,923.9	599,922.5	42,987.1	39,183.3	187,772.7	4,299.1	49,094.4	6,413.8	180,217.6	52,310	16,042.4	10,038.3	11,563.8	2017
15,898,3116	11,561,187.9	635,538.9	45,754.8	42,855.5	202,883.6	4,663.1	51,579.1	6,725.9	184,713.6	56,086.9	16,759.3	10,734.7	12,782.4	2018*
21.52	20.14	9.00	20.64	20.00	38.40	50.26	7.46	73.22	-23.66	50.69	28.44	58.51	45.24	change 2018/2008 (%)

Source: Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/, gross domestic product at market prices, analysed data

Table A2: BCs' trade balance for the period 2008-2018 (in million €, current prices)

EU28	BCs in total	Slovenia	Serbia	Romania	Montenegro	Croatia	Kosovo	Greece	Bulgaria	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Northern Macedonia	Albania	Countries
-276,280.9	-113,126.6	-1,976	-8,450	-23,469	-2,114	-11,232	-1,734	-44,301.7	-9,889.9	-4,899	-1,967	-3,094	2008
-142,114.5	-74,554.1	-357,4	-5,517	-9,863	-1,377	-7,702.2	-1,770	-35,123	-5,176.5	-3,489	-1,700	-2,479	2009
-175,134.6	-64,238.7	-692.7	-5,407	-9,451.3	-1,327	-6,231.8	-1,862	-28,487.2	-3,683.7	-3,334	-1,602	-2,160	2010
-174,950.2	-58,973.8	-610.4	-5,648	-9,658.8	-1,369	-6,699	-2,173	-23,645.7	-3,141.9	-3,734	-1,838	-2,467	2011
-112,738	-58,240.1	99.6	-5,271	-9,624.7	-1,454	-6,585.7	-2,232	-20,488.3	-4,689	-3,781	-1,947	-2,267	2012
49,478.3	-48,122	486.1	-2,933	-5,757.5	-1,398	-7,049.9	-2,155	-18,600	-3,556.7	-3,472	-1,748	-1,938	2013
16,331.7	-49,269.8	1,523.9	-2,950	-6,055.1	-1,451	-6,723.2	-2,214	-19,609.7	-4,074.7	-3,844	-1,758	-2,114	2014
65,083	-47,470	1,905.2	-2,978	-8,359	-1,524	-6,900.3	-2,309	-16,457.7	-3,469.2	-3,510	-1,714	-2,154	2015
38,674.6	-48,459.7	2,144.9	-2,483	-9,970.8	-1,736	-7,301.7	-2,480	-16,871.3	-2,136.9	-3,448	-1,786	-2,399	2016
23,609.1	-56,104.4	2,090	-3,194	-12,951.9	-1,932	-7,774.8	-2,669	-19,153.4	-2,433.3	-3,646	-,1,818	-2,622	2017
-22,504.7	-65,272.3	1,619.8	-4,424	-15,404.3	-2,153	-9,136.2	-2,980	-20,609.6	-4,009	-3,770	-1,811	-2,595	2018

Source: Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/, international trade, by reporting country, total product, analyzed data

Table A3: Greece's trade balance with BCs for the period 2008-2018 (thousands €)

World (in million €)	Third countri	EU27 (in million €)	BCs in total	Slovenia	Serbia	Romania	Montenegro	Croatia	Kosovo	Bulgaria	Bosnia & Herzegovina	N. Macedonia	Albania	Countries
-44,300	-20,331	-23,969	1,555,661	158,914	83,205	289,930	103,183	169,711	63,997	98,210	31,297	100,388	456,826	2008
-35,120	-14,993	-20,126	1,122,093.4	17,495.8	74,614.6	125,957.7	33,246.5	12,288	66,387.5	86,693.5	69,309.2	193,992.8	442,107.8	2009
-28,487	-12,668	-15,819	812,223	-53,992	13,396	113,909	69,515	7,569	63,523	-25,736	68,426	194,821	360,792	2010
-23,645	-11,063	-12,581	1,204,002.4	-11,736.4	35,663.4	131,614.9	107,904.6	19,047.2	62,652.3	35,260.5	78,660.5	397,995.2	346,940.2	2011
-20,488	-9,940	-10,548	1,660,533	58,267	107,679	97,711	112,129	-40,604	71,080	190,085	74,453	657,003	332,730	2012
-18,600	-9,290	-9,309	1,212,171.7	29,566.9	20,408.9	88,180.4	105,292.9	-31,370.8	76,541.4	-3,869.5	63,079.1	587,661.2	276,681.2	2013
-19,610	-9,404	-10,205	899,370	-68,172	42,143	27,452	120,414	-34,259	33,468	-106,329	61,224	504,273	319,156	2014
-16,457	-7,393	-9,064	480,272.8	-22,2160.7	51,377.6	-1,789.9	107,107.8	-6,885.2	27,493.8	-140,242.2	59,037	357,676.4	248,658.2	2015
-16,872	-7,049	-9,823	611,341	-6,517	74,495	-849	110,525	28,439	36,361	-297,298	56,556	345,711	263,918	2016
-18,491	-7,809	-10,681	751,300	-10,529.4	84,209.9	-25,907.4	122,262.4	26,908.3	42,341.4	-339,070.7	68,615.2	417,570.5	364,899.8	2017
-20,613	-9,879	-10,734	1,152,152	199,053	73,918	-8,798	147,932	48,134	50,545	-395,196	88,192	539,988	408,384	2018
-53.46	-51.40	-55.21	-25.93	25.25	-11.16	-96.96	43.36	-71.63	-21.01	-302.3	181.7	437.9	-10.60	Change 2018/2008

Source: HSA (2021), analysed data

Table A4: FDI per BC (in million dollars)

World	BCs' share (%)	BCs in total	Slovenia	Serbia	Romania	Montenegro	Croatia	Kossovo	Greece	Bulgaria	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Northern Macedonia	Albania	Countries
1,479,747	2.86	42,417	1,218	4,514	13,492	960	5,317	0	4,499	9,855	1,002	586	974	2008
1,172,234	1.64	19,327	-476	3,295	4,665	1,527	3,048	0	2,436	3,385	250	201	996	2009
1,365, 107	0.78	10,740	105	2,174	2,997	760	1,155	0	330	1,549	406	213	1,051	2010
1,561, 354	1.03	16,221	1,087	5,467	2,363	558	1,699	0	1,143	2,052	497	479	876	2011
1,470, 334	0.82	12,091	339	1,593	3,199	620	1,510	0	1,740	1,697	395	143	855	2012
1,431, 164	0.96	13,814	-151	2,425	3,601	447	961	0	2,817	1,837	276	335	1,266	2013
1,357, 240	1.09	14,910	1,050	2,197	3,211	497	2,879	0	2,683	461	550	272	1,110	2014
2,033, 803	0.72	14,646	1,674	2,689	3,839	699	270	0	1,268	2,661	361	240	945	2015
1,918, 679	0.86	16,536	1,245	2,594	4,997	226	1,808	0	2,763	1,110	319	374	1,100	2016
1,497, 371	1.28	19,197	782	3,159	5,406	557	2,037	0	3,611	2,608	448	205	1,146	2017
1,297, 153	1.70	22,149	1,419	4,378	5,888	490	1,159	0	4,257	2,059	468	737	1,294	2018
-12.33	-40.55	-47.78	16.50	-3.01	-56.35	-48.95	-78.20		-5.37	-79.10	-53.29	25.76	32.85	Change (%)

Source: https://unctadstat.unctad.org/, foreign direct investment: Inward