"For everything to stay the same, everything must change." The Leopard, by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa. 2020 turned lives around the globe upside down. COVID-19, like climate change, has demonstrated how mankind’s abuse of the natural world has led to disaster. But some things never (or seldom) change. Churchill wrote of Ireland after the Great War: "as the deluge subsides and the waters fall, we see the dreary steeples of Fermanagh and Tyrone emerging once again."

The pandemic is the critical juncture in global affairs which changes the way we live, work and interact with each other. As such SEESOX had to cope with the new digital reality in terms of conducting its deliberations and their dissemination. Virtually via Webinars. Distancing, physically. But staying close to the subject matter. This newsletter reflects this change, which started last March.

But while the method changed, the issues have not changed and in some ways they have even intensified. In the field of geopolitics, one of SEESOX’s thematic priorities, the challenges which we examined throughout the year remained pertinent, and in some cases even more incendiary. The Eastern Mediterranean is a representative case, with this area becoming the most prominent security risk of the EU, extending the axis of insecurity into the wider region of South East Europe.

And in the Western Balkan states, as the countries seek to resolve their development challenges and move forward on their path towards EU accession, external actors retain – and even strengthen - their influence in an effort to stabilise or destabilise the region.

Similarly, in economic matters, the economic crisis caused by the pandemic is coming back with new vengeance to all the economically weak countries of the European periphery - from the candidate states of the Western Balkans to the EU member states of the region -, including Greece which was slowly recovering from its unprecedented crisis.

Geopolitics and economic issues do not go away. Nor do the dangers. Nor does the need for monitoring and analysis.

So, this is business as usual in the sense of preserving the essentials – that SEESOX provides an expert view on what is going on in South East Europe. But for the time being it has to do it in a different way.

Team SEESOX
SEESOX news bites

SEESOX is proud to announce that Kalypso Nicolaidis, Chair of SEESOX, has been elected Professor at the School of Transnational Governance at the European University Institute in Florence for the next five years. We look forward to strengthening relations with her new school.

We are delighted to announce that Manolis Pratsinakis’s Onassis fellowship has been extended for a further three years. He has also been elected Departmental Lecturer in Migration Studies for the academic year 2020-21 at the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography.

Dimitar Bechev, a previous member of Team SEESOX and former SEESOX Associate, is returning to Europe from the US and will be living in Oxford. Dimo has been elected Europe’s Futures Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) in Vienna.

The A.G. Leventis Foundation approved a two-year grant for SEESOX towards the research project “The geopolitics of migration: Greece as a receiving and transit state”, to be coordinated by Dr Foteini Kalantzi, A. G. Leventis Officer at SEESOX.


At the SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board in October last year, Alexandros Sarrigeorgiou, CEO Eurolife, was unanimously elected the next Chair. Nikos Karamouzis, the first Chair, will remain a Board member with the new title of Honorary Chair.

Mehmet Karli became the co-ordinator of the Programme on Contemporary Turkey, and co-investigator, with Othon Anastasakis, of the Turkish Migration Diplomacy Project, funded by the Oxford-Berlin Partnership.

Adrienne Cheasty and Daniel Hardy have renewed their Academic Visitor status for another year thus strengthening the political economy study of SEESOX.

Othon Anastasakis, Director of SEESOX

Letter from the Director

The current newsletter demonstrates SEESOX’s scholarly achievements during the academic year 2019-2020, in four broad areas, all of which are connected with currently running research projects. Starting with the theme of global and regional geopolitics (‘Global SEESOX’), we organised our core seminar series during Hilary term eight panels on various geopolitical topics, composed by guest speakers and in-house faculty (pp.4-5). Our flagship SEESOX diaspora project with its emphasis on Greek diaspora produced original survey work on the Greeks in the UK, committee work on Greek philanthropic giving, SEESOX lobbying on the facilitation of the diaspora vote for Greeks and the introduction of a pandemic diaspora blog (pp 8-9). In Michaelmas, SEESOX team presented to the wider community at the Hellenic Centre in London, the outcomes of the three-year Greek Diaspora Project (p 10). Our SEESOX Political Economy Programme in cooperation with EuPEP of the European Studies Centre co-sponsored the organisation of a full-day conference with prominent scholars, analysts and central bankers on “Life outside the euro” discussing the choices and experiences of the countries outside euro most of which are to be found in Eastern and South Eastern Europe (p12). Last but not least, last academic year we initiated our research on Turkish “migration diplomacy”, a project funded in the context of the Oxford-Berlin Research Partnership, a cooperation between SEESOX and Humboldt investigating the current migration environment and its impact on European Turkish relations (p.13). And beyond these broad themes, we should not underestimate the additional ad hoc seminars, panels and book launches which took place last year, in our aim to acknowledge the great work of internal and external colleagues on South East Europe and to understand the region even better. All of this resulted into an stimulating year of academic interaction, including under the strained circumstances of the pandemic which hit us in March. Once again, a big thank you to our fabulous team of fellows, associates, visiting scholars, guest speakers and our very own SEESOX Administrator. Every year the team literally gives it their all to deliver such excellent quality work!!!

Othon Anastasakis, Director of SEESOX
**Visiting Academics, Fellows and Scholars: In their own words...**

**Mirena Pencheva—Visiting Fellow**

“I was an EU visiting fellow at the European Studies Centre, St Antony’s College, from October 2019 until June 2020. During my fellowship, I conducted research on the impact of the terrorist attacks in Europe since 2015 on security cooperation and integration within wider Europe, in particular between the EU and the Western Balkans, as well as with the UK post Brexit. I was made to feel very welcome at SEESOX from the outset and invited to take part in their meetings and events. I attended the seminars organised by SEESOX on a regular basis. This allowed me not only to develop a better understanding of the issues surrounding the region, but was also highly beneficial for my research. The Hilary 2020 SEESOX seminar series on Security challenges in South East Europe in a changing geopolitical context was particularly useful in this respect. I am grateful for having been invited to speak at the first seminar of that series. I met some incredible, very knowledgeable and genuinely warm and welcoming people in and through SEESOX, which made my stay in Oxford very rewarding both personally and professionally.”

Mirena Pencheva

**Effie Voutira—Visiting Scholar**

“I have been fortunate to spend my sabbatical year in Oxford with a dual appointment as a Research Associate at the Refugee Studies Centre, but more importantly as a SEESOX Academic Visitor. The latter has been a great opportunity - to be part of the SEESOX family in the most inclusive sense of the term. What an amazing climate of collegiate behaviour, enjoying engaging discussions in the common room before and after the weekly meetings seminars. A continuous challenge to bounce off ideas with learned colleagues in a multidisciplinary environment, generating lateral thinking about my own research on writing the oral history of the Refugee Studies Centre and its institutional memory at the University of Oxford. Fortunately, having acquired the funding, this research is planned to be made into a documentary film hopefully to be screened upon completion at SEESOX in the years to come!”

Effihia (Effie) Voutira

**Okan Yardimci—Academic Visitor**

“SEESOX opens its doors to newcomers with a sincere and warm welcome. I felt that I was a member of a team from day one, and over time I realized that this is going to be a lifelong friendship. SEESOX encourages the exchange of knowledge to strengthen and mobilize the capabilities of researchers. As a lecturer who has taught many lessons in many countries, I have to say that the unique atmosphere of SEESOX is very favourable for academic development. Weekly meetings and SEESOX seminars have been so rewarding for me. They created a great environment to engage with other academics and gave me an opportunity to extend my knowledge in my study field. We have discussed the energy dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean and cooperation possibilities in one of the panels, and it was a remarkable session where different views discussed in a constructive environment. As an energy expert experienced in engineering, finance and legal dimensions of the industry, I had an opportunity to complete the missing pieces of the puzzle that are international relations and geopolitics at SEESOX. I am thankful to all who made this possible.”

Okan Yardimci
This eight-part seminar series covered: the role of external actors (The West, Russia, China); new (and old) global threats e.g. energy, migration, cyber security; and regional security threats - Serbia/Kosovo, Bosnia Herzegovina, Radicalisation in West Balkans.

A full list of the individual seminars, with titles, speakers is on page 14.

It was deliberately designed to be a comprehensive and balanced picture of the range of challenges facing the region. And the timing proved fortuitous. The final seminar was on 10 March, just before the region went into COVID-19 lockdown. The series therefore represented an ideal opportunity to draw a balance before a new and fresh challenge appeared; and provided the perfect chance to look at the status quo ante. Subsequent seminars (by now webinars) in the Trinity Term looked at the revised geo-political and political economic pictures in the new world of COVID-19. This revised picture, and indeed the extent to which it has been revised, will be a major focus of SEESOX’s work in the next academic year.

Some of the take-aways from this seminar series were the following:

1. There are a number of outdated assumptions: that actors are united (not true of the US, EU, or even within countries); that international security is based on territorially-defined borders (challenges are trans-border and shared); that states are the only actors (there are also economic entities, non-governmental bodies, civil resistance, even migrants).
2. In the case of the EU, there is the enlargement framework, but also enlargement fatigue on both sides; and in October 2019 the French Non to Albania and North Macedonia, though this has subsequently been lifted. There has been a blockage on Schengen membership for Romania and Bulgaria since 2011. More encouraging are the sectoral cooperation policies (counter-terrorism, border management, countering disinformation), which are in the interests of both EU Member States and applicants; and arrangements such as the Berlin Process and the Regional Cooperation Council, which encourage equal partnership and cooperation not competition: though the multiplicity of platforms pose challenges of duplication and overlap. At some point the EU and some of the Western Balkan countries have to return to the core business of enlargement, and there are some encouraging signs of focus here.
3. NATO has some essential policies in the region: but there are uncertainties because of the inconsistencies of the Trump Presidency, and the position of Turkey.

4. The impact of Russian involvement is rather short-term and questionable, and is essentially opportunistic. The Western Balkans is not a region of primary strategic interest for Russia, though it has some capacities and sustains limited involvement. Russia seeks ties in specific areas rather than broad relationships or military intervention. The failure of efforts by the Russian Orthodox Church to sabotage or postpone the autocephaly of the Ukraine Orthodox Church has weakened its position.

5. In the case of China, by contrast, there is: carefully considered investment e.g. in transportation, energy and telecommunications; ample finance under favourable conditions (albeit conditional on host-government guarantees and collateral in the form of real-estate); enhanced soft power; and a strategic interest in increasing access to the EU as a whole. China is still building coal-fired electricity plants: but that is what local political and coal industry interests favour.

6. The Eastern Mediterranean is rich in hydrocarbon reserves, territorial and maritime border disputes and regional power politics. Energy is a source of tension and dispute rather than peace and cooperation. There is a contrast with the level of cooperation and settled relationships in the Black Sea. But energy is an accelerator of competition, not the source of it. Turkey is a rising and demanding regional power.

7. On migration, the “Balkan route” has effectively been closed. It exists mainly in the FRONTEX narrative. “Reception centres” have basically become camps.

8. South East Europe is a hotspot of cyber activity, not least because of poor critical infrastructure, weak rule of law, and low level of trust in institutions. The region is a particular target for Russia, because of its connections with both the EU and NATO; and is often viewed as a weak link. Russia is active at sowing and exploiting political and social divisions weakening Western societies from within, slowing down NATO expansion and/or diminishing internal cohesion by non-violent means. Flash points, elections and lack of trust between governments and oppositions all provide opportunities. But much of the toxicity in political debate is domestic in nature, rather than artfully injected from outside.

9. The normalisation of relations between Serbia and Kosovo has been largely halted since 2017. The political dialogue had been at the top political level, so for ordinary people engagement with the other side was always difficult. There is a need for local initiatives and ideas e.g. border-free trade in the so-called Mini-Schengen, not least to give people an incentive not to leave. Kosovo is at a standstill unless Serbia makes a move. The land swap idea in August 2018 did not gain public legitimacy, but was a proposition to get out of the current deadlock for Kosovo. The EU, after the glory days of 2013, is losing its way. With BiH, there is a strong sense of déjà vu: ethnic bickering, dysfunctionality, migration crises and human drain.

10. Radicalisation in the Western Balkans is often seen in terms of radical Islam. But there is also Orthodox Christianity and nationalism. The roots of radicalisation lie in individual identity crises, corruption, state capture, and loss of hope. Enlargement fatigue also gives ammunition to recruiters, allowing them to argue that the West is not the answer. As a result, societies are fragile, and identities in crisis.
SEESOX convened three very interesting accounts of the Greek crisis during Michaelmas Term.

Viktoria Dendrinou and Eleni Varvitsioti presented their highly acclaimed and commercially successful book, *The Last Bluff: How Greece came face to face with financial catastrophe and the secret plan for its euro exit* on 8 October 8679. Tim Vlandas (Oxford) was discussant, making valuable observations on some political economy lessons learned for the EU, from the Greek crisis.

The book deals with the fateful events of 2015 when Greece came close to exiting the Eurozone under dramatic circumstances and amid confrontational politics between the country and its European partners. It is based on reporting by the two authors from Brussels; and interviews with some of the key players. The book claims that the EU was surprisingly united vis a vis Greece; even the countries of Southern Europe, which faced similar problems and grievances towards the European North, were all unified in their hard stance towards Greece’s negotiating tactics.

On 24 October 2019, George Pagoulatos (Athens University; ELIAMEP) gave a talk on ‘Greece after the crisis: Stocktaking, legacies and prospects’. The subject was over-researched: little remained unknown; but it was politically contested, and to some extent still emotionally divisive. Common ground was that the EMU was unready, there was insufficient response and that Greece needed reform. Greece had faced a variety of risks: inflation, devaluation, euro-exit. Initially there was prolonged denial about the need for painful far-reaching reform. Then the turning point was the 2015 H1 near death experience. From the crash of populism came newly found pragmatism. Greece found societal and electoral maturity – democracy was bruised but eventually resilient.

Dimitris Papadimitriou spoke about ‘European elites’ discourses of the Greek crisis’ on 20 November 2019. Papadimitriou covered a ten-year period: from 2008 to the end of Greece’s 3rd bailout program in 2018. Based on the analysis of 1,872 direct quotes on the Greek crisis by 83 senior European and IMF officials, he highlighted four key findings which challenged conventional wisdom: a significant ‘cacophony’ in opinions mirroring a significant discord amongst the Troika institutions; Germany appeared to be dominant in terms of share of quotes; there was no consistent correlation between the position of Germany and those of other major stakeholders of the crisis; findings showed the lack of a conclusive correlation between opinion scores on Greece’s borrowing costs and the spread of the 10-year Greek bond yield against the German Bund.

EU referenda in Greece and the UK: Questions of legitimacy

On 30 January 2020, Evangelos Fanoulis used two reference cases: the 2015 Greek referendum on whether to accept a new bail-out programme, and the 2016 UK referendum on Brexit. His framework for assessing legitimacy was based on agonistic democracy, which saw public contestation as a prerequisite for legitimacy. Citizen participation was the sine qua non.

In Greece, No voters were dominant, so the Greek government was tasked with transferring this message to the EU level. But this got distorted in the negotiations, and the Greek Government ended up accepting a tougher bail-out program. Other member states’ citizens were given no opportunity to voice their preferences. In the UK there was a big public debate, and the will of the people was transferred.

Although citizens of other states would be affected by Brexit, again they were given no opportunity to express their opinions.

David Madden
The Covid-19 pandemic and the region

In Trinity Term, three webinars were organised, on 10 and 16 June and 9 July. All took as their starting point the Hilary Term Seminar Series on Security Challenges in SE Europe in a changing geopolitical context, reviewing the impact of the pandemic on their conclusions.

The first, on Geopolitical challenges in the Balkans in the shadow of the pandemic, brought together Arolda Elbasani (NYU), Dimitar Bechev (UNC, Chapel Hill), and Anastas Vangeli (Turin World Affairs Institute), with Othon Anastasakis and Jessie Barton-Hronesova in the chair. Anastasakis saw the Seminar Series challenging preconceptions about the role of external actors in the region, questioning the pandemic’s influence on these. Elbasani reviewed EU accession prospects for the region, concluding that there had been both a new push for enlargement and a tightening of the rules. She highlighted the new Commission’s reference to a “responsibility to assist the region”. Bechev addressed the role of non-EU actors; while accession remained the long-term aspiration, local elites could in the short-term opportunistically use other external players to favour their own interests. Vangeli saw China as the most intriguing external player, utilising its existing initiatives, within the Belt & Road Initiative, to strengthen its influence. But while western concerns about China’s intentions could raise positive EU interest, US reactions could have a negative impact. As a whole, the webinar suggested that the pandemic might enhance the role of some external actors, while remaining within the parameters of their more global policies.

The second webinar, on Diaspora and the Pandemic, involved Alexander Kitroeff (Haverford College), Giorgios Anagnostou (Ohio State University), Andreas Gkolfinopoulos (Siegen) and Manolis Pratsinakis (Oxford), with Othon Anastasakis and Foteini Kalantzis in the chair. Kitroeff compared the Greek-American community’s response to past crises and to the 2020 pandemic. The diaspora had come to the aid of the homeland in past crises, while the contrast between relatively efficient management of the pandemic in Greece and the US response, had both reinforced pride in their Greek identity and led them to focus on their own community. Anagnostou analysed the evolution of the political stance of the principal Greek-American newspaper The National Herald and questioned the responsibility of a major ethnic newspaper. Was it to the collective of Greek-American US citizens, or to the national interests of Greece? Gkolfinopoulos reviewed the migration of Greek doctors to Germany - now the third largest cohort of foreign doctors. This had implications for Greece’s ability to respond to the pandemic and also for an institutionalisation, by the Greek government, of communications with this community. Pratsinakis discussed the social media debate on the pandemic within the UK diaspora; in particular, this had covered the relative merits of migrants remaining in their host country or returning to Greece.

The final webinar, co-organised with the European Political Economy Project (EuPEP), addressed the Political Economy Effects of COVID-19 on Central and South East Europe. It brought together Piroska Nagy-Mohaci (LSE), Kori Udovicki (CAES, Belgrade), Christos Gortsos (National University, Athens) and Kalooyan Simeonov (Sofia University), with concluding remarks from Charles Enoch (St Antony’s College) and was chaired by Daniel Hardy (St Antony’s). While there was consensus that the region had so far handled the pandemic better than “old Europe”, helped by rapid governmental and European level economic responses, the future was far from assured, with risks of reversing the hard-won recovery after the global financial crisis. But all panellists saw countries in favour of further cooperation to support recovery. Nagy noted that the delayed impact of the pandemic in Central Europe had allowed lessons to be learnt from elsewhere; EU funding would also help, as well as the relatively non-ideological response at national level. Udovicki saw Serbia also getting off relatively lightly so far, but warned of a less benign future, with the risk of a second wave resulting from the lifting of restrictions for elections. Gortsos assessed the EU’s response, highlighting a much stronger role and greater cooperation, consistency, and rapidity than in the financial crisis; but an exit strategy would be complicated. Simeonov felt it was too early to judge whether the pandemic would lead to more or less Europe; clearly cooperation had emerged across countries, and some progress had been made on the enlargement agenda, while developments in Bulgaria had seen rapid progress on E-government.

Jonathan Scheele
SEESOX Diaspora: The Greek Diaspora Project

Survey of Greeks in the UK

SEESOX, in partnership with diaNEOsis research and policy institute, carried out a large representative survey to assess and analyse the profile of the Greek communities in the UK. This innovative and pioneering survey is the first study to treat in a systematic way and through rigorous quantitative methodology the issue of diaspora engagement in the context of the Greek crisis and beyond and the first major survey focusing on the Greek diaspora in the UK, which has critically expanded and highly diversified with the post-2010 crisis-driven emigration wave from Greece. The report was finalized in January 2020 and was subsequently translated in Greek. The report covers the following themes: 1. Socio-demographic profile of the Greeks in the UK, 2. Immigration decision and its appraisal, 3. Economic integration in the United Kingdom, 4. Greek identity, social life in British society and contacts with the Greek community, 5. Contacts and links with Greece and willingness for contribution, 6. Perceptions on the economic crisis in Greece and political attitudes, 7. Plans for the future. The leader of this project is Manolis Pratsinakis, assisted by Anastasia Kafe and Paolo Serodio.

Research on philanthropy

In partnership with the Bodossaki Foundation, SEESOX has established a Commission on Greek Diaspora Philanthropy whose objective has been to update the latest research on Greek diaspora philanthropy though interviews and synergies with leading institutions active in philanthropy in Greece, and to create a community of stakeholders. The end product is a report, now completed, which highlights the successes of diaspora philanthropy in Greece, without overlooking the barriers limiting its activities. The report puts forward practical recommendations which aim to facilitate the growth of diaspora philanthropy in Greece and which are addressed to the Greek state, to local government, to diaspora philanthropists and non-profit and state grantees. The leader of this project is Antonis Kamaras.

Collaboration with Athens International Airport

Through analyzing the findings of the SEESOX diaspora UK survey, the Greek diaspora project team shed light on the views of the diaspora itself, which has been rather silent in this debate. Related outputs were published in Greek and English and disseminated widely through the diaEOsis media network. They contributed critically to the public debate on the diaspora vote also informing related parliamentary debates. Our research on the diaspora vote is part of our ongoing research on politics and the Greek diaspora which examines the Greek homeland-diaspora nexus, for the post-2009 period, from an institutional, policy making and discursive (rhetorical/ideological) perspective. The research further includes Greek parliamentary debates analysis and interviews with key actors. The leaders of this project are Othon Anastasakis and Foteini Kalantzi.

Research on the Greek diaspora voting and politics

The Greek diaspora team collaborated with the Athens International Airport (AIA) with the aim of exploring the changing travelling patterns of the Greek diaspora over time as seen through data collected at AIA, the main point of entrance to Greece. The SEESOX diaspora team works together with the AIA research team towards the drafting of a report that addresses the demographic and socioeconomic profile of the Greek diaspora travelers, their geographical distribution as well as their ties with Greece and future plans. It will also pay attention to the differences between those members of the diaspora who had left Greece in earlier years and those who left in recent years as part of the new mass emigration outflow that took place in Greece in the years of the crisis. The report will draw on two datasets compiled at AIA namely, the Passenger Survey and the Brain Drain survey as well as the SEESOX/Dianeosis UK survey.
Diaspora Working Paper Series

During last academic year, the Greek Diaspora working papers continued the publication of papers and briefs. The briefs series disseminates research briefs and opinion pieces by academics, public intellectuals and policy makers on the issues addressed by the Greek Diaspora Project. This serves as the preeminent forum for debate on contemporary issues concerning the Greek diaspora and as an important outlet for the dissemination of their work for a new generation of scholars working on the Greek diaspora. Latest publications include:

Working papers and Briefs
- Main characteristics and settlement outcomes of Greece-born persons who emigrated to Australia during the Greek economic crisis by Dr. Harry Field – Theotokatos
- Failed institution: The World Council of Hellenes Abroad (SAE) since 2008 by By Dr. Marina Frangos
- Political advocacy along ethnic and national lines by Dr. Athanasios Grammenos
- Social protection and the Greek Diaspora by Prof. Platon Tinios
- The Greek diasporic vote: a constitutional duty or a political option? by Vasiliki Poula
- Main characteristics and settlement outcomes of Greece-born migrants in Australia 2006-2016 by Dr. Harry Field – Theotokatos

Manolis Pratsinalis

Click to access the Working Paper Series on the website

The ‘Diaspora and the Homeland in the time of the pandemic’ blog

The ‘Diaspora and the Homeland in the time of the Pandemic’ blog was inaugurated in May 2020 to identify and evaluate the diverse interactions between the diaspora and homeland that are triggered by the coronavirus pandemic. The blog, composed of short contributions ranging from 800 to 1200 words, seeks to assess how the pandemic is affecting the perception and reality of belonging and attachment to the homeland and host-countries of Greeks abroad and the ways through which Greece engages with its diaspora communities in the scientific, economic and political field. Pandemic and the Greek diaspora blog posts:

- Diaspora technocrats and scientists from crisis to crisis by Antonis Kamaras
- Between hostland and homeland by Othon Anastasakis
- Greek Diaspora Scientists: From Dolly to SARS-CoV-2 by Ioanna Souflieri
- Does EU law have space for repatriation (for Greece and beyond) amidst a pandemic? by Vasiliki Poula
- Diasporic responses to the pandemic: Some initial observations by Foteini Kalantzi
- Greek America & Greece During Global Crises by Prof. Alexander Kitroeff
- The Covid-19 Pandemic, Greece and the Ecumenical Patriarchate by Ioannis N. Grigoriadis
- The Greek-Orthodox Diasporic Religioscapes of Europe in Light of the Covid-19 Pandemic by Georgios E. Trantas
- Greek America in the Pandemic: Entangling Home and Homeland in the Media by Prof. Y. Anagnostou
- The SEESOX Webinar on Diaspora and the pandemic by Foteini Kalantzi and Antonis Kamaras
- Greek temporary migrants in Australia: Wedged between coronavirus and Australian government policies by Harry Theotokatos-Field
- “Give me a place to stand and I will move the whole world” by Kimon Drakopoulos

Read all the blogs here

Antonis Kamaras

Knowledge sharing

Below are some examples of knowledge-sharing activities that took place during the reporting period:

- Presentation by Antonis Kamaras on the interaction between Philhellenism, Philanthropy and the Greek diaspora, at the conference ‘Aspects of Contemporary Philhellenism in Europe’ organised by the Society for Macedonian Studies in Thessaloniki.
- The Greek Diaspora Project team, Marilena Anastasopoulou, Foteini Kalantzi and Manolis Pratsinas presented the findings of the project in the panel ‘Greek Diaspora Engagement and Homeland in the Context of the Greek Crisis and Beyond’ at the 26th MGSA Symposium that will took place in Sacramento between 7-10 November 2019.
- On 24 November in the context of the seminar ‘The Great Migration’ Othon Anastasakis gave an invited presentation at the Cambridge Hellenic Learned Society on “Rethinking Greek diaspora-homeland relations in the wake of the Greek economic crisis”
- On 27 January 2020 Manolis Pratsinas gave an invited presentation in the panel discussion on migration and diaspora organized by the Hellenic Studies Centre at King’s College London.
- On February 1 Manolis Pratsinas, gave an invited presentation in the panel discussion on Migration, Refugeehood and Citizenship that took place in the context of the ‘Rethinking Modern Greek Studies in the 21st Century’ conference that was held in Oxford.
- On February 27 Manolis Pratsinakis, along with Katerina Zalavra, Head Corporate Information & Market Intelligence, AIA and Mrs. Maripola Kotsi, Supervisor, Market Research AIA, gave a presentation on the travelling dynamics of the Greek diaspora in the post 2010 era in the context of Athens International Airport 20th Annual Workshop.
On the 10 October 2019, SEESOX organised a public milestone event at the Hellenic Centre in London to present the three-year research output of the Greek Diaspora project to a wide London audience. The event was supported by the Hellenic Centre and the Greek Embassy in London and its reception kindly donated by a number of Greek food companies in London. The welcome and introductory remarks were handled by David Madden, Chair of the Steering Committee of SEESOX and Othon Anastasakis, Director of SEESOX/Principal Investigator of the Greek Diaspora Project, the Greek Ambassador in London, Dimitris Caramitsos-Tziras and the first Chair of the SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board, Nikos Karamouzis.

A panel, chaired by Kalypso Nicolaidis, Professor of International Relations in Oxford and founder of SEESOX, followed including SEESOX researchers, members of the Board and the Greek Ambassador in London (see photo for names). The event was well attended, mainly by diaspora Greeks in the UK and media representatives. The event was attended by diaspora Greeks in the UK, media representatives and the members of the SEESOX Hellenic Board.

Members of the core team of the Greek Diaspora project presented some of the research findings of the project, commented and discussed further by the other panellists leading to a fruitful conversation with the audience. A most impressive, as well as accessible and user-friendly, result of the project, is the digital map that SEESOX created in order to record and depict the presence of Greek diasporic organisations and associations around the world. Such a map offers a unique platform for the interaction of the Greek nation on an international level, as presented by Foteini Kalantzi, A. G. Leventis Research Officer at SEESOX. As Nikos Karamouzis emphasised in his speech, the Greek Diaspora project is a product of a fertile collaboration between academia and the private sector, which funded the initiative. Alexandros Sarrigeorgiou, President of Eurolife and new Chair of the SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board, emphasised the impact of a forward-looking and business-friendly government and that Greece is able to offer a high-calibre professional and educational environment. Yannis Paraschis, the CEO of the Athens International Airport presented some data, whereby the main destinations of Greek migrants are Europe and the Middle East and 15% of the trips of Greeks to and from the Athens airport, has a diasporic character. Manolis Pratsinakis, Onassis Research Fellow of the Greek Diaspora Project, emphasised that while the term ‘brain drain’ has monopolised the rhetoric and it is a significant phenomenon, does not reflect the status quo, as the recent wave of migration has a broader social representation. Antonis Kamaras, country coordinator of the Greek Diaspora Project, talked about the important role of the diaspora in the revival of Greece’s economic fortunes, and he noted that diaspora capital holders and high-ranking managers can mobilise financial resources. Our work on the diasporic vote was presented by Othon Anastasakis, who argued how the facilitation of the diasporic vote can be an essential incentive to keep diasporic engagement with Greece alive. The event’s main message was the significance and the huge potential of the Greek diaspora in Greece’s contemporary life. Foteini Kalantzi.
SEESOX on the Region

Even without the COVID-19 pandemic, 2019-2020 promised to be eventful for South East Europe. Several elections were scheduled – notably in Albania, Croatia, Serbia and North Macedonia – and key negotiations were to be reopened – regarding EU talks with Albania and North Macedonia and the perennial Kosovo-Serbia normalization process. SEESOX has followed these developments, organizing events and writing opinion pieces about how best to understand these developments and make sense of them.

Interestingly, while elections in Serbia, Croatia and North Macedonia were somewhat postponed due to COVID-19, Albanian local elections, scheduled for 30 June 2019 were also threatened with postponements – but for different reasons. The motive was a series of opposition boycotts and protests against Edi Rama’s government, accused of corruption and vote-buying discussed at the SEESOX seminar with Gjovalin Macaj. While the elections were at last held on time in order to prove its EU case, Albanian hopes of opening negotiations with the EU was dealt a massive blow in October 2019 when France in particular rejected its application alongside its fellow applicant North Macedonia.

Deeply problematic, normalization talks with Serbia hit a wall after Kosovo’s president Hashim Thaci was indicted by the special Kosovo tribunal for war crimes. Tense as ever, Kosovo – as discussed in a seminar by Ian Bancroft and Jessie Barton Hronesova in February 2020 – is facing a mounting number of economic and political obstacles that need to be resolved domestically before any meaningful discussions with Serbia can progress. SEESOX’s regional focus this academic year also continued to concentrate on Turkey, in particular from a security perspective. In a seminar with Dr Ziya Meral and Sir David Logan, Turkey’s arms deals with Russia were discussed as a case of Turkey’s strained relations with NATO. While the main focus was indeed on Turkey’s purchase of S-400 missiles from Russia and its implications on security and defence within NATO borders, both speakers concluded that Turkey continues to be a vital ally of NATO. Despite public perceptions due to Turkish campaign against Kurds, Turkey not only participates in several NATO operations and hosts critical NATO assets, there are also numerous Turkish soldiers and diplomats across alliance structures.

Measuring Peace: Principles, Practice and Politics

In October 2019, SEESOX hosted a book launch of Prof Richard Caplan’s new book *Measuring Peace: Principles, Practices and Politics* (Oxford University Press 649). The panellists, Jessie Barton Hronesova, Neil MacFarlane and Lord Alderdice, agreed that the book covers a lot of scholarly ground in peacebuilding that evidences Caplan’s extensive knowledge and empirical research. Representing parsimony at its best, the book offers a succinct discussion about the key principles, best (and worst) practices, and political constraints in measuring peace. The key question Caplan tackles is not about what does peace require to survive but what does this peace require? He finds answers in nuanced and fine-tuned contextualized methodologies that significantly differ from previous index-based measurements. The panellists discussed the different concepts that could be added to various conceptualizations of peace (incl. reconciliation, coexistence, trust) and how Caplan’s findings can be applied in different settings.
Life outside the Euro—Monetary and financial issues for the EU periphery and beyond

EU member states that have not adopted the Euro face a complex set of issues regarding their interactions with those countries that have adopted it, and ultimately have to decide whether and when to join the Euro and the banking union (BU).

The eight member states outside the Euro Area (EA) are economically and politically important. Even after Brexit they have a total population of 105 million, a significant number and more than any individual member state that has adopted the Euro. They range from among the richest to the poorest EU members.

On 23 January 2020 the European Political Economy Project (EuPEP) at St Antony’s European Studies Centre (ESC), in cooperation with SEESOX, hosted a conference that looked at monetary and financial issues for those countries that have not (yet) adopted the Euro. Much research on EU integration looks at the “core” EU member states, i.e. those that have adopted the Euro, and focuses on them in analysing the speed and priorities for taking forward the European project.

This conference sought instead to look at the policy choices and experiences of the countries at present not in the core. Speakers from all but two of the EU “periphery” member states participated in the conference,—three at central bank governor level (Bulgaria, Croatia, and Sweden)—and others at senior central bank level, as well as from the international institutions and academia. There were differing views as to how tightly the formal rules of the EU—in particular the stipulations of the Maastricht Treaty—needed to be followed. Some posited the sanctity of the rules, while others took a pragmatic approach, arguing that decisions would be based on the relative costs and benefits of adoption.

One theme of the conference was the extent of informal arrangements that have developed amongst member states and with near-EU countries, including arrangements amongst the Nordics and the Vienna initiative, which involves close cooperation amongst EU member states at differing levels of integration, and their banks, as well as countries not in the EU, some at various stages of the EU accession process. Another theme was macroprudential policy, as discussions at the European Systemic Risk Board (ESRB) involve core and periphery member states equally, and have evolved to include also non-EU EEA members, who now participate in everything but voting.

Recent institutional innovations, including the design of the BU have been set within the constraints of past EU Treaties. The length of time since the most recent EU Treaty, the Lisbon Treaty, is now greater than that between any previous EU Treaties, largely because of the fear that—given the opportunity of a Treaty conference—a number of member states would raise their own anti-integrationist issues, providing a Pandora’s box that might leave the overall situation even less coherent than hitherto. We may therefore continue with second-best and pragmatism for some time—a challenge for those wishing to accelerate the integration process, and arguably an unstable in-between set of compromises, and creating ambiguities for those (including countries not currently in the EU) that face choices on whether, and how far, to go along with integration.

Please follow this link to view the conference programme.
Turkish Migration Diplomacy Project

The project and the partners

Migration Diplomacy and Turkish-EU Relations is a research project developed by South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX), in partnership with the Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research of Humboldt University (BIM), and the Berlin-based German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM). The Principal Investigators of the project in Oxford are Othon Anastasakis and Mehmet Karli and from Germany Serhat Karakayani and Franck Duvell. This one-year project is seed-funded by the Oxford-Berlin Research Partnership. In line with the objectives of this partnership, and its purpose is to prepare a broader and more comprehensive research proposal that will be submitted to main research funding institutions at a second stage.

Scope of research

Europe, Turkey and the Middle East are at the heart of a migration emergency which is mainly caused by a decade long Syrian Civil War and generates distress for the refugees and migrants, social grievances as well as inflammatory inter-state relations. Turkey is the most important non-EU country which bears the impact of the Syrian migration and whose co-operation is essential for the management of this crisis for the EU. In this context, the crisis of 2015 triggered intense negotiations between Turkey and the EU, leading eventually to the Joint Action Plan and EU financial assistance in the region of €6 billion to help Turkey care for Syrian refugees, in return for the latter to agree to the readmission of Syrians arriving in Greece and tighter border controls. Despite the deal, relations between Turkey and the EU have deteriorated especially after the EU’s General Affairs Council’s decision to, effectively, freeze the accession negotiations in June 2018 and the European Parliament’s decision to request the EU to suspend the accession negotiations in March 2019, both in response to increasing authoritarianism in Turkey. Geopolitical frictions in the Eastern Mediterranean are making EU-Turkish relations even more difficult to manage.

The goals

This project seeks to bring together experts from the Universities of Oxford and Humboldt, the Berlin-based German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) as well as experts from other European, US and Turkish institutions. The research will go beyond the mere analysis of the existing EU policy tools within the accession and EU Facility for Refugees frameworks and will explore the potential for the EU as well as individual member states to open new policy spaces and to create new issue linkages from its side. We will also account for the impact of a potential Brexit upon such policies. It is in this context that this project has a great significance and promise in that it seeks a better understanding of the current migration environment and its impact on the EU-Turkish relations;

- looks carefully at reasons, motivations and actors that are driving Turkey’s migration policy;

- examines the EU’s endangered leverage over Turkey;

- analyses Turkey’s changing geopolitics in the region as well as relations with other external actors with a stake in Turkey’s migration diplomacy.

The meetings

During the past academic year, the partners organised a kick off meeting on the 17-18 of January 2020 at DeZIM in Berlin which set the main goals and strategy of the project and benefitted from local expertise in Berlin on the subject.

Under COVID-19 restrictions, SEESOX convened a first webinar in June 30 entitled “Domestic Drivers of Turkey’s Migration Diplomacy”. The zoom meeting organised under Chatham House Rule involved a group of 25 scholars who exchanged views on the domestic actors and factors affecting the design and implementation of Turkey’s migration foreign policy.

The webinar addressed the following questions:

- How migration flows affect the Turkish foreign policy making?
- How is Turkey’s “migration diplomacy” understood?
- Who are the main actors in Turkey’s migration diplomacy?
- What are the drivers in Turkish foreign policy making in relation to migration?
- What are the connections between local actors and the government’s migration diplomacy?
- Should the focus be only on Syrian refugees in Turkey or other nationalities as well?

Othon Anastasakis

Participants attending the launch meeting in Berlin in January 2020
**SEESOX seminars and events**

**Michaelmas 2019 (October-December)**

**Measuring Peace: A panel discussion**
- John Alderdice (Centre for the Resolution of Intractable Conflict (CRIAC)); **Richard Caplan** (Department of Politics and International Relations); **Jesse Hronesova** (Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford); **Neil MacFarlane** (Department of Politics and International Relations)
- IN COOPERATION WITH CIS

**Greece after the crisis: Stocktaking, legacies and prospects**
- **George Pagoulatos** (Athens University of Economics and Business (AUEB))
- Book discussion
- The Last Bluff: How Greece came face-to-face with financial catastrophe & the secret plan for its euro exit
- **Viktoria Dendrinou** (Bloomberg); **Eleni Varvitsioti** (Kathimerini); **Discussant: Tim Vladas** (St Antony’s College, Oxford)

**Albania’s ‘non-competitive’ local elections: A means to what end?**
- **Gjovalin Macaj** (Leiden University); **Stefan Szwez** (CIS Oxford; OSCE)

**Turkey/Russia arms deal: What can NATO do?**
- **Ziya Meral** (Centre for Historical Analysis and Conflict Research); **Discussant: David Logan** (British Institute at Ankara)

**European elites’ discourses of the Greek crisis**
- **Dimitris Papadimitriou** (University of Manchester)

**Unresolved issues in the Western Balkans: Progress or deterioration?**
- **Jessie Barton Hronešová** (Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford); **Adis Merdzanovic** (Zurich University of Applied Sciences)

**Hilary 2020 (January-March)**

**Western policy approaches to South East Europe: Engagement or neglect?**
- **Mirena Pencheva** (St Antony’s College, Oxford); **Jarek Wisniewski** (Independent Analyst)

**Radicalisation in the Western Balkans: Political, social or religious?**
- **Florian Qehaja** (Kosovar Centre for Security Studies); **Asya Metodieva** (Central European University)

**EU referenda in Greece and the UK and questions of legitimacy**
- **Evangelos Fanouilis** (Xi’an Jiaotong – Liverpool University)

**The ‘Balkan Route’: Humanitarian and security perspectives on migration**
- **Amanda Beattie** (Aston University); **Myriam Fotou** (University of Leicester); **Gemma Bird** (University of Liverpool)

**Energy dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean: Cooperation or conflict?**
- **Bill Kappis** (University of Buckingham); **Okan Yardimci** (St Antony’s College, Oxford)

**How to restart the normalisation of Serbia-Kosovo relations?**
- **Ilan Bancroft** (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe); **Jessie Barton Hronesova** (Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford)

**The role of the Balkans in the geopolitics of cybersecurity**
- **Lucas Kello** (Centre for Technology and Global Affairs, Oxford); **Cvete Koneska** (S-RM Intelligence and Risk Consulting, London)

**South East Europe in Russia’s geopolitical objectives**
- **Roy Allison** (St Antony’s College, Oxford); **Othon Anastasakis** (St Antony’s College, Oxford); **Andreja Bogdanovski** (University of Buckingham)

**China in South East Europe: Economic or political interests?**
- **Jens Bastian** (ELIAMEP); **Rana Mitter** (St Cross College, Oxford); **Igor Rogelja** (King’s College London)

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**Trinity 2019 (April-June)**

**WEBINARS**

**Book launch: The Legacy of Yugoslavia Politics, Economics and Society in the Modern Balkans**
- **Othon Anastasakis** (SEESOX); **Adam Bennett** (SEESOX); **David Madden** (SEESOX); **Adis Merdzanovic** (University of Sydney)

**Geopolitical challenges in the Balkans in the shadow of the pandemic**
- **Dimitar Bechev** (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); **Arolida Elbasani** (ChinaMed Project, Turin World Affairs Institute); **Anastas Vangeli** (Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw)

**The Greek diaspora and the pandemic**
- **Yiorgos Anagnostou** (Ohio State University); **Andreas Gkolfinopoulos** (University of Cologne); **Alexander Kitroeff** (Haverford College); **Manolis Pratsinakis** (University of Oxford)

**Political economy effects of COVID-19 on Central and South East Europe**
- **Christos Gortsos** (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens); **Piroska Nagy-Mohacsi** (LSE Institute of Global Affairs); **Kaloyan Simeonov** (European Studies Department, Sofia University St Kliment Ohridski); **Kori Udovički** (Centre for Advanced Economic Studies, Belgrade), **Charles Enoch** (St Antony’s College, Oxford)

**Other events**

**CONFERENCE (Oxford) January 2020**
- Life outside the Euro: Monetary and financial issues for the euro periphery and beyond
- IN COOPERATION WITH EUROPEAN POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT (EUPEP) and EUROPEAUM

**WORKSHOP (Berlin) January 2020**
- Inaugural meeting of the project on Turkey’s Migration Diplomacy and EU Relations
- IN COOPERATION WITH HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY AND DEZIM, BERLIN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OXFORD-BERLIN PARTNERSHIP

**WORKSHOP (Virtual) June 2020**
- Domestic drivers of Turkey’s Migration Diplomacy
- UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OXFORD-BERLIN PARTNERSHIP

**Outreach**

**PANEL DISCUSSION (London) October 2019**
- Contemporary Greek diaspora in the UK and beyond
- **Othon Anastasakis** (SEESOX, St Antony’s College, Oxford); **Dimitris Caramitsos-Tziras** (Ambassador of Greece to the UK); **Foteini Kalantzi** (SEESOX, St Antony’s College, Oxford); **Antonis Kamaras** (SEESOX Diaspora in Greece); **Nikos Karamouzis** (Grant Thornton, Greece); **David Madden** (SEESOX, St Antony’s College, Oxford); **Kalypso Nicolaïdis** (SEESOX, St Antony’s College, Oxford); **Yiannis Paraschis** (Athens International Airport); **Manolis Pratsinakis** (University of Oxford); **Alexandros Sarrigeorgiou** (EuroLife, Greece)
- IN COOPERATION WITH THE EMBASSY OF GREECE AND THE HELLENIC CENTRE
Third SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board Meeting in London

The third annual meeting of the Board took place in the prestigious Castlereagh Room of the Travellers Club in Pall Mall, London, on 10 October, preceded by a working lunch in the Library. The Library, where this photo is taken, is known for its cast of the frieze from the Temple of Bassae in Greece, so it seemed the perfect place for the Board lunch. During the lunch the Board listened to Sir Ivan Rogers, former Permanent Representative of the UK to the EU, who spoke about the state of Brexit and the implications for Britain.

At the meeting, the Chair of the Board Nikos Karamouzis announced that, as the first three year phase came to a close and for the purposes of rotation, he would step down as Chair but continue to be a member of the Board. The Board elected Alexandros Sarrigeorgiou, CEO Eurolife, to be the next Chair of the Board, and it was unanimously agreed that Nikos Karamouzis would be an Honorary Chair of the Board, as an appreciation for the exceptional work that he has done for SEESOX and the support of its Greek programme. There followed progress reports on the SEESOX Greek Diaspora Project, including its deepening and widening; other SEESOX work; and on the state of Greek studies at Oxford.

After the meeting, the members of the Board headed for the Hellenic Centre in London to attend and participate in a celebratory presentation to the wider London community of three years of Greek Diaspora work in Oxford. This was a special event which provided yet another opportunity for the SEESOX team to acknowledge the generous donors for their commitment and support of the Greek programme at SEESOX.

We are grateful to our donors for their generous support for the Greek Programme at SEESOX

The Legacy of Yugoslavia

New SEESOX publication

What are the consequences of Yugoslavia's existence – and breakup – for the present? This book reflects on this very question, identifying and analysing the political legacies left behind by Yugoslavia through the prism of continuities and ruptures between the past and present of the area.

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, its former states adopted a nation-building process which opted to eradicate the past as such an approach seemed more convenient for the new national projects. The new states adopted new institutions, new market-oriented economic paradigms and new national symbols. Yugoslavia existed for 70 years and to consider the current political situation in post-Yugoslav states such as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo without taking into account the legacy and remnants of Yugoslavia is to discount a vital part of their political history.

This volume takes a multi-disciplinary and multi-faceted approach to examining the legacy of Yugoslavia, covering politics, society, international relations and economics. Focusing on distinctive features of Yugoslavia including worker self-management, the combination of liberalism and communism and the Cold War policy of Non-Alignment, The Legacy of Yugoslavia places Yugoslavia in historical perspective and connects the region's past with its contemporary political situation.

The volume is co-edited by four people who have a lengthy association with SEESOX, and regularly appear on the pages of the newsletter: Othon Anastasakis (Director), David Madden, Adam Bennett and Adis Merdzanovic.

I.B. Tauris website
SEESOX aspires...

In normal times, members of SEESOX would now be in – or just returned from – Athens for our biennial visit, to make a presentation at the Megaron on the strategic challenges and geo-politics of South East Europe, generously funded by the Public Diplomacy Division of NATO. And we would have had our annual presentation at the Global Strategy Forum in London, and our annual working lunch with the 14 Ambassadors of South East Europe in London, with whom SEESOX has a close relationship. All events broadly based on our Hilary Term seminar series. In short, business – and enjoyable and productive business – as usual.

But, as you will have noticed, these are not normal times. COVID 19 intervened. As reported earlier in the newsletter, we had our Hilary Term seminar series on geo-politics, ending as the virus struck. We were lucky, but the three consequent events have been swept away. For the time being.

But geo-politics and strategic challenge do not go away just because pandemics strike: as the Black Death, cholera, and Spanish flu attest. They continue, and can intensify. And SEESOX is also continuing its long-term work on regional issues, diaspora and migration, political economy, European integration: a full agenda. And so seminars, the form of webinars, go on: already in the Trinity Term, and into the next academic year. On the first page of this newsletter, Team SEESOX publish a collective article on how we see and do this: united as ever in our joint endeavour.

So here is our wish list for the next academic year(s) in the form of three ‘Is’.

1. Invigorate our networking global capacity through the usage of zoom meetings, webinars and of our diaspora digital map.
2. Increase our partnerships with more universities and institutes beyond the region in Europe, United States and Australia.
3. Intensify the impact of our output through the use of digital media, films and visual material.

The topics that we are dealing and the circumstances that we are going through demand such objectives.

David Madden

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The SEESOX Review
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Team SEESOX at one of our Monday meetings