The 2019 SEESOX Annual Lecture was delivered on 22 May by Nikos Karamouzis, President of Grant Thornton, Greece, Chair of the SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board, and Emeritus Professor at the University of Piraeus. The lecture offered timely insights into the future of the Greek economy as it surfaces after many years of IMF/EU memoranda and programmes.

Mr Karamouzis detailed key aspects of how the crisis hit the economy; GDP fell from 250 billion euros in 2008 to only 185 billion now, investment fell to a third of pre-crisis levels, and half a million people emigrated. According to Mr Karamouzis, the crisis was caused by huge fiscal and external deficits, and monetary explosion, but the impact was harsher than necessary. Europe was unprepared: its crisis resolution framework was not in place. Also, creditors miscalculated the multiplier effects of the programmes’ adjustment measures, and the programmes did not front-load the structural measures—such as privatizations—that would have offset the negative impact of the fiscal adjustment. Bank recapitalization was delayed, and there was ongoing resistance by creditors to debt restructuring.

The worst is now behind. Mr. Karamouzis was optimistic that Greece’s economy can start to recover, notwithstanding that the country’s debt ratio remains higher than at the onset of the crisis: tax rates should be lowered in exchange for acceleration of structural reforms; public administration must be made more efficient; and a positive environment created to attract foreign investment. While the crisis led to hardship, any alternative strategy—such as leaving the Euro—could have been devastating.

Charles Enoch
Letter from the Director

Team SEESOX’s enthusiasm for the study of the South East European region continued unabated during the past academic year. Indeed, 2018-19 had it all: original research, public survey and interviews with stakeholders, publications, books, co-operations with universities, think tanks and other programmes in Oxford, as well as seminars, conferences and workshops. Our focus was inter-disciplinary, cross-country and multi-thematic and our sources of inspiration historical developments and contemporary issues. The current annual review which is composed by short pieces written by SEESOX associates contains highlights of a very rich year in events and research. Prominent among these our work on diaspora issues – brain drain, philanthropic giving, homeland-diaspora political engagement - supported generously by our donors and operationalised by a very vigorous team. We continued to follow contemporary developments in Turkey – a country which never ceases to produce more news than we can consume – the exodus of Greece from the memoranda, the solution to the one of the most unsolvable Balkan problems, the Macedonian name issue. Last year we engaged with the theme of “memory” through the work of our own team as well as through collaboration with other regional programmes at St Antony’s looking at intergenerational memories of traumatic experiences such as ethnic conflicts or refugee flows or memories of transitions from authoritarianism in Europe and beyond. As usual all our activities are posted in our SEESOX blog where everyone can access a summary of all these events, a selection of which is included with photos in this newsletter which we hope you enjoy reading!

Othon Anastasakis, Director of SEESOX

SEESOX news bites

♦ Kalypso Nicolaidis has written a new book entitled Exodus, Reckoning, Sacrifice: Three Meanings of Brexit. This crowd-funded venture has proved very popular, with presentations across Europe.

♦ Richard Caplan’s new book, Measuring Peace: Principles, Practices and Politics was published in April 2019. He will present it at SEESOX on 23 October.

♦ A new member joined the Greek Diaspora Project research team during last academic year: Harry Field-Theotakos is doing research on the migration of Greeks to Australia. His working papers on this subject are published the SEESOX Diaspora website.

♦ SEESOX hosted two academic visitors from Greece during Michaelmas 2018: Christos Gortsos from University of Athens, and Marilena Koppa from Panteion University. Christos’s research focused on the political economy of the EU, and Marilena covered geo-political questions and the future of European defence.

♦ We are very pleased to announce that the Leventis Foundation has extended the grant for Foteini Kalantzi to continue her research on the Greek Diaspora for another year.

♦ Charles Enoch has been awarded the ESC Fellowship for two years from October 2019. Charles will coordinate Political Economy of South East Europe at SEESOX.

♦ Adrienne Cheasty joined Team SEESOX in January 2019. Adrienne comes from the IMF, where she was most recently Deputy Director of the Fiscal Affairs Department, responsible for Europe and for fiscal federal issues.

♦ Franck Düvell, member of the SEESOX Steering Committee, has departed Oxford for Berlin, and is now the Head of the Migration Department at the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM). Previously he was an Associate Professor and Senior Researcher at COMPAS.

♦ Julie Newton (Visiting Fellow at St Antony’s College, Oxford, and Associate Professor of the Department of International and Comparative Politics at the American University of Paris) joined the SEESOX Steering Committee in Hilary 2019. Her research focusses on current Russia-EU relations.

♦ Jessie Barton Hronešová, DPhil graduate (2017), and longtime associate of SEESOX, has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship from the Economic and Social Research Council to conduct research in Oxford for the next academic year. She will be based at Queen Elizabeth Hall under the mentorship of Dr John Gledhill.
**Visiting Scholars: In their own words...**

**Murat Belge—Visiting Fellow**

“I came to SEESOX in the beginning of 2019. This was not my first visit to Oxford, nor to St Antony’s. Most of the times I had been invited to Oxford to give a talk or to participate in a seminar, the invitation had come from St. Antony’s, mainly because among the Oxford colleges St. Antony’s is probably the most open to the outside world, with many departments and centres that specialize in different regions in the world. I was a “visiting scholar”. The principal reason for this “visit” was the nature of the political situation in Turkey and the pressures on Academia. But at the end of the academic year, the newly emerging possibilities for change made me cut my visit short before the set time. I was warmly received in the centre and soon became friends with scholars working there. I attended the regular seminars on "diaspora" problems in Balkan countries. The talks at these meetings were informative and intelligent, the discussions animated and rewarding. The time I spent at SEESOX was both useful and pleasant. I am thankful to all who made this stay possible.”

**Daphne Nicolitsas—Academic Visitor**

“Six months is definitely not long enough to take in all that SEESOX has to offer, but my six months at SEESOX have been a very fruitful and enlightening time. Getting out of the narrow world of numbers (I like statistics!) and equations and appreciating the geopolitical forces shaping developments has been the most definite gain for me. And yes, apart from learning a lot about cross-country differences in diaspora behaviours and migration trends, about what the Western Balkans expect from Europe but also listening to proposals of alternative fiscal policies, a great takeaway from my time at SEESOX has been a very efficient way of managing a team: the collegial behaviour, the no-rank attitude, the democratic decision making process and the perfect organisation stand out. I will remember my six months at SEESOX as a time when I was given the opportunity to think clearly about economics while being reminded that economics is only one aspect of global developments.”

**Alev Özkazanç—Visiting Fellow**

“Seesox helped me greatly to recover from the effects of political and academic deterioration. The very welcoming and friendly attitude of the Seesox team and the invigorating academic environment have been so rewarding for me. As a professor of political science who is working on gender politics in relation to rising national populisms in Turkey and all over the world, I found it supremely inspiring and illuminative to take part in the debates particularly over right-wing populisms in Europe and over Brexit. I myself had the opportunity to contribute to the debates by giving a seminar on anti-gender politics in Europe and Turkey. Seesox also offered a perfect setting for the discussions of contemporary Turkey. It was particularly uplifting to see that Turkey is still being studied in the context of European politics, given the growing alienation of Turkey from EU. Thanks to the vivid academic environment as well as the supporting social interactions at Seesox, I have improved academically and been able to produce good work. Personally, I have been delighted to meet with amazing colleagues from all over Europe and especially from Greece and much enjoyed the engagement with them.”
A team from SEESOX visited Athens from 22 to 25 October, part-funded by the Public Diplomacy Division of NATO. The first evening there was a dinner with George Papandreou.

The centrepiece of the visit was a presentation at the Megaron on 23 October. Richard Caplan, Professor of International Relations at Oxford University, addressed “Contemporary Global Security Challenges”. Lucas Kello, Senior Lecturer in International Relations at Oxford, spoke on “Evolving Cyber Threats”. Ino Afendouli, Programme Director at the Public Diplomacy Division of NATO, presented on “The new security environment: The View from NATO”. Marilena Koppa, a former MEP, and Associate Professor at the Panteion University, and at the time an Academic Visitor at St Antony’s College, Oxford, covered “Europe and Common Security and Defence Policy.”

The international community was facing major security challenges: among others, the return of geopolitics; unprecedented high migration flows; security threats induced by climate change; and renewed nuclear proliferation concerns. In parallel, there was the rise of cyber security threats. Cyber weapons challenged basic assumptions of strategic theory. Their use was difficult to model and regulate. The growth of cyber arsenals was rapidly outpacing the design of doctrine to limit their risks. Was the international community equipped to meet all these challenges? From a NATO perspective, the international security environment was complex, unpredictable and unstable. There was a shift in transatlantic relations, and no let-up in threats and challenges from Russia. Crimea represented a change of paradigm. But NATO stood firm. There had been expansion, and a clear-headed focus on the risks. There was now need for common policies between NATO and the EU, despite Brexit. On the EU side, the 2016 Security Strategy stressed resilience, close cooperation with NATO, and also a new emphasis on European defence, with increased coordination and inclusiveness.

There was an hour of lively Q&A covering: relations with Russia and China; energy; world order; Trump and NATO; cyber non-proliferation; and democratic legitimacy.

Earlier in the day there was a lunch with the Hellenic Advisory Board after their meeting (page x). Richard Caplan briefed on multilateralism and the US; Lucas Kello on cyber security and Russia; Kalypso Nicolaidis on Brexit and bilateralism in the EU. Discussion in particular covered Russian tactics and objectives.

The British Ambassador hosted a working lunch at her Residence on 24 October. Othon Anastasakis, Manolis Pratsinas and David Madden briefed on the work of SEESOX, including regional and geo-political work (Macedonia name issue and prospects for resolution and NATO membership, Berlin Process, Greece and Turkey, other Turkey issues, the crisis of democracy in the Balkans, and the role of Russia). A round-table discussion covered: the Western Balkans, including the role of Greece; Cyprus; and the role of Germany in Europe and the region.

The same day there was a working dinner with colleagues from Panteion University. This concentrated on Greek/Turkish relations, the rise of populism and nationalism in Europe, the Middle East and the role of various players, again with particular emphasis on the objectives and intentions of Russia.
SEESOX Diaspora: The Greek Diaspora Project

Survey of Greeks in the UK

SEESOX carried out a large representative survey to assess and analyse the profile of the Greek communities in the UK which have been highly diversified with the post-2008 crisis-driven emigration wave from Greece. The survey was funded by diaNEOsis research and policy institute. The questionnaire covered 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. It addresses the following two research questions: (I) What is the socioeconomic, political and cultural profile of the Greek Diaspora in the UK? (II) To what extent and under what conditions are Greeks in the UK willing and able to contribute to Greece at times of crisis? The analysis is underway and final report will be published in September, and findings will be disseminated in London, Athens and elsewhere.

Manolis Pratsinakis

The political participation of Greeks abroad

On 29 October 2018, the Greek Diaspora Project at SEESOX organised a two-panel public debate titled ‘Diaspora and political participation in Greek political affairs’ held at the Onassis Cultural Centre in Athens. The first panel focused on the issue of diasporic political participation by analysing the relationship between Greeks abroad and their homeland and by stressing the ways in which the Greek diaspora can affect Greece’s internal affairs from historical, human rights, and comparative perspectives. The second panel discussed the potentials of as well as the constitutional and political impediments to the adoption of the diasporic vote from a political practitioner’s perspective. Bringing together academics, politicians, and technocrats, this event shed light on different aspects of diasporic political participation and brought to the forefront the discussion of the adoption of the right of Greeks abroad to vote and the potential consequences at a time when this has become a significant matter in Greek politics.

Marilena Anastasopoulou

SEESOX establishes a Commission on Greek Diaspora Philanthropy

In partnership with the Bodossaki Foundation, SEESOX has established a Commission on Greek Diaspora Philanthropy whose objective is to synthesize the latest research on diaspora philanthropy worldwide, and of Greek diaspora and non-diaspora philanthropy, with a series interviews with leading institutions active in philanthropy in Greece. To that end, the Commission has interviewed Greek philanthropic foundations, of diaspora or transnational origin, as well as non-profits based in Greece, be they of Greek or non-Greek-origin, and Greek state institutions, originating from the cultural, educational and environmental sectors and from local government, which have or could access Greek diaspora philanthropy.

The end product of the Commission is a report which highlights the achievements and constraints of diaspora philanthropy in Greece. The report puts forward practical recommendations which are addressed to the Greek central and local government, to diaspora philanthropists and to non-profit and state grantees. The ultimate ambition of the Report is to contribute to the creation of a community of stakeholders better aware of each others’ strategies and more able to advance the cause of diaspora philanthropy in Greece.

The report and its findings will be presented at a special event in Athens in the Autumn.

Antonis Kamaras
On 7 November 2018, Xenophon Kappas, Director of the Captain Vassilis and Carmen Constantakopoulos Foundation, spoke on ‘Civil Society on the edge: A discussion of the Greek experience’. He offered his long-time experience gained while volunteering for organisations such as Amnesty International, the Hellenic Ornithological Society (Birdlife Greece) and Médecins sans Frontières. He gave a historical perspective of how the idea of civil society developed in Greece, pointing out that the Enlightenment had played a vital role leading towards the Greek War of Independence, as at its core were the right to free speech and education. He brought up examples from different periods in time, where civil society played a vital role in the social and political developments in Greece. Kappas concluded his talk by suggesting that the crisis was a factor for mobilisation of civil society and an incubator of existing schemes.

On 17 October 2018, Kyriakos Pierrakakis, Director of Research at the Greek Think Tank diaNEOsis since 2016, gave a seminar on the subject "Beyond the Economic Crisis: Greece’s other Existential Challenges". He gave background information regarding the insufficient economic growth of Greece, and then he focused on the main challenges, such as demography, climate change, job losses because of technological changes, and social capital. Pierrakakis pointed to possible solutions which were also opportunities: care for the elderly, immigration, family policy, targeted social policy; full scale adaptation, green energy; investing in skills, life-long education; institutional reform and e-government. He put emphasis on the word ‘trust’. ‘Do we trust one another?’

On the 29th of January 2019, Kostis Kornetis, Santander fellow at the European Studies Centre for the academic year 2018-19, gave a talk on the topic of ‘The intergenerational memories of the democratic transition in post-junta Greece’. Kornetis focused on the role of memory on transition to democracy in Greece. He posed questions such as ‘how is the past remembered among different generations and what is the importance of this. He spoke of the centrality of the historical reference of the transition from the junta to democracy during the economic crisis. He also spoke of the fact that the memory of this transition entailed controversies and diverse views among Greeks. Kornetis’ analysis was based on research through oral histories and interviews and by looking into the ways that three different generations remembered the transition.

On 26 February 2019, Foteini Kalantzi, A.G. Leventis Research Officer at SEESOX, St Antony’s College, University of Oxford, gave a talk on the topic of “Securitisation of migration in the EU: The case of Greece”. Kalantzi’s talk focused on the socio-political construction of migration as a security threat (a process referred to as ‘securitisation’ of migration) in Greece between 2000-2014, through discourse and practices. One of the main conclusions of the paper placed Greece’s position towards migration within the wider European context of securitisation, including the role of Frontex, whereby the relationship between security and migration intensified. One of Kalantzi’s further conclusions was that securitisation is not a linear process but that it follows a pattern of ups and downs. Nevertheless, one can observe a gradual intensification of this tendency over time.

On 10 June 2019, Daphne Nicolitsas (University of Crete) gave a talk on "The origin and the impact of labour market institutions in Greece". She focused on their impact on the loss of competitiveness in the Greek economy. She questioned the flexibility of institutions, as the labour market reacted with a delay to the downturn in economic activity. She argued that frictions in the labour markets need to be dealt with the establishment of institutions to protect employees from extreme income volatility. These institutions need to be revised
over time, aligning with the context they operate. In the case of Greece, the gradual loss of competitiveness in the years preceding the crisis, was not corrected with institutional reform. Instead there was wage rigidity, binding minimum wages and limited representativeness of social partners in the collective bargaining procedures. The extensive use of arbitration contradicted the spirit of free collective bargaining. The consequences were anaemic growth, protection of insiders and a neglect of the unemployed.

Social movements in Greece: Between past and present

SEESOX co-sponsored, with the University of Sheffield, the University of Exeter and the University of Peloponnese, a conference on Greek Social Movements between past and present. This took place in Athens on 5 and 6 April, hosted by The American College of Greece and its Institute of Global Affairs.

The conference brought together social scientists, psychologists and anthropologists to discuss grassroots mobilisation in Greece on left and right from 1974 to the present day. It started by looking at a long-term overall perspective, continued with the understanding of current political attitudes, and then reviewed specific aspects, such as terrorism and violence since the 1970s, social movements in the 1980s, and the features and impact of the recent indignados movements.

SEESOX PRESENTS

Contemporary Greek Diaspora in the UK and beyond

The Hellenic Centre, 16-18 Paddington St, Marylebone, London W1U 5AS

Thursday 10 October, 18:00

In cooperation with the Embassy of Greece
In the context of our flagship Diaspora Project, the SEESOX Hilary term Seminar Series this academic year addressed the field of diaspora studies from a comparative perspective. It focused on relations between homelands and diasporas in South East Europe and beyond, through an interdisciplinary lens and following conceptual and empirical discussions. Professor Maria Koinova (University of Warwick) opened the seminar with the presentation ‘Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Contested States’. She drew on her 5-year long ERC Starting Grant which focused on the homeland-oriented political mobilization of six diasporas (Albanian, Armenian, Bosnian, Kurdish, Iraqi and Palestinian) whose homelands experience contested sovereignty. The presentation addressed and explored the question: under what conditions and by way of which causal mechanisms do different diaspora entrepreneurs mobilize in contentious and non-contentious ways, or use a two-pronged strategy simultaneously, when connected to contested states? Koinova’s analysis highlighted the significance of socio-spatial linkages in foreign policy lobbying and contentious politics in Europe and emphasized the importance of socio-spatial positionality and autonomy of diaspora entrepreneurs in world politics.

The second presentation by Dr Tena Prelec (University of Sussex) addressed the issue of transnational citizenship and political participation focusing on the Serbian case. Based on two surveys conducted around the 2017 Serbian presidential elections, Prelec argued that the Serbian diaspora’s political views had changed from the 1990s, when the prevalent political ideology had been nationalistic. Rather than being focused on geopolitical issues, the major concerns of the new diaspora, which is critical of the course that their country has taken, relate to governance. A wide-ranging set of issues concerning the voting procedures hindering their ability to participate also emerged from the survey findings, indicating Serbia’s diaspora potential to participate more vigorously in the political life of the country in the future.

In week three Dr Elena Genova (University of Nottingham) spoke on ‘Contested diasporic identities in times of crisis: The Other Bulgaria in the UK’. Genova explored the intersection of the discourses produced by the European crises and migrants’ national identity. She argued that both the context of Brexit Britain and the Bulgarian context of socio-economic instability and political volatility, subject Bulgarian migrants to stigmatizing representations. Relying on her empirical data, she submitted that young Bulgarians drew on two related ideas to counterbalance negative discourses 1) the idea of the “new Enlightener”, presenting themselves as agents of change with the potential to ‘enlighten’ their compatriots and 2) the idea of the ‘Ambassador’, denoting that these Bulgarians should represent the best about their country.

In week four Dr Mustafa Cakmak (Keele University) gave a seminar, on the current dynamics of the Turkish-speaking diaspora and their political engagement, viewed from a historical perspective in the UK context. Cakmak offered a view of the new
ways in which a new diaspora is generated via exclusionary political practices, reflecting on the dramatic increase in the number of migrants and asylum seekers from Turkey since the failed coup in 2016. He also explained how long-distance nationalism functions, providing several examples of political engagement of major political groups among the Turkish-speaking diaspora. Finally, he explored how the Turkish state tries to mobilise the diaspora in order to strengthen its power both at home and with its European and international counterparts.

Next, Dr Zana Vathi (Edge Hill University) spoke on social protection and return migration, focusing on the case of the Albanian-Greek migration corridor. In recent years, return migration to Albania has critically intensified, due to the European economic crisis, notably in Greece, the country hit the hardest and where the largest number of Albanian migrants have settled since the early 1990s. Based on qualitative research with migrants, their children and key informants in Albania, Vathi explored the experiences of the returnees with social protection and their positionality towards social protection stakeholders. She argued that, despite return migration being overlooked in the social protection literature, return migration may be planned and experienced as a complex social protection strategy. In turn, social protection experiences are central to migrants’ perception of their return and (re)settlement process.

In week six, Dr Julie Vullnetari (University of Southampton), gave a presentation on ‘Gendering Remittances’ building on her long research engagement with this field in Albania. Vullnetari first answered the questions on who sends and who receives remittances as well as who decides and administers how they are used. She then explored their effects on gender relations suggesting that, although the responsibilities and the burden are heavily increased for women whose husband has migrated abroad, the consequent decision-making empowered them. She underlined that quality of life of family members, in terms of health and education, has considerably improved, with some important gendered implications. Moreover, remittances have improved women’s working and living environments. Finally, there is some change in traditional gender roles for women and men, albeit slow and context-dependent.

In the seventh seminar, Laura Morosanu (University of Sussex) spoke on the identity options of Eastern and Southern European migrants in Britain drawing 77 interviews with younger migrants from Romania, Slovakia, Spain and Italy, resident in London, Oxford and Brighton. Morosanu drew on literature originally from the USA (Waters), where ethnicity choices among ‘white’ ethnics (of European background) were, in contrast to non-white minorities, often symbolic and seen as optional, and frequently a source of pride. She also referred to literature on ‘everyday’ cosmopolitanism.

Morosanu’s conclusions were that different ethnic identity choices reflected different British perceptions of the various groups. Two types of cosmopolitan identity were apparent: the one as reaction to stigmatisation (the Romanian case) and the other to overcome parochial attachments (the Southern European case). Cosmopolitanism was mostly compatible with ‘soft’ national identities.

In the final seminar Professor Neophytos Loizides gave a talk on ‘Diasporas and peace mediations’ focusing on the Cypriot case. He first set out the historical context of the Cypriot diaspora, and the specifics of the current debate which include demands for participation in a future referendum, political and electoral rights of diaspora citizens, and the “right of return” including property considerations. Loizides argued that the Cypriot conflict was largely defined by diasporic experience (Internally displaced persons, settlers, refugees): but the very different histories of these groups provided important challenges for the peace process. However, there are multiple examples of diaspora activists for peace, and diaspora returnees who supported bicommunalism. He concluded by saying that the inclusion of diasporas and their views in a future peace settlement is critical. An upcoming survey would investigate peace attitudes, probing the priorities and possible trade-offs.
During the 2018-19 academic year, SEESOX’s Programme on Contemporary Turkey focused on, as was the case in the last couple of years, the rising authoritarianism and its effects in the region. The first panel that was held on November 2018 and titled “Centralisation of Power in Turkey: Is it sustainable?” examined the effects of the centralized and personified power on foreign policy, economy and judiciary.

The discussion was chaired by David Madden (SEESOX), and the speakers were Ezgi Başaran (SEESOX), Mehmet Karlı (SEESOX) and Charles Enoch (PEFM).

Başaran presented what she called as ‘structural inconsistencies and new constants in the new Turkish foreign policy’ which included the complete erosion of domestic checks and balances, parliament’s loss of its role in foreign policy, the subduing and suppression of any critical views on foreign policy, and the erosion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ traditional role as a strong foreign policy actor. Consequently, the new policy became highly transactional, personalized and temperamental. She argued that a vaguely Middle Eastern orientation, prioritization of international criminal cooperation to contribute to Turkey’s domestic security operations, and continuing paranoia regarding the Kurdish role in international relations, appear to be the constants in this otherwise fluid policy framework.

Karlı’s presentation, entitled “A Constitution to End All Constitutions: the Turkish Constitution after 2017 and the Decline of Ottoman-Turkish Constitutionalism”, offered a very detailed description of the constitutional changes after 2017. He pointed out the mechanisms whereby the parliament loses many of its powers, such as impeachment, asking questions and budget-making, as well as its legislative function. He also underlined the new power of the presidential decrees, which he described as “the nail in the coffin of the primacy of legislation”.

Enoch offered a detailed explanation of the centralization of power over the economy in three areas of government: Central Bank, the Sovereign Wealth Fund, and the Finance Ministry. He pointed to the loss of confidence in economic management, as Erdoğan talks of foreign conspiracies, appoints his son-in-law as Finance and Economy Minister, the lira falls drastically and the Central Bank loses its independence. Enoch concluded that economic strategy is unlikely to survive the centralization of power in the economy, given the slowing growth, rising debt, lack of confidence, a dampening of foreign inflows and continued erratic policy announcements.

SEESOX hosted renown author Ece Temelkuran for the launch of her latest book entitled ‘How to Lose a Country: The 7 Steps from Democracy to Dictatorship’ in February 2019. Temelkuran described her book as an attempt to get beyond the echo chambers and reach to an audience that has no access to the academic literature on the rise of populism. The launch which was very well attended had three discussants: Ceren Lord (St Antony’s College), Murat Belge (St Antony’s College) and Laurent Mignon (St Antony’s College).

Lord commented that Turkey was not unique but was a textbook case of right-wing populism, with a leader appealing to the ‘real people’ and manufacturing victimhood. Mignon pointed to the role of opposition politicians, and the role of religion, in the rise of illiberal populism. In answer to these points and other questions, Temelkuran rhetorically asked ‘how idiotic projects prevailed.’ Nigel Farage and Brexit were an example. Asked to suggest the remedies for the situations she described, Temelkuran called for a return to reason.
Alev Özkazanç of SEESOX, in her seminar on March 2019, examined the AKP rule from a gender politics perspective. Özkazanç first defined the main features of anti-gender movements (AGM) that emerged in 2010 in Europe, the USA, and Latin America and claimed that they target many aspects of gender equality policies, mostly concentrating on reproductive rights, LGBT rights, and same-sex marriage and sex education for children. Özkazanç argued that the specific content of the gender debate in Turkey has important implications for the place of gender politics in the wider Turkish politics and how and why gender could act as the Achilles heel for the new regime, rather than acting as symbolic glue.

Turkish – British relations before and after Brexit was discussed by Simon Waldman (King’s College) and Yaprak Gürsoy (Aston University). They examined the strategic partnership between Turkey and Britain from Gordon Brown’s term to until present day. Waldman argued that Brown and then Cameron considered Turkey to be “Europe’s BRIC”, and a model marrying Islam and democracy. This view has waned off since 2013 and Turkey had become an unreliable partner. Waldman identified seven objectives for the UK in seeking a strategic partnership:
1. Counter Russia; 2. Terrorism; 3. Anarchy in the Middle East, affecting oil; 4. Securing Britain’s economic future; 5. Uncertainty due to the loss of US global leadership; 6. Cyber warfare; 7. Chinese belligerency. On most of these Turkey’s role is ambiguous—for instance, it has bought S-400 missiles from Russia, which are incompatible with NATO systems. Waldman argued that it would, therefore, be a mistake for the UK to seek to have a strategic alliance with Turkey but rather should enhance trade relations.

Özkazanç returned in Trinity Term, this time focusing on Turkish politicians’ perceptions of the UK from the years 2011-2015. Gürsoy who analyzed Turkish parliamentary records and conducted interviews with Turkish politicians argued that Britain is considered as a model of democracy, economy, judiciary, and education. She concluded by asking the question if this could be translated into British soft power.

SEESOX also touched upon different aspects of contemporary politics of Turkey’s ruling AKP through historical and gender politics perspectives. In his seminar on November 2018, Behlül Özkan of Marmara University, Istanbul examined the role of political Islam on Turkish-German relations since the 1960s. While Berlin has been complaining about AKP’s instrumental use of Islamic networks in Germany for Turkey’s interests and criticizing Turkey with the involvement of German domestic affairs, Ankara has been accusing Germany of supporting terrorist groups against Turkey. By explaining the development of Islamic networks in Germany with the Turkish immigration since the 1960s and their relations with Islamist parties in Turkey and Muslim Brotherhood network, Özkan argued that political Islam has been a key component in understanding Turkish-German relations. Halil Karaveli Halil M. Karaveli (Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Sweden) also took a historical approach to expound on the authoritarianism in Turkey today. At a time when an authoritarian-nationalist right is on the rise in Europe and elsewhere, the history of modern Turkey offers instructive lessons on the sources and hold of authoritarianism. Karaveli’s seminar in May 2019, contended that democracy in Turkey has been undermined by class politics and by the decades-long hegemony of populist-authoritarian right-wing politics. The Turkish right has established its hegemony by recasting the class conflict as a cultural conflict between the people and the elite. According to Karaveli Turkish case highlights the fatal consequences for democracy in the absence of a democratic leftist alternative and it provides a comparison to the present alienation of the popular classes from the center-left in Europe and the Middle East.
Focus on the Balkans

On the 15th of May 2019, Nikos Kotzias, former Foreign Minister of Greece and Professor at the University of Piraeus, delivered a SEESOX lecture entitled “North Macedonia: The logic of the solution” on the Macedonian name deal and how the two sides came to a successful conclusion. Having Nikos Kotzias, the main architect of the name deal from the Greek side as a speaker at SEESOX, was a rare opportunity to listen to his personal account of the opportunities, challenges and the lessons learned that led to a final deal in one of the most intractable foreign policy issues of post-1989 Greece. The secret of success, according to Kotzias, lay in building trust between two sides that had mistrusted each other for so long and therefore one of the initial moves was to bring about confidence building measures. The main aim was to create a positive agenda based on interests instead of rigid positions and avoid becoming a hostage of history. According to Kotzias, the thin parliamentary majority in favour of the agreement in both parliaments, the Greek and the North Macedonian, is a clear indication of the balanced nature of the deal, and reflects the culture of a compromise where both sides feel that they have marginally gained from it.

Earlier in the academic year, SEESOX had benefitted from an other talk on the Macedonian name dispute by academic visitor Marilena Koppa, Assistant Professor at Panteion University, who spoked about the past unsuccessful efforts to solve the problem and how a successful resolution to the name dispute could improve relations between the two states and enhance the region’s prospect towards accession to the EU. Finally, it should be reminded that in the fall of 2017, when bilateral talks were starting to take place, SEESOX had convened its own brainstorming meeting in Oxford with representatives from both sides of the Macedonian border and had since been interested in following and discussing the process that led to the final deal.

Othon Anastasakis

South East Europe’s Diaspora: The Dark Side

The speakers on 8 May were Dr Liz David-Barrett, Director of the Centre for the Study of Corruption at Sussex University, who analysed both organised crime and corruption, and the challenges faced by diasporas; Edrin Gjoni (Community Engagement Officer for the Albanian community, Home Office) who assessed the cultural mindset of certain sectors of the diasporas which facilitated Organised Crime Groups (OCG); and John Howell who examined the UK criminal justice statistics involving Western Balkan nationals.

The vulnerabilities of the diaspora were exploited by OCG: who used shared ethnicities, extortion and fear of retribution; and also the diaspora’s detailed knowledge of conditions and local markets. Criminality seemed to follow the diasporas (and use them as bases/ supply lines/contacts), rather than being actively encouraged by them.
Synergies with other programmes at St Antony’s College

Conferences with the Basque and Santander Fellows

During Trinity Term, SEESOX co-hosted two one-day conferences organised by Visiting Fellows at the European Studies Centre.

On 14 June, Kepa Fernandez de Larrinoa convened the Basque Visiting Fellow Conference on Memory Wars and War Therapies in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building. It brought together anthropologists, historians and political scientists from Oxford University, the University of London, Queen’s University Belfast, Oxford Brookes University, the University of Reno Nevada and RMIT University, Melbourne. Speakers presented case studies and perspectives from Northern Ireland, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Basque Country.

Based on a comparative, interdisciplinary approach, participants discussed analytical ethnographies of cultural expressions and depictions of political violence, particularly in scenarios where distinctive sociocultural communities come to be involved in the politics of supporting or rejecting the creation of new nation-states. After panels on each of the three geographical areas, the conference wrapped up with a keynote lecture by Stathis Kalyvas on theoretical issues, lexicography and the analytical categories at stake while studying civil, political and religious violence in inter- and intra-State armed conflicts.

Overall, the conference dealt with the politics of collective crime and glory, of punishment and myth and epic, and of pain and healing in the making and unmaking of contested European nation-states.

On 18 June, Kostis Kornetis convened the Santander Visiting Fellow Conference on Generational Memory and the Resurgence of the Past in Southern Europe and Latin America. It brought together specialists in history, sociology, anthropology and cultural studies, from Oxford University, Goldsmith’s, Bangor University, London University, Warwick University and Nottingham Contemporary.

The focus of the conference was on the varying ways in which the memory of the transitions matters for society and politics today in Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal, Greece) and Latin America (Argentina, Chile), with post-authoritarian societies having to face the fact that the second or third post-authoritarian generations demand a different social and political contract than the one concluded after the mid-1970s.

Panels of speakers looked at: the ways in which generational identities can be constructed and deconstructed over time; intergenerational memory transmission, and in particular the complex role of “post-memory”; and how museums deal with memory, beginning with the curatorial attempts to deal with the repressed past. Alongside the conference, a photography project looked at generational memory in Hungary since 1989. Finally, a roundtable discussion opened up the debate to the general picture of the impact of generational memory on politics today, going beyond the geographical limits of the conference.

Jonathan Scheele

Balkan Legacies of the Great War

Anniversary book relaunch, November 2018

In November, 2018, on the hundredth anniversary of the ending of the Great War, Othon Anastasakis, David Madden and Elizabeth Roberts, discussed how the War, ignited by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, irrevocably altered South East Europe. In the book they co-edited in 2016, the three presenters focused on the different ways in which the War is remembered and framed in the region.

There followed a lively debate revolving around historical memory, population exchanges and ethnic cleansing, the dominance of the mono-ethnic state paradigm, and the different periodizations of the “long” Great War. Particularly stressed were the need for recognition of alternative historical narratives and the significance of the teaching of history.

Elizabeth Roberts, David Madden and Othon Anastasakis
SEESOX seminars and events

Michaelmas 2018 (October-December)

Beyond the economic crisis: Greece’s other existential challenges
Kyriakos Pierrakakis (DiaNEOsis Research & Policy Institute, Athens)
Can the international community cope with current security challenges? (Athens)
Ino Afentoulis (NATO Public Diplomacy Division), Richard Caplan (Linacre College, Oxford), Lucas Kello (DPIR), Marilena Koppa (Panteion University, Athens)
The political participation of Greeks abroad (Athens)
Anna Irene Baka (Greek National Commission for Human Rights (GNCHR)); Kostas Bakoyannis (Regional Governor of Central Greece); Dimitris Christopoulos (Panteion University); Pavlos Eleftheriadis (University of Oxford); Alexander Kitroeff (Haverford College); Kyriakos Pierrakakis (DiaNEOsis); Kostas Poulakis (Ministry of Interior); Stavros Theodorakis (To Potami)
Civil society on the edge: The Greek experience
Xenophon Kappas (Captain Vassilis and Carmen Constantakopoulos Foundation)
Centralisation of power in Turkey: Is it sustainable?
Ezgi Basaran (St Antony’s College, Oxford); Charles Enoch (St Antony’s College, Oxford); Mehmet Kari (St Antony’s College, Oxford)

In association with PEFM
Balkan Legacies of the Great War
Othon Anastasakis (St Antony’s College, Oxford); David Madden (St Antony’s College, Oxford); Elizabeth Roberts (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
The Macedonian name issue: Solved at last?
Maria Eleni Koppa (Panteion University)
German-Turkish relations and political Islam
Beyli Özk (Marmara University, Istanbul)
British-Turkish relations after Brexit: Strategic partners?
Yaprak Gursoy (Aston University); Simon A. Waldman (King’s College London)

Hilary 2019 (January-March)

Diaspora entrepreneurs and contested states
Maria Koinova (University of Warwick)
Discussant: Kalypso Nicolaides (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
Transnational citizenship: Views of Serbia’s active diaspora
Tena Prelec (University of Sussex)
Discussant: Othon Anastasakis (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
The inter-generational memories of the democratic transition in post-junta Greece
Kostis Kornetis (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
In association with the ESC
Contested diasporic identities in times of crisis: The Other Bulgaria in the UK
Elena Genova (University of Nottingham)
Discussant: Manolis Pratsinasakis (DPIR, University of Oxford)
Fragmented communities: Diaspora politics in the UK’s Turkish-speaking community
Mustafa Cakmak (Keele University)
Social protection and return migration: The Albanian-Greek migration corridor
Zana Vathi (Edge Hill University)
Discussants: Biao Xiang (COMPAS, University of Oxford)

How to lose a country: The 7 Steps from Democracy to Dictatorship
Ece Temelkuran (Journalist and Author)
Discussants: Ceren Lord (School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies), Murat Belge (St Antony’s College, Oxford), Laurent Mignon (University of Oxford)

Gendering remittances: Women’s empowerment in Albania
Julie Vullnetari (University of Southampton)
Discussant: Emre Eren Korkmaz (St Edmund Hall, Oxford)
Securitisation of migration in post-2000 Greece
Foteini Kalantzis (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
In association with the ESC
Articulating identity options: Eastern and Southern European migrants in Britain
Laura Morosanu (University of Sussex)
Discussant: Manolis Pratsinasakis (DPIR, University of Oxford)

Anti-gender movements in Europe and Turkey
Alev Özkan (University of Oxford)

In association with the ESC
Diasporas and peace mediations: Cypriots abroad and reunification attitudes
Neophytos Loizides (University of Kent)

Trinity 2019 (April-June)

South East Europe’s diaspora: The dark side
Elizabeth David-Barrett (University of Sussex); Edin Gjoni (Home Office); John Howell (JH&Co)
North Macedonia: The logic of the solution
Nikos Kotzias (Former Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs; Professor, University of Piraeus)

SEESOX Annual Lecture
Greece in the post-memoranda era: What next?
Nikos Karamousis (President, Grant Thornton, Greece)

Turkey’s authoritarianism from Atatürk to Erdogan
Hall M. Karaveli (Turkey Center, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute)
Britain as a model: Turkish politicians’ perceptions of the UK
Yaprak Gursoy (Aston University)
The origin and the impact of labour market institutions in Greece
Daphne Nicolitsas (St Antony’s College, Oxford)

Conferences and workshops

CONFERENCE (Athens) April 2019
Social Movements in Greece between past and present

BASQUE CONFERENCE (Oxford) June 2019
Memory wars and war therapies in peace-building and conflict resolution

IN ASSOCIATION WITH ESC
SANTANDER CONFERENCE (Oxford) June 2019
Generational memory and the resurgence of the past in Southern Europe and Latin America

IN ASSOCIATION WITH ESC

Outreach

AMBASSADORS’ FORUM (Oxford) June 2019
Key issues and developments in South East Europe

SEMINAR (London) June 2019
The diasporas of South East Europe and their role in International relations

IN ASSOCIATION WITH GLOBAL STRATEGY FORUM
**SEESOX aspires...**

Much of this Newsletter has focussed on the flagship SEESOX diaspora project, which has been the centrepiece of our work in the last academic year. This is work in the spirit of our Global South East Europe and the significance of the region around the world. During the next academic year we will focus, among other, on the geo-politics and geo-economics of the region, including energy questions in the eastern Mediterranean, the roles of Russia and China or the state of bilateral issues, while our work on the diaspora will continue, adding new regional and comparative perspectives. During 2019-20, SEESOX will receive new members in the team, experts on the Balkans, Greece and Turkey. We are as always thankful to our generous donors who make our work possible and we will continue to have an impact through a series of outreach events in the UK, the South East European region and beyond.

David Madden

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**SEESOX presents at Global Strategy Forum**

On 12 June, for the 7th consecutive year, Global Strategy Forum invited SEESOX to give a presentation on the region. Manolis Pratsinakis, Foteini Kalantzı, Othon Astanasakis and David Madden briefed on the diasporas of South East Europe.

The ensuing discussion concentrated on the role of diasporas in host and home lands, and their contribution to both bilateral and hence international relations. Special mention was given to South East European diasporas in the UK.

The Chair of GSF, Lord Lothian, hosted a lunch in the House of Lords. The guest speaker, Misha Glenny, highlighted the importance of South East Europe, including for the future of the EU; stressed the need for a continuing focus on enlargement; noted the traditionally important role and position of the UK in these debates; regretted the recent lessening of interest; and underlined the advantages of reengagement.

With thanks to our donors

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**2nd SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board Meeting in Athens**

The Board Meeting took place on 23 October 2018, following the first meeting in Oxford on 26 May 2017, thus establishing a pattern of meetings taking place alternately in the UK and Greece. The Board members thanked the Onassis Foundation for hosting the meeting in the prestigious Onassis Library, and for offering the lunch afterwards.

Team SEESOX pointed to the significance of the triptych of Greek studies in Oxford - Classical, Byzantine and Modern - and the contribution of SEESOX in the study on contemporary Greece. They thanked all Board members/donors for their financial and moral support, which had inter alia allowed the Greek diaspora project to expand and develop into one of the most important contemporary projects of its kind globally.

Board Members, for their part, made their suggestions on how to increase links with other similar initiatives, they allowed SEESOX to make use of their relevant data and resources for the development of the project and stressed the importance of communication and dissemination strategy for the outcomes of the project.

Overall, Board Members agreed that SEESOX is well placed - outside Greece, non-partisan, non-governmental and part of a famous academic institution with a tradition in the study of Greece - to gain global prominence for the study of Greek diaspora. The next meeting of the Board was agreed to be held in London in October 2019.
On 6 June, in St Antony's College, Oxford, SEESOX hosted its annual lunch for the Ambassadors of the countries of South East Europe posted in London: the seventh such gathering. A number of topical issues affecting the region were discussed.

In view of the Bulgarian, Romanian and forthcoming Croatian Presidencies of the EU, there was consideration of what the obligations of the rotating Presidency meant for the newer member states of the Union, and how Embassies prepared themselves for these. This led into a discussion of the experiences of longer-term member-states including Austria and Greece.

The successful solution of the Macedonia name dispute was noted and applauded, with an assessment of how the agreement had been reached, and implications for the two countries directly concerned, the region and the EU. This led to a wider discussion of the direction and future of the Union, with a strong focus on the merits of making progress on enlargement. This should not await the prior deepening of the monetary union.

SEESOX also reported that next year’s seminar series would be on the geo-politics and geo-economics of the region. The lunch started with a briefing by SEESOX on this year’s comparative seminar series on the diasporas of South East Europe, and their effect on host and home lands. A number of Ambassadors contributed their views on the extent and complexity of their diasporas, stressing the range of and diversity of the people who comprised them, and the resulting differences of make-up and experiences. It was evident that there was much scope for future productive collaboration between SEESOX and the Embassies on this issue of mutual interest.  

David Madden

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