

## ELIAMEP TIMES

**Letter from the President of the Board of Directors on the occasion of ELIAMEP's 20th anniversary**

*ELIAMEP is a place for research and training on matters of European and foreign policy. It is also a forum for open dialogue and deliberation in a world that is changing at an ever faster pace.*

*Founded in 1988, ELIAMEP was inspired by what was at that time an ambitious and rather audacious initiative on the part of Thanos Veremis. In its early stages, ELIAMEP focused on strategic and security issues and concentrated on Greece's Balkan neighbourhood. Through the knowledge, experience and expertise it gathered, it gradually expanded its thematic priorities and activities. It also changed its name in the process, thus recognizing in a pioneer fashion the distinction between European and foreign policy. Indeed, European policies significantly blur traditional divisions between domestic and foreign policy issues.*

*ELIAMEP is independent and polyphonic. It promotes the free exchange of ideas, substantiated opinions, and critical thought. It attaches particular importance to communication with the younger generations, offering opportunities for specialization to young researchers and scholars. It does not have official positions on any matter, nor does it serve as an instrument for state, party or private actors. In order to ensure its independence, it seeks funding from a variety of sources. The list of funding bodies for its wide range of activities is in fact getting longer every day. It includes Greek ministries, European Union institutions, international foundations and other non-profit organizations, as well as private companies. We always need to fight for our budget; hence, fund-raising constitutes a continuous and time-consuming endeavour. It is, however, the price to pay in order to ensure our Foundation's independence.*

*ELIAMEP is a window for Greece; one that is open and looking out to the rest of the world. It is also a European centre of research and dialogue that aims at contributing both to the wider European debate and to efforts to consolidate the presence of united Europe in world affairs. International peace, democracy, and the protection of human rights are its guiding principles. Only in that sense, ELIAMEP has a point of view.*

Loukas Tsoukalis

**FORTHCOMING EVENTS:**

**Athens, 1 April**  
**Lecture** by Mr. Bozidar Djelic, Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, on "**Serbia and the EU**" (13.00, Amphitheatre "Y. Kranidiotis", Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1 Akadimias Ave.)

**Athens, 17 April**  
**Book presentation:** "**United in diversity? European integration and political cultures**" (Edited by Ekavi Athanassopoulou, Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP)

**Call for applications (Deadline: 18 April 2008)****HALKI INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS 2008:****REGIONAL FLASHPOINTS AND TRANSATLANTIC POLICIES**

Dodecanese island of Halki (next to Rhodes), 25-29 June 2008

*Organized by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)*

*in cooperation with the Balkan Trust for Democracy in Belgrade*

*Supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS)*

This year's Halki International Seminars will focus on the role of the transatlantic institutions in helping local stakeholders address security challenges in the Middle East, the Black Sea and Southeastern Europe. Discussions will concentrate on assessing current transatlantic strategies and drafting future policies for the stabilization of turbulent regions and the resolution of conflicts. The seminar format, as is always the case with our annual Halki International Seminars, will be highly interactive and will include break-out working groups and roundtable discussions.

**Call for participants**

Applications are welcome from policy-makers, academics, journalists, diplomats, members of parliament and young researchers (post docs and PhD candidates). Please complete the Halki Application Form and email it to [halki@eliamep.gr](mailto:halki@eliamep.gr). The form can be downloaded from [www.eliamep.gr](http://www.eliamep.gr)

**Call for papers**

Papers are invited from researchers (particularly from post-docs and PhD candidates in an advanced stage of their research) that focus on the following areas: Defining the future priorities of the transatlantic partners; The situation in Kosovo and the Western Balkans; The "frozen conflicts" in the Black Sea and the Caucasus; The Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Lebanon; Iraq; Iran and the Gulf region.

Interested applicants should send a proposal abstract (300 words) and the Halki Application Form to [halki@eliamep.gr](mailto:halki@eliamep.gr). The form can be downloaded from [www.eliamep.gr](http://www.eliamep.gr). Selected papers will be presented during the seminar and will be published by ELIAMEP.

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## ELIAMEP's Institutional Partnership 2008

ELIAMEP launched a new call for its 2008 Institutional Partnership Programme aiming at the participation of new members and renewal of subscription by old members. This partnership is an initiative for private sector entities, diplomatic representations in Greece, business associations and other institutions, aiming at creating a wide network of institutional members as well as securing financial support for our work and providing a solid basis for our activities.

With an annual subscription we offer our institutional partners periodic briefings on our work as well as privileged access to the wide variety of events we organise. Our wish is to encourage a more inter-active relationship through an open network of institutional members.

### ELIAMEP would like to thank its Institutional Partners for supporting its work:

A.M. NOMIKOS S.A.; ALPHA BANK; Aluminion de Grece S.A.I.C.; Bank of Greece; HRYS-SAFIDIS S.A.; Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.; ELGEKA S.A.; Eurobank EFG; FOURLIS Holdings S.A.; Hellenic Foreign Trade Board; Hellenic Petroleum S.A.; INTRACOM Holdings; MAHO S.A.; MAMIDOIL-JETOIL S.A.; NAVARINO RESORTS; OTE S.A.; P&K Securities A.E.P.E.Y.; PAKO S.A.; PLANET S.A.; TITAN S.A.; VIVARTIA S.A.; YALCO – S.D. CONSTANTINO & SON S.A.; Embassy of Canada, Athens; Embassy of Japan, Athens; Royal Netherlands Embassy, Athens; Taipei Representative Office in Greece, Athens.

## REPORTS ON RESEARCH PROJECTS:

### ELIAMEP's participation in the EU funded Initiative for Peacebuilding



In 2007 ELIAMEP joined the EU funded Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP). The IfP consortium is led by International Alert and draws together the geographic and thematic expertise of 10 civil society organisations and their networks from across the EU and in conflict-affected countries: Adelphi Research ; the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI); the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO); the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE); the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ); the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael (Clingendael Institute); Partners for Democratic Change International (PDCI); Saferworld (SW) and the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).

These partners have joined resources to develop and promote international knowledge and expertise in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. IfP is a thematic project, exploring a number of cross-cutting issues and emphasizing the inclusion of those affected by conflict in influencing national and international policy debates and ensuring a stronger link between policy and practice. This project concentrates on: (1) **Mediation**; (2) **Regional cooperation on environ-**

**ment, economy and natural resources**; (3) **Security**; (4) **Democratisation and transitional justice**; (5) **Gender**; and (6) **Capacity building and training**.

In the context of these themes, IfP's activities include:

- **Collaborative, evidence-based research** linking policy and practice;

- **Policy dialogue** at all levels (local, national, regional and international) and between representatives of all relevant stakeholders;

- **Capacity-building** and shared learning for and amongst local and international civil society organisations, think-tanks and academic institutions, relevant governments and bi-lateral/multi-lateral institutions;

- **Training** and awareness raising to promote and enhance skills and knowledge amongst all target beneficiaries.

Geographically, IfP covers - in addition to EU Member States - the Balkans and Ukraine; the South Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, including the territories of Nagorny-Karabakh, South Ossetia and Abkhazia); the Middle East (Israel, Jordan, Palestinian Territories); Africa (Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan); Asia (Nepal, Aceh, Pakistan) and Latin America and the Caribbean (Andean region, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras).

ELIAMEP is mainly involved in capacity building and training, as well as research in the security cluster.

If you are interested in becoming a member of ELIAMEP's Institutional Partnership Programme please contact Ms. Christianna Karageorgopoulou at tel.: (+30) 210 7257 125 or [chris-tianna@eliamep.gr](mailto:chris-tianna@eliamep.gr)

For more information about this project, please consult the project website <http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/> or contact Dr. Thanos Dokos [thanosdokos@eliamep.gr](mailto:thanosdokos@eliamep.gr) and Dr. Ruby Gropas [ruby@eliamep.gr](mailto:ruby@eliamep.gr)

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**Recent research findings on  
POLITIS – Building Europe with  
new citizens? An Inquiry into the  
civic participation of naturalized  
citizens and foreign residents in  
25 Countries**

Populations of immigrant origin have been growing and changing in Europe. In this project, the positive potential of immigrants for the development of an active European society was explored, starting with foreign students' perceptions of Europe and focusing on sustained social and political activities of immigrants. POLITIS sought to understand why temporary migrants and permanent immigrants from non-EU countries become active in the receiving societies, what influences their choice of activity, and which factors promote or inhibit immigrant activism.

We have identified three main areas of concern for policy makers:

**Research policy:** Researchers and funding institutions should be encouraged to use truly transnational and interactive research, not only *about* but also *with* immigrants.

**Practices and Policies in Civil Society:** Organisations should check their recruitment and training policies. Sensitive, open, diversity-aware, welcoming and participating conditions do matter and favour the inclusion of immigrants in their active membership.

**Public Discourse:** A respectful public discourse on migration and integration issues encourages immigrant engagement in public life in their country of settlement. Immigrants – also those without a long-term staying perspective – should be invited to take part and to contribute to policy developments on all levels.

**Policy Recommendations for Civil Society Organisations**

A recent survey of 30 000 Americans in cities with differing degrees of diversity shows that levels of ethnic diversity are negatively correlated to indicators of social trust and social capital (Putnam 2007). Putnam suggests that we need to learn more about the mechanisms that link diversity and 'hunkering down', but also under which conditions the mechanisms are weak or non-existent. POLITIS made a contribution to address this concern. We had hypothesised that migration would impact negatively on immigrants' activism potential because movement would have involved the interruption of recruitment chains. Knowing that recruitment processes are very important

for the initiation and continuation of civic activities, we had examined the processes of initiating civic activity after international migration interrupted recruitment chains. The POLITIS study reveals that such an interruption does not play a large role for some immigrants, for a number of reasons (a) they may belong to transnational organisations that make it easy to resume activities with new networks, (b) they may belong to migration networks with civic links, (c) they may have incorporated activism so firmly into their self-concepts that they actively search for opportunities and ways to become involved in civic activities, even, if necessary, by founding their own organisations. Others were 'activists in waiting', only reluctantly or critically indicating a willingness to contribute, and for those people, the interruption of activation chains really mattered.

Immigrant organisations are often – but by far not always – an entry gate to civic activism in the receiving societies. Leading immigrant activists should be aware that they become the gatekeepers for new activism of people from their country or region of origin. If they find productive ways to face the challenges involved in their activities, they are more likely to pave the path for more participation of people from a similar background. Particularly, they have to clarify their skills and qualifications in an environment that is likely to overlook them, without overemphasising them; and they have to find a way to act as a spokesperson on behalf of immigrants of their background, without claiming to be the equivalent of a democratic representative. In addition, what is laid out below referring to mainstream organisations also applies to immigrant organisations.

Some organisations that are dominated by the majority population of the receiving societies such as trade unions, political parties, churches or voluntary fire-brigades would be interested in attracting more immigrants as active members. Officials and leaders in these organisations ask themselves what they can do to achieve this goal. We argue that the incorporation of immigrants in mainstream associations is a social process that entails a sequence of steps towards active membership. It involves the image of the organisation, which should communicate a clear message, a welcoming sensitive first contact for immigrants (including reactions to unusual, unexpected and critical forms of expressing interest), and fair treatment in their 'career' in the organisation, neither expecting too much nor too little and appreciating prior experiences and country of origin qualifications

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**Working papers:**

([www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/16084.html](http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/16084.html))

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of the immigrant. Training and awareness-raising particularly for members who may be the first contacts for immigrants, as well as for leadership of mainstream organisations will be helpful not to miss the chance to broaden the basis in European societies. The study of immigrant activists is also instructive for the inclusion of native population groups underrepresented in specific organisations. An organisational approach designed to improve the inclusion of immigrants will definitely raise the general capacity of civic associations to win new members and thus be useful for all residents.

## IDEA – Mediterranean and eastern European countries as new immigration destinations in the EU

The second consortium meeting of the **IDEA** project on “**Mediterranean and eastern European countries as new immigration destinations in the European Union**” was hosted in Athens by ELIAMEP, on the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of January.

Thirty three participants took part in the meeting including the research teams, several members of the Advisory Board and migration experts from Ukraine, Serbia, Portugal, Hungary, Austria, Czech Republic as well as the European Commission. Professor Antigone Lyberaki took part in the project meeting as the Greek member of the Advisory Board.

The first part of the meeting concentrated on the experiences of western European countries with a long migration experience such as France and Austria. The unique migration history of France, its Republican model of integration and the current crisis of the model were discussed. The Austrian experience of guest worker migration and the Austrian restrictive policies on both matters of inflows and integration were presented and commented upon by the researchers.

During the second day of the meeting, discussion concentrated on the recent immigration experience of southern European countries, notably Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal. The discussion focused on the regularization policies adopted by the four countries, the evolution of migration dynamics towards southern Europe and the development of more proactive policies in managing flows. Moreover, the lack of adequate integration measures in southern European host countries (with the exception of Portugal) was highlighted.

The IDEA project is reaching its concluding phase for the Mediterranean Countries as the

final papers on these countries’ migration policies should be completed by end of August. The findings of the Greek team will be published on ELIAMEP’s website in late summer 2008.

## CLANDESTINO – Undocumented migration: Counting the uncountable. Data and trends across Europe

During the first two months of 2008 important developments took place within the framework of the research project **CLANDESTINO** regarding data and estimates on irregular migration across Europe. Ten National Experts on irregular migration have been selected after a competitive call and two-stage selection process. Case-studies on migrant destination EU-member states will be conducted: Dusan Drbohlav & Lenka Lachmanova (Czech Rep.), Francesco Fasani (Italy), Boris Divinsky (Slovakia), Carmen Gonzalez Enriquez (Spain), Peter Futo (Hungary), Joanne van der Leun (The Netherlands), and Henri Courau (France). In addition, three experts will focus on important transit migration countries: Mehdi Lahlou will study Morocco, Ibrahim Kaya will analyse the Turkish case, and Yaroslav Pylinskyi the case of Ukraine.

Researchers from three of the project partners (HWWI (Hamburg), ICMPD (Vienna) and CIR (Poland)) met in Vienna at the end of January 2008 in order to discuss methodological issues, notably the non-reliable estimates on irregular migration quoted in the press, the general lack of critical reflection on the methods used in collecting data and calculating estimates, and the different definitions of irregularity employed in different European countries.

The partners came up with an operational definition of irregularity: irregular or undocumented migrants are defined as residents without any legal resident status in the country they are residing in and whose presence in the territory – if detected – is subject to termination through an order to leave and/or an expulsion order. EU residents – even if their work status is not regular – are excluded from the analysis. Third country nationals (TCN) are by this definition illegal residents if they have no status at all, or if their activities (e.g. irregular work while on a tourist visa or work during the first 3 months of residence if exempted from a tourist visa) would make them liable to expulsion if detected. TCN who are granted “leave to remain”, “*Duldung*” or have a pending regularization with application papers preventing



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their expulsion are not counted as illegal residents.

The problem of critical appraisal of the employed data collection & estimates calculation methodologies is of crucial importance for the CLANDESTINO work. After careful consideration of the existing methods, a set of transparent standards against which estimates should be assessed has been proposed. These standards include controlling of documentation, replicability of estimates, internal and external validity of an estimate. It will thus be possible for the CLANDESTINO consortium to create a classification system for irregular migration data and estimates that will be useful to both scholarly and policy analysis.

### EMILIE - A European approach to multicultural citizenship: Legal, political and educational challenges

A conference on Social Cohesion in Europe was organized for policy makers and researchers at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> February 2008. This Think & Act conference was organized by the Conference of Rectors of Spanish Universities (CRUE) and was funded by the European Commission. Given the growing ethnic and cultural diversity that is increasingly characterizing European societies as a result of immigration, three core themes related to social cohesion were explored: (1) labour markets and welfare systems; (2) measures promoting immigrant participation; and (3) mechanisms aimed at combating racism and xenophobia.

The findings of the EMILIE research project in the field of multiculturalism, social cohesion and education were presented by Ruby Gropas. The EMILIE research project is coordinated by ELIAMEP and funded by DG Research of the European Commission. It explores a European approach to multicultural citizenship through a comparative study of 9 EU Member States with different experiences of immigration and integration in the field of education, equality and protection in the workplace and the challenges of political and civic participation.

In the context of this Think & Act conference, a set of policy relevant considerations were presented by Dr. Gropas on the different approaches to multicultural education, the challenges of religion and religious education, language of origin classes, and the relevance of the European dimension in multicultural educational agendas of the EU

Member States. The EMILIE team findings in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom were compared in order to identify factors that influence their education policies in accommodating and managing diversity in the classrooms, as well as the kind of institutional support that is required to effectively implement multicultural agendas. Through presenting some best practice examples in the field of education, this EMILIE presentation intended to contribute to the Europe-wide debates and efforts to devise policy responses aimed at minimising disparities, social exclusion and polarization within rapidly changing European societies.

### REPORTS ON PAST EVENTS:

#### The use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes Athens, 22 January

ELIAMEP organized a closed discussion on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes with Mr. Achilleas Adamadiadis, Professor Emeritus, George Washington University and World Bank Advisor on energy and environmental issues. Mr. Adamadiadis presented the reasons for the revived interest in nuclear energy internationally and its economic dimensions. The case of France, which is the most successful country in implementing nuclear energy was discussed. Moreover, the case of Greece and parameters that affect its position on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes were discussed. Particular attention was paid to the role of public opinion, the availability of human resources, accordance with the Kyoto Protocol and EU legislation, and relations with neighbouring countries and especially Turkey.

#### Europeanization: New research agendas Athens, 8 February

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy organized a seminar on "Europeanization: New research agendas" with Dr. Paolo Graziano, Assistant Professor, Istituto di Economia, Bocconi University, Milan. Dr. Graziano presented the various aspects of Europeanization, which is not just a mere theory about institution building and European integration, but also a 'tool' that helps us understand what happens after EU policies are adopted in member states. Thus, we move beyond the traditional international relations approach to comparative politics and economics. Dr. Graziano underlined that Europeanization provides us with a better un-



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EMILIE Policy Briefs on education and cultural diversity are available on ELIAMEP's website at: [http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/research/research\\_projects/emilie/policy\\_papers\\_on\\_education\\_and\\_cultural\\_diversity/en/](http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/research/research_projects/emilie/policy_papers_on_education_and_cultural_diversity/en/)

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derstanding of EU national policy making, multilevel governance and the transformation of state. Europeanization has already triggered interesting debates and it will play an important role in re-defining the European research agenda.

### Decision making in the 21st century: Philosophy at the roots of decision making trees Athens, 28 February

The Alumni of the University of Edinburgh in cooperation with ELIAMEP organized a lecture on "Decision making in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: Philosophy at the roots of decision making trees". The main speaker was Professor Theodore Scaltsas, University of Edinburgh and Director of the "Archelogos" Projects. Mr. George David, on behalf of the Alumni of the University of Edinburgh, delivered the welcoming remarks and Mr. Alexis Papahelas, Managing Editor of "Kathimerini" moderated the discussion.

Professor Scaltsas pointed out that the purpose of the "Archelogos" Projects is to map agreements, arguments, debates, and decisions. The basic tool is an arguments' chart. Computer supported argu-

ment visualization applications are designed to help select and understand information and conceptual patterns.

Archelogos has established a network of international cooperation with distinguished philosophers, experts in argumentation and researchers in artificial intelligence from leading universities throughout the world. The main area of application of Archelogos Projects is ancient philosophy.

### Recent developments in the Balkans: Challenges for regional stability Athens, 5 March

Closed meeting with Mr. John Fraser, Expert on Balkan Issues, Privi Council Office, Ottawa, Canada; Visiting Professor, Institute of European and Russian Studies, University of Carleton.

### Developments in SEE Athens, 17 March

Closed meeting with Dr. Janusz Bugajski, Director of the CSIS New European Democracies Project and Senior Fellow with the CSIS Europe Programme, CSIS, Washington DC.

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### Recent publications by ELIAMEP's research team

#### *Countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction* Edited by Thanos Dokos, IOS Press, 2007

This book assesses the nature and seriousness of the WMD threat to Western security and evaluates possible options for dealing with the problem. It reviews existing literature on this subject and provides a synthesis of differing views. The analysis put forward attempts to navigate between two extremes: unwarranted concern on the one hand, and complacency leading to inaction on the other.



#### *United in diversity? European integration and political cultures* Edited by Ekavi Athanassopoulou, I.B. TAURIS, 2008

With the European Union's enlargement still under way, the question of what is meant by a unified Europe and how that might be achieved has never been more pressing. Europe is more than a system of rules and political institutions that regulate European citizenship: it is also a space of political traditions, political experiences and cultural memories. Can political integration ever be realized without an understanding and acceptance of the complexity of the political cultures that make up Europe? In this important volume, European scholars from a diversity of backgrounds explore the issues that must be addressed if the challenge of an integrated Europe is to be successfully met.

