

Gender, Migration and intercultural Interaction
in South-East Europe
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Policy Analysis Report (WP3)

Greece

Hellen Kambouri and **Pavlos Hatzopoulos**
Centre for Gender Studies
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences



Ge.M.I.C.



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Introduction: The Policy Context in Greece

During the 1990s Greece came to constitute one of the paradigmatic “new countries of immigration”, forming along with Italy, Spain and Portugal a new geopolitical entity: South Europe.¹ In 1991, anticipating this transformation, a scholar of Greek emigration claimed that Greece should draft “a policy that surpasses its self-knowledge as a country of emigration” and “contribute to the developing EC migration policy”.² At the time, as this passage indicates, immigration was not only a new policy issue for the Greek government and public administration – but also it was not yet fully recognized as a common “policy issue” at the EU level. Ever since, the development of the Greek policy on immigration is made on the basis of a double perception of Greece: a. as a country in transition *from a migrant-sending to a migrant-receiving state* and b. as a country *at the forefront of the European efforts to build a new “European immigration regime”*.³ This double perception permeates legislation, policy documents and academic analyses alike. Gender has remained at the margins of this policy framework and public debate.

From migrant sending to migrant receiving

Regarding the first perception, it is important to emphasize that both official and unofficial statistics on migration have been determined by the politics of national security and the construction of illegal immigration as a “threat” to the nation. The National Statistical Service of Greece documented a sharp rise in the number of migrants during the 1990s: the population in 1981 was 9.740.417 out of which 171.424 were foreign nationals, while in 2001, it was 10.964.080 out of which 797.093 were foreign nationals.⁴ There is evidence to suggest, however, that Greece did not become “migrant-receiving” suddenly and unexpectedly in the 1990s, but the number of migrants rose steadily since the late 1960s.⁵ This steady rise was interlinked with the high demand for cheap labour employed primarily in undocumented sectors of the local informal economy and with migration (including return) movements in the region. Despite its intensity, this trend was not visible in official statistics precisely because practically until the 1990s there was no formal procedure for the legalization of migrants in Greece.

The only visible migrants were the “omogeneis” (of the same race), whose migration was conceptualized as a form of “repatriation” (pallinnostisi). Their numbers increased to such an extent during 1973-74 that they began to be counted in migration statistics.⁶ From this

¹ On the concept of the “new countries of immigration” in South Europe, see Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsaranidis, eds., 2000, *Eldorado or fortress? Migration in Southern Europe* (London: Palgrave, - Macmillan)

² Loukia Moussourou, 1991, *Μετανάστευση και μεταναστευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα και την Ευρώπη* (Migration and migration policies in Greece and in Europe) (Athens: Gutenberg), pp. 171-172

³ Martin Baldwin-Edwards, 1997, “The emerging European immigration regime: some reflections on the implications for Southern Europe”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 497-519

⁴ National Statistical Service of Greece, 2006, “Usually resident population by citizenship and age” available at http://www.statistics.gr/gr_tables/S201_SPO_2_TB_AN_06_7_Y.pdf

⁵ Petros Linardos Rylmon, 1994, “Μετανάστευση και αγορά εργασίας” (Migration and the labour market), in Marangopoulos Foundation, *Τα δικαιώματα των μεταναστών εργατών* (The rights of immigrant workers), (Athens: Estia)

⁶ Ira Emke Pouloupoulou, 1986, *Προβλήματα μετανάστευσης-παλιννόστησης* (Problems of migration-repatriation) (Athens: IMEO)

perspective, the passage from “migrant-sending” to “migrant receiving” was not a linear process since many of the in-coming migrant flows were conceived as emigrations. This dynamic never seized to influence policy making and statistics on migration. In fact the Greek policy on migration has been characterized by two antithetical influences: on the one hand, policies on the repatriates were influenced by the Greek past and were legitimized on the basis of the national duty to protect those prosecuted by foreign regimes (this was the case in particular with the Pontian Greeks from the former Soviet Union, while Albanian Greeks were given the same status later) and on the other hand, policies on aliens (*allogapous*) which were influenced by European directives and were legitimized on the basis of Greece’s duty to protect the national borders from the uncontrolled influx of foreigners into the EU.⁷

Manifesting the ethno-centric bias of Greek population policies, questions of ethnic origin and religion were banned from population censuses from 1959 to 1991. However, today population censuses constitute the most reliable statistical data on migration. According to the 2001 census, the population of Greece is 10.964.020, while the number of foreigners in has reached 797.091. This number includes EU citizens, legal and illegal migrants, repatriates, refugees, and asylum seekers. Out of those who gave detailed information, the percentage of men (415.368) in relation to that of women (346.445) is higher.⁸ Studies have shown, however, that even though the Greek Statistical Service has provided respondents with guarantees that information collected during the census will not be used for purposes other than the census, it is more accurate to assume that a significant percentage of illegal migrants remain undocumented. It is estimated that the total of migrants in Greece should be reaching approximately 1 million people.⁹

Furthermore, the sharp rise in migration documented in official statistical data reflected only partly changes in migration trends. Policy making developments influenced statistics significantly. Prior to the 1990s, migrants remained in a semi-official status of tolerated illegality. The law 4310 of 1929, which was in force until 1991, did not stipulate any legal procedure for the issuing of work and residence permits to immigrants or for the granting of asylum to refugees.¹⁰ In the 1990s the absence of statistical data came to be perceived as a policy problem in itself. Several analysts commented that the failure of the first attempts to draft effective policies, the rise of insecurity associated with crime and immigration, and the rise of xenophobic reactions against foreigners were all caused by the lack of information regarding the numbers and composition of immigrant groups. As one of the first academic studies on the subject noted:

“Accurate statistics on the migratory reserves and influxes would contribute to a more moderate reaction to the widespread perception of a ‘flood’ of illegal migrants that threatens the employment of Greek workers. It would also permit

⁷ On these antithetical influences see Georgia Mavrodi, 2008, “Θέμα εμπειρίας: πηγές, φορείς και διαδικασίες διαμόρφωσης μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής στην Ελλάδα (1990-2005)” (An issue of experience: sources, institutions and processes of migration policy making in Greece (1990-2005) in Genny Kavounidi, Theodoros Lianos, Rossetos Fakiolas and Andonis Kontis, *Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα: Εμπειρία – Πολιτικές – Προοπτικές* (Αθήνα: ΙΜΕΠΟ).

⁸ See “Population Census: Statistics on Aliens”, <http://www.statistics.gr>.

⁹ Anna Triandafyllidou, 2005, “Ελληνική μεταναστευτική πολιτική: προβλήματα και κατευθύνσεις” (Greek immigration policy: problems and directions), ELIAMEP Working paper, No. 6, <http://central.radiopod.gr/en/migration/publications-migration/migration-policy-in-greece/>

¹⁰ Asylum protection and refugee status were at the hands of the UNHCR rather than the Greek government up until 1991.

policy makers drafting policy on this sensitive issue to make prompt reactions, based on the right information”.¹¹

It was precisely because accurate immigration statistics became a policy objective pursued through successive temporary regularization programs that statistical data today appears to be fragmented, unreliable and partial. With the exception of asylum seekers, refugees and repatriates, migration registers document only those who participate in successive regularization procedures.¹² Not only is a permanent number of migrants excluded from official statistics because some of them do not fulfil the criteria of regularization, but also it is impossible to account for those who enter and exit the field of legality according to their employment status during regularization deadlines.

This condition overshadowed the emergence of a “new marginal category” of immigrant workers, which has increased significantly during the 1990s mainly because of the collapse of the communist regimes in the neighboring states.¹³ Within this context, the overwhelming presence of women amongst Greece’s migrant population is often silenced.¹⁴ This silence reinforces today their marginalization in relation to male migrants. The available data tends to point out that this form of marginalization is observed in particular in relation to certain migrant groups (for example Ukrainians, Georgians, Russians and Philippino), in which migrant women are the overwhelming majority.¹⁵ In addition, although their overall numbers appear to be on the increase, many migrant women in Greece have remained outside the official statistics, because feminized sectors, such as those of domestic¹⁶ and sex work,¹⁷ in

¹¹ Xanthi Petrinioti, 1993, *Η Μετανάστευση προς την Ελλάδα: Μια πρώτη καταγραφή ταξινόμηση και ανάλυση* (Migration to Greece: a first documentation, categorization and analysis) (Athens:Odysseas), p. 11.

¹² National Statistical Service of Greece, 2006, “Usually Resident Population by Citizenship and Age”, at http://www.statistics.gr/gr_tables/S201_SPO_2_TB_AN_06_7_Y.pdf .

¹³ Mousourou, 1991, p. 105

¹⁴ Jenny Kavounidi, 2002, “Χαρακτηριστικά μεταναστών: το Ελληνικό πρόγραμμα νομιμοποίησης του 1998” (The characteristics of immigrants: the Greek regularization project of 1998” (Athens: Ethniko Institutouto Ergasias and Sakoulas) and KETHI, 2008, “Εκτενής περίληψη: Η Γυναικεία Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα τα ευρήματα της πανελληνίας έρευνας του ΚΕΘΙ” (Extended summary. Women’s migration in Greece: the findings of the pan-hellenic research project of KETHI) (Athens: KETHI)

¹⁵ Kavounidi, 2002

¹⁶ The term “domestic work” and “domestic workers” is used here to include cleaning, child and elderly care. There are feminist scholars who use the term “domestic help” and “domestic helpers”, instead, in order to emphasize the private, informal, unregulated nature associated of domestic spaces, practices and strategies. In this report, we are using the term “domestic work” to denote a field in which many migrant women become professionals, even though their work might be confined to the informal, sector, the private sphere and may be unrecognized. This term reflects also the demands of migrant domestic workers’ associations across Europe to receive recognition and all the benefits associated with formal employment (including pension, time-off, regular and specific working hours, contracts). See KALAYAAN, “Briefing notes on the plight of overseas domestic workers”, <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/kalayaan/home.htm> and Helen Schwenken, 2005, “‘Domestic slavery’ versus ‘workers rights’: political mobilizations of migrant domestic workers in the European Union”, working paper 116, (California, San Diego: The Centre of Comparative Immigration Studies and University of California, San Diego).

¹⁷ During the last decades, feminist and migration scholars have pointed out to the rising numbers of migrant women becoming victims of coercion, sexual exploitation and violence, under the term “trafficking”. Feminist organizations have put pressure on governments to combat trafficking networks and offer protection to victims, while also in certain cases developing a critique of border control policies that make women migrants more vulnerable to such forms of violence and exploitation. Recent academic studies and migrant women’s movements, however, have pointed out that many migrant women consider it to be a form of employment and have willingly migrated in order to find jobs there, even though they often experience conditions of extreme exploitation, violence and coercion primarily because of the unregulated character of this sector. In this context they have introduced the term “sex work” and “sex workers”. From this perspective, both their decision to migrate and the physical and

which a vast number is employed, remain unregulated.¹⁸ Despite the continuous and paramount importance of migrant domestic work in particular, the presence of migrant women in Greece remains largely outside the scope of official policies and statistics, manifesting intersecting class, ethnic and gender asymmetries as the context within which policies are drafted and implemented.¹⁹

At the forefront of the European efforts to build a new “European immigration regime”

With regards to the second perception of Greece, it is important to note that the development of a common EU immigration policy begun in the 1990s.²⁰ Given the establishment of the freedom of movement within the EC, the safeguarding of national borders came to be perceived as a policy priority affecting the broader European area, since immigrants are assumed to be able to move easily across internal borders into other national territories.²¹ The particular proximity to the Balkans, North Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe, as well as the geographical openness to the sea contributed to the construction of Greek territorial borders as part of the “single external frontier” that EU policies aimed to build after the Schengen Convention.²² This perception is central to migration policy-making in Greece,

psychological violence that they may experience when working are not simply the result of trafficking networks, but also of the restrictive E.U. policies that make legal migration impossible and prevent access to other economic sectors in sending and host countries. See Joe Bindman and Joe Doezema, 1997, Redefining prostitution as sex work on the international agenda, <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/redefining.html> and Rudvica Andrijasevic, 2003, “[The difference borders make: \(il\)legality, migration and trafficking in Italy among Eastern European women in prostitution](#)” in S. Ahmed, C. Castaneda, A. Fortier, M. Sheller (eds.) *Uprootings/ Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* (Oxford: Berg). The term “sex work” is used here as an alternative to denote: on the one hand, the fact that for many women this constitutes a field of employment and on the other hand, that it constitutes a form of employment that involves different practices that include not only prostitution, but also other practices such as phone sex, sex performance, porn making.

¹⁸ According to the KETHI study, the percentage of migrant women in Greece working in the domestic sector reaches 57.2% of all migrant women. KETHI, 2008. According to the 2001 population census, out of 38.815 persons were registered in the “Private households employing personnel” in Attica (65% of the Greek total), only 6457 were Greek. Ioannis Sakellis and Natalia Spyropoulou, 2007, “Employing immigrant women from Albania and Ukraine”, *The Greek review of social research*, Vol. 124, No. C, pp. 71-93. There are no accurate statistics on the percentage of migrant women in sex work in Greece.

¹⁹ The demand for cheap domestic labour in Greece is a persistent feature and pre-dates the mass entry of Greek women in the labour market. During the 1950s and 1960s, domestic labor was found through the internal migration of young local girls from poor rural areas to the urban centers, where they worked as live-ins. There was also ample supply of lower class women from the urban centers offering cleaning services to different households. Since the 1970s, however, immigration patterns transformed this sector into a migrant-dominated one, starting with the female domestic workers from the Philippines employed by wealthy families in the 1970s and resulting in the widespread employment of migrant women of all nationalities in vast numbers of Greek households of different class and wealth. For a recent study on gender, migration and domestic work in Athens, see Koula Kassmati and Loukia Mousourou, 2007, *Φύλο και Μετανάστευση Θεωρητικές αναφορές και εμπειρική διερεύνηση* (gender and migration, theoretical investigations and empirical study) (Athens: Gutenberg) and Dina Vaiou, 2007, “*Διαπλεκόμενες καθημερινότητες και χωροκοινωνικές μεταβολές στην πόλη. Μετανάστριες και ντόπιες στις γειτονίες της Αθήνας*”, final report for the Pythagoras II project, Athens: National Polytechnic of Athens

²⁰ EU, 1997, “Treaty establishing the European Communities. Title IV: Visas, asylum, immigration and other policies related to the free movement of persons”, <http://europa.eu/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre214.html#anArt2>; EU, 1999, “The Shengen Acquis”, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2000:239:0001:0473:EN:PDF> EU; EU Council, 1999, “Tampere European Council: Presidency Conclusions”, 15-16 October http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/tam_en.htm

²¹ Elenore Kofman, Annie Phizacklea, Parvati Rghuram and Rosemary Sales, 2000, *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare and Politics* (London: Routledge).

²² For a detailed analysis of the effects of the Schengen agreement on migrants in Greece, see Minas Samatas, 2003, “Greece in Shengenland: blessing or anathema for citizens and foreigners rights?”, *Journal of Ethnic and*

which focused, on the one hand, on increased European cooperation in border control and, on the other hand, on identifying the Greek border as a European border, thus, sharing the security responsibility and costs with other EU member states.²³ As the Greek Minister of foreign affairs put it during the Greek Presidency of the EU Council in 2003:

“We have several thousands kilometers of coastline and, like our Mediterranean neighbors Italy and Spain, we believe the Union must invest more in patrolling our shores and borders...Every EU member state has a responsibility to work individually and collectively to attack organized people trafficking by collecting and sharing intelligence, by resisting illegal entries through greater cooperation on land and sea border controls, and by regulating more adroitly the employment of authorized immigrants”²⁴

Conversely it is important to take into account the significance of Southern European policy experiences in the development of the broader European immigration regime. While by no means unique, the Greek tradition of police brutality, violence and disrespect for minority and human rights has been a factor that enabled formal and informal practices of discrimination against migrants and facilitated the implementation of tough policy measures against them without provoking public debate. The continuous reminders that Greece was once a country of emigration functioned, on the contrary, as a means of denying the possibility that xenophobia²⁵ and discrimination against foreigners did in fact take place and undermined popular support to anti-racist and anti-xenophobic initiatives.

The gender implications of the European migration regime are complex and multiple, ranging from positive factors enhancing migrant women’s employment, earnings and social position to negative factors leading to practices of extreme exploitation of live-in domestic and sex workers. In fact, the divergences are such that a study of gender and migration in Europe argued that from a gender perspective it is more accurate to talk about “migration regimes”.²⁶ Undoubtedly, however, the European efforts to “strengthen the external borders” have made it impossible for the majority of migrant women to enter Europe independently, through legal channels and to find employment outside the unskilled, low-paid, feminized sectors of domestic and sex work.²⁷ With the intensification of migration policies aiming at the exclusion of new migrants in the North, Southern European states, with their extended unregulated sectors, came to host since the 1990s large numbers of migrant women.²⁸ In Greece their presence in particular in the domestic sector has stimulated local women’s

Migration Studies, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 141-156.

²³ In 2003, the Greek Presidency of the European Council attached “particular importance to the question of co-operation with the Member States on effective control and prevention of illegal immigration in EU territory”. This was manifest when a discussion began over which state should be responsible for asylum applications (state of entry or destination), because as a “as a country forming the eastern portals of the EU. Greek Ombudsman, 2002, “The Greek Presidency of the Council of the European Union: The Challenges of Asylum and Immigration. Conference Conclusions”, 8-9 November 2002 at www.synigoros.gr/docs/CONCLUSIONS_EN.doc

²⁴ George A. Papandreou, 2003, “A turning point for EU migration policy” Saturday/Sunday, May 17-18 *Kathimerini* at <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/AMPI/docs/IHT.pdf>

²⁵ Anna Triandafyllidou, 2000, “Racists? Us? Are you joking? The discourse of social exclusion of immigrants in Greece and Italy”, in Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, and Charalambos Tsardanidis, eds., “*Eldorado or Fortress?*” *Migration in Southern Europe* (London: MacMillan)

²⁶ Kofman et al, pp. 44-76

²⁷ Bridget Anderson and Julia O’Connell Davidson, 2003, “Is trafficking in human beings demand driven? A multi-country pilot study”, *IOM Migration Research Series*, No 15 (Geneva: IOM)

²⁸ Koffman et al.

participation in the labour market and covered up for the demise of the extended family networks, the absence of public child and elderly care support,²⁹ as well as the consumerist needs of middle class households associated with cleanliness and tidiness.³⁰ The persistent failure to acknowledge a gender perspective in migration policies and to introduce special measures for the unregulated feminized migrant-dominated sectors is not a particular characteristic of the Greek case, but reflects the broader social dynamics of migration control and feminized precarious labour in Europe. What is striking, however, is that despite pressure by NGOs, such as Amnesty International, migrant women's organizations and local feminist organizations, public debate has not yet addressed gender in migration policies. A discussion organized by women Euro MPs in 2006, on "Women and migration" has failed to open up issues of gender and migration to public scrutiny partly because of its almost exclusive focus on women, trafficking and forced prostitutions, and partly because it was not followed by other similar public debates and policy initiatives.³¹ Furthermore, gender issues have been marginal in anti-racist movements.³² As a result, gender, remains at the margins of both policy making initiatives and public debate.

²⁹ Maria Stratigaki, 2006, *Το φύλο της κοινωνικής πολιτικής* (The gender of social policy) (Athens: Metechmio)

³⁰ Helen Kambouri, 2007 *Φύλο και μετανάστευση: Η καθημερινή ζωή των μεταναστριών από την Αλβανία και την Ουκρανία* (Gender and migration: the everyday life of migrant women from Albania and Ukraine) (Athens: Gutenberg)

³¹ Συνεδρίαση με θέμα "Γυναίκες και μετανάστευση: εμπορία ανθρώπων και καταναγκαστική πορνεία" 30 May 2006.

³² Helen Kambouri and Alexandra Zavos, 2009, "Η γυναικεία μετανάστευση ως πολιτική εμπειρία: έμφυλα υποκείμενα και επιτελεστικές διαπραγματεύσεις της ταυτότητας στο αντιρατσιστικό κίνημα" (Women's migration as a political experience: gendered subjects and performative negotiations of identity in the anti-racist movement), in Fotini Tsiiridou, ed, *Τα σημάδια της κουλτούρας του κράτους. Περί της συγκρότησης της μειονοτικής και μεταναστευτικής εμπειρίας στην Ελλάδα*. (The signs of culture and the state. On the formation of minority and migrant experience in Greece (Athens: KEMO and KRITIKI) forthcoming,

1. Gender in Migration Policies

During the 1990s, the only visible migrants in Greece were male. Their overwhelming visibility was filtered through the construction of migration as a threat to national security, which was intertwined with criminality and illegality. The figure of the (always male) migrant-criminal overwhelmed the Greek media and became paradigmatic of xenophobic and racist attitudes.³³ As in many other European societies, the “securitization” of migration in policy making led to a policy approach, whose main objective was to block influxes by imposing stricter controls and policing.³⁴ Migration became a “catalyst supposed to be able to summarize most of the current social problems”.³⁵ Although at first women migrants were mostly silenced and only rarely became visible as “complementary”, gradually they too acquired an instrumental role in the “securitization” of migration. Gender, as a social relationship, and gender mainstreaming as a policy approach however, have been excluded from policy making.

1.1. The development of the legal framework on migration: control of borders, temporary regularization and integration

The Greek legislation on migration was amended for the first time in 1991 in response to EU harmonization requirements and the mounting pressures to react to the rising numbers of foreign migrants entering the Greek territory illegally.³⁶ These pressures resulted from multiple factors, including the inability to control “porous” borders, but also the inflexibility and inadequacy of existing policies that made it almost impossible for migrants to enter through the legal procedures.³⁷ The new law (1975/91), entitled “Entry, exit, stay, employment, deportation of aliens, procedure for the recognition of refugees and other ordinances” stated as its main objective the reinforcement of border control and policing and refrained from establishing a legal framework for undertaking effective policy measures for the regularization and integration of foreigners who had already entered the country illegally.³⁸ The law was severely criticized for the “penalization” of migrant border crossings³⁹ and for the institutionalization of an informal status of dependency on employers and

³³ Vassilis Karidis, 1996, *Η εγκληματικότητα των μεταναστών στην Ελλάδα: ζητήματα θεωρίας και αντι-εγκληματικής πολιτικής* (The criminality of migrants in Greece: issues of theory and anti-criminal policy) (Athens: Papazisis)

³⁴ Ole Waever, 1995, “Securitization/desecuritization”, in Ronnie Lipschutz, ed., *On security* (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 55

³⁵ Ayse Ceyhan and Anastassia Tsoukala, 2002, “The securitization of migration in Western societies: ambivalent discourses and policies”, *Alternatives* No. 27, p. 23

³⁶ Introductory report to Law 1975/91.

³⁷ Greek Ombudsman, 2000, “Γενικές παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με το σχέδιο νόμου του Υπουργείου Εσωτερικών για τη Μετανάστευση και παραμονή αλλοδαπών στην Ελληνική επικράτεια” στα πλαίσια της ex officio συμμετοχής στην Εθνική Επιτροπή για τα Δικαιώματα του Ανθρώπου (General observations on the draft law of the Ministry of the Interior on “migration and residence of aliens in the Greek territory –in the context of its ex officio participation in the National Human Rights Committee)

³⁸ Law 1975/91 “Είσοδος, έξοδος, παραμονή, εργασία, απέλωση αλλοδαπών, διαδικασία αναγνώρισης προσφύγων και άλλες διατάξεις”.

³⁹ Gianna Kourtovik, 2001, “Μετανάστες: ανάμεσα στο δικαίωμα και στη νομιμότητα” (Migrants: in-between law and legality), in Athanasios Marivakis, Dimitris Parsanoglou, and Miltos Pavlou, eds., *Μετανάστες στην Ελλάδα* (Athens: Ellinika Grammata).

anchorage to low-paid, informal, unskilled sectors.⁴⁰ In an attempt to harmonize Greek law with EU standards, 1975/91 established a distinction between refugees and immigrants, making concrete the procedure through which asylum seekers could claim refugee status in Greece. Its legacy was to introduce the legal treatment of migrants as “laborers” excluded from all rights normally attached to citizenship.⁴¹ Under article 31 of 1975/1991, migrants without work permit had no right to make use of public services, institutions, benefits and goods. Gender was neither mainstreamed in the text of the law nor in the policies aimed at its implementation.

Following two presidential decrees of 1997,⁴² the law 2910/2001 “Entry and residence of aliens in the Greek territory - acquisition of Greek citizenship through naturalization and other ordinances” laid down the rules for migrant regularization and the issuing of work and residence permits (green and white cards).⁴³ The aim of this policy was to recognize and legalize the presence of illegal immigrants who were already in the country and was planned to take place only once. Implicitly also this procedure was assumed to enable the documentation of foreigners residing in Greece, boost the income of social security funds, and permit a more “rational” management of the migrant population –including the creation of reliable statistical registers. Policy objectives linked to intercultural interaction, including a permanent mechanism for the issuing of residence permits, remained outside the scope of the law. The law was widely criticized by analysts both for being ineffective and for ignoring the economic and social rights of migrants,⁴⁴ including the rights of migrant women. Gender was silenced by both policy makers and those criticizing the law.

While many migrants from different nationalities succeeded in legalizing their presence in Greece temporarily, (mainly by buying the necessary security stamps from social insurance funds) bureaucratic and administrative problems undermined the implementation of both the 1997 and the 2001 regularization schemes.⁴⁵ In many cases, permits were not issued until the expiry date, excluding many migrants and their families from the right to have dealings with the public administration and state agencies.⁴⁶ Several practical problems, notably the

⁴⁰ Stavros Georgoulas, 2003, “Το νομικό πλαίσιο της μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής στην Ελλάδα τον 20^ο αιώνα- μια ιστορική κριτική οπτική” (The legal framework of migration policy in Greece in the 20th century – a historical, critical perspective) in Koula Kassimati, ed., *Πολιτικές μεταναστευσης και στρατηγικές ένταξης* (Migration policies and strategies of integration) (Athens: Gutenberg)

⁴¹ Under article 31 of 1975/1991, migrants without work permit had no right to make use of public services, institutions, benefits and goods.

⁴² Presidential Decrees 358/1997 and 359/1997

⁴³ Law 2910/2001, “Είσοδος και παραμονή αλλοδαπών στην Ελληνική επικράτεια. Κτήση της Ελληνικής ιθαγένειας με πολιτογράφηση και άλλες διατάξεις”.

⁴⁴ See Dimitris Katsoridas and Apostolos Kapsalis, 2003, “Η σύγχρονη ελληνική μεταναστευτική πολιτική περιεχόμενο και αποτέλεσμα” (Contemporary Greek immigration policy: content and outcome) *Tetradia INE/GSSEE-ADEDI*, Volume 24, pp. 13-33; Pandelis Kirpianos, Stathis Balias, Vaggelis Passas, 2003, “Greek policy towards immigration and immigrants”, *Social policy and Administration*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 148-164; and Petros-Linardos Rylmon, 2003, “Η αναγκαιότητα μιας νέας προσέγγισης της μετανάστευσης” (The necessity of a new approach to immigration) *Tetradia INE/GSSEE-ADEDI*, Volume 24, pp. 5-12.

⁴⁵ Iordanis Psimmenos and Koula Kassimati, 2002, “Immigration control pathways: organizational culture and work values of Greek welfare officers”, IAPASIS project report, July, <http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Research/Iapasis/200208.Rep.GR.pdf>

⁴⁶ Greek Ombudsman, 2001, “Ειδική έκθεση σχετικά με τα προβλήματα εφαρμογής του νόμου 2910/2001” (Special report regarding the problems in the implementation of law 2910/2001) 21 December and Greek Ombudsman, 2002, “Προτάσεις επί της τροποποίησης του νόμου 2910/2001” (Proposals for the amendment of Law 2910/2001), 8 April.

inability to register children to schools, to obtain marriage and death certificates, to receive hospitalization and permits to travel abroad were dealt with through subsequent amendments, but the main logic of the law was not questioned. In parallel with the application of these regularization programs, the so-called “scoop operations” (massive expulsions of immigrants without legal residence permits by the police), intensification of border controls and policing of the everyday life of migrants became commonplace.

Finally, a new migration law 3386/2005, entitled “Entry, residence and social integration of foreign nationals from third countries in Greece - acquisition of Greek citizenship through naturalization and other ordinances”⁴⁷ was approved by parliament, introducing the notion of “migrant integration” into Greek policies without challenging the contradictory objectives of the existing migration policy framework. On the one hand, migrants’ residence in Greece is still determined primarily by labor-market criteria, emphasizing the needs of the market rather than those of the migrant laborers. While work and residence permits are now unified, the dependency on employers and the inability to escape low paid, low skill employment sectors remain in force. In addition, migrants have to pay a non-refundable 300 Euro fee for the processing of their petition, while the complex bureaucratic procedure has not been simplified and there are long delays in the issuing of residence permits that keep migrants in a state of insecurity for long periods of time. The permission of the employer is still required for the issuing of the residence permit. Although changes of employers are envisaged for the first time, migrants are not allowed to change purpose of employment without notifying the responsible authorities. In addition, the financial requirements for migrants who wish to become self-employed are very severe.⁴⁸ Unemployed migrants are denied the right to renew their residence permit even if they are officially registered and receive unemployment benefit.

On the other hand, while a formal procedure for the issuing of long-term residence permits and naturalization of migrants is introduced, the entry and exit from the Greek territory without the necessary documents is still penalized and treated as a crime. Immigrants without a residence permit are not allowed to have any dealings with public institutions and state agencies. At the same time, the legal paths to enter the Greek territory are blocked by a complicated and unrealistic formal procedure, based on the false assumption that local institutions, national authorities and embassies will collaborate smoothly with private companies, individual migrants and recruitment agencies in order to “fill” the empty employment positions in Greece. While a new “regularization” program is envisaged, it is deemed to be the “final” one.⁴⁹ Finally there is no evidence of gender mainstreaming in this new law and the policies that aim at its implementation.

Overall, as Chatzi has argued, migration policies in Greece are characterized by three contradictory objectives that persist despite frequent amendments in migration law:

1. All regularization procedures are contingent, perpetuating the status of insecurity and precariousness of migrants,

⁴⁷ Law 3386/2005 “Είσοδος, παραμονή, και κοινωνική ένταξη των αλλοδαπών τρίτων χωρών στην Ελλάδα”

⁴⁸ A new law 3536/2007 established that migrants who wish to open shops should be able to prove at least 60000 Euros and those who have already opened shops in Greece should prove that they have invested 60000 Euros in their business in order to renew their residence permit. Nasos Theodoridis, 2008, “Annual Report on discrimination issues in Greece” *Antigone - National Informational and Documentation Centre on Xenophobia* at <http://www.antigone.gr/>

⁴⁹ Triandafyllidou, 2005.

2. The granting of work and residence permits is instrumental aiming mostly at the registration of aliens and the increase of contributions to the social security funds, rather on the creation of effective mechanisms for the protection of migrant's rights.

3. There is a constant tension between the logic of the "fight against illegal migration" and the need for the regularization of immigrants who continue to enter the Greek territory despite strict migration controls.⁵⁰

Overall these objectives have gendered implications emanating from the antithesis between the formal gender neutrality and the persistence of gender asymmetries and inequalities.

1. With regards to the precarity and insecurity that the contingency of regularization procedures imposes, migrant women may experience similar problems to men but many of them may also face additional pressures because of their dependency on male migrants within families (often reinforced through family reunification legal status) and their employment in feminized informal sectors.

2. The instrumental logic of the regularization procedures has left women's rights and needs, as well as gender relations outside the policy framework.

3. While women have become a privilege policy object in matters of security and border control (trafficking), feminized informal sectors (such as domestic or sex work) have been excluded almost entirely from migration policies. There is a gendered dimension therefore to the constant tension between their over-representation as paradigmatic victims of trafficking and the strategic denial to accept their role as workers.

1.2. Refugees and asylum

With regards to refugee and asylum, the Greek legislation has been gradually harmonized with EU standards. More specifically, law 1975/1991 (as amended by 2452/1996) and Presidential Decree 90/2008 laid down the rules for the procedure for the examination of asylum claims. Those who are recognized as refugees by the Greek Authorities, are given a residence permit for five years, renewable for the same length of time. In certain cases the so called "humanitarian status" is given to asylum seekers, which corresponds to a one year residence permit with the possibility of renewal (not exceeding two years). The right to employment and family reunification is attached to refugee residence permits and a temporary work permit is attached to humanitarian status. The Greek government has also adopted Directive 2005/85/EC and 2003/9/EC, in order to harmonize legislation with the minimum EU standards in matters of asylum and refugee recognition and protection.⁵¹ However, in practice the Greek state's approach to the implementation and interpretation of the relevant legislation has led to a situation whereby the recognition and protection of refugees and asylum seekers is severely undermined. Since it constitutes the entry point to

⁵⁰ Chrysa Chatzi, 2004, "Ο αλλοδαπός ως υποκείμενο δικαιωμάτων στην ελληνική έννομη τάξη" (The alien as a subject entitled to rights in the Greek legal order) in Miltos Pavlou and Dimitris Christopoulos, eds., *Μετανάστευση και μεταναστευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη* (Migration and migration policies in Greece and Europe) (Athens: Gutenberg), p. 46

⁵¹ Presidential decrees 220/2007 and 96/2008

the EU for many asylum seekers, the Greek state has undertaken the responsibility for processing rising numbers of asylum claims, within the context of continuous human rights violations and without the necessary infrastructure for refugee protection. As a result, many international organizations, NGOs and more recently the Norwegian government have denounced Greece as a “non safe country” and have forbidden the referral of refugees and asylum seekers to Greece, even if it is the country of entry.⁵² The percentage of asylum seeking recognition approval in Greece is the lowest in Europe (in 2007 it was 0.04% and in 2005 0.05% of requests).⁵³ Several international organization and NGOs have reported serious human rights violations by the police authorities (including arbitrary detention, inhuman conditions of detention, prevention from claiming asylum, and violence) and the judicial authorities (arbitrary rejection of asylum claims, inadequate protection and lack of translation).⁵⁴

Gender has not been mainstreamed in the Greek policies on refugees and asylum seekers, which remain gender neutral. With regards to refugee women, Greece has ratified the “Convention and the Optional Protocol for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women”. Furthermore, the General Secretariat for gender equality (attached to the Ministry of the Interior) has signed a memorandum of cooperation with the UNHCR in matters relating to refugee women, which included exchange of information relating to specific cases of vulnerable female asylum seekers, visiting and reporting on the living conditions of asylum seekers in reception and detention centers, information campaigns, educational schemes for civil servants and police personnel.⁵⁵ In Greece, however, there are no reception centres for recent migrants and the reception centres for refugees and asylum seekers run by NGOs cannot meet the needs of specific groups that are particularly in need of protection. A 2003 UNHCR survey showed that amongst asylum seekers, single women and children were particularly disadvantaged with regards to those reception centres and recommended “the adoption of a gender-sensitive and participatory approach in needs assessments”.⁵⁶ Since then the few refugee shelters for women and children that were run by NGOs closed down because of the lack of funding. In addition, there are reports of human rights violations in detention centres, where migrants and asylum seekers have been detained unlawfully.⁵⁷ A coalition of NGOs denounced in 2004, “missing protection and unlawful detention conditions, for what concerns space, hygiene and ill treatment of women some of whom may be trafficking victims and minors, some of whom unaccompanied, even under 5 years of age” in the Amigdaleza detention centre for women and children third country nationals.⁵⁸

⁵² UNHCR, 2008, “Θέσεις της Ύπατης Αρμοστείας του ΟΗΕ για τους πρόσφυγες για την επιστροφή αιτούντων ασύλου στην Ελλάδα σύμφωνα με τον κανονισμό του Δουβλίνου” (The position of the UNHCR with regards to the return of asylum seekers according to the “Dublin II regulation”), 15 April, http://hosting01.vivodinet.gr/unhcr/protect/POSITION_APRIL%202008_ELL.pdf

⁵³ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2007, “Spotlight on Greece: EU asylum lottery under fire”, *Press release* and UNHCR, 2008, “Statistics”, <http://www.unhcr.gr/exec.htm>

⁵⁴ UNHCR, 2008.

⁵⁵ General Secretariat for Gender Equality and UNHCR, 2005, “Memorandum of cooperation”, 5/7/2005, <http://www.isotita.gr/index.php/docs/c73/>

⁵⁶ UNHCR, 2003, “Asylum seeking single women, women head of families and separated children: Reception practices in Greece”, report prepared by Theodora D. Tsovili and Eftihia Voutira, <http://hosting01.vivodinet.gr/unhcr/publProtection.htm>

⁵⁷ See Proasyl and Group of Lawyers for the Rights of Refugees and Migrants, 2007

⁵⁸ Miltos Pavlou, 2005, “RAXEN report”, report prepared for Antigone, http://www.antigone.gr/listpage/reports_on_greece/2005/061226.pdf

1.3. Gender mainstreaming in migration laws and gender stereotyping in official discourse

In general gender-mainstreaming has remained outside the scope of the Greek law and policy making on migration. All legislative acts have adopted a gender neutral approach and language, ignoring the specific conditions experienced by female and male migrants as well as the ways in which gender, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation intersect in migrant movements to produce power inequalities that transcend the borders separating sending and receiving societies. It is notable that none of the legal texts on migration addresses issues related to gender relations, women's rights and needs, domestic work, or sex work. This situation reflects the broader EU policy context. As a position document of the European Women's Lobby pointed out in 2004:

“By maintaining a ‘gender neutral’ approach to immigration, women’s human rights and the experiences and needs of women are being ignored in the current debates and policies around immigration. As a consequence, the traditional and patriarchal gendered roles are usually reinforced, and immigrant women are often located within the traditional family roles”.⁵⁹

In the discussions of the draft laws in the Greek parliament, on the contrary, behind the seemingly gender-neutral approach and language of the texts of the law, lay strong gendered and sexualized representations of migrant femininity and masculinity that consolidated gradually during the 1990s.⁶⁰ In 1991, during the discussion of the draft law in parliament, there was only a single reference to migrant women, mentioning Philippino domestic “helpers” as a category vulnerable to exploitation. Ten years later, on the contrary, gender stereotypes of *migrant women as mothers and as prostitutes* were abundant. Underlying this shift there were explicit references to migration as a threat to security and to the moral crisis of Greek nationalism. This sense of threat was common to all the speakers irrespectively of their ideological orientation or their sex. Despite the strong presence of women members of parliament, gender or gender equality was hardly mentioned as an aspect of policy making. Instead women members of parliament tended to emphasize the importance of protecting women as victims, while men put emphasis on strategies of policing and protecting borders. None of the political parties of the left or the right raised issues of gender equality or of migrant women's rights and needs. Within this context, migrant women constitute a marginal category in policy making on migration. Interest in them is limited to issues of family reunification and trafficking.

⁵⁹ European Women's Lobby, 2004, “Integrating a gender perspective into the EU immigration policy” *Position Paper*, February, <http://www.womenlobby.org/SiteResources/data/MediaArchive/policies/Immigration/EWL%20position%20paper%20integration%20gender%20perspective%20into%20EU%20immigration%20policy04.pdf>

⁶⁰ Helen Kambouri, 2007.

1.4. Family reunification

The Greek legislation's gender neutral approach omits serious gender inequalities and violations of migrant women's human rights. More specifically, although the right to family reunification was first recognized by law 1975/91 and was subsequently improved (limiting the residence requirements to three years) and reinforced in a gender-neutral context, the discussions in parliament focused exclusively on migrant women as mothers and wives. This focus has obscured the fact that the number of reunified migrant females is not much higher than that of reunified males, at least to an extent that would justify an exclusive concern with women (according to the 2001 population census, it was 48862 against 44812).⁶¹ However, the emphasis on women manifests that family reunification is discursively anchored to the Greek population deficit ignoring the experiences of migrant individuals and families. As one MP put it in 2001, the draft law 2910 was an attempt to "re-draw the future population map of our country".⁶² Accordingly, during the parliamentary debates, migrant women were represented as wives and mothers, portrayed either as a remedy to the ageing of the population, or as a negative element threatening the "Greekness" of the population. In both cases by legalizing and symbolically representing the entry and residence of migrant women as a question of family reunification linked to the ageing of the national population, Greek migration policies portrayed migrant women as complementary to men.

Furthermore what was omitted was that women entering the country through this procedure are given a status totally dependent on (male) migrants, without the right to an independent residence/work permit. Policies on family reunification reinforce the conditions of gender inequality that often prevail within migrant families and communities. In practice, the high costs of the issuing of independent residence permits for the two spouses have led many migrant families to opt for this procedure for female members. In turn, women who regularize their stay through this procedure had to confine themselves to work in the unregulated sectors of the Greek economy, with no access to social welfare policies that working women normally enjoy. Furthermore, because their stay is legalized through their husbands', they become entirely dependent actually and psychologically on them for their dealings with the Greek state.⁶³ By placing emphasis on women as mothers and wives Overall the discourse of family reunification often silences on the one hand, practices of gender inequality, discrimination and violence within migrant families, and, on the other hand, female migration as an independent movement, within which women act autonomously, whether they are married, mothers or not.

1.5. Trafficking

Trafficking is another policy area where the seemingly gender neutral language of the law silences the inequalities of gendered power relations. The first law on trafficking (3064/2002), was entitled "Combating trafficking in human beings, crimes against sexual freedoms, child pornography, in general the economic exploitation of sexual life, and aid to victims provided

⁶¹ <http://www.statistics.gr>

⁶² Discussion in Parliament of draft law 2910/2001, Articles 30-31, 6 March 2001

⁶³ Kambouri, 2008 and Psimmenos, 2008

there off”.⁶⁴ In the first part, the law refers to the criminalization and punishment of trafficking acts (including penalties of up to ten years imprisonment) and in the second part to the protection of and assistance provided to the victims of trafficking. Presidential decree 233/2003 specified the conditions for the recognition of the status of the victim and the institutions responsible for the protection and assistance to victims.⁶⁵ In accordance with international and EU directives the trafficking laws were adopted within the context of border control and anti-immigration policies, which in most European states, served to “either create or exasperate existing situations that cause or contribute to trafficking in women”.⁶⁶ In 2003, Presidential Decree 233/2003 was adopted, implementing a program for the assistance of victims. The decree provides for shelters for victims, imposes a duty on law enforcement institutions to assist victims, and delays deportation of victims so they may receive assistance.⁶⁷ A subsequent amendment of the law on trafficking, occurred with Law 3386/2005, which adopted EU Directive 2004/81/EK, making the collaboration with the police authorities against the perpetrators of the crime a prerequisite for the granting of recognition, state assistance, protection and support to the victims (articles 46-52).⁶⁸ After “a period of contemplation”, during which the victims are allowed to decide whether they want to collaborate with the police (without the privilege of a residence permit however), they have to prove that they are not willing to work again for the criminals who forced them into prostitution and are prepared to testify against them. Even when these conditions are met, the victims are only entitled to a twelve month residence permit, which can be revoked whenever the police authorities judge that the victim no longer collaborates with them. Law 3536/2007 states for the first time that recognized victims of trafficking should not be deported and any judicial or administrative decision for the deportation is annulled.

In practice, the needs and human rights of migrant women, whether or not they are involved in sex work, remain outside the scope of anti-trafficking policies. The implicit focus is instead on combating trafficking networks. The Greek law has adopted the minimum possible contemplation period (one year) and a very vague procedure for the recognition of victims. In addition, it has attached the recognition of victims to the cooperation with the police and has disengaged clients from the procedure –mainly because it is impossible to prove knowledge or intent.⁶⁹ Although the Greek government made available \$1.4 million to Greek

⁶⁴ Law 3064/2002 “Καταπολέμηση της εμπορίας ανθρώπων, των εγκλημάτων κατά της γενετήσιας ελευθερίας, της πορνογραφίας ανηλικών, και της οικονομικής εκμετάλλευσης της γενετήσιας ζωής και αρωγή στα θύματα των πράξεων αυτών”

⁶⁵ PD 233/2003 “Protecting and Assisting victims of crimes provided for in article 323A, 349, 351 and 351A, of the penal code in conformity with article 12 of L3064/2002” (A204/28-8-2003)

⁶⁶ UN Commission on Human Rights, 2000, “Integration of the human rights of women and the gender perspective”, report of the special rapporteur of violence against women Ms Radhika Coomaraswamy on *Trafficking in women, women’s migration and violence against women*, E/CN.4/2000/68, p. 16 at [http://www.unhcr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/e29d45a105cd8143802568be0051fcfb/\\$FILE/G0011334.pdf](http://www.unhcr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/e29d45a105cd8143802568be0051fcfb/$FILE/G0011334.pdf)

⁶⁷ Presidential Decree 233/2003 implements victims’ assistance mechanisms of Law No. 3064 of 2002 under the provisions for protection and assistance to the victims of crimes in articles 323A, 349, 351, and 351A of the Penal Code, in conformity with article 12 of Law 3064 of 2002.

⁶⁸ These provision were following an EU Council directive, which aimed mainly at combating trafficking and illegal immigration in general through the cooperation of “victims” in exchange for short term residence permits and other short term benefits, such as access to training, vocational courses etc. 2004/81/EC “On the residence permits issued to third-country nationals who are victims of trafficking in human beings or have been the subject of an action to facilitate illegal immigration, who cooperate with the competent authorities” at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2004:261:0019:0023:EN:PDF>

⁶⁹ Greek Human Rights Committee, 2007, “Θέσεις και προτάσεις της Εθνικής Επιτροπής για τα Δικαιώματα του Ανθρώπου στο θέμα της εμπορίας ανθρώπων – η κατάσταση στην Ελλάδα” (Positions and propositions of the

and foreign NGOs for the protection of victims, the granting of residence permits to victims was not implemented for administrative reasons. In addition the “police authorities played a ‘filtering’ role using its own assessment to refer only the legally resident victims to appropriate agencies and authorities”.⁷⁰ A recent Amnesty International report stated that most women who may qualify as trafficking victims remain unidentified in Greece and many are being deported without even receiving information on their rights. Furthermore, even women identified as victims are usually found through police security checks for unlawful prostitution or illegal stay in Greece and do not receive adequate protection, assistance and information.⁷¹

Furthermore, despite the “neutral” language of the legal texts and the lack of concern for women’s human rights, women migrants are represented in public discourse as paradigmatic victims of trafficking networks. As a result, migrant women who do not fit the profile of this paradigmatic victim are excluded from both recognition and protection. According to the introductory report of 3064/2002, “new forms of slave trade”, turn primarily against three vulnerable groups: women, children and migrants. Women migrants (and children) become privileged objects of anti-trafficking policies precisely because their sex and their status as foreigners identify them as being doubly disadvantaged.⁷² The identity of the victim attributed to migrant women implies, however, a double exclusion: male migrant victims of trafficking are automatically made invisible, while women migrants who do not fit the criteria of victimhood described by the law are also made invisible.⁷³ It is worth noting that there are no specialized institutions in Greece (neither in the public nor in the NGO sector) which have the capacity and know-how to treat and protect victims of trafficking who do not belong to the category of vulnerable women and children.⁷⁴

In addition, the overwhelming emphasis placed in public discourse on prostitution and violence,⁷⁵ obscures forms of gender exploitation that involve coercion in other fields of employment.⁷⁶ Furthermore, even migrant women who are involved in sex work often fail to meet the profile of victimhood established by the law: for example, those who have taken the decision to migrate knowing that they were going to be employed as sex workers, but fell victims of violence and coercion after their arrival in Greece, or those who are too afraid to

Greek Human Rights Committee on the subject of human trafficking – the situation in Greece” June, http://www.nchr.gr/category.php?category_id=162

⁷⁰ Maria Liapi and Theodoros Zeis, 2006 a, “Mapping of policies affecting female migrants and policy analysis: the Greek case”, report prepared by Centre for research in women’s issues, Working Paper No. 10, “FeMIPOL: Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society” specific targeted research project of the FP6, p. 27, http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/docs/working_papers/wp1/Greece.pdf

⁷¹ Amnesty International, 2007, “Greece: Uphold the rights of women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation” report EUR 25/002/2007 at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/EUR25/002/2007>

⁷² Introductory report to Law 3064/2002

⁷³ See Laura Agustín, 2006, “The Disappearing of a Migration Category: Migrants Who Sell Sex” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 29-47

⁷⁴ Greek Human Rights Committee, 2007, p. 13

⁷⁵ This is done mainly through (often unconscious) transferences, which are reproduced automatically and abundantly in public discourse. See Maria Thanopoulou and Joanna Tsiganou, 2005, “Representations of gender in public rhetoric. The case of law making on immigration in the Greek parliament”, *The Greek review of social research*, 117/B, pp. 169-187 and Helen Kambouri, 2007.

⁷⁶ In the Greek case, for example, there are several cases of exploitation, internment of and violence against migrant women working as live-in domestics, which have remained outside the scope of anti-trafficking policies and discourses, mainly because these women do not fit into the profile of the prostitute, which constitutes the paradigmatic trafficking victim.

collaborate with the police against the traffickers. On the contrary, practices of victimization allow policy makers to assume for themselves a paternalistic role either as “protectors” of (female) victims, or as avengers of (male) victimizers. In practice it is doubtful whether the trafficking policies are actually effective in combating trafficking networks or assisting and protecting “victims”. Gender mainstreaming remains largely outside the scope of trafficking policies.⁷⁷

1.6. Discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin, religious or other beliefs, disability, age or sexual orientation

It is apparent from the above analysis of existing legislation and policies that migrant women and men are treated as unified categories with no regard to differentiations and inequalities between and within migrant groups. The only legal act that addresses these questions is Law 3304/2005 “Application of the principle of equal treatment irrespectively of racial or ethnic origin, religious or other beliefs, disability, age or sexual orientation”, which harmonizes Greek legislation with directives 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC.⁷⁸ According to Article 3, discrimination is defined as both direct discrimination against certain individuals or groups, and indirect discrimination caused by a seemingly neutral approach that silences actual practices of discrimination. Furthermore, it applies to different fields of social policy including employment, welfare, education, and public housing. As the last report of the Greek Ombudsman pointed out, however, the number of complaints and cases taken to court is still extremely low and does not reflect the spread and salience of discrimination in Greek society. The implementation of the principle of equal treatment has been severely undermined by the unwillingness of individuals and groups to expose their personal experiences of discrimination to the public authorities and to the limited appeal of NGOs as intermediaries between civil society and the government institutions responsible.⁷⁹

Furthermore, although this legal act opens the way for the acknowledgement of multiple forms of inequality, its field of application does not challenge the logic of the existing migration law. According to article 4, it does not apply to cases where differential treatment is envisaged in the context of the law on citizenship, or in the context of the law regulating the entry and stay of aliens, or even the legal status of aliens on the Greek territory. Effectively, thus, anti-discrimination legislation does not challenge discrimination and inequalities linked to or caused by existing migration policies.⁸⁰ As a result, its implementation has been limited to Greece’s ethnic minorities, to recognized refugees, and Greek nationals of foreign descent (repatriates), excluding many cases of unequal treatment and discrimination based on racial

⁷⁷ The Greek policies are by no means unique but follow UN and EU policy initiatives. In 2000, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights expressed concern with regards to the UN draft convention against transnational organized crime that “the first modern international instrument on trafficking is being elaborated within the context of crime control rather than with a focus on human rights” and added that “she views this as a failure of the international community to fulfill its commitment to protect the human rights of women”. UN Commission on Human Rights, 2000

⁷⁸ Law 3304/2005 “Εφαρμογή της ίσης μεταχείρισης ανεξαρτήτως φυλετικής ή εθνοτικής καταγωγής, θρησκευτικών ή άλλων πεποιθήσεων, αναπηρίας, ηλικίας ή γενετήσιου προσανατολισμού”

⁷⁹ Greek Ombudsman, 2007, “Ετήσια έκθεση: Ο Συνήγορος του πολίτη ως φορέας προώθησης της αρχής της ίσης μεταχείρισης” (Annual report: the Ombudsman as the institution for the promotion of the principle of equal treatment), at http://www.synigoros.gr/pdf_01/annual_07/07_04.pdf

⁸⁰ Greek Ombudsman, 2007, pp. 7-8.

and ethnic origin, religious belief, age or sexual orientation involving migrants and asylum seekers.

2. Migration in Policies of Gender Equality

Gender equality is in principle guaranteed under the 2001 Greek constitution. Article 4 states that “*Greek men and women have equal rights and obligations*”. The phrasing of this principle, however, establishes an ethno-centric bias since it does not include all *men and women who live on the Greek territory irrespectively of their ethnic origin and nationality*. Article 116, on the contrary, establishes a broader field of application of positive action in favor of gender equality, stating that “the adoption of positive measures for the promotion of gender equality between *men and women* does not constitute gender discrimination. The State takes measures for the removal of inequalities, those affecting women in particular”. With regards to positive action, therefore, the possibility of men and women who are not Greek been integrated into positive policy measures is foreseen. This is reinforced by the ratification of the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which attaches great significance to forms of discrimination against migrant, refugee and minority women.⁸¹

2.1. Employment

The Greek legislation was harmonized in 1984 with directives EC 75/117 and EC 76/207 in 1984.⁸² Law 1414/1984 provided for the elimination of all forms of gender discrimination in employment, equal pay for equal value of work, equal access to employment for men and women, prohibition of termination of employment for reasons of gender. Sexual harassment remained outside the official legal framework despite evidence of being a widespread phenomenon until 2006.⁸³ The Greek law was harmonized with directive EC 2002/73 when Law 3488/2006 “Implementation of the principle of equal treatment of men and women with regards to the access to employment, professional education and development, the terms and conditions of employment and other relevant ordinances” was adopted.⁸⁴ The law established the principle of equal treatment, which is defined as “the absence of any form of discrimination based directly or indirectly on gender, in particular in relation to the family”. Sexual harassment was included in the forms of discrimination defined by the law and positive action measures for gender equality were institutionalized in accordance with the constitution. Despite the harmonization of the legal framework with EU directives, the implementation of gender equality objectives is undermined by the extended informal sector, the predominant role of family-run businesses and the high percentages of unemployment amongst women. As a result, many categories of working women’s employment are excluded de facto from the field of application of the law and even working women who can benefit from anti-discrimination and positive measures very rarely make use of the law or take relevant cases to court out of fear of unemployment.⁸⁵ The Greek Ombudsman has received very few complaints (compared to the estimated spread of practices of gender discrimination throughout the Greek territory) and even fewer cases were taken to court on grounds of

⁸¹ Law 1302/1982 and Law 1342/1983 respectively

⁸² N. 1414/1984, “Εφαρμογή της αρχής της ισότητας των φύλων στις εργασιακές σχέσεις και άλλες διατάξεις”

⁸³ V. Artinopoulou and Th. Papatheodorou, 2004, “Η σεξουαλική παρενόχληση στου χώρους εργασίας” (Sexual harassment at the work place) Report prepare by KETHI, http://www.kethi.gr/greek/meletes/2004/sexUALIKI_PARENOXLISI_ergasia/Sexualikh_parenoxlish_ergasia.pdf

⁸⁴ N. 3488/2006, “Εφαρμογή της αρχής της ίσης μεταχείρισης ανδρών και γυναικών όσον αφορά στην πρόσβαση στην απασχόληση, στην επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση και ανέλιξη, στους όρους και στις συνθήκες εργασίας και άλλες συναφείς διατάξεις”

⁸⁵ Maria Stratigaki, 2006.

gender discrimination. In those cases that were taken to the Greek Ombudsman, we can observe the persistence of gender stereotyping with regards to the employment positions suitable for men and women even by Greek public institutions.⁸⁶

The General Secretariat for Gender Equality has recently placed as one of its priorities the inclusion of migrant women in the target population of Measure 5.3 “Integrated action in favour of women” of Operational Programme “Employment and Vocational Training”.⁸⁷ The implementation of this principle, however, may be undermined by the multiple forms of discrimination that migrants, in general and women in particular, face as a result of the restrictive labour policies and administrative problems that (strategically) force them into a precarious situation, in between legality and illegality

In the conditions of extreme precarity that many migrants experience in Greece, several forms of gender discrimination, (including arbitrary dismissals for reasons related to gender, sexual harassment, refusal to grant or inability to claim paid maternity leave, lower payment for women as opposed to men for equal value of work etc.) are commonplace. Nonetheless, the high financial and social costs of legal procedures make it difficult, if not impossible, for migrants of both sexes to take the decision to turn against employers because such a decision would also signify the loss their residence permit in Greece.⁸⁸ The dependency on employers for the issuing of residence permits, as well as the lack of an independent work permit for members of reunified families, institutionalizes gender discrimination in the employment sector.

Migrant women are particularly disadvantaged in that respect because they are overwhelmingly employed in low-paid, low-skill professions in informal, unregulated sectors. In particular women working in domestic work are more likely to be silenced in anti-discrimination or positive measures in employment since their work is usually based on informal oral agreements and uncertain working relations with private employers. Maltreatment of employees and sexual harassment at the work place, in particular, may be difficult to take to court since households are protected under the principle of the “domestic asylum”. The recent Law 3536/2007, which allows migrant domestic workers to renew their residence permit without a legal contract is the only measure taken to regulate the field. This provision has offered a realistic solution to the problem of regularization of many women – providing at the same time an additional source of revenue for social national security institutions. However, domestic workers are still required to acquire the necessary security stamps in order to renew their residence permit – a condition that effectively removes all responsibility from private employers and lays it on the hands of migrants themselves.⁸⁹

Finally, migrant women face particular problems with regards to gender discrimination in employment that remain outside the scope of current gender equality policies. Although

⁸⁶ Kalliopi Likovardi, 2006, “Η συμβολή του Συνηγόρου του πολίτη στην καταπολέμηση των διακρίσεων λόγω φύλου” (The contribution of the Greek ombudsman in the combat against gender discrimination), paper presented at the Conference *National, European, international policies on the equality between men and women* at <http://www.synigoros.gr/diakriseis/docs/LykobardiIsotitaGynaikonAndron.pdf>

⁸⁷ General Secretariat for Gender Equality, 2007

⁸⁸ Liapi and Zeis, 2006.

⁸⁹ Dimitris Parsanoglou and Joseph Tsiamoglou, 2008, “National Report: Greece”, report prepared for ANTIGONE , Project: *Integration of Female Migrant Domestic Workers: Strategies for Employment and Civic Participation*, <http://epa-web.soe.ucy.ac.cy/courses/EPA730E%20-%20Z.Gregoriou/eragsia%203-metanastries/Integration%20of%20Female%20Migrant%20Domestic%20Workers%20Resourcebook%202008.pdf>

employment rates amongst immigrants are higher than those of the native population (in 2005 employment rates were 71.7% for migrants and 60% for the domestic population),⁹⁰ a 2005 study, has shown that the vast majority of migrants worked in manual occupations, while 45% were university or technical school graduates. Also migrants were underrepresented in the blue and white collar and transport industries: only 22% male and 6% female migrants were employed in this sector.⁹¹ This trend reflects the absence of mechanisms for the recognition of migrants' qualifications and training, but also the predominance of social prejudices and stereotyping with regards to jobs appropriate for migrant women. These conditions enable processes of deskilling and make it impossible for them to cross to other employment sectors. For many migrant women deskilling occurs, even though there is demand for their professional skills. In the health sector, for example, there is a rising number of qualified nurses and medical staff, who are being educated in foreign and Greek universities, but are unable to work in the public sector –where there are significant shortages- because they are of foreign nationality. Even in the private sector migrant women working in skilled sectors have to face multiple forms of discrimination since they are often assigned inferior tasks than their Greek colleagues even when they have superior qualifications.⁹²

For migrant women working as employees of cleaning companies, it is very common that labor and gender discrimination persist despite formal agreements. Working in dangerous conditions, where the standards of hygiene are not respected, and working hours extend indefinitely without compensation is a common characteristic of the labour standards in these companies. What is interesting to note is that such companies are responsible for cleaning public spaces under sub-contracting schemes that remove the responsibility from government institutions for unlawful labour practices. In 2007, Costantina Kooneva, a migrant from Bulgaria and the secretary of the Panattikan Cleaners Association, has been brutally attacked and forced to drink vitriol. As this case shows, migrant women's ability to organize and demand labour rights in Greece is constantly undermined by a culture of violence and disrespect of migrant lives lost that extends beyond the confines of "corrupt" employers and includes public institutions, the police and the judicial authorities.

2.2. Social security

With regards to policies of gender equality in social security, there are still many unresolved tensions. Mainly these tensions revolve around the issue of whether or not a more individualized approach should be adopted.⁹³ Overall these policies have failed to address the problem of uninsured or insured on a part-time or ad hoc basis labour (although working full-time). These may be widespread amongst Greek women, but they tend to affect migrants in general and migrant women in particular more. The legislative acts on the insurance of domestic workers, for example, remain inefficient mainly because they do not address the specific problems and needs of migrant women, who constitute the vast majority of domestic workers. Law 1759/1988 made provisions for the self-insurance of certain categories of

⁹⁰ National Statistical Service of Greece, 2005.

⁹¹ Cavounides et al, 2003.

⁹² Dimitris Theofanidis, 2005, "Training and Employment Opportunities for Migrant Women in the Health and Care sectors in Greece", Report prepared for ANTIGONE, Prequal, Leonardo da Vinci Project, *Education and Culture, The Challenges and Recommendations*

⁹³ Stratigaki, 2006

employment, including domestic personnel on the basis of 50% of the daily wages of an unskilled laborer. Law 2639/1998 introduced regulations for the insurance contributions and health care, including childbirth, of paid domestic workers and Decision 110/1998 P 1245 gave the right to domestic workers employed by different employers to work as self-employed, freelance.⁹⁴ However, as Zeis and Liapi argue, none of the legislative acts on domestic work take into account the high cost of self-insurance in order to cover the expenses of the residence permit (at least 150 stamps) and the fact that the absence of work contracts or the unwillingness or failure of employers to declare employees to the National Social Security Organization (IKA) in fact penalizes employees. What is even more, migrants working in this sector without a legal work agreement are not entitled to unemployment benefit.⁹⁵

As long as the inclusion of migrants in the social security system is done in order to increase contributions, it is unavoidable that gender mainstreaming will remain outside the scope of legislation and policy making. Although migrants' contributions are necessary for the overcoming of the current crisis of the national security system, only a very small percentage of those paying their security stamps in order to acquire residence permit are in fact entitled to receive pension. Partly this is because many migrants do not fulfil the time limits for the granting of full pension and are not entitled to transfer their pension rights to the home country because of the lack of intergovernmental agreements regulating migrants' pensions.⁹⁶ Also, migrant women, who have opted for family reunification status in order to avoid paying double the amount required for residence permit, are particularly disadvantaged in that respect.⁹⁷

2.3. Public Care

Significant progress has been made in Greece after EU accession with regards to public care. This progress is reflected in the increased participation of women in the labor market. It should be noted, however, that legislation and policies do not address issues of gender, and the equal distribution of care responsibilities to men and women, but focus on "helping" women to combine work with care. Within this context, the absence of infrastructures and the predominance of gendered stereotyping of women as the primary or sole responsible for care-giving prevail. As a result, most working women are obliged to carry the double burden of professional and domestic work.⁹⁸ Paid maternity leave has been granted to Greek women since 1952, and although there are differences in the time-span according to the field of employment, it is safe to argue that all working women take it since it is obligatory. Nonetheless, it is still considered by employers as a negative factor that increases labour costs and makes them less competitive than men. With regards to the role of fathers in care, very little progress has been made in promoting gender equality policies within the family.

⁹⁴ Νόμος 2639/1998, "Ρύθμιση εργασιακών σχέσεων, σύσταση Σώματος Επιθεώρησης Εργασίας και άλλες διατάξεις"

⁹⁵ Centre for research in women's issues, 2006 a,

⁹⁶ Kassimati and Mousourou, 2006. It is a common strategy amongst migrant women from neighbouring countries, insured or uninsured, to pay the security system in the home country in order to receive a pension at the end of their working life and to have their employment years prior to migration calculated and recognized. Kambouri, 2007.

⁹⁷ Parsanoglou and Tsiamoglou, 2008.

⁹⁸ Stratigaki, 2006

The Greek government and social insurance institutions have granted equal social security benefits to both mothers and fathers and formally recognize the role of fathers in children's upbringing, but paternity leaves are limited to 2-4 days.⁹⁹ Furthermore through the processes of harmonization, significant progress has been made in the field of "reconciliation of family and work life" through the creation of care infrastructures controlled by the municipal authorities. The establishment of public all-day schools, day care centers and kindergartens has contributed significantly towards this direction. There are also municipal care centers for the elderly (KAPI). Nonetheless, these infrastructures remain inadequate to cover the needs of the whole of the resident population (including migrant families). Another problem is the quality of public care, given the lack of trained personnel, the old fashion educational and care practices and the bad quality of buildings that has contributed to the creation of a large private sector that cares for the needs of many Greek and migrant families.

At large, migrant women working in the domestic sector have been used as a substitute for the inadequacies of public care-giving infrastructures and the lack of effective measures promoting gender equality within the family. Although the responsibility for the care of the children and the elderly was passed on to migrant care-givers, gender inequalities amongst Greek men and women persist and are re-articulated on the basis of ethnic origin and class. An NGO active in human rights research and campaigning has recently proposed that "subsidies from the government" should "cover a percentage (maybe one third) of the salaries of domestic helpers, since their services should be regarded as a 'public good' and therefore as part of the welfare state".¹⁰⁰ Despite their unofficial role in maintaining the care system, migrant women are unable to benefit from basic rights, such as a paid maternity leave. For many of them—in particular those working in the domestic sector—maternity leave may signify the loss of employment, since many Greek families cannot afford the cost of hiring another person (while paying maternity leave) to cover the needs of young children and old people, even if it is for a short period of time. As a result, migrant women are often obliged to work during the whole of their pregnancy and immediately after the birth of their child.¹⁰¹

In addition, while many migrant working mothers have benefited from all day public schools, kindergartens and day care centres, there are many obstacles to their access to the social care and educational systems. Because migrant women are considered and consider themselves to be the ones responsible for the education and care of their children, the burden lies mostly with them, rather than with migrant fathers. Unemployed, job seeking or illegal migrant women are unable to gather the necessary security stamps that constitute a prerequisite for children's enrolment in municipal day care centres (under the age of four).¹⁰² Although the Greek state is committed to providing free education to all children over the age of four, irrespectively of their parents' legal status, several bureaucratic practices undermine this commitment.¹⁰³ Within this context, migrant women's organizations have launched a campaign against the prohibition to issue birth certificates –necessary for the enrolment of

⁹⁹ Stratigaki, 2006, p. 141.

¹⁰⁰ Parsanoglou and Tsiamoglou, 2008.

¹⁰¹ Kambouri, 2007

¹⁰² Maria Stratigaki and Dina Vaiou, 2008, "Migrant mothers' everyday practices in nurseries and kindergartens as a strategy for social integration" *The Greek review of social research*, 124, C, pp. 139-157. Because most day care centres come under the aegis of the municipalities, it is at the discretion of municipal officials whether they accept migrant women's children on the grounds of poverty or not.

¹⁰³ Stratigaki and Vaiou, 2008.

their children in school- by the Greek authorities even when these children were born in Greece.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.kounia.org/>

2.4. Violence

The Greek state has at large adopted a gender neutral approach to violence. In the Greek penal code, apart from rape, there is no other article dealing specifically with violence against women. According to Law 1419/1984, rape is categorized as a crime against sexual freedom and against economic exploitation of sexual life and is defined as a form of coercion to illicit intercourse by physical violence or threat. The civil code criminalizes the assault against sexual dignity (337CC). Furthermore, "violence against women is a statutory offence under Greek law but it is punished as an offence against the person (as an attack against the individual's life and integrity) instead of an offence against the individual's freedom, honour, personality and sexual freedom. The legislative texts covering these offences include several measures specifically relating to violence against women which take into consideration both physical bodily harm and psychological and emotional harm (physical injury, unintentional physical injury, dangerous physical injury, serious physical injury, injury causing death, injury through negligence)".¹⁰⁵

Law 3500/2006 "For the prevention of domestic violence and other ordinances" establishes on the one hand, the conditions under which domestic violence is considered to be a crime and, on the other hand, the basic standards for assistance to victims.¹⁰⁶ Despite this development, it is difficult to assess the extent to which domestic violence affects gender relations in Greece because the issue is still confined to the private sphere and most cases of domestic violence are not reported to the authorities.¹⁰⁷ In order to address this silence, the General Secretariat for Gender Equality has undertaken the tasks of: disseminating information and running campaigns on domestic violence, running the existing reception centers for victims of domestic violence and their children, monitoring and producing statistical data on all the cases of victims of violence in its two consultation centers of Athens and Piraeus. In addition, there are reception and consultation centers for victims of domestic violence run by KETHI and by NGOS, as well as phone lines organized mostly on a voluntary basis as well as two EU funded programs (DAPHNE and "Zero Tolerance"). The question of domestic violence within migrant families and communities is outside the scope of both official policies and public debate.

Beyond, however, the policy initiatives that involve institutions specializing on gender equality there is very little concern amongst policy makers for the gendered aspects of violence: official discourse tends to be moralistic emphasizing the ethnical disintegration of the nation or the family that acts of violence represent, rather than challenging the gender inequalities that sustain such forms of violence.¹⁰⁸ The existing public discourse on violence against women has addressed mainly women and children as vulnerable categories, attributing to them the identity of the victim. As a recent research study has shown, however, experiences

¹⁰⁵ Kaiti Papariga-Kostavara, 2004, "First national report of the National observatory for violence against women on Greece", p. 6, at <http://www.womenlobby.org/SiteResources/data/MediaArchive/Violence%20Centre/National%20Reports/greek%20report%20clean.pdf>.

¹⁰⁶ Law 3500/2006, "Για την αντιμετώπιση της οικογενειακής βίας και άλλες διατάξεις"

¹⁰⁷ A 2003 study has shown that most women who experience domestic violence do not recognize it as such and even when they do, they tend to blame themselves for it. As a result it is more likely that it is considered an issue that "stays within the family". V. Artinopoulou and I. Farsedakis, 2003, "Ενδο-οικογενειακή βία κατά των γυναικών: πρώτη πανελλαδική επιδημιολογική έρευνα" (Domestic violence: first nation-wide research in Greece) report prepared for KETHI, , http://www.ypatia-kethi.gr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=189&Itemid=38

¹⁰⁸ Adromachi Hadjiyanni and Fray Kamoutsi, 2005, "Dimensions of public debate on sexual violence against women", *The Greek review of social research*, 117: B, pp. 189-220.

of gendered violence may be ambivalent and contradictory and women subjected to gendered violence may sometimes identify themselves as “victims” and sometimes as “survivors”.¹⁰⁹ In addition, public discourse has failed to address issues related to ethnicity, culture, class and sexual orientation, which may be linked to gendered violence. In particular forms of racist violence targeting male migrants and issues of masculinity have been ignored.

Incidents of racist violence targeting particular areas and neighbourhoods, with strong migrant presence have become more frequent and intense in the past five years. There are no studies on the gendered aspects of such crimes. However it seems that their targets are primarily male migrants and Roma. There is also evidence to suggest that extreme right-wing racist groups operating within and recruiting members from football clubs express themselves through hooliganism, which remains an “unregulated, impunity area”.¹¹⁰ Migrant women, on the contrary are more likely to become victims of violence by members of their own community or be subjected to racist sexual violence.¹¹¹ The activities of the General Secretariat for Gender Equality and the NGOs active in this field have not addressed yet the diverse and complex issues related to migration and gendered violence mainly because of their exclusive focus on trafficking.¹¹²

2.5. Intersectionality and gender mainstreaming in Greece

In practice, gender inequalities persist in different fields of social policy affecting differently women and men living on the Greek territory. While gender mainstreaming is still incomplete in many social policy areas, an intersectional approach remains mostly outside the policy making framework on gender equality. With the exception of several EU funded projects and positive action programmes that include migrants, and migrant women as target groups, there are no policies on gender that acknowledge the inequalities and asymmetries produced at the intersections of gender, nation, class, race and sexual orientation. The tendency to exclude intersectionality from policy making on gender has undermined the efforts to solve problems and potentially reinforces the inferior positioning of migrant women and men in relation to both Greek women and to migrant men.

What is even more striking is that even positive action measures, which are in principle open to men and women of different nations, ethnicities, classes, and sexual orientations tend to acquire ethno-centric focus, mainly because of the constraints established by the existing migration laws. Thus, many migrants have been excluded from EU funded projects programs

¹⁰⁹ Katerina Drouga, Maria Papathanasiou and Andreas Tsonidis, 2001, “Θύμα ή επιζώσα; Η ρητορική κατασκευή ταυτοτήτων στη συμβουλευτική για την κακοποίηση γυναικών: μια ανάλυση μελέτης” (*Victim or survivor? The rhetorical construction in abused women’s counselling: a case study analysis*), report prepared for KETHI Research Centre for Gender Equality – Thessalonica, at http://www.kethi.gr/greek/meletes/Victim_or_alive/thima%20epizosa_pdf.pdf

¹¹⁰ Miltos Pavlou, 2007, “Racism and Discrimination against migrants and minorities in Greece: the State of play”, Report prepared for HLHR and KEMO, *National Focal Point on Racism and Xenophobia*, available at <http://www.hlhr.gr/hlhr-kemo/docs/HLHR-KEMO%20AR2007.pdf>

¹¹¹ Kaiti Paparriga Kostavara, 2004, “Greece”, report prepared for Greek National Observatory for the Prevention of Violence against Women, at http://www.genderpanteion.gr/gr/didaktiko_pdf/Ekthesi_Paratitirioy_Gia_Tin_Antimetopisi_Tis_Vias_Kata_Twn_Gynaikwn.pdf

¹¹² The 2006 CEDAW report on Greece mentions 15 different NGOs, which have conducted programmes almost exclusively targeted towards issues related to trafficking. General Secretariat for Gender Equality, 2005, “Sixth periodic report of state parties: Greece. Convention on the elimination of all forms of violence against women (CEDAW)”, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reports.htm#g>

on gender equality because as foreign nationals they cannot be employed in the public sector. In addition, many migrant women who have been formally included as a particularly vulnerable target group (doubly disadvantaged as both female and migrant), have been in effect excluded because of administrative problems.¹¹³ The long waiting time for the issuing of the residence permits in the urban centres (which was unrealistically considered as a prerequisite for participation in such programmes) prevented many of them from taking advantage of such opportunities. Also migrant women, members of reunified families and unemployed women were excluded from all EU and state-funded education and vocational training, as well as subsidized employment programmes. This is mainly because under the existing legal framework on migration, termination of employment practically signifies termination of work and residence permits since even registered unemployed migrants are denied the right to renew their residence permit.¹¹⁴

In general, the absence of an intersectional approach has undermined the scope of gender equality policies in Greece giving it an essentially ethno-centric character. Assuming women and men to be more or less unitary categories has silenced the existence of multiple forms of discrimination arising from intersecting forms of inequality based on gendered, national, ethnic, class and sexual divisions. This is evident in the reports of the Greek Ombudsman, which has extended its field of application to include issues of gender discrimination, along with discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin, disability, age, sexual orientation.¹¹⁵ These point out to the limits of existing anti-discrimination policies, since migrants are effectively excluded from their field of application and continue to ignore intersectionality, adopting an additive approach to discrimination that ignores the intersections between different forms discrimination.

Within this context, although in EU policies on gender equality, there is room to extend the scope of positive action to include migrant populations, and in particular migrant women, bureaucratic and administrative obstacles have effectively blocked such an extension reinforcing the ethno-centric character of existing gender equality policies. The combination of ethno-centric gender equality policies and restrictive migration laws cultivate fertile conditions for the gendering of the precarious legal and economic status of migrants in Greece. For most migrant women this practically means a very paradoxical situation: they can benefit from gender equality policies as women, but they continue to be excluded from the field of application of such policies as migrants.

¹¹³ Relevant EU funded programs included: EQUAL project IFESTOS co-ordinated by the Greek Mission of the International Migrant Organization (IMO), EQUAL project DREAM co-ordinated by Dimitra SA ,EQUAL Project FORUM co-ordinated by Athens Press Agency are targeting migrant population in general. However they are supposed to mainstream gender equality and therefore focus specifically to women migrants. EQUAL Project MEVEL co-ordinated by a private training Centre (Techniki Ekpaideftiki) is the only one addressing migrant women, EQUAL Project "Emigrants agro-jobs" co-ordinated by University of Thessaloniki and EQUAL Project "ALKISTIS" implemented by the Developmental Partnership "Network for Combating Social Exclusion of Women" address their activities to both women and men.

¹¹⁴ Liapi and Zeis, 2006 a

¹¹⁵ See reports of the Greek Ombudsman, 2005, 2006, 2007.

3. Intercultural interaction as a policy objective

The Greek political system is based on a very distinct project of nationalist homogenization, which was implemented systematically since the creation of the contemporary Greek state. The educational system has been central to the propagation of nationalist values and the uniform usage of Greek throughout the territory. Today, with the exception of the Muslim minority in Northern Greece, there are no recognized ethnic minorities.¹¹⁶ This peculiarity has made possible for Greek nationalist discourse to exclude the possibility of xenophobia against foreigners and to celebrate the qualities of Greek hospitality (*philoxenia*), enabled through the myths of the Greek continuity since antiquity and the exigencies of contemporary tourism. Nonetheless, specific forms of xenophobia and racism towards the refugees of the exchange of populations of 1922¹¹⁷ and towards members of often unrecognized ethnic minorities, most notable the Roma and the Pomaks, persisted and were in many cases institutionalized despite the fact that these groups enjoyed a recognized status as Greek citizens. Within the context of Greek *philoxenia* and the implicit denial of racism as an anti-Greek sentiment, intercultural interaction is framed on an ethnocentric bias, promoting strategies and mechanisms for the propagation of Greek nationalist values, rather than mutual enrichment. Rather than the legacy of Greek *philoxenia*, it is the legacy of coercive inter-cultural encounters with “different” Greek citizens, such as the Pomaks, the Muslim minority and the Roma that provides historical continuity with contemporary policies on integration.¹¹⁸

3.1. Repatriated Greeks

Questions of intercultural interaction surfaced initially during the 1980s in the context of policies (or the lack of policies) aiming at the integration of repatriated migrants of Greek descent, the *omogeneis*. The responsibility for the *omogeneis* lays until today with the General Secretariat for the Greeks abroad of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Within the competence of the general secretariat lay very different groups of Greek emigrants, including the ones “returning” to Greece from the USA, Western Europe and Australia and those “returning” from the former communist states. As a result there are antithetical representations of these repatriates according to their country of origin. On the one hand, there is a conception of the Greek diaspora (mainly in the USA, but also in Western Europe and Australia) as a tool for the pursuit of foreign policy objectives abroad - a financial and political “avant-garde” of the Greek nation.¹¹⁹ Despite the common Greek origin, the repatriates from the former communist states, and in particular the Pontians from the former Soviet Union, were not represented in the same manner. The failure to “integrate” them symbolically represents in public discourse the inability of the Greek state to accommodate difference politically even within the context the same national descent. Although these *omogeneis* enjoy a recognized legal status, there are several problems that made the

¹¹⁶ Constantinos Tsitselikis, 1996, *The international and European status for the protection of the linguistic minority rights and the Greek legal order* (Athens: Sakkoulas) (in Greek).

¹¹⁷ Effie Voutira, 1997, “Population Transfers and Resettlement Policies in Inter-war Europe: The Case of Asia Minor Refugees in Macedonia from a National and International Perspective”, in P. Mackridge and E. Yiannakakis, eds. *Macedonia: Ourselves and Others* (Oxford: Berg) pp.111-131.

¹¹⁸ Dimitris Christopoulos, 2004, “Οι μετανάστες στην Ελληνική πολιτική κοινότητα” (Migrants in the Greek political community) in Milos Pavlou and Dimitris Christopoulos, *Η Ελλάδα της μετανάστευσης* (Migrant Greece), Athens: Kritiki and KEMO

¹¹⁹ General Secretariat for the Greeks Abroad, 1990, “Πρόγραμμα έρευνας αποδημίας -παλιννόστησης” (research program on emigration –repatriation), *Report prepared for the GGAAE* Vol. 1

question of their “integration” into the Greek society pertinent. At the beginning of the 1990s, relevant studies pointed out to phenomena of social exclusion: high unemployment rates, bad housing conditions, language problems, and social isolation were some of the problems and made an urgent call for the adoption of policy measures and programmes for their integration.¹²⁰ Such processes of social exclusion manifested the inability and unpreparedness of Greek policy making mechanisms to effectively address issues of intercultural interaction. Policies aiming at the integration of Pontian Greeks were slowly extended to include repatriates from other areas as well, most notably the Albanian Greeks. Legitimization for these policies derived from the Greek refugee past rather than from contemporary immigration policies or European harmonization– despite the fact that the living conditions and problems of the repatriates were not that different from the problems experienced by other migrants.¹²¹ Policy making in this area has failed to mainstream gender.

3.2. Education

In the same context, the notion of “interculturality” was first introduced in Greek policies of migration in relation to *education* in the 1980s with regards to the education of repatriated children from Northern Europe, and especially from Germany. The legacy of the assimilationist approach adopted at the time for the repatriates persists in policies of intercultural education to this day.¹²² In the 1990s, although there was initially confusion over the enrollment of children from migrant families in Greek schools (mainly because migration law prohibits any dealings between public institutions and illegal immigrants), it was soon established by a presidential decree that all children irrespectively of their parents legal status should be entitled to free education in Greece. This relatively “liberal” approach that offers open access to a public good to all migrants is unique since in principle even the administration and medical staff of hospitals retain the right to deny illegal immigrants free hospitalization. It is legitimized, however, on the basis of a nationalist ideology that assigns particular significance to education as a privileged site for the appropriation of Greekness.

Unlike other aspects of intercultural interaction, the question intercultural education has been publicly debated on several occasions in relation to the right of foreign students to carry the Greek flag during the national parades. While there was outrage by nationalist students, parents, teachers in several schools and few intellectuals, the official political rhetoric emphasized the moral significance attached to the apprenticeship of Greek values by foreigners. As the President of the Republic noted on such an occasion, repeating a saying by the ancient Greek philosopher Isocrates: “Greeks are those who participate in Greek education”.¹²³ Yet participation is conceived in a very narrow sense as a disciplining into the Greek culture, history and way of life. Within this context, intercultural education acquires a very specific content, which implicitly presupposes the superiority of Greek nationalism as opposed to the inferior cultural and national heritage of migrant cultures.

¹²⁰ Koula Kassimati, 1992, “Πόντιοι μετανάστες από την πρώην Σοβιετική Ένωση: κοινωνική και οικονομική τους ένταξη” (Pontian migrants from the former Soviet Union: social and economic integration) (Athens: Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Panteion University)

¹²¹ Mavrodi, 2008

¹²² Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas, 2007, “Greek Education Policy and the Challenge of Migration: An Intercultural View of Assimilation”, Paper prepared for the EMILIE project, ELIAMEP, 22 November.

¹²³ Aggelos Stagos, 2000, “Η αφομοίωση μας συμφέρει” (Assimilation is in our interest), *Eleftherotypia*, p. A5

Law 2413/1996 “The Greek education abroad, intercultural education and other ordinances” has set the framework for the creation of intercultural schools in Greece.¹²⁴ In principle, these schools were to follow the Greek curriculum offering extra support to foreign students and enabling their integration into the Greek society and a peaceful intercultural interaction with native students.¹²⁵ The law also allowed for the “transformation” of “normal” schools into intercultural ones provided that 45% of the students were foreigners. In practice, however, intercultural interaction has remained a remote objective since most Greek students left these intercultural schools echoing prejudices, and the inferior quality of teaching linked to the presumed inability of most foreign students to follow the classes.¹²⁶ The objective of these policies was not so much intercultural interaction between foreign and Greek students. Migrant students were conceptualized as “problematic”, precisely because of their inability to integrate/assimilate by learning the Greek language and cultural norms.¹²⁷ The aim of the law was to “contain” the problem of intercultural interaction into specific educational spaces, rather than to expand the intercultural perspective into the whole of the educational system. The “containment” method, however, proved to be unrealistic since many migrant pupils and students have Greek as a first language and they tend to be spread in different schools throughout the country.

In 1999, a ministerial decision, entitled “Intercultural education- reception classes and tuition seminars” has set an open and flexible system for the adoption of intercultural education, which is decided by the council of teachers in each school.¹²⁸ More specifically, the teachers’ council has a range of appropriate mechanisms to choose from: a. reception classes for intense language teaching of Greek as a foreign language, organized for one year for migrant students only (whose number should range from 9-17), which either includes attendance of selected classes or full participation in the class curriculum, with extra support for migrant students in need and b. tuition seminars, organized outside the normal school curriculum to support foreign students with educational problems they might experience and in particular with homework. In this ministerial decision the question of native language and culture was acknowledged, although emphasis was placed on the apprenticeship of the Greek language.

Overall, the prevailing educational system, which is highly ethnocentric has undermined these mechanisms. The implementation of intercultural reception classes and tuition seminars remains at the hands of the Ministry of education and the local authorities, which are responsible for the allocation of funds. Intercultural education policies, including two programmes aiming at the integration of migrant and repatriate students into the Greek

¹²⁴ Law 2413/1996, “Η ελληνική παιδεία στο εξωτερικό, η διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση και άλλες διατάξεις”

¹²⁵ There are 26 intercultural schools in function. 13 of them are primary schools, 9 are junior high schools and 4 are senior high schools.

¹²⁶ Research on the intercultural schools of Greece is still very limited. The same law established the Institute for the education of Greeks abroad and intercultural education (IPODE), which was entrusted with the double task of preparing and overseeing Greek education for emigrants abroad, and repatriates and immigrants in Greece. Research is one of the main activity areas of the IPODE which has, in principle, at least adopted an “open and democratic” approach, which emphasizes the importance of interculturality for both Greek and migrant students, placing emphasis on the valuing difference and diverse experiences at <http://www.ipode.gr>

¹²⁷ Eleni Skourtou, Constantinos Vratsalis, Christos Govaris, 2004, “Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα και εκπαίδευση: αποτίμηση της υπάρχουσας κατάστασης, προκλήσεις και προοπτικές βελτίωσης” (Migration in Greece and education – evaluation of the existing situation, challenges and prospects for improvement), University of the Aegean and IMEPO at <http://www.imepo.gr/documents/SkourtouIMEPO.pdf>.

¹²⁸ Μ.Δ. Φ/Γ/20/ Γ1/708 “Διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση – ίδρυση και λειτουργία τάξεων υποδοχής και φροντιστηριακών τμημάτων”

educational system (EPEAEK) have failed to address the challenges of bilingualism – and most notably the question of how the native language and culture can be treated as valuable in the Greek system for both Greek and foreign students.¹²⁹ Recently a very successful educational experiment in the public school of Grava, where Greek language support classes were offered to migrant children and their parents by the school teachers on a semi-voluntary basis, and the morning prayer was replaced by a poem, was abruptly terminated after the intervention of the Greek Ministry of Education. As a result, the director who has initiated those practices of intercultural educational was transferred to a different school and the new director terminated them, despite pressure by school children and parents to continue with its application.¹³⁰ A positive development occurred in 2008 when a ministerial decision was issued, according to which children may be excluded from religious teaching provided that their parents give their consent.¹³¹

Finally to date there is no gender mainstreaming in the Greek policies of intercultural education. Following the alleged raping of a Bulgarian female student, there was public debate on the occasion of an incident of sexist/racist violence filmed in a Greek school. Although the Minister of education supported the girl against the teachers' council decision to expel her along with the alleged rapists, the prevailing rhetoric was dominated by sexist and racial stereotyping and the issue was forgotten as soon as the case was closed.¹³² As this incident indicates, education has become one the fields where intercultural power inequalities asymmetries and tensions of gender, nation and class are more pronounced.¹³³

Girls and boys from legal and illegal migrant families have access primarily to public schools, where teaching is highly ethnocentric and it is done in Greek. Religious classes – focusing on the Greek orthodox faith – are no longer obligatory. Although the parents can now claim exception from these classes, and from the Greek orthodox prayer that is still recited every morning, it is more likely that they would be marked in a negative manner.¹³⁴ In addition, school celebrations are almost exclusively dedicated to nationalist and Orthodox Christian celebrations.¹³⁵ Children born and educated in Greece have no opportunities to learn about the culture, history and language of their country of origin. Formally these students are considered migrants entitled to a temporary residence permit attached to their parents' and at the age of 15 they are obliged to issue an independent residence permit for themselves. There are also very negative racist reactions towards migrant students.¹³⁶ As migrant

¹²⁹ Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2007. See also <http://www.keda.gr/> and the critique of Skourtou et al, 2004.

¹³⁰ Network for the Support of Refugees and Migrants, 2008, "Press Release" <http://www.diktio.org/anakoimwseis2.php?id=593>

¹³¹ Greek Ombudsman, 2008, "Press release", February at http://www.synigoros.gr/pdf_01/religpr.pdf

¹³² In the provincial town of Amarinthos, a young girl of Bulgarian origin was allegedly raped by fellow students in the school toilets. The students who raped her were prosecuted, but the committee of teachers decided to expel the girl from the school along with the alleged perpetrators. Although the Prime Minister, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and several prominent political personalities intervened in favour of the migrant girl, she and her mother had to move to Athens to avoid local outrage. This incident was reported and publicized in the national media, but it is more likely that similar racist acts of sexual violence against migrant women and girls are not reported out of fear that women and their families will be expelled from the community.

¹³³ See Kambouri, 2007.

¹³⁴ Anthipi I. Rikou ,2008, "Ζητήματα θρησκευτικής ελευθερίας μεταναστών" (Issues of religious freedom of migrants) in Genny Kavounidi, Theodoros Lianos, Rossetos Fakiolas and Andonis Kontis, *Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα: Εμπειρία – Πολιτικές – Προοπτικές* (Αθήνα: ΙΜΕΠΟ).

¹³⁵ Antigone, 2005

¹³⁶ HLHR and KEMO, 2007

women's organizations' campaign "NO to racism from the children's cot" has highlighted, second generation children are experiencing most intensely the contradictions of the Greek policies of migration.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that a very innovative project on intercultural education has been implemented in the North of Greece, involving Muslim minority children and their families.¹³⁷ The program did not focus explicitly on a gender perspective, gender was mainstreamed. Although this program's target group was that of a distinct group Greek citizens, the issues of cultural difference socioeconomic and political inclusion in education raised during the course of the project exhibit great similarities with those encounter in the intercultural education of migrant children. To extent to which its legacy will influence intercultural policies is crucial for the development of alternative educational initiatives at a national scale.

3.3. The legal and policy framework on integration

The first migration law to refer to explicitly to the question of intercultural interaction outside the field of education in Greece is 3386/2005. This is done within the context of a new policy on "integration". This law in conjunction with Law 3613/2007¹³⁸ establishes the Ministry of the Interior as the institution responsible for the promotion of policies of migrant integration, targeting in particular discrimination against third country nationals on grounds of gender, race, color, ethnic or social origin, sexual characteristics, language, or beliefs, political or other conviction, membership of an ethnic minority,...age and sexual orientation. The ways and the means by which such multiple forms of discrimination are dealt with are still unspecified.

Overall, one of the most significant obstacles to effective policy-making is the absence of intercultural dialogue on migrant integration in Greece, since migrant organizations are excluded from the committees responsible for the drafting of relevant legislation. Furthermore, as a recent study has shown, even governmental agencies and NGOs active in this area have very little influence on the processes of policy-making on migration, which is considered a question of "high politics".¹³⁹ As a result, questions of intercultural cooperation and dialogue are limited to marginal cultural initiatives funded by the EU. An example is the Year of intercultural dialogue 2008, which was celebrated in Greece through a series of projects organized by the Directorate of Modern Cultural Heritage (DMCH) of the Greek Ministry of Culture, promoting "the positive effect of music as an instrument to bring people together in an intercultural dialogue". Although migrants were included as a target group, these events were marginal, involved mainly folklore activities and had no lasting effect on intercultural relations in Greece.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Thalia Dragona and Anna Fragoudaki, eds, 2008, *Πρόσθεση όχι αφαίρεση– πολλαπλασιασμός όχι διαίρεση* (Athens: Metechmio)

¹³⁸ Law 3613/07 "Ρυθμίσεις θεμάτων ανεξαρτήτων αρχών, γενικού επιθεωρητή δημόσιας διοίκησης, σώματος επιθεωρητών ελεγκτών δημόσιας διοίκησης και λοιπών ζητημάτων αρμοδιότητας Υπουργείου Εσωτερικών".

¹³⁹ Maria Liapi and Anna Vouyioukas, 2006, "Policy formation and policy implementation affecting the integration of new female immigrants in Greece: National report on key informant's interviews" report prepared for Centre for Women's Studies, *Working Paper FeMIPOL: Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society*, specific targeted research project of the FP6, at http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/docs/working_papers/wp2/Greece.pdf

¹⁴⁰ See the Greek web-site of the Year of Intercultural dialogue 2008 at <http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/561.0.html?&L=0&L=0>

This is reflected upon the legal definition of integration. In accordance with EU directive 2003/109, Articles 67-69 of 3386/2005 provide for the first time the right of migrants to claim long-term residence status on the condition that they can prove stable and regular income, hygienic housing, legal residence for a period of at least five years, and sufficient knowledge of the Greek language and of the Greek civilization and history. The form of integration described by the law is limited to migrants' ability to "assimilate" to the Greek culture and foster Greek norms by means of an apprenticeship of the fundamentals of Greek nationalism (that include middle class status, knowledge and of mainstream language, history, civilization). With the exception of folklore cultural activities, the relationship between migrants and the Greek society envisaged is imbalanced and undermines mutual intercultural exchanges since migrant expertise, skills, language, experiences, and culture are not considered to be of importance for Greek society.

In order to implement the policies on migrant integration, the Greek government has undertaken two integrated action plans. The first integrated action plan for the integration of legal immigrants took place from 2003-2006 and was funded by the European Social Fund and the European Commission. It was based, formally at least, on the principle that "integration should be a dynamic two way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and citizens of member states", there is little evidence to suggest that such an approach has in fact been adopted.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the program was not effectively implemented.¹⁴² Although the plan included actions in six different areas (information, labour market, culture, education and language, health services and temporary housing) with a yearly budget of 65 million Euros, very little progress has been made in those areas.¹⁴³ Socio-economic forms of discrimination that prevent migrants from integrating, such as discrimination in the labour market, in education, in health, housing as well as migrants' access to social and political rights remained as a result outside the processes of implementation of migration policies.¹⁴⁴

In 2007, the Greek Ministry of the interior introduced a new integrated action program entitled ESTIA, which sets the main integration objectives to be accomplished in the period 2007-2013. The program includes institutions at different policy levels (central government, municipalities, NGOs) and includes six policy areas in which specific action programmes are envisaged:

- Information and services (organization of services in the main migrant entry points, information campaigns for migrants and citizens, sensitization of public opinion, reinforcement of ties with host countries, training of public servants, and documentation of migration trends)
- Promotion in employment (labor market integration, quota in certain fields of employment encouragement and support of high skill migration,

¹⁴¹ EC, 2007, p. 11

¹⁴² Triandafyllidou, 2005

¹⁴³ Although it is mentioned in the 2003 Greek EC report on integration, it does not appear in any of the official policy documents of the Greek government and its implementation is doubtful. See EC, 2003, "On immigration, integration and employment", *communication to the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of Regions*, at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0336:FIN:EN:PDF>

¹⁴⁴ OKE, 2005, "Εθνικό σχέδιο δράσης για την κοινωνική ενσωμάτωση 2005-2006" (National action plan on social integration 2005-2006), *OKE opinion paper*, 13 May, pp.2-20.

- improvement of training and vocational programs, encouragement of foreign investment by third country nationals, young entrepreneurs, and business women)
- Education (additional tuition for under-aged migrants, teaching of Greek to adult migrants, the development of intercultural orientation in the educational institutions of Greece)
 - Health and housing (free health and medical assistance, preventive medicine in border areas and entry points, aid in cases of natural disaster, prevention of ghettoesiation through subsidized housing mortgages and guarantees, and the reconstruction of public areas in migrant dominated neighborhoods).
 - Culture (actions relating to the preservation of the cultural and historical heritage of migrants, promoting interactions between Greek and cultures of the countries of origin, reinforcement of the sense of “belonging” in the Greek society)
 - Imprisonment and re-integration of migrants released from prison (socio-psychological support of imprisoned migrants, reinforcement of reception and protection of under-aged prisoners, reintegration schemes)

Although the implementation of this second program has been effectively stopped since the Ministry of finance refused to finance it, it is doubtful whether it would have had effectively promoted intercultural interaction. The problem lies mainly in the spirit of the policies envisaged which tend to identify integration with assimilation offering long term residence status and rights as a “reward” to all those who can adopt Greekness.

Greekness is understood in a very limited sense as the knowledge of a formal nationalist version of history, culture and language. This is considered as a prerequisite for the “reinforcement of a feeling of belonging” and the “peaceful coexistence in the same social space as the natives”. It is worth noting that according to the Ministry of the Interior, the “development of an intercultural orientation in the educational institutions” is planned through the “evaluation and re-organization of Greek history and Greek civilization tuition classes and the creation of similar tuition classes in the countries of origin”.¹⁴⁵ Future migrants will, therefore, be encouraged to adopt Greekness even before arriving in Greece. The processes of apprenticeship exclude de facto many migrants who are unable or unwilling to attend language and civilization classes and point out to the contradictions of the migration regime in Greece, which is based on a one-way conception of intercultural interaction. In this context and despite assurances to the contrary, the possible contribution of migrants and migrant cultures in the host society is either ignored or silenced.

Furthermore, it is more likely that gender mainstreaming will continue to be silenced in the official policies on migrant integration. With the exception of some vague references to women migrants and a more specific commitment to the “encouragement of migrant women’s entrepreneurship”, the Ministry of the Interior has failed to mainstream gender into these policies. Migrant mothers are particularly disadvantaged since they tend to be overburdened by their role as workers and care-givers. The absence of effective policy measures to overcome obstacles preventing access to language, history and civilization tuition, such as subsidized lessons, compensation for attending classes, special child-care

¹⁴⁵ Ministry of the Interior, 2008, “Ἔστια’ για την κοινωνική ένταξη των μεταναστών” (ESTIA - a home for the social integration of immigrants), *The Economist*, Vol. 49, pp. 58-59.

facilities, obligation of employers to grant paid leave, as well as the complete absence of infrastructures (most language classes for migrants are offered by volunteers, NGOs and few municipalities) undermines these efforts and makes it difficult to claim long-term residence status. This reflects the fact that migrant women's and feminist groups and associations have very little access to policy making processes in Greece, whether that is with regards to intercultural education or with regards to programs of integration.

Instead, it is more likely that policies on integration will reinforce specific gender roles. Already families enjoy a preferential status as long as they are able to adopt Greekness and middle class family life and, thus, obtain a long-term residence status. For example, a recent study based on biographical interviews has shown that mixed marriages constitute a strategy that improves significantly migrants' access to self-employment. While, however, many bureaucratic and financial problems may be resolved through these marriages, migrants' dependency on the Greek member of the couple also increases.¹⁴⁶ The notion of integration is attached to family reunification and long term residence status. In accordance with EU directive 2003/86, the rights of migrant families are prioritized since they are considered to constitute an "indispensable instrument" for migrant integration,¹⁴⁷ linked to the demographic deficit experienced in most European societies. Although it is doubtful whether these new provisions will in fact increase the number of migrant families, they promote a gendered conception of integration, which excludes the needs of single parents and more broadly unmarried (gay, lesbian or straight) migrants and couples. Family reunification is, therefore, considered part of the integration process, while questions of gendered violence and the persistence of sexist/racist hierarchies within and between migrant communities and the Greek population remain outside of the scope of policies of intercultural interaction.

¹⁴⁶ Maria Liapi, 1998, "Η ποιότητα ζωής των οικογενειών μεταναστών επιχειρηματιών", in Genny Kavounidi, Theodoros Lianos, Rossetos Fakiolas and Andonis Kontis, *Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα: Εμπειρία – Πολιτικές – Προοπτικές* (Αθήνα: ΙΜΕΠΟ).

¹⁴⁷ EC, 2007, "Third annual report on immigration and integration", communication to the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of Regions, at http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/immigration/docs/com_2007_512_en.pdf

Conclusions

The policies of gender, migration and intercultural interaction in Greece are based on a complex and often contradictory set of objectives, which are dynamic and redefined according to the processes of EU harmonization, socio-economic and political developments in and outside Greece, as well as the changing practices of migrant individuals and groups themselves.

To summarize the main findings of the report:

- Policies on migration have silenced gender as a social category, while discourses of migration have been based on sexist/racist stereotypes of migrant women as wives/mothers in family reunification and as prostitutes/victims in trafficking policies. Migrant women's labour rights and special needs have been persistently silenced, ignored and manipulated - contributing to their socioeconomic marginalization and reinforcing gender inequalities. The silencing of gender in migration policy brings to the forefront questions of precarious labour, violence and discrimination, but also the possibilities of emancipation which are often triggered by migration.
- Policies on gender equality have been framed on an ethno-centric basis, largely excluding questions of nation, ethnicity, race, class, and sexual orientation. However, the processes of European harmonization and in particular the implementation of gender equality programs have opened up policy making to include migrant women and men – an opportunity that was missed largely because of the restrictive migration policies that undermined their field of implementation. Adopting an intersectional approach to gender allows us to engage into a critique of the ethnocentric basis of existing gender equality framework. At the same time, it also provides a ground for the acknowledgment of hybrid identities that challenge the conventional ethno-centric and gendered limits between masculinity and femininity.
- Intercultural dialogue and cooperation have not been defined as a policy objective in relation to gender and migration. Policies of integration have persistently, since the 1990s, emphasized a cultural assimilationist approach of migrants, focusing in particular on the apprenticeship of the Greek language and civilization as the primary mechanism for migrant integration. Gender has been ignored as a social category in relevant policies, although the role of migrant families and women as mothers/wives has been stereotyped. An intercultural policy perspective based on mutual exchanges rather than on the integration/ assimilation of foreigners into the Greek society is a necessary prerequisite for a positive conception of migration. Gendering intercultural interaction provides the means by which this positive conception may have broader effects on the ways in which a sense of belonging is developed

It is at the points where these three aspects of public policy meet that problem areas but also possible alternative practices may reside.

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