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**Active Civic Participation
of Immigrants in
Greece**

POLITIS – a European research project

Project information

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe

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Abstract

Greece's immigrant population, including aliens and co-ethnic returnees such as Pontic Greeks and ethnic Greek Albanians, reaches just over one million people. This represents about 9% of the total resident population, a strikingly high percentage for a country that until only twenty years ago was a migration sender rather than host.

On the one hand, immigration policy in Greece was quick to develop in terms of putting into practice stricter border controls and other enforcement measures. On the other hand, the Greek governments were much slower in designing and implementing a more comprehensive policy framework that includes the regularisation of undocumented aliens, and that aims toward the integration of this population across all sectors and areas of the host country.

Approximately three quarters of the immigrant population currently has legal status (work and stay permits). It is interesting to note that most immigrants have entered Greece illegally and have survived in the country 'without papers' for (frequently consecutive) periods ranging from a few months to several years. The prolonged undocumented status of many migrants, and the policy vacuum that lasted for over a decade has not facilitated active civic participation on the part of immigrants in Greek public life. Nonetheless, several immigrant associations and NGOs led by Greeks have gradually emerged over the past fifteen years and have gained noteworthy visibility in the media. Overall, the media has been inclined to privilege the perpetuation of negative prejudices and only recently have there been initiatives or measures targeting xenophobic attitudes and perceptions of Greeks towards foreigners, aiming to promote tolerance, cultural pluralism and to bring forward the positive aspects of migration.

Immigrant activism in mainstream associations like trade unions or political parties is barely existent. The main reasons for the lack of civic activism include the insecure legal status of many immigrant workers, their mistrust towards the Greek state (which has been very ambivalent in the implementation of regularisation and other immigrant policies), their lack of time and resources to devote to activities other than paid work.

As a last note, scientific literature on the matter is extremely scarce.

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PART I: UNDERSTANDING THE CONDITIONS FOR IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION

Until recently, Greece was migration sender rather than host.

A brief historical overview of immigration trends into Greece since the 20th century, is limited mainly to inflows from the Balkans due to the Balkan wars, and to refugees from Asia Minor (approximately 1,4 million in the 1920s and again around 350,000 in the 1950s from Istanbul) and from Egypt. These refugees were principally of Greek origin and were integrated into the host society very quickly, basically for foreign policy reasons, and their impact on Greek economy and commerce was very positive. Nevertheless, the economic underdevelopment of the country did not encourage immigration into Greece. On the contrary, Greeks emigrated in significant numbers mainly to northern Europe (Germany, Belgium), the USA and Australia. Emigration however came nearly to a halt in the mid to late 1970s after the tightening up of migration regimes in northern Europe.

After the geopolitical changes of 1989, the country was quickly converted into a host of mainly undocumented immigrants from eastern and central Europe, the former Soviet Union, as well as from the Third World. The dramatic and sudden increase of immigrant influx was an unexpected phenomenon for both the government and the population. The new situation has been characterised by administrative and political confusion with regard to migration policy, and an over-representation of irregular/illegal immigrants working in conditions of informality across the Greek economy. An increase in xenophobic behaviour and racism has been registered from the mid-1990s.

Major developments in Greek immigration policy

It is commonly stressed that Greece, traditionally an immigrant-exporting country, has increasingly confirmed its status as a destination country. In particular, major population inflows towards Greece during the last twenty years have included:

- co-ethnic returnees, notably the Pontic Greeks, arriving from the former Soviet Republics (Georgia, Kazakhstan, Russia and Armenia);
- immigrants of Greek descent, notably ethnic Greek Albanian citizens (Vorioepiotes);
- immigrants from non EU countries (other than the categories mentioned previously); and,
- a smaller number of returning Greek migrants from northern Europe, the US, Canada and Australia.

At the eve of the 1990s Greece lacked a legislative frame for the control and management of immigration.¹ The first law that tackled the influx of foreigners into the country was law 1975 of 1991 with the eloquent title 'Entry, exit, sojourn, employment, removal of aliens, procedure for the recognition of refugees and other measures'. The aim of that law was mainly to curb migration, to facilitate removals of undocumented migrants apprehended near the borders and, if that were possible, to

¹ Law 4310 of 1929, revised in 1948, mainly dealt with issues of emigration.

remove all illegal aliens sojourning in Greece. The law made nearly impracticable the entry and stay of economic migrants, seeking for jobs.

In the years that followed, hundreds of thousands immigrants came to Greece without documents, or permits.² They crossed the northern mountainous borders between Albania or Bulgaria and Greece on foot at night, or landed with small dinghies on the Greek islands of the Aegean or Crete (usually with the 'help' of human smuggling networks). Some arrived at Greek airports with tourist visas which they overstayed and others crossed the northern Greek borders by bus, pretending that they were travelling for leisure.

It took more than five years for the Greek government to realise that immigrants were there to stay and the new phenomenon could not only be managed through stricter border control and massive removal operations.

The presidential decrees 358/1997 and 359/1997 inaugurated the first immigrant regularisation programme, which took place in spring 1998. In total, 371,641 immigrants applied for the white card (limited duration permit) which was the first step in applying for the temporary stay permit or green card (of 1, 2 or 5 year duration). Only 212,860 undocumented foreigners managed to submit an application for a green card. The main reason for this was that while this first regularisation programme was ambitious in its conception and rather open in its conditions, it met with insurmountable organisational and practical difficulties. For one, the state services responsible for managing the programme were hardly prepared to receive and process the hundreds of thousands of applications.³ In addition, proof of legal employment for a minimum number of days was an important prerequisite; the reluctance of many employers to pay social insurance contributions made it very difficult for many applicants to meet this requirement. As a result, a significant number of applications were unsuccessful in passing to the second but necessary phase of the green card application phase and despite the repeated extensions of the deadlines, presumably fell back into undocumented status. Nonetheless, this programme lay the first foundations in Greece for an institutional framework able to deal with immigration. In addition, the data collected through the regularisation procedure offered some first insights to the socio-economic and demographic features of the immigrant population.⁴

² According to SOPEMI (1999), in 1997 there were 74,500 legal migrants in Greece, of whom 6% were Albanians, 8% Bulgarians and 17% Russians (Romanians, Egyptians, Ukrainians and citizens from former Yugoslavia accounted for approx. 4% each). These data include co-ethnic returnees (Pontic Greeks). During the same period, several researchers estimated that there were approx. 400,000 undocumented immigrants living and working in Greece (Fakiolas 1997; Greek Helsinki Monitor 1995; Katsoridas 1996; Lianos *et al.* 1996; Linardos Rylmond 1995; Petrinioti 1993; Triandafyllidou and Mikrakis 1995; Triandafyllidou 1996).

³ The main weaknesses of the programme had to do with the inability of the Greek hospitals to examine thousands of applicants so that these last would receive the 'good health' certificates necessary for their applications. Also, the Ministry of Justice was unable to issue in such a short time criminal record certificates to the thousands of applicants. On top of this, the Employment Institute (OAED) responsible for managing the programme suffered from staff shortages. The temporary personnel eventually hired did not have the necessary training to perform their tasks efficiently and transparently. The whole process suffered from severe ideological and ethnic bias (and sometimes outright corruption) that conditioned decisions on the eligibility of applicants (Mpagavos, Papadopoulou 2003; Psimmenos and Kassimati 2002).

⁴ See Cavounidis (2002), Lianos (2001).

According to data collected by the Employment Institute (OAED)⁵, 44.3% of all foreigners who applied for the regularisation of their working and residence status between the months of January to May 1998 was concentrated in the wider metropolitan area of Athens. Of these applicants, 52.7% were Albanians, 6.1% Pakistanis, 4.8% Bulgarians, while 4.5% were Romanians and another 4.5% were Poles. In addition, there were more female applicants among the following population groups: Bulgarian, Polish, Ukrainian and Filipino.

In 2001, and before the first regularisation programme had come to a close, the government issued a new law (law 2910/2001) entitled 'Entry and sojourn of foreigners in the Greek territory. Naturalisation and other measures'. This law had a twofold aim. First, it included a second regularisation programme that aimed at attracting all the applicants who had not been able to benefit from the 1998 'amnesty' as well as the thousands of new immigrants who had, in the meantime, arrived in Greece. Second, the new law created the necessary policy framework to deal with immigration in the medium to long term. Thus, it provided not only for issues relating to border control but also for channels of legal entry to Greece for employment, family reunion, return to their country of origin (for ethnic Greeks abroad), and also studies or asylum seeking. It also laid down the conditions for naturalisation of aliens residing in the country.

Another 370,000 immigrants applied to acquire legal status within the framework of the new programme. Even though the implementation phase had been more carefully planned, organisational issues arose quickly. In the Athens metropolitan area in particular, the four special immigration offices set up by the regional government to receive and process the applications were completely unable to deal with the huge workload they were faced with. Following repeated recommendations by trade unions, NGOs, and the Greek Ombudsman⁶ the law was revised and the relevant deadlines extended. Nonetheless, resources were still insufficient as work and stay permits continued to be issued for one year periods only. Hence, by the time one immigrant was done with the issuing of her/his papers, s/he had to start all over again to renew it. In addition to the cumbersome nature of the procedure, the costs (in money but also in time spent queuing) associated with this renewal process that are incurred by the migrants constituted a further hindrance. Only in January 2004 (Act 3202/2003) did the government decide to issue permits of a two-year duration, thereby facilitating the task of both the administration and the immigrant applicants.

In 2001, the government issued a three-year programme: the Action Plan for the Social Integration of Immigrants (for the period 2002-2005). This Plan includes measures for their inclusion in the labour market, their access to health services and overall a series of measures promoting cultural dialogue and combating xenophobia and racism within Greek society.⁷ Unfortunately, many of the provisions of this programme remain on paper. In effect, during this period most budgetary efforts were geared on completing the preparations for the Athens 2004 Olympic Games and the political spheres were concentrating on the national elections of 7 March 2004 and intra-party politics. Now, in view of the disconcerting prospects of the post-Olympic

⁵ Data available in Marvakis, Parsanoglou & Pavlou (Eds.) (2001).

⁶ See special report for law 2910/2001, submitted to the Minister of Interior in December 2001, <http://www.synigoros.gr/porismata.htm#>

⁷ See http://www.ypergka.gr/index_gr.html

Games economy that are expected, the integration of the immigrant population may be attributed the attention and priority it deserves on the government agenda.

Lastly, it is important to note that migration policy, in principle under the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior, is affected by decrees and decisions of the Ministry of Public Order, the Ministry of Employment, and on occasion even the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Characteristics of the immigrant population in Greece

At the 1991 census, there were 10,260,000 residents in Greece of whom 167,000 were foreigners. Following the most recent census of March 2001,⁸ there are 10,964,020 inhabitants in Greece, 797,091 of which are foreigners. The 2001 census gives the most complete picture of the immigrant population in Greece as it has attempted to cover both legal and undocumented aliens. In effect, according to the OECD Report on International Migration Trends, the foreign population – including illegal immigrants -- in Greece is estimated between 7.5% and 9.5% of the total population.

Population in Greece - official data		
	1991	2001
Overall population of Greece	10.260.000	10.964.020
of which foreigners	167.000	797.091
in %	2	7

source: National Statistics Service of Greece

Among the nearly 800,000 foreigners there are only 47,000 citizens from the EU 15 member states (i.e. before the fifth EU enlargement that was concluded on 1 May 2004). Comparing the data of the two censuses it becomes obvious that the demographic growth of Greece in the last decade is almost entirely due to the arrival of non-EU workers and their families.

With regard to the 762,000 immigrants for whom we have detailed demographic data, the percentage of men is slightly higher than that of women (54.5% and 45.5% respectively). Most immigrant men and women declare employment as being their main reason for coming to Greece (54% in total). The second most important reason for settling in the country is family reunion (about 100,000 people in total, i.e. 13%), while approximately 50,000 persons have identified return to their country of origin as the third most important reason for migration to Greece.⁹ The census included another category (apart from work, family, return, studies and seeking asylum), which was ticked by 164,180 individuals (roughly equally divided between men and women). In spite of the large number of people registering under this category (over

⁸ See www.statistics.gr

⁹ Among the 51,694 aliens who stated as their main reason of settling in Greece the 'return to the homeland' 15,000 came from industrialised countries such as the US, Australia, Canada and Germany. Another 12,000 are Albanian citizens, 5,000 from Georgia, 5,000 from Russia, 2,500 from Turkey and 2,300 from the FYROM and finally 1,000 from Kazakhstan.

20% of all foreigners), there is no available information as to what these 'other reasons' may consist of.

More than half of all foreigners registered in the census and for whom we have detailed demographic data, are Albanian citizens (i.e., 438,000 or 57%). The majority of these (240,000, i.e. 54%) stated they came to Greece to find employment, while 70,000 (15%) came for family reunion, and about 10,000 (or 2.3%) as co-ethnic returnees. About one third of Albanians work in the construction sector and another 20% in agriculture.

The second largest national group (with a very large difference from the first though) are Bulgarian citizens with 35,000 individuals registered at the census, and two thirds (more than 27,000) have identified work as the principle reason for their immigration to Greece. Roughly one third of Bulgarians work in agriculture and another third in private care and house cleaning services.

Alongside the non EU citizens, we should consider in substance even if not in form, the co-ethnic returnees from the former Soviet Republics (Pontic Greeks) who arrived in Greece in the late 1980s and early 1990s as economic migrants. According to the special census administered by the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad (GSGA) in the year 2000, 152,204 Pontic Greeks had settled in the country. More than half of them (about 80,000) came from Georgia, 31,000 came from Kazakhstan, 23,000 from Russia and about 9,000 from Armenia.¹⁰

It is unclear how many ethnic Greek Albanians (Vorioepiotes) (not included in the GSGA data) had already been naturalised and hence appeared as Greek citizens in the 2001 census. It is estimated that about 100,000 Albanian citizens who live in Greece have been issued with the Special Identity Card¹¹ for ethnic Greeks from Albania.

In sum, we estimate at just over one million the total number of immigrants (including co-ethnics) living in Greece. This amounts to just under 10% of the total population. Of those, according to our estimates, about 850,000 have legal stay and work status.¹² The total number of undocumented aliens has thus fallen to nearly 200,000 from the half a million estimates of the mid-1990s. Among the legal immigrants, a large majority regularised their status through the two 'amnesty' programmes mentioned

¹⁰ See also Diamanti Karanou (2003).

¹¹ In line with the Presidential Decree 4000/3/10-C of 15 April 1998 (Papantoniou Frangouli, M. Leventi, M. 1999).

¹² Our calculation is based on the following data. In 1997, there were 75,000 legal immigrants in Greece. To these we have added the 212,000 who applied for a Green Card under the 1998 programme, the 372,000 who applied under the 2001 programme, the 100,000 Albanians of Greek ethnic origin (Vorioepiotes) who are issued with the Special Identity Card and the 150,000 who at the 2001 census declared that they came for family reunion or homeland return purposes. We consider a certain degree of overlap between the two regularisation programmes (applicants who did not manage to complete the procedure during the first programme, applied anew under the second one) as well as a certain percentage of rejected applications under the 2001 regularisation programme. Finally, we subtract from the 100,000 Vorioepiotes the 10,000 Albanian citizens who stated in the 2001 census that they were coming back to their homeland. We also consider that not all legal or regularized immigrants have been able to continue renewing their permits every year. Hence, from the 900,000 calculated above we consider that some 700,000 are legal. To those we add the 150,000 co-ethnic returnees from the former Soviet Republics (registered under the GSGA special census in 2000), reaching a total number of 850,000 legal immigrants and 200,000 undocumented ones.

above while a smaller number either came legally or took advantage of the special provisions for co-ethnics.

Breakdown of foreign and foreign-born population in Greece by main nationality group, 2001	
	2001
Total number of foreigners	797.091
<i>of which approximately</i>	
Albanians	438.000
Pontic Greeks	152.204
Nationals from EU15	47.000
Bulgarians	35.000
Georgians	20.000
Romanians	20.000
Russians	17.500
Cypriots	17.000
Poles	13.000
Pakistanis	10.000
Ukrainians	10.000
Indians	10.000
Undocumented migrants	200.000

sources: National Statistics Service of Greece; General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad, and estimates based on research

In addition, it is interesting to consider certain characteristics of this workforce, based on data collected during the first regularisation wave in 1998 in the Athens metropolitan area (Marvakis et al 2001):

- 49.1% of the immigrant population is between 21 and 30 years old;
- 73.6% of the immigrant population in male;
- 46.4% is married;
- the religious denominations of this population can be grouped as follows: 29.5% Muslim, 22.4% Christian Orthodox, 13.2% Christian Catholic, 27.7% Christian (other) and 1.8% are declared as atheist;
- 54.1% of this population expressed the desire to reunite with their families in Greece.

Furthermore, according to a study by Chtouris and Psimmenos in 1998, approximately 75% of the immigrant workforce in Athens is characterised by low-skilled, temporary and irregular/precarious employment regardless of their educational / professional background in their country of origin. Many are employed on a day-to-day basis, and frequently by different employers, usually in manual labour; they can therefore be easily replaced by other day-to-day workers. Their marginalisation in the workforce contributes to their social marginalisation and, due to the temporary character of their employment, and frequently their irregular status, does not facilitate them in creating networks with their co-workers. To a degree, their status is interdependent with the general characteristics of the Greek economy and

labour market. The economy is characterised by the preponderance of family-owned, small and medium sized enterprises. Such a structure is intricately connected with practices of informality (for instance by not reporting all employees on the payroll, or under-reporting wages, etc) that has been estimated to reach 35-40% of Greece's GDP. These are the basic 'demand' factors for cheap, flexible labour and consequently influence the working conditions particularly of the immigrant labour force.

Naturalisation

A special comment about naturalisation in Greece is in order here. Law 2130/1993 states that immigrants who wish to become Greek citizens have to be residents in Greece for more than ten years in the last twelve (previously the requirement was for eight years in the last twelve). This is one of the longest residence requirements for naturalisation – together with Swiss legislation – in Europe.¹³ Law 2910/2001 (articles 58-64) made the conditions and procedure even more cumbersome: a high fee is to be paid by the applicant (over 1,300 Euro) and the decision is discretionary. Furthermore, authorities are not required to reply within a specified period of time and need not justify a negative decision to the applicant.¹⁴ If an applicant is rejected, s/he may apply again after one year.

These articles (58-64) have been subject to severe criticism by NGOs, the liberal press¹⁵ and international organisations (ECRI 2004) for being discriminatory and unfair.¹⁶ ECRI in particular has raised concerns regarding the preferential path to citizenship available to individuals of Greek origin, noting that there are subjective elements in the assessment of such origin, making the applicants liable to discrimination. Also, ECRI (2004, paragraph 64) notes that such distinctions between presumed co-ethnics and others create uncertainty among the latter and false expectations among the former with regard to the kind of rights and/or treatment that they are entitled to.

Public Discourse on Migrants and Minorities

An early study prepared for the Council of Europe (Spinelli et al. 1993) identified the following themes as the main focus of the press coverage on migration:

¹³ Many European countries request five years of residence before applying (United Kingdom or France, for instance), while the more restrictive ones require eight (Germany) or ten years (Italy). It is also worth noting that trends differ. More restrictive countries moved towards more liberal regimes of naturalisation (e.g. Germany with the 2000 citizenship law) while more liberal ones, like France, adopted more stringent legislation (citizenship law of 1993).

¹⁴ A special circular of the Home Affairs Ministry (Circular 32089/10641/26.5.1993) states that such obligations are not valid when the matters treated refer to the acquisition, recognition, loss or re-acquisition of the Greek nationality, rendering thus the whole issue truly exceptional and outside the normal work proceedings of state administration.

¹⁵ See, *Ios tis Kyriakis*, Athens daily, *Kyriakatiki Eleftherotipia*, 4 January 2004, www.enet.gr/ and Athens Anglophone daily *Athens News*, 7 January 2004, Citizenship backlog, by Kathy Tzilivakis, www.athensnews.gr. Also Greek Helsinki Monitor at www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/index.html.

¹⁶ Greek authorities are generally required to respond within specified time limits to applicants addressed to them and to provide justification for their decisions.

- Immigrants increase unemployment among natives;
- Immigrants are responsible for an increase in criminality (these mostly involve property-related offences, but also drug trafficking and rape).
- The main ‘solutions’ to the ‘immigration problem’ include stricter laws and harsher enforcement especially concerning border control; And,
- Ethnic origin and/or nationality tends to be highlighted –particularly in the case of Albanians.

Looking at the media coverage and political discourse nowadays, a decade after this study was undertaken improvement is unfortunately rather limited. Since the late 1990s the coverage of cultural and ethnic diversity has been marked by an improvement, resulting in more balanced accounts of immigration and minority issues, albeit side-stepping the issue of minority and immigrants’ rights.

In a recent study by Triandafyllidou (2002) on media reporting on minority and immigration issues distinguishes between two main categories of newspapers and TV channels and their respective attitude towards minority issues. A large part of the daily press and private TV stations¹⁷ adopt a nationalist, xenophobic, and even racist standpoint, promoting a view of Greece as culturally and ethnically ‘pure’ and homogeneous. The right-wing press and private TV channels in particular, show little sensitivity towards cultural difference and tend to stigmatise and discriminate against immigrants and minorities.¹⁸ A few dissenting voices, including state TV channels, mainstream and left-wing newspapers, adopt a more careful and sensitive approach when reporting on ethnic issues and towards minority and immigration matters, and are characterised by a relative openness to cultural and ethnic diversity with only a mildly nationalist viewpoint. Nonetheless, they fail to react and criticise verbal

¹⁷ Greek media are relatively new to the field of ethnic issue reporting. There is no special code of practice pertaining to TV or press news reporting, regulating the reporting on ethnic minorities, cultural diversity, racism and related issues. The only relevant codes were the general codes of practice issued by the Association of Athens Daily Newspaper Journalists and the Code of Ethics of the National Radio and Television Council. The former states that it is the duty of the journalist to ‘confer the information or news without being influenced by her/his personal political, social, religious, racial or cultural views or beliefs’. Another article of the same code stipulates that the journalist has the right, and also the duty, to ‘deal with citizens equally, without discriminating on the basis of ethnic origin, gender, race, religion, political beliefs, economic situation or social status’. It is worth noting that this code of practice was introduced only as recently as 1998. As regards the Code of Ethics of the National Radio and TV Council, article 5 forbids the presentation of a person in a way that may lead to his/her social isolation or discrimination due to, *inter alia*, his/her race, nationality, or language. Only since 2003 has the Ministry of the Press and Media issued circular no. 21979 aiming at increasing the awareness of media professionals with regard to the need to combat racism and xenophobia. The circular was well received by professionals and media networks but a lot remains to be done on this. Everyday reporting on minority or immigrant related issues involves subtle matters such as the extent and modality of coverage, the representation of minority actors, the language used, the positive or negative stereotypes permeating reporting, the non-reporting of certain events and more fundamentally the news-making routines of different types of media. Such issues cannot be regulated by general codes of practice or circulars. (ECRI 2004; GHM 2000, Report on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information in Greece; Triandafyllidou, 2002).

¹⁸ Greece’s historical minorities include the following national, ethno-linguistic and religious groups (percentages refer to the total resident population): Roma 3.3%; Arvanites 2%; members of the Macedonian minority 2%; Vlachs 2%; Turks 1.0%; Pomaks 0.3. Religious minorities, which include Catholics, Protestants and new religious movements, make up nearly 1 per cent of the population. Among these minorities, the Greek State only recognises the existence of Turkish Muslims, the Roma population and Greek Catholics and Protestants.’ (Lenkova, 1997; Meinardus 2002; Minority Rights Group (MRG), 1994; Triandafyllidou, 2002)

harassment, the racist attitudes and behaviour exhibited by the majority of the ruling political. At the risk of generalising, the media characterised by an extremely nationalist-xenophobic discourse have, in the majority of cases, a right-wing orientation while the mildly nationalist, more-sensitive media belong to the centre and left-wing of Greek politics. Granted, there are exceptions to this rule; for example, the nationalist camp includes also left-wing newspapers, while traditional right-wing newspapers are also found in the moderate side.

To a significant extent, reporting on minorities and immigrants is couched in conspiracy theories rhetoric and an overall perception of national threat. In these cases, the Greek nation's 'cultural, ethnic or even religious 'purity' and well-being is perceived to be threatened by internal or external 'enemies.' The common feature of the various 'enemies' singled out in different points in time and with regard to different issues or events is predominantly their non-Greek origin and culture; they may either be historical enemies (e.g. Turks) or national traitors (e.g. members of the Macedonian minority). In other words, reporting concentrates more on the presumed threat for the country and the people than on practical issues of minority and immigrant integration. This becomes a distorting lens for reading and interpreting the actions and words, often taken out of context, not only of the presumed 'enemies' but also of any third parties intervening in a given matter. Such third parties include fellow EU member-states, European or other international bodies, the U.S. government, and even Greek non-governmental organisations defending minority rights.

'Political correctness' or minority sensitivity is far from being common practice, especially in the language used by tabloids and newspapers adopting extreme nationalist views. Accusations of racism are denied and any anti-racist argument is turned on its head; authors are not racist, they simply point to the danger or damage inflicted to the country and its people by foreigners. Karydis (1996) and Pavlou (2000) point to the invented reality of news bulletins. Pavlou argues that the press discourse reproduces police bulletins and systematically 'recycles' criminal news, so that they appear to be more frequent than they actually are. Overall, the media rarely define concepts such as 'racism', 'anti-racism', or 'cultural diversity'. Diversity is represented as 'a deleterious thing', 'hybridisation', a loss of 'purity' or both cultural and political autonomy, while homogeneity and nationalism are praised as 'a desirable thing'. It is worth noting that the more moderate media adopt a more open and sensitive stance. They report the arguments of the different parties involved in minority or immigrant matters, and avoid the use of offensive terms such as 'barbaric', or 'inhuman.' Their accounts, to the extent that this is possible, constitute a more even-handed approach to the issues or events reported. Nonetheless, criticism towards other newspapers or TV programmes for using racist language and/or inciting ethnic hatred is exceptional; by failing to clearly stand up for minority rights and individual civil rights, the moderate, 'impartial' media do little to thwart intolerance and racism.

It is commonplace to report events or news concerning minorities from the perspective of dominant political actors, such as the government, state authorities, or the police. Reporters usually stick to the official version of events, rarely probing into the accuracy of these reports (Citizens' Movement Against Racism, 1998: 64-5). The minority viewpoint, when reported, is presented as 'inferior' and serves only to justify

the dominant views. More rarely, a sympathetic though paternalistic attitude towards minority claims is adopted. It is worth noting, however, that there are a few studies analysing directly and in detail the language used in news or commentaries on migration (Lenkova 1997; 1998; Pavlou, 2000; Petronoti, 2000; Triandafyllidou, 2000a; 2000b; 2001). Furthermore, there are no studies or reports as yet that examine the ways in which news-making practices and routines affect the content and form of minority and ethnic issue reporting.

Miltos Pavlou (in Marvakis et al 2001) has conducted a study on critical discourse analysis of the press in Thessaloniki. He concluded that the press tend to approach migration along three main themes:

- Migration and criminality;
- Social racism and xenophobia;
- 'Good' and 'bad' immigrants: the range of identification frequently depending on the country/ ethnic group of origin of the immigrant (for instance within Albanians on the negative end of the spectrum, and Pontiac Greeks on the positive – due to a common Hellenic identity).

A few words on the current issues that tend to attract most of the media attention may be indicative as to the issues relating to migration that are perceived as being important by the host country's population, and of the general public's sensitivities with regard to the immigrant population's living conditions. References to immigrants may be grouped under the following general themes:

- *Illegal immigrants attempting to enter Greece.* Stories of boats captured or shipwrecked off the shores of various Greek islands with scores of illegal immigrants hidden under deck are very common in the printed and audio-visual press. Reporters emphasise in particular that (a) in their attempt to seek a better life, hundreds and thousands of persons (principally from Asia) are prepared to risk their life, and (b) that these people are exploited by 'inhuman' traffickers that charge exorbitant amounts to bring them illegally to Europe with no consideration for their safety and life.
- *Trafficking of women.* Stories of women from eastern Europe, Russia, Ukraine and Moldavia especially that are brought to Greece under false work pretences and are then forced into prostitution are very frequent. Reports (undercover and news documentaries) tell the stories of young girls and women that are either brought into Greece illegally and therefore have no papers or whose passport and papers are 'confiscated' by bar-owners and human traffickers and have no possibility of resorting to the authorities to be protected and are sexually exploited in Athens and in the rural areas. Such stories frequently allude to the involvement or at the very least the acquiescence of the local police authorities.
- *Immigrant children in public schools.* There are many reports and articles on the growing number of children in public schools. On the one hand, particular emphasis is on schools where children of immigrant origin have become the majority and how this influences schooling. It is often argued that due to Greek-language difficulties that some children of immigrant origin may have, teaching is slowed down, leading many Greek parents to prefer private education or relocating to neighbourhoods with smaller immigrant populations in order to offer their children a 'better' education. On the other hand, there is an almost yearly recurrent theme of immigrant children topping their classes in terms of highest grades.

In parallel to the above sombre description of the media landscape, there are growing trends of increased sensitivity towards minority and immigrant problems, of increasing acceptance of diversity within Greece, and a tendency to give voice to minorities themselves as well as to NGOs active in the field. These trends mainly characterise the moderate and progressive segment of the press and TV channels. Critical accounts of the poor social and economic conditions of specific minorities (mainly Roma and Muslim Turks) and immigrant labourers (Albanians in particular) are given, and related state policy is criticised. Nonetheless, minority or immigrant rights are never on the media agenda as collective political rights. The coverage concerns mainly the improvement of their living or working conditions, their access to education or work, but not their politicisation as non-Greek cultural or ethnic groups that comprise a part of Greece. The underlying assumption is that ‘Greece belongs to [ethnic] Greeks [of Christian Orthodox faith]’, who - in the name of humanism or in defence of their own interests - may tolerate foreigners and minorities residing in their country.

It is interesting to note that over the last couple of years, popular television programmes, serials and reality shows have been including immigrants in their casting. More importantly though, small television stations such as *Kanali 10* provide news updates in Russian and Albanian and certain radio stations in the Attica prefecture cater to the immigrant communities (such as national broadcasting ERA, or Radio 98.4, etc).

The modest positive change in the media coverage of minority and immigration issues may be related to cultural initiatives undertaken by known artists and media people promoting understanding and receptiveness towards diversity. In addition, there has been a mobilisation of NGO activists and a small number of intellectuals to whom the more moderate newspapers occasionally give access. Last, but not least, the more balanced accounts of immigration issues in particular are related to the positive role that immigrants are perceived to be playing in the national economy. This includes, taking care of the elderly or of younger children, or catering to labour shortages in low status and low paying jobs in agriculture and the service sectors; overall, this has made the Greek people and media more open to them.

Immigrant Rights and their Participation in Public Life

In Greece, immigrant participation in public life, even in its most trivial aspects such as going for a walk in a public place, enrolling one’s kid to school or visiting a doctor, has been seriously hampered by the longstanding undocumented or insecure status of most immigrants. Moreover, the flawed organisation of both regularisation programmes made immigrants particularly suspicious about the intents of such programmes, and paradoxically encouraged them to remain in the shadow of Greek society and economy. Besides, most immigrants were too busy making ends meet and not being caught by the police to find the time (and energy) to organise in associations.

Taking into account that foreigners – including those of Greek ethnic origin – constitute about 9% of the total Greek population and over 11% of the Greek labour

force, their record of civic activism is truly limited. It is fair to say that the institutional and legal framework of migration in Greece has up to now provided them with very limited opportunities to participate in public life.

Section II of the Greek Constitution (2001), referring to Individual and Social Rights, sets out 18 sets of rights applicable to all individuals living in Greece. Of these, there are eight articles in which the exercise of a right is reserved to Greek citizens only. Thus, immigrants who are legal residents do not have the right to rally (article 11) nor to enter into associations (article 12). Moreover, law 2910/2001 and Circular 32089/10641/26.5.1993 of the Ministry of the Interior, discriminate against immigrants with regard to the processing of and response to naturalization applications. Such discriminatory provisions (discussed above) do not impede civic participation as such but generally create a climate of mistrust between the state and the immigrant aspiring to become a national and to be fully integrated into the host society. Furthermore, law 2910/2001 states that immigrants are required to report any change of address, job or employer to the authorities. Although restrictions to mobility do not apply, immigrants may feel they are constantly watched over by the state.

Perhaps the most important issue that is particular to the Greek case is the fact that the Greek state has distinguished between immigrants of Greek ethnic origin and others (Triandafyllidou 1996; Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002). The former have been granted special status. Co-ethnics from the former Soviet Republics were treated as returnees and a preferential path to naturalisation was made available to them, and though ethnic Greek Albanian citizens were discouraged from naturalising, they were issued special identity cards. These cards carried with them eligibility for specific welfare benefits, even if their holders were not granted Greek citizenship. This policy of preferential treatment has raised numerous legal problems and created unease among the population (ECRI 2004). Overall, this distinction may have encouraged the civic participation and integration of Pontic Greeks and Vorioiplotes while discouraging the more active inclusion of 'other' immigrants.

With regard to formal participation in the country's political life, voting and standing for elections is still fully restricted to Greek citizens only. Even EU citizens are excluded from local elections, though naturally not from European elections. And, as noted in the previous section, the idea of immigrant naturalisation and full political participation is still a taboo in Greek society. There are no special consulting or other bodies at the state or local level encouraging immigrant participation even without the right to vote (as happens in Italy for instance since 1998). Given that non-Greeks do not have political rights it follows that they cannot become official party members. The exception is with regard to Cypriots that are able to be party members. In the context of our research, this raised the question of the extent to which immigrants can exercise their right to association in the political sphere. Interviews that we conducted with representatives of the main political parties, however, shed some light on the informal inclusion of immigrants in the political sphere. In recent years there is a number of parliamentarians that include immigrants in their team, and all political parties refer to immigrants that are informally closely associated with the party or that participate (generally as observers) in party conventions as 'friends of the party.' This informal network and affiliation facilitates a flow of information between the immigrant communities and the political elites.

Many aspects of the picture we have painted here is rather bleak. There are however a handful of positive highlights that may be said to encourage immigrant participation in public life. During the last years, Greek NGOs and state organisation have participated more actively in European Social Fund and European Commission programmes combating discrimination and exclusion.¹⁹ They have thus contributed to public awareness campaigns in favour of immigrant inclusion in Greek society, although such campaigns are far from gaining prime time visibility of the kind that perceived immigrant criminality has been receiving for several years.

Intellectuals, NGOs and particularly the Greek Ombudsman have been increasingly active in promoting and protecting immigrants' human and more general socio-political rights. Trade unions have tried, to a certain extent, to encourage immigrant workers' membership. Trade unions of specific professions, e.g. the builders' union, have formally been pro-immigrant as a means to secure their native member's rights and to avoid illegitimate competition from immigrants accepting work for lower pay and without welfare benefits. However, on the whole, trade unions have not been at the forefront of pro-immigrant civic or political activism. At the same time leading trade union positions are still held exclusively by Greeks.

To sum up, it appears that immigrant participation in public life is indeed very limited while ethnic associations are few and relatively small. The overall limited participation of immigrants in public life, however, has to be seen also against the background of a rather weak native civil society.

Remarks

At the eve of the twenty-first century, Greek society finds itself transformed in comparison to the 1980s. Modern Greece is now fully integrated in the European Union, and while it may still have a significant informal economy, which is difficult to curb, it is a member of the Euro-zone. The country is facing the economic and cultural tensions of globalisation and at the same time has become host to nearly a million immigrants in less than a decade. The native population is rapidly ageing, thereby causing preoccupation, among other things, for the state welfare system. The relatively high unemployment rate is paradoxically coupled with severe labour shortages in some sectors. The national education system has undergone important changes but still strives to find a new orientation towards multiculturalism but also more effective and efficient learning in secondary and higher education.

With regard to the major 'national issues', Greece has aligned itself with its major EU partners in most international questions in terms of promoting democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law. It has also strongly supported Turkey's entry to the EU. Moreover, during the last decade, steps have been taken for a more open policy towards the country historical minorities - in particular towards the Muslim minority of western Thrace, which remains the largest one. Also Greek authorities and citizens have made some hesitant steps towards immigrant incorporation in Greek society –

¹⁹ See DREAM (Discrimination, Racism, Equality and Media), www.dimitra.gr/dream/default.en.asp

e.g. the inclusion of immigrant families in state housing for the first time in October 2004.

PART II: ACTIVE CIVIC PARTICIPATION OF THIRD COUNTRY IMMIGRANTS

The degree of integration, and the civic association/participation of an immigrant population in the host society, is correlated with the duration of residence and the legality of this residence. As recent research conducted in Athens in 2003-2004²⁰ has highlighted, only a limited number of immigrants have been able to acquire and retain legal status, and we are just now beginning to see the emergence of the second generation of migrants. These factors have not provided fertile ground for the integration of immigrant populations in the host society.

Integration through naturalisation is not an easy option, since Greek nationality is based on the *jus sanguinis* principle and the naturalisation procedure is long and costly (as previously noted). Thus the legal integration of immigrants in Greece is at present far from optimal levels. Their integration in the economic spheres and the labour market has significantly improved over the last decade with improvements in social insurance coverage in particular. In the social, cultural and educational spheres, here too there are certain positive initiatives but overall, the institutional set-up (i.e. schooling and language facilities) and public opinion perceptions are not helpful. With regard to the political participation of immigrants, the situation is just as bleak since legal residents do not have the right to vote or stand for elections at the local or national levels. In fact, there is no provision that could enable immigrants/legal residents to become members of the main political parties and thereby be integrated in some form in the mainstream political frameworks.

Expressions of active civic participation of third country nationals

In light of the legislative and institutional context outlined above and in the previous section, let us consider the extent to which immigrant participation in public life has in fact developed. And, let us see whether some immigrant population groups have been more expressive or active in their civic participation, and whether they have been supported by segments of the host society.

One of the first public expressions of an informal immigrant movement took place in October 1999, following a series of racist murders by a young Greek. Undocumented migrants rallied in the centre of Athens to protest against racism and xenophobia in Greek society. There were few, if any, Greeks marching alongside the immigrants on this occasion and a leading Athens daily²¹ criticised this ‘white’ (Greek) absence. Nevertheless, public activities mainly organised by Greeks with the occasional co-operation of immigrants are growing in numbers. For instance, left-wing political parties, youth and student associations have been involved in anti-racism activities; the Festival against racism and xenophobia that is organised by left-wing coalitions in one of the Athens’ central parks has become institutionalised as an annual event.

²⁰ Empirical research was undertaken by ELIAMEP in the context of the EU funded IBEU project (2002-2004) – see Lyberaki A. and Maroukis T., “Supply Of And Demand For Immigrant Labour: Comparing Albanians in Athens and Emilia Romagna” (2004) http://www.eliamep.gr/admin/upload_research/306958242_10_RESEARCH.PDF

²¹ *Eleftherotypia*, 27 October 1999, ‘White abstention from rally against racism’, p.14, and ‘Thank you Rasid, Ama’eki, Ramon,...’ p. 15.

There is also a growing number of NGOs led mainly by Greeks that have fought for immigrants' rights since the early 1990s. Among those, it is worth mentioning the most visible and active ones: 'Diktyo', the Forum of Albanian Workers, and the Greek Helsinki Monitor. Diktyo literally means Network and is an NGO set up initially by Greek human rights activists. More recently, the grassroots organisation of Diktyo involves a number of immigrants. The organisation has achieved relatively good visibility in the media thanks to the high profile of some of its members, such as lawyer and hard-spoken activist Yianna Kourtovik. The Greek Helsinki Monitor is equally worth mentioning for its activities in protecting immigrant and minority human rights. However, this is an organisation that receives international funding, operates at a semi-professional level and has very limited if any grass roots activists.

The lack of high visibility movements does not mean that immigrant associations have not been active in Greece, or in Athens in particular where most immigrants concentrate. Perhaps one of the more interesting cases concerns Pontic Greeks. They have a wide network of local associations, organised in a larger body with the name 'Nostos',²² which since 1995 brings together the Southern Greece Federation of Pontian Associations and the Pontian Associations of a number of major Greek cities and of neighbourhoods across Athens. Nostos has participated in EU funded programmes and has developed education, training, leisure and other activities aimed at Pontic Greeks' and their children's integration in the Greek society and labour market.

On the other side of the spectrum is the case of the Albanian population. Although it is by far the largest immigrant group in Greece, it has displayed very low levels of self-organisation and civic activism. The Forum of Albanian Workers is perhaps the most active association of Albanians in Greece and has been particularly concerned with issues of regularisation of Albanian immigrants, bureaucratic problems as well as the discrimination and prejudice that Albanians suffer from. Another association for Greek-Albanian friendship named 'Sokrates' has activities with very limited visibility while ethnic Greek Albanians have been more active in setting up associations and there is a federation of such associations with the name 'Agios Kosmas'.²³

Overview of current research on active civic participation of third country nationals

Research on these associations has been growing.

The extensive literature that exists on migration in Greece – in English or Greek language publications – concentrates on describing the evolution of the phenomenon in the past two decades. Many studies present and critically assess Greek immigration policies, and approach the subject against the backdrop of European migration issues or of developments in the Balkan context. A variety of methods and data have been used to analyse the experience of immigrants and special focus has been placed on immigrants' living and working conditions. These have often concentrated on specific immigrant groups – mainly the Albanians but also Bulgarians, Filipino, Poles and

²² Nostos organization for the social integration of Pontian repatriates, 66 Solomou street, 10432, Athens, tel. 210 5231966, email: nostos@ath.forthnet.gr

²³ Omospondia Somateion Ellinon Vorioihiroton "O Agios Kosmas", Eupolidos 14, Athens 10552, tel. 210 3310358; Association for Greek-Albanian friendship "Sokratis", Kapodistriou 38, Athens 210 5245493. Also, but not exclusively immigrant, Confederation of Epirotans in Greece (Panipiroitiki Sinomospondia Ellados, P.S.E.) Kleisthenous 15, 210 3245559.

Egyptians. When discussing immigrant employment or access to health or education services, studies note that immigrants are discriminated against and face important difficulties. Few studies however (such as Lamprianidis and Lyberaki 2001) put immigrant trajectories in perspective noting how immigrants improve their economic and social situation. In any case, hardly any study is concerned with how immigrants react to marginalisation and exclusion. There is equally very little information on how immigrants voice their claims in the public sphere, whether they set up their own associations or become involved in mainstream organisations (such as trade unions or political parties). Though many studies note and analyse immigrant employment patterns, none are concerned with immigrant involvement in trade unions. There are no studies on developing ethnic media (e.g. newspapers or radio channels) even if some reports on ethnic press can be found occasionally in mainstream newspapers and magazines.

Clearly the lack of studies on immigrant active civic participation reflects the main features of the immigrant experience in Greece: prolonged undocumented status, informal and often insecure jobs, lack of institutional and legal channels to voice their problems, and constraints in actively pursuing their own interests and concerns in public life. Immigrant participation in public life has started becoming visible only in very recent years, so research on this subject has only now started to develop. In spite of extensive search in the related literature, we have been able to track down only a very limited number of studies that deal with the issue of immigrant participation in ethnic associations or other types of NGOs.

The first study was published by Marina Petronoti, an anthropologist, in 2001 and concentrates on migrant networks in Athens. According to Petronoti, there is a high number (about 50) of immigrant associations in the greater Athens area; the author notes that to the best of her knowledge there are a few more immigrant organisations in Thessaloniki, and in a few other medium sized cities. These associations vary in size (from 300 to 4,000 members), in composition, and also with regard to their aims and effectiveness in achieving these. Petronoti notes that groups are often internally fragmented and set up different associations with competing ideological and political views and aims. Groups are distinguished between those that have predominantly political goals, like restoring peace and freedom in the country of origin, and those involved in cultural, social, and political issues with regard to their life in the host country. Associations tend to elect large executive boards (4-25 members) that are male-dominated and emphasise their member's educational and social qualifications, length of residence in the country and their fluency in Greek. Petronoti also provides some information as regards the social profile of ethnic leaders. Overall, she argues that immigrant associations are important foci for immigrants' lives, providing for positive identity construction, transmitting community values and facilitating adaptation in the host society through the circulation of material and symbolic goods. In this respect, participation in immigrant organisations is important because it shows that immigrants lead different lives than most Greeks are aware of: they engage in creative cultural activities and exhibit a certain level of social and political autonomy.

The role of national (e.g. Philallilia, Citizens Mobilisation Against Racism, Network for Social Support to Immigrants and Refugees) and international NGOs (such as the UNHCR, the Greek Council of Refugees, Caritas Hellas) is brought forward in this

study and it is claimed that though this support is important it is also paternalistic. Such NGOs cater to immigrant's most basic needs such as medical aid, counselling, help with finding accommodation, providing food and sometimes providing for reference letters. These organisations often have unstable financial resources and rely mainly on voluntary work. Nonetheless, the action of these native-led NGOs is important in opening up spaces of dialogue and policy making as these NGOs lobby decision-makers, and through their networks with the media speak for migrants in public forums. Another role they fulfil involves informing migrants on ongoing discussions among the officials, about policies and other issues and hence provide for a window of mediated access to Greek public and political life.

Petronoti's study notes the importance of immigrant mobilisation from a bottom-up perspective and their involvement with Greek or international NGOs. It remains unclear how many immigrants become actively involved in ethnic associations. However, the study states that such associations are numerous, concentrated in Athens and are active in catering for both individual and collective needs. These associations are not organised in a closed manner, as ethnic enclaves but rather seek to act as mediators between immigrants and Greek society.

Petronoti's study was conducted at a time where the status of many immigrants had not yet been regularised. Her study reveals that most immigrants – even leaders of immigrant communities – find themselves in positions of serious disadvantage when in Greece, partly because of the difficulties in their legal status, but also because of widespread ethnic prejudice and exploitation of immigrants. Associations therefore primarily cater to dealing with practical (and often mundane) problems such as contacts with the Greek authorities, filling up applications, but also achieving collective goods such as community schools or nurseries and other matters. More symbolic needs, such as achieving a more positive identity and valorising the group's culture, are generally covered by contacts with the country of origin, and by festivities or recreational activities organised by the community in Athens.

In the absence of formal political rights and often faced with overt discrimination, the author notes that ethnic associations have few means to negotiate their needs and claims with the Greek authorities, and eventually they mainly employ personalised and clientelistic tactics to achieve their aims. Contact or exchange with Greeks is limited both at the personal and at the institutional level. As mentioned, inter-personal relations are mainly of clientelistic nature between patron (Greek) and client (immigrant). Institutional contact was initially hindered by the lack of legal status, yet even when many immigrants achieved legal status, local or national authorities appear to simply not be interested in setting up advisory committees or other consultative bodies with immigrant participation. Thus, although immigrants seek to use the organisational forms at their disposal to improve their situation, public authorities are not always co-operative.

In her study Petronoti in effect argues that immigrant association members consider formal contacts with the authorities – at the local or national level – to be a waste of time. Such meetings, they report, are full of rhetoric and promises that never materialise. Inter-personal links are all that matters and in that sense, immigrants may resort to their associations' leaders and their personal social capital (in the form of connections with public officials) to pursue their own aims or may try to develop such

inter-personal clientelistic relations individually (an example that is described is the case of one community leader being the bestman of a Greek minister). Petronoti also remarks that immigrant group leaders may use their ethnic leadership as a means to achieve personal gains and influence in the community and improve their individual prestige within Greek society.

Petronoti has documented the activities of the association of Sudanese in Athens, a tiny immigrant community, while the activities of KASAPI, the association of Filipinos that is one of the longest lived and better established immigrant associations in Greece has also been studied. She characterises the Filipino as a group that engages in dual mobilisation, both in the country of origin and in the receiving country. They develop broad interaction with compatriots, other immigrants and Greeks. Filipinos are also very concerned with the education of their children that they value as a means for upward social mobility. Children are sent to private schools since neither parents nor children are fluent in Greek, and the Filipino community has managed to establish a nursery partly supported by the municipality of Athens. This financial contribution is the only contribution that the community receives from state authorities. The Sudanese, by contrast, are more reserved in their contacts with Greeks and prefer to turn to their own community for resources and to mediate their life in Greece. This group's composition is principally of young males mainly and hence there is less emphasis on catering for family needs such as child-care and schooling. A large part of the Sudanese community's efforts is aimed to cater to its religious needs through the establishment of informal places of prayer (the law forbids the establishment of mosques by Muslims other than Greek Muslims) and the election of their own imam.

Both groups are particularly active in promoting their cultural and historical heritage, and in improving their public image in Greece. Nonetheless, Petronoti notes that neither of the two associations is characterised by strong bonds of solidarity or oriented towards collective goals (with the religious dimensions being a marked exception to this comment). Rather, they seek to promote their specific claims with the state and overall improve their living conditions. It is equally underlined that the gender composition and roles in these associations reflect the actual composition of the respective communities (predominantly male for the Sudanese, predominantly female for the Philippines). The active role of Filipino women in their associations reflect their role in the family structure as the main breadwinner living abroad; Sudanese women by contrast tend to abstain from decision making, which is left to the male members of the community, regardless of difficulties they may face in finding work.

It is worth referring here to a PhD research conducted by Mr. Leodinito Y. Canete (at the Department of Education of the Aristotelian University in Thessaloniki) on the Filipino community in Greece. Canete also underlines that the Philippine community is one of the most visible immigrant communities in Greece (even) though it is not organised in one single organisation, and has a strong transnational network with other Philippine organisations in other EU countries. Their associations (located principally in Athens), reflect the diversity of the Philippino population since they are mostly organised based on their region of origin in the Philippines and their ethno-linguistic characteristics, and also according to their religious denomination (Roman-Catholics with even their own monthly newsletter "Kardies", Born-Again Christians and other). There also exists a Philippino Centre of Study that offers day-care services

for children of Philippino working parents and two primary schools (KAPHILCA and KASAPI Hellas) that offer the philippino educational curriculum. KASAPI was set up in 1986 and has been very active in promoting the rights and freedoms of immigrants and in improving the working and living conditions of Philippino immigrants. It has close relations with the General Confederation of Greek Workers' Union (GSEE) and the Employment Centres in Athens and Piraeus, while it is also one of the founding members of the FORUM of immigrants in the EU.

Another thorough research paper on immigrant active civic participation is a Masters thesis by Liza Soubert.²⁴ In agreement with Petronoti (2001), Soubert notes the disproportionate geographical distribution of immigrant organisations/associations across Greece. There are 57 official immigrant organisations in Greece; of these 47 are in Athens, only 6 are in Thessaloniki (the second largest urban centre) and 4 in other main towns (2 in Rethymno, one in Hania and one in Herakleion in Crete). This distribution clearly indicates that in their overwhelming majority, immigrant associations have been formally set up in urban areas.

The reasons for this put forward by Soubert include:

- Social structures in the rural areas are less tolerant toward diversity; therefore, evident social activity on behalf of 'foreigners' is probably not very well received and renders their inclusion in the local society more difficult;
- The sparser concentration of immigrants in villages and smaller towns does not give them a significant enough numerical presence to facilitate the creation of associations;
- Certain problems that are closely related with immigration (namely unemployment, poverty, ghettoisation) are present only in urban centres, thus the need for some organisations to be set up;
- The centralisation of Greek bureaucracy is such that immigrants wishing to regularise/ legalise their status in Greece generally have to contact the public bodies, relevant Ministries and administrations in Athens. In addition, all embassies and consulates are located in Athens. Thus, it makes sense for most organisations to be concentrated in the wider Athens area.

Furthermore, it is noted that the legal framework recognises these immigrant associations solely as 'communities' and not as 'unions'; the implication of this legal distinction is that they cannot engage in a formal dialogue with the state authorities. However, given the increasing number of issues concerning immigrant workers in particular, there exists a growing need for formal dialogue with the state authorities. Thus, non-governmental organisations have tried to fill in this gap and act as lobbies or support-groups for immigrants. Among these, The Hellenic Commission of International Democratic Solidarity, SOS Racism, Greek Migration FORUM, and the Red Cross, are singled out. They principally aim to provide to information needs, to provide assistance to individuals needing legal support, and to sensitise public opinion on migration issues.

²⁴ Dissertation submitted by Liza Soubert for the degree Master's in International and European Studies at the University of Athens, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, "Οι μεταναστευτικές οργανώσεις στην Ελλάδα: Ομάδες αυτοβοήθειας ή ομάδες συμφερόντων;" (Immigrant associations in Greece: Solidarity groups or interest groups?) 2004.

Soubert's research also indicates that since 2000, there has been an intensification in the number and scope of immigrant associations. Though there is very limited awareness within the wider public with regard to the bulk of their work, networks of immigrants in association with Greek NGOs have been increasingly active as pressure groups. The author has also provided a description of the structure and hierarchy of most associations. Overall, representatives tend to be democratically elected every couple of years, and the core teams consist of a president, a vice-president, a treasurer and a secretary. Members tend to have leeway in terms of suggesting initiatives, or becoming involved in events.

It is noted that the degree and types of participation however depend to a very large extent upon the political and civic culture that they bring with them from their country of origin. For instance, it is noted that associations of immigrants from the former Soviet Republics and the Balkans tend to be distinguished by greater discipline in their procedures, in the hierarchy of roles, and in the determination of members' obligations. On the contrary, associations of immigrants from African or Asian countries are more likely to be characterised by greater flexibility and looseness with regard to membership obligations or procedures.

Another distinguishing factor noted in this study, is the degree of participation of men and women. There is a larger degree of female members in associations of immigrants from the Balkans and the former Soviet states as opposed to associations of Muslims from Asia (Pakistan, Bangladesh), whereas there is a more balanced distribution in associations of immigrants from secular Muslim countries such as Egypt. The main reasons put forward are that there has been a very significant influx of female migrants from the former group of countries that came to Greece to work in home and hospital care, and that the participation of women in the public life is heavily influenced by the social structures of their country of origin.

This study also refers to the number of associations per national group and notes that some groups are represented by one association only, whereas others have numerous associations; the prime examples being the Albanians and the Pakistanis. A first explanation could be that Albanians are simply larger in numbers and it is, therefore, logical that they have more associations. This does not necessarily explain the Pakistani case. It appears that membership to these associations is determined by ethno-regional criteria (i.e. which region or ethnic group they come from in their country of origin).

What arises from this research is that associations belonging to the same community do not collaborate amongst themselves, they take very few common initiatives and, tend to be characterised by feelings of mutual antagonism rather than trust. It is indicative that there are no federal type organisations that could bring them together.

Turning to the types of activities of these immigrant associations, the main objectives consist of:

- Providing information for the regularisation procedure;
- Contributing to the social inclusion of their members;
- Material and psychological support in cases of emergency (for instance in case of medical assistance, imprisonment, etc);

- Establishing a network of contacts and co-operation with Greek political and administrative actors in order to promote specific interests and immigrant rights;
- Promoting the culture of their country of origin through participating in festivals and other cultural events.

Regardless of ethnic or national origin, what is striking to note is the small number of immigrants that actually do participate in such associations. The Bulgarian case is cited as a typical example, where only 250 of the 37,230 Bulgarian immigrants in Greece were members of the Bulgarian association in 2001 (Soubert 2004).

What are the reasons for this limited participation? Representatives of immigrant organisations that were interviewed by the author²⁵ listed the following as the most likely reasons:

- The feeling of being in Greece on a temporary basis gives them the impression that participation in an association is meaningless and time-consuming;
- The financial contribution to the association is sometimes a discouraging factor;
- Immigrants tend to have very limited free-time (it is common practice for them to work double shifts or to have two jobs), and the limited free-time that is available tends to be devoted to the family, entertainment or religious practices;
- Associations are often viewed with prejudice or distrust. In addition to the lack of conviction as to the results that the collective representation of their interests can in fact result in, there tends to be deep mistrust that associations may be politically motivated/oriented.

In addition, two sets of reasons that have to do more with the host country are also identified. Political parties have a strong hold over Greek state administration; in turn, this renders relations between the state administration and pressure groups of a political and clientelistic nature. Thus, dialogue between the state and representatives of civil society, and even more so of immigrants, is inclined to be on unequal terms and primarily influenced by political affiliation. Faced with a non-transparent, inflexible and not too foreigner-friendly bureaucracy, immigrants are led to question the potential effectiveness of collective representation and are discouraged from association. Lastly, it is even argued that a significant majority of immigrants consciously choose to abstain from participating in associations in their attempt to be more integrated, and therefore accepted, in the local society that still has limited experience with diversity and consequently, still rather limited tolerance toward pluralism.

Prominent examples of immigrants active in public life

GEMI Eda (Ms)

Eda Gemi is an Albanian national and a graduate student in education from the University 'Luigi Gurakuqi' in Albania and also graduated from the Department of Modern Greece of the University of Athens. She proceeded in graduate studies and is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science and Social Theory of

²⁵ Empirical research concentrated on the following sample: Union of Egyptians 'El Rapta', the Association of Syrian Immigrants in Hania, the Albanian Immigrants Steki, the Bulgarian Community of Athens, the Bangladeshi Community and the Pakistani Community 'Enotita'.

the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. Her doctoral research is on "Immigrants from the Balkans and Social Exclusion." Between 2000 and 2002 she worked for a Greek MEP for issues relating to human rights, immigration and the Balkans and has been actively involved in the work of the Greek Helsinki Monitor. She is currently responsible for the Office of Information and Support for Migrants, Refugees and Returnees – ERGON. She is fluent in Greek and English and has a working knowledge of Italian. She has been involved in journalism, she has taught Greek to refugees and returnees and holds a very active involvement in Albanian immigrant associations.

KAPLLANI Gazmend (Mr)

Gazmend Kapllani migrated from Albania to Greece in 1991, at the age of 18, and has since been residing in the country legally as student. He holds a B.A. in Philosophy from the University of Athens (1997). He is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Political Science and History of Panteion University, in Athens, with a state scholarship. His thesis topic is "Modernity and otherness: the image of Albanians in the Greek press and of Greeks in the Albanian press." As a journalist, he has been working for the largest daily, "Ta Nea", the state radio station NET 105.8, Albania's daily "Koha Jone", and the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) Balkan Crisis Report. He is also the founder of the NGO "Home of Albanian Culture", a member of the extra-parliamentary center-left party AEKA, and has been the most vocal advocate on migrant issues in the Greek media. Kapllani was in the news in 2003 when his application for renewing his residency permit was rejected for unspecified "reasons related to the country's public order and security." Further to the intervention of the Greek Ombudsman – that called the procedure unconstitutional because of its vagueness and arbitrariness. The Secretary General of the Ministry of Public Order met with G. Kapllani on 11 March 2003, but did not reverse the decision. G. Kapllani has appealed against the decision to the courts. Greek media that cover the case state that G. Kapllani faces deportation because of his vocal and critical views.

PART III: EXPERT ASSESSMENT

What are the main fields of civic activities that immigrants engage in?

Given the gaps, the complications, the restrictions, and the bureaucracy in the regularisation process, achieving legal status is the primary priority for any immigrant in Greece. Hence, it is no surprise that the main activities of immigrant associations are concentrated in the field of providing information, advice and facilitating the acquisition of legal status for the members of their community. In effect, most immigrants tend to turn to their community for support and information regarding the regularisation process. Activities aimed at enhancing social inclusion and cultural representation are bound to be of secondary importance.

The Philippino community is, however, well-known for its organised day-centres for children of working parents. They also organise numerous sports and cultural events and even day –excursions particularly during the holiday periods and on public holidays. They are known to organise beauty contests and fund-raising events while the most regular and important expression is their strong participation in Sunday-church going which is a regular opportunity for them to meet.

Across all communities, the most frequent reasons for which immigrants come together within their group tend to be the celebration of religion events and personal celebrations (weddings, etc). Grocery stores (especially with foods from their country/region of origin) and cafes/restaurants owned by other co-nationals are the main meeting points for formal and informal gatherings and places where information is exchanged.

What ethnic and nationality groups are particularly active, and why?

Rank by numerical importance of population	Country of Origin	Main association(s)
1	Albania	'Steki' of Albanian Immigrants in Greece FORUM of Albanian Immigrants of Greece Albanian Community of Athens Albanian Cultural Association 'The Eagle' Albanian Immigrants Association 'Velazerimi' Albanian Association 'Lousnia' Albanian Immigrant Writers' Club – 'Drita' League of Albanians of the Thessaloniki Region Albanian Forum (Rethymno – Crete) Greek-Albanian Association PROODOS Association of Greek-Albanian Friendship SOCRATES
2	Bulgaria	Greek-Bulgarian Friendship and Solidarity Association Greek-Bulgarian Friendship Association 'Cyril and Methodius'
3	Georgia	Greek-Georgian Cultural Association CAUCASUS
4	Romania	Romanian Community 'Saint Stephan the Great'
5	Russia	Russian Centre Association of Greek-Slavic Friendship

6	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>Ukranian Community ‘The land of the stork’ Greek-Ukranian League</i>
7	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Solidarity of Polish Workers in Greece Polish Association of professionals, technicians and engineers in Greece Association of Sciences and Arts of Poles in Greece Independent Movement of Polish Immigrant Women Greek-Polish Association of Friendship and Cooperation</i>
8	<i>Pakistan</i>	<i>Pakistani Community ALMADAD Minhad Cultural Association of Pakistanis in Greece Pakistan Welfare Society Pakistani Community of Greece – Unity</i>
9	<i>Turkey</i>	
10	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>El Rapta Union of Egyptian Workers in Athens Egyptian Community of Greece</i>
11	<i>Armenia</i>	<i>HAMAZKAIN Armenian cultural and educational union Cultural Centre Armenia Armenian Blue Cross of Greece AZATAMART Armenian Association Central Committee of Armenians in Greece Armenian National Committee in Greece Armenian Union for Charity ‘St George’ Orthodox Church Holy Cross Armenian Orthodox Church Armenian Orthodox Church ‘The Virgin Mary’ Orthodox Church ‘St Agop’ Armenian Orthodox Prelacy Armenian Evangelical Church Armenian Youth Federation in Greece</i>
12	<i>India</i>	
13	<i>Iraq</i>	
14	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Union of Philippines in Greece – KASAPI Hellas Christian Brotherhood of Philipinos – AGAPE Bagong Samahan Ng Mga Philippine Sa Thessaloniki Philippine Organisation in Northern Greece</i>
15	<i>Moldavia</i>	<i>Greek-Moldavian League</i>
16	<i>Syria</i>	<i>Association of Syrians and Friends (Rethymno – Crete) Syrian Community (Hania – Crete)</i>
17	<i>Bangladesh</i>	<i>Cultural Community of Citizens of Bangladesh Union of Immigrant Workers – Bangladesh Shetubandhan Bangladesh Cultural Organisation</i>
18	<i>Former Yugoslavia</i>	
19	<i>Other</i>	<i>Union of Palestinian Workers Arabic Community (Herakleion – Crete) Lebanese Community of Greece Tunisian Association of Greece Moroccan Community of Greece Immigrant Community from Madagascar Union of Citizens from Ghana (05/99 – 12/99) Nigerian Community of Greece Community of Nigerians in Greece Nigerian Community of Thessalonika and Northern Greece Sudanese Community of Greece Union of Citizens of Ivory Coast of Greece Guinean Citizens’ Community Eritrean Community of Greece Congoese Community of Greece Union of Congoese Students in Thessaloniki Bisso Na Bisso- Congoese Community in Greece</i>

		<i>Gambian Community of Greece</i> <i>Gambia Association</i> <i>Kenyan Community</i> <i>Kenyan Association</i> <i>South-African Association of Greece</i> <i>Senegal Community – SENAAT</i> <i>Tanzanian Community</i> <i>Ethiopian Community of Athens</i> <i>Ethiopian Workers Union Greece</i> <i>Cultural Association of Liberia</i> <i>Sierra Leone Community</i> <i>The indigenous Africans development association (IADAG)</i> <i>PanAfrican Union Northern Greece</i> <i>Asociacion Cultural ‘El sol de Cuba’</i> <i>Asociacion Colombo-Hellenica</i> <i>Asclaye/ Alianza Socio-cultural latinoamericana</i> <i>Cultural Centre ‘Martin Fierro’</i> <i>Greek-Panamanian Cultural Association</i> <i>Foreign Women’s Network</i>
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Sources: Lists of Associations mostly taken from www.migrantsingreece.org among other sources; Rank of immigrant population per country of origin is based on the 2001 nation-wide census.

The table above essentially lists the associations and organisations that have been documented by the resources we have covered. This list is by no means exhaustive, nevertheless, it includes the main organisations within each population group at the time of preparation of this report (December 2004).

Given the lack of sufficient empirical research in this field no conclusions can be reached with regard to the factors that render some populations groups more civically active than others. Hopefully, as our research project progresses we will be able to contribute to gaining a deeper understanding on these issues.

A set of observations may be deduced from the table above, however, as preliminary observations:

- Almost all nationalities have an association of some kind. The level of participation, i.e. the percentage of immigrants that are active within each community, however remains unclear.
- The reasons for becoming actively involved in an association seem to be common among all groups: to satisfy personal and collective needs. Such needs may be purely symbolic (such as performing religious practices or achieving a positive identity and improving the group’s public image in Greek society); or they may be material (such as schooling for the children, employment, contacts with authorities for routine matters, etc). Nevertheless, there is no indication as to the extent to which these associations adequately fulfil these needs.
- The size of the community is not necessarily a determining factor with respect to if and whether an association is set up. For instance, most Africans and Asians have some associational activity even if they are small numerical groups.
- It is interesting that the only nationalities that have formal religious associations (or at least some formal reference to their religious identity – for instance in their name) are the ones that share the same religion with the majority of the host country population: Christian, and even more so Orthodox Christian (see for

instance Armenians, Romanians, Philippines). There are no 'formal' Muslim, Buddhist or other religious communities that have been identified.

- The Poles appear to be the only ones to have professional associations, and also a women's only association; in this sense, it could be argued that they seem to be the most 'sophisticated' in terms of their organisation and association. This could result from their civic culture in their country of origin, in conjunction with the fact that their status is different to the other immigrant populations since they are from EU accession/ now new member states so their presence in Greece is less temporary and vulnerable.

It is difficult to guess which factors affect immigrant civic participation. The size of the group seems not to be an important element as the Albanian population, by far the largest immigrant group in Greece, is not particularly active in forming associations or participating in public life. The same is true for Bulgarians and Ukrainians. However, it is also true that these three countries share similar political experiences under Communism in the post war era. Thus the low level of civic activism of immigrants coming from these countries may be explained by their mistrust towards the state in general (and the Greek state in particular) and the peculiar kind of individualist thinking to which Eastern European Socialism led. Thus, recent or earlier arrival may not be a factor at all in explaining immigrant participation in civic life.

On the other hand, small groups but with a long term presence in Greece, like the Filipinos or the Poles (these last from the Communist times), are relatively more active in civic issues and in setting up organisations that cater for their needs and represent them towards the Greek state. Armenians, a group that has long historical links with Greece and a strong diasporic identity displays a high number of associations, despite its small size. However, Armenian activism is overall not very well known and it should not necessarily be assumed that all the associations listed in the table above are active.

Is the degree of active civic participation of immigrants high or low compared to the majority population?

Overall, Greek civil society has traditionally been weak, there have been comparatively few voluntary associations and NGOs, and participation in these associations has remained low.²⁶ The causes for this general weakness include state authoritarianism and the presence of strong political parties, and the main exceptions have been the unions of employees in state-run companies and association of liberal professions (doctors, lawyers, etc). Since the late 1980s there have been signs of improvement. One of the reasons for this increased activism may be attributed to the decline of the appeal of political parties (that was characteristic of Greece after the 1974 transition to democracy), thereby encouraging Greek citizens to 'channel' their activities into informal collective activities. Equally, the support for the development of civil society that has been persistently and increasingly provided by the European Union may have provided an additional 'pull' factor. More recently, EU programmes

²⁶ Recent publication on Greek civil society by Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, «Η άγνωστη κοινωνία των πολιτών» (The unknown civil society), Potamos publications, Athens, 2004.

(more recently EQUAL but also earlier other programmes aiming at combating Racism, Xenophobia and Social Exclusion) have generated a lot of civic activism – also at the professional level – have supported the establishment or expansion of NGOs and have provided for opportunities (conferences, workshops and other public events) for third sector organisations from all over Greece (including also local/regional media) to meet and establish national and international networks. A third reason may be circumstantial, but needs to be mentioned: the Volunteers Programme that was launched on the occasion of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games, which attracted 160,000 applications and led to the recruitment of 45,000 volunteers during the duration of the Games. It remains to be seen whether this initiative will have some durable effect on civic activism in Greece.

In a paper by Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, “*Formal Weakness and Informal Strength: Civil Society in Contemporary Greece*” (Discussion Paper No.16, The Hellenic Observatory, LSE, February 2004), it is argued that Greek civil society is not as uniformly weak as it is generally considered to be. Sotiropoulos argues that informality constitutes a noteworthy part of economic and social interaction in Greece, and there exists a “flourishing, albeit informal and thus not officially registered, social mobilisation which substitutes for the usual, formal and civil society found in modern Western societies” (Sotiropoulos 2004:8). Thus, an informal civil society is described that has been mobilised to protect vested interests at a regional level, to object to government policies, and to volunteer help to people in need (refugees, orphans, the sick and the elderly in particular).

In conclusion, there are no comparative studies that could offer insight into the above stated issue. Overall, low civic activism among natives is reflected in generally low civic participation among immigrants. Nonetheless, one should study more in depth which sections of the native population are more/less active and why (in the light of the argument put forward by Sotiropoulos that civic society often develops in informal ways that evade observation and registration) as well as why some immigrant groups are more active than others.

What is the relation between engagement in ethnic or migrant organisations (e.g. any organisation having the name of the minority in the name) compared to mainstream society organisations? Are there transitions and overlaps?

At present, there is very little continuity between ethnic and mainstream organisations. Immigrants who are civically active achieve prestige within their own community may use their prestige to obtain a better personal position in Greek society or obtain ‘favours’ by powerful natives (politicians mainly) but find it very hard to transfer their activity from an ethnic to a mainstream organisation. There are no such studies and we are not aware of cases where an immigrant achieved a relatively important position in a mainstream organisation. Immigrants have become important members in NGOs and other non-state organisations or EU funded programmes aimed for immigrants and led by natives mainly (see for instance the case of Centres for Adult Professional Training (KEK)). However, they find it hard to negotiate their position as political subjects (not objects) on a par with Greeks in mainstream organisations, not least because immigrant political rights are still a taboo in Greece. Trade unions and political parties have been very slow to react to these societal

changes. This is not surprising though given that a large part of the immigrant population was undocumented for most of the 1990s and even now when many have acquired legal status, the time perspective of their stay is kept unclear (subsequent renewals of stay and work permits are not an easy task) and their rights are not yet an issue (both social and political rights) in the government's agenda.

There are a couple of noteworthy examples of networks and of associations that can be characterised as overlapping between mainstream and immigrant associations. On the one hand, there are transnational networks and initiatives from the EU level on combating racism, discrimination and xenophobia that are increasingly represented in Greece. At the same time, there are local initiatives as well aiming to bridge mainstream NGOs with immigrant communities on issues of mutual interest and relevance. In 1995, the Network for Social and Political Rights created the Network for Social Support to Refugees and Immigrants. Its aim was to promote the respect of refugee and immigrant rights, to provide material/practical support to victims of racism, and to promote a culture of tolerance and solidarity across Greek civil society. This Network aimed to include immigrants in its functioning in a substantial manner and, therefore, created the Coordinating Body of Immigrant and Anti-Racist Organisations in June 1996. Its objective was to express the common positions of 22 immigrant communities and 28 anti-racist organisations in spite of language, cultural and political challenges. Another example is the Greek section of the European Network for Women's Rights that is frequently involved in issues regarding immigrant women. This is especially the case in matters of sexual exploitation and abuse, and their efforts are mainly centred on raising public awareness of these problems, lobbying in favour of relevant legislative and regulatory improvements and providing a support network for immigrant women in need.

*What issues do you consider to be of particular interest and importance in the field?
Where do you see the major research gaps?*

There is a very wide scope for research on civic participation in Greece, both with regards to the Greek population and the immigrant populations since this is still a very new field of study and research.

Among the most relevant issues that would merit further research, it would be worth noting the following:

A deeper understanding of the different types of associations that exist, the level of mobilisation within specific immigrant communities and across the immigrant population, and the demographic profile of immigrant activists (age, gender, education, profession) would provide useful insight. The role that documented status, stability of employment and family situation may play in making an immigrant interested in activism is another important set of issues that ought to be explored along with the ways through which a transition from ethnic to mainstream can be achieved.

Explanations of why parties and trade unions are not interested in immigrant membership are another field to be studied. Just as important is an understanding of the reasons for which state authorities are not interested in promoting exchange and

dialogue with immigrant associations, particularly in areas with large immigrant populations (and with supposedly important problems because of these populations)? It is hard to explain this inertia of public and semi-state authorities (e.g. local government) especially if we take into account that immigrants make up roughly 9-10% of the total resident population. One obvious explanation lies with Greek national identity and the dominant idea that 'Greece belongs to Greeks'. Nonetheless, after more than a decade of stable presence of several hundred thousands of immigrants, the state and civic society are expected to recognise and actively adapt to the new situation.

ANNEX I: ACTIVE CIVIC PARTICIPATION OF IMMIGRANTS - MAPPING RESEARCH COMPETENCES IN GREECE

Given the limited research that has been undertaken in Greece, this section is only able to provide information with regard to centres and researchers involved in the study of immigration. Research, and particular PhD theses are increasingly branching out into issues of social inclusion of immigrants, civic participation and representation etc, so it is expected that the research landscape in Greece will evolve significantly over the next few years. In addition to the centres and institutions that are working in this field and that are listed below, we have also included the names of a number of academics with expertise in these areas.

1. Active civic participation of immigrants - leading institutions

This is not very relevant in the Greek case since there is no research institution working specifically on this field. However, aspects are studied in individual research that is carried out by academics or departments in the field of Immigration (please see below). In addition, there is one organisation that works as an observatory, information point and presents research that is undertaken by its partners and therefore, we have included it in this mapping of the landscape.

(1) Migrants in Greece

Website: <http://www.migrantsingreece.org/>

Email: info@migrantsingreece.org

'Migrants in Greece' is an Online Observatory focusing on migrant and refugee issues. Developed by the Lambrakis Research Foundation in co-operation with its partners from the Equal Project Forum for Social Cohesion, the observatory provides a wide selection of practical information and background documentation. It aims to be of interest not only to migrant communities and refugee groups, but also to anyone with an interest in immigration to Greece (NGOs, journalists, researchers, lawyers, students, local administrators, government employees etc). In order to make the website's content accessible to as many people as possible, it has both a Greek and an English-language version. In addition, material is also available in Albanian, Russian and Turkish.

The Equal Project Forum for Social Cohesion aims at combating racism and xenophobia while at the same time laying the ground for the balanced growth of a multicultural society in Greece. The project's top priorities are:

- (a) the integration of migrants and refugees into Greek society and the labour market;
- (b) the sensitization to migrants' problems of Greek employers, opinion-makers and the public at large;
- (c) the rejection of racist stereotypes.

2. Immigration - leading institutions

(1) National Kapodistrian University of Athens: Laboratory for the Study of Migration and Diaspora (Εργαστήριο Μελέτης της Μετανάστευσης και της Διασποράς – ΕΜ.ΜΕ.ΔΙΑ)

Set up in 2000 to study migration challenges within Greece and at the global level. Its activities include the organization of research seminars, conferences and workshops on migration-related issues; follows EU and Greek migration policy; publications. This center is made up of a core group of University professors/ academic staff and supervises numerous undergraduate and PhD research on migration.

EMMEDIA collaborates with other departments of the University of Athens, with the Greek Open University, with the Department of Geography of Aegean University , with the Hellenic National Centre for Social Research (ΕΚΚΕ), the Greek Red Cross, and other migration institutes in Europe and Australia.

Website: <http://emmedia.pspa.uoa.gr/>

Address: Aiolou 42-44, Athens 105 60, Greece

Email: emmedia@pspa.uoa.gr

Head: Professor Nikolaos Tatsis ntatsis@otenet.gr

Relevant researchers associated with EMMEDIA:

Name, email, area of focus

Prof. Antonios Kontis (akontis@pspa.uoa.gr) - political economy, international migration

Prof. Rossetos Fakiolas (fakiolas@hellasnet.gr) - Immigrants in Greece, gender dimension, regularization of migrants

Dr. Theodore Iosifides (iwsifidis@aegean.gr) – Immigrants and labour market

Dr. Electra Petrakou (ipetr@geo.aegean.gr)- migration and education; gender issues

Dr. Mari Lavradiadou (mlav@geo.aegean.gr) - mobility of Pontic Greeks in Greece and their social inclusion in rural/urban areas

2) Panteion University –Social and Political Studies, Athens

(a) Research Centre ΚΕΚΜΟΚΟΡ (ΤΜΗΜΑ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ, ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΡΦΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ) – Centre for Social Morphology and Social Policy, Department of Social Policy and Social Anthropology.

Website: <http://www.panteion.gr/gr/new/menu/kentro5.htm>

Address: Syngrou Avenue 134, Athens 176 71, Greece

Tel: +30 210 92 38 473

Set up in 1989, this centre is involved in research and publishes on applied social policy, social anthropology, social geography, demography, etc. The Head of the Centre professor Koula Kassimati conducted the first qualitative and quantitative comprehensive survey on the Pontic Greek repatriate populations in 1993.

KEKMOKOP, in cooperation with academic staff from the Department of Sociology of Panteion University has since developed several research projects on migration.

Prof. Koula Kassimati, kekmokop@panteion.gr

Dr. Iordanis Psimmenos, department of Sociology

Has conducted qualitative and quantitative research on Albanian migration to Greece, on migrant employment, on aspects of migration policy implementation in Greece, on gender and migration including trafficking of women and the sex industry, iordanispsimme@yahoo.co.uk

(b) Mediterranean Migration Observatory

Website: <http://www.mmo.gr/profile.htm>

Address: Aristotelous 14, 176 71 Athens, Greece

Email: mmo@panteion.gr

The Mediterranean Migration Observatory (MMO) was created in 1998 by Martin Baldwin-Edwards (formerly of Queens University Belfast) and Prof. Xanthi Petrinioti, Panteion University. In 1999 it was established as a research unit of the Research Institute of Urban Environment and Human Resources (UEHR), Panteion University of Athens.

MMO has two Co-Directors (Martin Baldwin-Edwards and Xanthi Petrinioti) and is guided by two committees: the International Advisory Board, consisting of recognized scientists and researchers on Mediterranean migration, and the Hellenic Scientific Committee, composed of many of the leading Greek researchers and which has an advisory role concerning the research strategy of the Observatory.

Martin Baldwin-Edwards (mbe@mmo.gr; baldwin@panteion.gr)

Xanthi Petrinioti (petrxan@panteion.gr)

(c) Department of Economics & Regional Development

Antigone Lyberaki is Professor of Economics and holds the post of Director of the Regional Science Division. She has undertaken wide research on immigrants in Thessaloniki and Athens, particularly from the perspective of the labour market, their inclusion in the economy and the impact of the immigrant labour force on small-and medium sized enterprises in Greece.

Email: antiglib@hol.gr

(d) Department of Economics, University Campus Rion, University of Patras, 26500 Patras.

Professor Charalambos Kassimis is Scientific Director of a major research project on the impact of immigration on Greek agriculture funded by the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. This project has compared the employment and general social integration

(or exclusion) of immigrants in three rural areas (in Epirus, Northern Greece, in Korinthia, in the northern Peloponnese and in Crete), e-mail: kasimis@upatras.gr

3. Civic participation

There is a Research Group on Exclusion and Dominance Structures that works within the Department of Education of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Although they focus mainly on issues of social exclusion, aspects of their research may be relevant.

Acronym: REDS

Department of Education of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

27, Archeologikou Mouseiou Str.

THESSALONIKI - GREECE

TEL. (0030) / 31/ 99.12.31-36

E-mail: gtsiakal@eled.auth.gr

url: <http://www.eled.auth.gr/reds/index-en.htm>

Objectives: The group's objective is production of knowledge in the relative fields and planned intervention, taking the side of the people that face or are threatened by social exclusion. Since 1989 several projects have been and are being implemented in the strands: [POVERTY 3](#), [HORIZON](#), ECOS-OUVERTURE, [The city beneath the city](#), [Combat against social exclusion](#), [Promoting Research Potential](#) (ΠΙΕΝΕΑ-ΓΓΕΤ) [Hum.Sciences](#) (AUTH) and [Internationales Lernen](#). Target groups: Single-Parent families, former Soviet Union Pontian refugees, habitants of isolated distant regions, groups with particular cultural / linguistic characteristics, juvenile offenders, recently released. The team members are professors of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, candidate lecturers, independent researchers, as well as researchers in other Greek and European Universities.

Among others, the team consists of:

Dr. Miltos Pavlou, pavlu@law.auth.gr - Tel.: 031/780.700 (& fax)

He holds a sociology degree from the University of Salerno in Italy. Since the summer of 1999 he is a member of the scientific personnel of the Greek Ombudsmann. He worked in the Aristotle University as general Coordinator of the *Research Training & Support Projects for Socially Excluded Young People and at risk* at the A.U.TH. Lawschool [<http://www.auth.gr/nomiki/cpsd>] (1997-1998). His activity consisted in research, planning, transnational cooperation, implementation and evaluation in the strands Leonardo, Horizon, Integra, Combating Exclusion.

Participation in research projects:

- Origins and conditions of development of racist discourse and racism in Greece (1997-1998, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
- Racism in every day life: the role of media discourse, (1998-2000, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Thematic issues of engagement: social inequalities (racism & racist discourse, social exclusion & ethnocultural groups), industrial sociology & criminology (economic & organized crime).

Dr. Athanassios Marvakis, amarvaki@cc.uoi.gr - Tel.: 0651/98761
Assistant Professor in Social Psychology, Dep. of Psychology, University of Crete.

Doctor of Social Sciences (Dr. rer.soc.) from the Faculty of Behavioural and Social Sciences at the University of Tuebingen/Germany; Diplompsychologist from the Institute for Psychology at the Eberhard-Karl University Tübingen/Germany (Dipl.-Psych., Diplompsychologe). Thematic issues of engagement: young people and their problems as a social group, social inequalities (racism, nationalism, ethnicism, multiculturalism).

Prof. Georgios Tsiakalos, gstiakal@eled.auth.gr - Tel.: 031/99.12.31
Professor in Pedagogy - Department of Education at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

Degrees: a) Dr.rer.nat. at Christian-Anders-Universität Kiel (Subjects: Biology, Geology / Paleontology, Demography); b) Dr.phil at Universität Bremen (Subjects: Pedagogy, Sociology, Political Sciences).

Participated in many european projects concerning social exclusion, poverty and racism. Among them: POVERTY 3 in West Thessaloniki (1990-1994), HORIZON "Upgrade of Gypsy Living Conditions" in Sofades - Pr.of Carditsa - Greece (1994-1995), ECOS-OUVERTURE "Gypsies in local societies" (1995-1996) and projects - mainly accompanying support measures - in the framework of the Operational Programme for Combating Social Exclusion (1996-1997). The target-groups were: Single-Parent families, former Soviet Union Pontian refugees, habitants of isolated distant regions, groups with particular cultural / linguistic characteristics, juvenile offenders, recently released

(b) In addition, for general academic research on Greek civil society: Dr. Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens (dsotirop@hol.gr)

ANNEX II

The tables that follow present some aggregate data regarding the size and demographic features of the foreign population in Greece, by comparison to other EU and OECD countries.

Table 1

Table 1.8. Intra-European mobility of EU citizens, latest available year
Immigration flows by nationality in per cent of total inflows of EU citizens

	Receiving country														Total
	Luxembourg	Portugal	Belgium	United Kingdom	Spain	Denmark	Netherlands	Sweden	Greece	Austria	Germany	Finland	France	Italy	
EU foreigners by nationality	1999	1998	1999	1998	1998	1998	1998	1998	1998	1998	1999	1999	1998	1999	
Austria	0.5	1.2	0.9	0.1	1.5	2.1	1.8	1.1	3.6	–	8.8	1.8	1.0	4.6	4.2
Belgium	16.4	3.7	–	1.2	5.8	1.9	9.7	1.1	3.2	1.4	1.5	1.1	6.7	3.5	2.6
Germany	8.5	22.0	11.0	13.3	31.9	20.9	23.8	13.7	26.2	52.7	–	12.4	10.7	24.2	11.5
Denmark	2.0	0.9	1.4	3.8	1.4	–	2.0	13.4	3.6	1.7	1.8	4.5	1.4	2.1	2.4
Spain	1.3	18.7	4.2	9.8	–	6.4	5.8	3.4	0.9	2.4	6.1	3.1	9.2	10.6	6.2
Finland	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.4	3.3	5.0	2.5	35.9	4.1	2.6	2.1	–	1.1	2.0	3.1
France	26.6	15.7	28.3	22.0	12.1	9.6	10.3	7.2	14.7	5.1	11.3	7.0	–	19.6	15.0
Greece	1.0	0.4	2.2	18.3	0.2	1.5	3.4	2.4	–	4.0	13.0	2.0	1.4	7.3	9.9
Ireland	1.3	0.7	1.2	2.8	0.9	1.7	2.7	1.6	1.0	0.9	2.0	1.7	2.0	1.6	2.0
Italy	6.7	7.6	9.3	14.2	8.9	6.8	6.9	3.5	9.1	10.4	25.8	4.9	13.8	–	16.4
Luxembourg	–	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.3
Denmark	2.7	6.9	22.1	4.2	4.9	7.6	–	4.2	6.6	4.2	4.8	3.8	3.1	4.5	5.8
Portugal	25.1	–	4.7	3.6	6.4	1.2	3.7	0.8	0.3	3.2	10.9	0.3	31.9	3.6	7.7
Sweden	1.7	2.3	2.0	4.4	2.4	18.4	3.3	–	7.1	3.4	2.5	44.6	2.5	3.0	3.5
United Kingdom	5.2	18.7	10.8	–	20.4	16.8	23.8	11.8	19.5	7.6	8.9	12.9	15.1	13.3	9.5
Total EU citizens	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% in row	2.5	0.9	8.4	20.5	6.7	2.4	6.0	2.5	0.9	3.6	40.6	0.5	1.8	2.8	100.0
<i>In per cent of total inflows of foreigners</i>	69.7	50.9	48.5	47.5	38.8	27.7	24.4	23.4	22.9	20.2	20.1	19.2	6.1	..	26.2
<i>Stocks (in 1998):</i>															
EU foreigners (% of total foreigners)	89.0	26.3	62.2	18.5	42.7	20.5	28.0	33.9	..	13.0	25.1	18.7	36.6	13.7	..
EU foreigners (% of total population)	31.0	0.5	5.5	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.2	2.0	..	1.2	2.3	0.3	2.0	0.3	..

Source: Eurostat, New Cronos database.

Table 2

Table 1.9. Foreign or foreign-born population in selected OECD countries, 1994 and 1999
Thousands and percentages

	Foreign population			
	Thousands		Annual growth over the period (%)	Data source
	1994	1999		
Austria	714	748	0.95	R
Belgium	922	897	-0.55	R
Czech Republic	104	229	17.16	R
Denmark	197	259	5.69	R
Finland	62	88	7.18	R
France	3 597 ¹	3 263	-1.08	C
Germany	6 991	7 344	0.99	R
Greece	106	238	17.69	LFS
Hungary	138	127	-1.64	R
Ireland	91	118	5.28	LFS
Italy	923	1 252	6.29	P
Japan	1 354	1 556	2.82	R
Korea	85	189	17.39	R
Luxembourg	133	159	3.77	R
Netherlands	757	652	-2.96	R
Norway	164	179	1.73	R
Portugal	157	191	3.98	P
Slovak Republic	17	29	11.83	R
Spain	461	801	11.67	P
Sweden	537	487	-1.94	R
Switzerland	1 300	1 369	1.03	R
United Kingdom	2 032	2 208	1.68	LFS
	Foreign-born population			
	Thousands		Annual growth over the period (%)	Data source
	1994	1999		
Australia	4 094	4 482	1.83	E
Canada (1996)	4 971	C
United States	22 600	28 180	4.51	LFS

Note: For details on sources, refer to the notes at the end of the Statistical Annex.
1. 1990.
2. Population aged 15 and over.
Sources: C: Census; E: Estimates by the national Statistical Institute; LFS: Labour force survey; P: Residence permits; R: Population register or register of foreigners.

Table 3

Table I.11. Foreign and national adult populations classified by level of education in selected OECD countries¹
1999-2000 average, percentages

	Lower secondary		Upper secondary		Third level	
	Foreigners	Nationals	Foreigners	Nationals	Foreigners	Nationals
Austria	43.1	22.6	43.7	64.9	13.3	12.5
Belgium	54.5	40.8	25.2	31.6	20.2	27.6
Czech Republic	24.0	13.9	52.6	74.9	23.4	11.2
Denmark	26.1	20.1	46.2	53.8	27.7	26.1
Finland	26.2	27.7	45.2	40.3	28.6	32.0
France	66.4	36.2	19.7	42.0	13.9	21.8
Germany	49.4	16.5	35.4	59.3	15.2	24.2
Greece	39.8	49.8	40.6	33.5	19.6	16.8
Hungary	16.7	29.0	55.2	57.1	28.1	13.9
Italy	49.8	55.8	37.2	34.6	13.0	9.5
Luxembourg	48.1	32.2	30.2	51.7	21.7	16.1
Netherlands	50.2	33.8	28.2	42.3	21.6	23.9
Norway	17.2	14.8	46.3	54.8	36.5	30.4
Portugal	64.8	78.8	20.9	11.5	14.3	9.7
Slovak Republic	25.2	17.1	59.4	72.9	15.4	10.0
Spain	48.6	64.2	22.6	14.8	28.8	21.0
Sweden	30.1	22.5	40.0	48.5	29.9	29.1
Switzerland	36.4	13.3	39.9	62.7	23.7	24.0
United Kingdom	30.3	19.4	30.5	53.3	39.3	27.3
United States ²	35.0	15.7	24.1	35.0	40.9	49.3
Canada ³	22.2	23.1	54.9	60.3	22.9	16.6

1. The educational attainment classification is defined as follows: lower secondary refers to pre-primary education or none, primary or lower secondary; upper secondary refers to upper secondary education or post-secondary non tertiary education; third level refers to tertiary education. Data refer to individuals aged 25 to 64.
2. Foreign-born and native populations aged 25 and over. Lower secondary refers to less than high school diploma, upper secondary refers to high school diploma and third level refers to some college or more.
3. Foreign-born and native populations aged 25 to 44. Lower secondary refers to below grade 9, upper secondary refers to grades 9 to 13 and third level refers to some post-secondary education plus university degrees.

Sources: Labour force survey, data provided by Eurostat; Statistics Canada; US Bureau of the Census.

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Table 4

Main Trends in International Migration

Table I.14. Participation rate and unemployment rate of nationals and foreigners by sex in selected OECD countries, 1999-2000 average

	Participation rate				Unemployment rate			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Nationals	Foreigners	Nationals	Foreigners	Nationals	Foreigners	Nationals	Foreigners
Austria	80.5	86.1	63.1	63.4	4.3	8.3	4.2	9.2
Belgium	74.1	73.0	58.2	40.7	5.3	16.6	8.5	20.1
Czech Republic	80.4	88.6	64.4	61.6	7.2	8.2	10.3	10.1
Denmark	85.6	73.2	77.2	53.8	4.0	13.0	5.4	8.5
Finland	79.8	81.1	74.4	58.0	10.4	27.0	12.1	28.0
France	75.6	76.4	63.5	48.5	8.7	19.7	12.5	25.7
Germany	80.1	77.9	64.8	49.9	7.3	14.9	8.4	13.2
Greece	78.9	89.3	50.3	57.6	7.4	7.6	17.2	18.5
Ireland	81.1	76.1	55.7	54.4	5.0	6.3	4.7	7.7
Italy	74.8	89.0	46.3	52.1	8.6	5.3	15.5	16.9
Luxembourg	75.5	77.9	47.3	56.7	1.2	2.8	2.3	4.3
Netherlands	84.8	67.2	66.4	44.6	2.2	7.7	3.9	10.5
Norway	86.0	84.5	77.7	70.7	3.4	5.9	3.2	3.6
Portugal	83.7	81.3	66.7	68.5	3.5	9.6	4.9	11.2
Slovak Republic	76.6	79.5	62.6	63.9	17.7	24.4	17.3	8.5
Spain	77.2	83.8	49.8	57.3	10.3	13.2	21.7	17.7
Sweden	80.5	65.1	75.3	59.4	6.6	17.5	5.5	14.9
Switzerland	93.0	89.6	74.8	68.4	1.6	5.6	2.5	7.0
United Kingdom	84.9	76.2	69.2	56.0	6.3	10.9	4.9	8.3
Australia (August 2000) ¹	75.3	67.3	58.9	49.1	6.6	6.4	5.6	6.7
Canada (1996) ¹	73.8	68.4	60.2	52.9	10.3	9.9	9.5	11.6
Hungary ¹	67.9	73.0	52.5	53.2	7.4	5.5	6.0	5.6
United States (March 2000) ¹	73.4	79.6	61.6	53.7	4.4	4.5	4.2	5.5

1. The data refer to the native and foreign-born populations.

Sources: Labour force surveys, results supplied by Eurostat and by Australian Bureau of Statistics; 1996 Census, Statistics Canada; Current Population Survey, US Bureau of the Census.

Table 5

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Table I.15. Employment of foreigners by sectors, 1999-2000 average
Percentages of total foreign employment

	Agriculture and fishing	Mining and manufacturing	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Hotels and restaurants	Education	Health and other community services	Households	Admin. and ETO
Austria	1.4	27.5	12.0	12.5	11.6	2.7	11.3	0.8	1.4
Belgium	1.7	23.6	8.0	15.3	6.9	3.3	12.4	0.8	9.2
Czech Republic	1.9	24.3	8.8	27.4	4.3	6.3	10.4	0.9	3.4
Denmark	3.1	19.5	2.4	12.8	7.1	5.4	26.8	...	3.8
Finland	4.3	16.8	3.6	14.3	10.2	10.0	19.0	0.5	0.6
France	3.0	19.6	17.3	11.9	6.9	3.1	8.7	7.1	2.6
Germany	1.5	33.7	9.0	12.5	10.6	2.7	12.3	0.6	2.1
Greece	3.4	18.4	27.2	10.9	8.6	2.0	4.2	19.6	0.8
Hungary	2.7	24.5	6.1	20.4	3.5	10.8	13.5	...	3.9
Ireland	2.5	18.8	7.6	8.8	12.3	7.3	15.2	1.4	1.7
Italy	5.4	30.3	9.4	11.0	8.5	3.2	6.7	10.9	2.5
Japan (June 1999)	0.3	59.8	2.2	8.0	¹
Luxembourg	0.8	10.3	15.6	13.1	8.0	2.5	9.3	4.0	11.2
Netherlands	2.4	24.4	4.3	13.9	6.1	5.9	12.4	0.2	4.1
Norway	1.8	18.2	4.8	13.3	7.1	7.7	25.4	0.5	2.9
Portugal	2.7	17.3	25.2	10.0	9.6	5.8	10.3	6.8	1.7
Slovak Republic	7.6	22.7	3.5	13.8	...	12.9	17.0	...	4.9
Spain	7.8	10.9	9.4	12.6	14.9	5.1	8.1	18.0	0.9
Sweden	1.8	21.4	1.9	12.7	8.5	9.5	23.1	...	2.1
Switzerland	1.4	23.1	9.8	16.5	5.5	4.6	17.1	1.6	3.3
United Kingdom	0.3	13.8	5.1	11.6	9.9	8.3	20.2	1.6	4.2
Australia (August 2000) ²	2.1	18.8	7.9	16.2	6.2	6.1	12.0	3.2	3.1
Canada (1996) ³	2.4	19.6	5.0	24.1	¹	³	24.6	...	3.8
United States (1998-99) ²	3.6	18.6	6.1	22.9	¹	³	2.2	2.0	20.8

Note: The numbers in bold indicate the sectors where foreigners are over-represented.

1. Included in the category "Wholesale and retail trade".

2. The data refer to the foreign-born population.

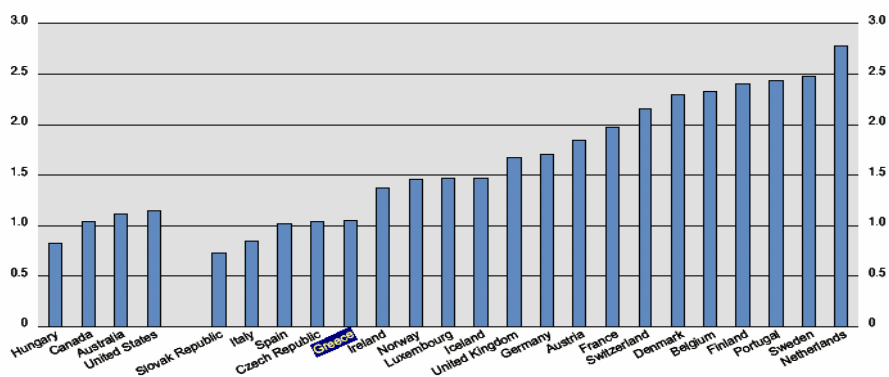
3. Included in the category "Health and other community services".

Sources: Labour force surveys, results supplied by Eurostat and by the Australian Bureau of Statistics; Ministry of Labour (Japan); 1996 Census, Statistics Canada; Current Population Survey, U.S. Census.

Table 6

Main Trends in International Migration

Chart I.12. Proportion of foreigners in total unemployment relative to their share in the labour force
1999-2000 average



Note: Foreign-born population for Australia, Canada, Hungary and the United States.

August 1999 for Australia; 1996 for Canada; March 1998 for the United States; 1999 for Hungary and 1998 for the Slovak Republic.

Sources: Labour force surveys (Eurostat and Australian Bureau of Statistics); 1996 Census (Statistics Canada); Current population survey (US Bureau of the Census).

Table 7: Statistical data regarding asylum seekers and refugees in Greece (1996-2001)

Year	Applications	Processed	Rejected	Asylum granted	Percentage of successful applications	Asylum granted for humanitarian reasons	Total	Percentage of successful applications in total
1996	1.572	634		139	22%	-	-	-
1997	4.376	2.346	2.216	130	5,5%	94	224	9,5%
1998	2.953	3.904	3.748	156	3,9%	287	443	11,3%
1999	1.528	1.716	1.570	146	8,5%	407	553	32,2%
2000	3.083	1.970	1.748	222	11,2%	175	397	20,1%
2001	5.499	1.312	1.165	147	11,2%	148	295	22,4%

Source: UN, Research on Refugees, 2002 from INE Website

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