

## **The Greek Migration Phenomenon.**

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### 1. Introduction.

This article will examine the Greek migration phenomenon focusing, in particular on immigration in Greece.

Before examine immigration, some comments about the general argument should be underlined clarifying the theoretical framework on which this analysis is based.

### 2. A perspective of migration

The most convenient definition of immigration is that immigration refers to movements of people from one state to another. Due to the fact that there exist multiple national states which constitute the international context, immigration also means international movements of people across states. Starting from the above point, it can be argued that immigration can be defined by some general elements which characterise the international social

organisation. Thus, the latter constitute the general social framework into which

immigration takes place and consequently the framework that immigration should be examined. In this respect, immigration refers to social relations

among people as their relations are mediated by social and historical entities such as state, market, nation etc<sup>i</sup>.

However, these general

concepts and entities have acquired a specific meaning or they are expressed in a unique way in each national context. A fact which means that migration as well is constructed in a particular way because immigration is a part of each national context and its organisation is expressed in and through immigration<sup>ii</sup> footnote{Immigration potentially is shaped by the general entities but since international issues can

be revealed in national territories, immigration is formulated in a similar

and at the same time in a different way in each national context.}

In other words, there is not a permanent and static social image and practice towards immigration but

they are changing through the interaction of immigration and society.

Concomitantly, in these terms, immigration acquires another dimension that of social practice or social struggle against

the existing social organisation in international and national contexts;

a struggle which is bound to appear in national context.

### 3. Structure of this migration study.

This analysis of the Greek migration phenomenon starts with a brief presentation of aspects of migration which have prevailed in Greek society mainly during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and then turns its attention to immigration phenomenon. In order to understand it, it examines the organisation of Greek society focusing particularly on the role of the state, on the process of construction of a homogeneous nation, on the attitudes and practice of Greeks and on the relationship between state and nationals-citizens and among citizens-nationals<sup>iii</sup>.

\footnote{Despite the fact that the above elements are being shaped by international, regional and national conditions, for the sake of this analysis they are considered to be as static.}

The next step is the investigation of the relationship between this social framework and immigration, that is the ways that immigration is being constructed with a specific meaning and practice. Finally, this study will refer to Greek immigration policy and its influences from the participation of Greece in the EU.

### 4. Migration Aspects in Greece.

It can be argued that migration in its different aspects has been a permanent pattern in Greek society. The first and most prevalent aspect of migration is that Greece is a country with along tradition of emigration. Since Greece's establishment as an independent state(1830) and the consolidation of this state within its present borders, emigration has been an important issue.

In the 1880s, the emigrants destinations were predominantly to the United States<sup>iv</sup>

\footnote{As Emke-Poulopoulou points out in the period of 1890-1920 almost 600,000 Greeks emigrated, an average of about 1 in 5 of the population, or of 11.9 \% in 1920s population(5,000,000).Emke-Poulopoulou (1986) {\em `Problems related to emigration and to return migration'} Athens: IMEO-EDHM (in Greek).}

In the 1920's a reduction in the numbers of emigrants occurred together with a change of destination away from the USA to Australia and Canada due to reasons such as the world economic recession, the USA's imposition of quotas on immigration and the white Australia policy after World War II, which wanted to populate Australia with European populations. During the 1930s, the emigration rate increased again with a tendency towards European countries.

After the Civil War in 1949<sup>v</sup>

<sup>v</sup>Due to the Civil War

and the defeat of communists in 1949, about 56,000 people migrated as refugees or expelled in the Eastern and Central European Communist countries. See I.K. Hassiotis (1993) {\em `A review of modern Greek diaspora'} Thessaloniki: Vaniis (in Greek) pp. 147-149.}, a categorisation among citizens into those who possessed a `national conviction' and those who did not, with the latter to be excluded

from the definition of citizens resulted to a distinction between the notions of `ethnos' and of `people'<sup>vi</sup>

<sup>vi</sup>See for this

distinction in the Greek Constitution N. Alivizatos (1983) {\em ` `Ethnos' against `People' after 1940'} in D.G. Tsoulos (ed)(1983) {\em `Hellenism and Hellenic Identity'} Athens: Hestia (in Greek).}.

Under these conditions,

a large part of the Greek population was excluded from political participation and economic integration under a very authoritarian state. The wages were very low, depressed by high levels of unemployment and underemployment in which the former was 6.7 % in 1961 or 238,000 unemployed to 3,638,000 employed and the average of underemployment was 17.1 % or 634,000<sup>vii</sup>.

Furthermore, the economic expansion in the European countries in the 1950s and 1960s created economic opportunities which the disadvantaged Greek economy needed to respond to. Greece needed foreign exchange because of the existence of a deficit on the balance of payments and the delay of the process of industrialisation meant that emigration could provide remittances in order to cover the deficit and also money for investment which was seen as an important element for economic development together with merchant navy and tourism.

Remittances have had a great importance for the

Greek economy a factor which

made Greek authorities reluctant to promote a considerable influx of returnees<sup>viii</sup>.

Even though there has been a decline of remittances, they still play a crucial role in covering the deficit of balance of payments, according to the Bank of Greece:

- a) in 1971, the deficit was: 1,300,000 USD and emigration remittances of 460,000 USD (over 36 % of deficit)
- b) in 1981, the deficit was 6,697,000 USD and emigration remittances of 1,081,000 USD (16.1 %)
- c) in 1991, the deficit was 12,307,000 USD, emigration remittances of 2,165,000 USD (17.6 %)

In this context, the state was involved in the post war emigration and governments encouraged the migratory movements to European countries. The first destination country was Belgium but as the migration continued during the 1960s and 1970s, the largest proportion of Greek emigrants became concentrated in Germany. A series of bilateral agreements were signed between the German government and individual countries in Western Europe such as France, Belgium, Germany and Holland<sup>x</sup> between 1968-69, 145,000 people emigrated, a number equivalent to the total increase of the Greek population. Between 1958-1976, 1,000,000 Greeks left for Western Europe, a tenth of the population.

Another aspect of migration which is dominant in Greece is diaspora migration. The Greek diaspora started when Greece was still a part of the Ottoman Empire and played a crucial role in Greece' independence. In the late of 18<sup>th</sup> century, Greeks abroad developed a mercantile empire which included areas of Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans.

During the

19<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Greek communities abroad increased and expanded especially in Egypt and Russia.

Depending on political and economic circumstances the ideological content of the relationship between the Greek state as the homeland and Greeks in diaspora has been formed differently. Before 1922, the focus was on the liberation and union of Minor Asia, a part of which belonged to Turkey, with Greece. After the so-called

`Catastrophe'<sup>x</sup> in Asia Minor, the main feature

was Greece's territorial integrity, through good diplomatic relations.

Especially after World War II, the politics of the Greek State was to promote the view that the interests of Greeks abroad should be identical with Greek state interests and should legitimised the Greek state

as the centre of decision making under the

ideology of national unity<sup>xi</sup>.

Recently, the Greek state has recognised Greeks abroad as citizens or permanent residents of foreign countries with different political interests, and it has been trying to encourage close relations with them in the terms of Greek cultural and ethnic ties<sup>xii</sup>.

This change of perspective does not mean that the Greek state does not want to mobilise politically the diaspora<sup>xiii</sup> especially those

Greeks in the USA and Australia<sup>xiv</sup> in order for them to support the choices and courses of action of the 'homeland'<sup>xv</sup>.

The third aspect of migration on which state policies have concentrated is return migration especially in 1970s and in 1980s.

The returnees were mainly from the intra-European post war migration who were poor people contrary to the images of connection of emigration and wealth (or the previous returnees from the USA) since it was a movement of workers from the Southern to Northern part of Europe. The number of returnees increased and out weighted the emigration rate due to repatriation programmes which involved the cooperation between Greek and European governments providing economic assistance for resettlement as the result of the implementation of a stricter immigration policy by Western European countries.

The political expectations of Southern European states to use the skills and wealth of returnees in order to assist indigenous economic development proved to be over ambitious. Particularly in Greek case, the reasons were the lower developmental level, the different structure of Greek industry and working conditions in conjunction with the facts that the majority of workers remained unskilled and relatively poor, or returned in ill health or old age<sup>xvi</sup>.

In addition, returnees integrated in the Greek society, insisted on occupational independence and preferred to allocate their savings to living and consumption activities, factors which led to the reinforcement of the special characteristics of Greek social and economic structure<sup>xvii</sup>.

A last comment on the aspects of migration which have prevailed in Greece until recently is the case of refugees. Despite the fact that since the 1960s, a number of organisations such as International Organisation for Migration, World Council of Churches, International Catholic Migration Commission and the Tolstoy Foundation have set up offices in Greece in order both to give assistance to asylum seekers and refugees and to prepare the move of those with de facto refugee status in third countries, refugee issue has not attracted any social attention in Greece.

Some exceptions were, first the influx of refugees but with Greek origin who came to Greece as result of the displacement and exchange populations among the Balkan countries in the 1920s<sup>xviii</sup>. and second was the former Greek political refugees due to the 1946-1949 civil war who were free to repatriate after 1982. According to Glitsos<sup>xix</sup> refugees of this category number about 40,000 and it seemed to constitute a public issue in Greek society. Generally, it can be argued that asylum seeker and refugee migration has not been included as an important political issue in migration process in Greece, but only as an aspect of the illegal migration.

## 5. Immigration into Greece.

In the late 1960s and 70s, a series of changes in the migration issue occurred as Greece started being gradually transformed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. During the same period, the rate of emigration was outstripped by the rate of return migration. Additionally, a change in emigration composition was noted, that is, the emigrants consisted of Greek technicians, who worked for Greek construction companies in the Middle East for a limited period. Simultaneously, an influx of immigrants, as asylum seekers, from Arabian countries, mainly Christian Orthodox, settled in the metropolitan area of Athens.

The first influxes of migrants came to Greece as recruited migrant workers at the suggestion of Greek Federation of Industries (SEB) which noted that some sectors of the economy suffered labour shortages that had developed mainly in chemical industries<sup>xx</sup> but also in agriculture, in clothing and metal industries<sup>xxi</sup>. Successive governments followed the above suggestion and allowed immigrants to enter and work according to labour market needs.

In 1974-1975, some 20,000 foreign workers arrived in Greece from Morocco, Egypt, Philippines, Pakistan and Ethiopia. The Federation of

Greek Industries saw a controlled influx of foreign workers as an essential and necessary element in order to increase productivity and achieve faster economic growth in Greece. On the other hand, the governmental support for a large influx of returnees from Western European countries was not seen as an appropriate policy because of the difference of wage levels between Greece and the other countries and it was against the interests of employers who needed a cheap and unskilled labour force<sup>xxii</sup>.

During the 1970s the immigration issue was absent from any public debate and both government and society seemed not to be aware of the presence of immigrants in the country.

In the next decade, the influx of immigrants stabilised whilst public opinion focused on the Filipinos domestic workers from the aspect of their excessively low wages and associated them with middle class people and as a symbol of social prestige.

Moreover, Greek society developed an interest in Polish immigrants but exclusively combined with a general interest in the political situation in Poland as a socialist country and not with their status as immigrants.

Simultaneously, immigration also involved immigrants from European and North American countries in Greece but these migration movements have never been an issue in public debate.

The majority of immigrants in Greece were 'legal' which means that their entry and stay or work were according to the Greek legal requirements. There was a number of illegal migrants but it was low compared to the following years<sup>xxiii</sup>.

According to Lynardos- Rulmond in 1987 there was a tendency for numbers of migrants to grow, while at the same time, the number of issued work permits was reduced<sup>xxiv</sup>.

The year of 1989 was the year of awakening on the part of both Greek society and governments -even tacitly- that Greece is a country which received immigrants and the dominant trend is to be an immigration country, a country which is going to attract mainly 'illegal immigrants'. The above realisation was a result of the collapse of the 'communist' regimes in the Central and Eastern Europe and connected with this was the sudden influx of considerable numbers of Albanians most of whom came, stayed and worked in Greece without acquiring the legal documents.

## 6. Elements of Greek social formation.

Viewing migration not as independent social phenomenon but as a social phenomenon which is determined by the broader social and historical context, this section will focus on dominant elements which characterise the organisation of Greek society. The examination of the this organisation will assist the understanding of immigration as a phenomenon which is being constructed and depended on the specific national context. At the same time, immigration can be seen as a social phenomenon which questions the image and the practice of the organisation of Greek society. In other words, immigration is seen to reflect the function of the existent organisation of social relations, its reproduction and its changing.

After Greece's independence in 1830, there were some characteristics which functioned as structural constraints in the economic and political organisation of Greek society. Greece was an agricultural society with a 'relatively inflated service sector - a large part of which consisted of a huge state apparatus'<sup>xxv</sup> which provided seemingly unlimited job opportunities for rural overpopulation. Moreover, clientelism - hierarchical interpersonal local networks - persisted within the institutional framework of Greece as a modern state<sup>xxvi</sup>. In sum, factors, such as the involvement of foreign powers in the establishment of the Greek state, the existence of the Greek diaspora outside the boundaries of Greece and the importance of both foreign and diaspora capital in Greece and concomitantly the dominant role of the state in the Greek social formation, were interwoven and influenced the process of organisation of Greek society.

In addition, Greek national consciousness, simultaneously, developed and was strictly connected with the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Church within the context of the rise of nationalism and national Churches in the Balkan area. Consequently, Orthodoxy became a component of the Greek nation-state and the definition of 'Greekness' as a collective identity, a criterion which divided the Greeks, 'us' from alien, 'them'<sup>xxvii</sup>.

The decade of the 1920s, was the decisive period for the establishment of the capitalist mode of production in Greece. However, the dominance of the capitalist mode of production in the economy was not a result of the emergence of a dominant industrial bourgeoisie but was based on the role of Greek state policies which reoriented them after the 1929 economic crisis towards industrial capital, with the state playing a crucial role in the general management of the economy.

At the same time, the small family land ownership in the Greek countryside and the influx of Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s which meant cheap labour in urban areas interrelating with the import of foreign funds in the form of government loans and the private investments in public work, led the Greek economy to experience a growth of finance and industrial capital. However, the rural and urban working classes failed to organise themselves in a politically autonomous manner but they were drawn into an intra bourgeois type of conflict which kept them politically organised in a clientelistic hierarchical manner<sup>xxviii</sup>.

During the interwar period and after the Second World War and the Civil War the transition from oligarchic to mass politics resulted in a party oriented clientelism and the emergence of a 'horizontal' political organisation which weakened patronage networks<sup>xxix</sup>.

In this context the state had to legitimate its power in order to achieve long term political integration and reproduction of class character because the 'aggressive nationalism' before 1922 and the anti-communism after the civil war as ideological mechanisms had offered just a short-term legitimisation of state power and political integration and they were exhausted.

In order to achieve the above goal, the state had to orient itself towards economic development through the process of 'industrialisation' which essentially and necessarily was dependent upon private and foreign investments.

However, the political and economic circumstances did not permit the attraction of productive investments from the wealthiest part of the bourgeois class.

Conditions such as the political instability after the Civil War, the process of economic reconstruction of Europe, the profiteering character of

the domestic bourgeois class and the dominant position of ship owners in the Greek ruling class, led to investments in international sea transportation which was more profitable than industry. Therefore, all the above factors, together with the limited internal market, delayed the process of industrialisation in Greece and made the state take an active role in economic development by raising loans and by expanding the public sector<sup>xxx</sup>.

Despite emigration and the dominance of foreign capital in the 1950s and 1960s, which led a significant shift away from traditional industries towards the capitalist-intensive chemical-metallurgical sectors, elements of the precapitalist mode persisted<sup>xxxi</sup> in several forms of petit commodity production and small agricultural units<sup>xxxii</sup>. On the other hand, massive urbanisation transformed small rural landowners into petit bourgeois who still retained their landed property while most of them found jobs in the tertiary sector<sup>xxxiii</sup>. Migration to urban areas resulted in a decline of the extended family and the dominance of the nuclear family, while attachment and self identity with their place of origin remained. Simultaneously, an enormous emigration of workers to factories in Western Europe occurred and the women gradually sought employment outside the home as wage workers<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

Moreover, the fragmented and traditional forms of representation of interests did not lead to a class structured social formation but the state was still based on clientelist forms of representation while the highly centralised and authoritarian state imposed top-down solution of social conflicts<sup>xxxv</sup>.

During this period, and despite the failure of structural changes the rates of economic growth were impressive but they were narrowly based on large scale emigration, the merchant marine remittances and income from tourism. These developments led to a high level of social mobility and the reduction of social inequalities. An additional factor, which contributed to social mobility, was the continued expansion of the public sector as a mechanism for employment and social consolidation, based on the

political patronage assisted  
social mobility<sup>xxxvi</sup>.

After the collapse of the  
military junta in 1974, Greek politics entered  
a new era towards democratisation but the structural characteristics  
of Greek social formation constrained the attempts of political leaders to  
promote the  
'rational  
development' of 'modernisation'.

A key factor of the organisation of the Greek society  
has been the relationship  
between individual and collective values and norms. In these terms,  
the individual or family social behaviour is not oriented towards the  
general good in the context of institutionalised and binding  
constraints<sup>xxxvii</sup>.

This is a result of  
the historical development of Greek social formation which determines  
the contemporary values and norms which prevail in Greek society  
both from the individual and collective aspects. Consequently,  
on the one hand, there is a democratic legal framework, the  
separation of powers is provided by the Greek constitution while a formal  
distinction is made between public and private spheres. Simultaneously, a  
highly centralised state meant that there are no laws other than  
those adopted or codified by the state and of course, there are  
no rights other than those granted by the State<sup>xxxviii</sup>.

On the other hand, the personalised (both vertically and horizontally)  
relation between the state and citizen and the existence of a consequent  
weak civil society - since the voluntary associations and interest  
groups have been subunits of the state and most of them 'established'  
or activated either as extensions of the political parties or have strong  
party affiliations<sup>xxxix</sup> - lead the persistence of  
'particularistic practices and formalism'<sup>xi</sup>.

In other words, governments, political parties and politicians inevitably  
compete in order to enhance their power and to extend the clientele<sup>xii</sup>  
while the individuals  
consider laws not as 'impartial' and 'binding and respectful  
rules' but as 'impediments' which they have to confront and  
transcend since citizens can not exert influence collectively towards the  
state decision making<sup>xiii</sup>.

In this context, each party when it governs is the embodiment  
of the organic whole, namely the Nation. The state does not  
separate from society and the former is itself the protector  
of the social whole of which the individual is an integral part due to  
the lack of distinction between private and public spheres<sup>xiii</sup>.

A series of individualistic practices indicate the prevalence of the informal organisation of the social and economic relations and the resistance of individuals to accept and respect the contractual values and ignore collective norms. The insistence on self-employment and the preference for public employment are manifestations of a resistance against dependent labour forms and the concomitant negation of the market rationality<sup>xliv</sup>.

Furthermore, employment in the public sector is closely connected with the 'fetishisation' of education<sup>xlv</sup>.

The high level of education in Greece, where an open and democratic educational system is adopted, 'constitutes the necessary formal mechanism for providing the wider population with the means to postulate for selective political protection'<sup>xlvi</sup>.

Moreover, the preference and the need for multiple employment leads every employed person to participate in more than one position in social stratification and consequently to have multiple interests - a fact which overthrows the rules of labour discipline<sup>xlvii</sup>.

Therefore, informal practices prevail in the Greek social formation with the parallel economy to be estimated at 30-40% of GNP, which shows that the involvement of Greeks in informal economic activity is widespread in all social classes.

Vergopoulos argues that the

'parallel economy (informal)

does not result from a shrinking state role but from the reaction of society to a state that despite its announcements of deregulation proves to be increasingly patronising and asphyxiating in every day life.<sup>xlviii</sup>

However, it is interesting to point out that the 'secondary' or 'invisible' activities in Greece do not connect with marginalised social categories but they are strategies which are adopted by individuals and families in order to maximise their income.

Therefore, within this context the prevailing moral codes are consistent with free-rider practices<sup>xlix</sup>.

The above strategies permit individuals and families to integrate in the Greek social formation and to participate actively in the process of social reproduction adopting on the one hand, the market rationality which means to maximise their profit and on the other hand, to pursue

'irrational' practices, which means making use of networks and personal affiliations<sup>l</sup>.

Simultaneously, the weak development of welfare and social policies encourages the production and reproduction of traditional practices since the

satisfaction of demands for social consumption is not provided by the state.

For example, the lack of housing policy encourages dependence on family housing, or the lack of a caring social policy for children, the ill and old people is met by the reproduction of the traditional role of women<sup>ii</sup>.

The preceding characteristics of Greek social formation are also related to the issue of the construction of the ethnic identity of Greeks concerning the way that Greeks see themselves as an ethnic community.

In Balkan societies, contrary to the North-Western European societies, the establishment of the state was preceded by the development of the nationalist movement (ethnic consciousness) having as result the lack of established economic, political and administrative mechanisms as limits in the nationalist context of the construction of the 'imagined community'<sup>lii</sup>.

On the one hand the complicated nature of Greek national identity originated from glorious past of Ancient Greece and its symbolic role

as a founder of democracy. This encouraged foreign Western powers to assist in the creation of an independent Greek state. However the doubts about the continuity of modern with

ancient Greece,

led to 'nascent' Greek

nationalism to be centered around the nation's capacity to represent its cultural present as the legitimate heir of Hellenic

glory in ways that ensured that only Greeks should be capable of 'really' and 'authentically' representing the spirit of antiquity, namely in a sense, to focus on the issue of historical continuity of Hellenism<sup>liii</sup>.

In the process of constructing the national identity on the grounds of historical integrity not only the language but also the Orthodox religious tradition

were seen as means in order to create

a 'brotherless' cultural artifact on the grounds that not only were Greeks and Christians breaking free from Ottoman Muslims but they are 'the only major

non-Slavic population of the Orthodox faith'<sup>liiv</sup>.

On the other hand, Greece had to be opposed to oriental traditions which were

results of the fact that Greece was a part of the Ottoman empire for four hundred years.

In this context, the construction of the Greek national identity, the core

Greekness - adopting both anti-western and anti-oriental forms<sup>iv</sup>  
- was defined in terms of blood lineage and  
descent excluding  
non-Greeks as incapable of gaining  
access to the  
eternal and immortal essence of 'Greekness'.

Under these conditions,  
the identity of individuals is not defined by 'a coherent  
normative system' but as an integral part of personalised social  
relations including both integrating and excluding relations.  
Therefore, 'all forms of social behaviour are normatively  
relativised and effectively supplemented by 'parallel'  
norms, activities and projects of all sorts<sup>lvi</sup>  
while a tendency towards 'reactive nationalism' is apparent<sup>lvii</sup>.

In conclusion, the above specific elements of Greek society  
determine the context  
in which the immigration phenomenon has emerged and shaped.  
It interweaves with broader international conditions  
influencing and determining the form and  
content of immigration in Greece, constructing the prevailing issues which  
formulate immigration policy and construct the immigration debate in  
general.

## 7. Immigration and the Greek social context.}

Before exploring the relationship between structural characteristics  
of Greek social formation and immigration's prevailing aspects,  
it is necessary to point out that the dominant dimension on  
which the  
public debate on immigration focuses is on the 'illegality of immigrants'.  
Illegality which is connected first with illegal entry either  
under immigrant's initiative or in terms of illegal trade and second  
with illegal stay or work. In this context, from the very beginning  
it could be said that before any immigrant came in Greece, the  
immigrant was seen as an offender who breaks the Greek law legitimising the  
mobilisation of police and repressive mechanisms.  
Bearing in mind that almost all countries are involved in the migration  
process depending on international and national circumstances,  
the  
question which concerns Greece, is why illegal immigration is the  
prevailing form of immigration and how it is connected  
with the structural social characteristics, excluding factors such as

external circumstances, the geographical position of Greece and 'common-sense' arguments such as 'open borders'.

Due to the industrialisation of the 1960s and the consequent close collaboration of state with the foreign capital and the state's total control of the Trade Unions, the first influx of migrants consisted of recruited immigrant workers who were employed by the capital intensive chemical industries.

The application of the 'recruitment' according to the 'labour needs' was influenced by the German experience which has been also dominant in the early formulation of Greek political and legal organisation and later formulation of legal regulation towards immigrants in internal modified form.

The influx of those 'unfree' migrant workers who never became an issue in public debate

due to the short period of industrial take-off, the consequent absence of a working class and the complete control of the Trade Unions by the state at this period, and due to the fact that the majority of those migrants left Greece.

It can be argued

that the market logic and rationality prevails in social relations but also there are other normative systems which function informally and are associated with family, kinship, patronage and clientelist relations. The characteristic of these relations is that their economic role is interwoven with the moral, political and power roles.

In this context,

the coexistence of traditional and modern characteristics, or better the Greek specific organisation of social relations,

-described in the previous parts- led to the prevalence of illegal migration in Greece.

The fact that there had been certain circumstances internally and externally which intensified the 'numbers' of migrants who entered and stayed in Greece does not invalidate the above argument.

It is important to note that there have been attempts to

'modernise' the Greek social formation but the traditional structures are both adaptable and persistent and so have resisted all attempts at reform right up to 1997.

Concerning the economic behaviour of individuals in Greece, it is characterised

by maximisation of self-interest but in a peculiar way, that is, without managing to conform with internalised collective norms.

The high level of a parallel and informal economy, the existence of multiple employment and the resistance to the dependent labour forms in association with a considerable level of small family based firms and the existence of agricultural and tourist sections are factors which can explain why the dominant form of migration is going to be the illegal one especially as far as the employment of immigrants or asylum seekers is concerned. Moreover, the underdevelopment of welfare policies in connection with the increasing participation of women in waged employment- which means the erosion of traditional gender roles or more responsibilities for women within and outside family- can be connected with the rising of employment of domestic immigrant workers with 'informal' status and reproduction of traditional roles of gender which means these immigrant workers are also women immigrants.

It is important to mention that the involvement in parallel and informal activities is considered as an acceptable form of behaviour and practice in Greece. As Tsoukalas argues the 'primary' and 'secondary' labour markets - before immigration - was not connected with a differentiated form of social integration and divisions but the participation in the 'secondary' labour market has been the result of conscious individual and family strategies in order to maximise their income and security. It has been a way of social integration of Greeks despite the economic and political problems. In this sense, it is a paradox but it can be argued that the informal status of immigrant workers can be seen as part of a process of their adjustment in the Greek society. However, the influx of immigrants and their involvement in these activities has created the conditions for a meaningful distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' labour market being similar to those of advanced capitalist countries. In this context the 'secondary' labour market is closely connected with immigrants who participate in an 'absolutely free labour market' which functions exclusively on the regulations of the mechanisms of the market but without any protection of immigrant workers.

Additionally, the weak development of civil society has as consequence that a social movement towards the protection of immigrant's rights can emerge - and there are such organisations - but it cannot exert effective pressure on political decision-making consolidating immigrants' rights.

It is more possible that the clientelist relationships are activated also in cases of immigrants and reproduce the personal affiliations particularly between employer and immigrant as employee, developing a personal contact between them instead of obeying formal norms and regulations. The result can be either the legalisation of immigrant status and cancellation of his/her expulsion or avoiding paying immigrants their deserved wages or avoiding paying penalties to authorities.

Under these conditions, it is obvious that irrespective of the reasons for immigration and the status of immigrants entry in Greece, both immigrants' and refugees' participation in 'informal' activities is a convenient way in order for the social structures to be reproduced. Especially, under the conditions of economic stagnation and rising unemployment. Irrespective of the internal needs or external factors, the existence of cheap illegal immigrant labour has given the opportunity to some firms and sections of the economy to sustain themselves but also for the state to relax its control over the trade unions and on the levels of labour wages, resulting in the avoidance of social tensions and crises in a process of reorganisation of social relations. The Greek social formation, interwoven with a contingency of increasing number of migrants has resulted in emphasising illegal immigration despite the fact this is not the only kind of immigration in Greece. In the official language, illegal migration is the only kind of immigration, a fact which equates every immigrant with illegality into the public debate. However, the focus on this particular kind of immigration has also intensified some structural features of Greek social organisation such as the parallel economy, clientelism (personal relations and affiliations), deficiencies in the protection of rights and the low level of the welfare state.

Another dimension of immigration which is related to the ways that immigration is formulated in Greece is the construction of Greek national identity. This is an ongoing process and not something which has been

established once and for all and it is affected by the entry and stay of immigrants - who are also bearers of a national identity.

This combination reveals some aspects of the Greek national identity, which are obstacles to accepting immigrants as equal members of the Greek society (citizens) and prevents immigrants to acquire 'Greekness' by definition.

Immigrants, irrespectively of differences among them, constitute a 'category' as 'foreigners' and also Greeks become a 'group', a collectivity which is defined exclusively by nationality.

The construction of a 'brotherless', Hellenic-Christian nation has created an 'imagined community' which is able to be reproduced by blood and in these terms any person who is not of Greek descent is by definition incapable of being a part of the Greek nation.

Thus, irrespectively of how long he/she has lived in Greek society, he/she remains a 'foreigner'.

At the same time, it is obvious that any person with a Greek origin irrespectively of whether he/she was born and have lived in another society for generations, remains Greek.

In this sense, any immigrant in Greek society was -before coming to Greece - and remains 'foreigner' even though he/she manages to acquire officially the Greek citizenship. Under these conditions, the cultural characteristics have been based on biological endowments<sup>lviii</sup>

and have established a process of both inclusion and exclusion.

In this context, the process of homogenisation of the Greek population which took place partly through the exchange of populations between countries in the Balkans, created the image that Greek society excluded foreigners while a part of ideology of nationalism was also based on the divisions between patriots and traitors with the latter being equated with 'communists'. The above process had the aim of achieving a common identity and sense of belongingness. However, the influx of immigrants into Greek society, has provoked the ideology of nationalism with an emphasis on the exclusionary issues in order to renew the communitarian and solidarity feelings between nationals but at the same time,

to justify different positions of social groups and categories in the social structure.

Exclusionary norms are inherent in every nationalist ideology and in the Greek case, they are linked with the idea of 'self identity' and they affect the process of the construction of individual and collective behaviour towards immigrants. On the one hand, an immigrant can be accepted as a worker, a friend and a person in need on a daily basis, and as an exception of the broad category of immigrant. However, on the other hand, immigrants as a social group are not accepted collectively, in social and political terms, and can be seen as a 'threat' and problem for Greek society as a whole.

It is obvious that there is an inconsistency between individual and collective behaviour and also a tendency that the ideology of nationalism from the aspect of the exclusion of immigrants from the Greek society is not based on a coherent argument but is based on emotional or 'imagined' features of a national uniqueness, depending on circumstances.

However, this is an ongoing process which is combined with the questions which the social awareness of influx of immigrants poses concerning cultural qualities such as a traditional hospitality, non-racist attitudes towards foreigners and the existence and the rights of minorities in Greece and it is possible to compose a coherent argument for some social groups which resists the ambivalent nationalist ideology.

#### 8. The role of the state in migration through the formulation of migration policies.

It is very useful to examine the logic and the practice of Greek state in constructing migration and the ways that its function is expressed in migration because in general the state is the mediator, the legitimate sovereign power which constructs categories and groups and intervene as negotiator in arranging their relations. At the same time, the existent function of the state is questioning through migration, revealing the contradictions and conflicts in the role of the state in Greek society. The role of the state in migration can be explored through the investigation of circumstances in association with the prevailing issues of migration in Greek society as the background on which migration policies are formulated and implemented.

Until the 1980s, the Greek migration policy was concentrated on

emigration, return migration and diaspora. The adoption of short term recruitment labour programmes as well as the arrangements of re-migration of refugees in transit in Greece to third countries can be seen as migration policies were to ensure temporariness of migrants and asylum-seekers. Moreover, they can be explained as facilitators for informal activities and relations exclusively in economic terms.

After the dictatorship and in the process of the establishment and the consolidation of democracy, and achievement of a wider social consensus, political parties and successive governments have developed a 'new sort of clientelism' which is based on party-government-state with the government arranging salaries and wages by patronising its clients<sup>lix</sup>. In this context, successive governments have been tolerant of the presence of the informal market and through the influx of migrant labour without any kind of bargaining power, the state could create a downward pressure on wages and control more effectively the already state controlled trade unions.

So, the seasonal needs of sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture, tourism and shipping industries have been met by the temporary stop of migrants in Greece and the survival of small firms could be extended in the conditions of increasing of competition.

Furthermore, the ideology of nationalism has been constructed on the homogeneity of Greeks in terms of religion and ethnic origins with the resulting marginalisation of groups which cannot identify themselves with these two criteria.

Therefore, minority groups cannot be recipients of state's preferential distribution since state cannot mediate into the society to see itself as a multi-ethnic one.

Particularly,

the dominance of the emigration issue in Greece followed the general perception that post-war migration is a movement from the 'periphery' to the 'centre' which is based on the economic needs of the advanced industrial countries.

Under this perspective, not only politics in Greece but also theoretical research focused intensely on emigration issues giving little or no attention to the simultaneous transformation of

Greece into an immigration country.

Consequently,

neither have the immigration phenomenon been studied systematically nor have immigration policies been adopted in Greece until recently. In addition, the extent of emigration which involved almost every family in Greece

had as consequence the prevalence of an emotional aspect of emigration which refers to the painful experience of family members' separation and an image of 'emigrant' as a suffering person.

Thus, emigration has got an emotional and not a rational dimension in Greek society.

Furthermore,

The collapse of 'communist regimes in central and Eastern European countries, the war in former Yugoslavia and generally the upsurge of nationalism in the Balkans had a negative impact on the reaction of European community countries towards immigrants from these countries. Moreover, this situation has created fear and insecurity for rise of ethnic and religious conflicts and for a potential change of existing borders in Balkans.

The above factors in connection with the conditions which are determined by the construction of the European Community such as the tendency for social and political integration within the EC, the realisation of the transformation of all the Southern European Community member-states into immigration countries with their vulnerability to illegal immigration from the Eastern European countries, African and Asian countries have influenced migration policies of member-states within the EC. So, the Northern European counterparts put pressure to the Southern ones in order for the latter to prove that they are able to control their borders and fight against illegal migration protecting the European Community territory.

In sum, all these factors constitute the basis on which

Greek immigration policy develops in authoritarian terms. Under these conditions,

Greek migration policy is characterised by draconian measures<sup>lx</sup> and an extended exercise of internal and external controls towards illegal and legal migrants.

However, it can

be said that the inconsistency of implementation of the above migration policies has been apparent since the state mechanisms on the one hand, legitimate and implement the authoritarian policies against migrants through 'the police operation clean sweep' action without succeeding stated goal or purpose, that is to curb illegal migration especially from Albania.

On the other hand, the formulation of draconian measures and controls in connection with the refusal of governments to accept the reality of increase of

migration or at least existence of migrants within Greek society, governments permit the formulation of social relations on informal basis, outside the institutional context.

It can be said that the Greek government migration policies<sup>lxi</sup> have intended to harmonise its policies with other member states and to enter into the Schengen Group through strict legislation and extended police operations and the external and internal controls on migrants including the 'operations sweep-clean' and not permit migrants to re-locate themselves in the EC member states. Furthermore, it has been intended not to encourage permanent settlement of migrants, except for those with Greek origin, to involve migrants in the employment in the informal economy disabling migrants and nationals to control their actions through typical institutional procedures. Finally, it can be argued that migration especially from Albania is perceived as a part of foreign policy and the new legislation ignoring the majority of illegal migrants without application of any legalisation programme is connected with the bilateral relations between Greece and Albania not only in terms of the Greek minority of Albania but also in the terms of broader political and economic relations between them.

Concerning the achievement of the above goals, it can be argued that the Greek migration policy constitutes a part of EU policy, in which EU citizens have the right to move freezing out the 'aliens'. It adopts authoritarian policies and exercises extensive controls over migrants' entry and stay in Greece, while it sees asylum-seekers as potential economic migrants. Simultaneously, the concentration of migration policies as far as illegal migration is concerned on police and army action have created a hostile environment for the relationships between nationals and migrants, in which migrants have been seen as criminals and a potential 'threat' to Public Order. Moreover, the state's mediation has permitted the employer's control on illegal migrant workers since the former have potentially been able to denounce illegal migrants breaking up the informal basis of their relations accordingly to their atomised interests without any legal consequences for employers' involvement in illegal activities.

In these terms, migration policies have led to the development of relations between nationals and migrants exclusively in the market without imposing any rational rules in their relations. As a consequence, migrants have been exposed to official and unofficial arbitrariness and marginalisation while irrational behaviour and practice has emerged in the Greek society intensifying the limits of the function of the extra-institutionalised social and political system.

In sum, it can be said that state migration policies have created the conditions under which nationals and migrants, have not been able to develop social relations.

#### 9. Categorisation of migrants through Greek migration policies.

As a result of the formulation and implementation of the migration policies

migrants in Greek territory are categorised according to the way by which they enter into

Greece, and according to their origin.

Both criteria determine immigrants status and their rights. In

addition, there is also a categorisation of Greeks abroad according to official terminology in connection with the different formulation of state policy

towards them. The

criteria are based on where they live and on how long they live abroad.

Firstly, the general categories of aliens are EC citizens, immigrants from other advanced capitalist

countries, legal and illegal immigrants from other countries (African, Asian, Eastern European), asylum-seekers and refugees.

Secondly, Greeks abroad can be categorised according to state terminology<sup>lxii</sup>

as follows

1. An emigrant is a Greek who has lived abroad more than one year.

2. (S)he who is a permanent resident in a foreign country (Apodemos) and

3. (S)he of Greek descent, a patriot which means second or more generations residence in a foreign country with dual or foreign nationality.

The categories which have priority and preference according to the Greek Constitution are EC citizens and those of Greek descent.

The Greek Constitution also gives

preference to Greeks from Eastern European countries, who can return to

Greece regardless of whether they were political refugees or patrials (they are also eligible for Greek citizenship).

In addition, immigrants from advanced industrial countries do not have

particular problems to work and settle in the Greek territory.

Contrary to the other groups of immigrants, they are welcome by the state because the majority are highly qualified technicians or executives who are

employed by large companies regardless of competition with natives in this category of jobs.

The categories of immigrants which have been considered as problematic by the government immigration

policy are those from Eastern Europe,

(excluding these of Greek

origin), African and Asian countries, and asylum-seekers and refugees.

### 9.1 Legal migrants.

Legal immigrants<sup>lxiii</sup> are regarded

as

'guest workers' that is as

foreign workers for a limited time connected

with the labour market

needs. The majority of them work in service sectors and agriculture irrespective of their skills or their

level of education. In most cases, Greece has not signed bilateral

agreements with their

countries of origin which means that legal foreign workers have to pay for social

security but when they

leave Greece, the state welfare organisations do not have any obligation to give the benefits back to

them<sup>lxiv</sup>.

In the mid 1980's and 1990's, the

immigration issue

has become a much more salient issue in Greece, and the Greek government

has attempted

to take measures to

exercise control over their entry on a coherent and stricter basis<sup>lxv</sup>.

New legislation attempted to create a system which is very similar to the German idea of

Gastarbeiter in order to control them. An

immigrant worker can enter Greece and work for a particular employer in a special job for a limited

period contract. A work permit is necessary and automatically means a

residence permit. Up to five

years residence, on each year renewal of work-permit is necessary and issued before the foreign workers entry in Greece. After 10-15 years legal residence, the work-permit is renewed every two years and despite the fact that the immigrant worker has the right to join with his/her family, the latter do not have the right to work. After 15 years legal residence and 120 months social security payments, an immigrant work permit can be issued for an unlimited period. The Minister who is responsible for the above decision is the Minister of Public Order and the decision depends on the Minister's discretion. Moreover, it is possible that some categories of foreigners do not need the acquisition of work permits. Such categories are defined by a common decision of Ministers of employment and public order according to seasonal or economic needs<sup>lxvi</sup>.

## 9.2. Illegal migrants.

Nowadays, by estimations, the largest groups of immigrants are the illegal ones<sup>lxvii</sup>. They either enter into the Greek territory for three months with appropriate requirements, usually with visas and over-stay, or enter illegally by sea or by land since Greece's geographical position, with a long coastline and mountainous borders, makes their entry easier and control of borders more difficult<sup>lxviii</sup>. In addition another illegal group of immigrants can be those who worked as ship crews and due to the economic crisis, they disembarked and stay in Greece without documents. As well, an illegal trade of immigrants has taken place, people who arrange not only immigrants' illegal entry, but also find a job for immigrants against a remuneration for their services to the immigrants. According to the Minister of Public Order<sup>lxix</sup>, Greece has become one of the major centres of illegal trade immigration while a network of Greeks and foreigners is involved. Illegal immigrants also find jobs as unskilled workers in service sectors on a temporary basis, since they usually offset seasonal needs in informal economy. Their wages are very low and they do not enjoy any rights. They have difficulties in renting houses and usually they share a room with other immigrants in old houses or in cheap hotels, paying a large amount of money. It is obvious that they are exploited by employers, and by landlords,

while they live under the threat of expulsion.

### 9.3 Asylum seekers and refugees.

The main flow of refugees comes from African countries (Ethiopia and Somalia) and from the Middle East while the refugees from Eastern Europe are not considered anymore as refugees. Refugees from the Middle East have shown a non substantial increase especially from Iran and Iraq.

They can be categorised by their religions, (Christians and Muslims), or by ethnicity (Kurds, Iranians, Iraqis and Turks). In Greece there is a decline of numbers of asylum-seekers and a low recognition rate<sup>lxx</sup>.

Refugees and asylum-seekers consider Greece as the nearest safe country but at the same time, they prefer a third country after a short stay (in 1991: 6,000 refugees in Greece)<sup>lxxi</sup>.

This is because of the vulnerability of their legal status and of difficulties which they face in employment and settling in the Greek society.

However, in recent years the temporary stay of refugees in transit has become longer because the countries they wish to go, such as Germany have decided to reduce the numbers that are accepted in their territories. Consequently, the refugees' stay lasts longer with a great tendency for permanent settlement in Greece, thus forming a vulnerable and exploited group which lives on the margins of the Greek society.

### 9.3 Migrants with Greek origin.

The last category of immigrants<sup>lxxii</sup> are those with Greek origin from Eastern European countries mainly Greek-Pontians and Greek Albanians.

The migratory movement of Greek-Pontians who are Greek descendants from Pontos, had started after the fall of Constantinople (1453). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, due to persecutions by the Turks and the Stalin regime, they were finally forced to settle in the Central Asian Republics of the former Soviet Union. Greece has received several waves of Greek-Pontians since 1918 but the peak period of their influx started in 1988 owing to the uncertainty and ethnic conflicts

in these areas. Their nationality varies from Greek or Soviet to others<sup>lxxiii</sup>, but in 1988 all Greek-Pontians were given the same status as those of the Greek origin, which means that they enjoy special facilities and priority in employment and have more rights than aliens according to the Greek Constitution. It is estimated that 47,000 Greek-Pontians have arrived in Greece between 1988 and 1993, while it is expected that more than 100,000 will arrive in the next few years<sup>lxxiv</sup>. Moreover the Greek-Pontians have some economic assistance from the government in order to settle and integrate in the Greek society. There has been the establishment of some reception centres, special organisations and particular offices in different ministries. In spite of the official assistance towards them, they face similar problems as the other groups of immigrants such as high unemployment, exploitation in employment, housing and language problems, since they speak a distinct dialect of Greek called Greek Pontian. This hinders their process of adjustment in Greek society. The fundamental difference between Greek-Pontians and other groups of immigrants is that the former are seen by the state policy as Greek and as a good way to re-populate certain areas of Greece for example Thrace. The government wishes to divert them from areas which have a high rate of emigration and minority problems, giving to them more economic assistance to settle out of Athens and Thessaloniki.

The other group of Greek origin consist of Greek-Albanians, the so called North Epirots. In 1991, an unexpected massive influx of these in Greece occurred which made Greek government be worried about possible official Albanian pressures on members of the Greek minority to leave Albania<sup>lxxv</sup>. Nowadays, the majority of Greek-Albanians come to Greece, working on temporary basis and then returns to Albania. Initially, there were established certain refugee-camps near the Greek borders with Albania created with intention to accept and assist North Epirots but meanwhile, the massive continuing influx of Albanian nationals is seen as constituting a major problem for the Greek authorities since Greek governments wish Greek-Albanians to stay in Albania. The only assistance towards Greek-Albanians has been the issue of documents which confirm their Greek origin in order for them to enter Greece easily.

## 10. Conclusions.

This article examined the construction of migration within Greek national context with special reference to immigration. We examined the specific ways that immigration happens in Greece together with the specific organisation of social relations as well as the challenges which immigration poses upon its reproduction.

In these terms, immigration in Greece, especially illegal immigration cannot be seen exclusively in terms of international tendency of states, including Greek state, to halt migration in general and migrants reaction to these policies. Rather the focus should be on the Greek context and its organisation and their role in determining and shaping immigration, its specific meaning and practice towards to it.

Finally, this study focused on migration policy in Greece and the categories which are used in relation to migrants to show the role of the Greek state as a political power which is processing and constructing social relations according to its broader role in society.

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<sup>i</sup> See for more details about this theoretical perspective E.V.Petracou (1999) 'Exploring social and historical dimensions of migration in European context with special reference to Greece.' PhD thesis, University of Warwick.

<sup>ii</sup> Immigration potentially is shaped by the general entities but since international issues can be revealed in national territories, immigration is formulated in a similar and at the same time in a different way in each national context

<sup>iii</sup> Despite the fact that the above elements are being shaped by international, regional and national conditions, for the sake of this analysis they are considered to be as static.

<sup>iv</sup> As Emke-Poulopoulou points out in the period of 1890-1920 almost 600,000 Greeks emigrated, an average of about 1 in 5 of the population, or of 11.9 % in 1920s population(5,000,000).I.Emke-Poulopoulou (1986) 'Problems related to emigration and to return migration' Athens:

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IMEO-EDHM (in Greek).

<sup>v</sup> Due to the Civil War

and the defeat of communists in 1949, about 56,000 people migrated as refugees or expelled in the Eastern and Central European Communist countries. See I.K. Hassiotis (1993) 'A review of modern Greek diaspora' Thessaloniki: Vaniass (in Greek) pp. 147-149.

<sup>vi</sup> See for this

distinction in the Greek Constitution N. Alivizatos (1983)

'Ethnos' against 'People' after 1940' in D.G. Tsaousis (ed)(1983)

'Hellenism and Hellenic Identity' Athens: Hestia (in Greek)

<sup>vii</sup> Lianos (1979) in

Kubat D.(ed).

<sup>viii</sup> Nikolinakos 1973.

<sup>ix</sup> Moussourou, L. M. (1991) 'Migration and migration policy in Greece and in Europe.' (in Greek) Athens: Gutenberg. }

According to Mouzelis\footnote{Cited in Hadjiyannis V. (1990) 'Democratisation and the Greek state.'}

in Chilcote R. H. (ed) (1990) 'Transitions from dictatorship to democracy.' New York: Taylor and Francis

<sup>x</sup> When the Greek army was defeated

and people with Greek origin were violently displaced from the area.

<sup>xi</sup> Kitromelides P. M.

(1994) in Kazakos P.V. and Ioakimides P. C. (eds) (1994) 'Greece and EC membership

evaluated.' London: Pinter. For the role of Greece as the legitimate ethnic centre in Cyprus independence see Kitromilides P.M.(1983)

'The Greek state as ethnic centre' especially pp.159-164

in Tsaousis D.G.(ed)

(1983) op. cit.

<sup>xii</sup> Moussourou (1991).

<sup>xiii</sup> For various

definitions of Greek diaspora and if it should include all Greek communities

abroad or only those which have a strong relation with the Greek state,

see Hassiotis I.K. op. cit. pp.34-40

and Kotzias N. (1998) 'Theories of

diaspora and migration' especially pp.19-24

in University of Ioanninon (1998) 'Greeks in

diaspora' Conference Proceedings Athens: Nea Synora. The latter author argues that there should be a distinction between diaspora and migration

in the globalisation era.

<sup>xiv</sup> As Kazakos points out these

diasporas are very powerful and the largest overseas communities

in countries which consider themselves as immigration countries and are

based on lobbying policies.

<sup>xv</sup> Kazakos P.V. and Ioakimides P. C. (eds) (1994) 'Greece and EC membership

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evaluated.' London: Pinter.

<sup>xvi</sup> Frangoulis M. (1992) 'Foreign Migrant Workers in Greece.' Interim Report, Greece.

<sup>xvii</sup> Mc Lean- Petras E. and Koussis M. (1988) 'Returning migrant characteristics and labour market demand in Greece.' IMR Vol. XXII (4) pp. 586-608.

<sup>xviii</sup> Greece received more than 1,000,000

refugees of Greek origin, mainly from Minor Asia while 52,000 and 387,000 people left Greece for Bulgaria and Turkey respectively in the 1920s (Moussourou). Moreover, Greece received 13,200 Armenians and 1500 'white' Russian as 'statutory refugees' (Frangoulis (1992)).

<sup>xix</sup> N Glitsos (1995) 'Problems and policies regarding the socio-economic integration of returnees and foreign workers in Greece.' International Migration Quarterly Review Vol. 23 No. 2 pp.

155-176, especially p. 160 and Hassiotis (1993) op. cit. pp. 155-156.

<sup>xx</sup> Nikolinakos 1975

<sup>xxi</sup> Mc Lean - Petras and Koussis (1988).

<sup>xxii</sup> Kavougiaris E. (1974) in Nikolinakos M. (ed) 'Economic development and migration in Greece.' (in Greek) Athens: Kalvos.

<sup>xxiii</sup> The legal migration also include

immigrants with Greek origin either from the USA or from the Soviet Union after the political reforms in 1985. According to European Community Report in 1989 the numbers of 'foreigners' were 184,000 (45,000 with double nationality) while the illegal migrants were estimated around 30,000, Lynamdos-Rulmond, P 'Foreign workers and labour market.' 1993 (Trade Union Report) p. 14

<sup>xxiv</sup> op. cit. p. 15.

<sup>xxv</sup> Mouzelis (1986) op. cit.

p. 241

<sup>xxvi</sup> Pollis A. (1987) 'The state, the law and human rights in modern Greece.'

Human Rights Quarterly pp. 587-614, especially

pp 589-591

<sup>xxvii</sup> Pollis (1987) op. cit. p. 609, Georgiadou V. (1996) 'Secular state and orthodox church.' in Lyrantzis C., Nikolacopoulos H. and Sotiropoulos D. (eds) (1996)

'Proceedings of the 4th conference of the Greek society of political science.' Athens: Themelio.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Mouzelis (1986) op. cit. p. 245-249

<sup>xxix</sup> ibid. p. 260

<sup>xxx</sup> Charalambis D. (1985) 'Army and political power: the structure of power in the post civil war Greece.' (in Greek) Athens: Eksantas.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Petras (1992)

<sup>xxxii</sup> Vergopoulos K. (1993) in

Psomiades H. J. (ed) (1993)

'Greece, the new Europe and the changing international order.'

New York : Pella, 1993.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Charalambis (1985).

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Pollis (1992)

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- <sup>xxxv</sup> Sagias and Spourdalakis (1993), Pollis (1992).
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou (1994).
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Panagiotopoulou R. (1996) 'Rational individualist practices in the irrational political framework.' in Lyrintzis C., Nikolacopoulos H. and Sotiropoulos D. (eds) (1996) 'Proceedings of the 4th conference of the Greek society of political science.' Athens: Themelio, p. 141.
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> Pollis (1987), p. 598.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> Fakiolas R. (1987) 'Interest groups: an overview' in Featherstone K. and Katsoudas D. K. (eds) (1987) 'Political change in Greece.' London: Croom Helm.}
- <sup>xl</sup> Mouzelis (1986).
- <sup>xli</sup> Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou 1994 p. 310.
- <sup>xlii</sup> Tsoukalas K. (1993) 'Free riders in wonderland.' Greek Political Science Review Vol. 1 pp. 5-39, and Mouzelis (1987).
- <sup>xliii</sup> Pollis (1987) op. cit. p. 600.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Tsoukalas (1991).
- <sup>xliv</sup> Poulantzas quoted in Tsoukalas (1993).
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou (1994) op. cit. p. 314.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Tsoukalas (1993) op. cit. p. 36.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Vergopoulos (1993) p. 198
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Tsoukalas 1993 p. 36
- <sup>l</sup> Panagiotopoulou (1996) op. cit. p. 157.
- <sup>li</sup> in Sagias and Spourdalakis (1993) op. cit. p. 435.
- <sup>lii</sup> Mouzelis N. P. (1994) 'Nationalism in the late industrial development.' (in Greek) Athens: Themelio
- <sup>liii</sup> Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou (1993) op. cit. p. 65.
- <sup>liv</sup> *ibid.* p. 67
- <sup>lv</sup> *ibid.* p. 67
- <sup>lvi</sup> op. cit. p. 76
- <sup>lvii</sup> Mouzelis (1994) op. cit. p. 41-45, connects the reactive nationalism with three characteristics: first the schizoid relation between the citizen and state, secondly the ambivalent national identity and the 'imaginary' transfer of any problem and thirdly, dominance of formalistic logic.
- <sup>lviii</sup> Miles (1993) op. cit. p. 56.
- <sup>lix</sup> D. Charalambis and Demertzis N. (1993) op. cit. p. 229
- <sup>lx</sup> Sitaropoulos N. (1992) 'The New Legal Framework of Alien Immigration in Greece: A Draconeian Contribution to Europe's Unification.' Tolley's Immigration and Nationality Law in Practice. Vol. 6 no. 3 pp. 86-96

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<sup>lxi</sup> A

new legislation towards aliens

replaced the previous law which was passed in 1929. By the adoption of the Aliens' Law 1975/91 the

Greek government has established officially a recruitment system in order to control the entry, residence and work of migrants in Greece.

For more details see Sitaropoulos N. (1992) 'The New Legal Framework of Alien Immigration in Greece: A Draconean Contribution to Europe's Unification.' Tolley's Immigration and

Nationality Law in Practice. Vol. 6 no. 3 pp. 86-96

and

Chlepas N. and Spyrakos, D. (1992) 'The 1975/1991 Aliens Law and the Constitution.' Athens: Sakoulas (in Greek).

<sup>lxii</sup> Moussourou, L. M. (1991) 'Migration and migration policy in Greece and in Europe.' Athens Gutenberg (in Greek).

<sup>lxiii</sup> According to the Ministry of Employment foreign workers in Greece in 1996 were 28,370 : 19,000 Europeans, 20,162 Africans, 1,308 Americans, 5,907 Asians and 323 Australian. Moreover,

most of them are employed in services (8,071) and hotels and restaurants (8,032) while 4,404 work in telecommunications and transport

and 3,128 in industry. Finally, foreign workers who work in the shipping industry are estimated to be around 10,000. (Eleftherotopia 9/5/96).

<sup>lxiv</sup> Moussourou (1991).

<sup>lxv</sup> Sitaropoulos op. cit. p. 78.

<sup>lxvi</sup> Chlepas and Spirakos op. cit. p. 12. In 1992 bilateral agreements between Greece and Albania

have provided a number of work permits for seasonal Albanian workers in Greece

<sup>lxvii</sup> The estimations claim that there are around 500,000 illegal immigrants in Greece with the majority coming from Albania. According to the Ministry of Public Order in 1998 72,388 refoulements of Albanian migrants took place. Since 1992 the number of deportation of Albanians is claimed to be 1,500,000. (To Vima 2/8/1998).

<sup>lxviii</sup> According to police statistics during the first six months of 1998 6,788

illegal entries occurred from the mainland borders with Turkey (Iraqis, Bagladeshis and Pakistanis), 1,643 illegal entries from the Greek-Yugoslavian borders

(Romanians) and 815 from the Greek-Bulgarian borders (Bulgarians). In total

10,000 illegal entries were reported without including entries from Albania.

<sup>lxix</sup> In illegal trade migration, smugglers follow certain routes either through Turkey or through Syria and Lebanon. Migrants have to pay from 500 to 3,000 US dollars.

According to the Greek authorities estimations the smugglers profit can be 1,000,000 US dollars

for every time that they carry migrants.

<sup>lxx</sup> According to a report of the Greek Council for Refugees, in the first six months of 1996 it was 14.49 % (calculated for the

number of persons and not the cases

<sup>lxxi</sup> Black

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R. (1992) 'Livelihood and vulnerability of foreign refugees in Greece.'

Kings College, Occasional paper No. 33.

<sup>lxxii</sup> According to Black, despite the fact that Greek-Pontians are displaced persons the Greek law does not consider them as refugees but as immigrants with Greek origin.

<sup>lxxiii</sup> They are coming from Russia, Georgia and Central Asian republics of Kazankhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan and their numbers are estimated around 600,000.

<sup>lxxiv</sup> Paraskevopoulou C. (1993)

'The socio-economic integration of Pontians in Greek society.' Conference proceedings Dublin.

<sup>lxxv</sup> Clogg R. (1992)

'A concise history of Greece.' Cambridge University Press p. 13.