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Policy formation and policy implementation affecting the integration of new female immigrants in Greece National Report on key informant's interviews

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**Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society.
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1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we attempt to identify the ways in which migration policy in Greece obstructs or facilitates social integration of female migrants. The core question is to what extent migration policies are gender-sensitive, and whether the key actors consider gender as a determinant factor in differentiating terms and in relation to processes of migrants' social integration into the host society.

In order to do this, in *section 2* of the paper we present the new trends in female migration in Greece, in order to contextualize its conceptualization in terms of theory as well as policy. Identifying the main characteristics of female migration in terms of nationality, type of migration, family situation and occupational structure, we attempt to highlight its articulation with the structural characteristics of the Greek labour market as well as the welfare state and more specifically the dominant public care model.

In the same section we discuss the way in which the migrants' legalization procedures implemented by the Greek state on the one hand, and the extended informal sector of the economy on the other, constitute the two pillars which determine female migrants' social integration.

In *section 3* we present the main findings which came out of the analysis of interviews with representatives of the key actors in migration, who are either in key positions in state agencies, migrant communities, or non-governmental organizations active in the field.

In this section, we give an outline of the governmental and non-governmental agencies we interviewed, in terms of their organizational profile such as organizational structure, role, responsibilities, goals, radius of action, problem awareness in relation to migrants (and female migrants in particular), activities, policy proposals and modes of cooperation. Moreover, we attempt to identify the quality of consultation procedures, hence the degree of migrants' participation in the formation and implementation of policies, as well as the initiatives which have been taken as bottom-up policies.

We also present our findings as regards the limitations and deficiencies of the existing legal framework, which ensures that female migrants remain invisible, and argue that a lot of initiatives can be taken to improve the situation.

Finally, we make an overall assessment of the key interviews in order to shed light on the dominant conceptions about what social integration of female migrants means and to which integration policies refer.

Last but not least, in the *final section* we discuss the dominant integration discourse, its components and its differentiating aspects among the different key actors, and provide a summary of the discussion of the paper.

1.1 Aim of the paper and methodology

The aim of the paper is to examine whether and how policy formation and policy implementation have been obstructing or promoting female migrants' integration, and moreover to trace the types of relationships (e.g. cooperation, decentralization of responsibilities, networking) existing among governmental institutions responsible for migration policies, among various types of NGOs, and most importantly between governmental agencies and NGOs.

The method used to gather material about the above mentioned dimensions was key informant interviews. Based on the objectives of the FeMiPol project, we chose to interview informants occupying key positions in the fields of policy formation and implementation, aiming to comprehend how integration is conceived by them. Whether, for example, operational concepts of integration, i.e. access to goods and services, participation in society and the sense of belonging, are included in key informants' discourse, and how this is expressed in their own terms used to describe their work and activities. In addition, the aim of the paper is to analyze interviews with key informants in order to deduce where the focus is drawn and

where it departs from the meaning of policy and the values and beliefs embedded in migration policy. Last but not least, the analysis of key informants' interviews also aims to record proposals put forward or initiatives taken (bottom-up policies) concerning migration policy and female migrants' integration in particular.

The method employed with key informants was the narrative interview. The broad thematic areas covered were:

- A. the organization itself (goals, history, structure, radius of actions, cooperation with other organizations and migrant women in the organization),
- B. the position of female migrants in the activities of the organization (target groups, problem awareness and activities undertaken in relation to female migrants, cooperation in order to influence policy and realize policy proposals)
- C. the self-evaluation of the organization (results of the work and activities of the organization, difficulties and obstacles encountered at various levels)
- D. the position of key informants in the organizations and their perspectives

The interviews lasted one to two hours each, and two of them were conducted by telephone. All interviews were tape recorded, most of them were transcribed, and a memory protocol was written for the rest. For a succinct description of the thematic areas covered with every key informant, see tables 1 and 2 in the appendix.

The key informants selected

In order to get a more complete picture and gain intimate knowledge about policy formation and implementation processes from both a top-down and a bottom-up perspective, we conducted interviews with twelve (12) key informants holding key positions in both governmental agencies (state actors) and NGOs.

More specifically, we chose the following four (4) "state actors" (directly or indirectly) involved in the design and implementation of top-down policies:

- **The Hellenic Migration Policy Institute (IMEPO)**, a recently established advisory institution indirectly involved in (top-down) policy design and formation based on research, documentation, studies and data gathered about the phenomenon of migration.
- **The Immigrants' Ombudsman (Ombudsman)**, an independent authority involved in policy implementation which intervenes when individuals (documented or undocumented immigrants residing in Greece), in dealing with public administration, encounter refusal or insufficient provision of information, unreasonable delay in processing applications, infringement of laws or violation of procedure, administrative irregularities or omissions and discrimination, and having jurisdiction over cases concerning government services, local and regional government, public institutions, private law entities of the public sector, etc.
- **The Department of Non-EU nationals and migration (Region of Attica)** of the most densely populated region of the country; a public administration service which is part of the Ministry of the Interior and is directly involved in policy implementation as the agency responsible for examining the documents submitted by immigrants applying for permits or seeking to renew them, and which is also, according to the new immigration law, the forefront of migration policy.
- **The Anti-trafficking Group (Dept. of Social Safety, police headquarters)**, an agency recently established by the Ministry of Social Order Service which is responsible for combating and dealing with the trafficking of human beings for sexual exploitation.

Aiming to gain insight from actors (native and non-native) directly involved in bottom-up policy formation and implementation and to reveal latent inclusion/exclusion criteria not

explicit in migration policy objectives concerning the integration of female migrants, we also identified the following eight (8) informants holding key positions in various types of NGOs: More specifically, we chose informants **from two (2) institutional NGOs:**

- **The Panattican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers**, a recently established trade union of which more than the half the members are female migrants.
- **The Office for the Support of Immigrants and Refugees (EKA)**,¹ which was established by the Centre of Athens Labour Unions and consists partly of an organizational structure aiming to inform, advise and support migrants and refugees about labour issues, and partly of network services for migrants and refugees which have been established through an Equal project coordinated by the Institute of Labour of the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE).

In addition, we approached informants from **four (4) migrants' associations:**

- **KASAPI, the Unity of Philippine Migrant Workers in Greece**, the first migrant community established in Greece and functioning as a network
- **The African Women's Union (AWU)**, a (multiethnic) female migrant network with no legal status, established recently and aiming to help female migrants from various African countries to integrate
- **The Greek Forum of Migrants (GFM)**, a (multiethnic) NGO consisting of 38 migrant communities which is the most important network of migrants in Greece
- **The Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women**, a recently established (multiethnic) network of migrant women with no legal status aiming to support female migrants and functioning within the Greek Forum of Migrants as a separate section

An informant from an **advocacy group:**

- **The Greek European Network of Women (ENOW)**, a feminist grassroots voluntary organization which is one of the very few NGOs actively involved in the protection and support of victims of trafficking

And finally an informant from

- **The International Organization of Migration (IOM)**, an intergovernmental organization which has been functioning in Greece since 1952, and which organizes various actions and programmes in order to supplement national and international efforts to effectively manage immigration and respond to migration challenges, and has been playing a significant role in combating trafficking and supporting victims of trafficking.

2. NEW TRENDS IN FEMALE MIGRATION AND POLICIES

2.1 New trends in female migration and the integration of female migrants into the labour market

As migration theory has traditionally emphasized the causes of international migration over questions of who migrates, it has often failed to adequately address gender-specific migration experiences and take into account different types of migration, including temporary, permanent, illegal, labour and conflict-induced migration. Traditional theory of migration fails to address the circumstances that encourage women to become transnational migrants, to enter into trafficking channels or to seek refugee resettlement. Furthermore, what is also underestimated is the fact that the demand for labour is gender-specific, as for example is the case with domestic workers, and therefore it should also count as a pull factor which determines female migrants' patterns and migration plans. Also, migration research and theory has failed to address and explain why women have their own networks (with other

¹ The Centre of Athens Labor Unions (EKA) is the largest regional Trade Union Organization in the country, with 453 trade unions as its members and representing more than 300,000 workers.

women) and how they utilize them both to migrate and to settle in a new country (Boyd M., Grieco E., 2003).

As a result, there is a lack of both quantitative and qualitative data on female migration on a theoretical and a research level. In Greece, we have only recently seen some research focused on gender migration issues, despite the fact that it was in the early 1990s that the new trend in female migration emerged in Greece, changing the traditional pattern according to which women's migration was dependent on men's migration. Since the early 1990s a fairly large percentage of female migrants, almost one quarter, have arrived alone (Fakiolas and Maratou-Alipranti 2000). It is rather characteristic that in 1996, 56.68% of the work permits were issued to women. In 1997 this increased to 58.26% of the total number of work permits issued, and in 1998 women made up about 60.5% of the inflows of foreigners.

According to Psimmenos (2006), the pull factors leading to the development of new female migration are the development of the global division of labour, the deregulation of the welfare state, the development of flexible types of employment, and alterations in immigration policies. What is more, in the case of south European countries the large underground economy, ex post regularization in lieu of *ex ante* planning of flows, and the demand for care work have also been important pull factors.

The composition of recent migration flows has been distinctive in at least two respects. On the one hand there is a dense concentration of migrant workers in household services (according to the 2001 population census, 20%), and on the other hand there is a marked segmentation by gender and country of origin (Bettion F., Simonazzi A., Villa P., 2006). Thus, although migrants to Greece in the 1990s came mainly from Albania, the ex-Soviet Union, the Philippines, Ukraine, Moldavia and Bulgaria, the figures vary greatly among nationalities. In the 1970s 80% of female migrants came from the Philippines, whereas nowadays (since the late 1990s) two thirds come from the ex-Soviet Union and Bulgaria. What is more, in most cases the majority of migrants are women: 81% of migrants from Ukraine, 74% from Moldavia, 64% and 58% from Georgia and Bulgaria respectively.

Apart from national differences, the profile of most new female migrants seems to be quite similar: despite the fact that most migrate alone and work in household services, they usually do not have a work permit and are overqualified. They do jobs not related to their educational or professional skills,² and in many cases are trapped in jobs which are characterized by their (direct) dependence on private households. Especially for female migrants who were hired in services during 1998-2000, about 89% of cases were overeducated, although this general tendency seems to be independent of professions and sectors of production (Psimmenos, 2006). In general it could be said that they tend to participate in segments of the labour market intended almost exclusively for a multiethnic, multi-religious and multilingual female labour force.

When examining the integration of female migrants into the labour market, one should bear in mind the major differences and even greater inequalities existing between migrants working in the formal sector and those working in the informal sector. Women employed in the domestic and care sector (i.e. in housework and personal care, which are typical sectors of the underground economy) constitute an invisible labour force which takes the pressure off the care system. This meets unsatisfied needs, ensuring both the financial viability and a better balance between demand and supply of care and domestic services, thus facilitating native women who have entered the labour market and need to balance work and life and ensuring the continuity of the family-based care model. A point to be stressed is that the new care mix, being “...cheap and flexible, is a model able to overcome the structural deficiencies of public family care provision, strikes a good balance the conflicting needs of publicity supporting care and is controlling public expenditure” (Bettion F., Simonazzi A., Villa P., 2006). Specifically in Greece, the labour of migrant women covers an area of demand which would not otherwise exist among lower income households.³

² “Overeducation among immigrants is more extensive than among Greeks at every educational level, and slightly higher among female than male migrants, 67.9% and 63.1% respectively” (Lianos, 2007).

³ Vaiou D., 2006.

Being an invisible group and having been deprived of their social rights (to a much higher degree than male migrants) most women migrants undertake no collective action and therefore do not put pressure on the state to take action. As a consequence, the state continues not to “see” them, and the same is true of related policies. What is more, the privacy of the home is protected by the law and therefore it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to intervene in order to protect female migrants’ labour rights which might be violated.

According to the key informant from KASAPI (Unity of Philippine Migrant Workers in Greece): “... *the problem with domestic workers is that we cannot do anything to help them because the home is protected by law. This is why we organized a campaign to sensitize the public and raise awareness about their working conditions and their problems...*” According to the Panattican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers: “... *salaried workers employed in domestic or care services through private agencies are very often deprived of their labour rights as employers do not comply with collective agreements; working hours, salaries and social security rights are violated. We have intervened in many cases trying to convince employers to follow the law and we have been cooperating with the Labour Inspectorate in cases of serious violations or lay-offs.*”

On the other hand, however, as we will see, a number of initiatives taken by female migrants themselves are voicing demands, changing their situation, and promoting actions and initiatives to strengthen integration.

2.2. The general principles of immigration policy and the indistinct boundaries of regularization and integration policies

According to S.Georgoulas (2003) the Greek immigration policy model is based on the following general principles:

- the temporary residence of immigrants
- treating immigrants as workers (who should do socially undesirable jobs) rather than citizens
- indifference to the development of social protection networks
- emphasis on repressive policies
- the supremacy of agencies of formal social control in order to deal the phenomenon and
- the reproduction and maintenance of illegal or unregularised immigration.
-

These general principles lead to policies aiming basically at controlling the entry of migrants, and less at legalizing and regularizing the undocumented migrants, thus shaping the rhetoric about what is meant by migrants’ integration into the labour market and society. What is more, these general lines lead to non-integration and the adoption of distinct policies for different types of immigrants, e.g. repatriates, immigrants from countries with which the Greek state has signed bilateral agreements, refugees, economic immigrants.

This rather radical critique, however, is not gender-sensitive and therefore fails to address issues regarding female migrants in the Greek migration policy context.

In the above context integration policies mainly refer to legalized and regularized immigrants, leaving aside the great number who either have not succeeded in being legalized so far, or have not chosen to do so (under the three legalization procedures since 1998). The latter seems to constitute a strategic choice of some groups of migrants, who in a less regulated context have found opportunities of insertion into the (primarily informal) labour market. However, we should not underestimate the inequalities which exist and increase through the workings of informal activities, which renders the choice of non-legalization a negative decision for anyone staying in the country for a long period. “*Informal activities and practices have in this sense to be seen as a ‘cause’ or a parameter of attraction rather than an effect of the new migratory flow.*” (Reyneri, 1998).

In addition, there are a number of immigrants who, in one way or the other, are not in compliance with immigration laws and rules. According to the estimates of the key informant interviewed from the Region of Attica: *“We refer to a large group of immigrants, about 5.000-10.000, whose status is not regulated at all, and they have to wait for a new law or presidential Decree to consider their cases. During this period – which usually lasts for years - they stay in the country with a semi-legal or illegal status. Moreover, the dichotomy between legal/illegal or regular/irregular migrants and the confusing right of residence and right to work heightens confusion between illegal/irregular with reference to the immigration law, and illegal/irregular work, with reference to employment and other laws, i.e. when they are employed in the informal economy. The two are not identical, in the sense that migrants might reside legally in the country and be employed illegally in the informal sector, or vice versa. Therefore, we should bear in mind that the process of regularization should be seen as a continuum, a spectrum of consecutive phases (of legality and illegality) through which migrants, both men and women, pass during their stay in Greece. This process can be described as an “uneven or unstable legalization”. Accordingly, integration policies have substantially targeted legal migrants, focusing on those who have succeeded in gaining some kind of integration into Greek society. The other part of the migrant population, representing a rotating migration flow and flexible labour force, remains unregulated and therefore much more manageable.*

Hence there is a need to prevent the lapse of legalized migrants into an undocumented status. It seems that the incentives offered to migrants and employers by the regularization programmes have not been effective in transferring employment into the formal sector, as they were seriously undermined by a) the administrative practices covering the regularization programmes and permit renewal, and b) the labour market control practices (Cavounidis, 2006).

Since legal migration and integration are inseparable and mutually reinforce one another, integration policies in the context of Greek reality are a complex and challenging matter.

3. MAIN FINDINGS

3.1 Policies promoting or obstructing female immigrants’ integration

With a few exceptions, female immigrants are not taken into consideration in policy formation and policy implementation. Female migrants are almost “invisible” in both the labour market and society as a whole. Moreover, **the institutional framework** has been designed in order to cover the needs of the original majority of migrants, i.e. men, and only covers the particularities of migrant women to a very limited degree. Policies are not only male-orientated but they are also family-orientated, adopting a rather patriarchal approach towards migrants. This stands in sharp contrast with the new reality and the fact that there is a growing trend towards the feminization of migration.

Trafficking, mixed marriages, domestic violence, employment in the informal sector, and social insurance are issues concerning female migrants regulated in a fragmentary way through the new legal framework. On the other hand, the new law makes no provisions at all for a number of other subjects, regarding for example unmarried or single mothers, religious or cultural issues, labour rights, and women’s dependence on their husbands’ will for permit issuance or renewal.

According to the Immigrants’ Ombudsman: *“...Another problem we have dealt with relates to unmarried women from Muslim countries who have a child while they are in Greece. The problem is that they cannot submit some of the documents needed. Because they cannot register their children in their country of origin, and therefore cannot submit the birth certificate and the family certificate from the country of origin which is needed in Greece – and in other countries – in order not to have people without a nationality.... In other words, an Egyptian woman’s child, for example, born in Greece would automatically get Egyptian*

citizenship on the condition that it would be registered in the country of origin. With unmarried mothers however, children cannot be registered in their country of origin as this would endanger the female migrant's life...” According to the key informants from EKA: *“...There are a lot of migrants who are single mothers. Domestic helpers usually have families back in their homeland while most women working in the cleaning sector are single mothers...who face even greater difficulties in the labour market. The law should provide for these workers and introduce special measures...”*

The latest law 3386/2005 contains provisions regulating issues which mainly concern migrant women, for example the provision of a residence permit which does not depend on the husband's will, status, income, or ethnicity in case the family member has suffered domestic violence. However, apart from the very few regulations in favour of women, the new immigration law as a whole very rarely takes into consideration women migrants' specific needs and characteristics considering their status, and the multiplicity of reasons leading women to emigrate, the diverse elements of their immigration, and many regulations amount to direct or indirect discrimination against them.

As the interviewee from the Greek Ombudsman mentioned: *“An (ethnic) group which had specific problems was women from the Philippines. Women working in the sector of domestic services as members of diplomatic delegations could not get a residence permit if their employer did not renew their work contract ...if for example the employer was an ambassador and had to leave the country they would also have to go...”* And what is more: *“With the new legal framework there are fairly strict preconditions in order to legally bring one's wife and children into the country. The husband must have a certain income, house etc. ...and in many cases they resort to illegal entry into the country, which creates a number of additional problems, as they cannot legalize their stay (i.e. their family members) and this is a vicious circle.”*

According to the interviewee from the Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women: *“...it is degrading for a migrant woman to need her husband's signature in order to renew her permit and his signed testimony that they live in harmony as a married couple even though there is no divorce. Why is this needed? And when a woman migrant gets divorced she cannot renew her permit; according to the law she does not have the right to do so, which means that she becomes illegal... This is why many migrant women who are married choose not to get a divorce even if they want to do so...”*

With regard to the protection and support of female migrants who are victims of trafficking, it should be noted that Greek law has been harmonized with EU legislation and in 2003 the Human Trafficking Task Force was established. What is more, the new migration law (2005) makes provision for the granting and renewal of residence permits for victims of trafficking. However, *“...the main criticisms focus on the framework presently in place for assisting victims, on the resources and infrastructure available, on the determination of victims, and relatively recently on the question of the prosecution of 'clients'”* (Zeis Th., Liapi M., 2006). In addition, it must be highlighted that as mentioned by the interviewee from ENOW, matters such as accessibility to, and quality of, public services still need to be further developed in order to effectively address victims.

Therefore it becomes evident that female migrants are visible for policies only as family members, victims of domestic violence and trafficking.

3.2. Findings from state actors interviewed – Aspects of policy formation and implementation according to state actors

All governmental bodies and agencies are newly-established institutions⁴ (all four of them were founded between 2001 and 2003), which means that their *organizational structure, role and responsibilities* are still in the process of maturing. More specifically, governmental bodies and agencies are understaffed; their staff are not experienced and do not have the required skills or have not received proper training. Therefore, their scope of action is limited due to deficits in resources; hence their activities very often lack efficiency.

State actors' goals vary greatly. IMEPO's goal is to advise the government on migration policy issues, do research, inform and sensitize the public. The Ombudsman aims at intervening when public administration agencies do not comply with the law or discriminate against migrants,⁵ mediating in order to protect citizens' rights and migrants' rights - *since any individual irrespective of citizenship living inside or outside Greece who has dealings with the Greek public administration can have recourse to the Ombudsman.*

The goal of the Region of Attica is to issue permits and that of the Anti-trafficking Group is to act repressively in order to disrupt organized criminal networks, enforce the law and free, protect and aid victims of trafficking.

In two cases (IMEPO, Ombudsman) their *radius of action* is both national and international and they cooperate with national and international organizations, institutes, NGOs, networks, state agencies, local and regional authorities. The Region of Attica and the Anti-trafficking Group have a regional radius of action and mainly cooperate with relevant national agencies. The Anti-trafficking Group has recently started to develop international cooperation in the context of a European effort to exchange know-how and expertise on how to combat trafficking.

With regard to *problem awareness related to migrants* (both men and women), the main issues are *legalization*, i.e. obtaining legal residence and work permits, *family reunification*, which is related to legalization and is one of the most typical cases the Ombudsman receives complaints about, and *trafficking*. Legalization is a problematic procedure which becomes even more difficult due to the fact that the law disregards individual cases (i.e. a number of issues or cases are not regulated by the new law) and also because migrants do not speak Greek and therefore cannot handle bureaucratic procedures by themselves. Apart from trafficking however, which is conceived as a “female” problem as the majority of victims are women (and children), none of the other problems mentioned above are seen as problems concerning women in particular.

As stated by the key informant of the Anti-trafficking Group: *“Trafficking is considered as one of the most difficult crimes to fight as it concerns people ... and traffickers are always a step ahead, they change their itineraries and no longer traffic women who are illegal – instead they traffic women with false documents...”*

On the other hand, problem awareness in relation to female migrants does include problems of domestic workers and problems unmarried Muslim mothers face with children born outside marriage, which have come to be included in state actors' activities after women migrants themselves drew attention to these issues through bottom-up policies promoted by NGOs.

The state actors which have *deployed activities related to female migrants* are the Ombudsman and the Anti-trafficking Group. More specifically, the Ombudsman has intervened in a number of individual cases concerning female migrants who were arrested for not having a residence permit in order for them to obtain a permit, in cases of women who

⁴ The Hellenic Migration Policy Institute (IMEPO) and the Department of non – EU Nationals and Migration were founded in 2001; the Immigrants' Ombudsman and the Anti-trafficking group of the Greek Anti-trafficking Group were founded in 2003.

⁵ The Ombudsman, however, does not have the power to impose sanctions or to annul illegal actions of the public administration.

could not obtain a birth certificate for a child born outside marriage or a family certificate, in cases of family reunification, and in cases of spouses who were illegal. The gender perspective of the Ombudsman however, is limited as on the one hand it is an independent authority which only addresses and examines individual cases of female migrants who submit a complaint on a specific issue, and, on the other hand, it has only recently started to become aware of the need to include the gender perspective in the administrative actions or omissions investigated and the protection of citizens' rights.

The Anti-trafficking Group has been applying an operational plan against trafficking, as well as a number of special projects (*Mirage* 2002, 2003 and 2004) in order to define and protect victims and prosecute traffickers. Furthermore, it is the authority responsible for bringing women to the attorney general in order to define the crime and to report the trafficker. Then victims are taken to shelters where they are offered provisional accommodation, information and counseling about their rights. Shelters are not protected by the police in order to avoid turning them into targets and making victims feel insecure. However, police officers patrol the area. What is more, as long as victims are protected by the state, the Anti-trafficking Group has to be given a follow-up report about their situation during their stay in shelters, or until their protected repatriation.

Although IMEPO does not carry out activities specifically targeted at female migrants, it does participate in programmes co-financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to support victims of trafficking and homeless children, and in EU-financed programmes aiming to support migrants returning home.⁶ Moreover, IMEPO organizes public discussions, lectures, seminars, and national and international conferences⁷ to inform and sensitize the public about migration issues. It cooperates with universities and research institutes in order to obtain a better understanding of migrants' problems, has established a library specializing in migration issues, supports and maintains a database on migration issues and publishes relevant books, magazines and studies.

Finally the Region of Attica, in addition to issuing permits, publishes leaflets and guides addressing immigrants in their language. This is extremely helpful since the majority of migrants applying for a permit either do not speak Greek or face great difficulties in understanding administrative procedures.

Policy proposals have primarily been put forward by the Ombudsman. Based on field experience regarding the problems migrants face and the difficulties arising from the application of previous migration laws, the Ombudsman made a series of proposals when the new immigration law was brought to the parliament, a number of which were incorporated into the new law. Even though there are no specific proposals with regard to female migrants in general, it should be pointed out that the Ombudsman has put forward a number of proposals in relation to female Muslim migrants and seems to be more ethnically/culturally than gender-sensitized. As stated by the interviewee from the Ombudsman: "...*Generally*

⁶ More specifically, IMEPO participates in the following projects: 1) C. I. EQUAL "ASPIDDA - Development Partnership to Promote Equal Rights for Trafficked Persons - Combating Exploitation, Creating Perspective" 2) Program for Financial and Technical Assistance to Third Countries in the field of Migration and Asylum (AENEAS) "*Building on Mechanisms to effectively and sustainably Implement Readmission Agreements between Albania, the EC and concerned third countries*" 3) International Cooperation Department Programmes (YDAS) Hellenic Aid / Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs "*ITHACA - Prevention of Trafficking in Human Beings in Moldova*" (2005).

⁷ The latest Conference organised by IMEPO was on "Migration in Greece: Experiences - Policies - Perspectives" and was organized from 23rd to 24th of November 2006 in Athens. The aim of the conference was to present and discuss migration flows towards Greece, migrants in Greece, the impact of migrants' presence, as well as the factors and policies that affect flows of migrants and their integration into the Greek economy and society.

speaking the problems faced by female migrants are no different from the problems of male migrants. The differences arise only with specific ethnicities and due to cultural and religious reasons. Women from African countries such as Egypt, for example, and Muslim women have different problems either because they may have to prove they are the legal wife – when men are allowed to have more than one wife – or because their lives might be endangered if they are unmarried mothers as this is culturally not acceptable in their countries. In cases like these we are asked to intervene and propose a course of action...

On the other hand, even though IMEPO is an advisor to the Greek government on migration issues, it has so far had a rather limited participation in processes related to policy proposals. Both the Region of Attica and the Anti-trafficking Group are state actors which are institutionally not authorized to make policy proposals. The only proposal made by IMEPO has to do with the need to re-educate public servants and administrators in order to upgrade the profile and skills of those involved in the implementation of migration policies and measures addressing migrants.

The key informants working for the Region of Attica stated that: *“...we have made proposals to our superiors on how to improve the legislation or on possible changes in the law. However, the majority of our proposals have not been taken into account as this does not constitute part of the Dept’s official role or responsibility.”* Finally, the interviewee from the Anti-trafficking group, though not competent to make proposals, suggested that: *“...measures should be taken in order to cooperate closely with experts from various fields in order to gain more knowledge about trafficking and, most important, to be more efficient in combating it.”*

All state actors *cooperate* more or less closely with a series of national, European and international state agencies, NGOs, migrants’ communities, and organizations in order to manage migration issues and be more effective in their role and responsibilities. The type and effectiveness of cooperations and networking, though, cannot be evaluated or deduced from the key informant interviews. One point to be mentioned is that cooperation between state actors and migrants’ NGOs is rather informal and loose and the latter are not actively and formally involved in consultation procedures and policy negotiation.

All governmental key informants either explicitly or implicitly referred to their limited capacity to influence policies, as crucial political decisions are taken at a higher political level. On the question about the obstacles they face when making proposals, the answer was that: *“...these proposals are proposals which demand a political decision. We meet with resistance when it relates to a political issue or an issue of the country’s external policy or economic issues.”*

The serious lack of resources, financial and human, to properly execute their responsibilities causes a feeling of impotence and eventually constrains their potential for action. Their ability to bring about changes, especially with regard to the implementation of policies, is further limited by the diffusion of responsibilities among different organizations and institutions and by the existence of discontinuities in the flow of information (i.e. feedback) within the system of administration, horizontally and vertically, internally and externally. As stated by the interviewee from the Ombudsman: *“...When more than one agency or service is engaged, there is a problem as one puts the blame on the other.”*

Another point which is rather typical of the state agencies is that even though the key informants interviewed occupy senior positions in the institutions’ hierarchy, they are either appointed by the government or seconded from other public agencies, the subject field of which is mostly irrelevant to migration (Anti-trafficking Group, IMEPO, and the Ombudsman). What is more, they have all gone through on-the-job training as they lack expertise or previous relevant experience and are therefore not well integrated into the institution’s and organization’s role and mission.

Moreover, the law in many cases does not offer a consistent normative framework and clear-cut directions about how to act; hence, they are occasionally forced to either improvise or wait until the issue is handled at a higher administrative or political decision-making level. On the other hand, apart from the constraints, this type of administrative organization and

function, sometimes offers opportunities to act and take initiatives on launching and introducing good practices. According to the key informants from the Region of Attica: “...*We even phone migrants personally in order to clarify some issues concerning the submission of their papers and make suggestions about the best way to handle procedures.*”

The fact that many and different public services are involved in policy formation results in “irrational” and fragmentary policy implementation procedures and does not ensure dispersion of functions and decentralization of decisionmaking. For example, even though legalization procedures and responsibilities have been allocated to agencies of local authorities (i.e. municipalities), coordination and harmonious collaboration both among the agencies involved and public servants have not been secured. Therefore, even though decentralization of responsibilities with regard to permit issuance is a step in the right direction, in the sense that it might secure a better contact and communication with migrants, it has caused tensions and disputes about public agencies’ respective roles e.g. in the delivery of assistance and information, bureaucratic procedures, etc.⁸ According to the informants from the Region of Attica: “...*It is not reasonable not to have any personal contact with migrants for whom we make the decision of whether they will be legalized or not. Municipalities are supposed to have personal contact and inform them, but this is not what actually happens at all times...*”

The policies are seen by nearly all state actors as gender neutral, therefore female migrants’ issues are conceived as deviations from the rule. In no case were the general characteristics of female migration flows in the country related to the policies discussed with state key informants, instead they were seen as either part of the family issues, and thus discussed under family reunification, or as part of trafficking, and thus discussed under matters relating to victims of a transnational crime. Female migrants as subjects of migration are ignored and this means they are not considered as active initiators of migration plans, with specific needs, goals and resources to realize them.

3.3. Findings from NGOs interviewed – Aspects of policy formation and implementation according to NGOs

Interestingly enough, four out of the eight NGOs were established quite a long time before governmental bodies and agencies. The IOM mission in Greece was established in 1952, The Greek European Network of Women in 1985, KASAPI the Unity of Philippine Migrant Workers in Greece in 1986, and the Panattican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers in 1999. This is a fact proving that bottom-up policies and initiatives aiming to support and self-organize migrants often precede state actions. Another interesting feature relates to their *organizational structure*, which varies but in most cases is loose and “informal” in order to ensure a higher degree of flexibility and migrants’ collective representation in a context promoting solidarity among migrants (e.g. the Migrants’ Forum), and ensuring there will be no conflicts or ruptures with natives. What is more, with the exception of the Panattican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers, the main decision body of which is elected by the 1,400 workers who are members of the trade union, in all the rest the main decisions are taken by councils, steering committees or weekly assemblies. Finally, all NGOs are activist organizations and work closely with volunteers (who are both natives and migrants) and with local advocates.

All NGOs aim at *promoting migrants’ legalization and integration into the labour market and society*, and both their goals and their activities incorporate relevant issues, depending on the type of NGO. For example, trade unions are primarily interested in uniting workers and supporting them in order to establish their labour rights (*Panattican Union of Cleaners and*

⁸ In the past the prefecture was responsible for issuing work permits. Nowadays, local authorities receive the documents submitted by migrants and the Region makes the final decision.

Domestic Workers), or aim to inform and counsel immigrants and refugees about their rights and promote networking among migrant communities and employers, state agencies, etc. They also act as intermediaries in order to help migrants address public services, promote participation of migrants in trade unions, and record and monitor working conditions in order to gather data to be forwarded to the Observatory of Migrants' Employment⁹ (*the Office for the Support of Immigrants and Refugees of the Centre of Athens Labour Unions - EKA*).

On the other hand, migrants' associations adopt a more integrated perspective aiming at integration into society, which is related to improving the legal framework, to supporting migrants to organize their lives and be empowered, and to defending their rights and/or to maintaining their cultural heritage. Integration is also related to establishing multiple and stable relationships with institutions in Greece and the EU, trade unions and NGOs and contact with other cultures and peoples, in order to promote unity, collaboration and solidarity among ethnic communities and to modify stereotypes.

The role of IOM is promoting migrants' integration. Apart from advising and aiding the government to deal with migration in an integrated way, e.g. by recognizing the links between migration, economic, social and cultural development, it aims at promoting legal migration for work, protecting migrants' health and fighting trafficking. IOM works to help ensure the orderly and humane management of migration,¹⁰ to promote international cooperation on migration issues, to assist in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, including refugees and internally displaced people.

What should also be stressed is that four NGOs aim at supporting female migrants in particular (*the Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women, the African Women's Union*¹¹, *the Panattican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers*¹² and *the Greek European Network of Women – ENOW*). Their goals include promoting gender equality, strengthening women migrants and helping them to self-organize and demand their rights, as well as supporting socially excluded women and victims of trafficking.

With the exception of trade unions, all the other NGOs have both a national and an international radius of actions, cooperating mainly with other NGOs, for example: migrants' associations, federations and confederations of Greek workers (The General Confederation of Trade Unions in Greece GSEE, the Federation of Waged Employees of the private sector), centres of local labour unions (of Athens, Thessalonica, Piraeus), the European Network against Racism (some of the NGOs are founding members of the network), the national delegation for the Platform on European Dialogue on Migration, the European Women's Lobby EWL, etc. What is quite interesting is the fact that apart from the ENOW, which cooperates with public administration agencies, local authorities and the police (with regard to victims of trafficking) and IOM which cooperates with all its member states as well as other governments (especially with regard to victims of trafficking and refugees), none of the other NGOs has a steady cooperation or a network of any kind with a state actor or public administration agency involved in policy formation or policy implementation. The only

⁹ The Observatory will be established in the near future by the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE).

¹⁰ The IOM works in four broad areas of migration management: migration and development, facilitating migration, regulating migration and forced migration and its activities that cut across these areas include the promotion of international migration law, policy debate and guidance, protection of migrants' rights, migration health and the gender dimension of migration.

¹¹ Consisting of female migrants from Africa, i.e. Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Tanzania, Kenya, Cameroon, etc and representing their ethnic community networks in the African Women's Union.

¹² Cleaners and domestic workers employed in the Region of Attica (both natives and migrants).

incidents referred to have been a number of informal meetings or consultations held between representatives of the Greek Forum of Migrants with governmental officials from the Ministry of the Interior.

With regard to *problem awareness*, the main issues are legalization and integration (in both the labour market and society), violence (domestic and state violence) and trafficking. More specifically, with regard to legalization the issues raised have been: the short duration of residence and work permits even for migrants living in Greece for long periods of time, the reluctance of the Greek state to issue permanent residence permits for migrants choosing to live in Greece, violence of state policies with regard to permit issuance, and the fact that the Greek state does not issue birth certificates for children born in Greece and has not regulated the legal status (naturalization) of children born in Greece who are over 18 (*KASAPI, GFM, Pan-Hellenic Network, AWU*).

Most NGOs *have undertaken activities related to female migrants*, mainly regarding their employment conditions and rights, the claim to provide birth certificates for children born in Greece, and support for female migrants to establish their own networks. Activities vary greatly, covering awareness and public information campaigns, protests, petitions, publication of leaflets about improvement of living conditions and the right to the renewal of residence permits. Also, counseling services for female migrants on labour issues and interventions on behalf of female workers to employers in order to ensure their rights at work. In addition, ENOW has for a long been engaged in activities for victims of trafficking and has established an SOS line against family violence (which offers services in 5 languages) and a shelter for victims of trafficking, and has also initiated efforts to network regional shelters with relevant services.

The IOM has organized mass information campaigns, offers protection, housing and support to the victims of trafficking as well as the chance to return home and have a decent and voluntary repatriation. Finally, a number of activities undertaken and not specifically targeted at female migrants have had a positive effect on their integration. For example, the EKA has published a labour rights guide in 6 languages, promoted networking and cooperation among various trade unions and federations in order to ensure migrants' rights, and has mediated on behalf of migrants at the Labour Inspectorate. KASAPI has established a day care centre for the education of migrants' children (*the Munting Nayon*), has maintained relationships with women's organizations, the mass media, political parties, has been running a project for continuous training on the laws and principles of Greek society, and has been broadcasting a radio programme in the Filipino language once a week.¹³

All NGOs have been putting forward *policy proposals* in relation to issues regarding migrants and in particular female migrants. More specifically, the proposals put forward with regard to labour issues are: measures to ensure the social security rights of all migrant workers (especially those employed as domestic workers in households), the establishment of a special labour control mechanism (where migrants will be able to appeal to and ask for information), and the creation of a telephone line (hotline) for female migrants, stricter monitoring of the application of the regulations included in collective agreements and labour laws (by the Labour Inspectorate), counseling services targeted at female migrants in order to inform them about their labour rights, measures aiming to eliminate the black market/informal sectors of the economy, measures to support the inclusion of female migrants who are single parents in the labour market, and flexible language courses in order for migrant workers with anti-social working hours to be able to participate (*Pan-Hellenic Network, Trade Union, KASAPI*). Apart from the above, NGOs have been making proposals with regard to the naturalization (i.e. admission to citizenship) of migrants' children born in Greece, the need to annul the law by which migrant women married to local men depend on their husband's signature in order to

¹³ The radio programme has been operating for 4 years.

obtain and renew their permits, positive action for single mothers with regard to legalization, the right of migrants' children to learn their language of origin (mother tongue), and measures to protect and support victims of trafficking and domestic violence (*KASAPI, AWU, GFM, Pan-Hellenic Network, ENOW*). Last but not least, the IOM has been making proposals for the application of programmes that may concern national, bilateral, trilateral or regional agreements in order to legalize immigration for work; cultural orientation and language training; technical education; the return and reintegration of seasonal workers; selective immigration. The proposals made by the IOM are closer to the strategy of an international management of migration, paying special attention to legal migration for work. From this perspective, integration policies take on a different meaning and content highlighting the role of migrants as part of an international labour force, to be developed and managed.

It is common knowledge that the establishment of communities and NGOs by migrants depends to a large extent on the political concurrence (local, national, international) and the tolerance levels facilitating or obstructing their collective expression and action. This seems to be the case in Greece, where even though most NGOs have been functioning for quite some time as activist groups they have only recently started to make their presence felt in the political and social field. This means that migrants' voices are often mediated by advocacy groups¹⁴ on which migrants are dependent, due to the fact that collective organization and action is further obstructed by constraints in the exercise of their citizenship rights. That is,

According to the key informant from the GFM: *"...most of the problems facing the Forum and migrants in Greece, generally speaking, derive from the fact that Greek society has been very closed... Nowadays, it has started to open up in big cities with migrants, especially among the new generation... in schools... and Greek politicians are very narrow-minded..."* and: *"In Greece there is no equilibrium between society and the state. I believe that society is quite advanced whereas the Greek state is backward when it comes to migrants' issues..."*

uneven or unstable legalization, no right to vote even in local elections, deprive both documented and undocumented migrants of basic (civil) rights. What is more, because decision-making centres and governmental agencies are not open to migrants and very often function as "uncommunicative" entities fencing off migrants' networks and NGOs, the latter aim at attracting allies and sensitizing or influencing those who have the right to vote. This may be the reason why migrants' networks and communities are often found within the context of and/or collaborating closely with native NGOs fighting against social exclusion, universities, research and counseling centres, solidarity and antiracist networks, etc.

An interesting feature of migrants' NGOs in Greece is that although in many cases they were founded on the basis of a common ethnic background, they have also been established on the basis of multiethnic networks aiming to create a common awareness about migrants' issues, to promote collective action on common issues as well as solidarity both among various ethnicities and between migrants and natives. According to the key informant interviewed: *"...the Forum is a coalition of migrants. This coalition has agreed to apply a collective action*

¹⁴ These advocacy groups may be prestigious organizations which do not have a direct and continuous contact with migrants and use a scientific and humanitarian discourse (e.g. IMEPO, research institutes, universities, observatories, etc), NGOs which are in direct contact with migrants, aiming to alleviate their problems and help migrants themselves take action to improve their lives and integrate, playing an indirect role and leaving space for migrants to express their claims using an open-ended discourse (e.g. anti-racist movement, feminist organizations, NGOs aiming to fight social exclusion, etc), political organizations and groups which use a denunciatory discourse and are in conflict with racist groups, with stable political views and because of this providing limited scope for the independent self-organization of migrants (leftist and new left political parties), or mainstream political parties and trade unions (e.g. GSEE).

plan that is the basis for continuous negotiations. Our aim is to establish a viable structure that will unite all migrants in order to accomplish its goals...

Another distinct feature is that in contrast to migrants' ethnic communities which are often introverted, multiethnic networks function as communicating vehicles and inclusive multicultural communities. As stated by the key informant from the GFM: "... I believe very much in what we call open societies, people who think and say things and live together. This can happen. I believe the Forum can do this."

What is more, even though migrants' communities often choose not to promote action claiming or demanding rights for fear of giving rise to antagonisms or even ruptures with natives, key informants have referred to the fact that migrants' NGOs have recently started to organize protest events and campaigns and to make policy proposals and participate (informally and occasionally) in consultations. According to the key informants from the AWU: "We began our protests in December 2005 to demand that our children born in Greece to parents who do not have Greek citizenship have the right to get a birth certificate and be officially registered." Even though protest events may often be self-contained, it should be noted that this was not the case with the one mentioned here, as the claim has been incorporated into the goals of all ethnic migrants' communities and the claims of the GFM as well.

Last but not least, the above features seem to apply to female migrants' networks as well according to key informants (Pan-Hellenic Network and AWU):

"The Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women aims to put the particular conditions characterizing female migrants' experiences in Greece on the map and explore the possibilities for common action within the context of the immigration movement and women's claims in general." "...The Pan African Union in Greece has not been very supportive of women, so we decided that something must be done for African women. Every [ethnic African] community sends a representative to the Union and all communities are members of the Forum..."

The key informants interviewed are all activists and have had quite a long experience in the field. They all expressed their disappointment at the extremely slow pace at which things move in Greece, but on the other hand pointed to the support they have had from civil society and feminist NGOs in particular with regard to female migrants' issues. They stressed the fact that all NGOs lack financial resources and that their work depends very much on voluntary work (offered by both natives and migrants) which cannot be counted on at all times, especially in the case of volunteers who are migrants as the latter very often experience subsistence problems themselves.

Furthermore, another point that arose from key informant interviews was the awareness of the fact that female migrants' problems are distinct - especially those related to employment, mixed marriages, violence and trafficking, as well as children's problems - and therefore women themselves should take action to draw attention to these problems. Thus, even though both the Forum and other NGOs are supportive, these issues are raised mainly by female migrants' NGOs who have incorporated them into their agenda. What is quite interesting is the fact that "...children's problems are [considered] women's problems" by both male and female migrants, which means that women are thought to be responsible for taking action in order to solve them.

Policies addressed to migrants are seen as exclusionary, even in cases when this is not explicit, the basic problem being the uneven and unstable legalization. What is more, cooperation between governmental agencies and NGOs and the involvement of the latter in consultation procedures and policy negotiation are at a rather initial stage and therefore have not produced any solid results so far.

3.4. Overall assessment of key informants' interviews

3.4.1 Aspects of integration according to government agencies/state actors

In the context presented above, we should bear in mind that integration policies cannot easily be seen as a single consensual policy objective, and they always involve many and diverse actors and discourses. In general, what emerges from the overall assessment of the key informants' interviews is that the Greek institutional framework on migration is characterized by low legislative action, always as a reactionary attempt to meet the challenges of the phenomenon of migration in the country and as an effort to comply with EU directives. In this sense, not only does *Greece lag behind European legislation*, but there has always been a *gap between legislation and reality*. Also, legislation of the last 15 years to a certain extent constitutes a repetition of previous legislation; therefore, the need to reform the institutional framework for the migration remains an imperative.

Accordingly, *all governmental bodies and agencies competent to deal with migration issues are newly established institutions*; which means that their constitution, their staffing, role and responsibilities are still in the process of maturing and their scope of action is limited by deficiencies in human and financial resources. Consequently, *policy implementation is also very problematic*. Lack of coordination and harmonization among relevant entities on the design and implementation of migration policies undermines efficiency as well as the monitoring and evaluation of policies.

Moreover, vagueness and ambiguities in the legalization system, as well as deficits in services, allow for the emergence of a “creaming effect” procedure, which renders the decision of who gets a permit and who does not very much a matter of subjective interpretation, which inescapably gives rise to discrimination against migrants. As has been characteristically stated by the interviewee from the GFM: “...18% of migrants did not apply for legalization as they were misinformed...” Thus, there is a policy gap with regard to the measures developed in order to train, inform and sensitize officials about migration and aiming to fight stereotypes and racism, although no specific incidents were mentioned during the interviews.

In general, **state actors** seem to be working in accordance the government's core policy goal, that is, to regulate and control immigration flows and the labour market. This policy objective is interwoven with attempts to control the informal sector of the economy in which migrants are segregated, and by no means constitutes a characteristic of migrants only. Therefore, social integration policies are very much orientated towards integration into the formal labour market and emphasis is placed on efforts to move migrants from the informal to the formal labour market.

However, in relation to this national objective, there has not been much success as it is not at all clear whether legalization processes have in fact contributed to removing migrants from informal arrangements and hence to the shrinkage of informal activities more generally (Vaiou, 2006). Moreover, in relation to this, it is surprising that none of the governmental key informants interviewed mentioned the lack of measures to offer migrants opportunities to utilize their educational and professional qualifications so as to improve their chances of getting out of the black economy, as well as to increase the return from their work both for themselves and for the Greek economy and society.

Participation of immigrants in consultation procedures as an objective which is still to be accomplished was raised by migrants' organizations, but state agencies seem satisfied with the degree of migrants' participation in the procedures.

In Greece, the establishment of the Migrant Forum has been an accepted mechanism for the selection of representatives as to a certain degree it ensures the participation of all ethnic communities as well as facilitating consultation procedures. Still, participation in consultative

structures takes the form of purely immigrant bodies which hold regular meetings among themselves and from time to time come together with the authorities and other stakeholders. It is not uncommon to rely on experts or known individuals active in the area of immigrants' integration. In this case, however, it is not always clear whether they are primarily individuals or representatives of their consultancy or organization.

All key informants from governmental agencies/state actors, though to different degrees, mentioned the lack of mechanisms or procedures to facilitate *accessibility of services* to immigrants and to offer opportunities to engage them in *active participation*, despite the fact that the participation of immigrants in public organizations leads to the *capitalization of their skills and at the same time to the organization's inclusiveness*. This is proved by the good practice of EKA, which by engaging migrant women as mediators in the delivery of information services has succeeded in attracting hundreds of female immigrants who have since been addressing EKA in order to be informed about their rights. Hence, it becomes clear that the intercultural *competence*¹⁵ of organizations, that is, their ability to deal with linguistic and cultural differences through the recruitment and training of their staff or the use of mediators, reinforces the integration of migrant populations into the host society.

The Ombudsman has proved to be the *most responsive organization* to all immigrants' individual needs and circumstances. Everyone has the right to apply and all the organization's communication processes (leaflets and information brochures, application forms, etc.) are produced in a number of foreign languages to facilitate the understanding of all formalities by migrants who might not understand written Greek.

Greater emphasis must be placed on the efforts of public organizations *to make the contribution of immigrants visible to the host society* which is a practice to accelerate integration, especially in the context of the *two-way approach to integration*. This means that it helps to make natives become more accepting and open to differences and also to combat xenophobic and racist attitudes.

The conception of integration as a two-way process has been introduced in Greek politics mainly through the EU initiative to promote measures to combat racism and xenophobia. Through a number of projects (especially EQUAL) the attitudes of the recipient societies, citizens, structures and organizations have been brought to public attention as decisive elements of the integration of immigrants.

Despite these developments, *access of migrants to institutions, public and private services and goods* is still not on equal terms to that of nationals. According to the interviewees from the Trade Union: "...*When migrants first arrive they do not know the language or even worse anyone else, native or non-native, who can help them understand, and they are therefore very often exploited as they are made to sign contracts and receipts for money they never receive. And they go for a long time without help, until the moment they start realizing what is going on and what is needed in order to be socially secure and to consolidate their labour rights...*" and: "*even Second Chance Schools which do accept migrants and are a great tool offering tuition courses have not been adequately advertised in order to ensure information diffusion...*". In addition, according to the interviewees from EKA: "*most migrants do not have access to information about their labour rights, are ignorant of the content of collective agreements with regard to wages, benefits, etc. They can only find out about their rights through trade unions which try to inform them...*"

In relation to *citizenship rights*, acquisition of citizenship and local electoral rights, it seems that it is a rather precocious issue. Indeed, participation in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, is very rarely in the public agenda, and received some publicity only with the occasion of the recent local

¹⁵ As defined in the Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, *A common Agenda for Integration*, Brussels 1.9.2005COM(2005) 389 final.

elections.¹⁶ We understand that the right to vote presupposes the regulation of long residence in the country, but there is no provision for permanent residence permits.

As regards aspects of integration such as the *knowledge of the Greek language*, as well as access to formal education to prepare immigrants to be more successful and active participants in society, there was not much consideration especially due to the fact that at the time the interviews were conducted there was a climate of expectation that the new law (Presidential Decrees) would regulate the issue.

The law provides that all minor migrants living in the country legally with their families, if they are of school age, “...attend the nine year compulsory education provided for natives by the Constitution, and have access to all educational stages and activities of the school or educational community without restrictions (article 72)”. However, even though the new law has introduced satisfactory knowledge of the Greek language as a prerequisite for the granting of a long-term residence permit, the lack of infrastructure and preparation undermines the effectiveness of such integration policy measures. They may even turn out to be an additional barrier to the claim to permanent residence.

To summarize, it becomes evident from the aforementioned points that Greece has been implementing a rather “weak” programme for the social integration of migrants, which is gender “neutral”, and ensuring only the limited participation of migrants’ representatives in consultation procedures.

Therefore, the promotion of concerted efforts by all relevant stakeholders in order to maximize the impact and effectiveness of integration instruments, in a forward-looking and focused manner, must be placed high on the policy agenda concerning the integration of migrants in Greece.

3.4.2. Aspects of integration according to non-governmental organizations

From the overall assessment of key informants’ interviews it becomes obvious that *social integration is an integral part of the goals set by all NGOs interviewed* and of their public discourse. Integration is first of all *interrelated with legalization* and procedures ensuring that there will be no undocumented migrants or (illegal) migrants working in the informal sectors of the economy. This is due to the fact that even though Greece started to receive migrants in the early 1980s, the issue of legalization remains an unsolved matter for both migrants who have been in Greece for a very long period and newcomers. *Legalization in this sense constitutes an issue that affects old and new migrants alike.*

On the other hand, *social integration per se* is further specified in *relation to the labour market and specific issues affecting migrants’ subsistence and everyday life*: legal/documented migrants’ rights at work as collective agreements are frequently not applied in the case of migrant workers, resulting in low wages, long and irregular working hours with no social security rights. This point was made by the key informants from the Trade Union: “*To start with, there is no compliance with the law.... To put it simply, the law does not exist in reality... Most migrants do not have social security. Collective Agreements do not apply to migrants and neither do legal working hours. Employers make migrant women sign contracts and get receipts for money they have never been given, or do overtime they are never paid for... and many women are sexually exploited or “at best” harassed.*” This discrimination is even greater for female domestic workers for whom there is little support or intervention possibilities, as the home is considered a private sphere protected by law. Incidents of sexual harassment, health issues, and more generally deskilling of female migrants are also a reality.¹⁷ Social integration is also related to equal rights in society,

¹⁶ In a newspaper article (*Kathimerini*), the Minister of Interior referred to his political intention to give the voting right to migrants in the 2010 local elections.

¹⁷ Panattican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers, Office for the Support of Immigrants and Refugees of the Centre of Athens Labour Unions EKA, KASAPI, the Unity of Philippine Migrant

citizenship, health, education, getting to know the Greek language and culture, and the need to eradicate racism and xenophobia.¹⁸

In relation to political rights it is worth mentioning that immigrants (i.e. defined as third country nationals) can become members of both PASOK, the social democratic party, and SYNASPISMOS, the Coalition of “Left and Progress”.

With regard to female migrants, it is generally recognized that apart from migration gender is the underlying cause of their even greater exclusion (compared to male migrants). Women working as domestic labourers and live-ins more specifically are marginalized in private homes and very rarely have the opportunity to participate actively in society and learn the Greek language. What is more, the key informant from the Pan-Hellenic Network has stated that: “...we also experience inequality within our own gender as we are paid much less than most Greek women doing the same job. ...and our first ‘friend’, the person we mainly come into contact with, the woman employer is no different from a male employer...”

Therefore, integration into the labour market means *access to legal, equally paid and socially protected jobs in the formal labour market* and access to legal counseling in order to ensure awareness of one’s rights. According to the key informants from the Trade Union: “... *When they first arrive they only have one thing in mind: to work, to make a living, to survive. So at the beginning they don’t know what to do. They just look for a job and they do whatever comes along. But looking for a job they soon, very soon, integrate into society, and they start to demand and claim their rights....*” Ensuring access to legal jobs in the labour market will, according to the Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women, “*also help female migrants integrate into society, as they will have more time to socialize, learn the language, be better parents, not be alienated from their children...*”

It also means access to protection from responsible governmental agencies (e.g. the Labour Inspectorate) both in the case of “invisible” and marginalized domestic workers or carers and in the case of female migrants employed as cleaners by private agencies, who remain exposed to discrimination and violations of their work rights. As stated by EKA: “...*our ultimate goal is to propose and apply policies that will improve migrants’ living and working conditions and promote their integration...*” Hence, the involvement of trade unions in the elaboration and implementation of integration measures primarily focuses on such issues.

On the other hand, even though the level of trade unionism among female migrants is high (as most newcomers come from countries, e.g. the Balkans or ex-socialist countries where trade unionism was a widespread attitude), and even though their trade unions have been working closely with the Federation of Private Sector Employees and the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE), the sector in which they are employed (mainly the tertiary sector and services) has no effective negotiating power to bring about important changes in the sector. In addition, there have been serious conflicts between natives and (female) migrants in certain trade unions, such as the one for nurses and professional carers, further undermining their solidarity and negotiating power. Leaders of these unions are quite careful to keep delicate balances while struggling to ensure equal treatment for all their members (migrants and natives alike).

Workers in Greece, African Women’s Union, the Greek Forum of Migrants - GFM), Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women, Greek European Network of Women – ENOW.

¹⁸ With regard to racism and xenophobia, it should be pointed out that according to the Annual Report on the Situation regarding racism and xenophobia in the member states of the EU (published by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia in 2006), Greece is one of the member states that still do not have adequate official criminal justice data collection mechanisms in place to record and make publicly available information on racist violence and crime. This means that even though it is well known that racist violence and crime continue to be on-going problems, there are no adequate data about the phenomenon.

Integration is also related to naturalization (i.e. granting birth certificates to children born in Greece, individual residence permits and citizenship rights to second generation immigrants over 18). In this case maternity has become a role which has strengthened female migrants' determination and self-assertion with regard to integration. Female migrants in this case are not demanding recognition of their own rights; instead, they are claiming the rights of second generation immigrants who are deprived of their rights even though they have a sense of belonging to Greek society. As stated by the key informants from the AWU: "...Our children are born in Greece, they go to school, they learn the Greek language and culture, they do not speak or write their mother tongues, the Greek state treats these children as their own children and then sends them away. Shuts them off! This is the only homeland they know and they still walk in the streets in fear because they are undocumented. We have been patient and wasted all these years here having no future. Is this going to happen to our children as well?"

Integration is moreover conceived as the right of female migrants not to be dependent on their husbands' will, whether the latter are natives (i.e. mixed marriages) or migrants. In the first case women's integration is further obstructed by the unequal relationship between spouses which is reproduced by the law (as in order for a female migrant to issue or renew her residence permit she needs her husband's signature), and in the second case it is obstructed by the fact that "...permits are granted to the head of the family and not to women who live in the shadow of their husband...becoming automatically and unwillingly dependent as in case there is a divorce women are deported", according to the Pan-Hellenic Network.

3.5. The discourse of integration

Social integration is not an integral part of state actors' discourse or expressly stated goals. Instead, migrants' integration is seen as a research issue that has to be further explored or a theme the general public has to be informed and sensitized about (*IMEPO*); it is conceived on an individual basis and mainly related to citizens' rights and/or human rights (*Ombudsman*); as the beginning of a process entirely related to the issuing of residence permits (*Region of Attica*). Finally, integration is not part of the goals or the discourse of the Anti-trafficking Group.

Differences in the rhetoric of *state actors' representatives* might be explained by the fact that they are not directly involved in policy formation, hence they conceive of their organization as mainly responsible for the implementation of specific policies. Their organization is entrenched or limited to act in specific domains, and only exceptionally or occasionally might they intervene in policy design.

Although they all constitute part of the system of the public sector/stakeholders, "the discourse of the public sector" as a united whole of common beliefs around integration was not identified, although they all seemed to accept some predetermined and unquestionable political principles dictating migration policy implementation. Their discourse is articulated around a non-linear and non-compact but fluctuating consensus, although by nature some institutions, for example the Ombudsman, exhibited a greater degree of freedom to question central political decisions, always defending the non-ideological function of the public service/organization. According to this conception, key informants of the Anti-trafficking Group and the Region of Attica, in contrast to *IMEPO* and the Ombudsman, only implicitly mentioned the deficits and irrationalities in policy formation made by the government. The opposite is true in the case of the Ombudsman, which appeared as a mediator called upon to resolve tensions between the citizens and the statutory structures, and to consolidate the trust between them in a democratic context and according to relevant principles.

State actors' self-conception remains that of a stakeholder limited to act in the space between the ideological and political choices of the government and the societal ideological tensions and conflicts, which might be seen as an effort to defend their autonomy of action.

Therefore, the lack of any kind of formal dialogue procedures inside the institution might be better comprehended in relation to an attempt to defend the neutrality of their institutional identity. This practice, though, might be characterized as ineffectual in the sense that it blocks channels of communication between politics, public services/state actors and society. Moreover it does not allow for any kind of reflexivity about institutional practices and pursuits, in order to contribute to the elaboration of internal critique, which is valuable for building up consensus about policies. In some cases (Region of Attica/Ombudsman) the field of reflexivity moves towards the starting point of designing policies instead of the way they are implemented.

Integration is also seen as a shared responsibility process and involves the participation of many actors. Indeed, what may be provided at various levels of policy formation is the constitution of preparatory working groups, in which, however, the participation of migrants is not ensured as there are no relevant consultation procedures. Migrants' participation is frequently limited to conferences and seminars (*IMEPO*) or written texts and statements, forwarded for example to the law preparation committees (*Ombudsman*).

The majority conceive of migration policy as gender-neutral, and only in one case (*Ombudsman*) was gender mentioned in articulation with race and ethnicity. Patriarchal power relationships are assumed to dictate gender relationships, hence migrant women are seen in the context of the family only. Accordingly, migration policies are conceived as family-centered, although in some cases the family might be problematized and be seen as a unit with internal asymmetries and conflicts of interest (e.g. male violence), again contextualized into the specific conditions of migration rather than gendered power relationships.

Promotion of social activity through information, as well as *the mobilization of the communities* themselves and the hosting society as a whole, constitutes the *key issue for NGOs*.

Most NGOs aspire to and demand directly or indirectly participation in the social policy formation processes, expressing the discourse of "directness" and "experience" on behalf of migrants in general, or female migrants in particular. To a great degree they conceive of themselves as critical subjects who are often in either ideological diversity or in practical tensions with governmental policy formation organizations. In this sense they openly criticize the inefficient and irrational political initiatives towards migrants' integration, pointing to the inadequacies of the governmental policies, presenting themselves as policy and public opinion makers. The content of their discourse is elaborated in contrast to the declared political principles of state actors, very often in a context of "disappointment" about the lack of a participatory culture as well as the marginal role of social citizenship. At the same time they denounce the divergence which exists between NGOs and state agencies, distorting the efficiency of action for both.

For those NGOs that act as advocacy groups for migrants, knowledge about migration policies results not from their own participation or their institutionalized direct information by state agencies, but comes out as a motive to know the main directions of state policies aiming to combat social exclusion, an objective to which they have also committed themselves. Instead of putting their active participation in the field under a negotiation process with the public policy agenda, they attempt to promote their own constructed objectives to the degree of state actors' acceptability. Their political attitude is characterized by reservations towards the general political directions if not open criticism, but they are willing at the same time to preserve their autonomy of action.

Some NGOs base their activity primarily on a social movement and social solidarity level. In contrast to some other NGOs, they do not participate in institutional consultation and criticize governmental political choices, trying at the same time to practically express their solidarity with migrants and at the same time to support migrants' self-organization around their communities. The prevalent non-institutional structure of this type of NGOs allows for the expression of a discourse with radical points of view and more holistic ideological and

political approaches to the meaning of social integration of migrants (e.g. the gender power discourse).

Even among this politically radical type of NGOs, not to mention trade unions, it is not surprising that female migrants' issues are relatively marginalized unless they are put forward by female migrants themselves. Importantly, these female migrants' groups and associations have succeeded in making alliances and gaining the support of many native women's groups and NGOs as well as individuals.

Participation of migrant women in specific trade unions has contributed to the renegotiation of their position into the decision-making processes, at the same time opening up new opportunities for political action.

To summarize, from the analysis of all the interviews, it emerges that the concept of social integration is applied to human rights standards such as tolerance, openness, solidarity and less to equality, anti-discrimination and participation. The most important objectives are integration into the labour market, the acquisition of language skills and education, especially for their children. Less importance is placed on the socio-cultural sphere, the personal dimensions of integration and the frequency and quality of social interaction, most probably due to the fact that these aspects of integration should stipulate the need for civic, cultural and political rights.

In reality, core dimensions and areas of integration are considered to be self-sufficiency i.e. immigrants should be able to lead an independent life concerning job, housing, education and social networks.

4. Summary discussion

Traditional theory of migration fails to address the circumstances that encourage women to become migrants or to adequately address gender-specific migration experiences. The fact that demand for labour is gender-specific, as for example is with the case with domestic workers, determines female migrants' patterns and plans.

In Greece since the early 1990s a new trend in female migration has emerged, changing the traditional pattern according to which women's migration was dependent on men's migration. For Greece, as for other south European countries, the large underground economy, ex post regularization in lieu of ex ante planning of flows, and the demand for care work, have been important pull factors for female migrants. Particularly in Greece, the domestic labour of migrant women covers up the structural deficiencies of public family care provision, creating an area of demand which would not otherwise exist among lower income households. In addition, their work contribution makes it easier for native women who have entered the labour market to balance work and life, but it also ensures the continuity of the gender-based care model.

The government's core policy objective is to regulate and control immigration flows and the informal sectors of the Greek labour market. The process of regularization constitutes a spectrum of consecutive phases – of legality and illegality – ending up with an *unstable legalization process*.

In this context, social integration policies are very much orientated towards the moving of migrants from the informal to the formal labour market. In relation to this national objective, legalization processes have not had much success in removing migrants from the informal to the formal labour market. This is made worse by the fact that other initiatives such as facilitating the learning of the Greek language and the recognition of migrants' educational and professional qualifications have not been taken.

All government migration agencies competent to formulate and implement integration policies are newly established, and their scope of action is limited by deficiencies in human and financial resources. In addition, deficits have been identified in the *intercultural competence* of organizations, *accessibility of services* equal to that available to nationals, and

the more general contribution of immigrants to the host society, all processes to accelerate integration.

Participation of immigrants in consultation procedures remains an objective still to be accomplished and a controversial matter among state and NGO representatives. *Citizenship rights* such as the acquisition of citizenship and local electoral rights seem to be rather precocious matters on the political agenda, as there is still no provision for permanent residence permits.

It becomes obvious that Greece has been implementing a rather “weak” and gender-neutral programme for the social integration of migrants. Female migrants’ issues are conceived as deviations from the norm: female migrants as subjects of migration, as active initiators of migration plans, with specific needs, goals and resources to realize them, are ignored by immigration policy.

Female migrants are only visible to these policies as family members under reunification procedures and victims of domestic violence and trafficking.

Moreover, the legal system in many cases operates in a gender discriminatory way, when it introduces asymmetrical access and rights to legalization for male and female migrants, as for instance when it provides for direct dependence upon their husbands’ will.

Female migrants working as domestic labourers have mentioned additional problems such as health problems, incidents of sexual harassment, isolation and great dependence upon employers.

In general, for all NGO representatives, social integration is related to equal rights in society, citizenship rights, health, education, getting to know the Greek language and culture, as well as the need to eradicate racism, sexism and xenophobia.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1: ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS

TABLE 2: ABOUT THE POSITION OF FEMALE MIGRANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION

TABLE 1: PROFILE OF THE ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs & STATE ACTORS)

NGOS	GOALS	HISTORY	STRUCTURE	RADIUS	COOPERATION
KASAPI, UNITY OF PHILIPPINE MIGRANT WORKERS IN GREECE	Defend the rights and prosperity of Philippine migrant workers, maintain the Philippine cultural heritage, establish contact with other cultures and peoples, especially the Greeks, promote unity and cooperation among immigrants, promote gender equality and strengthen women, act as a communication channel between Philippine migrants in Greece, promote solidarity among ethnic communities	Established in 1986, operating for 20 years – the oldest ethnic community in Greece	Steering committee of 21 persons, elected every 4 years by members of the network Has 1300 members	National and European	Greek Forum of Migrants, founding member of European Forum of Migrants, Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE), Labour Centre of Athens and Piraeus, European NGOs
GREEK FORUM OF MIGRANTS - GFM & PAN-HELLENIC NETWORK OF MIGRANT WOMEN	Integration of migrants into Greek society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - improve legal framework - modify stereotypes - establish multiple and stable relationships with institutions in Greece & the EU, trade unions and NGOs - support migrants in their efforts to organize their lives and be empowered 	Established in 2002, operating for more than 4 years Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women – just established	Membership: federations or organizations of groups; Forum does not have a legal status as a matter of principle Coordinator and secretariat (of 4 people) Main decision body: weekly assembly of representatives	National and European	Member of the European Network Against Racism and of the national delegation for the Platform on European Dialogue on Migration The General Confederation of Trade Unions in Greece (GSEE) – established a secretariat for migrants
AFRICAN WOMEN'S UNION	Unite women migrants coming from African countries, help them to organize themselves and demand their rights (labour rights, birth certificates for children born in Greece, etc)	Established at the beginning of 2005	Union does not have a legal status yet Every ethnic African community is entitled to have a representative in the Union	National	Greek Forum of Migrants - GFM, Pan-Hellenic Network of Migrant Women, NGOs

NGOS <i>continued</i>	GOALS	HISTORY	STRUCTURE	RADIUS	COOPERATION
PANATTICAN UNION OF CLEANERS & DOMESTIC WORKERS	Unite cleaners and domestic workers in order to fight for their rights in the labour market	Established in 1999	1,400 members more than 50% of whom are female migrants. Elected board of directors (female migrants have been elected)	Region of Attica	The Labour Centre of Athens, the Federation of Waged Employees employed in the private sector, the Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE)
OFFICE FOR THE SUPPORT OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES, LABOUR CENTRE OF ATHENS (EKA)	Inform and counsel immigrants and refugees about their rights, promote networking among migrant communities and employers, state agencies, etc, act as intermediaries in order to help migrants address state actors, promote participation of migrants and refugees in trade unions, record and monitor working conditions in order to gather data to be forwarded to the Observatory of Migrants Employment (to be established in the near future by GSEE)	Established in May 2006 through an Equal project coordinated by the Labour Institute of the Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE) together with another six such offices based in various cities of Greece (Athens, Thessaloniki, Piraeus, Patra, Volo, etc)	Most offices are staffed with 2 to 4 employees (half of whom are immigrants and most of whom are female, both natives and migrants) who have been trained for 400 hours as consultants on labour, insurance, counseling and legalizations procedures.	Each office has a regional and/or local radius and consists partly of the services offered by the Local Labour Centres	Labour Centres, the Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE), Employers Organizations, Migrants' organizations and communities, NGOs, etc
THE GREEK ENOW (EUROPEAN NETWORK OF WOMEN)	Solidarity, equal rights for both genders and especially for socially excluded women	In the field for more than 20 years (1981, 1985)	Council of 5 elected members with 2 deputies Membership: only women	National and European	European Networks (European Women's Lobby EWL; European Network Against Racism), Migrants' Orgs, International Institutes, public administration agencies Local authorities
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM) IN GREECE	Aid governments to confront immigration challenges in an integrated way. Promote legal migration for work, Fight trafficking, Protect migrants'	Founded in 1951 – Greece founding member, The Mission of IOM in Greece has been functioning	International Organization – 101 member states and 31 observer states, based in Geneva, Switzerland	International and national	With all member states, NGOs and governments

	health, Aid refugees, immigrants and repatriates	since 1952 (for 54 years)			
STATE ACTORS & GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES	GOALS	HISTORY	STRUCTURE	RADIUS	COOPERATION
HELLENIC MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE (IMEPO)	Advise the government on migration policy issues, provide documentation based on research, inform and sensitize the public	Founded in 2001, started operating in 2002	Administered by a steering committee appointed by the Minister of Interior, Public Administration and Decentralisation. The steering committee: chairperson, vice chairperson and 7 members	National and international	International organizations and institutes, the UN, the IOM, the International Bank, etc Ministries (11) NGOs, etc
IMMIGRANTS' OMBUDSMAN	Inform migrants and responsible agencies about relevant laws (issuing of permits, protection of migrants, etc) and ensure the rule of the law – make recommendations and put forward specific proposals to the public administration Mediate between public administration and individuals in order to protect citizens' rights, ensure compliance with the rule of law, observe the rule of law, combat maladministration	Not a separate agency – a sub team within the context of the Greek Ombudsman (the human rights department) functioning since 2003 – Website for immigrants created in 2005	Independent Authority	National and international	International networks, NGOs Migrant communities in Greece (Albanians, Egyptians, Filipinos, etc) The Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Public Order, the Ministry of Employment, etc Regional and local authorities, other state agencies
DEPT OF NON-EU NATIONALS & MIGRATION – Region of Attica	To issue permits for migrants (based on the status: study, family reunion, work, religious functionaries/ministers/clergymen), provide feedback on how the law works, offer individualized	Established by a relevant law in 2001 – operating for 5 years	Belongs to the Region – Regions are self-administered bodies supervised by the Ministry of Interior, Public Administration and	Regional (region of Attica)	Relevant depts. of other regions, embassies, courts of justice, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the police, local authorities, etc

	consultation		Decentralization. The Dept has a director and consists of two divisions.		
STATE ACTORS & GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES <i>continued</i>	GOALS	HISTORY	STRUCTURE	RADIUS	COOPERATION
ANTI-TRAFFICKING GROUP OF THE GREEK POLICE, Ministry of Social Order	Record all parameters of trafficking on a local level and plan actions. Cooperate closely with local authorities. Activate and improve the exchange of information network. Activate border guards to confront trafficking. Establish and decentralize specialized anti-trafficking regional agencies. Issue regulations and informative brochures with useful tips addressed to the victims in 13 foreign languages Act repressively in order to dislocate organized networks and free victims, protect and aid victims of trafficking (adults and children, host, repatriate, offer asylum, etc)	The first two groups were established in 2003, later on another 12 were established mostly in border regions as well as other regions of the country	Staffed with 4 to 5 officers (one of whom is always a woman and an officer who speaks foreign languages) The officer responsible is trained for a very short period – issues concerning trafficking are part of the training syllabus of police officers Officers do not choose to work for the anti-trafficking group they assigned this task and they do not know how long they will stay there Most officers are men because the majority of police officers are men	Regional/ Prefectural – each group functions within the limits of a specific region – not all regions of the country covered as there are no anti-trafficking groups in some of the 52 prefectures	Ministry of External Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Health, NGOs (especially the Greek European Network of Women – ENOW), Attorney generals and district attorneys, shelters for victims of trafficking, the General Secretariat of Equality, the Church, etc

TABLE 2 THE POSITION OF FEMALE MIGRANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs AND STATE ACTORS)

NGOS	TARGET GROUPS	PROBLEM AWARENESS	ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN IN RELATION TO FEMALE MIGRANTS	POLICY PROPOSALS	COOPERATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND REALIZE POLICY PROPOSALS
<p>KASAPI, UNITY OF PHILIPPINE MIGRANT WORKERS IN GREECE</p>	<p>Philippine migrants (both documented and undocumented)</p>	<p>Legalization Constant renewal of residence and work permits even for migrants living in Greece for long periods of time Problems of domestic workers and the fact they cannot do much about them because the home is protected by law and is considered a private sphere Wages, social security and welfare benefits of domestic workers</p>	<p>Campaign to legalize all undocumented migrants, improve the living conditions of Philippine migrants and ensure renewal of residence permits of female migrants working in households as domestic workers Support the community crèche/day care centre for the education of migrants' children Maintain relationships with women's organizations, mass media, political parties Campaign to inform migrants about the project of continuous training on the laws and principles of Greek society Radio programme and newspaper</p>	<p>Insurance of migrant workers – especially those employed as domestic workers in households Naturalization for children of migrants born in Greece (and birth certificate for children born in Greece)</p>	<p>Philippino government, Greek Forum of Migrants, founding member of European Forum of Migrants, Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE), Labour Centre of Athens and Piraeus, European NGOs, anti-racist organizations, etc</p>

<i>NGOS continued</i>	TARGET GROUPS	PROBLEM AWARENESS	ACTIVITIES DEPLOYED IN RELATION TO FEMALE MIGRANTS	POLICY PROPOSALS	COOPERATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND REALIZE POLICY PROPOSALS
<p>GREEK FORUM OF MIGRANTS - GFM</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>PAN-HELLENIC NETWORK OF WOMEN MIGRANTS</p>	<p>Migrants Female migrants Domestic labourers/ helpers</p>	<p><i>Greek Forum of Migrants - GFM:</i> Poor employment conditions (pay, working hours, social protection) Violence (of state policies with regard to residence permits) Problems considered women's problems: children's problems <i>Pan-Hellenic Network of Women Migrants:</i> Employment issues, Mixed marriages, Children's problems (birth certificates, residence permits, legal status of children over 18) and Trafficking</p>	<p>Although the Greek Forum of Migrants (GFM) has not developed a targeted policy for female migrants, it ensures women's participation in delegations meeting politicians, working groups, petitions, press conferences, public presentations, etc. and most importantly has supported the establishment of a Pan-Hellenic Network of Women Migrants</p>	<p><i>By the Pan-Hellenic Network of Women Migrants:</i> special labour control mechanism and a telephone line to appeal to and ask for information; annul the law by which migrant women married to local men are obliged to depend on their husband's signature in order to obtain a residence permit; children born in Greece to be accepted as Greek citizens; special treatment for single mothers with regard to legalization; measures to protect and support victims of trafficking</p>	<p>Confederation of Trade Unions (GSEE) European Network against Racism Greek NGOs and state agencies</p>
<p>AFRICAN WOMEN'S UNION</p>	<p>Female migrants from Africa: Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana,</p>	<p>Women's rights in the labour market (wages, working hours, insurance, sexual harassment), birth certificates not issued for children born in Greece, permanent</p>	<p>Protests, issue of leaflets to inform the general public about the Union's goals and activities, campaigns to raise awareness about the issue of birth certificates</p>	<p>Ensure the right of all children born in Greece to a birth certificate Ensure the right of those born in Greece to get Greek citizenship</p>	<p>The Union is an informal organization and mostly cooperates with anti-racist and feminist NGOs</p>

	Tanzania, Kenya, Cameroon	residence permits for those who choose to stay in Greece, naturalization			
NGOS <i>continued</i>	TARGET GROUPS	PROBLEM AWARENESS	ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN IN RELATION TO FEMALE MIGRANTS	POLICY PROPOSALS	COOPERATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND REALIZE POLICY PROPOSALS
PANATTICAN UNION OF CLEANERS AND DOMESTIC WORKERS	Cleaners and domestic workers employed in the Region of Attica (natives and migrants alike)	Low wages, collective agreements, working hours, insurance rights, aid female migrants who do not know the language to ensure their rights, fight racism against female migrants, inform women about their rights and support their efforts to claim their rights, combat work in the informal sectors, sexual harassment	Information campaigns, counseling of members, intervening on behalf of workers in relation to employers, research about female migrants' problems in the labour market	Monitoring of working conditions by the Labour Inspectorate Collective agreements to be signed by all employers Counseling services for female migrants Language courses to be more flexible in order for migrant workers with anti-social working hours to be able to participate Take measures to eliminate black market Take measures to promote female migrants who are single parents	Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE), Labour Centre of Athens (EKA), Federation of Waged Workers Employed in the private sector
OFFICE FOR THE SUPPORT OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES, LABOUR	Migrants and refugees employed in the	Violation of rights of migrants and refugees in the labour market Language problems Legalization, labour	Labour rights guide published in 6 languages Counseling services, networking and promotion of cooperation among various	Proposals have not been specified yet but are part of their goals – gather data about the situation of migrants in the labour market so that both GSEE and migrants' organizations	Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE), Greek Migrants Forum, Labour Inspectorate, Employers

CENTRE OF ATHENS (EKA)	private sector (both documented & undocumented)	and health issues Problems with (unskilled) female workers employed as carers in hospitals and nurses who are deskilled	trade unions and federations in order to ensure migrants' rights Mediate on part of migrants at the Labour Inspectorate	formulate policy proposals	organizations, trade unions and federations
NGOS <i>continued</i>	TARGET GROUPS	PROBLEM AWARENESS	ACTIVITIES DEPLOYED IN RELATION TO FEMALE MIGRANTS	POLICY PROPOSALS	COOPERATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND REALIZE POLICY PROPOSALS
THE GREEK ENOW	Female migrants Victims of trafficking	Violence, financial and subsistence problems, unemployment	SOS line against family violence (in 5 languages) Network of assistance and shelters for victims of trafficking Shelter for victims of trafficking Training projects for teachers on anti-discrimination and peace	Modifications to laws concerning social exclusion, violence and migrants' issues Migrants should be educated in their language of origin as well and the state should help them keep both identities The state should recognize and honour their language this leads to family harmonization (1 st and 2 nd generation immigrants) State agencies dealing with migrants' issues should have direct personal contact with them Modifications of law for family violence and trafficking	Governmental agencies, European institutions and networks (reports for Greece for the European Network against Racism, EWL, etc.) With the Greek police (to train police officers)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM)	Refugees Migrants Repatriates Victims of trafficking	Trafficking for sexual exploitation (of women and children)	Mass information campaigns, protection, housing and support to the victims, offering victims of trafficking the chance to return home (have a decent, voluntary repatriation)	Programmes that may concern national, bipartite, tripartite or regional agreements in order to legalise immigration for work; cultural direction and language training; technical education; return and reintegration of seasonal workers; selective immigration	Governments, state agencies, NGOs,
STATE ACTORS & GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES	TARGET GROUPS	PROBLEM AWARENESS	ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN IN RELATION TO FEMALE MIGRANTS	POLICY PROPOSALS	COOPERATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND REALIZE POLICY PROPOSALS
HELLENIC MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE (IMEPO)	Migrants from non-EU countries (not directly)	Legalization, obtaining legal residence and work permits (Problems do not concern female migrants alone but both men and women migrants)	National and international conferences; cooperation with universities and research institutes in order to reach a better understanding of migrants' problems Creation of a library specializing in migration issues Applies programmes co-	Re-education of public servants and administrators	Ministries, state agencies, NGOs, migrants' communities and organisations

			<p>financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to support victims of trafficking, homeless children, and programmes to support migrants returning home</p> <p>No specific activities for female migrants</p>		
IMMIGRANTS' OMBUDSMAN	<p>Migrants (website provides information in 8 languages)</p>	<p>Family reunification</p> <p>Trafficking</p> <p>Problems of domestic helpers</p> <p>Muslim women</p>	<p>Has intervened in individual cases concerning women who were arrested for staying illegally in Greece in order for them to obtain a residence permit or in cases of women who could not obtain a birth certificate for a child born outside marriage or a family certificate</p> <p>Has also intervened in cases of family reunification and in cases of spouses who are illegal</p>	<p>Lots of proposals when the new immigration law was brought to the parliament (some of them were incorporated into the new law)</p> <p>It is part of the Ombudsman's role as an independent authority to make recommendations and forward proposals to the public administration</p> <p>No specific reference whatsoever to proposals concerning female migrants during the interview (should search their internet page for more information on the matter)</p>	<p>Ministries, state agencies, the police, the parliament, local authorities</p>
STATE ACTORS & GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES <i>continued</i>	TARGET GROUPS	PROBLEM AWARENESS	ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN IN RELATION TO FEMALE MIGRANTS	POLICY PROPOSALS	COOPERATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND REALIZE POLICY PROPOSALS
DEPT OF NON – EU NATIONALS AND MIGRATION –	<p>Migrants wishing to obtain a permit (to</p>	<p>Legislation does not take the individual dimension into consideration.</p>	<p>No special activities in relation to migrants (and female migrants), its role is restricted to the issue of permits</p>	<p>Proposals on how to improve the legislation or proposals on possible law changes the majority of which are not taken into account because</p>	<p>Relevant Depts. of other regions, local authorities</p>

Region of Attica	study, to work, to unite with one's family, to perform religious duties as a religious functionary or minister/clergyman	Migrants hire lawyers to submit their documents – feel anxious towards bureaucracy Problems with the Greek language (Problems do not concern female migrants alone but both men and women migrants)	<i>The only exception:</i> publication of leaflets and guides addressing immigrants (in their language)	this is not part of the Dept's official role or responsibility	
STATE ACTORS & GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES <i>continued</i>	TARGET GROUPS	PROBLEM AWARENESS	ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN IN RELATION TO FEMALE MIGRANTS	POLICY PROPOSALS	COOPERATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND REALIZE POLICY

					PROPOSALS
ANTI – TRAFFICKING GROUP OF THE GREEK POLICE, Ministry of Social Order	Adults and juveniles who are victims of trafficking (mostly female migrants) Traffickers	<p>Trafficking is one of the most difficult crimes to fight as it concerns people (only recently has it become a felony)</p> <p>Traffickers are always a step ahead, change their itineraries and no longer traffic women who are illegal – instead they traffic women with false documents</p> <p>The fact that trafficking is an international problem and cannot be dealt effectively within the boundaries of a single state</p>	<p>The anti-trafficking group brings women to the attorney general in order for him/her to define the crime and for women to report the trafficker. Then the anti-trafficking group takes victims to shelters where they are offered bed and board, counseling and are informed of their rights. As long as victims are protected by the state, the police have to be given a follow-up about their situation.</p> <p>The group has no follow-up about the integration of female migrants or data about victims who decide to return to their countries. They only have statistics about women in shelters and those repatriating willingly.</p> <p>Shelters are not protected by the police in order to avoid turning them into targets and making victims feel afraid. However, Anti-trafficking Group officers patrol the area.</p> <p>Operational plan against trafficking, special projects (Mirage 2002, 2003, 2004) in order to define victims and protect them and define traffickers and prosecute them</p>	<p>It is beyond the anti-trafficking group's competence to make policy proposals. What they do is participate in actions promoting coordination of anti- trafficking policies on a European and international level</p> <p>Also state that in order to combat trafficking they need to cooperate with experts from various fields and gain more knowledge about trafficking</p>	<p>Embassies, states, borders police, international organizations, the IOM, the UN, Europol, SECI, NGOs which have shelters for victims, the General Secretariat of Equality, central, regional and local state actors, etc</p>