KEMO

CONFERENCE

*On the occasion of KEMO' s
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Interdisciplinary approaches to the minority and migration phenomena:
The Greek experience since the end of the Cold War

SUMMARY REPORT

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CONFERENCE

Interdisciplinary approaches to the minority and migration phenomena; the Greek experience since the end of the Cold war

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of its foundation, the Research Center for Minority Groups (KEMO) organised in Athens (Panteion University, 15-17 December 2006) an interdisciplinary conference focusing on questions concerning historical minorities and new immigrant communities in Greece. Contributions covered the whole range of social and political sciences, humanities and cultural studies (for further information, cf. **www.kemo.gr**).

KEMO's aim has been to contribute to the formation of a contemporary critical scientific discourse, free from ideological dogmatism and "nationally correct" political intentions, by encouraging dialogue between researchers who adopt innovative perspectives on the issue of ethnic, linguistic or religious difference in Greece. The following text comprises of a summary reports of the conference's procedeeings.

1st SESSION
The indigenous and the alien: Perceptions, concepts and representations

Summary Report prepared by Lina Venturas

The first session, as well as the second, provided some insights into the cognitive matrix through which migration is formed into a research object and how the policy of knowledge is organised in Greece. The field of migration studies is developing rapidly in Greece, attracting an increasing number of young researchers from different disciplines who are conversant with the international bibliography. However, there are still theoretical deficiencies, conceptual ambiguities and methodological problems, as well as difficulties in establishing an interdisciplinary framework. For an improved scientific approach to migration in Greece we should question further the practice of reading the social via the national, and the widespread axiom of national homogeneity in the country. Furthermore, immigrants should be studied as an organic part of society rather than as extraneous, foreign bodies. Migration is the product and expression of a historical relation of material and symbolic international asymmetries. Every migrant carries this repressed relation of power between states within himself/herself and unwittingly recapitulates and re-enacts it in their personal strategies and experiences. Studies in Greece are still focusing on the 'costs and benefits' of immigration in the receiving country and there is an urgent need for research on the sending countries, their history, structure and contradictions and on the relations between these countries, Greece and the EU. There is also a need for specialised academic curricula, research institutes, a strategic planning of research priorities and the generous funding of thematically broader research projects.

The papers delivered in the first two sessions demonstrated also how the immigration policy of the Greek state interferes with the definition of the scientific object, and the correlation of scientific analyses with the prevailing social representations. On the other hand, they demonstrated the role of the European Union, not only in shaping Greek immigration policy but also in the organising of migration studies, mainly through funding mechanisms.

The question of the historicity of immigration to Greece was examined in the first session. It was indirectly shown how the views on the nation taint the perception of the migration phenomenon not just by citizens, politicians or the Media, but by historians and other social scientists as well. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to erode the stereotypes and certainties about immigration and immigrants. The session discussed the connection between immigration policy and the formation of analytical categories, as well as the correlation of immigration with criminality. The problem of models and tools for the analysis of collective entities arising from population shifts was demonstrated and correlated with the current policies of international organisations - particularly the EU - and with the prevalence of the concept of "culture" in the various political and scientific approaches. The cultural policies of states, international organisations and the EU have a direct impact on identity policies and the formation/mobilisation of collective entities on the basis of cultural differences, but also on the orientation of research.

The axiom held by many recent studies, that Greece was turned into an immigrant receiving country after 1989 was disputed; as pointed out, this axiom was used by the state machine as an alibi for the deficiencies and contradictions of its migration policy. It was stressed, for example, that the advent of over one million refugees in Greece after 1922 caused greater social vibrations than the immigration streams that followed the collapse of communist regimes in 1989. As pointed out, scientific research is confined by older patterns of analysis of the evolution of Greek society, or into analytical models carried over from other western countries. Scientific study must redefine the criteria for the analysis of labour mobility, add social criteria next to the cultural ones and incorporate in its outlook the earlier movements towards or within Greece, albeit without overlooking the peculiarities of today's migration stream.[1]

The example of Pontic associations was used to discuss ways of studying the associations of earlier refugee streams and demonstrates that their functionalistic analysis cannot sufficiently explain their continuing dynamic presence eighty years later. To understand the current vigour of older refugee associations, one must analyse them also as institutions that generate social memory and cultural practices at the juncture of politicised culture: they are flexible, unofficial political institutions that construct groups legitimising their political presence.[2]

The issue of the feeling of insecurity that runs through Greek society was also examined. Although fear of crime in Greece is a social construct out of proportion to the relatively low crime rates, it generates severe social consequences. Several empirical studies have demonstrated how negative representations about immigrants have been rooted in Greek society regardless of gender, educational levels, and so on. With the decisive contribution

[1] Dimitris Parsanoglou, "The migration mobility in the Greek historical and social formation"
[2] Eleftheria Deltsou, "Associations, historical memory and other political practices: on the occasion of Pontic associations' public performances"

of politicians and the Media, immigrants, and particularly Albanians, were demonised and associated with criminal behaviour. The cultivated suspicion and insecurity undermine social cohesion and solidarity, facilitate the imposition of a culture of control and condone suppression.[3]

Finally, Greek immigration policy was placed in the broader context of the respective EU policy. The mechanisms through which the categorisations and differentiations formed by individual countries and the EU determine the forms and the analysis of the phenomenon of migration were extensively analysed: the decrees and measures against 'illegal migration' were equally examined as determinants of the concept of "illegal migration": as asserted, restrictive laws generate "illegality". Modifications in EU policy towards asylum seekers from 1989 onwards, as well as their effects on the distinction between immigration and asylum were examined: the category of "asylum seekers" tends to converge into the category of "immigrants".[4]

Discourses on immigration are always performative discourses: the study on migration in Greece must turn back onto its own conditions of existence and effectivity including a social history not only of the double-sided fact of emigration-immigration but also of the lay and scholarly discourses that swirl about the migration phenomenon in the two societies in question as well as in the EU.

2nd SESSION
Migration: defining the empirical object of the research

Summary Report prepared by Miltos Pavlou – Lina Venturas

The second session attempted to demonstrate the need for an interdisciplinary exploration of the phenomenon of migration on the basis of multiple parameters such as gender, material culture, identities and others. It also attempted to demonstrate the need for quantitative surveys to be complemented by studies that use qualitative methodological tools. The relationship of immigration policy, social theory and empirical research has been put in question in relation with the terminology used by politicians or the Media, which finally finds its way into scientific discourse. The intersection of research objects with real-life experiences, political demands and activism was also analysed. It was stressed that the characteristics of the post-cold-war era largely determine the character of research by setting political priorities, forms of funding and the norms for understanding society and its transformations. It was pointed out that immigrant surveys in Greece tend to study migrants as a distinct and autonomous entity, often ignoring the dynamics of social relations and interactions. Finally, the need was stressed for a strategic planning of research in order to explore unknown subject areas and prevent overlapping.

The increased interest of anthropologists in migration in Greece in the last fifteen years was noted; the usefulness of introducing anthropological concepts such as that of "material culture" into the study of migration was underscored. The study of material culture in societies under a process of transition such as the former communist countries, through the case of Albania, contributes to the explanation of the flows of humans and objects. The

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[3] Vasilis Karydis, "The fear of crime: 'Us' and the 'Others'."

[4] Ilektra Petrakou, "Policies on immigration and 'illegal migration' in Greece and the EU".

analysis of migrational material culture helps, among other things, in understanding the reestablishment of kin networks that transcend state borders. A study of the material culture in Albania in the 1990s and 2000s shows the violation of state limits 'from below' and reveals some qualitative traits of the migration process.[5]

The gender aspect of the migration phenomenon, i.e. the renegotiation of women immigrants' stereotypes and roles in the context of social movements, was equally discussed. It was found that the state and the militant anti-racist discourses often coincide in constructing a representation of immigrant women as victims. The analysis of the process of "victimisation" of women in the dominant, as well as in the activist discourse served as a starting point for a critical analysis that showed up the intersections among gender, social class and nationality in the construction of political subjects. It was claimed that this critical analysis could undermine the boundaries between "private" and "public", "male" and "female", "citizen" and "immigrant", "activist" and "research" practices.[6]

The session looked into the thematic and methodological choices that have prevailed in empirical social research on immigrants in Greece from 1990 to date. Out of the 50 projects on record, 26 examined the question of immigrant integration, 8 focused on the attitudes of Greeks and another 8 on Media attitudes (particularly the Press) towards immigrants. The peculiarities of the field which led research towards specific directions and choices were also identified: thus the illegal status of most immigrants until recently did not favour the use of questionnaires or the formation of representative samples. Their legalisation made it possible to conduct surveys on significantly larger and more representative samples. It was claimed that the political priorities of governments and the European Union determine the orientation of research, but also that the funding of studies from EU programmes after 2000 has had a positive effect, enabling surveys on bigger samples and the use of multiple complementary methods. The absence of long-term data and follow-up studies hinders the examination of the dynamic mechanisms and strategies of integration over time. It was stressed that research has focused on issues of social and economic integration and the labour market while it is lagging behind in other aspects of the migration phenomenon. The studies on xenophobia, racism and stereotypes must be repeated after the legalisation of many immigrants. The analyses of Media speech must focus on television and employ quantitative methods as well. Finally, the attitudes of immigrants towards the Greeks and the discourse of their own publications also need to be explored.[7]

A survey presented indicated that efficiency and quality of the provision of services to immigrants are affected by stereotypes and predominant negative perceptions[8]. Is migration useful? Both immigrants and Greeks believe that it is (80-92%). The similarity in representations of migration phenomena for both groups (public servants and immigrant users) indicates that they are both reproducing dominant attitudes and perceptions about immigration in Greece. The dominant bipolar scheme of the respective interpretations is that immigrants are both victims and perpetrators of crimes. 66% of immigrants judge negatively their contacts with the public services, while only a 9% report a positive opinion.

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[5] Dimitris Dalakoglou, "Qualitative social research of the migration phenomenon: the anthropology of migration and the study of material culture towards a comprehension of flows".

[6] Eleni Kabouri – Alexandra Zavvou, "Gendered dimensions of migration: Silent subjects and identity policies".

[7] Chara Stratoudaki, "Empirical social research on migrants (1990-2005): research persistence and details".

[8] Despina Papadopoulou, «Migrants' inclusion in the Greek society. The relation with the public services».

The Aegean Sea refugee route is the main inflow channel of undocumented immigrants in Greece, and an important gate for the EU, and the lack of infrastructures as well as the administrative procedures in force lead either to serious violations of human rights or to bureaucratic impasse. The main migration patterns through the triangle Turkey coasts – Samos – Lesvos islands and the grey zone of tolerance towards the immigrants firstly detained and later given an order to leave the country and released into the territory have been under scrutiny.[9]

On the issue of immigrants' integration through education, researchers emphasized school as the only institution and social space where Greeks and immigrants coexist in close relation. Although there are serious discrepancies between reality and the official - often unreliable or invalid – statistics, most data indicate a higher drop out rate and worse school attainment and performance for immigrants.[10]

Research indicates that more women than men have completed school, and most adult immigrants consider themselves to be a 'lost generation', although they do have a long education career. Due to social exclusion they have no ambition but to support their children in achieving a successful education career. Due to language difficulties and lack of special educational support, immigrants perform worse in social tasks and better on mathematics or science. They do enrol into lower education levels due to their late integration and sometimes within disabled children classes. Some immigrant students are working in order to help the family, but also to gain autonomy from their parents by investing in entertainment, clothing and accessories, which are important integration factors in schools and youth communities. Most seek for a steady and long-term employment at a low skilled technical profession.

As far as racism in school is concerned, the research indicates an effective integration process through youth cultures, personal and affection relations of immigrant and Greek children within their same age communities. Another dominant tool of immigrants seeking assimilation is the strategy to change and acquire Greek names and to baptize as Orthodox Christians seeking to establish and develop regular social relations within the school community. The experience of immigrant students depicts a Greek education system, which functions towards assimilation rather than integration.

3rd SESSION
Continuities and ruptures of policies on the minority in Thrace

Summary Report prepared by Antigoni Papanikolaou

The third session focused on a special case study; that of the "Muslim minority" of Thrace, the only minority within Greek borders officially recognised by the Greek state. The panel aimed at presenting a historical overview of the minority politics, as well as at placing different minority issues in the wider context of the Greek-Turkish and international relations.

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[9] Yuta Baca, «Migrants "sans papiers'' in the Greek territory»

[10] Pantelis Kyprianos – Riki Van Boeschoten, «Immigrants in schools: to what extent school can be a factor of social integration?»

At the end of the Cold War, "Muslim minority" saw the reinforcement of a leadership group commonly known as the *clique*. This process led to the strengthening of the relations between the minority population and Turkey, its kin-state, as traditionally viewed by the members of this minority.[11] The different phenomena taking place in the community, such as the recent electoral behavioural patterns of the minority[12], need to be considered within a new framework that the historical, political, ideological and social turmoil of the late 1980s had produced. From the 'top down' perspective, at the end of 1980s international NGOs displayed increasing interest in Thrace, making all the more frequent visits and conducting reports[13].

Minority politics are conceived, defined and negotiated by various agents operating in different arenas, such as the Greek state, the Turkish state, the international community and they are also influenced by factors such as the internal minority dynamics. These are not clear-cut categories; they are neither fixed nor static. Rather, they are defined by power relations and dynamics developed between and within these very categories. In this context, it is interesting to study the affiliations and loyalties that develop between members or representatives of the Minority and either the Greek or the Turkish state. These conjunctions motivate Muslim minority to view Turkey as the kin-state or the motherland. Moreover, these processes lead to the co-existence of separate - yet very similar in their features – locally based nationalisms[14]. As Mr. Kostopoulos[15] outlined very well in his paper, in this context several minority issues perceive high political undertones, such as the issue of the state planning on the Pomaks.

The issue of representation of the minority belongs to a field that has not been systematically studied; yet, it could enrich our knowledge on the social and political phenomena taking place within the minority. For example, Aarbakke (op.cit.) pointed out that there is a rupture between the "old", the "traditional" kind of minority leadership on one hand, and the young generation of minority politicians on the other. Whereas the first group is known to have sabotaged various improvement policies initiated in relation to the minority, the second group follows the model of the Greek political life and thus welcomes and favours such evolvements.

One of the most important arguments brought forth in this session on the ruptures and continuities of policies on the minority of Thrace, is that the old context on minority politics defines to a great extent the newly developed framework. Therefore, it is difficult to escape from the old context. This argument places a certain problematic and awareness on the ways different minority issues need to be thought of approached and studied.

Even though the third session focused on a specific case-study, that of the "Muslim minority" of Thrace, some of the ideas presented point out the desirable ways to think about and to discuss different issues of the minority communities world wide. The old framework on minority rights restricted and placed these issues under the umbrella of the nation-state system. Nowadays, minority issues tend to become "globalised" in a sense that various agents and audiences operating at multiple levels are active discussants in minority debates.

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[11] Christos Iliadis, «Turkey as a kin state of the Muslims in Thrace: the Greek reactions».

[12] Stoyanova, M., "Electoral behavioural patterns of the Muslim minority of Thrace: 1989-2004. Comparative presentation of Rodopi and Xanthi prefectures"

[13] Aarbakke, V., "The political mobilizations of the Muslim minority during the 1980s and its effects on succeeding evolutions"

[14] Iliadis, Chr., op., cit.

[15] Kostopoulos, T., "A still born nation building? State planning on the Pomaks of Thrace (1956-2006)"

The role of these agents needs to be acknowledged in order to make sense of different minority phenomena developed around the world.

Another point worth mentioning is the need for interdisciplinary research on minority issues. The third panel was composed of journalists, historians, political scientists and others who presented different, yet supplementary approaches. Interdisciplinary approaches deepen the knowledge on minority phenomena and meet the common grounds between the 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' levels.

4th SESSION
Education and alterity: Positions and oppositions

Summary report prepared by Giorgos Mavromatis

The issues brought up for discussion in this session concern the education of minority and migrant children in Greek public schools, and more specific questions related to a) the minority education system for the children of the Muslim – as defined in the relevant legislature (or Turkish by self-definition) - minority in Greek Thrace, and b) the concept of intercultural schools and the operational problems these schools face.

The educationalist and social anthropologist Aristeidis Sgatzos[16] presented his field research (case study) findings regarding the way the Greek national idea and the domination scheme are instilled into the pupils in a minority school in Thrace. Observing school performances (raising and lowering of the national flag, celebrations on national holidays etc.), Sgatzos ascertains that they mainly aim at reminding the minority of the fact that, despite the semi-private character of the minority education, the whole process is taking place within Greek public educational system. Focusing on the way minority pupils and minority and majority teachers behave, Sgatzos arrives at the conclusion that domination cannot be characterised as a fixed and static phenomenon, but rather as a dynamic mixture of experiences, relations and activities. The policies that aim towards the consensus record the attempt of the dominant group to determine the context and set the boundaries vis-a-vis the resistance of the dominated and the external pressure.

In the education system of the minority in Thrace, two languages are taught/used - Greek and Turkish. However, this does not result in bilingualism, as the presentation of linguist Spyros Moschonas[17] showed. What he ascertained from a long field research is that in the minority education, all the parties (often warring) involved agree and insist on the established conception that bilingualism is – or rather has to be - an absolute situation with no interplay, mixture or changes; an unused situation - as Moschonas comments -, impossible to achieve on a massive scale. Thus, the presently applied education policy, one that declares its aim to be bilingualism, but in fact insists on the values of "pure" monolingualism, is simply hypocritical and in the end, ineffective.

The educational psychologist Alexandra Androusou,[18] in charge of the teacher's training for "Muslim children's education" project taking place in Thrace from 1997 till 2007, presented the main aspects of the project. After a short reference to the concept behind the

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[16] Minority identity and performances within the school domain »

[17] «Parallel monolingualisms: The case of minority education in Thrace»

[18] «Ideological and political conflicts within the context of training intervention in minority education»

new teaching material and to the ideas, aims and methods of the multilevel training for the teachers of the minority schools in Thrace, she focused on the problems that occurred during the implementation of the training. One such problem has been the "resistance" of the majority of the teachers, who appear to perceive the whole project as an attempt to destabilise the domination scheme. Another emphasised problem is the way national policy issues are involved to "purify" the educational issues, indicating that in Thrace, the political issues are much more powerful and actually take precedence over the educational ones.

Similarly, educational sociologist Nelli Askouni[19] from the beginning of her presentation stressed the fact that – as concerns the education of Muslim youth in Thrace - the political dimension often supplants the pedagogical one. She presented the concept and the findings of her field research within the framework of the "Muslim children's education" project. Following a short reference to the political changes that took place over the last decade in Thrace, she focused on the more concrete changes detected in the same time-frame, namely the type of employment of pupils' parents, the drop-out rates, girls' school attendance, demand for secondary and tertiary education, and so forth. Finally, she offered an explanatory scheme where factors such as class/status, migration and urbanisation, insistence on traditional and patriarchal structures and others are considered to be of great significance; a scheme that seems so common to sociologists, yet so revolutionary to the many so-called "specialists" on the minority question in Thrace, who frequently attribute all happenings and evolvements in the area to the action of "dark powers", to various conspiracies, to the involvement of the Turkish state etc.

Social anthropologist Giorgos Tsimouris[20] presented his field research findings (on secondary education from teachers' viewpoint) on the problems appearing in "intercultural secondary schools". These are the gymnasiums and lyceums established by the Greek state in order to facilitate the integration of migrant into the Greek society and economy. In these schools, with migrant children exclusive attendants, most of the teachers had received no special training neither on how to teach Greek as a foreign language nor on how to deal with pupils with mother tongues and cultural backgrounds other than the dominant. Tsimouris ascertains that a) this part of the Greek public educational system is limited to declarations of recognition of alterity while in practice it lacks any kind of such recognition, intervention and composition, thus being quite assimilative in character, b) The Ministry of Education is more - if not exclusively - interested in the structural issues, paying insufficient attention to the everyday educational interactions, which are actually dependent on the good will and the endurances of the educationalists, who are left without the support or consultancy on behalf of the administration, c) the incompatibility between the ethnocentric content of the curriculum (which expects/demands from all pupils to participate in the "national myth") and the multicultural reality of these schools is often the cause for confusion and anger, and it frequently produces grotesque paradoxes.

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[19] «Minority education and sociological research: the emergence of social change»
[20] «Intercultural Practices in Greek secondary education: The view of teachers»

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5th SESSION:
The instrumentalisation of religion

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Summary Report by Yannis Ktistakis

The constitution establishes the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ as the prevailing religion, but also provides for the right of all citizens to practice the religion of their choice. Whereas the Government generally respected this right, the non-Orthodox groups have nevertheless faced administrative obstacles or encountered legal restrictions on religious practices. These obstacles and restrictions are supported by the officials of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ.

Religious demography
Greece has a population of approximately 10.9 million. There are approximately 500,000 to 800,000 Old Calendarist Orthodox who use the Julian calendar and adhere to the traditional Greek Orthodox practice throughout the country. Officials estimate the size of the Thrace Muslim community at 98,000, although unofficial estimates are as high as 140,000. Aside from the indigenous Muslim minority in Thrace, the Muslim immigrant population in the rest of the country is estimated at 200,000 to 300,000. The Jehovah's Witnesses report having approximately 30,000 active members and 50,000 people affiliate with the faith; members of the Roman Catholic faith are estimated at 50,000; Protestants, including evangelicals, at 30,000; and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) at 420. Scientologists report 500 active registered members. The longstanding Jewish community, which prior to the World War II occupation of Greece and deportation of thousands of Jews to Nazi death camps had numbered some 76,000, is estimated at approximately 5,500. There are approximately 300 members of the Baha'i Faith. Followers of the ancient polytheistic Hellenic religions report 2,000 members. There is no official or unofficial estimate of atheists[21].

Muslim minority
Greece recognizes Shari'a (the Islamic law) as the law regulating family and civic issues of the Muslim minority in Thrace. Having in mind the three major liberal theories (see the work of Brian Barry, Will Kymlicka and Chandran Kukathas), the most "fair" (liberal) answer to the claim of Muslim minority of Thrace to conserve their non-liberal legal status is the following: all the members of the minority (not only the non-elected leadership) should decide in a democratic way whether they still want to conserve the Islamic law[22].

Old Calendarist Orthodox minority
From the very beginning, the official Greek Orthodox Church was very critical to the Old Calendarist Orthodox minority. This was not the case with the Armenian Church. The reasons are the following: (a) the Old Calendarists critisized the official Church, (b) they were very conservative, (c) they used the title "Authentic Orthodox Christians", (d) the Greek State tried to press politically the official Church through the Old Calendarists and (e) the official Church wanted to remain the only "prevailing" Church in the Greek society[23].

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[21] Yannis Ktistakis, «Religious minorities in Greece: regulations and status».

[22] Katerina Mantouvalou, «Liberal answers to the claims of religious minorities: The case of Islamic Law in Western Thrace».

[23] Polykarpos Karamouzis – Isidoros Pachoundakis, «Inclusion of religious minorities within the modern Greek society: the cases of Armenians and Old Calendarists».

Jewish minority

In October 1999 the rededication of *Etz Hayyim* synagogue in Chania (Crete) was marred by public criticism of the event by the regional governor. However, the Minister of National Education and Religion and other government and Orthodox officials lent their support to the rededication. This case study is charasteristic of the slight change happening in Greece after the '90s. The alterity and the multiculturalism in the context of central Greek policy is the result of two parameters. The first is the EU policy relative to the regional cultural-religious identities which is supported by special funds. The second is the "revival" of the study of the Jewish communities in East Europe after the '90s[24].

Alternative religious groups

The Orthodox Church has several times issued a list of practices and religious groups, including members of Jehovah's Witnesses, Evangelical Protestants, Scientologists, Mormons, Baha'is, and others, which it believes to be sacrilegious. Officials of the Orthodox Church have made it known that they refuse to enter into dialogue with religious groups considered harmful to Greek Orthodox worshipers; church leaders instruct Orthodox Greeks to shun members of these faiths[25].

6th SESSION
Negotiating otherness: languages and civilisations

Summary Report by Konstantinos Tsitselikis

In this session, aspects regarding the position of minority languages in Greece have been discussed. According to scientific research as well as to empirical knowledge, apart from Greek - the majority and official language in Greece, Greek citizens speak Turkish, Slav-Macedonian/Bulgarian, Vlach, Arvanite and Romani languages[26]. Among them, only Turkish enjoys the status of official language in the bilingual (Greek/Turkish) minority schools of Thrace. In recent decades, the assimilation of minority language has considerably reduced the numbers of minority language speakers due to the hegemonic relations to the official (Greek) language. Although no accurate figures can be given, probably less than 5% of the population now speak such languages.

In the report presented by Stamatis Beis[27], the term *linguistic hegemony* refers to a power mechanism and to the capacity of a dominant group to impose its own choices and values upon the totality of the population. The report discusses a typology of relations between Greek as a dominant language (in it is capacity as official language of the Greek state) and the minority languages in Greece. It lays particular on the reproduction of inequality relations that characterized this complex linguistic situation dealing with minority languages in the Balkan countries. The influences of historical, geographic and socio-political factors were examined together with the particularities that determine the contact between state language and minority languages in accordance with a well known taxonomy of policies which a state can adopt towards these languages. Finally, the report traces out the influences of bilingualism to the actual linguistic repertoire of the speakers of minority languages in Greece.

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[24] Vassiliki Yakoumaki, «"Discovering" the Jewish identity during the last decade in Greece: the re-opening of the *Etz Hayyim* synagogue as a case study of new managements of alterity».

[25] Dimitris Bekridakis, «The treatment of alternative religious groups by the Greek Church».

[26] KEMO, *The linguistic alterity in Greece*, (in Greek), Alexandreia Pub., Athens 2001.

[27] Stamatis Beis, "Linguistic hegemony in Greece".

Marianthi Georgalidou[28] examined aspects of the linguistic repertoire of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes. It was based on research conducted in an ethnographic framework and it aimed at exploring the impact of social networks on the language choice practices exhibited by members of different generation groups of the community. The questions addressed concerned code-alternation patterns as exhibited in the conversational practices of members of the community. More specifically, the study investigated code-alternation patterns in conversations among bilinguals of different generation groups for both their pragmatic functions and their significance concerning the status of the community languages. Data was obtained during ethnographic observations that have been going on for about four years. It is comprised of recordings produced during the "coffee-time" conversations with and between members of the community who belong to overlapping kinship and friendship networks. Examples of intergenerational communication were presented and analysed within a comparative perspective. Based on the analysis, it was shown that language choice, which brings about a discourse strategy for the local everyday speech, also constitutes socially symbolic behaviour. The variety of use of the community codes by members of different age groups and social networks is linked to multiple and often crossing identities, as well as to the emergence of new plural ethnicities.

Alexandra Ioannidou presented a series of comments regarding the past and present of the scientific research on Slav-speaking in Greek Macedonia.[29] The issue being considered one of "high national sensitivity" has been neglected, hidden or even forbidden. For years scientists who attempt to study the Slavic of Northern Greece were discouraged by "agents", officials or their scientific supervisors. Thus, no thorough studies have been published on the issue so far, except those of anthropological nature. The dogma that "no such a minority language exists" reflects on the scientific research. Slavic studies in Greece in general are seen as marginal and of no value, a field that could harm the national interests by illustrating the presence of minority issues.

Marika Rombou-Levidi presented a paper regarding the process of identification in relation to cultural practices, particularly dance[30]. The ethnographic material was the product of anthropological research in Eastern Macedonia (Greece) and, more specifically, on populations who identify themselves as *dopioi* [people of this place]. The interpretation of the material collected can only be achieved through an understanding of the past; therefore, history and anthropology have been jointly employed. The population under study lives in a borderline area which, in the course of the 20th century was characterized by the Greek state as a *zone under supervision* and was demarcated by a check point (the famous 'bar') controlled by the military. Nationalist and assimilationist policies have thus largely contributed to the formulation of the local cultural practices. Among major repressive measures employed by the Greek state was the prohibition of the Slavic language, and of the musical instruments and dances considered to be ethnically marked. These measures lead to the translation of song lyrics by the *dopioi*, the adoption of new musical practices, and the respective adjustment of dancing practices. Furthermore, the coexistence with *refugees* from the Black Sea, Asia Minor etc. who settled in the area following the Greek-

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[28] Marianthi Georgalidou, Hasan Kaili & Aytac Celtek, "Bilinguism in the Dodecanese, linguistic status of the Muslims of these islands".

[29] Oral intervention by Alexandra Ioannidou, slavologist.

[30] Marika Rombou-Levidi, "Dancing beyond the check point".

Turkish exchange of population in 1924, as well as the Bulgarian occupations that took place in 1912-1918 and 1941-1944 have also influenced dance, music, and song practices. The 'zone' was eventually abolished in the '70s. However, its symbolic power is still present.

7th SESSION
Facing the present and the future of migration

Summary Report by Miltos Pavlou

The 7th session dealt with aspects of racial tension as well as with patterns of integration of immigrants in Greece, in an effort to depict the present and future landscape of migration in the country.

A study on ethnic conflict and racist clashes focused on violent incidents mostly against second generation of immigrants, therefore underage born abroad and enrolled in Greek schools[31]. The poor quality of statistical information is attributed to the absence of recording and recognising racist violence incidents, which echoes the police culture. Police officers do no consider this to be their task: commonly they claim no existence of racially motivated crime in Greece whatsoever, and the incidents of Greek persons attacking immigrants they claim to be in self-defence. The "ethicised clashes" between young people occur mainly in the centre of Athens and are characterised mainly by the attacks of Greeks against Albanians. The clashes of the opposite ethnic gangs are encountered every 2-3 months. The most intense period recorded occurred in the years 1999-2000 and since then there has been a net decrease of such incidents. In a survey conducted in schools in Athens, four out of ten pupils have said that "there was a war going on" during this period. These incidents belong to a category of ethnic clashes (σύγκρουση) rather than of racist attacks, and the increased proportion of young immigrants in schools of the centre of Athens seems to be a favourable condition. Moreover, the ethnic identification has been a tool for polarizing social spaces especially with the increased activity of extreme nationalist and right wing groups. Within this scheme, the chain of reactions against an initial provocation causes the involvement of more young people and increases the intensity of the clashes. The activity of extreme right-wing groups, nowadays declining, was accentuated in the past years in the areas of metropolitan Athens. It seems to have found fertile ground in the indigenous populations' attitude of attributing the degradation of their urban environment to foreigners. The celebrations for winning the European Football Championship in 2004 was an occasion for these organizations to come out and seek support and legitimacy in performing acts of racial violence against immigrants. The extreme right wing groups, nowadays when most second generation immigrants have graduated or left school, have moved their operation from schools to neighbourhoods. Finally, the statistics presented indicate that 2% of Greek students have been victims of attack by unknown perpetrators, while the respective rate for immigrant students is 5%.

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[31] Periklis Papandreou «Ethnic Conflict, Violent Racism and Second Generation Migrants»

A research dealing with the self-organising of the major immigrant group in Greece (Albanian immigrants) through 'civil associations' mainly in Athens and Thessalonica, has offered a scheme of three distinct phases of immigration experience in the country[32].

Those phases describe the transition of immigration strategies from individual choices to collective action and claims. The first phase (years 1990-94) is marked by informal networks built by Albanian immigrants living in the "cage of alterity" under the fear of expulsion and of repatriation to Albania, which for many means return to the past. After 1994 Albanian immigrants established more permanent family bonds through family reunion and therefore, micro-collectivities within the security of family strategy. The first informal local (village) or thematic associations appear during this initial period.

In the second phase (1995-2000) the associations of Greek-Albanian friendship are established while the third phase (2001-2006) witnesses the associations starting to operate more as pressure groups through claims for legalisation and improvement of work relations. This is the period during which an effort to unify local associations in federations level takes place.

The associations of Albanian immigrants are seen as agents of support for integration and promotion of immigrants' culture, therefore as tools to improve their status in order to confront and deal with the stigma and discrimination against them. There is a visible effort to articulate an elite discourse for addressing the policy makers and the upper social strata, as there is an effort to create an elite of Albanian leaders who could function as authoritative representatives for the immigrant group. In this process, younger immigrants tend to accuse leaders of having links with the old Albanian communist regime, and participation is frequently questioned in terms of the opportunism and the use of associations as tools for accomplishing illegal objectives or for achieving ascending social mobility.

Regarding immigrants' housing, a research investigated the issue of the eventual segregation of immigrants in the city of Athens[33], pointing out the unequal spatial residential distribution of immigrants and a "soft" and selective segregation dominant pattern.

The examination of social interaction between different ethnic groups reveals the following pattern: Ethnic groups tend to settle in spaces together with many other ethnic groups, which leads to a mixing of distinct immigrant populations. The immigration housing patterns mark the social space of Athens today. There are three predominant dimensions of urban development in Athens in the last decade: density and increased suburban density, high skilled professionals and immigrant groups' concentration, and anarchic diffusion of low skilled and small entrepreneurs. However, there are no indications of acute inequalities or hyperghetto. Rather, there is a "soft" segregation and a coexistance of – density wise - different urban spaces marked by similar characteristics.

The social image of the immigrant woman and the imagery through which she is represented has been the focus of a study examining the way contemporary Greek society

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[32] Chrysa Zachou – Evaggelia Kalerante, «The Albanian associations in Greece: Ethnic identifications and socio-cultural transformations»
[33] Vasilis Arapoglou , «In-group divisions of immigrants in Athens and policies of their management»

uses the immigrant women for renegotiating the female sex identity.[34] Woman's social role is conceived through the dominated position of the immigrant woman, highlighting in this way the difficulty of Greek society to evade the stereotype of a woman as a dominated body. The role of the immigrant woman in the Greek theatre and cinema has also been examined, pointing out that she is represented as a dominated from both perspectives - as an immigrant and as a woman.

A deeper insight on the role and immigration strategies of women domestic workers has been offered by a research focusing on Albanian and Ukraine house workers.[35] Through employment the immigrant women integrate in the system of informal economy where the rules and behaviour patterns are in contrast to social welfare principles and formal state rules.

Research based on the in-depth analysis of 50 real life stories has shown that destabilization of family networks and deregulation of employment in the home countries of the immigrant women has forced them to migrate within a single-parent families migration scheme, seeking the family reunion, the survival of minors and the escape from flexible underpaid employment. The prerequisite of holding a legal residence permit in order to have access to health care and social security services impedes their individual access to pre-school care and welfare, motivating them to seek the informal labour and informal social welfare. In internal domestic work those women with no family network as a support tend to be employed through competent private agencies. Immigrant women use outer-labour cultural identity, and they deepen social relations with clients through development of steady employment networks. Within domestic work, cultural models and survival strategies are developed. Gender inequality and servility culture lead to informal forms of social protection, the development of clientelistic practices and strategies within the system of social care.

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8th SESSION
The boundaries of nation under negotiation: Nationality, homogeneia/diaspora

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Summary Report by Lambros Baltsiotis

Who is Greek and who is not? Who can be included to the Greek nation and who cannot? Why do some Greeks coming from foreign countries obtain the Greek nationality while others do not? Is there any kind of escalation of "greekness"? How do the Greek constitution and Greek politicians behold the inclusion and exclusion from the Greek nation? These were the questions this session investigated. Greece is a country with a very strict *jus sanguinis* law, although religion rather than language had been considered during the 19th and early 20th century as the major criterion for belonging to the Greek nation. Besides that, the Greek political culture has evolved in an environment where the notion of *homogenis (an ethnic Greek)* was receiving an increased symbolic importance. The perception of the exclusion of the "other" was based on this very notion and produced real politics like the division of Greek citizens between *homogeneis* and *allogeneis*.

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[34] Margarita Agg. Schina . «The female migrant as a catalyst of gendered self-awareness »
[35] Iordanis Psimmenos, «Informal features of social protection and the role of employment: The case of immigrants as domestic workers»

There was a main common question that was coming forth at the end of every presentation of this session: Does this model of national inclusion through assimilation and citizenship that Greece has followed, from the creation of the Greek state up until now, still preserve any effectiveness for the future? The speakers, through their researches, have given a negative answer, stressing that this perception of nation and citizenship is rather an obstacle to the society and that it may be dangerous for the social cohesion for the times to come. All speakers expressed fear from the possibility that this model continues to exist.

Professor L.Ventoura[36] stressed that the Greek state policy has always been exceedingly interested in the *homogeneia*, meaning persons of Greek origin living abroad. After the end of the cold war, this interest of the Greek state in the *diaspora/homogeneia* has shifted from countries of the Western World towards the region of the Balkans and ex-Soviet Union, due to many efforts to create pro-Greek enclaves and supporters in the latter areas.

An additional presentation was dedicated to the perception of the notion of the homogenis after 1990s. The historian Dr. E. Vogli and the political scientist Mr. C. Mylonas[37], demonstrated that although the core of the Greek identity is founded on the *ius sanguinis* principle until today, the state reserves its right to act in various ways against different members of its diaspora/homogeneia. Through the legislation, they examined the policy of the Greek state vis-à-vis the Greeks of Albania and the Greeks of ex-Soviet Union who migrated to Greece in large numbers after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc. The latter enjoyed Greek citizenship and social protection right from the first years of the arrival, while both privileges were denied to the others. The researchers concluded that the crucial factor that guides the state policies, in this case, was the "utility" of the group rather than its "greekness".

Social anthropologist, Ms. A. Papanikolaou,[38] presented the issue of denial of citizenship from the members of the Turkish-Muslim minority. Until 1998, the Greek Nationality Code was permitting the denial of citizenship to those who were not Greek by origin, literally called *alllogeneis* (of a different *genos*). Members of the Turkish-Muslim minority, who were denied their citizenship under this provision, were treated until recently by the minority politicians as the vivid "victims" of the Greek policy towards the minority in order to achieve their political objectives by exposing these issues in the international fora. According to the speaker, this exposure to political environments other than the Greek and Turkish ones, helped the shift to occur in the way the minority of Thrace thinks about the notion of citizenship, and designs its political practices. Nowadays, they take the European and international institutions, laws and tendencies into consideration and tend to think in a rather innovative way about their membership in the Greek society.

Historian, Mr. L. Baltsiotis,[39] revealed the hidden aspects of the Greek politics in reference to ethnic Greeks abroad. During the last twenty years "new" Greeks have been discovered, and have been adopted by the Greek state as a different kind of *homogenis*. Some of them, like the Greek (pontic dialect) speaking Muslims of the Kara Deniz (Black Sea) area, were used as political instruments in the Greek-Turkish dispute. Others, like the Gagauz

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[36] "Homogeneia and the nation"

[37] "Strategies of management of Greek origin returnees in contemporary Greece (1990-2006)".

[38] "Modern approaches of the notion of citizenship: The case of the Turkish-Muslim minority in Thrace"

[39] "The discovery of the new Greeks in between the political and the ludicrous: from Pontics of Turkey to Kalash".

population in the Moldova Republic, constitute another battlefield between Greek and Turkish nationalism. In Greece today the re-examining and comprehending boundaries of national belonging receives outmost political importance.

Finally, Dr Andreas Takis[40], tried to interpret the constitutional term *ethnos* (nation). He addressed the following questions: Which nation do the minority members of Parliament represent today or the children of the immigrants in some years ahead? Is an idea of a nation devoid from pre-political organic national elements convincible? Would it be possible for such an idea to be distinguished from the legal concept of the "people", meaning the totality of the holders of a specific nationality in a specific time? A plausible positive answer should necessarily consider the nation as the political community of all holders of a specific citizenship over historical time regardless of their ethnicity.

9th SESSION
Talking about us: Alterity as "subject"

Summary Report by Miranda Terzopoulou (translated by M. Pavlou)

The 9th session was dedicated to the research and study of the "discourse" used by the immigrants; the discourse in a sense of language, perspective, communication and expression of alterity; or even as an effort of integration into the Greek society. Additional focus was given to the interest and the attempts of the Greek state agencies to "listen" to the minority discourse.

The session explored the relation between immigrants and the radio stations in Greece after 1990, from the perspective of immigrants and of mass media professionals. The following questions were posed: To what extent do immigrants consider radio a reliable source of information? Do they believe that radio expresses their views and concerns, and how often do they intervene and participate in news programs? What is the official stance of the representatives and associations of immigrants on the Greek radio? How much do the news radio stations deal with immigration issues, and are there today or have there been in the past special radio programs covering migration issues if so, what language is being/was used?[41]

Another report analysed the discourse articulated by the second generation of immigrants from Albania and Bulgaria - those who arrived in Greece during childhood and whose main contact with the Greek society was within the education system. The analysis of their discourse and the relevant strategies adopted while participating in the Greek social reality, opens the door to exploring the ways they experience and present their immigration, the ways they manage and construct their identity, by articulating certain rhetoric and adopting certain strategies, and the ways they interpret their own past and present.

The peculiarities of the research field have conditioned methodological choices and the direction research has taken. For instance, the irregular status of immigrants in the past rendered the use of questionnaires and the formation of the representative sampling difficult. The regularisation programmess of the past years have allowed for surveys with

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[40] " "Vive la nation!" or the institutional symbolism of nation today"

[41] Vlasis Vlasidis – Evelina Antonarou, «Immigrants and radio in contemporary Greece »

significantly larger and more representative samples. Respectively, EU funding of research after 2000 had a positive impact on research by encouraging a larger sample and use of many complementary research methods. The reports highlighted the shortcomings of the current national research in Greece, namely the scarcity of research on the relation of immigrants with the state organs and bureaucracy, and the limited investigation of xenophobia, racism and stereotypes, all themes covered more extensively by international rather than national research[42].

The textual approach of the immigration experience through literature texts was based on the relevant literature written by Albanian immigrants in Greece during the last 15 years, in either Albanian or in Greek language. The research aimed at examining the views of immigrants about Greece as a reception country. The texts were classified according to the language chosen by the authors. This criterion was considered highly indicative of the degree of their integration into the Greek society, but also of the formation of their immigrant identity as formal and as only a marginal one.

An investigation of this central issue was performed on the specific representative material - texts written in Albanian and Greek languages and published in Greece and Albania – by applying a following complex textual method: the literature work was examined as an artistic product through its special constituting codes. In order to obtain data about identity representations it was necessary to perform particular analysis of the narrative organization and the socio-linguistic composition of the text[43].

A socio-psychological contribution into the research on integration of Albanian immigrants in the Greek society was offered by the responses to questionnaires addressing Albanian immigrants, Greek ethnic Albanian immigrants and Greek citizens, with respect to the integration strategies preferred by each of these groups. The factors affecting such strategies are prejudice, racism, identification with the ethnic group, and relation between integration strategies and social advancement. In this framework, the main issues highlighted by the research are the 'Greekness' criteria, the differentiation among ethnic groups, prioritising of history or religion, the need to preserve cultural identities and so forth. The research findings emphasize the particular position of Greek ethnic Albanians as kin minority and immigrant group in Greece, which is crucial for integration strategies and for the construction of common sense and public representations of the integration[44].

Finally, Sigalas and Gavrilidis[45] presented an analysis of public discourse of Pontic associations in Greece during the last decade. These associations worked as lobby groups for the recognition of the "genocide of the Pontic Hellenism" by Kemalist troops in the 1920's, which has been finally recognized by the Greek state in 1998. Based on historical arguments and archive testimonies, the paper's first argument has been that the term "genocide" is innapropriate to describe the clashes between the Greek Pontic population and the Neo-Turkish troops before the massive exodus of Greeks from Turkey in 1923. However, the term "genocide" has been recently adopted by the descendants of the 1922 refugees, and has been expressed and used in late 20th century not only for clearly political

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[42] Alexandra Siotou, «Juvenile migrant discourses : cases of Albanians and Bulgarians»

[43] Konstantina Evaggelou, «The migration experience in the literature of Albanian immigrants in Greece. A textual approach»

[44] Xenia Chrysochoou, "How do Greek citizens, "Voreioipirotes" and Albanians perceive the strategies of inclusion and which factors affect them?»

[45] «Pontic melancholy: the ambivalent discourse of a "minority-majority".

goals, but also for a more complex psychological operation: While arguing that Turkey is to blame for the extermination of the Pontic Hellenism, the group identifies with Greek nationalism. This happens in a rather paradoxical way: the cultural and linguistic elements that differentiate them from the other Greeks are used as tools for their very identification with the Greek nation ("we are the true Greeks because we are Pontics").

10th SESSION:
Public Discourse and Political Culture

Summary Report by Athina Skoulariki

In the context of a democratic public sphere, the visibility of minority groups, their access to the media and the quality of public debate on minority rights and immigration are key factors of integration and indicators of the respect of civil rights. A common conclusion of the 10th session was that, despite a manifest progress towards more pluralistic and informed approaches to minority and immigration issues, critical aspects of these issues are excluded from public discussion – either ignored, or kept in silence.

Greek political culture, sensible as it might be regarding freedom of expression since 1974, did not encourage the expression of minority claims. Public debate on minority issues is itself constrained by generalisations and stereotypical approaches. Athena Skoulariki[46] pointed out the contradictions and taboos of public discourse on minorities and ethnic groups, which remain largely invisible in a society that praises national homogeneity.

Regarding the one and only officially recognized minority in Greece, the Muslim minority in Western Thrace, Greek governments and state officials declare respecting the principle of equal treatment of minority citizens and implementing the Lausanne Treaty and the European norms of human rights protection. Yet, extreme suspicion towards minority claims is often expressed in the political and public discourse, the existence of "national" minorities in Greece is denied, and the right of minority citizens to self-definition is refused to groups or associations. Last spring, the decision of the major opposition party, PASOK, to present a young woman lawyer, member of the Muslim minority, as candidate super-prefect in eastern Macedonia and western Greek Thrace (Drama, Kavala, Xanthi) launched the debate concerning the actual integration of minority citizens. Reactions were thus expressed, as many attributed to the candidate the will to serve Turkish interests while others openly questioned her national allegiance.

The case of the Slavic-speaking Macedonians in Greece was discussed by Giorgos Angelopoulos and Ioannis Manos[47]. In the context of the dispute over the use of the name Macedonia between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, it is a highly polarized issue. Taking into consideration that the construction of identities is a dynamic process, subject to change, old and recent tensions in the region and the experience of suppression in the past have consolidated a strong ethnic identity among the Slavic-speaking population in northern Greece. Far from being a cohesive community, social differentiations, political

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[46] « The Existent and the "non-existent": stereotypes, silences and contradictions of political discourse on minorities».

[47] «Five questions about the macedonian minority in Greece».

affiliations and personal attitudes shape a complex social reality. Since the early 1990's, a small group of activists has claimed a national Macedonian identity. This group has limited or no access to the mainstream media. Public discourse is generally hostile to expressions of minority claims, which are perceived as a threat to national security. At the same time, the difference between ethnic and national identity is not clear to most Greeks, while lack of information on the historical background, as well as power relations in local societies make the question absolutely obscure to the wider public.

Leonidas Karakatsanis[48] explored the role of the NGOs in the case of a group of Muslims from Thrace living in a popular district in the centre of Athens. The existence of this small Muslim "village" in the heart of the city is rather ignored by Athenians. Considered to be gypsies, the ethnic name *Turks* is denied to them by elite of the minority, while the term *Muslims* seems also irrelevant, since they are not truly religious. The activity of the NGOs providing care has created a network of social actors implicated with the life of the community. Their presence, though, contributes to the production of a discourse of authority concerning the groups' culture, which is internalized and assimilated by the members of the group. Several questions are raised, therefore, in regards with the activity of the NGOs, as far as the representation of the population's culture is concerned, the act of naming the group, the (non)political approach, or the consequences of the interaction between the activists and the group.

Unlike minority issues, the issue of immigration has not eluded public discourse. Since 1990, it is a rather central both in political debates and in the media. This by no way means that discussion on immigration is thorough and well-documented. Miltos Pavlou[49] presented a research focusing on the parliamentary debates on immigration laws. The rhetoric on immigrants seems to have shifted from the early 1990's when the dominant term was "clandestine immigrant", to "foreigner", some years later – or even "Albanian", a name with multiple connotations –, and only after the year 2000 to the neutral "immigrant". While the objective of immigration laws is declared to be integration and equality in the labour market, the procedures involve a high degree of arbitrary practices by the state personnel, bureaucratic complications and a policy that prolongs immigrants' state of insecurity. There is, therefore, a clear contradiction between discourse and practice, pro-human rights rhetoric and measures of repression.

Representing the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, Eirini Kitsou-Mylona[50] gave an insight on the Commissioner's approach to minority issues and migrants. She explained the pragmatic/empirical approach of the Commissioner has as natural consequence that he is not dealing with definitions related to minorities or with the description of their historical characteristics. For the Commissioner, a minority needs protection because as a group it is numerically inferior and politically vulnerable and subject to discrimination. The Commissioner's approach to minority issues resembles the ECourtHR requirements which are not far from an empirical approach. The reading of the viewpoints published on the Commissioner's website confirms the abovementioned approach of minorities based on discrimination. With this, the number of minority groups who need protection (eg women, LGTB) goes beyond national minorities. The same applies to migrants. The Commissioner's reports show that he does not request a specific policy and

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[48] «Actions and interactions: Civil society, alterity and the problem of anti-policy»
[49] «The turn of the public discourse on migration and the migration policies: delays and challenges»
[50] «Migrants and minorities in Greece: the Human Rights Commissioner of the Council of Europe approach»

does not comment on Governments' political options as regards admission. But when violations of human rights appear in the way migrants are treated, he criticizes them. His country visits are considered a major added value of the Commissioner. A respectful, constructive but independent and objective analysis of the situation, by someone who is in the unique position to possess himself a comparative view of Europe as a whole, invites itself in the national political debate. There is no fingerpointing but there is analysis and dialogue with the authorities and the civil society as well as a call for dialogue between them.

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11ᵗʰ SESSION
Normative approaches on the status of national - religious minorities and migrants

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Summary Report by Dimitris Christopoulos

What are the fundamental premises on which lie the treatment of minorities and migrants within the Greek legal system? How can a system - traditionally indifferent or even hostile to minority aspirations - like the Greek one, assimilate values and claims of minority groups? What are the obstacles for such integration and what plausible arguments may be put forward in order to advocate changes? These are the main questions addressed in the session.

For Prof. D. Dimoulis the heart of the problem lies in the fact that minorities are simply invisible to the Greek public order.[51] As it is well known, the Greek law does not recognize any minorities, apart from the Muslim one in Western Thrace due to the Lausanne Treaty. Consequently, it is often asserted that minorities in Greece are discriminated against. However, this is a partially correct perception: persons belonging to any such groups are treated as everybody else, unless they do not manifest any minority identity. In case they do, then "negation" instead of "discrimination" describes more accurately their treatment. Discrimination comes as a result. Since, for the Greek law, minorities do not exist, then the constitutionally enshrined freedoms of expression and association are simply not valid for people who claim their minority belonging. Then, the following normative paradox occurs: instead of the law being interpreted according to the constitutional principles, the reverse occurs: the constitution is interpreted according to the law.

A similar normative paradox is manifested by the abuse of the clause of "public order" put forward by the Greek jurisprudence. "Public order" is traditionally used by Greek justice as a restrictive interpretational clause to certain rights exercised by individuals belonging to minorities (in different terms than the ones prescribed in the Lausanne treaty). Dr C. Papastylianos[52] examined the case law of the Greek courts in reference to the relevant case law of the European Court of Human Rights, pointing out that for the Greek jurisdictional authorities any possibility of collective self-definition ("Turks", "Macedonians" and so on) *prima facie* stumbles upon this specific interpretation of the "public order" clause. Again here, we witness a paradox, similar to the one described earlier: instead of interpreting a clause of restriction of rights according to the constitution and the ECHR, this same clause restricts the interpretation of the constitutional provisions and the relevant international documents binding the country.

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[51] «The invisible minorities in the Greek legal order»
[52] «Alterity and Public Order: The right of collective self-definition in Greek legal order: trends of case law and jurispredence»

Dr. Papapolychroniou, has put forward the term «interpretational pluralism» as a plausible way out of this normative impasse.[53] Minority values could become parameters of the constitutional interpretation on the condition that the juridical interpretation abandons the field of the abstract and formal legal reasoning (i.e. "minorities do not exist") and tackles concrete plural values enshrined in every legal order by different social groups. As the recent Greek constitutional case law has demonstrated, in fields such as the indication of religion in the identity cards or the affirmative action in favour of women, a concrete legal reasoning is the only way to take into consideration the claims of groups that have been traditionally neglected by the Greek legislator. The relevant decisions have put in question dominant perceptions about social and religious equality and have therefore offered a fertile normative soil for further legislative and constitutional changes in the country.

The well-intentioned advocating of such a judicial activism however comes up against difficulties that the country's own recent history imposes upon the treatment of national and religious minorities. As Dr M. Tsapogas[54] has pointed out, two are the main factors that have historically and politically contributed to the treatment of the minority religious groups: on the one hand is the power of the dominant religious group, based on the imaginary identification with the nation and its privileged material links with the state; on the other, the survival of the Ottoman millet system which deems as necessary and desired the identification between state organization and religious community. Such a historical legacy makes the understanding of the inter-faith relations in terms of individual rights difficult. Instead, it favours a perception of inter-faith relations in terms of group privileges. It is worth noticing that often the elites of the religious minorities themselves also perceive religion as means of public self-definition of the citizen rather than an individual right: an illustrative example of such pattern is the fact that one of the most widespread claims of the institutions representing religious minorities is the tax exemption, looking up to the example of the Orthodox Church.

One of the reasons that the above-mentioned model has reached its historical limits only at the end of the 20th century is related to the massive presence of migrants of different religious faiths in the country. The first legislative attempt to treat the migration phenomenon in the country (1991) has been characterized by the following concern: (as with minorities) migrants should remain invisible for the Greek legal order. The only condition for them to stay in the country has actually been to be illegal. As C. Hatzi has pointed out[55] the Greek state decided to investigate means of legalisation of migrants' presence in the territory with a considerable delay and in three consecutive legislative phases (1997, 2001, 2006). Each of these stages represents a different perception of the "foreigner" as a capital of labour force rather than human rights subject. Despite the fact that each new legalization attempt tends to include more than to exclude, it is quite illustrative that even according to the latest law, the Greek Code of Administrative Procedure applies only to Greek citizens. The ratification of the EU directives (2004) on long-term residents, family reunification and combating discrimination for the first time explicitly offers a message favouring a political discourse of "integration" rather than of the "Greece-fortress".

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[53] "The interpretative pluralism as condition of inclusion of minority values in law".
[54] «Tolerance and supervision under the shade of the predominant religion».
[55] «Migrants and discriminations».

12th SESSION
Theory and methodology regarding minority and immigration phenomena[56]

Summary Report prepared by Fotini Tsibiridou

This session discussed the fundamental issues that determine the theoretical frame and provide the analytical tools for examining the minority and immigration phenomena of the present. One such issue is the time-frame and the political context, within which the appearance of minorities and the migration phenomena tend to gain in importance. The post-cold war period is characterized by specific neo-liberal features leading the authorities of European countries' towards "multiculturalism" practices,[57] towards the decline of the social state and the increase in "security" and "control" measures against foreigners.[58] The extensive action and relative influence of the Council of Europe on issues regarding human rights needs to be positively acknowledged, for it enables the visibility of minority rights.

All of the aforementioned issues, as well as the "control" and "security" measures taken on the national and transnational levels, re-introduce various kinds of human rights violations.

The "multiculturalism" policies reproduce micro and macro power struggles within a vague frame of old and new hegemonies, creating additional discrimination between old and new minorities.

Finally, the decline of the social state redefines the cultural priorities of the national states towards policies of the privileged treatment of affluent populations at the expense of politically vulnerable groups (see historical minorities, Roma, immigrants, women). In this context, the "relief" policies (positive discrimination) seem to be carried out in terms of "philantropia", "victimisation",[59] "stigmatisation", giving *privileges* and not *rights* to second class citizens. For all the above reasons, individuals belonging to minorities or migrant groups, as well as female and other gender subjectivities, can and must be scientifically recognised as "politically vulnerable groups",[60] as "minorities" or even "subaltern" people[61] in this post-colonial, post-national and transnational framework, which is helping them paradoxically to acquire conscience and emancipation at the same time.[62] A critical standing before all these contradictions and paradoxes in our analytical process and classifications, leads us to the second issue, related to semantic policies regarding minority and immigration phenomena.

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[56] The following remarks and hypotheses are based on the 12th session, as well as, on a broader number of the total presented papers and the accompanied discussion and conclusions. Here, we are only mentioning some of the representative data and theoretical theses.

[57] Yakoumaki, "Discovering" the Jewish identity during the last decade in Greece: the re-opening of the *Etz Hayyim* synagogue as a case study of new managements of alterity», Tsibiridou, «"Minority" as a conceptual tool and a political stake»; Petrakou, «Policies on immigration and "illegal migration" in Greece and the EU»

[58] Karydis,«The fear of crime: "Us" and the "Others".

[59] Kambouri,-Zavou, «Gendered dimensions of migration: Silent subjects and identity policies».

[60] Kitsou-Mylona, "Migrants and minorities in Greece: the Human Rights Commissioner of the Council of Europe approach".

[61] Tsibiridou, «"Minority" as a conceptual tool and a political stake».

[62] Zachou- Kalerante, «The Albanian associations in Greece: Ethnic identifications and socio-cultural transformations»; Arapoglou, «In-group divisions of immigrants in Athens and policies of their management»; Schina, «The female migrant as a catalyst of gendered self-awareness ».

On an institutional level (EU, national policies), but also on a scientific one, analysis options vary between legal definitions and empirical assumptions. The normative assumption of relating minority rights to human rights, leads to paradoxes deriving from the combination "claim/recognition" and the collective (see "group") demands.[63] In this way, there are various exclusions first of those of the weakest voice, who usually follow generalised hegemonies because of historical (marginal minorities)[64] or cultural reasons (women, marginal immigrants, religious minorities[65]), whereas vulnerable groups of citizens are stigmatised due to sexism and racism (see women and other gender categories, gypsies[66]). The intervention of Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe regarding such "politically vulnerable categories" which potentially should be considered as "minorities", is in the line of empirical observations leading to the above deductions.[67] It is of paramount importance in scientific field research that the analytical tools do not be imposed and determined "from above", but co-formulated within the context that defines them. It is a fact that the lack of reflexivity about how the legal, the sociological and the anthropological knowledge are produced leads to assumptions, which obscure rather than clarify the above issues. The minority and immigration phenomena should each time be deconstructed through the social dynamics that defines them, before or at the same time we determine them on the legal-institutional level.[68]

The third issue concerns the educational and interventionist as well as activist policies. These can be separated in three levels.

The first level comprises of the policies "*from the above*" - the intervention policies of the EU and the national governments (see policies about local potential development and minorities' visibility,[69] European National research programs regarding education of minority children,[70] intercultural education[71] or the national legalization project for the immigrants[72]). It has been noticed that positive discrimination policies in favour of new

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[63] Tsibiridou, «"Minority" as a conceptual tool and a political stake»; Papapolychroniou, «The interpretative pluralism as condition of inclusion of minority values in law»; Papastylianos, «Alterity and Public Order: The right of collective self-definition in Greek legal order: trends of case law and jurispredence».

[64] Skoulariki, « The Existent and the "non-existent": stereotypes, silences and contradictions of political discourse on minorities»; Kostopoulos, «A still born nation building? State planning on the Pomaks of Thrace (1956-2006)»; Beis, «Linguistic hegemony in Greece»; Rombou-Levidi, «Dance beyond the "barre"»; Georgalidou–Hasan–Aytaç., «Linguistic repertoires and identity issues: the bilingual (in Greek and Turkish language) community of Muslims in Rhodes»; Aggelopoulos-Manos, «Five questions about the "macedonian minority" in Greece»; Dimoulis, «The invisible minorities in the Greek legal order».

[65] Yakoumaki,, "Discovering" the Jewish identity during the last decade in Greece: the re-opening of the *Etz Hayyim* synagogue as a case study of new managements of alterity»; Karamouzis-Paschoundakis, « Inclusion of religious minorities within the modern Greek society: the cases of Armenians and Old Calendarists»; Bekridakis, «The treatment of alternative religious groups by the Greek Church ».

[66] Ioannidou, «Margins within margins: politics of ethnography in the edges of the "Muslim minority" in Komotini».

[67] Kitsou-Mylona, "Migrants and minorities in Greece: the Human Rights Commissioner of the Council of Europe approach".

[68] Papapolychroniou, «The interpretative pluralism as condition of inclusion of minority values in law».

[69] Yakoumaki, "Discovering" the Jewish identity during the last decade in Greece: the re-opening of the *Etz Hayyim* synagogue as a case study of new managements of alterity»; Dimoulis, «The invisible minorities in the Greek legal order».

[70] Askouni, «Minority education and sociological research: the emergence of social change»; Moschonas, «Parallel monolingualisms: The case of minority education in Thrace»

[71] Tsimouris, «Intercultural Practices in Greek secondary education: The view of teachers»

[72] Hatzi, «Migrants and discriminations».

citizens and historical minorities are often adopted on the basis of either national interests,[73] or national stereotypes and dichotomies. In the first instance they tend to reproduce the specific traits of cultural nationalism (see policies for 'home returnees' in Greece [Palinostoundes or Voreioipirotes[74]]), through cultural conceptions of sexist discriminations, which see immigrant women as victims of trafficking or housekeeping jobs and "in need of protection". In the second case they tend to keep the minorities apart (see policies of separate education for the Muslim Minority in Thrace, supported by Greek and Turkish state nationalisms[75]).

The second level - policies "*from below*"- includes a variety of actions and interventions of civil society, social clubs, artists and intellectuals who exercise social and cultural criticism and contribute to raising the awareness of citizens on stereotypes and discrimination.[76] However, one needs to point out the existence of various illegal *go-betweens* (some of which are even institutionalised), who claim to act in the interest of minorities or immigrants and charge them for their services. In the case of immigrants, these networks are occupying the bureaucratic gaps between the state and its citizens, not only in the immigrants' country of origin, but in their reception country as well. The organized semi-legal status of 'mafias' (Georgian, Romanian, Pontian, Albanian, etc), operating on the fringes of the legal state, redefines its political culture with new terms of client/patron and corruption characteristics.[77]

Finally, a third, "*intermediate*" *level* is the one resulting from academic practices. This mainly concerns initiatives on the part of research centres and university academics.[78] Academic knowledge, promoting critical thought towards political priorities and social needs is nowadays creating new fields of research regarding minority and immigration phenomena. This critical and reflexive stance within the particular historical and socio-political context must be dissociated from the strategic studies of the past (nationalist knowledge)[79] and new order (market politics oriented knowledge). The latter are producing ontological knowledge for the needs of nationalism or for the needs of the market economy and politics, using stereotypes, positivist models, deterministic concepts, and imposed categories as analytical tools.[80] By contrast, the conduction of immigration, minority and gender research programs in the Greek academic life can promote critical thought about the <u>new</u> Greek society and at the same time be sceptical about cultural nationalism.[81] To

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[73] Baltsiotis, «The discovery of the new Greeks in between the political and the ludicrous: from Pontics of Turkey to Kalash »; Ventura, «'Homogeneia' and the nation»; Takis, «"Vive la nation!" or the institutional symbolism of nation today».

[74] Voggli-Mylonas, «Strategies of management of Greek origin returnees in contemporary Greece (1990-2006)»; Chrysochoou, «How do Greek citizens, "Voreioipirotes" and Albanians perceive the strategies of inclusion and which factors affect them?»

[75] Papanikolaou, «Modern approaches of the notion of citizenship: The case of the Turkish-Muslim minority in Thrace»; Askouni, «Minority education and sociological research: the emergence of social change»; Iliadis, «Turkey as a kin state of the Muslims in Thrace: the Greek reactions».

[76] Karakatsanis, «Actions and interactions: Civil society, alterity and the problem of anti-policy»; Schina, «The female migrant as a catalyst of gendered self-awareness »; Evaggelou, «The migration experience in the literature of Albanian immigrants in Greece. A textual approach»; Zachou-Kalalerante, «The treatment of alternative religious groups by the Greek Church ».

[77] This issue was unfortunately not discussed in the session.

[78] Markou, «The scientific endeavor on the approach of minorities within the Greek academia».

[79] Markou, «The scientific endeavor on the approach of minorities within the Greek academia».

[80] Triantafilidou, «The Greek case on migration through a new theoretical approach: attempt of explanation».

[81] Siotou, «Juvenile migrant discourses : cases of Albanians and Bulgarians»; Tsibiridou, «"Minority" as a conceptual tool and a political stake».

conceptualise in terms of labour force or in terms of human rights means to conceptualise through the particular socio-cultural dynamics, producing knowledge on national and transnational contexts.[82] Minority, immigration as well as gender studies seem to be effective by raising the awareness of students and citizens against multiple discriminations and inequalities helping, in this way, democracy to mature.[83]

Concluding remarks

by Dimitris Christopoulos

The conference ended with an account of KEMO's first decade presented by the administrative secretariat of the Centre[84], and a round table where prominent Greek academics[85], as rapporteurs of different sessions, provided their own input into the debate on minorities and migration in Greece.

From the outset of KEMO's 10-year itinerary, it has been evident to its founding members that the academic work on issues related to historical (national, linguistic, religious) minorities constitutes the pick of our theoretical and research orientations. The ideological capital that the political system in Greece has invested in disdaining any discussion relevant to minorities has been accumulated to such extent, that unfortunately, even today dealing with minorities is one of the longest lasting taboos for the Greek academia.

Over these 10 years we barely had the chance to confront serious arguments against our views. Many times we have been asked or have even asked ourselves "Who, on the state's behalf officially declares anything different about minorities?" but to no avail. Institutions and individuals reproducing official state discourse in public do not say anything different about minorities because they do not say anything about them at all. Minorities are simply invisible. Consequently, KEMO claims a rather paradoxical record: it is comprised of social researchers dealing with the "non existent": Turks, Macedonians and so on.

By the same token, unfortunately we have to track down something seriously alarming: a deeply routed authoritarianism inspiring the country's political culture. The state discourse does not bother appealing to rational arguments, implicitly claiming (and hoping) that silence and imposed forgetfulness is by far the most realistic answer to any debate. Nevertheless, it is true that Greece is not the only country in Europe where minority issues are offered for "nationally sensitive", consequently socially insensitive" or politically authoritarian perceptions both by the states and minorities themselves. One of the premises of such discourse is that what the state claims for minorities within its territory is exactly what it detests when it comes to its co-ethnics abroad and vice-versa. The findings of our

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[82] Ventura, «'Homogeneia' and the nation».
[83] Final discussion and comments by Pesmazoglou , Alivizatos, Christopoulos, Tsitselikis, Mavromatis.
[84] Dimitris Christopoulos, Giorgos Mavromatis, Konstantinos Tsitselikis.
[85] Nikos Alivizatos, Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, Nikiforos Diamandouros, Thaleia Dragona, Makis Kouzelis, Christina Koulouri, Stefanos Pesmazoglou, Christos Rozakis.

research on Greek minorities in Turkey and Albania, as well as the politics regarding the so-called "homogenis" (ethnic Greek) returnees unfortunately lead to the same conclusions. The political instrumentalisation and the ideological entrenchment are the fundamental references in the state discourse, despite the fact that considerable proportion of the Greek political elites has gradually understood that the phobic perseverance against whomever tries to question the obsolete perceptions and policies has deeply counterproductive political consequences upon the international position and political system of Greece.

Along with the research on historical minorities, since 2000, KEMO started gradually to explore issues related to recent migration towards Greece. The two phenomena – minority and migration – are not irrelevant. The historical process of motivating migration creates minorities. Although international protection norms have a different origin, since minorities have been traditionally considered as a distinct group from migrants, nowadays international institutions increasingly focus on both groups in the context of similar, if not equal, normative standards. The research in both areas could be classified under common methodological perspectives to the extent that we are facing both phenomena in their specific historical context. It is exactly this historical context that guides the meaning we give to words and concepts. We do not support the opinion that all social or other deviances could be classified under the term "minority", despite the stance of a considerable proportion of the European, but mainly the American, academia. The latter tend to forget that history has its role and importance in shaping concepts. The familiarization with Greek history is the key for understanding the "Greek particularity" towards minorities. Nevertheless, this cannot plausibly help to justify everything done against them. It is evident that in history there is always ideology, but history as such is *not* (simply) ideology.

Within this intellectual perspective, particular attention should be paid to the specific historical and political performances of the term "nation" for research on historical minorities acknowledging together the equally crucial term "class" for migration studies.

Nowadays, the historical legacy of minority treatment in Greece lies heavily on the current perception of migration in the country: suffice it to note that the acquisition of the Greek nationality is the most difficult in Europe. For more than a decade, market forces, acting under a regime of complete state absence, assumed the task of migrants' integration. The weight of what has been addressed as "Greek national mythology" (the so-called "non existent" minority issues) is such that it often leads the Greek state to overlook what is already rooted within it. It's only very recently, that migration started to be perceived as a permanent rather than a precarious phenomenon in the country.

Due to the above-mentioned facts, KEMO's attempt to forge a new area study in Greek academic discourse demands a devoted work of reflective and dispassionate nature both in the research of issues related to minorities and in the migration studies.