

3.6 Migration and Mobility Policy

Chair: Gerasimos Tsourapas (University of Glasgow)

Boura Smaro University of the Peloponnese	The EU's Democracy and Human Rights Promotion in the Southern Mediterranean and the Role of Greece's State Apparatus and Civil Society Organisations: is the migration crisis a chance or a dilemma?
Romanou Nefeli National and Kapodistrian University of Athens	Integration and Inclusion Programmes for Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers (MRAs) in Greece Between 2016-2024: evaluating their successful implementation and the role of the relationship between street-level bureaucrats and MRAs in this case
Tyrovolas Thanasis National and Kapodistrian University of Athens	Times of Increasing Inequalities between Mixed Migration and Privileged Mobility Schemes



The EU's democracy and human rights promotion in the Southern Mediterranean and the role of Greece's state apparatus and civil society organisations: is the migration crisis a chance or a dilemma?

10th Biennial PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece & Cyprus, Hellenic Observatory, LSE 26TH of May 2023

Smaro Boura
PhD Student, University of the Peloponnese

THE EU'S DEMOCRACY & HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION IN ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS

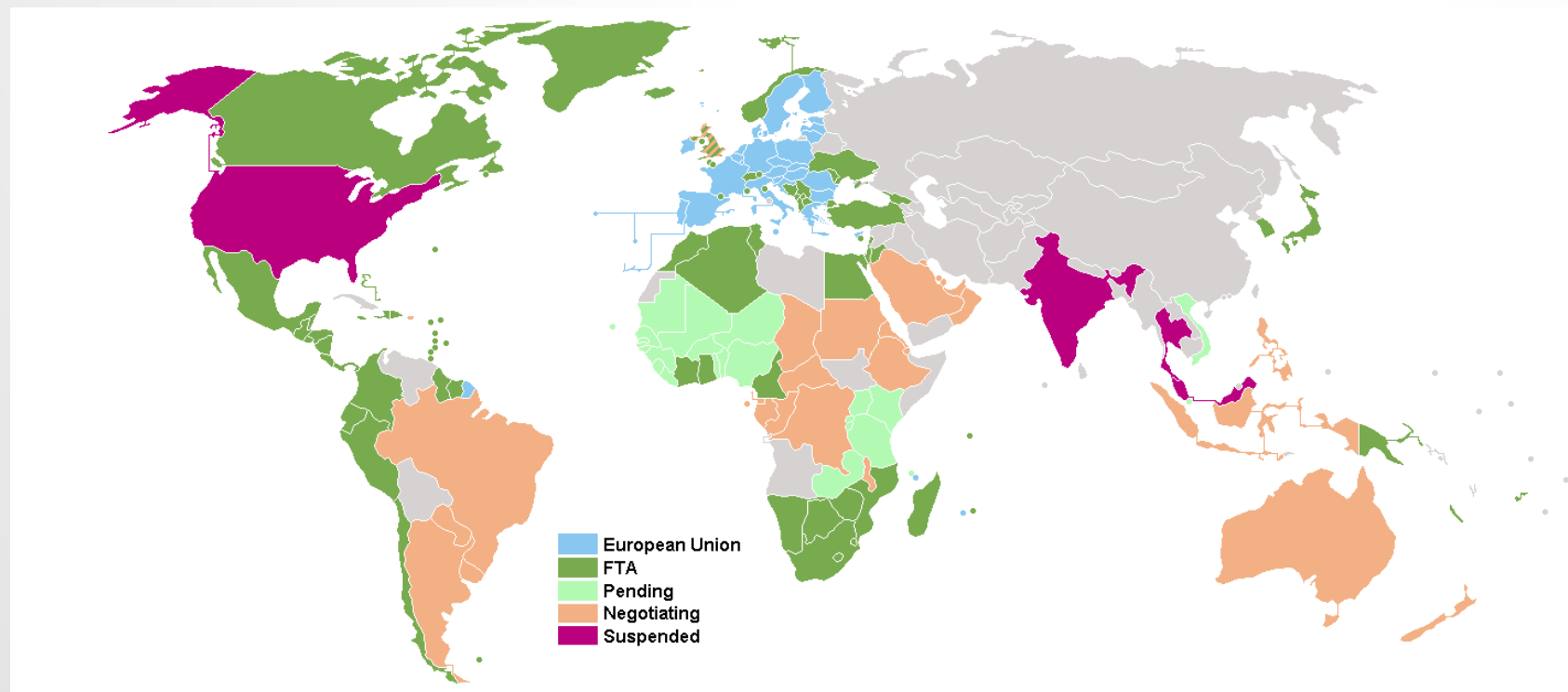
- Council Resolution on "**Human Rights, Democracy and Development**" in 1991
- Treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice
- Communication on 2001 on the "**EU's Role in Promoting Human Rights & Democratisation in Third Countries**" (COM(2001)252)
- Consensus of Development in 2005 which outlines the EU's vision for development inclusive of common values of human rights and fundamental freedoms, peace and democracy (Council, 2005c:6)

FINANCIAL MECHANISMS FOR SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY & HUMAN RIGHTS

- EIDHR (European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights)
- European Electoral Monitoring Missions
- ENI (European Neighbourhood Instrument)

HUMAN RIGHTS CLAUSES IN THIRD COUNTRY AGREEMENTS

- Third Country Agreements include human rights clauses since May 1995, placing human rights & democracy in the heart of EU's foreign policy including the conditionality principle = “sticks and carrots”



EURO-MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERSHIP

- PYLON 1: cooperation and dialogue policies → DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY
- PILLAR 2: economic cooperation and the creation of a free trade agreement
- PILLAR 3: socio-cultural cooperation and a stronger role of civil society



NO REFERENCE TO DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING IN THE REGION

EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY

- REGIONAL COOPERATION → to achieve prosperity, stability and border security
- BILATERAL AGREEMENTS OR ACTION PLANS

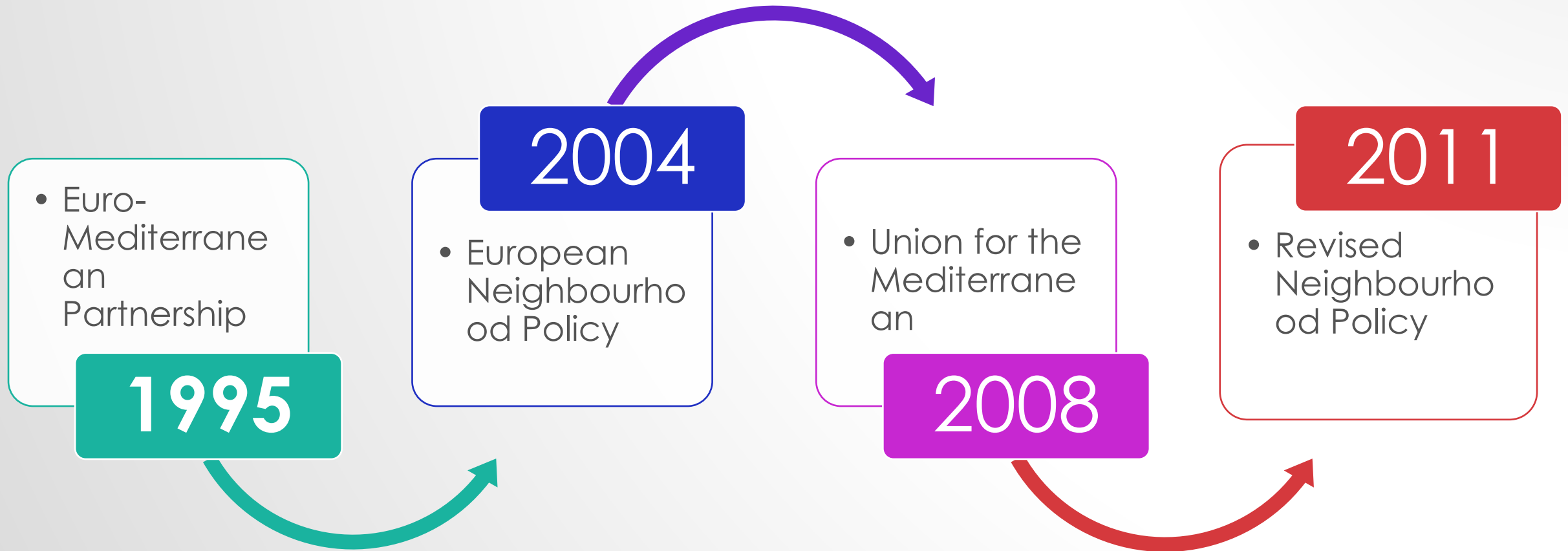


- COMMITMENTS FOR BORDER CONTROL AND THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM →
- BARGAINING POWER FOR THE GOVERNING ELITES

UNION FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN

- Restoration of cooperation between European and Mediterranean countries
- Creating an area of **peace, stability, security** and shared **economic prosperity**, as well as **full respect for democratic principles, human rights and fundamental freedoms**, and promoting mutual understanding in the Euro-Mediterranean area.
- 6 priority topics:
- business development; transport & urban development; energy and climate action; water supply & environment; higher education and research; social and political affairs

THE EU AND MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, IN THE CONTEXT OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS



THE ARAB UPRISINGS

- 2011 it was the year that Arab revolutions broke in most of the countries of the Arab world
- That had implications in changing the geopolitical puzzle already known up to then
- The EU supported social movements for political reforms



THE EU IN FRONT OF THE EVENTS OF THE ARAB SPRING

- Crisis in the Eurozone
- Delay in response to the incidents in Tunisia
- Several European governments have advocated a cautious wait-to-see approach for fear of severing ties with the Tunisian governing parties.
- The tools used by the EU to deal with the uprisings were the **provision of humanitarian aid, the implementation of sanctions along with the revision of the ENP** (Baflour, 2012: 29; Whitman, 2012: 149). Following the conclusion of the **European Council on 4 February 2011** and the conclusions of the **Foreign Affairs Council of 21 February 2011**, the EU Member States expressed their explicit support for a **democratic transition** in the region with the **"EU Partnership for Democracy and Stability in the Southern Mediterranean"**.

REVISED EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY

- A key element of the ENP was **strengthening and promoting the role of civil society** in reforms and democratic change
- Top "**more for more**" principle
- European Neighborhood Mechanism: various additional EU initiatives and programs also support civil society in the region, such as the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)

2ND REVISION OF THE ENP IN 2015

Focus on enhancing cooperation with partners **on security reform, conflict prevention, counter-terrorism** and **radicalization policies**, in full compliance with international human rights law

- promoting good governance, democracy, the rule of law and human rights*
- The ENP will pursue more effective ways of promoting reforms with each partner in a mutually agreed form.*
- The ENP will take more action to strengthen civil society



THE MIGRATION CRISIS AND POWER ASYMMETRY

- Influx of more than 1 million refugees arriving by sea and land to European land in 2015;
- Created a power asymmetry which used migration flows as leverage with the EU; Jordan, Morocco, Turkey
- EU's decreasing bargaining power with third countries, less formal relations and more demand for financial incentives;
- Has the EU turned to a buffer zone? = regional disembarkation platforms in third countries in the Southern Mediterranean in exchange of financial and technical support
- Council Meeting 23th of April 2015: Strengthened European presence in the Mediterranean through Frontex operations Triton and Poseidon; Fighting smugglers through the EU Naval operation EUNAVFOR MED and increased cooperation with third countries
- The European Agenda on Migration and its four pillars: Increased Frontex operations and border controls with the cooperation of third countries taking stronger action on meeting their obligations and readmit their nationals

GREECE'S ROLE TO THE MIGRATION CRISIS

- Greece was in the midst of an economic crisis (deepest recorded of an OECD country)
- GDP decline by 27%, between the pre-crisis levels in 2008 and in 2016 (Eurostat, 2016);
- Real unemployment levels increased from 8,3% to 23,5% in 2016 (ELSTAT, 2020; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014:6;
- Official data by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), revealed an influx of 861,630 arrivals in 2015, with a gradual decrease from 2017 onwards (UNHCR, 2020). The most recent statistics showed 50,508 arrivals in 2018, 74,613 in 2019 and 15,682 in 2020 which affected by the COVID shock;

GREECE'S RESPONSE TO THE MIGRATION CRISIS

- Greek authorities “trapped”, unprepared and inefficient to respond to the highly influx of migrant and refugees,
- Dublin II Regulation: accommodation, healthcare, food and first aid to high numbers
- The migration crisis =>Security driven
- Division between Member-States
- Securitisation debates between MS= Negative perception of migration
- Sequence of events within the EU: Brexit, xenophobic sentiments & far-right parties

THE ROLE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE GREEK CONTEXT

- Widespread humanitarian relief operations;
- A strong mobilisation of civil society;
- Formal & informal structures & the Greek society;
- Two forms: the officially registered NGOs and voluntary organisations: movements through informal networks and self-help groups, either legally recognised or not (Sotiropoulos and Bourikos 2014; Polyzoidis 2015, p. 120)
- Continuation of social solidarity groups to respond to migration crisis;
- CSOs had a primary role in the implementation of support programmes for different vulnerable groups in areas of **first-aid, food, accommodation, education, employment**, (Kourachanis, et al., 2018), providing **health services** (Gunst et al., 2019), and **educational activities** in camps, emergency reception centres and informal accommodation settlements (Kalpaki, 2018).

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AT THE FOREFRONT

- Doctors of the World (MDM), (2015-2019), organised community-based interventions in 32 sites in remote areas in Greece, providing access to qualitative primary health care and reproductive health and psychosocial support services to more than 350,000 individuals;
- Doctors without Borders operated to provide health support in accommodation camps and hotspots;
- ARSIS, Metadrasi, Apostoli and Praksis provided accommodation for unaccompanied minors in Thessaloniki, Athens and Patra;
- Praksis participated in the accommodation provision programme STEGI+, as well as in the EU-funded Relocation and ESTIA programmes offering accommodation and psychosocial support to refugees and asylum seekers;
- Metadrassi, Solidarity Now, Greek Council of Refugees and Arsis implement various projects related to language learning, advocacy, educational programmes, cultural activities and orientation programmes;

LESSONS LEARNT

- Civil society organisations provided humanitarian aid in large due to partnerships with other organisations; **Apostoli NGO provided humanitarian aid to almost 2 million people in 2012 due to grassroots partnerships formatted** (Drakaki & Tzionas, 2017).
- Many collective actors bypassed official channels and created grassroots organisations and loose networks providing social assistance to vulnerable groups (Sotiropoulos, 2014);
- Such networks take the form of support mechanisms such as cooperatives, social groceries, and solidarity bazaars which run on a voluntary basis (Pantazidou 2013);
- Grassroots organisations also coordinated aid the first months of the refugee/migration crisis, (Micinski, 2019:7), before formal organisations operationalised their actions;
- A recent study conducted by Micinski (2019:7), revealed that the number of unofficial organisations almost double from 91 in 2016 to 168 organisations in 2017;
- Equally, the estimated number of the volunteers largely augmented from 1,300 to 26,000 between 2016 to 2017;

Is the migration crisis a chance or a dilemma?

THANKS FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

PhD Paper

Title: Integration and inclusion programs for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (MRAs) in Greece between 2016-2024: Evaluating their successful implementation and the role of the relationship between street-level bureaucrats and MRAs in this case

Author: Nefeli Romanou

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	3
Research question	4
Literature Review.....	5
Tracing the evolution of the Greek integration policies.....	8
Integration programmes in Greece after 2016.....	16
Methodology	19
Expected Findings.....	20
Conclusion	21
Bibliography	22

Introduction

At the end of the 20th century and especially after the so-called migrant crisis in 2015, Greece emerged as a new migrant-receiving country. The 2015 crisis and the EU-Turkey statement of 2016 changed the status of the country from transit to a destination (Leivaditi, et al., 2020). However, Greece had no official coordinated policy response planned or implemented regarding the integration of migrants and refugees that arrived in the country until the early 2000s (Kourachanis, 2018a). At the same time, there is a clear change in policy, both at national and European level, as member-states implement stricter asylum policies and border controls. In the light of such developments, Greece is facing a huge challenge integrating the migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (MRAs) that live within its borders.

However, the Greek government was not ready to cope with the huge number of migrants and refugees and offer them the basic services needed. Especially in the field of integration of migrants, Greece had small experience while at the same time the majority of the efforts focused on the creation of emergency service systems such as camps and temporary housing (Kourachanis, 2018b). Therefore, the gaps in social services and protection of the population were addressed mainly by the activities of NGOs and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014) (Rozakou, 2018). As a result, the role of these organisations is crucial when studying integration programs in the Greek context.

The last year, there has been a collective effort to shift the program management and services offered from the different NGOs to the Greek government (France24, 2021), (ECRE, 2021). Nevertheless, this does not minimise the importance of NGOs and CSOs in the field of integration. Therefore, the study and research of integration programs in Greece ought to include actors that work in the field either employed by the state or are independent actors working for an NGO, a CSO or voluntarily. The leading role of NGOs and CSOs in education, employment, solidarity, legal support, psychosocial healthcare and housing must not be underestimated especially since they have been the focal point of migrants' and refugees' representation (Bagavos & Kourachanis, 2021) (Kalogeraki, 2019).

In this context, this presentation will address this issue based on an overview of the PhD research that intends to evaluate the implementation of the already existing and upcoming integration programs between 2016-2024. However, as mentioned above, the role of NGOs and CSOs in Greece, especially in the field of integration is of paramount importance. Therefore, the research will also focus on the relationships shaped between street-level bureaucrats (actors working in the field either for the government or for an NGO-CSO) and MRAs and more specifically how their interaction affects the implementation of integration and inclusion programs. Closing, the presentation will introduce the chosen method of data collection to address the research questions which is in-depth, semi-structured interviews in combination with the compilation and analysis of existing literature and quantitative data.

Research question

This PhD aims at studying the integration policies and programs for migrants implemented both by the state and by the different NGOs and CSOs that are active in the field, during the period 2016-2024. More specifically, the study will focus on the effectiveness of the implementation of such programs on two levels. First, it will examine the adequacy of both already existing and upcoming programs based on the needs of the migrant population, assessing if the guidelines and instructions of the programs are applicable and sufficient. Additionally, it will investigate how they are implemented by street-level bureaucrats and how their relationship with the beneficiaries influences their work. With the purpose of understanding how these relationships are shaped and what factors affect them, this PhD will examine the role of social identities in the relationship between street-level bureaucrats and beneficiaries, such as gender and race.

Therefore, the first research question is: *Are integration and inclusion programs implemented effectively, considering their structure and goals?* The second question is: *How does the relationship between street-level actors and their clients (meaning migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers) affect the formers' discretionary power and, thus, the implementation of such programs? What role do social perceptions play in the formation of the relationship between street-level bureaucrats and their clients?*

Literature Review

The existing literature provides with a general overview of the integration programs for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers worldwide. However, Greece is a different case as the integration policy planning and implementation were absent until the early 2000s (Kourachanis, 2018a). Hence, there is a dire need to examine the forthcoming integration and inclusion programs that are planned and scheduled to be implemented by the government or by different NGOs and CSOs in the field.

Nevertheless, it is important to mention the existing bibliography and, also, define integration. To begin with, Ager and Strang claim that the key sectors of integration are four: success in employment, education, health, and housing; the exercise of citizenship and rights within the society; the creation of a relationship with the members of the community; and the handling of structural barriers related to culture, language and the local environment (Ager & Strang, 2008). On the other hand, Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas have adopted an open, non-normative approach defining integration as “the process of becoming an accepted part of society” (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). They differentiate between three dimensions of integration, the legal-political, the socioeconomic and the cultural-religious, two parties (the first being immigrants themselves and the other the receiving society) and three levels (individuals, organisations, and institutions). Regarding the examination of integration policies, they propose to also consider policy measures and frames, the vertical and horizontal aspects of integration policymaking (ibid).

It is worth mentioning that Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016) revealed an important facet of integration policymaking which is the shift from government to (multi-level) governance. More specifically, they emphasised the importance of actors at all administrative levels, agencies, institutions both private and public and NGOs. Therefore, this PhD makes use of this approach as it envisions examining the effectiveness of integration and inclusion programs on the field, how they are implemented by street-level actors and how the relationship of the last with MRAs affects the outcome and effectiveness of such programs. Therefore, the study will focus on all actors that are involved with integration programs either working for the state, an NGO or CSO. Especially, since in Greece, as mentioned above, integration and inclusion programs and policies are until now mainly implemented by NGOs and

funded by EU resources, such as the INTI program (2003-2013) and the AMIF (2014-), the REC program due to the lack of a coherent state policy approach (Leivaditi, et al., 2020).

In the last years, the academic world has begun to research the importance of street-level bureaucrats in policy implementation as it is important to note the difference between policy planning and policy implementation in the field. Inspired by Lipsky's (1980) Street-Level Bureaucracy theory, there have been many studies that evolved the well-known theory (Lipsky, 1980). To begin with, according to Lipsky (1980), street-level bureaucrats act as liaisons between the government and the citizens, implementing decisions of government and state policymakers and interacting with the public. Therefore, street-level bureaucrats have to some degree, discretionary power regarding the enforcement of law, rules and policies which are in charge of executing. In the field of migration, street-level bureaucrats can be teachers, social workers, lawyers and in general any specialisation that interacts with MRAs in the field. This study will focus on street-level bureaucrats that work with MRAs who have obtained a residence permit or any kind of residence status and are therefore considered eligible to participate in integration programs.

Regarding street-level bureaucrats and integration policy implementation, the research is scarce. There have been few studies that examine the issue (Van der Leun, 2006), (Ellermann, 2005), (Marrow, 2009), (Graham, 2002), (Bouchard & Carroll, 2002), (Fuglerud, 2004). The majority of the studies that have been conducted in the field are in other European countries, such as the Netherlands and Germany, but not Greece (Belabas & Gerrits, 2015). Concerning the Greek case, there are only a few studies that examine the discretionary power of street-level bureaucrats in the asylum processes, especially the front-line workers in the Greek islands that worked in the reception system (Glyniadaki, 2021). However, no study examines street-level bureaucrats' discretionary behaviour and power regarding integration and inclusion programs in Greece between 2019-2024. One reason for this is because such programs in Greece are newly born.

Existing literature focuses on the discretionary power of street-level bureaucrats and how their perspectives affect their decision-making. To begin with, there is a substantial amount of research about how street-level bureaucrats' behaviour is shaped by

identifying patterns of behaviour. For example, Evans argues that the background of street-level bureaucrats affects their perception of deservingness and the rightfulness of the rules and policies as people with a professional background often have a different opinion than those with a non-professional background (Evans, 2010). Other scholars have made an effort to identify causal mechanisms that shape street-level bureaucratic behaviors but have concluded that there cannot be one unified, fully complete theory as it is impossible for one single factor to fully explain their discretionary behaviour (Loyens & Maesschalck, 2010). Therefore, there is a need to develop more theories and examine even further this issue.

Many academics, such as Loyens & Maesschalck (2010), Scott (1997) and Hasenfield (1983), have identified three main factors that influence street-level bureaucratic behaviour: individual characteristics, organisational characteristics, and the power of client features in influencing decision outcomes (Belabas & Gerrits, 2015). It is important to mention that Loyens & Maesschalck (2010) also refer to the work of Vinzant and Crothers (1998) who bring up another influential category that relates to the broader community, regulations, law, other state and service agencies, the media, and generally other situational variables. Another point of view is that the majority of the academics focus on the already existing literature around street-level bureaucrats in danger of neglecting social phenomena that might play a role in shaping their discretionary behaviour (Tummers, et al., 2013). For this reason, this PhD research study intends to use the three categories as a general guideline but also focus on the different social experiences and events the Greek society is going through in the last years and could affect the discretionary power and views of street-level bureaucrats.

One eminent view in this path of literature is the notion that street-level bureaucrats' behaviour is shaped by normative choices and especially by the belief in their clients' deservingness (Raaphorst & Groeneveld, 2018), (Jilke & Tummers, 2018), (Glyniadaki, 2022), (Baviskar & Winter, 2017). Empirical studies have demonstrated that negative stereotypes and perceptions of street-level bureaucrats related to race, gender or class can adversely affect their decisions regarding their clients (Glyniadaki, 2022). Of course, this can also happen the other way around, with bureaucrats' perceptions of their clients generating a positive outcome for the latter (Brockmann, 2017). On the same note, another interesting finding is that street-level bureaucrats' discretionary behaviour and decisions are affected by how different they see their

clients in comparison to themselves and how possible it is to change their perceptions in time (Glyniadaki, 2022).

Some academics connect street-level bureaucrats' behaviour and literature with social psychology and specifically with Identity Theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) and the Interpersonal Perception Method (Laing, et al., 1996), (Glyniadaki, 2022). In this context, they are also examining cases where migrants, due to their divergence and different background, are perceived as "Other" (Glyniadaki, 2022). For example, one of the primary frames that determine social relationships is gender (Ridgeway, 2009). In the majority of cases, the perception of gender, the stereotyping around gender roles and identity in society define, at some level, people's relationships and the expectations they hold. Likewise, gender is connected with the cultural beliefs of each society and era. Therefore, gender perspectives affect the way people interact and should be considered when examining street-level bureaucrats' discretionary behaviour and how it affects their relationships with migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

To conclude, the existing literature has set the base for further examination of street-level bureaucrats' role in integration and inclusion programs, their relationship with their clients (meaning migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers) and the factors that shape and define such relationships. The aforementioned review demonstrates that, even though studies have been conducted in this field, there is a lot of room for additional analysis, especially in the Greek case. Furthermore, this stream of literature enhances the study of social concepts/categories such as gender and race and their connection with the process of integration programs, as the examination of sociological perspectives of street-level bureaucrats is required (Lotta & Pires, 2019). Therefore, this is a starting point to assess the success of forthcoming integration programs both from the side of street-level bureaucrats and MRAs, studying social beliefs and relationships that have been overlooked in the past regarding this topic. To accomplish this, a review of the Greek integration policies and key integration programs currently in place is necessary.

[Tracing the evolution of the Greek integration policies](#)

The integration and inclusion framework in Greece appears to be disjointed due to the presence of multiple actors and policies that are often uncoordinated and transitory.

Therefore, it is crucial to assess the integration landscape in Greece, along with the various entities participating in distinct initiatives and programmes.

To begin with, even though Greece started receiving a high number of migrants with the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the other socialist regimes in 1989/1990, the state had no coherent migration or integration policy in place (Tramountanis, 2022). It was not until nearly a decade later that the country established its first more comprehensive migration policy, while the term "integration" appeared for the first time in a law in 2005 (ibid). Law 3386/2005 incorporated the term "integration" and placed emphasis on guaranteeing equitable employment prospects, facilitating family reunion, and acknowledging the entitlement of immigrants to employment, education, and training opportunities (Anagnostou & Kandyla, 2014), (Νόμος 3386/2005).

It should be noted that despite the measures mentioned earlier, Law 3386/2005 only covered integration-related concerns in two provisions, namely articles 65 and 66. In essence, according to the law integration was intended to grant third-country nationals (TCNs) proportional rights that enable their equal participation in the economic, social, and cultural life of Greece. TNCs were also expected to uphold their own sense of national identity while abiding by the fundamental laws and morals of Greek society (Tramountanis, 2022).

Following the article 66 of the law 3386/2005, the then Ministry of Interior presented an Integrated Action Plan in 2007 aiming at the social integration and smooth adaptation of legally resident TCNs in Greece. This plan was titled Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation (ESTIA)¹ and was organized into sub-programs that focused on specific areas of integration, such as housing, employment, education, and healthcare (ibid). However, this Action Plan, which would run between 2007 and 2012, was not fully implemented due to financial constraints (ibid).

The first substantial and coordinated effort for the integration of migrants by the Greek government, beyond some scattered and ad hoc actions of the then responsible ministries (Education and Labour), happened through the co-financed European Integration Fund (EIF) from 2007-2013 (implementation period: 2009-2015) (EUR-

¹ It is important to note that this pertains to the Common Ministerial Decision (Kini Ypourgiki Apofasi, KYA) 25,057/2008 and should not be mistaken for the ESTIA Programme, which was introduced in 2016 with the aim of aiding the integration of beneficiaries and applicants for international protection.

lex, 2010). The EIF was implemented in addition to ESTIA, to facilitate the integration of third-country nationals. The programme aimed to actively engage local, regional, and national authorities in streamlining social integration goals into relevant policy sectors (Tramountanis, 2022). The Directorate for Social Integration of the Ministry of Interior, serving as the Competent Authority, designed, coordinated, and financed 92 actions encompassing all aspects of integration (Υπουργείο Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής, 2019).

However, even though these actions partially addressed the lack of a comprehensive operational integration plan, they were fragmented, short-lived, and lacked continuity. Funding was also another factor that limited the success of the EIF programme (Anagnostou & Kandyla, 2014). Furthermore, the absence of data and surveys at the start of the design phase of the actions hindered the evaluation of their contribution to migrant integration and the identification of weaknesses and gaps in sectoral policies (Υπουργείο Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής, 2019).

During the same period, another attempt towards the integration of migrants was realised with the revision of the Nationality Code, which also aimed at addressing issues related to Greek citizenship, the right to vote or get elected among migrants (Νόμος 3838/2010). Before the implementation of this legislation, Greece had one of the strictest policies in the EU for granting citizenship, which was based on the principle of *jus sanguinis* (right of blood) (Howard, 2009). Additionally, the country had exceedingly demanding prerequisites for naturalization (ibid).

Law 3838/2010 allowed children born in Greece with at least one non-Greek parent legally residing in the country for a minimum of 5 years to acquire citizenship at birth, or through a simple declaration of their parents, provided they attended a Greek school for a minimum of 6 years. Also, the law granted certain categories of legally residing third-country nationals the right to vote and be elected in local elections for the first time. However, both of the above provisions of the law were abolished in 2013 as they were deemed unconstitutional by the Constitutional Council (Christopoulos, 2017).

Another legislative intervention that was introduced, at a local level, in 2010 with the law 3852/2010 and that was aiming to facilitate the integration of migrants was the

establishment of the Migrant Integration Councils (MICs)² (Simvoulia Entaxis Metanaston - SEM) (Νόμος 3852/2010; Νόμος 4251/2014). The SEMs were established in every municipality with the purpose of serving as a local hub for migrants who lived there permanently. Their mission was to record and investigate challenges those people faced while helping them navigate the public service system. The role of SEMs also involved proposing local actions to promote the social integration of immigrants and organizing events that fostered social cohesion among the local population.

Nevertheless, SEMs' potential success was restricted. To begin with, the implementation of SEMs in each case was based on the political will of the elected mayor and the influence and support he enjoys in the city's municipal council (Anagnostou, et al., 2016). The central government made significant efforts to establish the new institution through extensive and well-coordinated actions. However, the implementation at the local level was characterized by significant variations (Skamnakis & Polyzoidis, 2013). The inadequate provision of both financial and human resources hindered the effective functioning of the SEM. The personnel were typically understaffed, and no financial resources were allocated to assist the SEM in realising their agenda. This resulted in SEM's limited involvement in the design and implementation of integration measures at the local level (ibid).

One of the milestones in immigration legislation was introduced in 2014 with the Code of Migration and Social Integration (hereby Immigration Code) (Νόμος 4251/2014). This legal reform, reflecting the importance of integration as brought upfront in the title, aimed at consolidating various provisions related to immigration legislation, conforming with EU regulations, and streamlining the existing institutional framework (Anagnostou & Gemi, 2015). Even though the analysis of social integration was limited to articles 128 & 129, the Immigration Code established significant rights for migrants.

More specifically, family members, particularly women and children, were entitled to the same educational and vocational training rights as their sponsor (ibid). At the

² They should not be confused with the Migration Integration Centres (MICs) that were established in 2016 and will be mentioned below. Thus, the term SEM will be used to describe the Migration Integration Councils hereby.

same time, the Immigration Code also addressed the issue of residency especially regarding the second generation of migrants, enhancing their integration prospects (Tramountanis, 2022). Residence permits for family reunification were initially granted for one year and could be renewed every two years. Nevertheless, during the first year, individuals had the right to full and unrestricted access to paid employment and independent economic activity. Autonomous right to residency was gained by family members five years after family reunification or upon reaching the age of 18 if they were minors at the time of reunification (ibid).

During the same period, the EU requested all member states to create national integration strategies. As a result, the Ministry of Interior published the National Strategy for the Integration of Third Country Nationals in 2013 (Hellenic Ministry of Interior, 2013). Integration referred to third-country nationals including beneficiaries of international protection, thus refugees and asylum seekers. The Strategy aimed to include integration policies and measures across all relevant policy areas, government levels, and public services. To achieve this goal, the Strategy presented a broad range of ambitious actions and measures (Tramountanis, 2022). However, the right of migrants to maintain their distinctive national, cultural and religious identities was overlooked both in the Immigration Code and the National Strategy (Anagnostou & Kandyla, 2014).

It is important to mention that, between 2009, when the economic crisis began in Greece, and 2015, a considerable number of migrants either returned to their home countries or lost their legal status, impeding their ability to integrate. Therefore, according to Tramountanis (2022), the 2019-2015 period could be characterized as a period of disintegration.

Following the so-called migrant crisis in 2015, Greece established the first Ministry of Migration Policy on the 4th of November 2016 by the then two governing parties, SYRIZA-ANEL, (Π.Δ. 123/2016). Despite the fact that all relevant Secretariats, Authorities and Services were transferred to the newly established Ministry, the Citizenship Directorate was the only one that remained under the Ministry of Interior. During the same year, with law 4368/2016, the Migrant Integration Centres (MICs) were established. The MICs, under the coordination of the Directorate of Social Integration, operated as branches of the Community Centres in the different

municipalities (Νόμος 4368/2016). The primary objectives of the MICs were to inform, assist, and provide specialized services to TNCs. They also aimed to establish networks and partnerships to enable beneficiaries to connect with social integration services and programs, while also conducting social integration activities to foster social cohesion.

The Ministry of Migration Policy proved to be short-lived as on the 8th of July 2019, the then governing party New Democracy, decided to merge the Ministry of Migration Policy with the Ministry of Civil Protection and all responsibilities passed to the latter Ministry (Π.Δ. 81/2019). The government provided an explanation for the merger, citing the aim to handle the refugee-immigration issue in a way that upholds human life and rights while safeguarding national security. The government emphasized the importance of avoiding any sense of insecurity among Greek citizens in the management of the issue.

Nevertheless, before its abolition, the Ministry of Migration Policy came up with a new National Strategy for Integration which built upon the 2013 Strategy, introducing at the same time significant changes. The 2013 Integration Strategy emphasized assimilation into Greek society, whereas the 2019 Strategy introduces a new integration model that prioritizes an open society that values diversity, with the goal of promoting interculturalism (Tramountanis, 2022). As per the 2019 Strategy, effective implementation of social integration policy entails the active engagement of the state, institutions, and civil society, in accordance with the guidelines outlined by the European Council and the European Union. The strategy also identifies three target groups: those applying for international protection, those who have received international protection, and migrants already living in the country.

The 2019 Strategy operates on two different levels: reception and integration. To begin with, reception is directed towards applicants for international protection, thus refugees and asylum seekers. This level is considered a form of early integration as the state is responsible for providing the basic material reception conditions such as housing, access to health services, and financial assistance setting the initial steps for a successful integration during a later stage. The second level, integration, is for both beneficiaries of international protection and migrants already residing in Greece, including programs for the integration of the population into the society (Ministry of Migration and Asylum, 2019).

More specifically, for beneficiaries of international protection, the goal is a smooth transition from the protection status of the asylum seeker to integration into the host society. This includes temporary housing, financial assistance, Greek language courses, and actions to help them enter the labour market. Regarding migrants already residing in Greece, the Strategy's goals include a faster and more efficient way of obtaining residence permits, increasing the percentage of the legal status of migrants, guaranteeing equal, non-discriminatory access to state benefits, and enhancing public participation (ibid).

The Strategy also brings into the spotlight the role of local governments, which will be driving and implementing the integration initiatives. It is important to mention that local government administrations play a crucial role in the integration of MRAs into society. As the Strategy also verifies, social integration policies necessitate the collaboration between local and central government administrations as well as the active involvement of civil society entities, including migrant and refugee associations, unions, and non-governmental organizations, in social integration initiatives (Anagnostou, et al., 2016). Therefore, both the MIC and the newly re-evaluated Migrant and Refugee Integration Council (MRIC) were put at the centre of this agenda.

It is important to mention that MRIC is the progression of the Migration Integration Council (mentioned above as SEM). Law 4555/2018 reassessed their framework and operation while also adding refugees both in the title and the agenda (Νόμος 4555/2018). The MRIC task is to identify and address integration problems MRAs face within their municipality, organising events, promoting awareness, and enhancing social cohesion. It is comprised of 11 members who are appointed by the Municipality Council and can vary between representatives of MRAs organisations, MRAs who are permanent residents of the municipality and municipality counsellors.

The same government, half a year after the abolition of the Ministry of Migration Policy, decided to create a new ministry called the Ministry of Migration and Asylum (Π.Δ. 4/2020). During the announcement of the creation of the Ministry, the government's spokesman presented the action plan that was based on four pillars: enhancing border controls, shutting down pre-departure centres, accelerating asylum procedures and increasing the number of returns (Petsas, 2020). It is important to flag

that the action plan neglected the integration aspect. Instead, it mainly prioritized containment and deterrence measures (Tramountanis, 2022).

In January 2022, the government introduced a new National Strategy for the social integration of asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection (Ministry of Migration & Asylum, 2022). The 20-page document includes targets and objectives which outline a framework for integration. Nonetheless, this Strategy does not present actionable steps to be accomplished within a designated timeframe nor is legally binding. Emphasis is placed on generating employment in crucial sectors of the Greek economy for MRAs and prioritizing the establishment of integration facilities within the accommodation centres. The promotion of education and vocational training is recognized as a crucial factor in achieving successful integration (ibid).

The latest legal development in the field of integration is the new Migration Code which was released by the Ministry of Migration and Asylum at the beginning of 2023. The new Migration Code went to public consultation from 07/03/2023 until 14/03/2023 and the Greek Parliament approved some days later. According to the Minister of Migration and Asylum, Notis Mitarakis, the new Code will replace the previous Migration and Social Integration Code which was adopted in 2014 and will be in effect from 2024 (Kathimerini, 2023). This new Code changes the rules of residence permits to address domestic labour shortages and facilitate seasonal migration. To increase the number of seasonal workers, the Code introduces changes in certain categories of workers already residing in Greece to enable the better use of workers legally in other locations (MacGregor, 2023).

However, some rights groups have strongly criticized the new Code. Specifically, included in the new provisions is a ten-year residency authorization for unaccompanied minors who come of age, subject to two prerequisites: the completion of at least three years of Greek education before turning 23 and acceptance into a vocational training, apprenticeship, or higher education institution (ibid). Humanitarian organizations have expressed concerns that the educational prerequisites outlined in the residency process may prove challenging for certain unaccompanied migrant children, potentially rendering them ineligible (ibid).

In conclusion, over the past few years, Greece has made a series of modifications and additions to its integration policies. As a result, there are some slight advancements over the last five years. Nevertheless, according to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), MRAs in Greece continue to face many challenges as the country's integration policies are only partially effective in promoting social integration (MIPEX, 2019). According to the latest MIPEX score in 2019, Greece received a rating of 46 out of 100, which is four points below the international average of 49/100. The most notable obstacles encountered by immigrants pertain to education, political participation, and access to nationality. MIPEX categorizes Greece's integration policy as "Equality on Paper," as it fails to provide full support for equal opportunities and reinforces the notion of MRAs as foreigners rather than equals among the Greek population (ibid).

[Integration programmes in Greece after 2016](#)

In recent years, Greece has implemented several programmes aimed at facilitating the integration of MRAs into society. These efforts include providing language courses for immigrants to learn Greek and job placement programmes. Moreover, there have been initiatives to provide housing for refugees and asylum seekers. As mentioned above, most of the programs were implemented by NGOs. This section will list and analyse the two largest and most coherent integration programmes since 2016, ESTIA and HELIOS.

The first programme launched that aimed, partially, at the integration of migrants was the Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation (ESTIA) programme which was first introduced by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at the end of 2015 (UNHCR, 2021) and was implemented alongside the Greek government and NGOs, and with financial support from the European Union. Initially known as the Accommodation and Relocation Programme, the program's primary objective was to provide temporary accommodation to MRAs in need. The program was originally designed for MRAs who were eligible for relocation or family reunification (Kourachanis, 2019, p. 146).

In 2017, UNHCR worked in partnership with the government and a coalition of international and national NGOs to introduce the ESTIA Cash Assistance program, which sought to provide financial assistance to asylum-seekers in Greece.

Subsequently, the programme was renamed ESTIA the same year. The programme expanded to include asylum seekers, giving priority to the most vulnerable, refugees and eligibles for family reunification (ibid). ESTIA's goal was to enhance the living conditions of its beneficiaries through the provision of suitable housing and social support services, relocating them from various camps and hotels (ibid). The programme also included other supportive services, such as meals, health appointments and psychological counselling.

ESTIA was initially funded by emergency funds until 2019, but in 2020, it became part of the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) funding, and its name was changed to ESTIA II. From 1 January 2021, the responsibility for implementing the programme was transferred to the Greek government (ibid). Before September 2021, cash assistance was administered by the Greece Cash Alliance partners, including the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Catholic Relief Services, and METAdrasi, in partnership with the UNHCR (Tramontanis, et al., 2022). Starting from the 1st of October 2021, the Greek authorities took over the responsibility of providing basic needs assistance to asylum seekers, as the UNHCR's cash assistance program concluded at the end of September 2021 (ibid).

The Ministry of Migration and Asylum in Greece recently announced that the ESTIA housing programme, which began its latest edition in October 2021, was set to end by the close of 2022 when it was still accommodating about 12,500 residents (RSA, 2022). The discontinuation of ESTIA II by the government can be interpreted as a component of their overall strategy regarding migration, which seeks to limit asylum seekers to designated and isolated camps. This action was preceded by the conclusion of the FILOXENIA program that provided housing in hotels, the gradual elimination of alternatives to camps on islands, and the shutdown of camps in urban areas like Skaramangas and Eleonas in the Attica region (ibid). Despite opposition from numerous humanitarian organizations involved in the field, the decision was not altered (ibid). In sum, the programme has effectively provided assistance to a total of 93,000 people since its inception in November 2015 (European Commission, 2022).

Another programme, that has been the primary government-run initiative for integration is the HELIOS Programme (Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection). It was first launched by the International Organization for

Migration (IOM) in July 2019 in partnership with the Ministry of Migration and Asylum and was supported by the European Commission (DG HOME). The programme provides various services, including integration classes, Greek language courses, employability support, accommodation assistance, and raising awareness among local communities regarding the importance of integration (European Commission, 2020).

The eligibility criteria for HELIOS are twofold. Firstly, it refers to individuals who have been granted international protection status after 01/01/2018, and to those who were officially registered and living in accommodation centres of the official reception system (such as ESTIA program, Filoxenia program, Open Facilities, Reception and Identification Centres, etc.) at the time of receiving the decision granting them international protection (Ministry of Migration and Asylum, 2023). It is important to note that, as of June 2022, individuals with temporary protection from Ukraine are also eligible to participate in HELIOS (ibid). According to HELIOS, beneficiaries are entitled to rent subsidies for a minimum of six months and a maximum of 12 months. Up to November 2020, close to 22,000 beneficiaries were enrolled on the programme (European Commission, 2020). Since the start of 2022, the Ministry of Migration and Asylum has been providing funding for the HELIOS project.

Nevertheless, according to Tramountanis, et al. (2022), despite the implementation of the program, only a fraction of the beneficiaries of international protection have been able to take advantage of the HELIOS project. Between 2018 and 2020, only one in seven people granted international protection received rental subsidies under the initiative. As of September 2021, the number of households benefiting from rental subsidies was limited to 1,878, with a total of 4,507 individuals receiving support (ibid).

In conclusion, the above analysis demonstrates that despite the existence of some integration programs, migrant needs were not always met. Therefore, this study attempts to conduct in-depth analyses of the topic through interviews with program users and street-level officials.

Methodology

The method of data collection that this research will follow is in-depth, semi-structured interviews in combination with the collection and analysis of existing literature and quantitative data from previous research/reports (such as data from MIPLEX). The interviews will be conducted both amongst actors that work in the field, whether they are employed by the state, an NGO-CSO or work voluntarily in the implementation of integration and inclusion programs designed by the state in coordination with NGOs, and amongst MRAs that have obtained a residence permit in Greece. Specifically, the interviews will be conducted with street-level bureaucrats who worked on the implementation of ESTIA and HELIOS projects and some of the beneficiaries. Should any other significant (comparable in scope and inclusivity to ESTIA and HELIOS) integration programs be introduced during the study period, the same process will be followed.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews, allow the interviewee to interact with the interviewer and engage in a fruitful discussion through the creation of a safe environment and personal contact (Liu, 2018). This method allows the interviewer to enter the participants' world and through constructive dialogue, answer the research questions (Fujii, 2018). Furthermore, semi-structured interviews offer the opportunity to enlighten other aspects of the subject of study, that were previously overlooked (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 78). Therefore, as the topic is touching upon social constructions and personal experiences, it is of paramount importance to motivate participants from both sides to share issues that concern them.

The interviews, after being recorded and transcribed, will be then analysed through the method of thematic analysis. This method enables synthesising meanings and ideas that are collected from the interviews by following a methodological technique of coding and discovering underlying patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis allows for both a deductive and an inductive approach. This means that the responses can be coded both based on prior literature and findings but also based on new emerging themes and aspects that were not identified before, following a bottom-up data-driven approach. Through the creation of a thematic network, both sides can be presented focusing on the relationship between the different themes that emerge and the research question (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Expected Findings

This PhD study intends to examine two aspects of integration and inclusion programs for MRAs. The first is the successful implementation of such programs according to their structure and goals. To measure success, this PhD research will identify new indicators, in addition to the existing ones available at MIPEX. These may include, for instance, user/client satisfaction with the provided services and the establishment of connections resulting from program implementation. The second objective is to discover additional factors that affect the implementation of integration and inclusion programs for MRAs that have been granted a residence permit and are participating in such programs, to begin with.

Even though it is hard to foresee the findings of a PhD study, according to the already existing literature, this study expects to find a strong correlation between social perceptions of street-level bureaucrats and the relationships they shape with MRAs. Of course, this goes both ways, but the emphasis is placed on street-level bureaucrats as they have the discretionary power to influence the implementation of integration programs either in favour or against MRAs. Social identities, stereotypes and perceptions are without a doubt a fundamental part of the structure and beliefs a society holds. Hence, it goes without saying that integration into Greek society is directly influenced by existing social identities. Moreover, participation in related programs may cause alterations in social identities, and as part of this PhD research, changes in the street-level bureaucrats' perceptions of migration and integration will be monitored.

On the same note, regarding the successful implementation of integration programs, the findings are hard to expect as Greece only recently started creating and implementing integration programs for migrants (Kourachanis, 2018a). However, the absence of a coherent integration policy together with the inexperience of the Greek government in this field picture a rather challenging path. Nevertheless, as this study will examine the programs to come, there is room for doubt.

Conclusion

This PhD study aims at studying the successful implementation of integration and inclusion programs for MRAs and the role of the relationship that is created between street-level bureaucrats and MRAs in this case. Motivated by the scarce literature that exists in this field and especially regarding the Greek case, the study aspires to examine and find the correlations between sociology and migration, as migration should be analysed through sociological lenses to be effectively understood. Therefore, this PhD combines already existing literature while seeking to discover and develop new streams of literature regarding this topic and in particular the Greek case. Greece, as mentioned above, is new to the game of integration policy and implementation and thus a very interesting environment to study.

By conducting in-depth, semi-structured interviews both with street-level bureaucrats and MRAs, this research will be able to provide further insight and uncover new aspects that shape the former's relationship and integration programs in general. Overall, this study offers a distinctive opportunity to explore the connections of two fields, migration and sociology, that have a lot more to give to the academic world and governments policy advisers.

Bibliography

- Ager, A. & Strang, A., 2008. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), pp. 166-191.
- Anagnostou, D. & Gemi, E., 2015. *Monitoring and Assessing the Integration of Vulnerable Migrants in Greece*, s.l.: ELIAMEP.
- Anagnostou, D. & Kandyla, A., 2014. *Review of existing monitoring mechanisms for the integration of migrants in Greece, (ASSESS)*, s.l.: ELIAMEP.
- Anagnostou, D., Kontogianni, E., Skleparis, D. & Tzogopoulos, G., 2016. *Local government in migrant integration in Europe and Greece, (LOMIGRAS)*, s.l.: ELIAMEP.
- Attride-Stirling, J., 2001. Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 1(3), pp. 385-405.
- Bagavos, C. & Kourachanis, N., 2021. Civil Society Organizations and Labour Market Integration for Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Greece. *International Society for Third-Sector Research*, Volume Voluntas, pp. 1-11.
- Baviskar, S. & Winter, S., 2017. *International Public Management Journal*, 20(2), p. 316–353.
- Belabas, W. & Gerrits, L., 2015. Going the Extra Mile? How Street-level Bureaucrats Deal with the Integration of Immigrants. *Social Policy & Administration*, 51(1), pp. 133-150.
- Bouchard, G. & Carroll, B. W., 2002. Policy-making and administrative discretion: the case of immigration in Canada. *Canadian Public Administration*, 45(2), pp. 239-257.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V., 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), pp. 77-101.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V., 2013. *Successful Qualitative Research: a practical guide for beginners*. 1 ed. Croydon: SAGE Publications.
- Brockmann, J., 2017. Unbureaucratic behavior among street-level bureaucrats: The case of the German state police. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 37(4), p. 430–451.
- Burke, P. J. & Stets, J. E., 2009. *Identity theory*. s.l.:Oxford University Press.

Christopoulos, D., 2017. An unexpected reform in the maelstrom of the crisis: Greek nationality in the times of the memoranda (2010–2015). *Citizenship Studies*, 21(4), pp. 483-494.

ECRE, 2021. *ECRE*. [Online]
Available at: <https://ecre.org/greece-government-continues-ngo-crackdown-closed-controlled-centres-close-in-on-asylum-seekers-significant-jump-in-negative-decisions-since-turkey-declared-safe-third-country/>
[Accessed 20 3 2022].

Ellermann, A., 2005. Coercive capacity and the politics of implementation: deportation in Germany and the United States. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(10), p. 1219–44.

EUR-lex, 2010. *EUR-lex*. [Online]
Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/summary/integration-fund-2007-13.html>
[Accessed 10 3 2023].

European Commission, 2020. *European Commission*. [Online]
Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/integration-practice/helios-project_en
[Accessed 10 1 2023].

European Commission, 2022. *European Commission*. [Online]
Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/greece-termination-estia-housing-programme_en
[Accessed 10 1 2023].

Evans, T., 2010. Professionals, Managers and Discretion: Critiquing Street-Level Bureaucracy. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 41(2), p. 368–386.

France24, 2021. *France24*. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20211221-like-pushing-a-rock-ngos-decry-uphill-battle-for-legitimacy-in-greece>
[Accessed 20 3 2022].

Fuglerud, O., 2004. Constructing exclusion. The micro-sociology of an immigration department. *Social Anthropology*, 12(1), pp. 25-40.

- Fujii, L. A., 2018. *Interviewing in Social Science Research - A Relational Approach*. s.l.:Routledge.
- Glyniadaki, K., 2021. Access to Housing for Migrants in Greece. *Social Policy and Society*, 20(3), pp. 464-474.
- Glyniadaki, K., 2022. Street-Level Actors, Migrants, and Gender: Dealing With Divergent Perspectives. *Administration & Society*, 54(3), p. 451–478.
- Graham, M., 2002. Emotional bureaucracies: emotions, civil servants, and immigrants in the Swedish welfare state. *Ethos*, 30(3), pp. 199-226.
- Hasenfield, Y., 1983. *Human Service Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs: NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Hellenic Ministry of Interior, 2013. *National Strategy for the Integration of Third Country Nationals*, s.l.: Hellenic Ministry of Interior.
- Howard, M. M., 2009. *The politics of citizenship in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jilke, S. & Tummers, L., 2018. Which clients are deserving of help? A theoretical model and experimental test. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 28(2), p. 226–238.
- Kalogeraki, S., 2019. A Mixed Method Approach on Greek Civil Society Organizations Supporting Migrants During the Refugee Crisis. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, Volume 21, p. 781–806.
- Kathimerini, 2023. *Kathimerini*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1207702/parliament-approves-new-migration-code/> [Accessed 10 4 2023].
- Kourachanis, N., 2018a. From camps to social integration? Social housing interventions for asylum seekers in Greece. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 39(3/4)(3/4), pp. 221-234.
- Kourachanis, N., 2018b. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 19(4), p. 1153–1167.

Kourachanis, N., 2019. *Refugee Housing Policies: Towards Social Integration or Welfare Dependence*. Athens : Topos.

Laing, R., Phillipson, H. & Lee, A., 1996. *Interpersonal perception: A theory and a method of research*. s.l.:Springer.

Leivaditi, N., Papatzani, E., Ilias, A. & Petracou, E., 2020. *Integration Policies, Practices and Experiences - Greece Country Report*, s.l.: RESPOND .

Lipsky, M., 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy - Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. s.l.:Russell Sage Foundation.

Liu, X., 2018. Interviewing Elites: Methodological Issues Confronting a Novice. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 17(1), pp. 1-9.

Lotta, G. & Pires, R., 2019. Street-level bureaucracy research and social inequality. In: P. Hupe, ed. *Research Handbook on Street-Level Bureaucracy: The Ground Floor of Government in Context*. Cheltenham : Edward Elgar Publishing , pp. 86-101.

Loyens, K. & Maesschalck, J., 2010. Toward a Theoretical Framework for Ethical Decision Making of Street-Level Bureaucracy: Existing Models Reconsidered. *Administration & Society*, 42(1), pp. 66-100.

MacGregor, M., 2023. *InfoMigrants*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/47880/greece-parliament-passes-new-migration-code> [Accessed 10 4 2023].

Marrow, H., 2009. Immigrant bureaucratic incorporation: the dual roles of professional missions and government policies. *American Sociological Review*, 74(5), p. 756–776.

Ministry of Migration & Asylum, 2022. *National Integration Strategy* , s.l.: Ministry of Migration & Asylum.

Ministry of Migration and Asylum, 2019. *National Strattegy for Integration* , s.l.: Ministry of Migration and Asylum.

Ministry of Migration and Asylum, 2023. *Ministry of Migration and Asylum*. [Online] Available at: <https://migration.gov.gr/en/migration-policy/integration/draseis->

[koinonikis-entaxis-se-ethniko-epipedo/programma-helios/](https://www.koinonikis-entaxis-se-ethniko-epipedo/programma-helios/)

[Accessed 10 1 2023].

MIPEX, 2019. *MIPEX*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.mipex.eu/greece>

[Accessed 10 4 2023].

Penninx, R. & Garcés-Mascareñas, B., 2016. The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept. In: *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*. Cham : Springer Nature, pp. 11-29.

Petsas, S., 2020. *Government.gov.gr*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.government.gov.gr/dilosi-ifipourgou-para-to-prothipourgo-ke-kivernitikou-ekprosopou-steliou-petsa/>

[Accessed 15 1 2023].

Raaphorst, N. & Groeneveld, S., 2018. Double standards in frontline decision making: A theoretical and empirical exploration. *Administration & Society*, 50(8), p. 1175–1201.

Ridgeway, C. L., 2009. Framed before we know it: How gender shapes social relations.. *Gender & Society*, 23(2), p. 145–160.

Rozakou, K., 2018. *Out of ‘love’ and ‘solidarity’ to the refugees: An ethnography of volunteerism in Greece..* s.l.:Alexandria (in Greek)..

RSA, 2022. *Refugee Support Aegean*. [Online]

Available at: <https://rsaegean.org/en/termination-of-the-estia-ii-for-asylum-applicants/#post-14160-footnote-7>

[Accessed 10 1 2023].

Scott, P. G., 1997. Assessing determinants of bureaucratic discretion: an experiment in street-level decision making. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 7(1), p. 35–57.

Skamnakis, C. & Polyzoidis, P., 2013. Migrant Integration Councils (MICs): The incomplete functioning of an important institution for the local government. *Social Cohesion and Development*, 8(2), p. 165–176.

Sotiropoulos, D. A. & Bourikos, D., 2014. Economic crisis, social solidarity and the voluntary sector in Greece. *Journal of Power, Politics and Governance*, 2(2), p. 33–53.

Tramountanis, A., 2022. Pathways to Integration and Dis-integration: An Assessment of the Greek Immigration Policy for the Inclusion of Immigrants, Applicants and Beneficiaries of International Protection. In: M. C. A. K. K. Kousis, ed. *Challenging Mobilities in and to the EU during Times of Crises*. Cham: IMISCOE Research Series, Springer, p. 263–282.

Tramountanis, A. et al., 2022. *Humanitarian assistance and social protection responses to the forcibly displaced in Greece*, s.l.: Overseas Development Institute (ODI), National Centre for Social Research (EKKE).

Tummers, L., Bekkers, V., Vink, E. & Musheno, M., 2013. *Handling stress during policy implementation: developing a classification of 'coping' by frontline workers based on systematic review*. Prague, Paper presented at the IRSPM Conference.

UNHCR, 2021. *UNHCR Greece - ESTIA: A home away from home*, s.l.: UNHCR .

Van der Leun, J., 2006. Excluding illegal immigrants in the Netherlands: Between national policies and local implementation. *West European Politics*, 29(2), p. 310–26.

Vinzant, J. C. & Crothers, L., 1998. *treet-level Leadership: Discretion and Legitimacy in Front Line Public Service*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Νόμος 3386/2005. *ΦΕΚ Α 212/23.8.2005*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Νόμος 3838/2010. *ΦΕΚ Α' 49/24.03.2010*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Νόμος 3852/2010. *ΦΕΚ Α' 87/7.6.2010*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Νόμος 4251/2014. *ΦΕΚ Α 80/1.4.2014*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Νόμος 4368/2016. *ΦΕΚ Α' 21/21.2.2016*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Νόμος 4555/2018. *ΦΕΚ Α' 133/19.07.2018*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Π.Δ. 123/2016. *ΦΕΚ 208/Α/4.11.2016*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Π.Δ. 4/2020. *ΦΕΚ 4/Α/15.1.2020*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Π.Δ. 81/2019. *ΦΕΚ Α' 119/08.07.2019*, s.l.: Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας.

Υπουργείο Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής, 2019. *Εθνική Στρατηγική για την Ένταξη*, s.l.: Υπουργείο Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής.

TIMES OF INCREASING INEQUALITIES BETWEEN MIXED MIGRATION AND PRIVILEGED MOBILITY SCHEMES

Thanasis Tyrovolas, PhD candidate @ National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Researcher @ National Hellenic Research Foundation

Researcher @ KMOP

PhD Symposium, LSE, 26th of May

WHY?

- Master's Dissertation
- Increase in privileged mobility schemes in Greece lately
- Deterioration of mobility potential of non-privileged
- Enhancement of inequalities
- COVID-19 and its impact on (im)mobilities

INSPIRED BY

- Critical Geography
- Autonomy of Migration
- Scholars commenting on policy making

OBJECTIVES

- to shed light in a rather unexplored area (privileged mobility), which at the same time is a field under fast development during the last years in Greece, following new policies to facilitate different target groups' access to the Greek/European territory
- to investigate the manifestations of privileged mobility, while juxtaposing those policies and practices with the more restricted mobility of people who are less privileged (i.e. mixed migration flows)

AMBITION

- multi-scalar approach
- to what extent policies around migration/mobility promote privileged mobility and create barriers for mixed migration flows, in a sense “favouring” privileged mobility
- who has the right to mobility, the right to the city, and the manifestations of different geographical freedoms based on unequal power relations
- problematise the dialectic relationship
- theoretical contribution but also policy oriented results
- draw paradigms from other EU countries and beyond Europe (e.g. USA, Canada, UK)

METHODOLOGY

- Primary Data collection
 - ❖ Participant observation
 - ❖ Key informant interviews
 - ❖ In-depth interviews
- Secondary Data collection
 - ❖ Desk Research

POLICY AND LITERATURE REVIEW – PRELIMINARY FINDINGS FROM GREEK CONTEXT

PRIVILEGED MOBILITY/MIGRATION

- Golden Visa
- Non-Dom programme
- Non-Greek pensioners
- Digital nomads
- Reversing brain drain programme
- Family offices programme

NON-PRIVILEGED MOBILITY/ MIGRATION

- Detention of asylum seekers
- MoU with the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh
- Agreement with the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt
- Legislation on max. number of TCNs residence permits for work

DISCUSSION - REFLECTION

- Competent Authorities – prioritization
- Symbolism – “hotspot”
- 2012-2013 anti-migrant sentiments/ policies vs Golden Visa legislation
- Mobility/immobility -> visibility/invisibility
- COVID-19
- Ukrainian refugees

FINAL REMARKS

- Instrumentalisation of migration
- Hierarchisation of mobility patterns
- Next steps

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AIDA (2013) Country Report: Greece, available at <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/> (accessed 20 April 2023)
- AIDA (2014) Country Report: Greece, available at <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/> (accessed 20 April 2023)
- AIDA (2015) Country Report: Greece, available at <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/> (accessed 20 April 2023)
- AIDA (2016) Country Report: Greece, available at <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/> (accessed 20 April 2023)
- AIDA (2017) Country Report: Greece, available at <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/> (accessed 20 April 2023)
- AIDA (2018) Country Report: Greece, available at <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/> (accessed 20 April 2023)
- AIDA (2020) Country Report: Greece, available at <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/> (accessed 20 April 2023)
- Amit, V. (2007). *GOING FIRST CLASS? New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, Berghahn Books.
- Azevedo, L., Lasser, S. and Sontag, K. (2021). 'Student and retiree mobilities', *Handbook of Culture and Migration*, 248-262.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Barbulescu, R. (2018) 'Global Mobility Corridors for the Ultra-Rich. The Neoliberal Transformation of Citizenship' in R. Bauböck (eds.) *Debating Transformations of National Citizenship*, IMISCOE Research Series, Springer Open.
- Castles, S. (2007) 'Twenty-first-century migration as a challenge to sociology', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33:3, 351–371.
- Castles, S., and Miller, M. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 4th edition, New York & London: Guildford Press.
- Cranston, S. (2017), 'Calculating the migration industries: knowing the successful expatriate in the Global Mobility Industry', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44:4, 626-643.
- Croucher, S. (2012) 'Privileged Mobility in an Age of Globality', *Societies*, 2, 1–13.
- Esposito, F., Murtaza, A., Peano, I. and Vacchiano, F. (2020) 'Fragmented citizenship: contemporary infrastructures of mobility containment along two migratory routes', *Citizenship Studies*, 24:5, 625-641.
- Gul, U. (2021) 'Between lifestyle migration and comfortable exit strategies: Turkish golden visa investors in Greece', *Diaspora*, 21:2, 166-187.
- Harvey, D. (2010). *The enigma of Capital*, London: Profile Books
- Heller, C. (2021) 'De-confining borders: towards a politics of freedom of movement in the time of the pandemic', *Mobilities*, 16:1, 113-133.
- Kirtsoglou, E. and Tsimouris, G. (2016) "'Il était un petit navire": The refugee crisis, neoorientalism, and the production of radical alterity', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Occasional papers 9:1, 1-14.
- Kunz, S. (2016) 'Privileged Mobilities: Locating the Expatriate in Migration Scholarship', *Geography Compass*, 10:3, 89-101.
- Lilis, J. and Balabanidis, D. (2020) "'Live Like a Lifelong Tourist"? The Contradicting Realities of Finnish Offshore Service Workers in Athens', *Urban Planning*, 5:3, 177-188.
- Long, K. (2014). *The Huddled Masses, Immigration and Inequality*, Great Britain: Amazon.co.uk Ltd., Marston Gate.
- Massey, D. (1993). Power geometry and a progressive sense of place, in J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson, and L. Tickner (eds.), *Mapping the futures*, 59–69, London: Routledge.
- Milanovic, B. (2012) 'Global Income Inequality by the Numbers: in History and Now', Policy Research Working Paper 6259, The World Bank Development Research Group Poverty and Inequality Team, available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/959251468176687085/pdf/wps6259.pdf>, (accessed 27 December 2019).
- Milanovic, B. (2016). *Global Inequality, A new approach for the Age of Globalisation*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Ong, A. (2005) '(Re)Articulations of Citizenship', *Journal of Political Science and Politics*, 38:4, 677–699.
- Owen, D. (2018) 'Trading Citizenship, Human Capital and the European Union' in R. Bauböck (eds.) *Debating Transformations of National Citizenship*, IMISCOE Research Series, Springer Open.
- Papatzani, E., Hatziprokopiou, P., Vlastou-Dimopoulou, F. and Siotou, A. (2022), 'On not staying put where they have put you: mobilities disrupting the socio-spatial figurations of displacement in Greece', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.
- Russell, K., Eralba, C. and Tineke, F. (2021) 'New frontiers in international retirement migration', *Ageing and Society*, 41 (6), 1205-1220.
- Shachar, A. (2009) *The birthright lottery, Citizenship and Global Inequality*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Sumption, M. and Hooper, K. (2014) 'Selling Visas and Citizenship, Policy Questions from the Global Boom in Investor Immigration', Migration Policy Institute, available at: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/selling-visas-and-citizenship-policy-questions-global-boom-investor-immigration> (accessed 27 December 2019).
- Surak, K and Tsuzuki, Y. (2021) 'Are golden visas a golden opportunity? Assessing the economic origins and outcomes of residence by investment programmes in the EU', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47:15, 3367-3389.
- Tazzioli, M. (2020) 'Confine to Protect: Greek Hotspots and the Hygienic-Sanitary Borders of Covid-19', Border Criminologies Blog, September 9. available at: <https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2020/09/confine-protect> (accessed 4 September 2022).

Thank you for your attention!