

**Hellenic Observatory / National Bank of Greece Research
Tender 3-NBG3-2015**

Project Theme: Immigration, asylum, and the EU

FINAL REPORT

Project Title:

**Back to Basics: Asylum in Greece. Manoeuvring between
Economic Crisis and Statelessness.**

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January 2017

FINAL REPORT

OUTLINE OF PROJECT AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

Progress

This project is now finalised which examined the particularities of the current Greek asylum reality and political priorities, vis-à-vis the economic conditions in the country, with a special focus of the issue of statelessness.

1. Overview of the Research Project

The last years have seen an increasing interest in the topic of asylum across Europe and the role of Greece, as a first entry state, in EU asylum procedure, especially since the country is under an acute economic crisis. As asylum seekers and economic migrants keep on knocking at the doors of the European Union, a considerable number of asylum seekers have arrived in Greece, as the country undoubtedly serves as a transit route to Europe. Still, due to its geographical position, Greece remains a significant partner in the regulation of asylum in Europe, as a first stop of asylum seekers from Asia, the Balkans and Africa (FRA 2011; McDonough & Tsourdi 2012, Papadimitriou & Papageorgiou 2005), a role that has placed enormous pressures on the country over the years given its limited fiscal resources. The responsibility for border controls and the buck of examination of asylum applications have been pushed out to the periphery and as a consequence the dilemmas facing Greece with immigration politics and asylum are becoming widely known within Europe. There are a lot of valid comments about how asylum and immigration politics in the country appear torn between international commitments to provide asylum, local public opinion deemed hostile to immigrants/refugees, and a critical economic situation of reluctance to provide any extension of welfare benefits and rights.

Against this general background, the aim of this project is to explore the effect the economic crisis has on the recent developments of the asylum policy in Greece and to pay special attention on the asylum procedure, effectiveness and impact especially in relation to the status of statelessness of asylum seekers. This is a matter of inquiry confronted with many conceptual and normative difficulties which further gained importance because the state, due to the rhetoric on crisis, tends to overlook the issue of statelessness putting the focus on citizens. The main research question of the project is to examine the changing asylum system in Greece with a particular focus on how the organization of the asylum regime may have been affected by the economic crisis, and to offer a critical perspective on the grey zone of the contested status of stateless persons as a result of these dynamics.

2. Conceptual framework – Theory and context

2.1. Theoretical considerations

European societies are effectively witnessing a growing economic crisis and within this climate migrants and refugees/asylum seekers are risking to be seen more than ever as an additional ‘burden’ that societies have to ‘carry’ while it is sometimes even questioned why it should be accommodated or respected at all (Ong, 2006; Joppke, 1998). Indeed, in many ways, asylum policies in Europe may be considered as being invested with socio-political as well as security objectives and concerns which are fed especially during the recession, perceiving refugees, more than ever before, as a threat which represents a growing danger for the national states and Europe as a whole.

Taking into account the economic crisis and the necessity of addressing the great number of asylum seekers arriving in Europe, Greece’s asylum policy is once again undergoing extensive reforms since 2015 as, on the one hand, it assists in the registration and identification of those entering Europe and, on the other, it facilitates

their relocation to other safe states or manages the transfer to the countries of origin of those not eligible for protection. Importantly, of course, Greece has to safeguard protection and adhere to the responsibilities owed to refugees according to EU law.

The theoretical framework for this study takes as a starting point one observation made by Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, back in the day, when she had recognized the fundamental challenge in the age of migration in that “the Rights of Man, supposedly inalienable, proved to be unenforceable whenever people appeared who were no longer citizens of any sovereign state...who lack their own government” (1948/2004:372). Since then and despite the proliferation of human rights institutions and celebrations of global citizenship, statelessness continues to define a big number of people (Bhabha 2011). This project examined this problem providing examples on a heterogeneous group of people in a variety of circumstances, including asylum seekers or refugees, children born stateless or undocumented as a result of their parents’ relocation, and by some accounts, the group also includes citizens, who are at least functionally or potentially stateless, for example, they can become irregular by failing to comply with certain state requirements and by doing so, they may lose access to key state protections. Further theoretical considerations were pursued drawing attention to the ambiguous, grey zone these people may be subjected to, being neither fully excluded nor fully recognized, suspended between the inside and the outside of the state. From the standpoint of political philosophy, Seyla Benhabib’s discourse-theoretic model of postnational citizenship in the case of contemporary Europe, argues for the collapse of traditional concepts of sovereignty with monopoly over territory exercised through immigration and citizenship policies (2002). She calls for a new face of membership of a society as a human right and a legal right as well, especially in the context of the multicultural enclaves in large cities of Europe today that, she says, can be seen as the forerunners of such inclusionary perspective to the right to membership; her argument finds many sympathizers (Ong, 2006; Sassen, 2003; Soysal, 1998). To paraphrase Benhabib, at any point in time in a society there are competing collective cultural narratives and symbolisations by its members, such that there cannot be a single societal culture (cf. 2002: 60). Benhabib’s work, of course, falls into the more

progressive scenarios, where western societies are dealing with their cultural dilemmas by achieving integration under conditions of cultural diversity. Benhabib, in her well known work on membership rights, says that we need to go beyond Immanuel Kant on 'ius cosmopolitanum' (world citizenship) (Benhabib 2006) which is restricted to conditions of universal hospitality. She argues that there has to be an open transparent consistent way and process for the stranger to become a member of a state not on the basis of a contract but on the basis of the right to human rights (2002a; 2002b; 2007). The right to be a member of an organised community is a human right and she believes that immigrants have a moral and legal claim to be able to stay to the host country of their choice. Whether they are permitted to stay and whether they can be members of that society is, of course, a sovereign claim, she says, so becoming a member entails that one is able to fulfil certain qualifications and conditions depended on the expectations of each state. Yet, what Benhabib insists on is that there has to be an open, transparent, consistent way and process, compatible with human rights, for the stranger to become a member of a state.

Trying to understand the crisis in Greece, its challenges and its impacts, in relation to these issues, we find that it is Giorgio Agamben's (2000) critical and provocative theoretical take on migration and citizenship which speaks more usefully in this case, in order to make sense of the configuration of a non citizenship/stateless status. He maps the ways in which contemporary regimes of immigration control, and the concerns on the economic crisis which underpin them, trap unauthorised migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and their children in an indeterminate in-between space, a social condition that is neither fully inside nor outside the social and legal order of the state, positioned as a vulnerable, 'bare' existence (just as it can arise in situations where individuals find themselves (deported and/or stateless) stripped of the rights of citizenship and dependent upon regimes of humanitarian assistance for their existence) (Agamben 2000: 40). In this perspective, the economic crisis creates a condition of emergency and Agamben's *state of exception* critically enquires into the sovereign's declarations and enactments of 'exceptions' to legal, political and social norms and by consequence individual rights, typically in the name of security

imperatives or a 'state of emergency' (Agamben 2005). He borrows Foucault's concept of biopolitics to claim that in modern biopolitics, it is the sovereign that decides on the value or the non-value of rights bearing subjects and affirms its power by withdrawing its protection, abandoning 'bare life' to a realm of lawlessness (Agamben 1998). The state of exception starts with a security threat and ends with constrains and withdrawal of protection of life and rights to people. This is what is happening in Greece with the treatment of refugees, immigrants, asylum seekers as 'bare life' not owed any rights or responsibilities putting them in a position of in-betweenness. The state's temporary suspension of the rule of law of human rights, brings the crisis as the reason for remaining outside of the order. As the crisis renders the state of exception as the rule rather than the exception, it creates the paradox of a new legal-political paradigm in which the norm becomes indistinguishable from the exception. The state of exception, according to Agamben, is the legal form of that which cannot take on legal form. The state of exception suspends the legal order as such and it is from this angle that it argues that today's economic and political conditions necessitates it. In that way, the state of exception which had been initially thought of as a temporary displacement of law, gradually becomes the normal practice of governance.

The theoretical section of the project ponders further on this zone of in-betweenness for immigrants and refugees through the looking glass of the enduring economic slowdown acknowledging the sharp focus these issues have been brought into by crisis. As Farnsworth & Irving (2011) suggest, the extent to which economic crisis will impact on state policies depends not only on the objective facts of the extent of economic collapse, but also on the more ideological dimensions of crisis management, the rhetoric of it, which concerns the ways in which the crisis has been defined, understood and responded to. We need therefore to place the overall context of policies aiming at regulating asylum in the whole rhetoric about the economic crisis and migration. The controversial scholar Žižek (2010) proposed an explanation for this neo-liberal restrictive take in European politics on immigration during the economic crisis as 'a toxic gift', targeting neo liberal politics that by insisting on maintaining a sanitary cultural distance on immigration and asylum

merely desire a 'detoxified' Other, while 'reasonably' enact increasingly stringent, stratified and securitized asylum and immigration systems. In other words, these are policies that aim simultaneously at providing international protection to asylum seekers and at restricting their status by more effective controls. These are poles apart. Yet, the debate of asylum and immigration in Greece today is inextricably linked with the continuing national financial crisis and issues of control and border management. The inability or unwillingness of those in power to effectively deal with the great numbers of refugees and migrants, who, due to the closed 'Balkan route', are stuck on the islands and the asylum processing 'hotspots' funded by the EU, vastly complicates efforts to manage the asylum 'burden'. This confused situation has given rise to very restrictive policies, which in turn appear to be legitimised by the so-called public scepticism towards immigrants seemingly intensified during the years of financial crisis. Especially, since the economic crisis there is a very strong anti-immigration feeling and populist right-wing political parties have successfully linked social problems with migration.

Ruth Wodak (2015) discusses succinctly the theory of moralisation of control and borders when she describes the ways Europe legitimises the balancing act of excluding a selection of people but at the same time appear to stand on the high moral ground that the EU states stand for. This balancing act is in effect an exclusionary practice, she argues, morally legitimised by the narrative of 'deservingness' which, in effect, follows the principle that some people do not deserve to be treated equally. She further discusses the legitimating strategies states use to seek approval of their policies. They try to demonstrate consistency with the moral order of society by appealing to common sense or the use of stereotypical images, metaphors, etc. Case in point the humanitarian images in the media contrasting with images representing the danger and violence brought about by immigration which evoke fear to the people. Equally, these two sets of images summarise the values which polarised the Greek society so far and continue to polarise it regarding immigration.

2.2 Context

The Greek immigration policy is a restrictive one with the first attempt to promote an action plan and introduce the principles of non-discrimination and equal treatment along with respect for cultural and religious diversity only coming forth in 2005 (immigration law, 3386/2005). In 2010, a controversial law saw briefly the light, focusing for the first time on the second generation of migrants and attempting to facilitate their naturalization as a means of their formal integration, extending to immigrants the right to vote and stand as candidates in local elections. However, the State Council declared this law unconstitutional. In 2012, a new immigration and integration law promoted the status of long-term residents for people that stayed in Greece for more than 12 years and it addressed the integration issue of second generation migrants in the country and the required conditions for their naturalisation. In 2013, a National Strategy for the Integration of Third Country Nationals was established to promote the integration of legal long term migrants, and last but not least, Law 4332/2015 reintroduced reforms to facilitate naturalisation of the second generation migrants in Greece. Importantly, the immigration policies in Greece are officially meant to address the legal migrants in the country. However, there is a great number of immigrants in Greece who over the many years of stay in the country they occasionally fall in and out of their legal status and as a consequence they lose their entitlement to their legal rights due to the fact that legal stipulations are geared to award rights in relation to fulfilment of employment and social security contributions. When immigrants cannot secure these requirements, they are unable to renew their residence permit. These are obstacles that people find overwhelming, and because of them they are often subjected to civil and social discrimination. For example, they are often denied important documents, without which they can not get legal employment, secure housing or acquire licenses, etc. They might even be subjected to detention since the state cannot resolve the question of their identity! All these people have to fall back upon their minimum rights in Greece, because they are unable to enforce rights that are supposedly indisputable for all, like for instance, the fundamental right to protection, to health care, etc. As a consequence, they often live on the margins of society, lacking

identity documentation which leaves them at a situation where they face social barriers and they need either to conceal their legal status or try to 'pass' as a citizen in daily interactions (with employers, with healthcare providers, etc.) in order to access rights that would otherwise be denied. These people are in essence, invisible. In addition to being invisible, they are moreover subjected to a condition of ambivalence. The Greek integration policy as described briefly above, exemplifies the ambivalence of the society when dealing with these 'others': On the one hand, there are timid policy initiatives to award these people the special protection they need and the same rights to health care, education and shelter as any person. On the other hand, there are other policy initiatives which assume undocumented migrants to be the cause for suspicion and hostility on the part of the host society which needs to be shielded from them. This research in fact documents that immigrants' invisibility and ambivalence regarding their status is a substantial issue and the Greek policy has failed to systematically address it.

3. Research Progress and Methodology

The crisis is not merely some acute moment in the history of Greece but most likely is to be a deep and prolonged recession period. Given that we are now eight years on in the crisis, its longer-term effects are playing out quite clearly and it is an appropriate time to reflect on policy choices that have manifested themselves over this period in the national context. The centrality and importance of this debate makes it a particularly interesting case for discussing the ways in which immigration and asylum is experienced or conducted, in the midst of the economic crisis and within this, the relevance of statelessness.

In addressing these issues, the focus of the research in empirical terms was placed on the immigration/asylum policies, the asylum procedure and practice over the recent years since the economic crisis broke in Greece and the testimonies of the individuals directly involved. From a methodological point of view, in order to achieve

the objectives of the study, the analysis rested on data from a variety of sources and methods, combining desk research and empirical fieldwork.

The empirical observations on which the research is based are drawn from a year-long study during 2016 (January to December 2016) which included:

- collection of in-depth interviews with migrants and refugees;
- comparative analysis of asylum seekers experiences across different social media platforms and specific key events;
- set of interviews with experts on migration coming from a variety of backgrounds, politically, ethnically and socio-economically, both well known social and political figures, representatives of the civil society and policy makers in Athens, fighting against discrimination as well as less high-profile activists, representatives of social movements (i.e. autonomous groups which are highly critical of 'othering' and racism in society, such as the Movement United Against Racism and Fascist Threat, the Hellenic League for Human Rights, the Racist Violence Recording Network), organisations and administrative bodies set up by statute to promote human rights and enact Greek and EU law and policy, involved in 'anti-othering' actions, monitoring and addressing community tensions (i.e. representatives of organisations of the state apparatus, such as the Greek Ombudsman, the National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR) and the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Greece (UNHCR), and a range of non-governmental organizations in the general field of human rights, (i.e. Greek Council for Refugees (GCR), Mediciens du Monde-Greek Delegation, Group of Lawyers for the rights of migrants and refugees, Praxis).
- The primary original empirical material was further drawn from participant observation in the activities of community centres, migrant organisations and other Greek NGOs specializing in the field.
- In addition to the analysis of the participants' own reflections vis-à-vis their status, their integration management and their engagements with the different bureaucracies in the different stages of the asylum seeking procedure, during

the course of the research I have also analysed legislation, administrative provisions and other relevant literature.

Much of material emerged from informal talks lasting between one and three hours during unstructured or loosely structured interviews around a thematic guide concentrating on main topics such as identity issues, on their experiences during the time of stay in Greece, perception of and engagement with the different bureaucracies in the diverse stages of their immigration and integration efforts in the country, their actions and modes of resistance or adaptation, collaboration with other similar actors, etc. A number of respondents were recruited through friends of people already interviewed and others were contacted randomly through the researcher's networks. Interviews were conducted in both Greek and in English. The sample of qualitative interviews for the study with asylum seekers and with representatives of migrant associations active in the field included both men and women between 17 and 63 years old; some of them first generation immigrants/asylum seekers whose migratory strategy spanned between a stay of six months and up to 25 years in Greece.

The qualitative approach chosen, drawing on a combination of ethnography, participant observation and interviews, prised open ambivalent issues related to statelessness, issues which involve practices and behaviours that refer to how asylum management is taking place, a sphere of research, characterized by little scholarly attention, which made the need to take into account original data not recorded elsewhere more emphatic. Methodologically, I consider it a strength to combine a variety of methods with ethnography and in depth interviews which bring the perspective of the refugee, a nuance which is not easily accessible, and to extend fieldwork to all actors that implement the various procedures in the asylum management process. As an ethnographer, I believe that ethnography can establish important links between the human experience and the institutional actors involved in the overall asylum management, by contextualising and challenging these processes of marking and coding people in lines of deservingness suggesting that a

more careful contextualised work is required to trace the subjectivities and challenge the power hierarchies.

4. Key Findings

Even before the economic breakdown in Greece when the country was able to maintain a sustainable economic growth, the state was absent in many respects regarding matters on human rights (Lazaridis and Veikou, 2016). Due to this absence the organized civil society was often called forth to cover basic needs that were unmet by the government. Social movements, civic engagement and NGOs became the representatives of organized civil society as they were considered by the state as cost-effective in providing basic social services. The findings indicate that since the outburst of the crisis and especially since 2010 a combination of anxiety over economic strife, mistrust in the ability and competence of government, including in their management of borders, a general displeasure of growing diversity and anxiety induced by the framing of immigration as a security issue, all contributed to a change in the civil society landscape in Greece and the role of NGOs initiatives 'from below' was strengthened. Networks of associations of mainstream human rights NGOs, immigrant and other organisations active in the protection of refugee and asylum seeker rights, anti-discrimination, or the fight against racism and xenophobia, have created an increasingly vocal civil society. Closely linked to the lack of own funding and organizational capacity, maintained at best on a semi-voluntary basis and due to the conditions of major economic downturn at the national level, the civil sector acts in the context of an 'emergency-based assistance' strategy, with NGOs constituting a network which mainly fills up the gaps at the locally underdeveloped social protection institutions. Many statutory and local bodies, such as the NCHR, Ombudsman and the GCR, often express concerns about current conditions of violations of human rights vis a vis the asylum conditions and management in the country, which they describe as Greece's 'other crisis' the so-called 'refugee crisis'. In the course of their work they examine complaints for violation of the principle of human rights protection, they call for immediate measures and they release reports

and make recommendations on such matters (Human Rights Watch, 2016
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/11/23/eu-policies-put-refugees-risk>;
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/14/greece-asylum-seekers-locked>;
<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253065.pdf>).

Indeed since the outburst of the economic crisis the architecture for protection of the displaced is broken in Greece, exacerbated by the so called 'refugee crisis' particularly from 2015 onwards. In effect, getting the polity to agree to accept in 'others' (refugees / immigrants) has since been very hard because politicians are looking to their electorates and the groundswell for humanitarian support is matched by the groundswell for xenophobia.

On the flip side, the ways that refugees are framed by these shifting social, political and symbolic grounds reveal the anxieties of Europe about diversity and change and there seems to be a moral distinction between the 'deserving' refugees and the 'undeserving' migrants (Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; Wodak, 2015) while, in effect, both groups are cast as outsiders, potentially threatening and/or suspicious. This moral distinction can be understood on the basis of Foucault's biopower (1976; 2003; 2009) which shows that modern governance is based on a categorization of those who represent a threat and deserve to be *let to die*, so that those understood to make up the population can be *made to live* (1976). The failure to protect these people by obscuring the broader social context of political and moral recognition necessary for their basic rights to be exercised effectively, abandoning them in an in-between reality can be understood as a betrayal of the most basic duty of a liberal democratic society which is a tacit understanding that the state should uphold to basic rights and conditions of safety for all.

Yet, migrants/refugees are actors themselves and what they do gives feedback into the whole process of managing asylum. They are not the compliant subjects governments assume them to be. They (may) contest and resist these categorical frames. They are not simply '*bare life*' - Agamben's (1998) conception of those deprived of social, political, and economic rights - but they are political actors in their

own right, involved in making political and symbolic claims. The research drew attention ethnographically to these dynamics and the displaced people's experiences and subjectivities as they are shaped by the asylum management in Greece. These empirical questions, among many others, have been researched to reveal if indeed there was resistance from the part of the refugees and, if so, of what kind. Interestingly, the research found out that resistance often goes hand in hand with adaptation and it (resistance/adaptation) can take many forms: individuals may repeat expectations, complain, cry and/or protest. The fact, for instance, that some asylum seekers choose to arrive in Europe without passports or that they might tear them up can be understood as an adaptation practice to the existing policies of the EU since only in this way, they understand, they may be accepted. The analysis sees refugees' actions as 'performative acts' to a degree (Butler's notion of how identity is brought to life by discourse, an act rehearsed as a reaction to oppressive regimes), but, as Butler argued in *Gender Trouble* (1990), these performances are unstable because there always exist the undermining of these performances, especially since refugees and asylum seekers are cast as subjects having very little autonomy in the asylum management process. Equally, Mezzadra's work on *Border as Method* (2013) describes the kind of internalisation of border, where migrants and refugees carry the idea of borders along with them as they are allowed or not to go through state territories. Further, he writes that informational systems, like Eurodac, aim to produce governable mobile subjects from ungovernable migration flows. We can recall that in the recent past, the declarative account of the refugee during the asylum registration procedure was considered as enough information during asylum determination process. But now, there seem to be a need for extra 'real' evidence (biometrical evidence that matches only one individual) beyond the declaratory account of the migrant/refugee and on the basis of this evidence, some, admittedly few, aliens are transformed as *quasi* citizens and some are consolidated as aliens.

Another central parameter that the research highlighted was the issue of statelessness in relation to the question of how we understand the connection between concepts such as territory and citizenship. Saskia Sassen has written about this in detail inspired by Hannah Arendt and she showed that statelessness is not simply an issue of human rights but it is related to how the relationship between

territory and citizenship is changing drastically and is reshaping to a broader dynamic and that we need to address this issue from a perspective of justice and equality, which was a challenge also for this project. These are all aspects investigated from the point of view of the displaced through interviews.

Last but not least, the research noted an implicit, *a priori* suspicion against refugees and migrants (as the undeserving trespassers at best and extremists at worst) in the overall asylum management process, while at the same time there is an increased focus on technology and high tech advanced technological systems as the solution regarding the refugee crisis (i.e. there are companies, such as the Startupboat initiatives which brought together business and technological intelligence to address the problem of asylum seekers at the Greek hotspots). This kind of approaches exemplify what Morozov describes as *technological solutionism* (2013). This project alerts to the need to temper this and empirically it observed a clear disconnect between what European institutions think asylum registration and identification procedure and techniques (including technological systems) may offer in asylum management and what happens in practice depending on the overall conditions of processing asylum. The research made clear that there is a lot of elasticity in the way that procedures are enforced and it is not always done according to the formal rules. This is a very relevant parameter, made into an empirical question which asked which was the role of all actors at play. Looking back during the fieldwork I approached the site of interactions between the different actors in the asylum process as an assemblage and investigated the synergies and the different dynamics at play between them, i.e. actors such as control agencies, police, government employees, activists, translators, doctors, tech entrepreneurs, asylum seekers, etc. All these actors interacted in challenging situations and formed a dynamic assemblage which was changing all the time.

Concluding remark

We would need to generate strategies for working upstream with a reactive focus to create the social and economic rights to protect stateless people along the lines of the obligation of a democratic polity. A crisis, even a prolonged one, sometimes represents an extraordinary set of circumstances, which may open new windows of opportunity and, in such a case, an avenue for a formal changes to emerge. Looking to this end and with the hope that new possibilities may emerge, even organically from within, to restore the democratic functions of the modern state, this research tried to bring awareness against the political, economic and symbolic frames that produce the experiences of asylum seekers/refugees and migrants in Greece today on the basis of a 'deserving quasi citizens and undeserving stateless' rhetoric and in this way it may contribute to offer alternative responses in policy and society that address this deficit and steer against such divisions in the current crisis .

5. Future Plans

Planned outputs: The findings from the project will be provided to the Hellenic Observatory for dissemination. In accordance with the call, the findings will be made available in the form of a publication in the GreeSE Papers series of the Hellenic Observatory or alternatively in an international academic/scientific journal (see abstract below).

Article in publication:

Title: **Back To Basics: Stateless Women And Children In Greece.** (ID:1296261DOI:10.1080/19448953.2017.1296261), in Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, Estimated Publication date - 22 Mar 2017 (Online), 28 Mar 2017 (Print).

Abstract:

European societies are effectively witnessing a growing refugee crisis in tandem with the ongoing economic crisis in recent years. This paper draws on empirical research from Greece to examine changing European societies, with a particular focus on how the crisis is affecting the most vulnerable members of society, the stateless children and women migrants and refugees.

Article(s) in preparation:

Article 1

Title: **Asylum in Greece. Manoeuvring between Economic Crisis and Statelessness**

Abstract: The aim is to establish the connections between the economic crisis and changes in asylum regime and to deliver analysis, which may be used as policy recommendations regarding the stateless individuals entitlements to state protection especially due to the absence of previous work done in this

field pressing their case in Greece. Additionally, the article seeks to examine how the framing of asylum in Greece in recent years, has affected the discursive construction of asylum (i.e. the narratives about upholding asylum protection, the rights and responsibilities owed to asylum seekers/refugees, etc.) within the Greek asylum mechanism. Deliberate or proactive this may be, it seems to refer to the sphere of the 'ungovernable' (Agamben 1998) and the 'state of exception' (Agamben 2005) that serves to expose the shifting and at times disruptive nature of the asylum architecture and by consequence the condition of statelessness that affects many people that cross borders.

Article 2

Title: (Post crisis) asylum : critique and revisit asylum and integration in Greece

Abstract: This article is concerned with integration and the politics of asylum in Greece post the emergence of the crisis hosting a potential for critique to lead to a revisitation of asylum management and integration in Greece. Such critique emerges organically from the field, following common beliefs in Greece that the refugees and asylum seekers of today are the migrants of tomorrow, and potentially opens up new opportunities and feeds into integration practices with new initiatives. Documenting the questionable state of integration in Greece, the empirical part of the article seeks to rehabilitate its practices in the country through placing it in the midst of immigrants' individual efforts to achieve their own integration in society. While the success of their project, and the ideas it contains, depends on the urgent need for the political and social development of migration and asylum policies in Greece, its formulation in the field is crucial as it helps shape post-crisis integration from the bottom up and it should be understood as an open arena for the struggle of immigrants for integration between the dilemmas of asylum and migration politics in Greece.

Keywords: integration, crisis, critique, Greece, post-crisis asylum/migration policies.

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