

PhD Thesis 'Migrants' Reaction to Hate Crime

by VIOLETA KAPAGEORGIADOU

Submission date: 06-Aug-2022 09:43PM (UTC+0100)

Submission ID: 184254018

File name: Violeta_Kapageorgiadou_PhD_Thesis.docx (574.81K)

Word count: 104326

Character count: 598712

Understanding migrants' reactions to hate crime in Greece

by

Violeta Kapageorgiadou

25

Canterbury Christ Church University

Thesis submitted for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2022

Abstract

Over the past decade, millions of individuals from Middle-Eastern and African countries have migrated to Europe to seek refuge. The majority of these refugees emigrate from Muslim majority countries and seek to integrate into European societies. Notably, Greece has hosted thousands of individuals seeking asylum since 2015. Many of these individuals have applied for asylum and have sought to integrate into Greek society and to navigate their way through the national and European legal systems with regard to their status.

This PhD thesis focuses on the legal consciousness of migrants and the processes open to refugee and asylum seekers to assert their rights, notably with regard to incidents of hate crime and including their interactions with the legal authorities in Greece. The research seeks to capture the factors that influence the views and behaviours of migrants towards the law and their legal rights, using legal consciousness as a theoretical framework.

The research findings indicate that refugees and asylum seekers' legal consciousness is influenced by their religious and cultural background, legal knowledge, previous (negative) experiences with the legal system and their socio-economic status in Greece. Refugees and asylum seekers, while aware of the rights essential for their survival in the host country (such as applying for asylum to obtain a secure status, claiming for benefits and housing) were unaware of, and less willing to engage with, legal authorities and rights which they did not find essential for their survival. They viewed hate incidents against them as less important, not worth reporting and sometimes did not even consider these incidents as crimes.

The research suggests that asylum seekers in Greece are a vulnerable population who need mechanisms to support them and raise their legal consciousness around their rights in order to better integrate, develop and thrive in the host society. Moving forwards, a better

understanding of refugees' and asylum seekers' reactions towards hate crime will help to create future policies and support mechanisms that could improve the lives of these individuals.

Contents

Abstract	i
List of tables	ix
Acknowledgement	x
505 Abbreviations - Acronyms	xii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 The Background and Context of Migration in Europe	2
1.1.1 Securitisation and Xenophobia towards Migrants in Europe	4
1.2 Hate crime policies and the law in Europe	12
1.2.1 United Kingdom	13
1.2.2 Greece	14
1.2.3 Hate speech and freedom of speech	17
1.3 The Theoretical framework: legal consciousness and migrants' perceptions of law	22
417 1.4 The aims and research questions of the thesis	23
1.5 Methodology	24
146 1.6 Definitions of key terms	26
1.7 Thesis outline	30
Chapter Two: Literature review, Conceptualisation of hate crime	33
2.1 Introduction	33
2.2 Hate crime in western societies	34
7 2.2.1 The characteristics of hate crime	36

2.2.2 The harms of hate crime	40
2.3 Migration in Greece and the rise of xenophobia.....	46
2.3.1 From multiculturalism to ethnocentrism and xenophobia.....	48
2.3.3 The role of Economic crisis and the Far-right in xenophobic discourse.....	50
2.3.2 Migration and securitisation	52
2.4 Hate crime towards migrants in Greece	55
2.4.1 Hate crime prevention	57
2.5 Underreporting of hate crime in Greece	58
2.5.1 Barriers to reporting hate crime.....	59
192 2.6 Conclusion	61
Chapter Three: Legal consciousness	63
3.1 Introduction.....	63
3.2 The progression of Legal Consciousness.....	64
3.3 Resisting the law	69
3.4 Rights claiming and Identity	72
3.5 Mobilisation of law	74
3.4 Conclusion	81
54 Chapter Four: Methodology and Methods	84
4.1 Introduction.....	84
4.2 The role of reflexivity in my journey.....	84
4.2.1 Reflexivity as a methodological tool.....	86

4.2.2 Reflexivity in data collection.....	87
4.2.3 Reflexivity in data analysis	90
4.3 The research setting and the recruitment process	91
4.3.1 The contribution of the international non-governmental organization.....	92
4.4 Methodological and philosophical framework	97
461 4.5 Data collection	100
4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews	100
4.5.2 Ethnography	102
4.6 Data Analysis using thematic analysis	108
4.6.1 Transcription.....	108
4.6.2 Coding and theme development	109
4.7 Ethics and informed consent	110
4.8 Limitations and problems	112
192 4.9 Conclusion	114
Chapter Five: Findings	116
5.1 Introduction.....	116
5.2 The migrants	116
5.3 Migrants' reactions to hate crime	118
5.3.1 Hate crime in Greece	118
5.3.2 Hate crime in the countries of origin.....	122
34 5.4 Migrants' experiences with the legal system in the country of origin.....	124

5.5 Migrants' experiences with legal authorities in Greece.....	133
5.6 Knowledge of law and rights	135
5.7 Social and economic status in Greece.....	140
5.8 Exposure to racism and intolerance	141
5.8.1 Reaction to racism	142
5.8.2 Migrants' opinions of other migrants in Greece.....	143
5.9 Cultural practices in Greece.....	147
5.10 Conclusion	149
Chapter Six: Migrants claiming rights in Greece	152
6.1 Introduction.....	152
6.2 A journey towards political rights	152
6.2.1 The motives to leave.....	153
6.2.2 A journey of legal consciousness	160
6.3 Migrants' legal consciousness in Greece.....	169
6.3.1 Using the law to assert economic and social rights	169
6.4 Not asserting rights regarding hate crime	178
6.4.1 Lack of knowledge	178
6.4.2 Political culture and religion	181
6.4.3 Seriousness of crime and the normalisation of hate	182
6.4.4 Confidence in the legal system.....	186
6.5 Conclusion: Legal alienation and prioritisation of needs	190

Chapter Seven: Legal consciousness of economic migrants in Greece	196
7.1 Introduction	196
7.2 The development of migration policies	198
7.3 Methodology	201
7.3.1 Recruitment	201
7.3.2 The participants	202
7.3.3 Limitations	202
7.4 Findings and discussion	202
7.4.1 Standing against the law	204
7.4.2 Standing before the law and asserting rights	208
7.4.3 Migrants' reactions to hate crime	211
7.4.4 Assimilating to avoid intolerance	215
481 7.5 Conclusion	222
Chapter Eight: Conclusion	226
8.1 Introduction	226
8.2 Research Findings	227
8.2.1 Economic migrants	234
8.3 Reflections on the findings	238
8.5 Research contributions	248
References	252
Appendix A	1

Appendix B.....	4
Appendix C.....	10

516
List of tables

Table 1	119
Table 2	122
Table 3	124

Acknowledgement

³⁰⁷ Foremost I would like to give my warmest thanks to my supervisor Dr Dominic Wood, whose guidance and advice carried me through this PhD. Besides ⁴⁷⁰ I would like to thank my committee chair Prof Susan Millns for her continues support and encouragement throughout this research.

I cannot express enough thanks to Dr Sofia Graca for introducing me to research and guiding me through my master degree and the first half of my PhD.

²²² Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, Magda and Alex, and my Grandma Violeta, for being there for me throughout this journey. ³ I would not have been able to finish this degree without their love and continues support.

This thesis is dedicated to Violeta the senior.

Abbreviations - Acronyms

⁴⁵⁸ ABTTF	Avrupa Bati Trakya Turk Federasyonu (Federation of Western Thrace Turks in Europe)
ACPO	The Association of Chief Police Officers
EAM ⁴²⁶	The National Liberation Front
ECHR	European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
ELAS ⁵⁴	National Popular Liberation Army
EU	European Union
FRA	the European Agency for Fundamental Rights ²⁰⁵
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
KEERFA	United Movement against Racism and the Fascist Threat
KKK ⁵⁵⁴	Ku Klux Klan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPCC ¹⁰⁷	National Police Chiefs Council
ODIHR	The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RNRV ¹⁰³	Racist Violence Recording Network
UDHR ⁵⁰⁴	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	UK Independence Party
UN ⁵⁴	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USSR ⁵³³	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

Chapter One: Introduction

Migration has been an integral part of human history, and its patterns remain consistent today (Bacci, 2018; Manning, 2015). Over the past decade, millions of individuals from Middle Eastern and African countries have immigrated to Europe to seek refuge (United Nations, 2018). Most of these refugees emigrate from Muslim majority countries and seek to integrate into European societies (UNHCR, 2015). Notably, Greece has hosted thousands of individuals seeking asylum since 2015 (UNHCR, 2015). Many of these individuals have applied for asylum and have sought to integrate into Greek society and navigate their way through the national and European legal systems with regard to their status (ECRE, 2021).

⁶³¹ This thesis focuses on the legal consciousness of migrants and the processes open to asylum seekers and refugees to assert their rights, notably ⁴²¹ with regard to incidents of hate crime and their interactions with the legal authorities in Greece. The research seeks to capture the factors that influence the views and behaviours of migrants towards the law and their legal rights with particular regard to incidents of hate crime, using legal consciousness as a theoretical framework.

⁵⁰² This chapter presents the infrastructure of the thesis. First, it introduces the research background and surrounding context for the study, discussing the situation of migrants in Europe and, more specifically, in Greece. The introduction then presents the hate crime policies and the law in ⁶⁴⁰ Europe, with the examples of Greece and the United Kingdom (UK), to ²⁵ set the legal context in which this research is situated. Then, the study's theoretical framework is introduced, discussing the concept of legal consciousness, which provides the theoretical foundation for analysis within the thesis. Next, the thesis aims are described, and the research questions (together with sub-questions) are presented and justified. This is ⁴⁴² followed by a presentation of the methodology used in the research to gather the core primary data. The

introduction then provides an overview and definition of key terms and phrases used in the course of the thesis. Finally, the introduction will provide a road map to help the reader navigate the progression of the chapters in the thesis.

1.1 The Background and Context of Migration in Europe

People migrate in groups or individually for reasons including, but not limited to, economic difficulties (McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2009; Parutis, 2011; McDowell, 2008), environmental and climate changes (Myers, 2002; Farbotko and Lazrus, 2012; Koubi et al., 2018; Ransan-Cooper et al., 2015), educational reasons (Karimova et al., 2021) and political instability, such as conflict or war, in their countries of origin (United Nations, 2018; Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003; Moore and Shellman, 2004). In areas of conflict and war, individuals are forced to flee their homelands in search of safety. Life-threatening conditions, restrictions of rights and liberty, and security threats are some of the reasons that drive individuals to immigrate (Jakob, Kron and Christoph, 2019, p.11). Forced migration is a significant worldwide phenomenon. More than 82 million people were displaced worldwide in 2020, with 26.4 million refugees and 4.1 million asylum seekers (ECHO, 2021). In recent years, millions of refugees reached European shores, especially after 2015 with the start of the war in Syria and general upheaval in other Middle Eastern and African countries. Around 5.2 million refugees from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and other politically distressed areas entered the European Union by 2016 (UNHCR, 2019a) to seek asylum and have opportunities to live a better life (Davis, 2020, p.261). Since World War II, the European Union was called upon to manage the most significant influx of migrants and refugees (United Nations, 2016). Refugees fleeing war, conflict and persecution reached European States seeking protection under EU policies and legislation. According to Eurostat, the asylum applications in EU Member States rose significantly in 2014, reaching their peak in 2015 (Eurostat, 2021).

After the Dublin III Regulation (EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 2013, Article 13, the country responsible for examining an asylum application for international protection is the first EU State the asylum seeker enters (EUR-Lex, 2013). Consequently, Member States like Greece, Italy and Malta received a higher number of asylum seekers than other EU States due to their location at the southern border of the EU (Guiraudon, 2017, p.154). Refugees and asylum seekers were crossing the Mediterranean Sea to enter EU countries and continue their journey to north-western EU States such as Germany through various migratory paths (Frontex, 2021; Rozakou, 2021, p.23). These migratory paths included, and continue to include the Western and Central Mediterranean routes (sea routes connecting Morocco and other northern African countries with Italy and Spain); the Eastern Mediterranean and Eastern Border routes (a 6.000 kilometres land border and sea routes connecting EU eastern-States with Turkey, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation) (Frontex, 2021).

Finally, the Balkan route became the main migratory path to the EU, with more than 750,000 crossings in 2015 alone (Frontex, 2021). Migrants entering Greece passed through non-EU countries, such as North Macedonia and Serbia. They re-entered the EU to carry on their journey through Hungary and Croatia to western European States (Frontex, 2021). The migration policies of some west EU States, such as Sweden, Germany and Austria, and some non-EU countries like Serbia helped in the establishment and facilitation of the Balkan route by providing safe transportation to migrants during the summer of 2015 (Zoppi and Puleri, 2021, p.2; Kasperek and Speer, 2015). The welcoming of migrants by strong European States such as Germany naturally encouraged more migrants to follow the Balkan route in the hopes of reaching and settling in these countries safely (Kasperek and Speer, 2015). The high number of migrants arriving in EU States gave rise to concerns regarding the safety of the migrants and

potential problems these arrivals could cause to the EU (Rizova, 2019, p.78; Jaskulowski, 2018, p.711).

1.1.1 Securitisation and Xenophobia towards Migrants in Europe

The migration crisis of 2015 became a substantial challenge for the European Union as the huge migrant influx found the EU financially and administrative unprepared (Guiraudon, 2017:154). The EU, known for its free movement within its internal borders (Wassenberg, 2020) and with the Dublin III regulation in place, had to reconsider its policies to cope with the migration crisis. In addition, the EU was recovering from the global financial crisis that had started in 2007, which had a striking effect on EU Gross Domestic Product (GDP), labour market, mortgages and more (Hodson and Quaglia, 2009, p.940-941), which further destabilised the EU and further complicated its response to the migration crisis.

The concept of free movement in Europe was first introduced in 1985, and the signing of an agreement for the gradual abolition of borders checks between five Member States, namely Netherlands, France, Luxembourg and Germany (Prakoso et al., 2021, p.175; Wassenberg, 2020, p.30). Gradually the borders between EU Member States were abolished, and people could move freely from one EU State to another without restraints (Prakoso et al., 2021, p.175). Eventually, the Schengen agreement was enacted in the Amsterdam Treaty of the European Union in 1997 (European Parliament, 2022). The free movement of people within the EU and some non-EU countries aimed at an European integration that allowed citizens to travel, work and live in other Schengen countries without formalities (Wassenberg, 2020; European Commission, 2019).

In addition, the right to asylum and the protection of fundamental rights are ideals recognised by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU (Anagnostaras, 2020, p.1180-1181). The treaty of Amsterdam of 1999 let EU institutions draw up asylum legislation

(European Parliament, 2019a). The Amsterdam Treaty marked the beginning of the first phase of the ²³ development of a Common European Asylum System (CEAS) across EU States. The CEAS objective was to set common minimum standards regarding the ¹⁴⁶ reception of asylum ²⁸ seekers, determine the qualification criteria, the nature of the protection, and set the criteria for granting and withdrawing refugee status (European Parliament, 2019a). In 2009 the Lisbon treaty followed, transforming asylum measures from ⁴⁹⁹ 'minimum standards' to a common asylum system with a 'uniform status' and 'uniform proceeding' (European Parliament, 2019a). The CEAS ensured the equal and fair treatment of asylum seekers wherever they may apply for asylum (European Commission, 2022).

An instrument that ensures the ³⁸⁵ operation of the common European Asylum System (CEAS) is the Dublin III Regulation of the European Parliament of 2013 (Anagnostaras, 2020, p.1181). With the ⁴¹⁴ abolition of internal borders in the EU in 1985, the movement of asylum seekers became easier, and issues about the ³⁸⁵ State responsible for the asylum applications surfaced (Mitchell, 2017, p.300-301). The Dublin ⁴⁷⁴ Convention was established to determine which Member State would be responsible for an asylum seeker (Mitchell, 2017, p.301). The convention's purpose was to ensure quick access to protection for asylum seekers and prevent asylum seekers choosing a particular Member State they found more propitious (Mitchell, 2017, p.301). In the following years, the Dublin Regulation II (2003) and III (2013) replaced the Dublin Convention and improved the examination of the asylum application. Dublin II introduced a multi-national biometric system, the ⁵⁵⁹ European Dactyloscopy System (EURODAC), the EU's fingerprint database (European Parliament, 2015). Dublin III provides provisions for the protection of applicants, including personal interviews, protection of minors with possibilities of reunifying them with family members, free of charge legal assistance upon request, ⁸³ strict limitation of the duration of detention and guarantees on the right to appeal (European Commission, 2020).

The migration flows that intensified in 2015 challenged the EU's ability to cope with the crisis. The Schengen SEAS and Dublin regulations appear incompatible in guiding migrant arrivals (Lavenex, 2018, p.1196). It is argued that the common asylum system of the EU was not uniform, letting asylum application decisions be determined on a national level (Mitsilegas, 2014:181). The responsibility that fell on the first country of entry under the Dublin III regulation led to conflicts among the Member States regarding the distribution of applicants (Lavenex, 2018, p.1196). The EU's delay in providing help to Member States with overburdened systems unable to handle the number of inflows, prolonged the asylum issue that burdened these Member States (Menendez, 2016:388). Italy experienced an asylum system overload in 2014, and Greece experienced a collapse of its system in 2015, causing a secondary movement of asylum seekers from the points of entry to Northern European States (Menendez, 2016, p.388).

In addition, the countries that received most asylum applicants (such as Greece) faced serious economic issues (Guiraudon, 2017, p.154; Davis, 2020, p.262). In 2015 Greece became the preferred point of entry for migrants to Europe, with more than eight hundred thousand entering Greece that year (Lamb, 2016, p.69). The number of migrants appeared to negatively impact the already strained Greek economy, leaving Greece unable to care for the asylum seekers (Lamb, 2016, p.69). Moreover, the presence of asylum seekers had a negative effect on the acutely important tourist economy (Lamb, 2016, p.69), with cancellations, a decrease in bookings, and shortening on the tourist season (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis, 2018, p.215). The strain on the tourist economy was not only observed on the Greek islands that received asylum seekers but in the entire country (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis, 2018, p.215).

The immense flows of irregular migrants and their secondary movement within the EU caused emergency measures to be taken and a revision of the migration policies in place (European Commission, 2015a). The EU's failed attempt to protect migrants became more of

an issue about security and the securitisation of Europe's borders against mass migration. The extensive politicisation of migration transforms it into a security threat (Léonard, 2010, p.231; Ferreira, 2018, p.58, Huysmans, 2000; Bello, 2020).

Securitisation was developed in the Copenhagen School of thought of Buzan, Wæver, Wilde and others in the 1990s (Stritzel, 2014, p.11). The Copenhagen school took its name from the writings of academics in the Conflict and Peace Research Institute in Copenhagen (Stritzel, 2014, p.11). According to Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde (1998), security is related to survival. When an existential threat towards a referent object such as the State, government, territory or society, manifests itself, security measures must be taken to handle the threat (Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde, 1998, p.21). The word 'security' has been associated with the emergency conditions that legitimise the use of force (Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde, 1998, p.21). This shows that in the case of migration, the movement of people brings up questions about political loyalties, economy, and issues regarding national territories (Huysmans, 2006:30). The use of security language on migration socially structures migration as a danger to society (Huysmans, 2006, p.31). Consequently, security measures must be taken by the State. As far back as the 9/11 attack in the USA, and fuelled by the terrorist attacks in Paris (Huysman, 2006; Stivas, 2021), Brussels, Manchester, and other European cities by extremist groups after 2015 (Shepherd, 2021, p.736), the subject of terrorism and the association of migration with security, both in the USA and the EU, intensified (Lazaridis and Wadia, 2015; Lahav and Courtemanche, 2011, p.478).

In Europe, the political, government and media discourses on migration focused on EU security and led to the development of migration policies that prioritised the authority of the EU over the safety and well-being of migrants (Rizova, 2019, p.78; Jaskulowski, 2018, p.711). Through this lens, the humanitarian crisis was reconstructed as a security issue. The security discourses, such as the EU's claims to protect migrants and itself from smugglers and

traffickers, legitimised the use of force against migrants through ‘search and destroy’ and ‘pushback’ operations by European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) and the diversion of migrants to third countries after the EU-Turkey deal (Hintjens, 2019, p.186-191).

Organisations such as Human Rights Watch have recorded the mistreatment of refugees at the Greece-Turkey land border and their forced return to Turkey by Greek security forces (Human Rights Watch, 2020). The representation of migrants as victims of trafficking was reframed and rather than a victim narrative, the new perspective now connected migration with criminality (Huysmans and Squire, 2009, p.12).

In addition, the presentation of the EU as another victim of this humanitarian crisis, hurt by unlawful smugglers and traffickers, along with the anti-migrant rhetoric that emerged by opportunistic vote-hunting far-right actors all over Europe (Lazaridis and Tsagkroni, 2015, p.191; Agyare, 2021, p.642; Lazaridis and Veikou, 2017, p.4), led to the representation of migrants as a threat to the EU. The use of security language in politics – such as the Italian Prime Minister’s Matteo Renzi phrase “new slave trade” referring to migrant smugglers in the Mediterranean (Colombo, 2017, p.173), and media linking extremism to migrants’ failure to integrate into the host societies (Boffey, 2020) – further explained the security policies on migration (Huysmans and Squire, 2009, p.10). This language and associated discourses helped to shape immigration into a crisis that had to be prevented and controlled (Agyare, 2021, p.642). Thus, the use of migration as a security threat to the EU transformed migration into an emergency condition that could be dealt with by any means that the EU deemed necessary.

In addition to the economic perspective on anti-immigrant attitudes, migration is also viewed as a threat to public order and culture. This is referred to by Buzan, Waever and Wilde, as ‘societal insecurity’ (1998). In their theory, identity is viewed as the ‘organising concept in the societal sector’ (Buzan, Waever and Wilde, 1998, p.119). While the State is founded on

formal membership and possesses fixed territory, society is based on identity and how this identity is perceived (Saleh, 2010, p.232). The individuals in a given community believe that their identity is threatened. For other commentators, such as Huysmans (2006, p.46), migration is considered a disturbance and a danger to the ‘collective way of life that defines a community’ such as the European Union – although there is, of course, no single community or single way of life in the EU.

The rhetoric produces fear towards migrants, and eventually, this fear transforms into an existential threat in the minds of local populations. The securitisation of migrants is used to bring political trust, loyalty and identity (Huysmans, 2006, p.47). The very security of the community depends on the feeling of insecurity (Huysmans, 2006, p.47). Cultural differences between groups are also perceived as a threat to one’s culture and identity (Huysmans, 2006, p.64). The negative representation of migrants on social media is used for their further securitisation (Huysmans, 2006).

In an attempt to control migration flows, the Balkan route was closed in early 2016. Some non-European countries, namely North Macedonia, Slovenia and Croatia, shut their borders, causing thousands of migrants to be trapped in Balkan countries and Greece (Kingsley, 2016). Eventually, EU States practised stricter border controls and temporarily closed their borders to hold back and cease migration flows. In September 2015, the Netherlands carried out border control checks, and Hungary closed its border with Serbia, Germany, Austria and Slovakia by rising razor-wire fences (Bergman, 2015). In 2020 Greece closed its borders to refugees coming from Turkey, with the EU’s foreign affairs chief, Josep Borrell, warning refugees to avoid moving towards closed borders. ‘Don’t go to the border. The border is not open. If someone tells you that you can go because the border is open, you can go freely to Greece, that’s not true... Avoid a situation in which you could be in danger. Avoid escalation of the crisis. Avoid moving to a closed door. Please don’t tell people that they can go because it’s not true’ (Ng,

2020; Reuters, 2020; Rankin *et al.*, 2020). Freedom of movement ceased within EU borders for the first time in twenty years, with Member States strengthening their border controls and thousands of migrants left stuck ²⁷⁹ on the Greek islands of Lesbos, Kos, Samos, Chios, and Leros ⁶³³ (International Rescue Committee, 2022). The EU's response to the migration crisis was to provide care for migrants, such as shelter and safety, and at the same time to securitise them for the protection of EU citizens (Chouliaraki and Georgiou, 2017, p.160). The securitisation of migrants and the security threat discourse fuelled xenophobic attitudes and hate crimes towards migrants.

European Union and non-governmental organisations have recorded xenophobic violence and speech, harassment and threats towards migrants. Migrants and asylum seekers are targeted ³³⁷ by members of vigilante groups, far-right extremist groups, the general population and State authorities (FRA, 2016). Evidence shows Greece's failure to protect migrants' rights regarding hate crimes. ⁶⁸⁶ Non-governmental organisations observed the mistreatment of migrants by the police and far-right groups ⁵ (OSCE, 2019). The ¹²³ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) with the Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), created by the Greek National Commission for Human Rights (GNCHR) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), recorded an increase in hate crimes in 2017 and 2018 (RVRN, 2019). Most hate crimes were committed based on racism and xenophobia towards migrants and refugees (RVRN, 2019). Most victims were attacked due to their ethnic origin, religion and colour (RVRN, 2019). The RVRN has reported the underreporting of hate crimes and hate speech by migrants and refugees.

Hate violence is a well-known phenomenon worldwide. From primitive to modern societies, violence seems to be an integral factor in forming organised societies and hierarchies (Ray, 2018, p.24). Interpersonal violence based on bias, xenophobia, and prejudice is inextricably linked to history and deeply rooted in modern societies. Intergroup conflicts and

violent attacks motivated by prejudice towards specific social and biological characteristics can be observed in modern history, from the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews and Roma by Nazis during the Second World War (Hürter, 2018, p.18; Wippermann, 2019, p.81) to the physical and psychological violence towards African American people in the USA (Kirk, 2013, pp. 9-0), to anti-Semitic and anti-migrant incidents in European countries the last few decades (Chakraborti, 2018, p.388).

Hate crime has attracted much attention worldwide in the previous few decades, accompanying economic and political shifts. After the ⁶⁴¹ financial crisis of 2008 in Europe and the ⁴⁰⁹ austerity measures taken by governments to address it, increased levels and forms of hate crime have been observed (Garland and Funnell, 2016, p.15), with more racist, anti-Semitic and hate crime incidents recorded ⁴⁰⁹ in many countries worldwide. For instance, ⁴⁷² in the United Kingdom, there was a wave of negative attitudes towards people with disabilities and their access to benefits. As a result, many disabled people faced harassment (Garland and Funnell, 2016, p.15). In addition, hate crime reports rose by 500% after the referendum to ⁴⁷² decide whether the UK should remain a Member State of the European Union (EU), in 2016 (Home Office, 2019; Nagesh, 2016, p.538). In northern ⁴⁰³ European States such as Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and France, an increase in anti-Semitic incidents and political tension was observed as populist parties promoted anti-migrant attitudes towards certain minority groups (Garland and Funnell, 2016, p.15; Chakraborti, 2018, p.388). In Greece and France, there was increased support for far-right parties that promoted anti-migration sentiment (Garland and Funnell, 2016, p.15). In The United States, among other incidents, there was a deadly attack ⁵ towards an African American church congregation in 2015, organised by a white racist group (Garland and Funnell, 2016, p.15). Considerable political tension and hostile attitudes towards migrants were also observed during and after the presidential campaign of the 2016 USA elections (Chakraborti, 2018, p.388).

According to group conflict theory, negative intergroup behaviour stems from in-groups' attempts to maintain their status, resources, values, and identity (Schneider, 2007, p.53; Billiet et al., 2014, p.137). The global economic crisis that preceded the migration crisis in Europe had significantly impacted Europe, causing unemployment across the EU and subsequent national austerity measures (Billiet et al., 2014, p.136). The competition for limited resources during this period contributed to the anti-migration discourses as migrants were, and still are, perceived as a threat to the economic interests of the local population (Billiet et al. 2014, p. 136).

1.2 Hate crime policies and the law in Europe

This section sets the legal context of this research by presenting the hate crime policies and legislation in Europe. European Union policies were selected for their contribution to hate crime legislation in the European States, with the examples of Greece that this research focuses on, and the UK as a multi-cultural liberal democracy that has systematically worked to eliminate hate crime.

The European Union have developed policies and legislation to protect individuals from hate and discrimination under Article 21 – Non-Discrimination, which states,

1. Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited.

2. Within the scope of application of the Treaties and without prejudice to any of their specific provisions, any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited. (FRA, 2015).

The Charter of Fundamental Rights defines discrimination against social characteristics and beliefs, including any individual's opinion, status, or genetic features, and explicitly

protects minorities. Social scientists suggest that hate crime victims are usually members of an already marginalised minority group (Garland and Funnell, 2016, p.17; Perry, 2001, p.10). The Charter of Fundamental Rights recognises its importance and includes national minorities in its definition. Article 21 gives a descriptive definition of hate crime by providing examples that better clarify a hate crime by having ‘racism’ ‘xenophobia’ intolerance’ and ‘bias’ as motivation factors.

1.2.1 United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has systematically worked on tackling hate crime. Its efforts to create ‘strong legislation against racism and racial discrimination’ are considered to be in line with those of the European Union set by the ⁴²¹European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (ECRI, 2016).

⁶⁹⁸The first law that can be considered related to hate crime is the Public Order Act 1986. Although ⁵part III of the Act was developed to maintain public order, it was the first legislation to criminalise behaviours that intended to stir up racial hatred (Meer, 2008, p.71). However, hate crime attracted much more attention in the 1990s, particularly after the Macpherson report. The report was drafted after the Metropolitan Police failed to arrest those responsible for the ⁵murder of Stephen Lawrence, a young black man killed in 1993 by a group of white racists in London. The report focused on the police’ professional incompetence, inadequate leadership, and institutional racism (Lea, 2000). The Macpherson report worked as a precursor of hate crime legislation. It included recommendations that set the fundamental principles for tackling hate crime (Laverick and Joyce, 2020, p. 84).

In 1998 the UK created legislation for racially motivated offences that were included in ³⁵³the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (c.37) . Later, religious offences were added as part of the ³⁴³Crime and Security Act 2001 (c.24). In 2006, a new law the Racial and Religious Hatred Act

2006 created offences involving stirring up hatred on religious grounds (Gov.uk, 2011). The law prohibits the verbal, written or behavioural incitement of racial or religious hate. The amendment of the legislation in 2006 covers some gaps in the legislation as the Public Order Act was interpreted in a way that protected some religions but not all (Gelber, 2017, p.33). This law also covers behaviours that could incite hatred, including symbolic actions like parades or cross burnings (Boeckmann and Turpin-Petrosino, 2002, p.209). In 2010 the Equality Act provided protection from discrimination on the bases of characteristics such as age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage, race, religion, sex and sexual orientation (Gov.uk, 2010).

Even though the UK appears to be quite active in legislation to tackle discrimination and ensure equality, there is not a single legal framework regarding hate crime. Hate crime is covered by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Criminal Justice Act 2003. The first provides maximum penalties to those committing racially and religiously aggravated offences (Gov.uk, 2019). The latter provides higher sentences to the offenders that demonstrate hostility based on disability, sexual orientation, and transgender identity (Gov.uk, 2012). Apart from the legislation, the UK adopted an anti-hate crime agenda to tackle discrimination and hate crime through forums, multi-agency responses, attempts to create a common definition of hate crime, and training for the detection of hate crime, among a number of other actions (Laverick and Joyce, 2020, p.85).

1.2.2 Greece

Greece was one of the first countries in Europe to introduce a law on hate crimes. The amendment of Law No. 927/1979 (AD 139) and adaptation in Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of November 28, 2008, for the fight against forms and manifestations of racism and xenophobia through criminal law (Law No. 328) and others, states,

104
1. Anyone with intent, public, orally or through the press, through the internet or with any other medium or way, incites, provokes, excites or urges in actions or activities that they can 124 cause discrimination, hatred or violence against a person or group of persons, determined on the basis of race, colour, religion, genealogy, national or ethnic origin, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability, in a way that expose public order or pose a threat to the life, freedom or physical integrity 7 of the above persons, shall be punished by imprisonment [...] (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2014).

The Greek law protects a wide range of social characteristics like “genealogy” that are not present in other legislation. It covers hate crime and hate speech as one offence, unlike the policies of other EU bodies. In Greece, hate crime includes verbal, written or through actions, the incitement of hate or violence towards individuals or groups motivated by their social characteristics. The law also covers damages to property used by the protected individuals or groups and refers specifically to the use of the internet for the incitement of hatred, apart from the other media.

The internet is a compelling medium for communication and expression. Individuals can share information and ideas but also spread hatred (Enarsson and Lindgren, 2018, p.3). An illustrative example is the Danish cartoonist Kurt Westergaard, who portrayed Mohammed in his comics in 2005. The cartoon’s publication induced the death of 139 people, caused threats of death, destruction of embassies, the boycott of Danish products, and the conviction of journalists. There was an immediate global reaction that would not be possible without the technological advancements that made information and idea-sharing possible (Grim, 2009, p.17).

The laws displayed above cover similar significant points. The common feature of all hate crime laws is the element of hatred, prejudice or bias. These laws link an already criminal

offence with prejudice as the motive. In addition, they all try to protect individuals with certain social characteristics from prejudice and bias. However, some points are missing or phrased differently. The definition of hate crime may vary in different justice systems (Petrosino, 2003, p.10). According to Mason (2013, p.78), race is a characteristic protected by most hate crime laws; at the same time, categories such as religion, ethnicity, gender, sexuality or disability might not be protected. In the laws displayed in this chapter, one can notice such differences between them. Characteristics like “genealogy” and “genetic features” are protected under Greek law and the EU Article 21 but not included in the UK legislation.

These examples may indicate that hate crime laws are created and shaped according to the needs of each society. As hate crime might have different meanings to different people in different places and times (Hall, 2005, p.1), it is understandable to have variations in ¹⁷ hate crime laws. A similarity in hate crime laws worldwide is that in most jurisdictions, hate crimes have heavier punishments than other types of crime (Mason, 2013, p.78; Brax, 2016, p.230). The extra punishment for hate crimes is due to the motive of prejudice and bias behind the crime (Mason, 2013, p.78).

This additional punishment based solely on the motive is causing a debate in the field of criminology. One side of the argument supports that the criminalisation of the motive insinuates the criminalisation of thought. This argument follows the logic ⁵⁹² that individuals should not be held responsible for their thoughts (Brax, 2016, p.231). Individuals could be criticised and blamed for their “wrong” values and morals because of their motives, but the law should not criminalise their morals (Brax, 2016, pp.231-232). By punishing the motive, the law judges the offenders’ values, not their actions (Brax, 2016:232). The punishment of the motive is argued to be based on the punishment of ideas and thoughts that a given government finds repulsive. The punishment of ideas could be argued to violate ¹⁸⁰ human rights, such as the right to ‘freedom of opinion and expression’ of the UN Human Rights Article 19 (Iganski, 2002,

p.2). Those who approve of the added punishment for the motive behind a hate crime argue ¹⁶² that hate crimes cause more extensive harm to society than non-hate crimes. According to this view, the law does not punish the motive itself but the type of crime indicated by the motive (Iganski, 2002, p.10). The motive in hate crime indicates the type of crime known to cause greater harm in society than other types of crime (Lawrence, 2002, p.38; Iganski, 2002, p.10). The role of hate crime law, as explained by Iganski and Levin (2015, p.58), is ³²⁵ to send the message to society that hate-violence is repulsive and not accepted. Hate crime laws are not only addressed to the offenders, but to the justice system and those who compose it, that hate violence should be taken seriously (Iganski and Levin, 2015, p.58).

1.2.3 Hate speech and freedom of speech

Hate speech has caused a similar debate regarding the restrictions put upon the freedom of expression. ³²⁵ Hate speech is another form of hate crime discussed further in chapter two. Hate ⁴⁸² speech is a criminal offence, and ⁵ European bodies such as the European Commission against ³⁶³ Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) define it as ‘forms of expressions which advocate, incite, promote or justify hatred, violence and discrimination against a person or group of persons for a variety of reasons’ (Council of Europe, 2014). The term hate speech indicates hateful verbal communication; however, the phenomenon of hate speech includes any kind of communication in society, such as verbal, written or digital (Waldron, 2010, p.1600; Lepourte, 2017, p.854).

As hate speech does not involve physical violence but can only incite, promote and justify it through communication, a debate has arisen grounded on the potential harm it can ⁵⁹⁸ cause to freedom of expression. Freedom of speech in ¹¹³ Europe could be traced back to ancient Greece and the concept of parrhesia (παρρησία), which was the idea of speaking freely and boldly (Kruger, 2018, p.7). The concept of parrhesia represents the Athenian democratic values and the constitutional right of citizens to communicate any idea but with respect towards life (Lewis, 2009, p.35; Kruger, 2018, p.7). Athenian democracy encouraged freedom of speech;

however, there were some restrictions regarding blasphemy or libellous speech (Waclawczyk, 2006, p.7).

In modern times freedom of speech continues to be a constitutional right, with hate speech legislation and regulations based on human rights. The 'Declaration of Rights of Man' after the French revolution in 1789, and the American 'Bill of Rights' in 1791 that followed the American independence, worked as a precursor of today's European constitutions and mechanisms for the protection of human rights (Smith, 2014). The need for the socio-political protection of Europeans after the end of the Second World War (WW II) led to the creation of bodies such as the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights in 1950. Today the European mechanism for human rights protection is considered one of the most effective (Smith, 2014, pp. 6, 26-27, 98-101). Freedom of expression is a core human right in the European Union. The regulations imposed by the European Convention regarding freedom of speech are based on the idea that there cannot be democracy without freedom of communication (Jacq and Teitgen, 1991, p.59). The freedom of speech and, as an extension, public discourse is a fundamental element of a democratic society (Grim, 2009, p.11). Article 10 of the EU Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms guarantees the EU citizens' freedoms and protects the Member States' interests with some restrictions.

The EU's Article 10 of freedom of expression states that:

(1). Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This Article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises.

(2). The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary (EHRC, 2020).

Article 10 states the importance for individuals ³⁴³ to hold opinions and receive information and ideas freely and prohibits the interference of authorities and any other not visible factor. The phrase “regardless of frontiers” could be interpreted literally as borders of a geographical area and metaphorically, as invisible borders such as distortion and oppression that could potentially prevent individuals from expressing their opinions or sharing ideas and information (Grayling, 2008, p.15). An example of a present-day invisible frontier could again be the Danish newspaper cartoonist Kurt Westergaard (Grim, 2009, p.17). The reactions caused by the cartoon’s publication could be seen as an attempt to enforce silence by those who disagreed with the journalist’s views or way of expression (Grayling, 2008, p.15).

While the first part of Article 10 promotes ⁶⁶² freedom of speech, the second part includes ⁶²⁷ restrictions and penalties “necessary in a democratic society”. The interference of authority bodies ⁱⁿ expressing opinions is prohibited, but they are accepted in cases where an “expression” is harmful to the democratic society (Voorhoof and Cannie, 2010, p.409). One may interpret the purpose of these restrictions as the protection of individuals from hate speech, owing to the fact that hate speech could challenge public safety or violate one’s rights, such as one’s dignity, which is ⁵⁷⁹ the foundation of the protection of human rights (United Nations, 1976, p.172).

The argument on the restrictions on free speech is based on the idea that even the expression of discrimination or incitement of violence should not be restricted. On the contrary, they should be part of the public discourse. The suppression of speech could forbid society from freely forming opinions, which damages democracy (Post, 2009, p.136). Unrestricted hate speech could promote dialogue where both sides have a say instead of only those the law allows (Smith, 1995, p.227). That way, hate speech could be viewed positively, promoting tolerance and respect for all ideas in society (Smith, 1995, p.227).

However, the main argument osculated by the European community is based on the harm unrestricted speech can cause to society. For Lepourte (2017, p.853), hate speech includes ‘communications that empathically deny the basic status of other members of society as free and equal citizens’. The focus here is put upon the harm that hate speech causes to the victims and the society, and more specifically, on the fundamental rights of an individual in society (freedom and equality). The hate speaker does not see the victim as socially equal, which means that the speaker does not recognise the victim’s dignity (Simpson, 2012, p.708). According to the ²⁹¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ‘recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world’ (United Nations, 2022). Dignity is associated with concepts like status and hierarchy. If society does not recognise an individual’s status as a right-bearer, then the individual will not be able to receive these rights (Simpson, 2012, p.710). The lack of rights will harm the individual and society by challenging fundamental values present in most liberal democracies. Even so, without dismissing the debate over free speech, we need to underline that both arguments are intended to defend and protect democracy.

The EU official definitions for both hate crime and hate speech derive from EU bodies that deal with human rights, which indicates that the EU views hate crime not just as a different type of crime but as a social phenomenon that challenges fundamental rights and values of the

EU. The EU's fundamental rights approach to hate crime is evident through the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) case law. Hate crime cases are examined through Article 2 on the right to life, Article 14 on the prohibition of discrimination, Article 3 on the prohibition of torture and degrading treatment, and Article 8 on the right to respect for private and family life (FRA, 2018).

In addition, due to the significant increase in hate crime and hate speech in Europe, the European Commission, in December 2021, presented an initiative to incorporate hate crime and hate speech into the EU crimes list (European Commission, 2021).

Both hate crime and hate speech laws and policies mentioned above ensure individuals' protection. However, individuals do not always use the law. Migrants and refugees in Greece do not seem to mobilise the law and claim rights regarding hate crimes. The Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), created by the Greek National Commission for Human Rights and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), has been helping in the official data collection of hate crimes in Greece (OSCE, 2016). According to RVRN reports, a considerable number of migrants in Greece avoid reporting hate crimes to the authorities due to distrust towards the legal system (RVRN, 2015; RVRN, 2016; RVRN, 2019).

In addition, the UN Refugee Agency stated in 2015 that migrants might be caught in a "legal limbo" (Bergman, 2015). In socio-legal studies, the term is used to describe the uncertain legal situations in which individuals – in this case, migrants – find themselves. The term was used for refugees in Malta who are neither subjects of deportation nor eligible to stay in the country (Nimfuhr and Sesay, 2019) and Syrian refugees in Turkey under an indefinite 'temporary' protection (Kivilcim, 2016), forcing them to permanently navigate their lives through a legal system that provides limited legal and social rights. Other studies drawing from legal transnationalism – how international law and legal mechanisms help in the development

of collective interests and international collaboration (Kay, 2011) – suggest that migrants end up in legal limbo when they find themselves entangled ⁴⁹⁷ between the legal norms of their home countries and destination (Kubal, 2011; Yilmaz, 2002). These examples depict the reality for many migrants of temporary or no status, such as refugees and asylum seekers.

1.3 The Theoretical framework: legal consciousness and migrants' perceptions of law

Having presented the concept of 'legal limbo' above as the situation in which many migrants find themselves in Europe, it is necessary to consider migrants' perceptions and understandings of their situation. With this in mind, it is essential to acknowledge that many studies have explored how migrants experience the law in the host country ⁵¹³ using the concept of legal consciousness (Kubal, 2011, 2013; Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Graca, 2017; Abrego, 2008, 2011; Singer, 2019; Schwenken, 2013). This thesis, similarly, takes legal consciousness as the theoretical framework through which the migrants' experiences of their legal status and rights can be viewed.

Legal consciousness focuses on the analysis of individuals' perceptions and attitudes towards the law (Ewick and Silbey, 1998). ³⁹⁶ Based on a constitutive understanding of the relationship between law and society, legal consciousness has been found to include the role of law in society and the ³⁵⁴ effects of law on individuals (Sarat and Kearns, 1993, p.23). Legal consciousness is used as a tool for the conceptualisation of law in informal everyday settings (Sarat, 1990, p.343; Larson and Schmidt, 2014, p.173). Additionally, it captures people's beliefs and behaviours towards ²⁹⁰ the law (Ewick and Silbey, 1998).

Much of the existing legal consciousness literature is focused on individuals' lived experiences. These individuals occupy varying statuses and include documented migrants

(Graca, 2017) undocumented migrants (Abrego, 2008), asylum seekers and refugees (Singer, 2019).

However, the literature on legal consciousness does not focus specifically on refugee victims of hate crime. In this research I aim to fill this gap. Refugees and asylum seekers are often the target of hate and xenophobia in Greece, and this thesis seeks to investigate the experiences of these individuals using the theoretical lens of legal consciousness. Therefore, I applied understandings of legal consciousness to the specific context of acts of hate against refugees and asylum seekers in Greece.

As hate crime is a criminal offence covered by Greek and European legislation, a theoretical framework that would allow the examination of migrants' perceptions and attitudes towards the law and the legal system is employed. Legal consciousness is used as a bottom-up approach to exploring migrants' understanding and use of the law in the host country. Socio-legal studies employ legal consciousness to extract information through narrations of lived experiences (Ewick and Silbey, 1998).

1.4 The aims and research questions of the thesis

The thesis aims to better understand refugee and asylum seekers' legal consciousness in Greece. Greece is chosen as the site of enquiry because it is a key point of entry for migrants into Europe and the starting point of one of the main migration routes. The thesis aims to investigate refugee and asylum seekers' legal consciousness exploring their perceptions and attitudes towards the law and their rights in Greece with a focus on their attitudes towards hate crime. The second aim is to examine the reasoning behind their reactions to hate crimes. It seeks to reveal the factors and the power dynamics influencing their behaviours.

As mentioned earlier, this thesis aims to fill current literature gaps. During this endeavour, a series of questions were created to explore migrants' relationship with the law, particularly their understanding and reaction to hate crime in Greece. The questions are:

1. What role does the law play in the lives of migrants?
2. How is migrants' legal consciousness formed?
3. What role does hate crime play in the lives of migrants?
4. How do they react to hate crimes in Greece?
5. How do migrants behave regarding reporting hate crimes?

1.5 Methodology

A post-modern qualitative approach was followed to meet the research aims and answer the research questions. The purpose of post-modern research is the examination of social phenomena from the point of view of subordinate social groups who are usually ignored, marginalised and oppressed by the dominant in society (Fontana and McGinnis, 2003:216). In this case, it was employed to examine migrants' perceptions of the law. The primary data for the study was collected through semi-structured interviews and ethnography. Ethnography was used as a method because it captures through observations the migrant's interpretation and understandings of the social world through their behaviours and activities (Brewer, 2000, p.53). In addition, observations allow the extraction of implicit or hidden information that migrants communicate unknowingly (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011, pp.1-2). Semi-structured interviews were used because they allow the extraction of more focused information and demographic data. It also allows the researcher to guide the interview and, at the same time, lets the participants narrate their own views and experiences and focus on points they believe to be important (McIntosh and Morse, 2015, pp.1-2; Gill et al., 2008, p.291).

The data were collected through interviews and observations. Thematic analysis was used to investigate the data as it is a process that can be used to analyse both quantitative and qualitative data (Joffe and Yardley, 2004, p.56). In addition, it allows the analysis of data on two different levels. It can be used to analyse the obvious or explicit information derived directly from the data and hidden information derived from the researcher's interpretation of the data (Boyatzis, 1998, p.16).

Before the data collection and analysis, some ethical and procedural considerations were taken to ensure ethical and rigorous research. Thus, reflexivity was employed as a methodological tool. Qualitative post-modern research, particularly those involving human participants, is based on the production of truths/realities through interactions between the participants and the researcher and their interpretations of the world (Sousa, 2010, p.462 (Cannella, 1998, pp.3-5). However, qualitative research has been criticised for lacking scientific rigour because it explores meanings that can be interpreted in more than one way (Finlay, 1998, p.453). Reflexivity is an essential tool to help establish validity and rigour. Reflexivity, more specifically, self-reflexivity, was used as a methodological tool that would increase the validity and rigour of the present research by acknowledging its limitations (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, p.275). From an early stage, I had to critically reflect on factors that could influence my research, including but not limited to my social standing, my positions, and my interests as a researcher. Reflexivity did not prevent me from influencing the research, but it helped me consider these influences and create more rigorous research.

Ethical considerations were taken to ensure the dignity and safety of the participants and myself. The University granted an ethical approval allowing me to proceed with the research. During the participant recruitment process, an information sheet was given to the participants to inform them regarding the nature and topic of the research, the research procedure, personal data protection, confidentiality, and withdrawal option. Consent forms

were also created and signed by the participants and the researcher to confirm the participants' voluntary participation in the research.

1.6 Definitions of key terms

After presenting the methodology used, I discuss key terms mentioned in the thesis in this section. This section aims to clarify the ¹terminological choices made in this thesis, mainly how these choices were formed throughout the research. These definitions help identify the differences between categories of people who have relocated locally and internationally. In addition, this section clarifies the difference between the terms hate crime and hate incident, which are frequently used throughout the thesis.

⁵⁴³As stated in the title, this thesis is concerned with migrants' reactions to hate crimes. However, I soon explain that this research focuses explicitly on ³⁴⁴refugees and asylum seekers who have migrated to Greece since 2015. I intentionally decided to use the term ⁴³⁹migrant to refer to refugees and ³⁸⁷asylum seekers, but before explaining my reasoning, I would like to briefly discuss these definitions. The terms 'refugee', 'asylum' and 'asylum-seeker' have been part of Europe's public and political discourses, particularly in the last decade. The terms are ³⁸⁴defined by European Union and the United Nations and have been part of national and international laws. One of the first definitions for refugees derived from the ⁴⁷⁵UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951, article 1(A)(2), which ¹³²defines a refugee as an individual who,

'As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality

²⁰⁹ and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.’ (United Nations, 2019).

³ This definition is focused only on persecution for reasons of ‘race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion’, excluding other reasons ⁶⁹⁴ such as gender and sexual orientation (Maley, 2016, p.20). It also mentions that the individuals should be ²⁰⁹ ‘outside the country of his nationality, excluding those who have relocated internally (Fine and Ypi, 2016, p.6). This first definition may seem narrow today. However, since then, the UN and legal actors have created broader, more inclusive definitions. The UN defines ¹⁰¹ a refugee as ‘a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him— or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution. (UNHCR, 2022). The UN definitions provide universal guidance from which other legal definitions can be drawn. Constant proposals are made for the revision of the definition. Organisations have tried to broaden the definition and adjust it according to the needs of the population they seek to protect. ⁴²⁴ The Organization of African Unity at the Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, in 1969, Article 1(2) ²¹⁹ defined a ‘refugee’ as a person who ‘owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence to seek refuge [...]’ (UNHCR, 2022). Likewise, ³⁰⁰ in the Cartagena Declaration of Refugees, in 1984, the Colloquium on the international Protection of Refugees in Central America, Mexico and Panama, suggested the broadening of the definition in order ³⁸³ to include ‘persons who have fled their countries because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression,

³⁹⁵ internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order' (Maley, 2016).

The purpose of these definitions is to differentiate refugee populations from migrant populations. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, states are trying to securitise and limit migration for economic and political reasons. The fusion of the two distinct groups would result in the unfair treatment of the refugees as they would be challenged by migration policies (UNHCR, 2022). However, the distinction between refugees who have experienced suffering, oppression and injustice, and those who simply decided to migrate to improve their lives, is challenging (Fine and Ypi, 2016, p.9). For an individual to be officially considered a refugee and be granted protection, the State must recognise their 'suffering' through the asylum process. Asylum is defined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as 'the grant, by a State, of protection on its territory to persons from another State who are fleeing persecution or serious danger. Asylum encompasses a variety of elements, including *non-refoulement*, permission to remain on the territory of the asylum country, and humane standards of treatment' (UNHCR, 2021). The individual should apply for asylum; during this process, the individual is considered an asylum seeker. An asylum seeker is someone whose 'claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognised as a refugee, but every refugee is initially an asylum-seeker. (UNHCR, 2021).

²⁴⁴ In this thesis, I use the word migrant to refer both to refugees and asylum-seekers who participated in this research. I decided to do so firstly because the word migrant is an umbrella term not defined under international law. 'It reflects the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from their usual residence, within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons' (United Nations, 2015). The term can include legal or illegal categories of migrants, such as migrant workers and irregular migrants,

and categories not defined by law, such as international students (United Nations, 2015). It is an inclusive term that defines both groups without implying any legal status (at least under international law). Secondly, ¹¹³ during the research and particularly the data collection and analysis, I realised that a considerable number of participants could not distinguish the difference between the two terms. Many times, participants were not clearly stating their status during our interactions. A few migrants claimed to be refugees but held asylum seeker cards which indicated they had not obtained asylum yet; rather, they were asylum seeker applicants. Thirdly, I did not observe any significant differences between the two groups during the data collection and the analysis. I noticed no differences between the experiences and the two groups' decision-making processes. Both groups had similar rights, such as the right to work, ⁴⁰³ access to primary health care, accessible housing provided by the State, and more. Some differences between the two groups were that the refugees could visit other countries as tourists, access State benefits and higher education, and reunify with their families in other countries. ⁵²¹ However, both refugees and asylum seekers were legally residing in the country and those who ⁴⁸⁷ did not work were financially supported by the EU's Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) (European Commission, 2016). In order to use a single term and avoid confusion regarding their actual status, I refer to both groups as 'migrants' throughout this thesis.

Another two terms that are often mentioned in this thesis are 'hate crime' and 'hate incident'. As briefly presented earlier in this chapter, hate crime has attracted much attention from scholars, governments and international organisations. ⁸ The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights defines a hate crime as, ¹²¹ 'An act [that] is committed [should] constitute an offence under ordinary criminal law', and the offence should 'target one person or a group that share characteristics' ⁴³⁴ such as 'race, language, religion, ethnicity, nationality, or any other similar common factor' (OSCE, 2009). Hate crime is well established in chapter two; however, the term hate incidents need an introduction.

The term hate incident was created in England and is used to describe incidents motivated by hate (College of Policing, 2020). Any incident perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hate is recorded by the authorities as hate crime or non-crime hate incident (College of Policing, 2020). Where it is established that a criminal offence has occurred, then the incident is recorded as a hate crime by the police (Home Office, 2021). However, where a hate incident is not a criminal offence, it is recorded as a non-crime hate incident (College of Policing, 2020). The Metropolitan police define a hate incident as ‘any incident which the victim, or anyone else, think is based on someone’s prejudice towards them because of their race, religion, sexual orientation, disability or because they are transgender. Not all hate incidents will amount to criminal offences’ (Metropolitan Police, 2019).

The term hate incident is not a legal term in the Greek legal system; however, I use it in this thesis because I find it essential to differentiate between hate crimes and hate incidents. During the data collection, some participants claimed to be victims of hate crimes; however, they did not report it to the police. Consequently, the incidents were not investigated and officially recorded as hate crimes by the police. Therefore, I use the term hate crime only for incidents reported and recorded by the police in Greece. For any other hate-motivated incident mentioned by the participants, I use the term hate incident, as I cannot be certain whether a crime occurred.

1.7 Thesis outline

This section displays the content of this thesis divided into eight chapters. The first two chapters of this thesis provide information that situate the thesis into the broader hate crime and migration studies fields.

In Chapter Two, 'Literature review', I present the relevant literature that outlines hate crime by presenting various aspects of the phenomenon. I begin the chapter with a description of the main characteristics of the phenomenon and its effects on the victims and society. I also review the factors contributing to the creation and subsequent increase of xenophobia and violence against immigrants in Greece. Finally, I display evidence that show migrants' tendency to avoid reporting those crimes in Greece and the factors that potentially influence their decision.

In Chapter Three, I present the theoretical framework of this thesis. I introduce legal consciousness and review its progression throughout the years. I discuss the concept of legal consciousness and its role in socio-legal studies through the work of pioneering scholars. I continue by displaying the different forms of legal consciousness individuals can develop in different times and settings, focusing on migrant populations. I focus on the three most prominent schools of thought, namely, 'resistance', 'identity' and 'mobilisation', presented through the seminal ⁵⁴⁶work of scholars in the field of socio-legal ⁵⁴⁶studies.

In Chapter Four, I display the methodology that was used in this research and explain how the research was conducted. I begin the chapter by displaying the role and importance of reflexivity in social research and its use throughout this study. ²⁵I set the context in which the research is located, including the research setting and the recruitment process. Then, I present the methodological choices I made and the theoretical underpinnings these were informed. Finally, I display the ⁶⁷⁰data collection and analysis process, along with the limitations and the problems that arose during this research.

⁶⁷⁴In Chapter Five, I present the findings of this research. I display the themes that were ³⁴formed by the analysis of the data. I identified a number of themes, evidence for which suggest the migrants diverse reaction the law and rights in Greece. The themes can be summarised in

four overarching themes: **migrants' reactions to hate crime, migrants' experiences with the legal system, knowledge of law and rights, exposure to racism, and cultural practices in Greece.**

In Chapter Six, I discuss in depth the **social, political and economic factors that appear to have influenced migrants' legal consciousness in Greece.** The **chapter is divided into two themes.** In the first half of the chapter, I discuss the migrants' legal consciousness during their migration journey. I particularly discuss how international human rights and asylum policies in the EU framed migrants' identities that contributed to the development of their rights consciousness. In the second half of the chapter, I focus on migrants' reactions to hate crime. I discuss the migrants' legal consciousness, particularly their unwillingness to mobilise the law and assert rights regarding hate crime.

Chapter Seven is a stand-alone chapter where I explore the legal consciousness of economic migrants in Greece. Using data I decided not to include in the primary research, I discuss the legal consciousness of six economic migrants who immigrated to Greece in the early 1990s. I focus on the migrants' willingness to assert socio-political rights and rights regarding hate crime in Greece.

In Chapter Eight, I conclude this thesis with a research summary. I provide my reflections on findings that I believe need further discussion beyond this research's aim. Finally, I display the contributions of this research in the fields of migration and hate crime.

Having provided the road map for understanding the sequencing of chapters and the direction of the argument within the thesis, the next chapter provides a literature review situating the current research project within the literature on migration in Europe and hate crime.

Chapter Two: Literature review, Conceptualisation of hate crime

2.1 Introduction

In this literature review chapter, I introduce hate crime from a sociological perspective. Key themes that encircle hate crime in western societies and particularly in Greece are briefly displayed and analyses. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce various aspects of hate crime as a social phenomenon and a criminal offence in order to create an informative background for a better understanding of the phenomenon and its adverse impacts on immigrant populations in today's Greek society.

I begin this chapter by introducing the origin of hate crime in North American history and the marginalisation of African American people even after the Civil Rights Amendment of 1865, to The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 in Europe and the development of policies and legislation for the protection of the rights of individuals. Then, I display the characteristics of the phenomenon and the harm it causes to society, including the target groups of hate attacks, the offender's motives, and the negative impacts on the victims and society. Hate speech is also included in this chapter as a form of hate crime, as both hate speech and hate crime are motivated by the same factors (OSCE, 2009, p.16; Nielsen, 2002, p.265), and both have a similar impact on society. It would be helpful to mention that the characteristics or beliefs mentioned in hate crime and hate speech definitions and the characteristics protected by the different legislations, either social or biological, acquired or inherited, are all considered and referred to, in this study, as 'social' characteristics. The groups whose members share these social characteristics are referred to as 'social groups'.

The socio-political changes that led to xenophobia and intolerance towards 'others' in Greece are displayed in the next section. The analysis includes some key periods of modern Greek history. In addition, the vital role of the Greek identity and antiquity in today's

intolerance towards the 'different' are introduced. The recent migration wave and the securitisation of migrants in the country are briefly introduced. Finally, the impact of the financial crisis and the rise of the far-right on the increased levels of xenophobia and hate crime in the country is laid out. In this section, the term xenophobia is used, as a rise of xenophobic attitudes and discourses were observed during the recent migration crisis in Europe. The word xenophobia is self-explanatory, especially for speakers or those familiar with the Greek language, as it derives from the Greek word 'xenos', which means foreigner and the word 'phobos', which translates to fear.

Consequently, as Bordeau (2010) explains, xenophobia is "an irrational fear or distrust towards foreigners". Xenophobia is associated with the feeling of hate that derives from fear of foreigners (2010, p.4). In cases, it is also viewed as a practice associated with physical and verbal violence towards foreigners (Harris, 2002, p.170; Pontiki, Papanikolaou, and Papageorgiou, 2018, p.14). In this study, xenophobia is regarded as a precursor of hate crime — an attitude towards foreigners that could instigate hate violence.

Finally, I discuss the hate crime prevention measures taken in Greece and the issues that arise around the reporting of hate crimes by migrant populations. The barriers that prevent migrants from reporting hate crimes to the authorities in the host country, including their lack of legal knowledge, low socio-economic status, fear of the police and language difficulties, are presented.

2.2 Hate crime in western societies

Hate crime is a relatively new concept in Europe; however, it is rooted in North American history. In the United States of America, after the Civil War and the Civil rights Amendment of 1865 that granted freedom and fundamental rights to African American people, state segregation laws and informal social rules were established in some Southern States.

Those rules marginalised and denied rights to former slaves, who carried on facing physical and psychological violence from State officials and extremist white groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) (Kirk, 2013, pp.8-9). The Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 are considered the first laws against discrimination in the USA. Unfortunately, the segregation and violence towards African Americans continued legally in some States until the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, and the ensuing Civil Rights Act in 1968, which “protected people’s rights in case of violence or threats of violence because of a person’s race, colour, religion or national origin” (Naidoo, 2017:24, 29). After the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, the socio-political changes that emerged allowed other movements such as the Victims’ Rights Movement. The Victims’ Rights Movement was based on the mistreatment of women victims by the American justice system. Hate crime emerged from the merger of these two movements. The focus of the Civil Rights Movement on the political ill-treatment of minorities and the Victim Rights Movement on the individual ill-treatment by the system contributed to the reconstruction of an already known problem into a new social phenomenon (Maroney, 1998, pp.573-574,579).

In Europe, hate crime laws and policies emerged gradually as hate crime attracted more attention in the 1990s. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, including 35 States, agreed to collectively take measures against discrimination, racism, hatred, xenophobia and violence against individuals and social groups (Whine, 2015, p.95). However, the Since 1991, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has been working on combating hate crime in Europe and, as recently as 2003, decided to work on legislation that prohibits discrimination based on hate crimes (Whine, 2015, p.95). Agencies and intergovernmental organisations such as OSCE, the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and the United Nations (UN) aim for the collection of hate crime data to establish a better understanding of

the nature and size of this phenomenon (Perry, 2014, pp.72-73). However, the national legislation and policies in EU States differ in definitions and their strategies to tackle hate crime. Thus, hate crime data are often not collected systematically from criminal justice systems, the police, and prosecution systems; the lack of reliable hate crime data makes the analysis of the phenomenon and comparisons between States challenging (Perry, 2014, p.72).

Hate crime is a very broad concept, and many EU agencies have tried to create a definition that can provide a shared understanding and help countries take measures to tackle hate crime. The definition of hate crime has attracted much attention, both as a crime and a social phenomenon. Scholars and policymakers have tried to define it; however, the definitions that emerged vary, as highlighted in this chapter.

2.2.1 The characteristics of hate crime

Hate crime is mainly described in hate crime policies as a criminal offence that targets individuals or groups that share characteristics such as “race, language, religion, ethnicity, nationality, or any other similar common factor” (OSCE, 2009, p.16). Wolfe and Copeland (1994, p.201) define a hate crime as “violence directed towards groups of people who generally are not valued by the majority society, suffer discrimination, and are victims of social, political and economic injustice”. This academic definition is based on the social and political inequality that minorities face in society. Wolfe and Copeland recognise that the victims are usually people of a minority that have already faced discrimination. This early definition captures the essential characteristics of hate crime; however, it does not state the motive that drives such a crime nor the harm it causes to society.

The motive is a core element of hate crime, differentiating it from other types of crime. Hate crime is usually based on an act or intent that is already a criminal offence, with the

103 addition that it is motivated by hate or prejudice. While parallel crimes can be motivated by
5 any reason, hate crimes are strictly motivated by the offender's bias towards a victim's
perceived association with a social group (Iganski, 2002, p.37). By attacking the victim's social
characteristics, the offender attacks the victim's self and identity. (Mellgren, Andersson
and Ivert, 2017, p.2; Iganski, 2001, p.628).

Apart from the victim's identity, hate crime can indirectly target other people that share
an identity with the victim. Indeed, Garland and Funnell (2016, p.17) suggest that most hate
crime perpetrators do not focus on an individual but the individual's perceived association with
a marginalised group. The offender attacks the victim because they dislike or fear the victim's
group (Green, McFalls and Smith, 2001, p.30). The attack, therefore, is not directed towards
the victim specifically but to what the victim represents. The attack is directed towards the
victim's status. Hence, violence towards that person is symbolic and can be used as a message
towards the victim's community (as a "lesson" or "message" to that group), other offenders,
and society (Petrosino, 2003, p.51, 53).

Similarly, Craig and Waldo (1996, p.113), rather than focusing on the offenders'
motivations for committing hate crimes to define this concept, focus primarily on the victims'
community and the harms caused to it and society by hate crime. 638 Victims are targeted because
609 of their connection to a particular negatively stereotyped group of people (1996, p.114). The
members of the victim's community are also affected by the crime, as they perceive it as an
attack directed at them. The victim's community can be affected in various ways; its members
may fear that the attack could happen to them, feel unwelcome and stop trusting the offender's
community as a result (Perry and Alvi, 2012, p.62).

One of the most influential works in this field is the work of Barbara Perry. She defines hate crime by including the power dynamics and socio-political battle between dominant and subordinate groups. She states that:

¹ Hate crime involves acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed towards already stigmatised and marginalised groups. As such, it is a mechanism of power and oppression, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterise a given social order. It attempts to recreate simultaneously the threatened (real or imagined) hegemony of the perpetrator's group and the appropriate subordinate identity of the victims group. It is a means of making both the self and the other in such a way as to re-establish their "proper" relative positions, as given and reproduced by broader ideologies and patterns of social and political inequalities

(Perry, 2001, p.10).

Perry focuses on the power dynamics between the dominant, powerful groups that try to maintain their dominant position over the subordinate groups. Perry (2003, p.98) suggests that the categorisation of people into groups begins with the identification of individuals. Individuals are obligated to identify with a social group in a society according to their social characteristics. Identifying with a specific category creates social boundaries between groups, which indicate differences between individuals (Perry, 2003, p.98). Perry's approach is based on the idea that identities are created in pairs – every time an identity is created, its opposite is created as well. However, the opposite identities are not even; one will be the strong and dominant and the other the subordinate (Perry, 2003, p.98). The dominant groups and identities are the ones that create the norms in a society, favouring their characteristics, and the subordinates are the ones that are marked as the different - usually depicted negatively by the dominant group, due to their difference (Perry, 2003, p.98). The power differences created

between the groups due to their relative position in a given society are precursors of disputes between them (Amiot and Bouhris, 2005, p.290).

2.2.1.1 The characteristics of hate speech

The phenomenon of hate speech is analysed in this chapter as a form of hate crime. As mentioned earlier, hate crime is associated with hate violence, while hate speech is related to incitement of hatred. Hate speech is an attack against an individual or group based on their social characteristics such as race, gender, religion, ethnic origin, disability and more (Kruger, 2018, p.1; Nielsen, 2002, p.265). Hate speech expresses intolerance towards a group whose members share social characteristics (Post, 2009, p.123). It spreads, incites, promotes, and justifies hatred, leading to violence (ECRI, 2019). Hate speech can threaten democracy in a society, human rights and the rule of law (ECRI, 2019). The definition of hate speech, like a hate crime, is a complex matter as many factors should be considered. Hate speech can be direct or indirect, overt or covert, a single incident or repeated, followed by a threat of violence or not (Delgado and Stefancic, 2004, p.11). Hate speech is the factor that usually distinguishes hate crimes from non-hate crimes (Boeckmann and Turpin-Petrosino, 2002, p.210). The verbal expression of hate indicates the offender's motive and makes the incident a hate incident. Hate speech is an indicator of a type of crime but, in some jurisdictions, a criminal offence itself.

Papanikolatos (1998, p.10) defines hate speech as the “use of very precise discriminatory and selective vocabulary which tries to legitimise negative thinking about people who are not part of the in-group, the ‘us’, but of the out-group, the ‘them’”. This definition is based on the categorisation of people and identifying with social groups, which can trigger social conflict between these groups. This approach is similar to Perry’s approach on hate crime, which suggests that identifying and categorising individuals with certain social

groups could lead to power differences between these groups (Perry, 2003, p.98). Similar to hate crime, this power difference means one group becoming dominant and the other subordinate, potentially leading to intergroup conflict (Amiot and Bouhris, 2005, p.290). Like ¹⁹ a hate crime, hate speech has been analysed as a mechanism of oppression and a constructor of social hierarchies, mainly when expressed in public, thereby becoming visible in society (Nielsen, 2002, p.266). In her definition of hate speech, Papanikolatos does not include the factors that might trigger this categorisation of individuals, such as power, economic or cultural differences. In addition, she focuses on language specifically and not on other forms of hate speech. The term hate speech indicates hateful verbal communication, but the phenomenon of ⁶¹⁴ hate speech includes any kind of communication in society, verbal, written or digital form. It can be found on printed leaflets, books, posters, newspapers, graffiti, online, mass media, and other forms (Waldron, 2010, p.1600; Lepourte, 2017, p.854; Matsuda, 1993, p.24). It can also be expressed through symbolic actions, such as parades organised by racist or extremist groups, or cross burnings (Boeckmann and Turpin-Petrosino, 2002, p.209). The term hate speech could be conceptualised as a hate message, as it can be expressed in many different ways. Sometimes, it is expressed in public (as a message or statement directed to everyone who can receive it), becoming a form of hate propaganda.

2.2.2 The harms of hate crime

Hate crimes can harm the victim, the victim's group, other social groups and society as a whole (Perry and Alvi, 2012, p.59). Some authors consider hate crimes to be more harmful than other types of crime due to their impact on the victim and society. Mellgren, Anderson and Ivert (2017, p.2) suggest ⁶⁰³ that hate crimes cause more damage than other types of crime because victims are attacked based on personal characteristics that cannot be changed. Researchers and victims view racial hate crimes as a unique category. While attributes of

personal choice like clothes and jewellery can be changed to avoid victimisation, such as being robbed, skin colour is a characteristic that cannot change. Thus, nothing can prevent victimisation (Iganski, 2001, p.628; Craig, Henderson and Sloan, 2006, p.484). Perry (2003, p.50) notes that some individuals and groups may be at greater risk of victimisation than others because their social characteristics, such as race, are visible and can be detected more easily.

Iganski and Lagou (2014, p.1698) further add the effects of hate crime on victims by stating that victims go through negative emotions and “post victimisation effect”. Victims report being immensely affected emotionally, feeling very scared after the incidents, having negative thoughts about the incident, even suicidal ones, and having a long recovery (Iganski and Lagou, 2014, p. 1698). In many cases, victims suffer from psychological traumas and show symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Meyer, 2010, p.981). Hate crime victims were also more likely to report depression, anxiety, loss of confidence, anger, fear and sleeping difficulties, among other symptoms than victims of non-hate motivated crimes (Iganski and Lagou, 2014, p.1699). However, the studies on the psychological effects of hate crime on victims do not usually compare victims of hate crime with other crimes on the same study; they examine the effects separately (Mellgren, Andersson and Ivert, 2017, p.5), which may lead to incomplete conclusions. Iganski (2002, p.38) supports the concept that hate crimes are considered more harmful than non-hate crimes because they harm the victim’s identity. The social identity is based on the incorporation of group characteristics into the individual’s self-concept. These characteristics become part of who the individual believes (Hogg, Abrams and Brewer, 2017, p.571). Consequently, an attack on identity could confuse the individual as to where they are or belong.

The severity of the trauma that victims report may depend on their social characteristics as well. Iganski (2001, p.629) discussed how some individuals who are attacked because of their sexual orientation might perceive the attack differently from other victims with the same

sexual identity. Individuals that are comfortable with their sexuality may see the same hate incident as something unexpected, and they might be puzzled by it. Still, those who do not feel comfortable with their sexuality may face more significant psychological distress (Iganski, 2001, p.629). In addition, ⁵ Craig, Henderson and Sloan, (2003, p.484) support that the victims of racial hate crime experience victimisation differently than other hate crime victims, as they belong to an already stigmatised and marginalised social group. The attack works as a reminder of their ongoing oppression from the society in which they live.

Meyer (2010, p.983) compared how white, middle-class and non-white, low-income women in an LGBT community react to hate crimes. The results showed that the trauma reported was based on the type of crime and the victim's social status, with white, middle-class women more likely to perceive their hate incidents as more severe than non-white, low-income ones. Meyer (2010, p.985) suggests that this difference derived from the fact that white middle-class women were victimised less often than non-white, low-income women. As the white women were less victimised as a group, they compared themselves to those who had experienced less violence or no violence at all. In contrast, the non-white, low-income women were victimised more often, thus were more likely to compare themselves with women who had experienced more violence than themselves (Meyer, 2010, p.985).

⁶¹⁸ Behavioural changes are observed in victims of hate crimes as well. Victims tend to isolate themselves and avoid certain places to prevent further victimisation (Funnell, 2014, pp.72, 75; Meyer, 2010, p.6). They may change the way they dress, hide religious symbols (Mellgren, Andersson and Ivert, 2017, p.3), change the area they live and study in, their job, the way they travel, and even how they are socialising (Funnell, 2014, p.77). These behavioural changes and social isolation can further marginalise these individuals, which can be considered an indirect threat to their identity.

Hate crimes can affect the victim's community as well. Individuals who belong to a group that is attacked frequently tend to be vulnerable to start with (Mellgren, Andersson and Ivert, 2017, p.3). As discussed above, a hate attack towards an individual may be perceived as a message to their group. Even when only a few group members are attacked, the whole group receives the message and the intimidation from the attack. The individuals who share characteristics with the victim fear that the incident could also happen to them (Benier 2017, p.181; Iganski, 2001, p.630). They stop trusting the individuals that share characteristics with the offender, and they might believe that any individual from that group could be the offender (Perry and Alvi, 2012, p.62). As a result, hate crimes or incidents can lead to disputes between groups and escalate the situation to retaliatory violence. The members of the victim's group can target a random individual from the offender's group to send a "message" back to the offender's community (Iganski, 2001, p.630). This retaliation may result in hate attacks towards individuals who were not involved in the original crime but share some social characteristics with the offender. The message effect of hate crime can create fear towards other communities as well. For example, an attack towards a racial minority group can potentially affect another race-minority and create fear that their group could be victimised as well (Iganski, 2001, p.631). The negative impacts of hate crime can affect society, as all citizens' security, equality, and harmony is affected (Lawrence, 2002, p.39). The progression of hate crime in a society can be interpreted as an indicator of intolerance and can challenge safety, freedom and equality (Perry and Alvis, 2012, p.59).

2.2.2.1 The harms of hate speech

Hate speech also causes numerous harms to individuals, groups and the whole society. Hate speech influences individuals in a society, as it can cause fear, harassment, intimidation and discrimination (Nielsen, 2002, p.266). Some researchers have distinguished hate speech

harms into two categories, the constitutive and the consequential. Constitutive harms include the direct harms caused by hate speech, such as psychological and social harms, damage to dignity and the maintenance of power imbalances in the society. In contrast, consequential harms are indirect harms, such as promoting negative stereotypes and convincing people that these stereotypes are true (Gelber and McNamara, 2015, p.325).

There are several examples of direct harms that hate speech can cause to individuals, including physical, psychological and economic harms. For example, victims of racial hate speech that a group of individuals attacks might face physical damage from that group if they decide to respond/challenge the hate speaker (Delgado and Stefancic, 2004). They might also experience shortness of breath, raised blood pressure and risk-taking behaviour. Scientists have found that African Americans tend to have a higher blood pressure than whites due to restricted anger, apart from genetics (Delgado and Stefancic, 2004, p.13). The feeling of anger could be connected to racial discrimination and oppression resulting from racial hate crimes (Iganski and Lagou, 2014, p.1699).

The psychological/social harms of hate speech include nightmares, avoiding places, situations and people, internalised or expressed anger, depression, drug and alcohol abuse, low self-esteem, post-traumatic stress disorder, psychosis, a feeling of inferiority and suicide (Matsuda, 1993, p.24; Delgado and Stefancic, 2004, p.14). Hate speech can also cause fear and alienation of the victim, even if the hate speaker's views are extreme and not shared by many (Lepourte, 2017, p.858). Victims of hate speech, like victims of hate crimes, might avoid certain places, or change the way they talk and behave to avoid victimisation, which could lead to discarding their own identity (Matsuda, 1993, p.25).

The victims of hate speech can also experience economic harm due to hate speech. For example, people of colour may choose occupations with less prejudice in the working

environment, limiting their options (Delgado and Stefancic, 2004, p.16). In addition, students of colour perform worse than whites in predominately white universities due to stress caused by the environment (Nielsen, 2002, p.266; Delgado and Stefancic, 2004, p.14). Individuals exposed to hate speech might even avoid education or quit their jobs to prevent further victimisation (Matsuda, 1993, p.24).

One of the most critical harms of hate speech is the damage it causes to the dignity and worth of individuals. One's rights and social status in society are associated with the attitudes other individuals and society have towards that person, which determine how the individual will be treated in that society. If other individuals and society do not recognise the rights and social standing of the individual, they cannot possess or use these rights. This denial of a person's rights and social standing can be achieved through hate speech. (Simpson, 2012, pp.708-712). Hate speech can attack someone's reputation and deny their social equality (Waldro, 2010, p.1610).

The indirect harms caused by hate speech can damage the victim and society, as it can influence the audience with negative stereotypes to imitate the act and even proceed into causing further harm. It can also make the audience believe that negative stereotypes are true, and it can create an atmosphere of tolerance towards them, presenting the stereotypes as something normal (Gelber and McNamara, 2016, p.325). Waldron (2010, p.1604) suggests that group defamation by hate speakers can become visible to the public and potentially help in the creation of stereotypes against certain groups. The defamation of a social group, because of a particular characteristic shared in this group, usually involves messages that portray the individuals of that group in a degrading manner, and it can lead to stereotypes -such as '*All Muslim people are supporters of terrorism*' (Waldron, 2010, p.1604).

Hate crime can be considered more harmful than other types of crime because it attacks the victim's identity and the victim's community in the form of a "message", and it can challenge societal ideas. Hate speech harms society by challenging the fundamental democratic ideals of equality, freedom and dignity, and promotes discrimination in the form of stereotypes (Matsuda, 1993, p.25; Waldron, 2010, p.1604). Both hate crime and hate speech can cause harm to the victims and society as a whole. They cause physical, psychological and social harms, leading to behavioural changes, identity changes and isolation from society. However, while there is literature that suggests that hate crimes are more hurtful than others, most of it does not provide comparisons between hate and non-hate crimes. Some scholars suggest that hate crimes may have a greater impact on the victims than others, depending on the social characteristics. For instance, racially motivated crimes may hurt victims more than other crimes as race is a characteristic that cannot be hidden or altered (Craig, Henderson and Sloan, 2003, p.484). Finally, hate could be analysed intersectionally, as studies suggest that hate crime depends not only on protected social characteristics but also on characteristics like social and economic status (Meyer, 2010, p.983). Hate speech and hate crime are interlinked as hate speech is an essential factor of hate crime. Hate speech indicates and reveals the hate motive of the perpetrator that distinguishes hate crime from other types of crime. A crime becomes a hate crime only when there is an expression of hate in any form. Hate crime and hate speech are both motivated by intolerance towards social differences and cause similar harms to individuals and society.

2.3 Migration in Greece and the rise of xenophobia

The recent migration wave from the Middle East has raised concerns and xenophobic attitudes in Europe and Greece due to its geographical position, making it a point of entry into Europe for migrants from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa (Karamanidou, 2017, p.167). Migration is a term that is well known to the Greek people and has always been part of the

Greek vernacular, especially the last hundred years. Greece has been both a sending and a receiving country for millions of migrants. After the First World War (WWI), the country was called to face the first significant migration influx from Asia Minor. After the war, the unstable political situation between Greece and the Ottoman Empire led to an obligatory population exchange after the Lausanne Treaty in 1922 (Militsi-Nika and Theophilopoulou-Stefanouri, 2008, p.26-27). A significant number of the Greek individuals who lived in the Ottoman Empire's territories had to leave their homes and move to Greece. Their number is estimated to be approximately 1.4 million. Correspondingly, the Turkish population in Greece, estimated to be around 350,000 individuals, migrated to Ottoman Empire territories (Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2005, p.6). Civil war followed in Greece after WWII and the liberation of the country in 1944. The civil war (1945-1949) between the left-wing political organisation and army - EAM/ELAS¹, and the State forces supported by their WWII British and USA allies (Johnson, 2003, pp.4, 21; Tsoutsoumpis, 2019, p.264). After the civil war, many Greek soldiers of the left/losing side (around 65,000 individuals) found refuge in Eastern European countries. In the 1970s, there was another migration wave from Greece to large industrial countries such as the USA, Canada, Germany and Australia. One million Greeks migrated to financially stronger countries due to unemployment (Karamanidou, 2017, p. 167).

Later, in the 1990s, Greece received many migrants from the Balkan countries, the States of the recently dissolved USSR and underdeveloped countries. (Karamanidou, 2017, p.167; Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2005, p.6). The political changes in the Balkan Peninsula and Eastern Europe led to an influx of Albanians, returning ethnically Greek-Albanians and Greek individuals who had migrated to Eastern European communist countries after the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) (Tsoutsoumpis, 2019, p.264; Karamanidou, 2017,

¹ The National Liberation Front (EAM) had a military division, the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS) (Johnson, 2003:4).

p.167; Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2005, p.6). The migration influx in the 1990s found the State unorganised, without a support mechanism or legislation for the smooth admission and management of newcomers. The existing law (L/1975) of 1991 on entry, exit and residence of immigrants and refugees (Tzanetti, 2008, p.7) was not favourable for individuals to enter the country; consequently, most individuals chose to enter the country illegally (Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2005, p.6). Between 1991 and 2001, the number of migrants increased from 1.65% to 6.97% (Kapsalis, 2018:39). With the ²⁰¹ start of the war in Syria in 2011, migrants and asylum seekers started entering European Union from the Mediterranean Sea. The number of Syrian migrants who entered Europe was estimated at around 500,000 people in 2015 alone. Most of those migrants (75%) moved through Turkey and passed the Aegean Sea to the Greek islands (Heisbourg, 2015, p.7). As a result, Syrian refugees have deluged Greece, trying to cross the country to reach Northern European countries - which arguably offer more comforts to refugees to settle (Linton, 2016; Nancheva, 2015, p.444). Greece shifted from an immigrant sending country to a host and a transit country (Coluccello & Kretsos, 2015, p.80; Drymiotou & Gerasopoulou, 2018, p.52).

2.3.1 From multiculturalism to ethnocentrism and xenophobia

During the last hundred years, one can observe the shifts in political culture and Greek identity. Since the liberation of part of mainland Greece from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, its foreign policy aimed to extend its territory. In the 19th century, Greece was a newly formed country with an expansive approach, seeking to reinstate the Greek lands that were still under Turkish occupation and the lands that belonged to Turkey (Asia Minor) but were occupied by ethnic Greeks, such as the Turkish coasts of the Aegean and Black Sea (Regano, 2019, pp.,7, 8). After WWI, Greece wanted to take advantage of the weak Ottoman empire and put into effect the Big Idea³ (Megali Idea); an imperialistic ideology that aimed at two things: the

nationalisation of the territories that belonged to ethnically Greek individuals in the Ottoman Empire and the nationalisation of foreigners in the country (Christopoulos and Tsitselikis, 2008, p.37). During the period of the Big Idea, Greek politicians who embraced this ideology started developing discourses for social policies for the minorities in the State that would result from the land expansion. Eleftherios Venizelos, ⁴⁰⁴one of the most significant political figures in Modern Greek history and an advocate of the Big Idea, suggested that the new Greek constitution should not include any religious references (Christianity or Islam) to avoid a dichotomy in the population. The assimilation of the mixed population into the new extended Greece could not be achieved by force, but measures for the protection of minorities should be introduced (Christopoulos and Tsitselikis, 2008, pp.36-37). During this period, along with the intention to form a new State, we can also observe the redefinition of the Greek identity.

On the one hand, we can see an impulse to revive the ancient Greek ideals and culture and, on the other, the memory of the Byzantine Empire and its association with Christianity. The core element of the Ancient Greek culture was the Greek language that could indicate one's identity, something that was not a reality for all Greeks spread throughout the Ottoman Empire. The overall vision of the new State and, as an extension, the new, redefined Greek identity was establishing a State that, like the Byzantine Empire, would be dominated by the Christian religion. Religion could also play a significant role, as it could attract the attention of allies who would be more interested in providing help for the liberation of Christians than the liberation and establishment of a State (Regano, 2019, p4).

In 1922 the Big Idea failed, as the Ottoman Empire defeated the Greek State and a population exchange followed under the Lausanne Treaty (Christopoulos and Tsitselikis, 2008:42). After the great defeat, a shift can be observed towards both the Greek identity and the foreigner policy. Greek identity was interlinked with Christianity, while Islam was considered an antagonist religion (Christopoulos, 2008, p.64). The State tried to eliminate

individuals who could not be assimilated into the new homogenous State by changing the legislation regarding ethnicity. The State could remove individuals' ethnicity if they were considered a threat to the State (Christopoulos, 2008, p.39). We can observe that with the end of the Big Idea, there is an end of tolerance. There is a political shift from an imperialistic ideology and an expansion policy to ethnocentrism. The idea of a multicultural State with policies protecting minorities was replaced by nationalism, and religion became a core element in this shift. Tromara (2010, pp.15-17) points out that the cultural, political and economic differences between groups can shape and redefine ethnic identity. This policy continued even during and after the dictatorship (1968-1974). The notion of homogeneity and unity of the population was the central theme in literature and school textbooks at the time. The Greek Christian Orthodox refugees from Asia Minor were described as Greeks who emigrated from the Ancient Greek Ionia region. However, the literature did not mention the struggles of refugees during the population exchange and their settlement in Greece (Kritikos, 2020, p.9). The Christian Orthodox religion of the refugees and the Greek identity were highlighted, which seems to have shaped the nation's collective memory about the refugees' struggles in Greece and their impact on the country on an economic and cultural level (Kritikos, 2020, p.9). The historians' approach to migration seems to have smoothed the edges of migration in people's memories to ensure homogeneity and national cohesion. However, new measures had to be taken in the following decades with the arrival of migrants and refugees with diverse backgrounds - such as Albanians, eastern Europeans and Africans. The influx of migrants led to the securitisation of migrants to eliminate any potential threats to the nation.

2.3.3 The role of Economic crisis and the Far-right in xenophobic discourse

From 2008 onwards, Greece went through an economic recession that had a harsh impact on both local and migrant populations (Cavounidis, 2018; Maroukis, 2013). The slow

GDP growth, the already existing government debt, the lack of data credibility, tax evasion and corruption were some of the reasons for the long-lasting economic recession (Drymioti and Gerasopoulou, 2018, p.50). Since 2009 marked the beginning of the recession, socio-economic instability was observed, which intensified after 2010 when the ²⁵⁷ European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund offered Greece a bail-out. The bail-out was followed by austerity measures and salary cuts, which increased unemployment and poverty. The government reformed the labour market, facilitating employees' collective dismissal and decentralised collective bargaining (Culoccello and Kretsos, 2015, p.88). The economic recession inevitably led to political instability that led to the governing party's generally conservative and intolerant political rhetoric and the rise of a far-right political group, Golden Dawn (Drymioti and Gerasopoulou, 2018, p.50; Culoccello and Kretsos, 2015, p.89).

Socio-economic instability was also observed in other European countries at the time, which led to a general inclination towards far-right politics that promoted anti-migrant and xenophobic discourses. Political parties like the ⁴⁷⁹ True Finns in Finland, UKIP in the UK, the National Front in France and Golden Dawn in Greece are a few examples of far-right parties that adopt anti-Semitic and anti-migrant ideologies (Lazaridis and Tsagkroni, 2015, p.191).

According to Mudde (2010, p.1172), the rise of far-right parties is usually associated with instability and massive transformation in a given society. The drastic and fast changes that a society goes through –such as globalisation or post-industrial economic changes- are causing frustration, fear and anger, which leads the public to vote for radical far-right parties. In addition, according to group conflict theory, economic insecurity can increase the competition for limited material sources (Billiet, et al., 2014, p.136). Consequently, negative attitudes towards migrants are expected in countries with economic instability and towards low skilled uneducated migrants (Billiet, et al., 2014, p.136). In Greece, the rise of the neo-Nazi party

Golden Dawn could be interpreted ⁶⁵⁸ as a reaction to the economic crisis, a reaction to the disappointing politics adopted by the governing parties, and the migration wave that, according to the far-right rhetoric, could potentially harm social cohesion (Lazaridis and Veikou, 2017, p.4).

Golden Dawn took advantage of the way migrants were portrayed – as potential national threats - and started an anti-migrant campaign that involved hate speech and xenophobic attitudes (Malkopoulou, 2021; Lazaridis and Tsagkroni, 2015, p.191), blaming migrants for the ²⁰ high levels of unemployment and criminality, the exploitation of economic resources and finally the cultural exploitation of the Greek nation (Lazarides & Skleparis, 2016, p.181; Karamanidou, 2016, p.2004). Migrants became the scapegoats of the ²⁰⁷ economic crisis and, as a result, the victims of hate in many cases.

2.3.2 Migration and securitisation

The securitisation of migrants could be viewed as a series of practices and policies by governments and security professionals aiming to tackle security threats by creating a feeling of insecurity in public (Lazaridis & Skleparis, 2015, p, 178). Migration and migrant securitisation have been in public discourse since the 1990s when Greece became a destination for migrants from Eastern and Central Europe (Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2015, p.176). After the Schengen agreement and as a member of Europol, the Greek police force was reinforced with more personnel and more agencies. In the late 1990s, the Border Guard service was established as a police agency to protect the country from illegal migration on the Greek borders with Turkey, Bulgaria and Albania (Rigakos & Papanicolaou, 2003, p.291). The Border Guard service provided armed, uniformed men with some military training. The

following years after the unit's establishment, the government expanded it by employing more personnel allocated in regions that needed more attention (Rigakos & Papanicolaou, 2003).

Later, with the ²⁰¹ start of the war in Syria in 2011, more asylum seekers started entering ³⁸⁴ the European Union from the Mediterranean. The number of Syrian migrants that entered Europe was estimated at around 500,000 people in 2015. This migration wave led to further securitisation of migrants, fuelled by the image of the “dangerous” Middle Eastern refugees spread in the western world through media, ⁵⁷² especially after the 9/11 terrorist attack in the USA (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2016, p.179). Based on their ‘different’ religion and culture, a sizable portion of the Western public condemned all Middle Easterners and saw Syrian male refugees as either a threat to the rest of the world or as cowards who left their country to avoid the war instead of staying and fighting (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2016, p.180). Cohen (2002, p.28) states that this negative public position is based on the inability of the relevant authorities to eliminate armed groups in some refugee host centres. This inability of the police to remove armed groups creates the false notion that all Middle-Easterners, including refugees, are dangerous. To avoid the uncontrolled movement of refugees, some Balkan countries closed their borders in early March 2016, making it impossible for migrants to leave the country and enter inner Europe (Kingsley, 2016). As a result, thousands of refugees are still trapped in Greek refugee host centres, unable to leave or reach their desired destination.

⁶⁰⁶ Greece officially became a Member State of the then European Community (EC) in 1981 (Ioakimidis, 2000, p.76). The rapid GDP growth and Greece's fast recovery after WWII made the country a good EC candidate (Grigoriadis, 2008, p.25)). However, the relations between Greece and the EU froze ⁵¹⁴ during the seven-year military dictatorship (1967-1974). After the restoration of democracy, Greece restored its relations with the European Community and was moving towards a full membership (Grigoriadis, 2008, p.25; Ioakimidis, 2000:76 Hlepas, 2020, p.243). This membership was viewed as an opportunity for modernisation and

integration into the European standards, the values, norms and principles the European Member States were structured upon (Ioakimidis, 2000, p.75). The Europeanisation of Greece was viewed by the then government as an opportunity to ensure political stability, consolidation of democracy, security, and access to financial resources and larger markets (Ioakimidis, 2000, p.76). The integration of Greece into the European Community meant the radical transformation of the country on many levels (Hlepas, 2020).

⁵⁹⁵ European Union countries that have signed the Schengen agreement of free movement agreed that people could move freely, without passport checks to all other countries which have signed the Schengen agreement (Samatas, 2003, p.142). Huysmans (2000, p.735) supports that the EU securitisation policies of free movement between Member States indirectly make moving individuals from non-member States more difficult. According to these policies, the movement of migrants, ¹⁹ asylum seekers, and refugees is a “dangerous challenge” to the EU States regarding cultural, racial, and socio-economic factors (Huysmans, 2000, p.753). The closure of borders by some European countries to prevent the movement of migrants and the refusal of many EU States to accept migrants or agreement to accept as few as possible created the notion that migrants were only a problem to the EU (RVRN, 2016).

Security professionals and the government use the fear and insecurity of the public as an excuse to further establish their position as protectors or enhance their strength (Lazaridis & Skleparis, 2015, p.178). One of the political discourses that influenced the securitisation of migrants in Greece was the association of migrants with the rise of criminality by the media. During the last decade, the number of property and violent crimes has increased. The number of thefts and burglaries increased by 33% and robberies by 41% between 2009 and 2011. According to the police’s statistical data, most of these offences were carried out by Greeks, but foreign offenders were represented more than the Greek offenders in media (Xenakis and Cheliotis, 2012, p.7). The media played an essential role in the negative presentation of

migrants to the public. Phrases like ‘economically undeveloped’, ‘illegal’, and ‘culturally different’ were used by the media to describe migrants (Karamanidou, 2016, p.2004). Insecurity and fear towards the migrants were sentiments expressed by the security professionals who claimed they do not know the undocumented migrants’ past or identity; thus, they cannot know whether they are dangerous (Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2015, p.178). Security professionals also supported that migrants’ different cultures and values - especially those of Islam - are very different from the Europeans’ and obstruct migrants from assimilating into the Greek/European culture (Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2015, pp. 181-183). Many professionals expressed their fears for the exploitation or even the eclipse of Hellenism due to the foreign values and morals brought to Greece by migrants. Words like “barbaric”, ‘uncivilised”, “stinkers”, and “animals” were also used by some security professionals for the description of migrants (Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2015, pp.181-183). The securitisation policies in the EU, the negative views of security professionals towards migrants and their negative representation from media contribute to the establishment of racism and xenophobia as a norm and give way to far-right groups to legitimise their political anti-migrant views.

2.4 Hate crime towards migrants in Greece

Hate crime and xenophobia are significant issues in Greece at the time of writing. After 2010 and the official announcement of an economic crisis in Greece, xenophobia and hate crimes increased (Lazaridis & Veikou, 2016:12). According to previous studies, refugees have been attacked verbally and physically many times by extreme far-right groups, the public and in some cases, the police (Karamanidou, 2016, p.2009-2010; Lazaridis & Veikou, 2016, p.12). The current economic crisis in the country and cultural differences between locals and refugees gave way to more xenophobic attitudes (Lazaridis & Skleparis, 2016). Along with the public’s xenophobia towards migrants, the number of property and violent crimes rose. The

number of thefts and burglaries was increased by 33% and robberies by 41% between 2009-2011. According to the police's statistical data, most of these offences were carried out by Greeks, but foreign offenders were represented more than Greek offenders in the political discourses at the time (Xenakis and Cheliotis, 2012, p.728). The over-representation of migrant criminals (Xenakis and Cheliotis, 2012, p.728), the failure of the police to restrain the violent episodes that were caused by the extreme-right political party Golden Dawn and the affiliation of some police officers with them (Xenakis, 2012, p.445-446) may have influenced a portion of the public to adopt a xenophobic attitude towards foreigners. Hate crime has been a significant issue in Greece in the last decade. Xenophobia, hate, violence and fear of the 'other' seem to have risen in Greece due to social, economic and political factors. The European financial crisis, the rise of the far-right in many European countries and the big migration wave in the last few years that led to migrant securitisation seem to be the major factors that shaped and legitimised xenophobia and hate attitudes towards migrants in Greece.

The government's failure to manage the situation and the impact the arrival of migrants would have on locals' lives and tourism in the area sparked a series of violent racial attacks against migrants (RVRN, 2016). Migrants and refugees have been attacked by individuals and hate groups several times. These attacks were mainly towards Muslim, non-white, Middle Eastern, Asian and African individuals (Karamanidou, 2016, p.2002). The public showed their antipathy by leaving heads of dead pigs in hosting centres, burning storage facilities containing aid for migrants, and destroying tents set up for their accommodation (RVRN, 2016).

According to the official statistical data provided by OSCE – including hate crime and speech –, the number of hate crimes between 2013 and 2017 shows a gradual decrease, from 109 hate crimes in 2013 to 40 in 2016 (OSCE, 2019). However, the RVRN report for 2016 shows more hate crimes recorded than OSCE, - 95 racial violence incidents, from which 31 were against migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (RVRN, 2016, p.6). The number of hate

crimes increased significantly and reached 128 incidents in 2017 (OSCE, 2019). Most of the hate crimes recorded were committed based on racism and xenophobia (72), of which 37 were violent attacks on people, 9 were threats, and 13 were attacks against property. According to hate crime monitoring organisations such as RVRN, the Greek Helsinki Monitor and the ABTTF (Federation of Western Thrace Turks in Europe), most of the crimes in 2017 were committed by hate groups and a few by police officers (OSCE, 2019).

More recent data are provided by the RVRN, which recorded 117 hate crimes with 130 victims in 2018. Most of the victims were migrants and refugees (74 out of 117) attacked due to their ethnic origin, religion and colour. Greek citizens were also attacked (9 incidents) due to their colour and ethnic or foreign origin. In nine incidents, Jewish symbolic or sacred places were attacked. The RVRN reports that in most of these incidents -63 out of 117- the attackers were not individuals but hate groups, noting the aggressive behaviours of citizens observed in everyday life (RVRN, 2019).

2.4.1 Hate crime prevention

The prevention of hate crime is primarily achieved through hate crime legislation and extra punishment for bias-motivated crimes. However, the enhanced sentences for hate crimes are argued to fail to prevent the phenomenon and promote tolerance in society (Jacobs and Potter, 1998, p.151). The recruitment of minority individuals by the police and the establishment of better relations between authorities and the public could help in hate crime prevention. The establishment of trust of, and better cooperation with, the authorities could help discriminated groups be heard, valued and assisted in dealing with the problem (Jacobs and Potter, 1998, p.152).

In Greece, the elimination of discrimination, racism, homophobia, sexism and disablism and, as an extension, hate crime is based on activists and non-governmental

organisations. Organisations like the ⁸ Hellenic League for Human Rights, Amnesty International-Greece, cultural associations, the ³⁷⁶ Greek Council for Refugees; the UN Refugee Agency-Greece, the ³⁷⁶ Racist Violence Recording Network and the ⁵⁷³ KEERFA-United Movement against Racism and the Fascist Threat are aiming at the mobilisation of the public and the creation of civil society (Lazaridis and Veikou, 2017, p.2). From 2011, 35 non-governmental organisations were set up in Greece, coordinated ¹⁵³ by intergovernmental bodies such as the United Nations. The Greek government took steps towards the issue by establishing new offices and phone lines specifically to report racist/hate crime incidents (Karamanidou, 2016, pp. 2002-2003). However, the measures taken did not seem to be effective. Due to the lack of adequate systems for recording racist crimes in the country, organisations like the RVRN are taking the role of recording racist crimes and providing reports that will help better record hate crimes (Lazaridis and Veikou, 2017, p.9).

2.5 Underreporting of hate crime in Greece

Evidence from RVRN suggests that victims of hate crimes in Greece avoid reporting those crimes to the authorities. The RVRN 2015 report showed 75 hate incidents towards migrants; the victims of 14 of those incidents did not want to report the incidents due to fear and distrust towards authorities, due to their bad psychological condition and lack of goods, or because they wanted to leave the country (RVRN, 2015). In addition, the RVRN mentioned in their 2016 annual report that migrants showed tolerance towards verbal racist attacks, and they did not report them if they were not accompanied by physical attacks (RVRN, 2016). The migrants considered the verbal attacks as routine, which caused the number of verbal attack reports to decrease (RVRN, 2016). The increase of hate crimes towards migrants indicates an increase in xenophobia. Similarly, in their 2019 report, RVRN suggested ⁴⁶⁵ that refugees and asylum seekers distrust the legal system, preventing them from reporting hate incidents to the

authorities (RVRN, 2019). The EU States' approach to the securitisation of migrants, the attitudes of security professionals in Greece, the ³⁸⁴rise of far-right groups, and the ongoing financial ¹⁴crisis seem to have been the major factors that influenced public discourse and directly or indirectly promoted xenophobia and hate crimes in Greece.

¹⁴2.5.1 Barriers to reporting hate crime

Unfortunately, the literature on hate crime reporting in Greece is scarce. There are no empirical studies exploring migrants' reactions to hate incidents and racism. Literature from the EU and the US shows the barriers that discourage migrant victims from reporting crimes against them to the authorities for various reasons, ⁴¹⁹including but not limited to lack of legal knowledge (Morales, 2017), psychological issues developed due to the reasons for their migration, - such as fear, inability to protect one's family, and sense of loss (Herling and Turner, 2009), - distrust towards the host country's police, low socio-economic status (Rupi, 2019), and seriousness of the crime (Tarling and Morris, 2010).

It is well evidenced that hate crime is underreported (Zaykowski, 2010; Perry, 2001; Herek, Cogan and Gillis, 2002; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2015). Victims' willingness to report crimes to authorities depends on various factors. Vergani and Navarro (2020) distinguish between these factors as ⁶²⁸internal and external. Internal factors include the feeling of hopelessness, the normalisation of hate, diverse cultural norms, ⁵⁴⁸perceptions of structural oppression, self-deprecation, and ³⁸⁸lack of awareness of hate crime and ways to report it. At the same time, external factors include fear of retaliation, isolation, ⁶³⁷lack of trust towards the authorities and lack of access to the legal system due to linguistic, technological, or physical barriers (Vergani and Navarro, 2020, p.12).

The process of reporting a hate crime is not straightforward, as there are preconditions that must be fulfilled. The process begins when the victim recognises the incident is motivated by hate or prejudice (Pezzella, Fetzner and Keller, 2019, p.3). Blee (2007, p.265) found that interpreting an incident as a hate crime is complex and dynamic. The victims' perception might change over time, influenced by factors such as their status in the community. After the burning of a Mosque, Muslims who believed they held a high status in the community ⁵⁷⁵ were more likely to interpret the arson as a non-hate attack. In contrast, those who held a lower status and were ²⁵⁶ less integrated into society were more likely to view the event as a hate crime. After the destruction of a Holocaust museum, members of the local Jewish community who initially viewed the arson incident as a hate crime later changed their views and tried to attribute the motive to conflicts in local politics (Blee, 2007, p.265).

Another factor that prevents victims from recognizing an incident as hate-related is hate crime knowledge, or lack thereof. After recognising the incident as biased, the victim must contact the police and report the incident as such (Pezzella, Fetzner and Keller, 2019, p.3). However, studies show that migrant and other minority victims are less likely to contact the ²⁰⁵ authorities due to fear of the police, lack of trust towards the legal system or lack of legal knowledge. Migrants' negative ⁴²² experiences with authorities in their countries of origin or the host country influence ⁴⁷⁶ their perceptions of the legal system in the host country (Gutierrez and Kirk, 2017, p.944; Pezzella, Fetzner and Keller, 2019, p.4). In addition, migrants' citizenship status may also influence their decision to contact authorities due to fear of deportation (Gutierrez and Kirk, 2017, p.945). Without legal knowledge, individuals cannot use the law ⁴³⁷ (Hernandez, 2010, p.111). Legal knowledge is necessary for individuals to become aware of and claim their rights (Hernandez, 2010, p.111). Migrants' limited knowledge of law and rights might influence their decision to avoid reporting hate incidents. The lack of legal knowledge

and the negative experiences migrants had in the country of origin may lead migrants to fear legal retaliation, which might lead to their deportation.

Another factor that influences the reporting of hate crimes is the seriousness of the incident. Empirical study evidence suggests that migrants tend to report crimes to the authorities according to the seriousness of the incidents. The more serious they perceive a crime, the more likely they are to report it (Yun and Mueller, 2011, p.57). Zaykowski (2010) found that an essential predictor of reporting was injury. While the results were inconclusive regarding the seriousness of the crime, he found that the more seriously the victim was injured, the more likely they were to report the incident to the authorities (2010, p.390).

2.6 Conclusion

Hate crime is a social phenomenon that causes physical and psychological harm to individuals and society as a whole, by attacking individuals' identity, dignity and freedom and by challenging democratic ideas. Hate crime has become a significant concern in the Western world. Hate crime towards migrants is an existing problem in Greece at the moment. The recent migration wave, the financial crisis, and the rise of the far-right ideologies in Greece and other European countries have contributed to the increase of hate crimes both individually and collectively. The lack of systematic mechanisms for the prevention of hate incidents in the country makes the combating of the phenomenon more challenging. The recent increase of hate crimes in the country against migrants, and the migrants' reluctance to report hate incidents to the authorities perpetuates the problem. It creates a need for further research on the matter.

On a theoretical level, the definitions provided by academics vary, as they are focused on different aspects of the phenomenon and are based on different scientific theories. Social inequality, power dynamics, economic and political injustice are some of the themes that

256
emerge from these definitions. Hate crime is a relatively new concept that emerged from the anti-discrimination policies and legislation established to combat discrimination, intolerance and biased violence. Scholars focus on the aetiology of hate crime, and the reasons that drive members of society to behave and act in a certain way.

The official and academic definitions displayed here were created to describe hate crime as a social phenomenon and provide guidance regarding its elimination. Intergovernmental organisations have tried to provide definitions that could be applied globally, but societies' diverse history and needs have made it impossible.

In the last hundred years, the socio-political changes in Greece contributed to the increase of xenophobia towards the migrant population in the country. The shifts in the political culture, the government's strides to ensure homogeneity and unity in a diverse society, and the role of religion in Greek culture played a significant role in shaping collective memories and the rise of xenophobic attitudes. During the migration wave towards the European States in the last decade, xenophobia and hate crime rose significantly. The xenophobia rooted in Greek culture and the economic crisis, and the rise of the far-right created a hostile environment for migrants and refugees in the country.

According to official statistics from European bodies and non-governmental organisations, biased physical and verbal violence increased significantly in the last decade. Unfortunately, the reporting of these biased crimes did not increase. Organisations like OSCE and RVRN show that migrants and refugees avoid reporting hate incidents to the authorities and show tolerance towards hate speech. Empirical studies suggest that migrants' lack of legal knowledge, lack of trust towards the police, lack of language skills, and lack of access to the legal system are barriers that prevent migrants from reporting hate incidents to the authorities.

Chapter Three: Legal consciousness

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the theoretical framework used in this research. The chapter introduces the concept of legal consciousness as depicted by pioneer scholars in the field. It displays how the concept of legal consciousness was developed in the last decades. It focuses primarily on the legal consciousness of migrants and their willingness to mobilise the law for the assertion of rights.

The chapter begins with a brief display of the progression of legal consciousness from the early 1910s' 'instrumental' approach and continues with the 'constitutive' approach that was developed later. Legal consciousness is a tool for analysing individuals' understanding and attitude toward the law. The concept is introduced through the work of seminal scholars that contributed to the development of legal consciousness to date. This section mainly focuses on the work of Ewick and Silbey in *The Common Place of Law* as one of the most influential theories on legal consciousness based on the power relations in society, particularly the hegemonic power of the law.

Then, three distinct approaches to legal consciousness study are addressed, showing the flexibility of the concept and the different ways it can be studied. Firstly, resistance is discussed as a form of legal consciousness based on the hegemonic power of the law in everyday life, starting from the work of Foucault to the latest contributions in this school of thought. Then, the role of identity is discussed in forming legal consciousness, particularly its impact on claiming individuals' rights. Finally, the way individuals mobilise the law to assert rights individually is discussed.

3.2 The progression of Legal Consciousness

Socio-legal studies have been focused on the relationship between law and society. In the last few decades, socio-legal scholars have developed legal consciousness studies both in the USA (Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Merry, 1990; Nielsen, 2000) and in Europe (Cooper, 1995; Cowan, 2004; Hertogh, 2004; Harding, 2011; Kurkchian, 2011; Kubal, 2015). Legal consciousness studies focus on the relationship between law and society, specifically individuals' perceptions of law in their daily lives (Cowan, 2004, p.931). Scholars in socio-legal research have been studying this relationship since Pound's (1910) work on the distance between 'law in books' and 'law in action', criticising the static nature of law in the books and its unfit application in real life. As Pound put it, 'Legislation which attempts to require cases to be fitted to rules instead of rules to cases will fare no better than judicial decisions which attempt the same feat' (Pound, 1910, p.34). However, the concept of legal consciousness was not directly developed from this idea. From Pound's *Law in Books and Law in Action*, socio-legal research was diverted into two perspectives: the 'instrumental' and the 'constitutive' (Sarat and Kearns, 1993, p.21).

Earlier research following the instrumental approach focused on people's awareness and attitudes regarding the law (Sarat, 1977, p.432). These early studies measured people's awareness of the law through quantitative research (Hertogh, 2004). The instrumentalism approach perceived law as a tool distant from social practices which could 'regulate the legal subjects' (Aidinlis, 2019, p.499). Interested in exploring the gap between 'law in books' and 'law in action', scholars working on the instrumental approach were mainly focused on policy and official law (Aidinlis, 2019, p.499). This approach was concerned with the law's effectiveness rather than the effects the law might have on its subjects (Sarat and Kearns, 1993, p.23).

⁴⁸⁶ On the other hand, the constitutive approach to the relationship between law and society focuses on the effects of law on individuals in everyday life, exploring the presence of law in society (e.g., ³⁹⁶ Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Merry, 1990; Sarat and Kearns, 1993). Constitutive approach studies have shaped the doctrine of legal consciousness through the seminal work of socio-legal scholars from the 1980s onwards (see ⁷⁰³ Merry, 1990; ³⁵⁴ Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Bumiller, 1988; Frisvold, 2009; Harding, 2011; Halliday and Morgan 2013; Halliday 2019; Engel and Chua, 2019). These scholars view law and legal rules ¹¹³ as an integral part of everyday life, interrelated to society and hidden in social practices (Mezey, 2001, p.145). They find the law present in all aspects of social life, and its effects manifested in commonplace and even non-legal everyday activities (Chua and Engel, 2019, p.336; Silbey, 2018, p.698). Law is viewed as a social structure, and individuals' ⁷⁸ perceptions of both State and non-State law are considered integral to the law's construction (Aidinlis, 2019, p.498).

This research follows the constitutive approach to legal consciousness, where law and society are inextricably linked. Most individuals conceptualise law in its formal shape, such as courtrooms and lawyers' offices; however, the law is present in almost every aspect of an individual's life, from their workplace to their neighbourhood (Sarat, 1990, p. 343; Larson and Schmidt, 2014, p.173). Law is present every time an individual pays a bill, follows traffic rules, or respects others' property; all these rules that people follow almost instinctively are integral to social life (Ewick & Silbey, 1998, p.15). Law shapes people's views of the world and influences their decision-making. People refer to the law to resolve disputes or even when they decide to avoid litigations against others, for instance, to maintain positive social relations (Larson and Schmidt, 2014, p.173). Also, people can refer to legal rules daily, even when they are not fully aware of the official statutes (Marshall, 2014, p.243). This general conception of the law and legal rules helps people make sense of the world (Marshall 2014, p. 243). In turn, the people's conceptualisation and use of the law can construct and reform the law through

litigations, conflicts and confrontations (Marshall, 2014, p.244). Law can shape individuals' behaviours through norms and legal rules shared in a society that promote the acceptable standards of conduct that people are expected to follow (Flaminia, 2017, p.255). The study of legal consciousness aims to reveal how laws contribute to the construction of understandings and how it affects and shapes individuals' actions and views of the social world (Nielsen, 2000, p.1058). Legal consciousness is focused on the perception individuals have regarding justice and rights and how these perceptions are expressed through practices in everyday life. The term 'legal consciousness' has come to describe how individuals understand the law and how they use it (Hull, 2003, p.630). It focuses on what people say and do in respect of the law (Ewick & Silbey, 1998, p.46).

Even though there seems to be a common understanding among scholars following this constitutive approach regarding legal consciousness, the definitions scholars have suggested, and the theoretical approaches they have adopted during the development of the scholarship vary appreciably. Ewick and Silbey (1998) found cultural practices to influence legal consciousness significantly. They argue that law develops and uses ⁶⁸⁹ schemas that individuals use to understand experiences in their daily lives. They refer to the use of these schemas related to law as ¹³ 'legality' - 'the meanings, sources of authority, and cultural practices that are commonly recognised as legal, regardless of who employs them and for what ends' (Ewick & Silbey, 1998, p.22). They support that law is a "social action" which individuals construct through social practice, which therefore creates their legality ⁷⁰² (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, p.35).

⁴⁹⁶ 'Legality is viewed as an emergent structure of social life that manifest ³¹³ itself in diverse places... which operates as an interpretive framework and a set of resources with which and through which the social world (including the part known as law) is constituted' (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, p.23).

Legality is determined by and expressed through cultural practices, a process which helps individuals construct the social world. Ewick and Silbey's work focuses on how ordinary people understand the ways law constructs their ⁶²⁴legality in everyday life (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, 2000).

³²⁴In their book, *The common place of law*, Ewick and Silbey (1998) introduced a model of legal consciousness explaining the three stances individuals can take with respect to the law. Their model was inspired by stories of ordinary people in everyday life. They suggest that individuals can develop a consciousness that can be 'before', 'with' or 'against' the law (1998, p.45). The individuals who stand ⁴¹⁹'before' the law perceive the law as a fixed, objective, impartial and rational system of rules that is distant from daily life and cannot be altered by individual action. Individuals usually accept the law as the appropriate vehicle for justice regardless of the result. They respect the law even in cases they might find it unfair. Their frustration or anger that results from the unfairness of the law is interpreted ⁵⁸²as their own powerlessness (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, p.47). Following a post-modern Foucauldian analysis of power, the law is viewed as an 'instrument of power' and a 'right' which can (entirely or to a certain extent) be 'transferred or alienated' (Foucault, 1980, pp.88, 141). By turning to the law for assistance, individuals hand over their power to the law and rely on it to find a solution to their problems (Harding, 2006, p.513). Studies have shown ¹⁹that victims of hate crimes and discrimination ²²¹tend to distance themselves from the law by interpreting events as non-hate crimes (Blee, 2007, p.265) or justifying the crimes (Bumiller, 1987, p.426). The victims interpret the events as too minor or otherwise not worth reporting.

Those who stand ²²¹'with' the law perceive law as a game they can play or a tool they can use for their personal gain. The law is perceived as part of everyday life rather than a distant, fixed system of rules. Those who stand 'with' the law are counting on their own power and resourcefulness to meander around legal rules or even invent new ones to fulfil their desires.

These individuals appear to give less weight to the power of the law and more to their own power to achieve a pleasant outcome for themselves (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, p.48). Nisar (2018), in his study on the legal consciousness of a third-gender group in Pakistan, found that individuals legally identified as male to continue having access to benefits associated with this gender. The group was identified as standing 'with the law' as they decided to use it for their benefit (Nisar, 2018, p.76).

Lastly, those who stand 'against' the law are individuals who usually feel trapped in the law or unable to distance themselves from it. These individuals try to avoid and resist the law through social practices, expressing their resistance through small deceptions, omissions, or humour (Ewick and Silbey, 1998). Individuals may avoid or resist the law to maintain their dignity and honour, for revenge, or even to reinstate justice (Ewick and Silbey, 1998). In addition, resistance can take other dimensions, such as being used as a message to others that the law can be resisted at least to some degree (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, pp.48- 49). Individuals who stand 'against' the law are usually members of disadvantaged groups such as women, people of colour or the unemployed (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, p.235). Nielsen (2000) confirms this by exploring the public's reactions to offensive public speech in the USA, including individuals from several social groups. Nielsen showed that most whites and people of colour were against the regulation of public speech, however, their reasons varied. Most white men referred to the First Amendment and the importance of the freedom of speech more than other groups, while African American men were against the regulation of offensive speech due to cynicism and distrust of the law (2000, p.1073). The women argued that such a regulation would impact their social status as they would be presented as victims (2000, p.1086). In addition, women and people of colour showed more distrust towards the ability of the law to change individuals' behaviour and prevent them from engaging in offensive speech (2000,

p.1083). Individuals 'against' the law who distrust the legal system tend to resist it to gain some sense of control (Ewick and Silbey, 1998:220).

3.3 Resisting the law

Legal consciousness was developed to address legal hegemony and how law maintains its power despite discrepancies between 'the law in books' and 'the law in action' (Silbey, 2005, p.323). According to Foucault (1980, p.142), power is not present just in certain situations, but it is present in every social relation. He suggests that power is everywhere, and no one can escape it; it is "co-extensive with the social body" (Foucault, 1980, p.142). It is a particularly principal element in a society as it is embedded in many forms of relations, such as family, kinship, and sexuality (Foucault, 1980, p.142). Foucault also notes that power is used for the subordination of others. Thus, power relations are highly connected with resistance that will secure the escape of the subordinated group from a suppressive situation through conflict (Mezey, 2001, p.147). The amount of power one group of people possesses reflects the control it has over itself and other groups (Amiot and Bourhis, 2005, p.290). As already mentioned, Ewick and Silbey (1998) describe this power/resistance relationship in individuals standing 'against' the law. People resist the hegemonic power of the State to either preserve their honour and dignity, for revenge or to avoid the law (1998, pp.48-49). However, studies have developed the concept of resistance described by Ewick and Silbey. Harding (2011) takes a broader approach to resistance. She views resistance as a form of power and identifies three different forms of resistance that individuals take against it.

Harding (2011), drawing from Foucault's interpretation that resistance is a part of power, deviates from interpretations that see resistance as an opposing force to power. She suggests that resistance is a form of power itself. Harding explains that resistance can affect

the effects of power (Harding, 2011, p.45). She identifies three forms of resistance, 'stabilising resistance', 'moderating resistance' and 'fracturing resistance'. Stabilising resistance refers to the effects of resistance towards any disciplinary power. Harding explains that the existence of a normative behaviour entails the existence of other non-normative behaviours. The 'disciplinary' powers aim to normalise these non-normative behaviours. Consequently, resistance is possible only when behaviours fall - even momentarily - outside the norm (Harding, 2011, pp.45-46). She gives the examples of 'smoking', 'binge drinking', and 'eating unhealthy' as forms of resistance towards disciplinary mechanisms of power in the form of scientific evidence that proves these activities as unhealthy or resistant toward the normative conventions of keeping oneself healthy (Harding, 2011, p.46). Resistance works as a form of power itself, trying to stabilise other forms of power in everyday life (Harding, 2011, p.56). Interestingly, in her description of this form of resistance, she shows that the power mechanisms resisted by individuals do not necessarily originate from the State but any power relationships in society.

The second form of resistance she identifies is a resistance that moderates power. It seeks to make non-normative ideas heard through public protests and marches (Harding, 2011, p.47). This way, moderating resistance aims to weaken the effects of power. The effects of moderating resistance are not instant, and they do not break the power relations in place; instead, they emphasise the public's distaste for governmental decisions. The non-normative behaviours expressed through pressure groups or demonstrations try to lessen the State's violent or rigorous power, eventually rebalance the power relation (Harding, 2011, p.47).

Finally, she introduces 'fracturing resistance', the most powerful form of resistance she identifies. Fracturing resistance aims to break the power relations completely through violence. However, this break is not permanent. Such forms of rebellious resistance attract the attention of the State, which would try to end it and restore the power relation, sometimes ending with

exchanges of violence. The outcome of this short fracture may not always be beneficial to the resisters (Harding, 2011, p.48-49).

Interestingly, the forms of resistance described by Harding are not necessarily against the power of the State but any form of power. Using Harding's examples, like smoking or eating unhealthily as forms of resistance to the social rules that require individuals to take care of their health. These examples of stabilising resistance show individuals' need to rebalance any form of a power relation they find oppressive. This expands the study of legal consciousness (particularly the study of resistance) and leaves room for further analysis and interpretation.

Similarly, another scholar further develops the study of resistance experienced collectively. Frisvold (2009) identified a form of resistance: 'Under the law'. Individuals who stand 'under the law' view the legal system as corrupt. The injustices produced are not just results of the failures of the system but designed by the system to preserve its power (Frisvold, 2009, p. 806). He identified a radical form of resistance held by environmental activists. In this form of resistance, the resisters did not only aim to break their power relation with the State momentarily, as Harding described. Instead, they aimed for the legal system's abolition (Frisvold, 2009, p.807).

Having discussed the relationship between resistance and power, arguably the most dominant approach in the field of legal consciousness, it is now time to address the role of identity in rights claiming. The next section focuses on how identity shapes the self and influences the invocation of the law.

3.4 Rights claiming and Identity

How individuals perceive and interpret themselves is crucial in how they view the world and behave. Identity theory poses that identity is constructed of the meanings attached to different roles individuals have in the social structure (Stryker and Burke, 2000, p.284; Stets and Serpe, 2013, p.34). In this post-modern theory, the self is viewed as reflexive. It can perceive itself as an object and 'can categorise, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications' (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.224). Within a social category, individuals name themselves and one another and attribute terms that symbolise their positions (roles) in a social structure (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.225). Individuals with common social self-identification form social categories with a certain power, prestige and status (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.225). This self-identification can be based on characteristics which individuals recognise in themselves and others, such as gender, race, nationality, religion, and more. (Lawler, 2014, p.163). Placing themselves in categories is crucial to forming individuals' identities (Lawler, 2014, p.163). The combination of these social categories is unique for each individual (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.225). Thus, the social identities comprising an individual's self-concept are unique (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.225).

Identity is connected to the different positions/roles individuals occupy in society, the social categories they belong to, and their network (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003, p.338). For instance, a migrant can be a mother, an employee, a colleague, a friend, belong to a particular racial, religious, or migrant group, and so forth. These positions and groups have meanings and expectations that guide behaviour. However, one should distinguish between the roles individuals possess and their identities. The roles individuals undertake are sometimes developed through norms structured by institutions in society. At the same time, identities are constructed through the self-identification of the individual (Castells, 2010, p.7). For instance,

the law can attribute roles to individuals and label them as ‘felons’ or ‘guilty’ (Young, 2014, p.523).

Of course, these roles and identities can overlap. The roles bestowed to individuals by institutions can become identities when individuals internalise them (Castells, 2010, p.7). Young (2014), studying the legal consciousness of cockfighters in Hawaii, argues that when the labels imposed on individuals by the law – such as ‘criminal’ - do not agree with the views individuals have for themselves, causes individuals psychological distress and shape their legal consciousness. Cockfighters’ perceptions of themselves as ‘law abiding’ citizens collided with the label of ‘criminal’ imposed by the law and made them less likely to cooperate with the legal system and participate in civic duties (Young, 2014, p.524).

Identity and its impact on individuals’ legal consciousness is an area that has attracted much academic attention and is of particular interest in this research. Many studies have focused on identity, particularly how individuals understand and mobilise the law to assert rights (Merry, 2003; Frisvold, 2009; Young, 2014; Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Abrego, 2011, 2008; Aidinlis, 2019). Merry (2003) proposes that the acquisition of rights depends on how individuals perceive themselves in relation to rights. Individuals must develop a rights consciousness – a self-defined by rights – before asserting those rights. Rights consciousness is developed through individuals’ experiences with the legal system, such as the police, judges, probation officers, and so forth (Merry, 2003). Analysing the rights consciousness of battered women, she proposes that individuals need to redefine their existing identities to take up a rights-based identity. ‘Instead of seeing herself defined by family, kin, and work relationships, she takes on a more autonomous self, protected by the state’ (Merry, 2003, p.345). Consequently, identity plays a vital role in individuals’ understanding of the law and using it for claiming rights.

Similarly, Hernandez (2010, p.100) suggests that the poor and people of colour are less likely to engage with civil law and claim rights due to their limited exposure to it. He suggests that exposure to law is necessary for the formation of 'with the law' legal consciousness. He argues that disadvantaged and minority groups, such as the poor and people of colour, are more exposed to criminal law and less to civil law. Their low socio-economic status prevents them from accessing civil law; thus, they are less familiar with it (Hernandez, 2010, p.100). Hernandez (2010, pp.101,116) also suggests that individuals can shift their legal consciousness from 'against' to 'with' the law through legal knowledge - the acknowledgement of how and when the law can be helpful. This legal knowledge can be obtained through personal experiences, media, networks, and finally, by using legal resources. Hernandez focuses on the factors that could shift the legal consciousness of disadvantaged groups into a consciousness that would allow them to view the law as an apparatus for rights claiming.

However, constructing a rights-based identity is only the first step towards rights claiming. Individuals need to invoke the law before they can enjoy those rights. The following section is focused on the mobilisation of the law.

3.5 Mobilisation of law

Mobilising the law is a process that has attracted attention in socio-legal studies and particularly in legal consciousness. The term 'legal mobilisation' is associated with a strand of legal consciousness studies that focuses on the invocation of the law to protect disadvantaged groups (Chua and Engel, 2019; Handmaker, 2019). Legal mobilisation is concerned with the social changes achieved by individuals or collective actors - such as lawyers, NGOs and activists - through litigations, discourses or symbols (Vanhala, 2011; Handmaker, 2019). It is concerned with the cognitive processes available to people to achieve social change (Chua and

Engel, 2019). This section looks into individual actors' mobilisation of law through studies focusing on local norms and practices' impact on individuals' willingness or unwillingness to use the law (Chua and Engel, 2019, p.340-341). The mobilisation of law can be encouraged or discouraged by factors including but not limited to knowledge of the law, cultural norms, gender, ethnic group, legal status, identity and more.

Democratic States provide instruments for individuals to claim rights through laws; however, mobilising the law is not a straightforward process. It appears to be linked to several factors, such as membership in different social categories. Social categories shape individuals' perceptions and attitudes toward the law. As mentioned earlier, Nielsen (2000) shows that different genders and ethnic groups have different behaviours regarding their protection from offensive public speech. Hull (2003) showed that same sex-couples adopted terminology used by married couples and performed ceremonies even though there was no official law to recognise their union. They used symbolic actions (marriage terminology and commitment ceremonies) to change the cultural meanings and discourses around same-sex marriage.

One group that has attracted academic attention and is of particular interest in this research is migrants. Studies show that migrant populations tend to avoid engaging with the law to assert their rights. Lack of legal knowledge (Morales, 2017), psychological issues (Herlihy and Turner, 2009), distrust towards the host country's police, low socio-economic status (Rupi, 2019), and a number of other factors identified by researchers influence migrant victims' decision making to avoid any engagement with the law. Migrants' unwillingness to use the law can depend on social, economic, cultural or legal factors.

One of the factors that appears to influence migrants' willingness to mobilise the law is culture. The cultural norms in society can shape individuals' understanding and attitude towards the law. Felstiner (1974, p.81), focusing on legal disputes, supported the idea that

potential claimants are often ‘lumping’ their problems. The importance of the dispute is decreased to the degree that individuals refuse to take any action towards the disagreement. Felstiner, Abel and Sarat (1980) suggest that individuals must first identify a situation as harmful, assign responsibility to the injurer and then make a claim. On the same note, Engel (2013, p.320) claims that when individuals do not interpret a dispute as harmful to them, they will not take any action to blame the injured or ask for compensation. Engel explains that not taking action is not a choice but the only imaginable response when a problem is not considered harmful. While an incident may appear like an injury to many, it may not be for the person involved, as cultural norms can give different dimensions to a particular event (2013, p.320).

Kubal (2013, pp.61, 66), who focuses on legal culture, supports that the impact of culture is a two-way process. Culture can influence individuals’ actions, but it can also be shaped by individuals (Kubal, 2013, p.61). Migrants develop their own cultures and identities in the host country as they carry their cultural practices, historical memories, political leaderships (Marshall, 2006, p.230) and legal norms from their home countries (Barbero, 2013, p.363). These cultural norms are transferred in the host country and applied to situations the migrants experience. (Barbero, 2013, p.363).

393
Migrants are expected to adapt to the new environment and accept its legal norms (Miller, 2012, p.411). Individuals’ perception of law depends on society and the people that act in it (Miller, 2012, p.411). Migrants interact with their host society’s legal norms through work, public services, and the communities they live in (Kubal, 2013, p.66). Yun and Mueller (2011, p.66), researching Chinese migrants in Texas, USA, found that the migrants’ acculturation was a predictor of crime reporting. When individuals from different cultures encounter each other, cultural changes occur in either or both groups. (Titzmann and Lee, 2022, p.1). In Yun and Mueller’s research, the more acculturated migrants were, the more likely they were to report a crime.

Some migrants' Graca (2017) explored the legal consciousness of Portuguese migrant women in England and showed how culture could influence women's decision-making regarding domestic abuse. The cultural norms these migrant women carried to the host country prompted them to find alternative non-legal remedies to their problems. Portuguese women were influenced by the traditional Portuguese culture, family bonds, and community pressure, which prompted them to hide domestic violence incidents (2017, pp.428, 430, 432). The women also mentioned that a part of Portuguese family and romantic relationship culture included the normalisation of domestic abuse (Graca, 2017, p.426). The women interviewed avoided engaging with the legal system to protect the family's reputation, which could affect their children's lives. These women preferred to seek help from close relatives who would provide help discreetly than reporting the incident to the authorities.

Culture is connected with identity, and how individuals perceive themselves is highly connected to their environment. Identity can also influence the migrants' legal consciousness and particularly their willingness to engage the law. Abrego (2011) observed that the age and identity of undocumented migrants in the USA significantly influenced their willingness to mobilise the law. The 1.5-generation migrants who arrived in the host country at a young age had the chance to internalise local social norms through school and thus, were more likely to use the law to make claims than first-generation migrants. The first-generation migrants' legal consciousness was shaped by the fear of deportation, as they would have to endure difficult situations to re-enter the country. The 1.5-generation was protected under the law, which recognised the young undocumented migrants as students and granted them access to education. The law protects 1.5-generations indirectly from deportation raids, as these raids are not likely to occur on school premises.

Another issue that could influence individuals' engagement with the law is their awareness of the law and their rights. According to Hernandez (2010, p.116), individuals

need to be exposed to legality to understand and acknowledge how and when the law can be helpful. Schwenken (2013, p.139) shows that undocumented migrants in Germany were not only aware of the host country's laws but also of the differences between the German and the EU laws. Schwenken (2013, p.139) explores the migrants' understanding of legal consciousness on a transnational level. Migrants in Germany referred to experiences of migrants who were justified through law in other countries. This awareness of international law derives from other migrants' personal experiences, international organisations, and trade unions. According to Shteynberg (2010, pp.683-684), migrants tend to tune their memories with other group members and share the same attitudes, even if they have never experienced the same things. The migrants' attitudes towards law in Germany appear to be a form of memory tuning. The experiences of migrants with the law in other countries appear to influence the law perception of the migrants in Germany.

In a study including five European countries (England, Norway, Poland, Ukraine, Bulgaria), Miller (2012) showed the different attitudes migrants have in respect of law. Miller interviewed individuals from the public, and long-established minorities of European migrants and Muslim migrants. The results showed that European individuals who migrate to other European countries and Muslim individuals who have been settled in a European country for decades or even centuries have similar perceptions and respect for the law in the host country (2012, p.414). This indicates that the different religions of the Muslim minorities did not cause a distinct difference in how they perceived the law from other migrant populations. The results suggested that individuals' adaptation to the local popular perceptions towards law depended both on individuals and the host country (2012, p.411). European and Muslim migrants showed more respect towards law in more economically developed host countries (England and Norway) while they respected less the law in less developed host countries (Poland, Bulgaria, Ukraine). The Muslim population considered the law as a form of State oppression in the

strongly developed host countries, while they considered the law as less oppressive in the less developed countries. The explanation of this attitude could be based on the terrorist attacks in England, which led to the creation of terrorism laws that were applied towards Muslim suspects (2012, p.413).

Recent work on legal consciousness suggests that the law might not play a significant role in everyday life (Hertogh, 2018, p.13). The law loses its legitimacy when viewed as distant and threatening by the public. When individuals do not identify with discourses of the law, the law loses its legitimacy, and individuals alienate themselves from it. (Hertogh, 2018, p.14).

Some scholars are questioning whether the law dominates everyday life. Mark Hertogh (2018) suggests that the law does not always play a significant role in everyday life; thus, individuals distance themselves from it. He develops the idea of legal alienation, which he defines as the “distance between ‘internal’ (related to judges, lawyers, and other actors performing legal tasks) and ‘external’ (general public) understandings of the law” (Hertogh, 2018, p.55). He identifies four dimensions of legal alienation, a) legal meaninglessness – where individuals are unable to understand the law and envisage the outcome of legal proceedings; b) legal powerlessness – where individuals are unable to control the outcome of legal proceedings; c) legal cynicism – where individuals do not feel that they are bound to the rules of the dominant society; finally, e) legal value-isolation where the individuals do not value the legal goals and beliefs that are considered of high value in the society.

From these definitions, Hertogh (2018) conceptualises four normative profiles that answer whether individuals are aware of the law and whether they identify with it. He conceptualises these normative profiles on a spectrum with legal identification on one end of the spectrum and legal alienation on the other. The first profile, the ‘legalists’, exhibit high levels of identification with and knowledge of the law. The ‘loyalists’ exhibit high levels of

identification with the law but low levels of knowledge. The ‘cynics’ are generally aware of the law but not to a degree that would allow them to identify with the law, which makes them critical of it. Finally, the ‘outsiders’ are neither aware or identify with the law (Hertogh, 2018).

Even though Hertogh’s work suggests that law does not necessarily dominate everyday life – especially for individuals that fall at the end of the spectrum and are neither aware of nor identify with the law – it has been criticised regarding its methodology and analysis. Halliday (2019) argues that Hertogh’s work does not disprove the hegemonic power of the law, but further investigates counter-hegemony. Legal alienation is viewed as a critique of the hegemonic power of the law, which can be placed alongside Ewick and Silbey’s ‘against the law’ narrative of legal consciousness.

Aidinlis (2019) states that legal consciousness and legal alienation are perceived as different concepts that should not be confused. He argues that legal consciousness is concerned with individuals’ identification and non-identification with the law addressing issues of the hegemonic power of the law – its ideological power and dominating presence in everyday life. Legal alienation is concerned with the relevance of the law and addresses issues of mobilisation.

Those who identify with the law show active and passive support or condescending indifference towards the law (Aidinlis, 2019, p.507). However, those who do not identify with the law are alienated from it. Aidinlis separates those who do not identify with the law into two categories – ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ non-identification. Weak non-identification refers to individuals who are unaware or do not understand the law (Aidinlis, 2019, p.509). “A complete lack of awareness or understanding of the law’s presence and significance in everyday life” (Aidinlis, 2019, p.509). These individuals do not understand the law’s importance; thus, they navigate life without it. Strong non-identification refers to individuals who are aware of the

law but choose to reject it. These individuals perceive the law as a power that needs to be resisted.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the theoretical framework of this research. Legal consciousness is a concept that has progressed significantly since its conception. The distance between law and society and the unfit application of law in real life discussed by Pounds in the early 1910s, was an idea that inspired the development of the concept of legal consciousness. Scholars interested in law effectiveness started exploring individuals' awareness of the law through quantitative research. In this instrumentalist approach, law was perceived to be detached from social practices, and scholars mainly focused on policy and official law.

Later, scholars turned their attention towards the effects law has on its subjects and adopted a constitutive approach to law and society research. Law was perceived as part of everyday life, hidden in social practices. This approach was developed by scholars over the last forty years who shaped legal consciousness study to what it is today.

In this chapter I presented legal consciousness through three different schools of thought. The concept of legal consciousness was developed to address legal hegemony. Ewick and Silbey developed a model of legal consciousness in the late 1990s, addressing the three stances individuals take towards law. Ewick and Silbey reveal the power dynamic between individuals and the law in each stance. Individuals who stand 'before the law' view the law as powerful, objective and distant from daily life. Law is a set of rules that cannot be manipulated or altered. Those who stand 'with the law' perceive it as a game. These individuals count on their own power to manoeuvre around legal rules in order to fulfil their desires. Finally, those who stand 'against the law' perceive it as unfair and resist it to maintain their dignity or try to reinstate

justice. These three stances towards the law show the hegemonic power of the law and how individuals react to it.

Drawing from Foucault's interpretation of power, power is used to subordinate others. However, power cannot exist without resistance. Resistance is used by subordinate groups to escape suppressive situations through conflict. Therefore individuals who resist the law try to rebalance this power/resistance relationship. Those subordinated by the power of the law may try to stabilise it by normalising non-normative behaviours, moderate it by making non-normative ideas in society be heard through activism, fracture it momentarily through violence, or finally, abolish the legal system entirely. Resistance is arguably the most dominant school of thought in legal consciousness study. However, other approaches have been developed.

Another school of thought presented in this chapter was the school identity. Scholars explore how individuals' perception of themselves ⁴²⁷ shape their perceptions of the law and rights. Based on Identity Theory, this school perceives the self as reflexive. Individuals can self-reflect and name, classify and categorise themselves into social categories with a certain power, prestige and status. This self-categorisation is essential in the construction of their identities. Identities determine individuals' relation with rights, as they can assert rights only when they construct identities that allow them to see themselves as eligible of rights.

Finally, the school of mobilisation focuses on the different factors influencing individuals' engagement with the law. Literature suggests that individuals mobilise the law according to ²³⁸ factors including but not limited to their culture, the legal and cultural norms of the society, their identity, and their awareness of the law and rights. In addition, recent studies suggest that the mobilisation of the law depends on the role law plays in their lives. Those who identify with the law show support or indifference, but those who do not identify with the law alienate from it.

The different approaches to legal consciousness presented here can sometimes overlap (Chua and Engel, 2019, p.337). I believe these three approaches complement each other and provide a broader understanding of the concept.

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters were focused on the literature review and the theoretical framework of this thesis. After setting and briefly analysing the conceptual foundations that surround this research, in this chapter, I explain the methodology I followed and the philosophical underpinnings behind it. Firstly, I explain the role of reflexivity in this research and the techniques I used for its application. I continue by introducing the research setting and the recruitment process in order to set the context of this research. I briefly outline the philosophical concepts of post-modernism, power relations and co-production of knowledge, which constitute the theoretical framework of my methodology. Then, I discuss the two methods that I used for the collection of data – ethnography and interviews. Finally, I outline the ethical considerations I took prior to and during the research along with the problems and limitations that rose.

4.2 The role of reflexivity in my journey

Reflexivity plays a crucial role in social sciences as it has contributed to a deeper understanding of how knowledge is constructed and produced. It helps the researcher acknowledge the weakness of qualitative research and make it more rigorous and valid. In this section I intend to explore the concept of reflexivity in its post-modern variant and explain how it was used in the current research.

Before analysing the importance and role of reflexivity in social research, let me briefly take you back to the origins of it, in its simple form of self-reflection in the Socratic philosophy. Self-reflection is almost an automatic human reaction, a common process we follow to better understand and organise our lives. It is our ability to draw meanings from our past experiences to make accurate judgements for our present and future selves (Pillow, 2003, p.177). We can

trace the concept of reflexivity back to Socrates, who used self-reflection throughout his life, from his ⁴⁶⁷ known aphorism 'know thyself' (written on the forecourt of the temple of Apollo in Delphi) (Mann, 2016, p.13) to his apology in front of the Athenian court, which he believed he did not need to prepare for, as he already knew who he was. He claimed to have been preparing his whole life for it through self-reflection (Garvin, 2013). One might say that, constant self-reflection and knowledge of the 'self' were fundamental elements of his philosophical work. However, one should not confuse Socrates' self-reflection with reflexivity that was later used as a research tool.

Reflexivity as a concept has been given multiple meanings and has been used in a variety of ways depending on the discipline that employs it. Sociologists (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), anthropologists (Markus, 1994), and psychologists (Shaw, 2010) are some of the disciplines that have tried to define the concept and its practice in social sciences. In qualitative research, the researcher explores and observes individuals, and many times gets involved in their lives. In post-modern research tradition, there is a focus on subjectivity and the co-production of temporary truths/realities (Finlay, 1998, p.453). The researcher aims, in the collaboration with the participants, to extract embedded information and co-create meanings. Post-modernism denies universal truths/realities (Cannella, 1998, pp.3-5), rather dealing with reality as something subjective which is created by individuals through interactions (Sousa, 2010, p.462). Consequently, the production of realities and meanings in post-modern qualitative research relies upon the ¹⁶⁴ interactions between the researcher and the researched and their interpretations of the world. Qualitative research has been criticised for lacking scientific rigour because of its subjective nature, as it explores abstract meanings and ideas which can be interpreted in more than one way (Finlay, 1998, p.453).

113
In order to increase the validity and rigour of qualitative research, researchers employ reflexivity, a methodological tool that helps the researcher present how meaning was created and interpreted (Pillow, 2003, p.176). The researcher is acknowledging and critically reflecting on factors that might influence their work (Mann, 2016, p.17), such as their characteristics (social and biological), positions and interests (Pillow, 2003, p.178). It helps the researcher create more valid and rigorous research by acknowledging its limitations (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, p.275).

4.2.1 Reflexivity as a methodological tool

In order to use reflexivity, I had to first explore who I was and where I stood as a researcher. I started this process at a very early stage, while preparing my proposal, without being consciously aware that I was employing reflexivity as a research tool. I began to self-reflect and try to understand the positions I was going to carry with me into this research. I had to answer some questions like, why am I interested in this research, what would I like to explore and what was I expecting to find. I was familiar with these questions as I had already answered a few of them during my previous Master's research. I already knew why I was interested in the lives of migrants and the potential difficulties they might face in a host country. Coming from a family of economic migrants and being a first-generation migrant myself, had played a significant role in conducting research on Greek migrants in England and later continued with research on refugees in Greece. The high number of migrants entering the EU, the rise of racism and hate crime, and public discourses on migration have dominated the Greek and international news since 2015. I found myself comparing my life and choices with those of refugees, and I was intrigued by the similarities and differences I had found. These similarities and differences were the motivating force behind my decision to start the current research. However, there were a few differences between the previous and the current research regarding reflexivity, which

were revealed to me at a later stage. I began thinking about reflexivity as part of my methodology and ⁶¹⁹trying to work out how I was going to apply it, when I started gathering information and building the literature review. I had to decide how I was going to approach the research topic and represent it by considering my stance as a person, who was going to read it and who my work might influence. I was not able to decide everything from the start, but my decisions were developed in the process.

4.2.2 Reflexivity in data collection

¹⁹² The data collection process along with the data analysis are the two research stages that the researcher has constantly to be reflective about. Apart from being self-reflective taking into consideration my own positions, beliefs and how I influence this research, I also had to consider the participants during the data collection. I was interacting with many individuals trying to extract information and interpret events, and this process had an impact on these individuals and consequently on the research. There were many factors that might have influenced the participants during our interactions, such as my social and biological characteristics, my researcher role, the location in which the recruitment process and data collection took place, the questions I chose to ask, my behaviour towards the participants and even what measures I took to ensure an ethical research. These factors might have an impact on accessibility and also on the type, quality and quantity of the information that were communicated to me by the participants.

I presented myself to the participants as a local (Greek), educated, white, young, woman, who was interested in listening to their stories and problems. The participants could have interpreted these characteristics in many different ways. They could have seen me as an outsider due to my race and ethnic origin, or as a superior due to my researcher role. They

could have assumed my religion, social and economic status by my use of language, clothes and accessories. I had to consider every aspect of myself that could potentially influence the participants' views of me and consequently what they might be willing to reveal to me. Soon after my first interactions with individuals during the recruitment process, I realized that while I was observing and assessing individuals to see whether they could be recruited or not; I was being observed and assessed by the potential participants. They had to evaluate me as a person and make sure they would be safe, comfortable and would not be wasting their time talking to me.

Apart from my appearance and behaviour, I also had to consider the location the research was going to take place. The location of the recruitment and the data collection processes were chosen by me. I approached the participants in an NGO centre that provided a variety of services for refugees and asylum seekers, which was a daily or weekly routine for the majority of them. I had to take into account that I was an outsider intruding into their lives, interrupting their routine and at the same time asking them to spend some of their time with me.

Another part of the research I had to reflect on were the interviews and observations. I had already spent some time thinking about the interview setting and preparing an interview schedule before I began the field work, with (to what I thought would be) appropriate questions for extracting information from a vulnerable group such as refugees. However, when I started interacting with them, I realized that my questions did not cover some of the research purposes and the participants' needs. I had to reconsider things such as the purpose of the research, the information I wanted to extract, the language I used to word the questions and the order I was going to ask them.

I soon realized that I had to rethink and readjust many parts of the research during the field work. Many of these parts were inextricably linked with ethics. Apart from the standard

ethical considerations present in every scientific research, there are many ethical challenges that rose during the field work. The standard ethical considerations which Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p.263) call ‘procedural ethics’, are the ethical challenges that every researcher who works with human participants should consider in order to ensure the safety of the participants and themselves. For instance, the researcher needs to ensure confidentiality, the participants’ anonymity, and obtain informed consent. The researcher is called to consider these ethical challenges during the research design and obtain approval from the university’s ethics committee before they can start the field work. However, during the data collection process, the researcher might face ethical challenges they are not prepared for, as they go beyond procedural ethics. Many times, during data collection I came across issues I had to face myself. For instance, in cases the participants were emotional I had to decide whether I should stop or pause the interview, change the subject or move on to the next question. I had to consider how to respond to the participants’ questions regarding my personal life or my political beliefs. In addition, there were many times that the participants asked for my help for a variety of problems in their lives. Some participants asked me to help them convince a house owner to rent his property to them, help them book an appointment with asylum services or help them translate documents. Would it be ethical to provide help? Would my help make them feel obligated to participate? The decisions I had to make and the way I would decide to communicate them to the participants played a significant role in the way they viewed me, the relationships I built with them, and the information they chose to share with me. In consequence, my decisions and behaviour played a significant role in the outcome of the research.

4.2.3 Reflexivity in data analysis

I also employed reflexivity during the data analysis. Data analysis is based on the researcher's interpretations of the participants' views of the world. The role of reflexivity in data analysis is very important as it can help the researcher recognise the potential factor that might influence their interpretations. One of the issues that might arise during the data analysis is the researcher's expectations. The researcher starts analysing the data keeping in mind their hypothesis (Mann, 2016, p.14; Finlay 1998, p.454). If a hypothesis does not exist, as in the current research, the researcher might be influenced by their assumptions. As a researcher who is familiar with the society she researches, it would be absurd to believe that I had not been influenced by the public discourses, the media and the literature around the research topic. Inevitably, I had developed opinions and assumption regarding migration, racism and hate, which could influence my interpretation of the data.

In addition, as a migrant myself, I might have developed feelings of sympathy towards my participants and be tempted to try to find similarities between us. It is a primary need for individuals to identify with groups of people and construct an identity (Brewer and Gardner, 1996, p.83). I found similarities with many participants such as education, immigrant and economic status, which could have prevented me from recognising our differences. The need to sympathise and identify with the participants could have led me to assume that we view the world in a similar way, which could have influenced my critical ability.

My appearance, behaviour, beliefs, positions, actions and choices are some of the factors that could influence the outcome of this research. Reflexivity did not prevent me from influencing any parts of this research, but it helped me acknowledge my influence and take it into consideration during the whole process.

4.3 The research setting and the recruitment process

This research was based in central Macedonia², more specifically in the cities of Thessaloniki and Veria. The participants in this research were individuals who were recruited in these two cities but did not necessarily reside there. Their permanent residences were scattered in the broader area of central Macedonia. I chose this location to recruit the participants due to the fact that ⁴⁰⁸ Thessaloniki is the second largest city in Greece after the capital, ^{and} hosts many non-governmental organisations and charities that provide help to refugees and asylum seekers. Many public services are located in Thessaloniki and due to the size of the city there are potential job opportunities, which makes it attractive for many migrants, ²⁶¹ refugees and asylum seekers. Furthermore, many refugee camps are located in central Macedonia. Refugees and asylum seekers used to move towards the northern parts of Greece in order to cross the borders and used Thessaloniki as a transit city before they travelled to other European countries. However, after some Balkan countries adjacent to Greece closed their borders ⁵⁰⁹ to control migrant and refugee movement (Kingsley, 2016) in the second half of 2015, thousands of Middle-Eastern migrants and refugees were trapped in Northern Greece, unable to reach their destination and they were placed in refugee accommodation centres and camps in the area. Many refugees and asylum seekers who live in these refugee centres and camps are traveling towards the city of Thessaloniki in order to have access to public and NGO services.

At this point, I believe it to be necessary to mention my connection to the two cities. Veroia is the city that I was born and brought up in, and Thessaloniki is a nearby city that I have regularly been visiting ⁶³ and staying for short periods of time. Being familiar with the area proved to be an advantage for my research, as I was familiar with the layout of the two cities.

² Macedonia is the largest geographical department located in northern part of Greece and it constitutes the largest part of the country's northern border with the Balkan countries.

I knew where to find various locations, such as non-governmental organisation premises, refugee host centres, public services (eg. the Ministry of Migration) and also, which areas to avoid. As may be expected, there might be relatively dangerous areas in big cities, especially for non-locals.

After a couple of months of numerous contacts, an international NGO in the city of Thessaloniki showed an interest into my research and agreed to let me approach and interview individuals at their premises. Their premises were located in the city centre and it was a place where migrants and refugees of various cultures gathered daily to use a variety of services. The international NGO's management set certain terms that I had to follow ⁴¹⁵ during the data collection in order to ensure the safety and anonymity of the participants which are analytically addressed in section 4.8 where I display the limitations and problems I faced during this research. One of the terms set by the NGO management that I would like to mention here was the protection of the NGO's anonymity. I was instructed to avoid any connection or mention of their name and the services they offered in my research because they wanted to maintain their neutrality as a humanitarian organization. For this reason and out of deep respect and appreciation towards their essential work, I refer to them simply as "NGO" throughout this chapter.

4.3.1 The contribution of the international non-governmental organization

I spent more than two months at the NGO centre where I could recruit participants and collect the data. After the introductory discussions, it became apparent to me that both the management and staff of the NGO were showing a sincere interest in my research, because of its focus on social phenomena (such as racism and hate crime) that unfortunately were parts of refugees' everyday lives. They were very helpful and supportive from the start, which helped

significantly in the conduct of the research, both on a practical and a psychological level. As a starting point I was given access to their facilities during opening hours (Monday to Friday, from nine am to five pm) and I was provided with a badge that gave me access to the building and at the same time stated my role as a visitor. In addition, I was provided with a desk to work from, in a relatively quiet space on the first floor of the building. During the recruitment period I had the chance to meet and socialize with most of the staff which proved to be very important for my research. Even though ⁶⁵⁰ I was not able to collect any data from the staff, as it was not part of my research and it would have risen ethical issues, I found our interactions very helpful. The service receivers that were normally spending hours waiting for various services in the NGO centre and sometimes they were visiting the NGO multiple times a week, as a result they were very familiar with the staff. Observing their interactions with the staff, I realized that they seemed to appreciate and respect the staff for their services. I believe that socializing with the staff, which was a very common thing to do, especially the first introductory week I spent there, had probably influenced the service receivers into creating a certain image of me. My association with a group of people that the potential participants trusted and respected, might have influenced them into considering me an ally and someone who they could trust as well. They were getting used to seeing me wander into the premise and interact with individuals, which might have helped them get familiar with my presence there. This imperceptible and indefinite sense of trust and familiarity towards me, I believe was crucial as it facilitated the recruitment process that followed.

4.3.2 The recruitment of vulnerable groups

Even though I was familiar with the area, I was a native speaker, and I had a plan regarding the conduct of the research, the recruitment of the participants was a complicated and time-consuming process due to various reasons, such as procedural problems like traveling

and accommodation, obtaining access from gate keepers and considering potential ethical issues. One of the most important issues that I faced was approaching and recruiting vulnerable individuals, such as refugees and asylum seekers. The participants were mostly individuals who were forced to leave their countries of origin in order to escape war, conflict or prosecution, therefore, the recruitment of those individuals needed delicate handling.

I had already spent hours filling applications and thinking of potential ethical issues and as a result I received an ethics approval from the university. However, during my first week at the NGO centre, where I start interacting with potential participants, I realised that my responsibility to ensure the safety and wellbeing of myself and the participants was not as simple as I thought. My previous experience in the field made me aware of the procedures I had to follow but had not given me the skills I needed to deal with vulnerability. It was the everyday issues that a researcher has to deal with that were not part of any ethics application. I decided to spend the first few days just observing the individuals and making minimum contacts in order to see what I was dealing with. I soon realised that some individuals were keeping a distance, some seemed to be alert and even suspicious about my presence there, however, there were many who approached me first, and showed interest in me and my project. I start chatting with potential participants, having broad conversations with them, explaining the reason I was there, and showing interest in their stories. Most of the individuals visiting the NGO centre were accompanied by friends and family. Usually when I started chatting with an individual, two or three people would gather around trying to listen and sometimes even participate in the conversation. These short chats gave me the opportunity to establish rapport with potential participants and to recognise whether I could recruit them or not. I adopted this technique for the whole recruitment process because it gave me the opportunity to get information regarding individuals' age, social status (migrant, refugee, asylum seeker) and their use of language (whether their use of the English language was at a level that would allow

them to participate in the research). In addition, I was trying to work out whether they had any other form of vulnerability, such as learning difficulties or mental illness that would exclude them from the recruitment process.

There were many instances in which I was approached by individuals who asked for my help during our chats at the recruitment stage. This was a crucial point in dealing with participants' vulnerability, as I believe these individuals were agreeing to participate in exchange for my help. They were asking me questions regarding the legislation on housing, benefits, or even asking me to help them book appointments for asylum services. These individuals were probably assuming that I was working for the NGO. These kinds of misunderstandings were common, which meant that I had to be very careful during my interactions with potential participants. I could have easily misguided or taken advantage of individuals unwittingly, by not paying the appropriate attention. In order to avoid this kind of misunderstandings, dissociating myself from the NGO was the first thing to say when opening a conversation with potential participants.

4.3.3 My relationship with the participants

The role and attitude of the researcher, and the relationship she builds with her participants are very important factors that could influence the course of the research significantly. During the recruitment and data collection processes I had to interact with individuals and make ethical decisions that could potentially have an impact on the wellbeing of the participants and the outcome of the research.

My role as a researcher and the relationships I developed with the participants followed the nature of the research. Since this is post-modern research, aiming at the co-production of knowledge, I took into consideration the potential power differences between me and the

participants. I understood that I might be seen by the participants as a dominant/powerful figure which would create an imbalance in our relationship. I tried to reduce any power differences, by establishing rapport in order to approximate a relationship of equality, and at the same time I tried to keep the necessary distance that would allow for professional judgement.

Another issue that should be mentioned, is the appearance and status of the researcher, which can be an important element in the process of establishing good relationships with the participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.66). The social and power relations between the researcher and the participants are complicated, especially when a privileged researcher - due to their class, gender, race or ethnicity- conducts ethnographic research on a disadvantaged and marginalised group of people (McSweeney, 2019, p.124) such as refugees, asylum seekers and migrants. Characteristics such as facial characteristics and skin colour could indicate the researcher as a stranger or an outsider, someone who does not belong in the community, which could potentially have an impact on the communication between them and consequently on the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.76). The religion of the researcher (if visible through symbols or accessories) could also cause participants to avoid interaction with the researcher and consequently influence the outcome of the research as well. The participants might be afraid to socialise with someone from another religion as they could exploit their religion or beliefs. In order to avoid such problems, I tried to adapt my appearance to the standards of the individuals I was interacting with. During the data collection I tried to make sure that neither my attitude nor my appearance would signify superiority. I was aiming for neutrality from the way I spoke, to the clothes I chose to wear. I also tried to speak as plainly as possible in order to make sure that the participants understood me, as English was not their first language. Taking into consideration that the participants were refugees and asylum seekers who are generally going through social and economic difficulties, I tried to wear clothes that would not potentially signal any economic superiority. In addition, I tried to avoid any

distinguishing marks or symbols such as religious, political or social symbols that might be misinterpreted by the participants or influence our relationship in any way. Certainly, it would be almost impossible for one to bridge or eliminate the myriad differences between multiple parts. Nonetheless, I tried to create ⁴²⁸relationships of trust with the participants in order to overcome or balance the potential differences as much as possible and to make sure the participants would feel safe enough to open up to me despite any potentially unbridgeable differences.

Another significant part of my encounter with the participants was their vulnerability during our interactions and how I chose to cope with it. ⁵¹⁷The participants in this study were individuals who were asked to narrate their life experiences, some of which were of sensitive nature. The participants explained the reasons they left their countries, their migration journeys and some narrated how they became victims of hate, exploitation, political or religious suppression and more. Many of the participants went through an emotional frustration during their narrations. A few times I had to pause the interviews in order to comfort the upset participants. During those episodes I chose to let the participants release their emotions and express their frustration instead of trying to change the subject of discussion, as I believed this procedure could be cathartic. As Corbin and Morse (2003) suggest, the release of emotions can be therapeutic, it can help individuals heal and become empowered, as they feel that they are given a chance to speak and they are heard (2003, p.345,346).

4.4 Methodological and philosophical framework

In this section I will lay out the methodological framework I followed in this research and my selection of postmodern approach along with ethnography. I followed a post-modern

qualitative approach, which is frequently used in socio-legal research as it is suitable for exploring social phenomena such as hate crime.

Ethnography has been influenced by many disciplines and theoretical ideas such as philosophical pragmatism, structuralism, Marxism, symbolic interactionism, feminism, positivism, post-structuralism, post-modernism, phenomenology and more (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.2). This is reflected in the research used here, most prominently in its post-modern variant. Postmodernism is based on the idea that our view of the world is not objective but it is created by individuals through actions, interaction and conventions (Sousa, 2010, p.462). Post-modernism emerged in the 1970s and it was mostly influenced by the work of Derrida on the construction of language and communication, Foucault, on the construction of power and its use from the dominant groups, and Lyotard who established the term “postmodernism”, criticising the construction of universal truths applied to all humans during the modern era (Cannella, 1998, p.3,4). These scholars come from different disciplines, but they all have a common philosophical thesis: that there is no single understanding of the world, rather, it is constructed by individuals through interpretations (Hammersley, 1998, p.17). Postmodernism supports the idea that truth is not absolute but relative; an agreement and collective consensus between individuals, thus the search for absolute truth is utopic and pointless (Sousa, 2010, p.469). The universal truths present in the modern era suggesting that science could reveal norms that apply to everyone, are viewed by post-modernists as social constructs. These include notions such as that humans are always progressing, thus if some are not progressing, they deviate from the norm and are seen as inferior and were used to provide power to certain groups in society (Cannella, 1998,3-5).

⁶⁹⁵ The purpose of postmodern ⁶² research is the examination of social phenomena from the point of view of subordinate social groups who are usually ignored, silenced and oppressed by the dominant discourses (Fontana and McGinnis, 2003:216). According to Foucauldian

analysis, discourses are not just words creating networks, but practices that can construct/shape the objects they speak of (Gubrium and Holstein, 2000, p.494). A Foucauldian approach aims to reveal how individuals construct their world, taking into account the historical and cultural systems/discourses of power. As discussed in chapter three, Foucault (1980, p.142) perceives power present in every social relation. He suggests that no one can escape it power as it is “co-extensive with the social body”. In this view power is used by those who hold it for subordination of those who lack it. Thus resistance through conflict is usually used by the subordinate group as a means to escape the suppression (Mezey, 2001, p.147). The dominant/high power group has the capability to use (and abuse) the power it holds, including to the detriment of others (Hornsey et al, 2003, p.216). Discourses have the power to give meanings, construct perceptions, shape understandings and interactions. Social knowledge that is taken for granted has the power to put into practice what is known through discourses. For instance, the Western medicine and ‘voodoo’ practice are not viewed as equal methods for healing, as medical discourse is considerably more powerful and is accepted as the only viable method for healing in the western world (Gubrium and Holstein, 2000:495). The postmodern social sciences try to reveal the hidden powers in a society that influence the construction of the world. They try to explain who produces discourses that influence individuals’ world-shaping and why these discourses are accepted by individuals (Sousa, 2010, p.470).

630
In more recent approaches to socio-legal studies, the law is viewed as a social construct. For those exploring legal consciousness in particular, that is, the way individuals understand and react to the law, the construction comes from individual and social experiences (Fritsvold, 2009, p.810). Legal consciousness is an amalgamation of individuals’ perceptions of law, courts, law enforcement, authority bodies, and cultural practices recognised as legal. Individuals’ practices and interpretations construct, sustain and reproduce meanings around

law (Fritsvold, 2009, p.804). Ethnography is a methodology that can reveal how individuals construct their legal consciousness through observations of peoples' actions and behaviours.

113 4.5 Data collection

In this section I outline the methods I used for the collection of data and the reasons behind my decisions. The two methods used were Ethnography and Semi-structured interviews. These two methods were selected because I believe they were suitable strategies for research that aimed to analyse a social phenomenon from the view point of a specific social group, in this study refugee and asylum seeker population in Greece. Ethnographic observations were used for the collection of data through observations and interactions, which helped me capture the participants' interpretations of their world and consequently their views of the law. The semi-structured interviews were used for a more focused data collection, in which the participants were asked more specific questions in respect of hate crime and law in the host country.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

One of the methods I chose to use in this research for the collection of data was interviews. The interviews were based on a post-modern approach in which the researcher and the participants are collaborating. The researcher does not remain passive while trying to elicit information in order to minimise their influence, rather they interact with the participants. In post-modernity, interviews are considered social interactions and should be analysed as such, as both parties involved (researcher and participant) are contributing (Fontana and Frey, 2000, pp.663,664). The researcher and the participants are interpreting facts and constructing a common reality. The participants do not provide an objective knowledge from their own

experiences which the interviewer will elicit through the interview. As members of society, the participants constantly construct reality, thus their responses are constructs, meanings made by them (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.3). The relation of the researcher and the participants is based on a give and take interaction. I tried to find out the reasoning behind the participants' responses and the participants used their reasoning to respond in the appropriate way. The participants' responses can influence the way the researcher asks questions and the content of these questions (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.8). Dingwall (1997, p.9) explains that participants' responses are influenced by the researcher and the topic of the research. Even in more flexible, friendly and/or unstructured interviews in which the participants are able to elaborate on their views on a topic, the researcher is setting the guidelines of the conversation that lead the participants' responses. The responses are based on the participants' representations of themselves, and the prompts or clues given by the researcher (Dingwall, 1997, p.9). In this post-modern approach towards interviewing there are not distinct boundaries between the researcher and the respondents as are both actively involved in the meaning-making process (Fontana, 2003, p.3). The focus is placed upon the '*biographical, contextual, historical, and institutional elements*' that are followed by both the researcher and the participants (Fontana, 2003, p.8). Interviews are viewed as meaning-making processes from the selection of research topic to the interpretation of data (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.7).

The method of semi-structured interviews was selected, so I would be able to guide the interview and also allow the participants to narrate their views and experiences. This type of interviewing allowed me to conduct the research in a more structured way which helped me collect more focused data. Semi-structured interviews can elicit information that cannot be extracted via structured and unstructured interviews. The interviewees are able to respond to the questions asked the way they want, without a time limit, and elaborate in points they believe to be important (McIntosh and Morse, 2015, pp.1, 2; Gill et al., 2008, p.291). The researcher

follows an interview schedule and asks specific questions in a specific order; however, the questions are open-ended and the researcher cannot expect specific answers (Whitehead, 2005, p.17). Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to collect information of participant experiences and also collect demographic information (Brewer, 2000:63).

The information I wanted to extract from the participants and the subjects I wanted them to elaborate on varied, thus I divided the interview questions into four sections. The first section included questions regarding their age, nationality, reason for migration and migrant status, in order to establish the participants' background and slowly admit the participants into the interview. In this part the demographic information helped me determine the composition of the target population and also identify representative samples within this population. The second section included questions regarding their views on hate crime. These questions aimed to clarify whether the participants were aware of hate crime and what their views about it were. In the third section of the interview schedule the participants were asked about previous experiences or potential future experiences regarding hate crime. These questions aimed to clarify how the migrants had dealt in the past or would deal in the future with hate crime as victims. The fourth section included questions regarding hate crime in the participants' country of origin. These questions helped me understand the participants' views of and reaction to law in their countries of origin. The last part of the interview was focused on migrants' culture, which revealed cultural differences between the host and the countries of origin that could influence the migrants' views on hate crime. The interview schedule can be found in Appendix A.

4.5.2 Ethnography

Ethnography was the second research method I used because it focuses on the behaviour of people and how they construct meanings of their lives in a specific geographic area

(Lecompte and Schensul, 2010, p.1). In ethnography, the researcher is firstly trying to discover people's behaviours and actions, and then the reasons they give for doing them in order to interpret these actions. This methodological approach focuses on the researcher's recording and interpretation of peoples' values, beliefs, perceptions, emotions, communications (verbal and non-verbal), interactions with other groups/communities, conflicts, structures of power and more, in their daily lives over a period of time (Lecompte and Schensul, 2010, p.5). The recording of peoples' actions and behaviours are usually achieved through observations, interviews, and collections of documents.

Ethnography has some distinct characteristics: firstly, participants' behaviours are studied in everyday context, in natural conditions that are not created by the researcher (Hammersley, 1998, p.2; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3). The migrants were observed in the NGO premises... The collection of data is not structured, and the researcher is able to reshape the research design in the process. Secondly, the themes and categories that emerge from the data collected are not assigned during the collection, but during the analysis (Hammersley, 1998, p.2; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3). Finally, during the analysis, the researcher is interpreting the meanings, functions and consequences of human actions and how these are embedded in society (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3).

Ethnography has been used as a method in cultural and socio-legal studies, and in this research was used for the exploration of the legal consciousness of refugees and asylum seekers. Ethnography has a long history in the study of human social life (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 2). According to Noaks and Wincup (2004:98), it is used for "the investigation of cultures of small, relatively homogenous, naturally or artificially bounded groups". This research focused on populations of refugees and asylum seekers located in Greece. The migrants included in this research were individuals and groups of people who lived

together in a specific geographical area, such as refugee camps or in small refugee communities spread throughout the area of central Macedonia. As mentioned in the previous chapter, migrants tend to bring their cultural practices, historical memories, political leaderships (Marshall, 2006, p.230) and legal norms to the host country (Barbero, 2013, p.363). These cultural norms constitute the legal consciousness of migrants, which influence their ideas, attitudes and expectations about law. There are several examples of studies exploring legal consciousness and culture of migrant populations using ethnography: Flores, Escudero and Burciaga (2019) in their research on legal-spatial consciousness adopted an ethnographic methodology in order to explore migrants' reactions to law and how they perceive and understand illegality (2019, p.15); Flores, Escudero and Burciaga's work combines and compares the work of three ethnographers exploring peoples' legal consciousness from a sociological and anthropological perspective. Abrego (2011) examined the legal consciousness of Latino undocumented migrants in the USA using ethnographic observation and in-depth interviews. Tungohan (2017) worked on legal consciousness of migrant workers in Alberta, Canada. Tungohan used critical ethnography to explore the experiences of migrant workers' legal status.

4.5.2.1 Observations and field notes

Observations are a very important aspect of ethnography; examples of this can be found in behavioural studies (Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000, p.673) and cultural anthropology (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011, p.2). The researcher is observing a group of people in order to explore their culture and aspects of their lives. The researcher is trying to explore a culture from what individuals understand about themselves and also from the implicit or hidden information that the individuals communicate unknowingly (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011, pp.1, 2). The researcher observes the participants in their social environment and tries to obtain information by participating in the participants' lives. Apart from observing, the researcher

initiates⁵⁵⁰ conversations with the participants in order to understand their interpretations of the social world through their behaviours and activities (Brewer, 2000, p.59). The researcher can observe the participants either as a distant observer or through interactions. The researcher is also called to decide their observation strategy, as⁵⁶⁸ either an insider or an outsider. In this research, I followed a balance-strategy, in which I was neither an 'outsider' nor an 'insider'. I believed that being an 'insider', I would be immersed in participants' culture which might cloud my critical thinking as I would have become a regular member of the community (Brewer, 2000, p.60). The 'outsider' role would mean that I had to keep a distance from the participants, and the extraction of information would have become very difficult as the participants would not be familiar with my role or my intentions. In addition, I might have been suspected of belonging to a group that is not welcome or likable⁵²² by the participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:63). In order to avoid these potential problems, I introduced myself to the participants as a visitor and an observer who was conducting social research. The participants were always aware of my presence and my role in their community. I was also wearing a badge that stated that I was a visitor in the NGO which helped me avoid misleading the potential participants into considering me a member of staff.

⁵⁴ A very important aspect of field work is the³⁰⁷ rapport between the researcher and the researched. The researcher is called to shape and control this relationship. The role of the visitor can help the researcher approach and build rapport with the participants. In order for the¹⁹ participant to trust the researcher and participate in the research, the researcher must be accepted by the community, get familiar¹⁹ with the values and practices of the community by spending extensive time in the setting (Brewer, 2000, p.61). In order to accomplish that, I spent two months in the participants' community. I was visiting the community on a daily basis, spending six to seven hours with the participants, either observing or interacting with them.

The data that were gathered during the observations were in the form of field notes, which is a very important part of ethnography. I was taking detailed notes of the conversations and interaction I had with the participants. However, those notes did not represent reality. The field notes are usually interpretations of the events that occurred in the field as they are filtered by the researcher's own perceptions (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009, p.35). The researcher can potentially sympathise with the participants to a degree in which she might project her own feelings or values to the research subjects. In order to avoid this, I tried to keep notes in the form of audio recordings, however it was sometimes challenging for me to audio record spontaneous and unstructured conversations. Thus, the written notes that were usually taken in the field included as much details as possible and the participants' own words. The use of participants' quotes can help the researcher gather data that are not altered or filtered by the researcher (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009, pp.35, 36). The filtration of the participants' narrations would add a layer of interpretation prior to data analysis which probably would have distorted the outcome of the research. Therefore, I chose to distinguish the notes that captured the behaviours and actions of participants from my own reflections. Any personal thoughts were written separately.

During field work it is important for the researcher to take notes at the time the events occur or closely after, as it would be very difficult for the researcher to recall events in detail later (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001, p.353; Brewer, 2000, p.87). Consequently, the field notes I took during data collection were mostly written right after each interaction I had with the participants. I started by keeping notes on field diaries during my interactions with the participants until I realised that the image of a researcher writing down every single word her interviewees said seemed a bit authoritative and it was causing some communication issues. I did not realise that until one of the participants asked to see my diary while I was taking notes. The participant seemed to be intrigued by my notes and at the same time a bit worried even

though he tried not to communicate it. After I explained to him the purpose of the diary, I closed it and continued writing my notes after our interaction. I realised that I had to find other ways to take notes during my interaction with the participants and I started taking notes using my phone which seemed less authoritative and intrusive. The participants seemed to be very familiar with smart phones which they used frequently and sometimes even during our interaction in order to answer a call, reply to a text or translate a word in English. The participants seemed to find it normal when they saw me fiddle on my phone between interviews and conversations. This strategy helped me save time and make sure my notes were as accurate as possible without causing any uncertainty or bewilderment to the participants.

Another important part of ethnography and a challenge for me was the ability to elicit relevant information from the participants. My observations were limited to verbal interaction with the participants in the form of informal and unstructured chats. I was not able to observe them during their interaction with other refugees or with NGO staff, such as interpreters, as most of the times they were communicating in their own languages. My only chance to make a meaningful observation was the short periods of time in which I was chatting with them. These face-to-face conversations were usually unstructured and often were drifting towards areas that were irrelevant to my research area. In order to extract as much information as possible I had to find ways to redirect the conversations towards the desirable subject. I usually started the conversations by asking a very abstract question around the research topic in order to set the theme of the conversation, however the topic usually changed after a few minutes. The most common technique I used to refocus our chats was prompt words and phrases. The prompt words and small phrases helped me guide the participants into talking about a more relevant subject without interfering much or interrupting their stream of thoughts.

4.6 Data Analysis using thematic analysis

The data I obtained, as mentioned in the preview sections, included interviews, field notes, comments and nonverbal connotations. I chose thematic analysis for the interpretation of these different forms of data. Thematic analysis was chosen because it is a process that could help the researcher analyse the data both as numerical and qualitative descriptions (Joffe and Yardley, 2004, p.56). In addition, it could facilitate the analysis of data on two different levels. It can be used in the analysis of the obvious or explicit information that derive straight from the data, and also the hidden information that derive from the researcher's interpretations of the data (Boyatzis, 1998, p.16).

4.6.1 Transcription

The data from the semi-structured interviews were transcribed in digital form. The transcriptions did not follow a specific style such as a clean transcript based purely on content (Elliot, 2005, pp.52, 53) or a conversation analysis (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.192) focused on the language used from the participants, rather it followed a combination of the two styles. The transcriptions showed both 'what' was said by the participants and 'how' it was said. I tried to transcribe any participant connotations that could help me do a deeper analysis. For instance, I included hand gestures, facial expressions, pauses and any communication that was expressed non-verbally. The transcriptions included a description of the interaction context such as date, time, place and individuals involved, and the words spoken in the recordings. The spoken words included both the words of the participants and the researcher. Any questions and prompts used by me in the form of spoken words or sounds were also included, as my slightest involvement could potentially influence the participants' answers. The words of the participants were transcribed the way they are spoken, the syntax and orthography were not

corrected as any corrections of the language used by the participants might influence the research analysis. Corrections would not allow the researcher to demonstrate how the data were narrated (ten Have, 2007, p.98). Any sounds such as laughter or crying and any pauses or stresses were also included in the transcription in the form of notes. The transcription of the interviews was a very useful process as I got familiar with the data and I start recognising potential themes deriving from the narrations.

The notes that were taken during or right after the field-work were, as what Atkinson (1992, p. 16, 22) describes as inscriptions and transcriptions. The inscriptions included descriptions of the interaction and the events that occurred in the field, and the transcriptions included representations of conversations and the participants' own words. The field notes were not transcribed in a digital form, rather I decided to analyse the field notes separately from the interviews because they formed a very different kind of data. Apart from the participants' narrations, the field notes also included my personal reflections, notes that had the form of small comments and sometimes even a single word. The transcription process gave me the opportunity to familiarise myself with the data and also do the first assessments regarding the quality of the data.

4.6.2 Coding and theme development

The data gathered from the interviews were analysed mostly with the help of the NVivo computer software while the field notes were analysed manually. NVivo is a software that has the ability to store and provide tools with which the researcher can organise data through coding and categorisation (Davidson, 2018, pp.1166, 1167). After the stage of transcribing, the data were uploaded on NVivo and they were coded into numerous codes. The codes were classified/named, and then they were matched and compared with each other. The codes were rearranged

and organised into categories according to the information they provided. In some cases, codes which included similar information were merged together. Later, the codes were reviewed and repositioned in order to form clusters of the same theme.

I did the first phase of analysis with the help of NVivo, however, the development of the final themes was done manually. The NVivo software was very helpful for finding patterns according to the times a word or phrase appears in the text but it is not an appropriate analysis tool for interpretive research (Mauthner and Doucet 2003, p.415)

I followed a similar procedure of analysis for the field notes. The field notes were a very different set of data as they included less focused information. I chose to code and categorise the field notes manually, using the codes I had already created from the interviews as the initial guide. More codes and categories were created from the analysis of the field notes. The two sets of codes (codes from interviews and field notes) were later combined and analysed together. From this process different themes and sub-themes emerged that helped in the interpretation of the data and the production of new meanings.

4.7 Ethics and informed consent

Ethical considerations are very important in research with human participants and therefore measures were taken in order to avoid any harm to the participants or myself. Following the university's policy, an ethics checklist was submitted to Canterbury Christ Church's ethics review panel and ethical approval was obtained. I created an information sheet and consent forms, which I provided to the participants before the interviews and observations. The information sheet included information regarding the research and the procedure the participants had to follow. The information sheet had a detailed description of the research topic, the process which the participant had to follow, the procedure of the overall research and

its purpose. It also displayed information regarding data protection, assuring the participants that the information they would provide would be confidential and only accessed by the researcher. The participants' withdrawal options during the research were also stated. Finally, it provided information regarding the researcher such as personal information and conduct details. The consent forms were signed by both the researcher and the participants with one copy given to each. They included the terms required to be agreed by the participants and confirmed their participation in the research. The information sheet can be found in Appendix B and the consent form can be found in Appendix C.

All the participants were adults, who spoke the English language and were able to provide written consent for their participation in the research. Individuals whose use of English language was not on a level that would allow them to communicate with me, or understand the purpose and/or the process of the research were not included. The majority of the participants were vulnerable individuals due to their status (which included documented migrants, refugees and asylum seekers). Some of those participants were victims of hate crime, however any individuals with vulnerabilities, such as learning difficulties, that would prevent them from providing a consent for themselves were not included in the research.

The interviews with the participants were recorded in an audio form with a voice recorder. The recordings were transferred onto a password-protected external memory at the end of each day. The interviews were deleted from the recorder immediately after the transfer to avoid any confidentiality issues in case the recorder was lost or stolen. The field notes that were taken during the observations were written in either field diaries or as notes on a password protected device. I made sure that the notes did not include any personal information that could reveal the identity of the participants in case they were stolen. The field notes were stored in a locked, safe location. After the end of the data collection in Greece, the interview recordings and notes were kept in password protected computers on the university's premises, according

⁶ to the Research and Data Protection Act 1998 (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2018). I was the only person who had access to the participants' personal information and in case any data processes were made outside the university premises, personal information was removed for confidentiality reasons. ⁵⁰³ At the end of the project the participants' personal information will be removed from the data and the data will be kept for five years, according to the university's policies.

¹ Due to the nature of the research, I anticipated that participants may disclose criminal acts during our interactions. In order to ensure their safety and wellbeing I informed the participants both verbally and in written form - through the participant's information sheet - that I intended to report criminal acts to the authorities in cases where it was apparent that participants were in danger. Criminal acts, like hate crime/speech, domestic violence or any other type of crime that directly harmed the participants physically or psychologically and put their lives in danger at the time would have been reported. However, I did not intend to report any participants' criminal activities disclosed during our interactions, as I was aiming for the protection of the participants and not their criminalisation. That way the participants were able to speak freely and narrate any experiences without any fear that they would be criminalised for it.

4.8 Limitations and problems

Potential limitations and problems are always expected in scientific research. The researcher should be able to recognise and mitigate them, whenever possible. The first problem that emerged was my difficulty in gaining access to refugee camps by gatekeepers. I initially contacted the Greek Ministry of Migration, numerous non-governmental organisations which ⁴⁵⁴ provided help to refugees and asylum seekers, and the local patriarchates who also provided

help to migrants and refugees in the area. Unfortunately, my request to enter refugee camps and host centres to conduct academic research was denied by the government and some local authorities due to concerns regarding participants' vulnerability.

One of the problems that rose in the current research was my communication with the participants. In order to avoid communication problems, I recruited only individuals who spoke the host country's language (Greek) or the English language which is considered international, and the participants are more likely to speak it as a second language. The refugees and asylum seekers were not familiar with the Greek language; thus, our interactions were in the English language. I made sure that the participants' knowledge of the English language was at a level that would allow in-depth communication during interactions and interviews. I also provided information sheets and consent forms in both languages according to the participants' preference.

In addition, language caused a few problems during observations. I was not able to observe the interactions between participants who spoke their own language. I was only able to observe the interactions the participants had with individuals from the NGO and myself as they usually spoke English during these interactions. The idea of the recruitment of an interpreter was rejected due to the influence a third person could have on the outcome of the research. One of the methods that I used in this research was ethnography, which is based on interpretation. The participants interpret their world in a certain way and the researcher is trying to capture these interpretations and represent them through her own interpretations, to explore the reasons, the participants view the world a certain way. An interpreter, whose job is to interpret the words of others in a different language, would probably have added another layer of interpretation between the participants and myself. The interpreter could, for instance, have used a specific word to describe something said by the participant, that the participant

themselves might not have used if they spoke the language. In order to avoid misinterpretations, interpreters were not used in this research.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I aimed to set the context of this research by positioning the research setting and the participants for the reader. I explained the significant role reflexivity played in this thesis. I showed how my position and behaviour, the location the data collection took place, and my interaction with the participants could potentially influence this research. During the interviews and observations I had to consider the language I used, the questions I asked and the answers I gave in order to ensure the wellbeing of the participants and conduct an ethical research. Reflexivity was employed as a methodological tool that accompanied me through the recruitment process, the data collection and analysis. Self-reflection helped me recognise certain limitations during the field-work, that I had to avoid by readjusting parts of the research.

I then presented the research setting and the contribution of the international NGO that hosted me during the recruitment and data collection processes. I displayed the challenges of recruiting and building rapport with vulnerable individuals such as refugees and asylum seekers. During this process I had to take into consideration the participants' needs, potential traumas and emotional state.

After that I outlined the key methodological and theoretical approaches that I employed. I discussed the rationale behind employing a post-modern epistemology and a combination of qualitative methods (ethnography and interviews) for the data collection. I presented the philosophical framework of this research and the use of ethnography in a post-modern research

that aims reveal how individuals construct their reality (in this case their legal consciousness) taking into consideration cultural systems of power.

Then I displayed the ethical consideration and the process I had to follow according to the university's standards and the current legislation of data protection.

Finally, I displayed the limitations that rose during various stages of this research including the difficulties of being granted access by migrant gatekeepers and communication difficulties with the participants.

After presenting the methods and methodology followed in ¹ this research, in the next chapter I present the research findings.

Chapter Five: Findings

5.1 Introduction

After presenting the methodology used for collecting and analysing the data, in this chapter, I present the findings of this research. I begin this chapter with a section devoted to the migrants, which contains demographic information. I continue with the findings of this research, according to the themes that developed from the thematic analysis. The themes reflect the migrants' understandings and attitudes towards the law, hate crime, and legal authorities in Greece and their countries of origin. The themes also reveal aspects of migrants' lives in Greece, including their exposure to racism and intolerance, their cultural practices, and their socio-economic status.

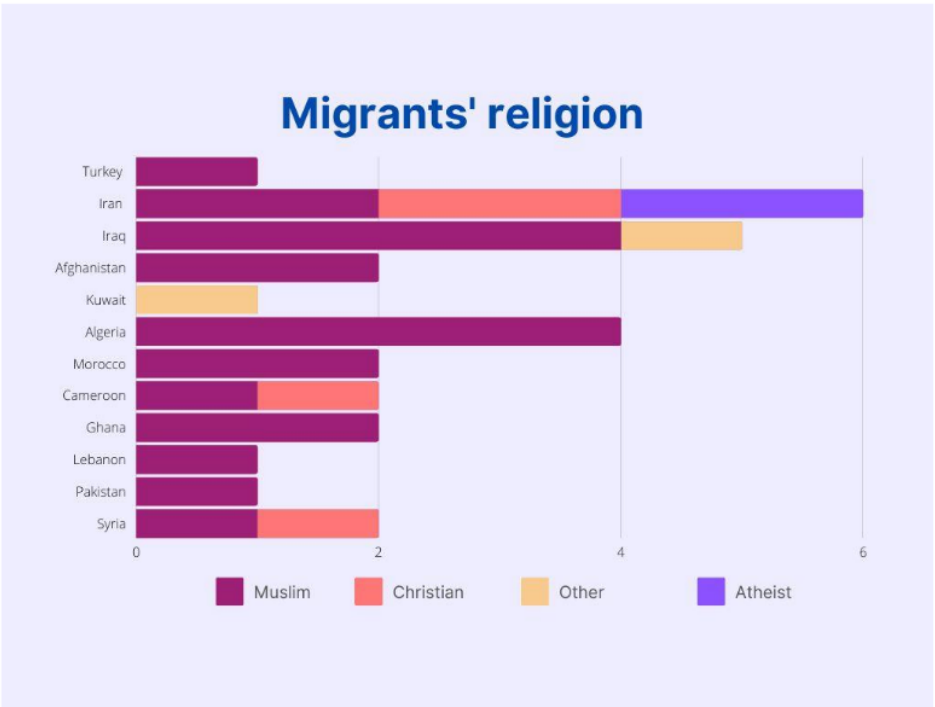
5.2 The migrants

During the data collection, I recruited thirty-three migrants who had spent less than five years in Greece. The migrants were both male (18 participants) and female (15 participants), their ages varied between eighteen and forty years of age, and their religion was mainly Muslim (20 out of 33 migrants). The migrants' countries of origin were Middle-Eastern (Syria, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kuwait) and African (Algeria, Morocco, Ghana, Cameroon, Somalia), which are principally Muslim-majority countries.

The migrants had immigrated to Greece mainly due to religious reasons, political reasons, and/or war or conflict in their countries of origin. There were thirteen individuals who had immigrated to Greece due to war or conflict in their countries of origin. They claimed they fled to their countries to escape the disastrous consequences of war or because their governments forced them to join the armed forces and actively participate in war or conflict. Six individuals immigrated due to a lack of religious rights in their countries of origin, eight

immigrated due to political reasons, including lack of political rights and six immigrated for other reasons including family reunification, and better quality of life.

Table 1. Migrants’ countries of origin and religion.



Keeping in mind that the migrants had emigrated from various countries outside the European Union, I created an interview schedule that could facilitate the interview process for individuals who might not be familiar with specific legal concepts and the terminology used in the EU countries. To make sure the migrants understood my questions and the research purpose and avoid misunderstandings, I provided a definition and sometimes examples of hate crime and hate speech to those unfamiliar with the term.

I interviewed and observed the migrants on the NGO premises where they visited to receive help. In some cases, I had the opportunity to interact with individuals on multiple occasions because they visited the NGO centre multiple times during my data collection period. From the thirty-three individuals I recruited I observed eight migrants, and I both interviewed and observed twenty-five migrants.

During the data collection, migrants lived in refugee camps, host centres, or privately rented properties. The host centres were usually government-funded hotels that hosted refugees and asylum seekers to decongest the overcrowding refugee camps. Those who rented properties did so with the help of the government and the EU funds available for the accommodation of migrants.

5.3 Migrants' reactions to hate crime

In this section I display the migrants' knowledge of hate crime as a social phenomenon and a crime. I lay out the migrants reactions towards it in Greece and in their countries of origin. I display whether they chose to report the incidents to the authorities and the factors that appear behind their decisions.

5.3.1 Hate crime in Greece

Most migrants were not familiar with the term 'hate crime'. Only four individuals were familiar with the term and knew it was a criminal offence. The rest of the migrants (29 out of 33) were unaware of hate crime, and some claimed they had never heard of the term before our discussion.

Fifteen migrants confessed they had been victims of hate incidents in Greece. One migrant [P12] claimed he was attacked physically and verbally, one migrant [P4] claimed property damage. Another two migrants [P27, P28] claimed to be attacked physically, and

eleven migrants [P1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 20, 21, 24, 32, 36] claimed to be attacked verbally. However, some of the verbal attacks the migrants described could be considered hate incidents but not necessarily hate crimes. As these hate attacks were not officially recorded as hate crimes by any authority, to avoid any misunderstandings, I refer to all of them as hate incidents rather than hate crimes.

The migrants were attacked due to their migrant status, religion, race, ethnic origin, and sexual orientation.

One of the hate incident victims shared his story,

‘Last night some people went to the abandoned building I live and they burned my stuff - sleeping bag, a blanket and some clothes... People hate us, not me personally, but migrants. ⁵⁶⁴ This is a hate crime. They are mean, it’s not right.’ [P4]

Another one described a hate incident that involved verbal violence due to his sexual orientation,

²⁹⁴ ‘At the hospital AHEPA³. I go there because I have HIV. When I go there with my boyfriend, I take his hand, I don’t kiss, just hold hands. Someone stop car and talk very very bad word and come fight with us.’ [P26]

Another victim shared his story of a physical hate attack due to his religion,

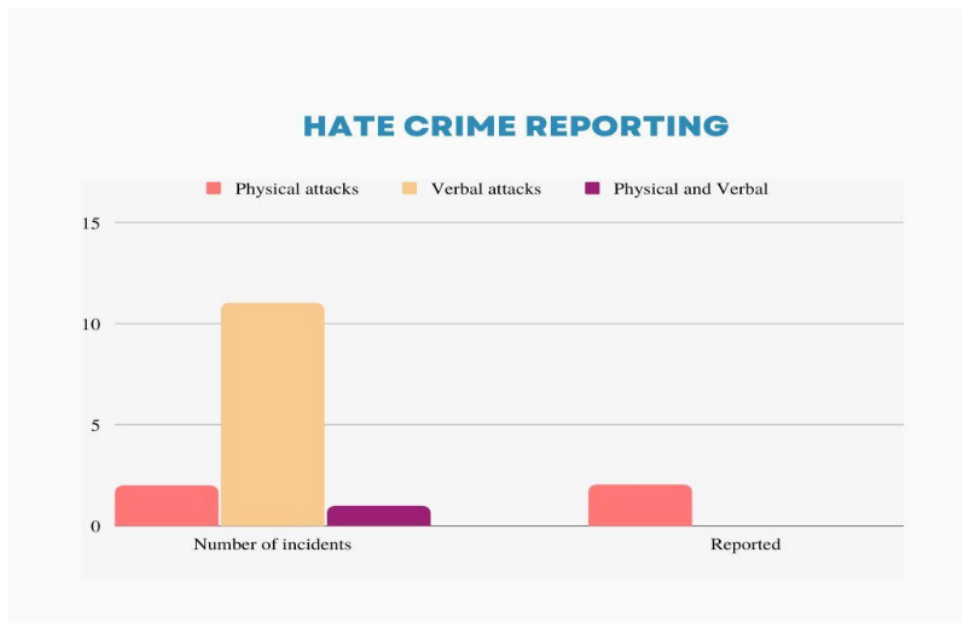
‘One Greek boy attack me and my wife. He attack me, and after he spoke with the police, he say I use a knife... Because the boy Muslim-man, and we are Christian.’ [P27]

³ AHEPA is the University General Hospital of Thessaloniki, Greece.

5.3.1.1 Reporting Hate in Greece

It is evident from the data that most of the ⁵ victims of hate incidents did not report them to the police or any other service or authority. Only two out of the fifteen victims of hate incidents reported the incidents to the police. Both victims [P27, P28] were attacked physically by the same person. The two victims mobilised the law by going to court, where they won their case with the help of a police officer witness.

Table 2. Victims' hate crime reporting



5.3.1.2 Not reporting Hate Crime

The rest of the victims did not report hate incidents to any authority for reasons which included ¹ lack of trust and confidence in the police, and the seriousness of the crime. Two of the victims [P4, 26] ¹³⁹ who did not report the incidents shared that they did not trust the police. They viewed the police as corrupt and were afraid of the police brutality they experienced in Greece and their countries of origin. One victim [P6] believed the police would ignore him because of his migrant status. The migrant believed that his case would not be taken seriously

because he was not a native. One victim [P10] believed the police would not be able to catch the offender because of the nature of the crime. The migrant believed that hate incidents, especially hate speech were very difficult to prove and stop. She believed that the police would not be able to find the offender and even if they did it would be difficult to prevent the offender from re-offending. The migrant did not perceive hate speech as a punishable criminal offence. Another one [P12] claimed that he faced police brutality by the border police in Greece when he tried to enter the country. He did not report the incident because he believed that the police would not take him seriously and pursue their colleagues.

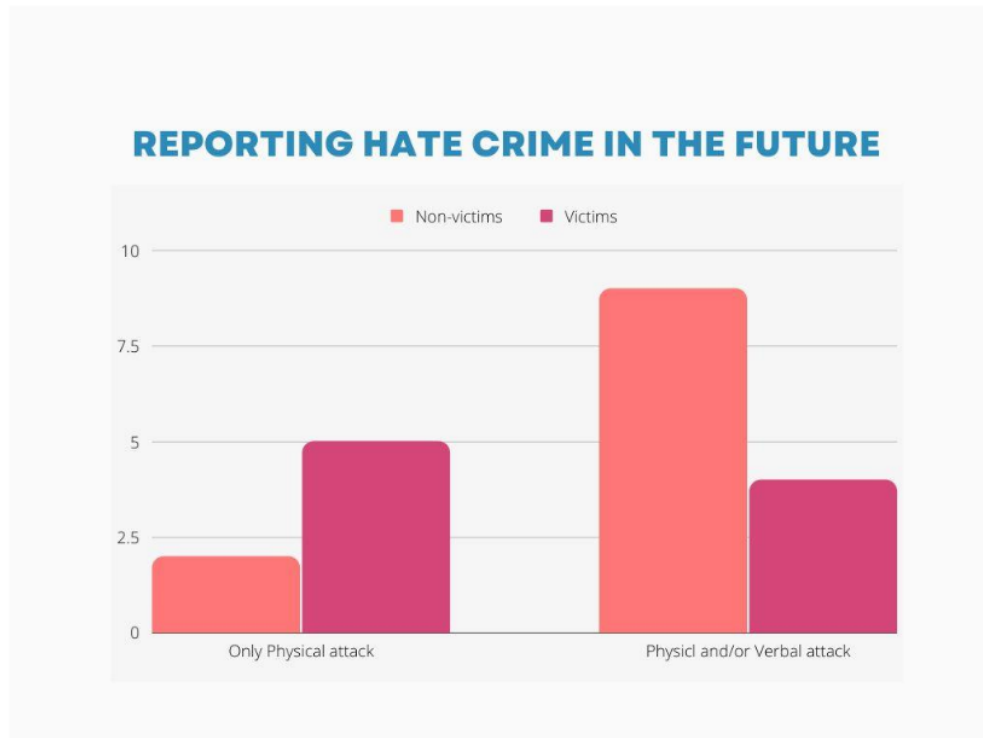
Ten victims [P1, P5, P7, P10, P12, P20, P21, P24, P32, P36] did not report hate speech incidents because they believed verbal attacks were not serious incidents. Six of those victims claimed that they would not report verbal attacks in the future for the same reason.

One of the hate speech victims said,

It is not a problem for me. They are small incidents. ³⁰⁷ I try not to think about it, I try to forget it. [P1]

Interestingly, most non-victims (11 migrants) stated that they would report incidents of physical attacks or a combination of physical and verbal attacks in the future. However, two non-victims [P11, P18] were not willing to report verbal attacks as they did not consider them serious. Unfortunately, only 12 out of 18 non-victims answered this question.

Table 3. Reporting hate crimes in the future



Most victims were more willing to report physical attacks in the future, the non-victims were willing to report both physical and verbal attacks.

5.3.2 Hate crime in the countries of origin

Most migrants claimed they had never ¹⁹² been victims of hate crimes in their country of origin. However, nine Middle-Eastern migrants claimed they were victimised by the authorities or members of the public. All nine migrants were attacked both physically and verbally. The reasons they were attacked included their religion, political beliefs, ethnic origin, and sexual orientation.

One migrant from Iran explained that he was attacked because of his ethnic origin,

‘...There was war and no jobs, and many things like that, because when the war started, everything stopped, life stopped. Over that, they hit us, hurting

us and did many things for us, and because we are Kurdish, we couldn't live in Syria to be safe...'. [P11]

Another one from Syria said,

'...yes because I'm Kurdish... They were mean to me saying "Kurdish guy" and some they were fighting with me and they were saying "I'm Syrian, this is my land not yours". [P29]

5.3.2.1 Reporting hate in the countries of origin

None of the victims of hate incidents reported the hate incidents to any authority due to lack of relevant legislation in their countries. According to the migrants, hate crime did not exist as a criminal offence in their home countries. In addition, the migrants claimed to fear the police and distrust the legal system in general. All victims claimed that they chose to deal with hate incidents alone, without involving the authorities. They revealed that the legal systems in their countries of origin did not cover certain human rights, for instance, freedom of religion. Thus, the police's involvement in a case of a hate incident regarding an individual's different religion would turn the victim into the offenders.

One migrant said,

'Nothing, I can't. If I go to the police maybe I go to jail. I should fix my problem or just keep it to myself. [P29]

And another one shared,

'I was not able to do anything because I changed my religion and became Christian. I was excluded from the society and I was afraid all the time because I could face death'. [P1]

I received the same responses from the migrants who had never been victims of hate in their countries of origin. Similarly, in a hypothetical hate attack in their home countries, the migrants said they would not report the incidents for the same reasons.

5.4 Migrants' ³⁴experiences with the legal system ⁵⁶²in the country of origin

The consequences of the war and conflict in some Middle Eastern and African countries, such as Syria, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, and Cameroon, forced many individuals (thirteen in this study) ³to leave their homes in search of safety for themselves and their families. They mentioned the fear of death, the inhumane living conditions, and the lack of jobs, food, and water.

One migrant from Cameroon feared for his family's safety who were left behind,

'I run, I can't bring my family because there was a serious killing so I had to run by myself. Everybody was running on his own...Since I reach here then I have only my two children which I left behind.' [P5]

Another war victim said,

'Because of the war of course, and in 2013 we leave from Syria to Iraq, north of Iraq, to Kurdistan. There were war and no jobs, and many things like that, because when the war started, everything stopped, life stopped. Over that, they was hitting us, hurting us and did many things for us and because we are Kurdish we couldn't live in Syria to be safe.' [P11]

A conflict victim mentioned he fled for fear of being abducted by the parties involved in the conflict and being forced to participate in war or held for ransom.

‘...my area is near to Afghanistan border. So there is a lot of Taliban, they are crossing the border illegally and they want young generation and every person, and they want to join them. That’s why I left... The Taliban they force you... they take your money and if you don’t want to give them, they will force you. They will kidnap you.’ [P19]

One migrant from Iraq revealed,

‘They killed many many journalist. They killed many people. In secret. People come to street ask the government “we don’t like this government we want to change it”, they just bring soldiers and kill people. A few months ago they killed 40 person from one place, by gun.’ [P25]

A few war and conflict victims [P24, P25] brought these memories of war with them in videos and pictures on their phones. They showed me videos and pictures of their destroyed homes, the empty neighbourhoods, and the injured people and animals. They showed me videos of soldiers executing civilians in the middle of a street and another with dismembered bodies lying on the streets after a bomb attack. When I asked them why they were carrying those videos with them, they told me that the videos and pictures were evidence for the world to see what they had been through and a reminder of how their lives used to be. Those videos and photos served as reminders of their decision to relocate and as evidence that justified their asylum claim. All war victims believed their governments and the police had treated them poorly at some point in their lives. They viewed their states as authoritarian and oppressing and the police as the instrument of oppression. They described the police as unfair, brutal and corrupt; thus, they tried to avoid contact with them.

Things appeared to be more difficult for the Kurdish war and conflict victims. The Kurdish migrants resided in Syria, Iran and Iraq. They claimed to separate themselves from the

rest of the population in these countries due to their different culture and dialect. They referred to the Arabic-speaking individuals as ‘Arabs’ and themselves as ‘Kurds’. They also believed that Kurds were of Caucasian descent, as their tribe came from the Caucasus, unlike the Arabs, whom they considered of Middle Eastern and Arab descent.

‘If you know about Kurdish background, Kurdish is very different. My language is different from Arabic, my culture, my country, we are very different.’ [P27]

The Kurdish migrants claimed they were victimised by Arabs – including the local population and the police – due to their different ethnic origin and religion.

‘...because I was Kurdish. Not a victim or a crime but like speech and something like that. There were many situations in school, in street, you know Arabic people don’t like us at all, also Turkish people, it’s the same because we are different people. So I had many many situation.’ [P11]

Another Kurdish war-victim shared,

‘They [Arab nationals] were mean to me saying “Kurdish guy” and some of them were fighting with me, they say “I’m Syrian, this is my land not yours”. [P29]

They claimed that Kurdish nationals were clustered together in areas inside these countries. They had formed their semi-autonomous communities, where they spoke the Kurdish language and practised religion differently than Arab nationals. For the Kurdish nationals, religion was something personal rather than a mandatory practice, and they described the Kurdish-inhabited area (Kurdistan) as a multi-religion pseudo-State.

²⁴⁴ ‘I don’t wear Hijab, I don’t find difference between, there and here. I am Muslim, but I am Kurdish. I just believe, like, I have to pray maybe and do good things, just these things. ³⁷⁸ I don’t believe that I have to wear these things[hijab]. ³⁴ Nothing. I didn’t go to the police because they would not cover me, because I am Kurdish. They won’t do anything for me, but they do not care also. If I go and say someone talk to me badly and say something not good for me, even steal my house, or something like that, they will not care.’
[P11]

The Kurdish migrants preferred to deal with these incidents on their own instead of reporting them to the authorities because they believed they would be discriminated against or attacked by the police as well. They handled the disputes with the Arab nationals by isolating themselves and avoiding contact with the potential offenders.

Apart from the war and conflict victims, seven individuals had immigrated for political reasons. Those migrants and many others who stated a different reason for emigration (such as religion, family reunification and more) talked about the unfair and undemocratic procedures followed by their countries’ governments. Sixteen migrants described authoritarian and domineering governments, whose mal operations included corruption, unfair treatment, unlawful arrests, and killings.

One migrant from Algeria disclosed,

‘I escaped from Algeria, because I have many problems, I almost die. There is not law. There is law, but for the people that don’t have money, poor, there is not law. For people who have money, you can kill, you can steal, you can do anything without consequences.’ [P4]

Those individuals felt some form of oppression by their governments. Their oppression was revealed to me - directly or indirectly - through their narrations. They claimed to be afraid of their home governments and avoided contact with the police due to previous bad experiences. They did not trust the legal system in their countries, and they claimed that they often avoided reporting crimes to the authorities because, many times, the authorities were the source of their problems. Unable to handle the situation, they decided to leave to avoid harsh punishment and death. During their narration, the migrants revealed that the oppressive authoritarian governments were influenced by religion. They described a very thin line between the State and the Muslim religion.

In all the Muslim majority countries, religion plays a particularly significant role in people's lives and the governance of the State, both in peaceful societies and those involved in conflict or war. Even though the migrants had emigrated from different countries, they all had emigrated from Muslim majority countries, which followed remarkably similar governance systems. I understood from their narrations that there was an inextricable connection between religion and law in these countries.

According to the migrants, Islamic law was not just the religious rules that believers were instructed to follow; it was the ultimate authority. The "law of God" stood above anything else in their countries of origin, and the governments and the religious leaders applied it. The migrants mentioned religious oppression during our interactions regardless of their reason for migration. Religious law was described as challenging to follow and oppressive. The migrants referred to religion as a system of belief, a social rule, a law, a cultural practice, and a form of oppression. Religion appears to have significantly influenced their lives and to have played a leading role in their decision-making processes. Consequently, religion seems to have contributed to shaping their legality as a cultural practice that helped them construct their social world.

For six migrants, religion was the main reason for their migration, either because they followed a different religion or found religious law stringent and oppressive. The migrants claimed to fear the grave consequences of religious law if they disobeyed. They mentioned exclusion from society, imprisonment and, in some cases, even death. The migrants who followed a different religion or were not religious claimed that being a victim of a religious crime would automatically turn them into offenders, as they were not following the rules of God.

One migrant who had decided to change his religion before his migration said,

‘I was Christian, and it is very difficult to live in an Islamic country. There are no churches, and you’re not allowed to have a different religion. I was Muslim and I changed my religion, I became Christian. It’s difficult if you change, you might die. The government controls you. You cannot have a job, go to university. Everywhere you go, in offices, for job, they ask you ‘what is your religion?’ [P1]

Another one who also followed a different religion shared,

²²² ‘I was in the army. I was working in the navy; I served the army for two years. It’s an Islamic country in Iran as you know, they pray three times a day. For three months you can refuse and say I have to do other things, but for two years you can’t. You have to join them. ⁶² If you don’t, they ask you, ¹²⁹ “why you don’t join us?”. That’s a problem and you have to say. If you say “I don’t believe what you believe” ¹²⁹ the make a problem of you, especially when you are in the army.’ [P9]

Interestingly, two migrants [P16, P9] who followed Islam claimed that the religious law oppressed them as well. The Muslim migrants claimed they were compelled to dress in a certain

way or hide their sexual orientation to avoid criminalisation. A migrant from Algeria described the consequences he would have faced due to his sexual orientation,

‘Last time was July 2018, me and my friend we are trying to make an event for young people out of the cities. So I invited my friends to go to the dessert and make a party and hear music and alcohol. After that, the government in Iran, knows about us and tries to arrest us. Alcohol is illegal, boys in relationship are illegal. All these things are illegal. This happened, and the government knows about me.’ [P16]

Another one talked about how religion suppresses people in their daily lives,

‘...for example, you have to dress up every morning and go outside, but in Iran you have to think what you should wear, because you can’t wear whatever you want. They will ask you “this is a problem, this is a problem”, and you get a ticket. You have to wear the hijab. You have to wear long dress, don’t use pants [trousers], tight pants, this stuff. These are basic things and you can imagine how things go beyond that.’ [P9]

For Muslims, atheists, and migrants who followed a different religion, the Muslim religion significantly influenced their social life. The migrants claimed that they had to pray daily, dress in a certain way, participate in religious celebrations and fasting. They also claimed they had to participate in the Qur’an study, which was the norm for teenagers and young adults. Apart from being oppressed and criminalised by religion in their countries, the migrants were also afraid of social stigma. For many migrants, religious law was a legal obligation and a social obligation. In cases they had disobeyed the law, they had to face social exclusion from their communities and their families. The migrants described situations in which they were isolated by society because they were considered ‘sinners’, ‘estranged from god’ and set a ‘bad

example' for the rest of the community. Besides, they were forsaken by family members because their actions had brought shame to the whole family.

A migrant from Ghana mentioned the strict religious rules in her country that compelled her to seek asylum in Greece.

'They have a problem with me because I was married with an old man, they forced me to marry him, I was very young at that time... At that time, I was married when I was 14 years and my husband was 74 years... the community found out that I'm in love with someone else and that was the problem for me, because in Muslim [community] if they find you are married and you have an affair, they have to stone you to death. In Muslim that's the religion. Even if I sits in my country, I'm not going to be happy because I'll be afraid and ashamed. Because I just bring the family shame, because Muslin think that thing. It's not my choice to do that.' [P10]

Another migrant shared the consequences she would have to face in her country due to her sexual orientation,

'I have a problem in Algeria, with my family and police. Not big problem. I am lesbian, I like the girls, but Algeria, Muslim man. I like girls, I don't like men, no men. If my family see me with a girlfriend is a problem, and in Algeria if police see this, it's three years in prison. If they see me with a girl I will have a problem.' [P2]

Participant [11] whose main reason for migration was not religion also mentioned religion as a form of oppressive culture that influenced people's lives.

‘Here, you are free to do whatever you want. But in Syria, it is something complex, because the religion, you know, the Islamic religion is more difficult and complex than here. So here you will see more freedom, you will do whatever you want, they will not ask you or judge you. This is the difference between here and Syria.’ [P11]

Another migrant explained how religion was influencing the culture in his country and individuals’ decision-making. The migrant claimed that individuals in his country were encouraged to follow religious rules without using critical thinking.

‘Something before the war, something about the community, about the culture, that is the problem. Because, I know exactly what’s the reason, it’s about religion. Because Islam religion is like controlling the culture, it make people stupid, like they don’t think. “Don’t think, what I’m telling you is right, don’t think, don’t use your mind”.’ [P29]

A war victim mentioned the ⁶⁸⁴role of religion in the war and in particular the religious conflicts between two branches of Islam, the Sunni and the Shia. He believed that religion was one of the reasons for the conflict and that the war against terrorism, was a war between branches of Islam.

‘What appearing in Syria in media is racism because now the war is between Sunni and Shia. But in media they say we have terrorist, and we fight the terrorism. The protesters from Sunni and Assad president of Syria, he brought Iran to Syria to fight for him.’ [P21]

5.5 Migrants' experiences with legal authorities in Greece

The migrants' knowledge of law and rights developed through everyday experiences and interaction with legal authorities and non-legal sources, such as migrant smugglers, NGO personnel and fellow migrants. Their interaction with the police and other governmental bodies was limited. They interacted with officials during their asylum application interviews, with the border police upon their arrival at the Greek borders, and finally with the police in the streets of Thessaloniki through everyday interactions. Most of the migrants had formed a very favourable opinion towards the police. They also claimed that they were not afraid to be stopped and questioned by the police and they would not be hesitant to initiate an interaction with them.

One migrant shared,

‘...the police is very good also, if I have a problem, and I tell them my problem, they are very good with us’. [P11]

Another one said,

‘I just been to the police department to do the stuff about asylum and it was good... sometimes when I need to ask them on the street, they are very helpful. They try their best to help you’. [P9]

However, five migrants [P4, P12, P24, P25, P30] claimed they faced police brutality at the land border by the Greek authorities. They mentioned being arrested, beaten, detained in inhumane conditions and/or illegally sent back to Turkey.

‘They just beat you. Not here in Thessaloniki, the border police... You know in the border people die every day there, believe me, people get beaten. There is people you can see, about his body, he's been stabbed with this, you know this big, not a knife [small pause], a glob... He didn't do anything. He

just crossed the border as everybody else. They [the border police] put us in...a van with about 30 person...When night time come they collect all the people they caught that day and put in another boat and take you back to Turkey, across the river. Before you cross the river, they will beat you in this jungle... They beat him, they break his arm...and they beat the woman [his wife] also.' [P12]

Another migrant shared,

'They [the border police] catch us and throw my phone to the river. They throw all our phones to the river. I don't know why. Then they keep us for hours in a van without food and they sent us back to Turkey...They do not ask me why I am here, if I'm a refugee, nothing...Some people they are beaten, not me, but I saw it. It was a very big guy the policeman and he beat the refugee bad, because he [the migrant] was shouting and did not want to go back to Turkey.' [P30]

Interestingly, the migrants who faced police brutality at the Greek land borders during their attempts to enter Greece claimed to be very satisfied by the police officers during their stay in the country. Even though those migrants claimed to have been beaten, illegally detained and sent back to Turkey by the Greek border police, the same migrants ³⁴ claimed to be very satisfied by the police behaviour in the cities. They referred to the officers in Thessaloniki as 'good', 'friendly' and 'helpful'.

One of them said,

'Twice they try to check me on the street and one time I tried to go to another country in this airport, in Thessaloniki airport, so the police arrest me and I spend two days in the jail and then judge, and that was it. Police

officer were very sweet kind people. Your police officer in Greece is very kind, polite, politer than in our country'. [P16]

Those few migrants who held negative views of the police in the cities, either because they experienced or witnessed police misconduct, believed that the police misconduct resulted from their fellow migrants' actions. They believed that some migrants' delinquent behaviour led both the police and the public to develop a negative opinion towards all recent migrants.

A migrant said that he was regularly being ¹⁹ stopped and searched by the police on the street, however he justified the police actions. He said,

'I have no problem when they ask for my papers, that's their job. I know why they do this because many people steal. Police search people when they see they are Arabic because Arabic people steal.' [P17]

The migrants knew that they would be protected by the State, and they generally had a positive attitude towards the government and the legal system. Also, the majority ⁵²⁷ held a positive attitude towards the police, unlike in their countries. They were viewing the police as an instrument of protection rather than oppression. The migrants who claimed not to trust the police in Greece were the same individuals who claimed that they would not report a hate incident to the authorities in the future. Their decision might have been formed by their ²⁶⁵ negative experiences with the police in Greece or ¹⁷ due to negative experiences with the police in their home countries.

5.6 Knowledge of law and rights

The war and ⁶⁰¹ conflicts in their countries of origin, the authoritarian politics and the strict religious law led those migrants to leave their countries searching for peace, freedom, and basic human and civil rights. The migrants' decision to emigrate show their reaction towards their problems. Their decision to pass through other countries to reach a European State, suggests

that the migrants' aim was not only to leave their countries, but they intentionally chose a specific destination to seek asylum. When I asked them why they chose Greece as a destination country the migrants claimed that Greece was a European Union Member State which would provide them asylum and ensure their safety. All migrants were aware that the European States followed democratic ideals and had policies in place to protect human rights and protect those seeking refuge and asylum. They were aware of the significance of their status, both those who had already obtained refugee status and those who were still in the process of obtaining one. The migrants knew that as refugees or asylum seekers, they would be protected by the State, they would not be deported, they were eligible for financial and social support, and had rights, such as the right to work and rent a property. They believed they had found the democracy they were looking for when they had started their journey. Some of the phrases I heard repeatedly from the migrants were, 'here I can do whatever I want', 'here I have freedom'.

The migrants also mentioned the Greek government during our interactions. Two migrants knew that the governing party at the time was falling on the left of the political spectrum, making them assume that there were policies in place to protect minorities. The majority referred to the government indirectly. They focused on the fact that Greece was a European democratic State with laws that protect migrants. However, it became clear that the majority was not fully aware of democracy, Greek laws and liberal rights. All migrants knew that Greece, along with the other EU State, had legislation to protect migrants and refugees, and not deport migrants before the asylum process. However, the migrants were not aware of what those legislations covered and their full rights. When I asked them about their rights in Greece, the migrants said,

'I don't know. I know its freedom'. [P4]

'[I know] Not all of them [rights] but as I said earlier, I know there is democracy.' [P9]

'I suppose I do [have rights]. I know there is a framework, legislation that covers it [migrant/refugee rights].' [P32]

The migrants' knowledge of rights was limited to asylum, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, right to sexuality, and right to work and reside in Greece.

'Not too much, I know I have some of them [rights]. I know I can apply for residence for me. If you have a problem, the police will help you, and there are some organisations that help immigrants.' [P20]

The migrants claimed that they were not informed about their rights upon their arrival in Greece by the authorities or any governmental organisations. Those who had a refugee status were informed about their right to citizenship when they obtained their refugee status and their identification documents by governmental bodies, but not in detail.

'Yes, I think, they say you have rights, like there is no racism, that's what I hear. Like, we are like Greek now, that's what they told me when I got my ID. They say they gave a paper and I have right to rent, I have right to buy, I'm like Greek person.' [P29]

The migrants understood their rights and the Greek legislation through experiences rather than official sources. Their knowledge of the law was limited to migration laws and policies, for the protection of migrants. The vast majority were not familiar with other laws, such as hate crime law.

One migrant commented on the hate crime law in Greece,

'I didn't know exactly their law, but I can guess they have. Because they are European country and they must have, they should have.'" [P9]

The majority claimed to trust the law and all migrants believed they were law-abiding individuals. They claimed to follow the law by trying to be ‘good’, ‘not cause problems’ and avoiding ‘troubles’.

‘Of course, I am a law-abiding person. I want to follow the law, I was raised like that. It’s the right thing to do.’ [P18]

They had developed a sense of assumed lawfulness based purely on their earlier experiences. They developed a general sense of legality.

In addition, part of their legal knowledge was developed during their migration journey. Many migrants claimed they had spent much money trying to cross the border to Greece. They had to pay vast amounts of money to the smugglers, reaching up to eleven thousand dollars per person. If they got caught by the authorities and wanted to make a second or a third attempt to pass the border, they had to pay the smugglers again. Some of the migrants said that they had destroyed their passports and other identification documents that they had been carrying with them before they arrived in Greece, or their documents were destroyed by smugglers who were transporting them to Greece. One migrant shared,

‘Suddenly the agent while he was taking us to come to Unan, in Greece, he took our passport and everything. It’s lost.’ [P7]

Another migrant said,

‘They said [at the land border], “if you have passport, you are not refugee” so I destroyed my passport and I was considered refugee.’ [23]

I understood from the migrants’ narrations that both the migrants and the smugglers were destroying identification documents for the migrants to be considered refugees and be protected by the Greece authorities. A few migrants confessed they had bought fake passports

to enter Europe because they could not get a visa in their home countries. Another three [P12, P28, P29] disclosed that they had witnessed migrants purchasing fake identification papers or driving licences from countries involved in a war to be considered refugees and secure their status in Greece.

‘People buy Syrian IDs and papers for driving licence, so the Greek government will accept them as refugees from Syria. These people are from different countries. The translators from Syria can understand that they are lying and are not natives.’ [P29]

The migrants who were not allowed to enter the country at the borders and those who destroyed their identification documents were aware they did something illegal; however, they believed it was the only way to cross the border to a European State.

‘It’s true we cross the border, we break the law in Greece, but we need to do that... I was applying to get a visa to visit my daughter, I couldn’t get it, so what do I do? This is my daughter, I’m not just gonna give up, I’m not gonna stop look after her, I’m a human same as everybody, I’m a dad, I want to see my daughter. That’s why I broke the law in this country.’ [P12]

The fact that some migrants destroyed their identification papers or brought fake ones to enter Europe may indicate that these individuals acted according to how they perceived a refugee or an asylum seeker to be and found ways to become one. They started to understand how European law and immigration policies worked through experiences and interaction with other migrants and smugglers. A few migrants believed that they had committed a crime by entering Greece without permission. However, they seemed to justify their action based on necessity. They believed that destroying their papers or obtaining fake ones was the only way to ensure their safety. They appeared to have limited knowledge of their rights and the law in

Greece. The migrants were aware of the basic EU policies on asylum before their migration, as they consciously chose a European State as the destination country. They had limited knowledge of hate crime legislation and limited knowledge of their civil rights. They seemed to consider themselves right holders only for fundamental rights about their protection as refugees and asylum seekers.

5.7 Social and economic status in Greece

The migrants' major concerns at the time were not related to hate crime or the law. Their concerns were mostly focused on housing and finding a job. They were focusing on the means of securing the necessities of life, such as learning the language, obtaining a secure status, a job, a permanent residence and dealing with bureaucracy, which many times they had a tough time with. During our interactions, all participants mentioned their need to find jobs, and many mentioned their desire to rent property outside the refugee camps and host centres. The migrants were receiving funds from the European Union, which according to the migrants were enough for necessities such as food, but not enough for other aspects of their lives. Also, accommodation was provided by the State and the EU either in camps, host centres or private properties funded by the EU schemes. Many migrants' goal was to obtain a protected status, find jobs, and afford to rent properties privately. They wanted to be assimilated into society and be able to live normal lives away from overcrowded camps and host centres in which the living conditions were described as not ideal, especially for migrants with families. A few of the migrants were also trying to learn the language by attending adult Greek language classes provided by NGOs. They believed that language was an important barrier in their search for work. For a few migrants, their status was seen as a barrier that prevented them from getting a job in Greece. They believed that the local population were not hiring migrants.

Those migrants did not seem to clearly understand what their rights meant. They were expecting to be treated fairly by the local population because they had the same rights according to their refugee status. They seemed not to understand that the State's laws did not entirely reflect the needs of society. A couple of migrants mentioned that they expected to be treated better by the locals because of their status. They had these expectations based on information they received from their relatives and friends located in the northern EU States.

In order to integrate into society, get jobs and support themselves financially the migrants had to overcome certain barriers. Getting refugee status would mean they would become Greek citizens and they would be able to receive the same benefits as the local population. However, the migrants did not seem ready to move from refugee and asylum seeker to ordinary citizens' status, as there were preconditions that the migrants could not meet. Most migrants did not know the Greek language or the working rights necessary to get a job. The government supported them until they obtained a secure status and became citizens; however, a few migrants were concerned that if they did not get support after obtaining a secure status, they would be jobless and homeless. They would not be able to get a job without knowing the Greek language. They believed that the government did not take care of their inclusion and integration into the society. They gave them passports and made them citizens but did not educate them on what this meant. The migrants who had obtained refugee status were not ready to become citizens because they believed they would not survive. The language barrier excluded them from society and did not allow them to integrate and get familiar with the Greek laws.

5.8 Exposure to racism and intolerance

Around 75% of all migrants (25 out of 33) mentioned during the interviews and/or the observations that they had faced some form of racism, intolerance, or discrimination due to

their social status (migrant), skin colour, or use of foreign language – which showed their foreign identity. Some migrants mentioned that they were denied services such as hiring a taxi or shopping for goods.

One migrant said,

⁶⁵¹
‘I want to take a taxi, I say, “I want to go to another place”, they say
“you have hartiá” I say, “you are not police why you ask for my paper”’.
[P24]

Another one said that she was not allowed to enter a shop,

‘It’s not easy, I went to a store to buy and they ask me to go out. They
say to go out because you’re immigrant. They don’t want you to enter some
stores... Or sometimes they say “wait, wait”, they finish the customers and
then you can go in’. [P10]

Another migrant shared that she had experienced biased behaviour,

‘They are looking at us and sometimes they talk to each other,
sometimes they cover their mouth and nose when I stand next to them. ⁴⁴⁹Why
are you looking at me because I’m black and I wear hijab?’ [P14]

5.8.1 Reaction to racism

The migrants seemed to react passively to the racist or discriminatory incidents they described. They claimed that they did not pay any attention to the racist or discriminatory slurs or actions. They considered the incidents to be not significant enough to react towards them. Twelve of those migrants even tried to justify the locals’ extremist behaviours. Seven migrants claimed to understand the locals’ behaviour because they assumed the factors driving it were the country’s economic instability and general xenophobia caused by the vast refugee influx in

Greece in the last five years. They believed that some refugees' unlawful behaviours drove some locals' racist and discriminatory behaviour.

Participant [4] is a notable example of migrants showing tolerance towards the locals' behaviour.

No, I'm not angry, I understand them... I understand the Greeks...

They are angry because some of us migrants are stealing, hitting, doing bad things. I'm not angry with Greeks, I'm sad. [P4]

Another one said,

Example, if I go for your home... I stole your bag and I stole your laptop, you hate these people or not? I understand. [P26]

And another,

'But I think is right because some refugee they do too much problem for this country. The Greek people, they are right'. [P27]

Even though the migrants did not mention any problems because of their different cultures, they mentioned the racism they faced due to their status. The migrant avoided any responses to the locals' racist behaviour, and some migrants even tried to justify it.

5.8.2 Migrants' opinions of other migrants in Greece.

Another theme from the data was the migrants' opinions regarding their fellow migrants in Greece. Fifteen individuals held a negative opinion towards other recent migrants. They explained that many recent migrants behave negatively or commit crimes in Greece including using and selling drugs and stealing.

One migrant said,

‘You see the immigrants here they steal, they do mávro⁴. Example, in Kamara⁵ in university, they sell mávro people from Algeria, people from Morocco, they sell mávro’. [P4]

They believed that delinquent behaviour created a negative image for all the migrants. Based on this idea they tried to explain and/or justify the locals’ racist behaviour towards them and the police brutality in Greece, as I displayed in previous sections. The migrants claimed that the Greek people cannot differentiate the home countries of the migrants and as an extension, their distinct cultures, assuming that all migrants behave the same way.

Even though most migrants claimed that they did not face any problems with their religion in Greece, some believed that culture and religion played a role in some migrants’ behaviours. They believed that the different culture and/or religion of the migrants was the reason behind their unlawful behaviours in Greece.

A migrant mentioned the impact religion has on people’s behaviour and way of thinking. He said,

‘...Something before the war, something about the community, about the culture, that is the problem. Because, I know exactly what’s the reason, it’s about religion. Because Islam religion is like controlling the culture, it make people stupid, like they don’t think. “Don’t think, what I’m telling you is right, don’t think, don’t use your mind”. So all people became stupid, so when they came to the free countries they don’t understand the freedom. They think it’s physical freedom, they don’t understand freedom is about the

⁴ The migrant used the Greek word ‘mávro’ (μαύρο) which translates to ‘black’. The word is commonly used in Greek language to describe cannabis.

⁵ Kamara is the Arch of Galerius, a monument, which is located near the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

mind. Mind freedom is something different. It's not about "Yes I can smoke, it's fine", no, no, no, it's not like this. They understand the wrong way'. [P29]

Another one said,

'This is a Christian country. I am a Christian. I have a Muslim background, I came from an Islamic country, but I say, maybe because there not a lot to do, things they [migrants] did in their country. Like, they like to make big mosque, they like to pray at the street every Friday but they don't allowed to do here. Even the Christian don't go and sit and pray on the street. But maybe because they are not allowed to do the things they are used to. I have to go to the asylum seekers and there is a bus number 9 that goes there every day different time. When you go there with a bunch of refugee you can see they play prayer in their phones but when you ask them 'can you use the headphone', they say 'no I prefer to hear it really loud'. Maybe because of those things they [Greeks] don't like, or they are facing some problem. If they [migrants] act as normal person and they keep what they believe inside'. [P9]

They believed that religion was influencing the migrants' way of thinking and their behaviours negatively. Two migrants focused on the wrong ²³⁸interpretations of the Qur'an and the preaching of some Muslim religious leaders who were trying to promote their political agenda through religion.

'About the stealing, because we are Christians. When you are Christians, they say in Islam that just the Muslim people will go to heaven. So the Christians are not good people, so they [Muslims] can steal from them. The imam in the mosque is saying this to them. If you done this [steal from

Christians], God will love you, for example... That's why people are exploding themselves. Because they are not allowed to do this [drink alcohol, have pre-marital relation] and they are keeping themselves, or they come to Europe to do this [explode themselves] because they think they are not good people, so they can do whatever they want.' [P29]

Another one said,

'In Kamara, we saw a refugee. We know what part of refugees is doing this. Not all the refugees. Some are coming [to Greece] just for this [to steal].'
[P30]

The two migrants also believed that the European people were predominantly Christians, which was why they were calmer and generally avoided disputes. They believed the Europeans were influenced by the Christian ideals voluntarily or involuntarily because they were raised in societies that espoused these ideals.

'Even if you're not Christian, even if you're not following Jesus, you are still good person, because you have the Christian philosophy. But the people in Islam, if they want to do exactly what Islam say, they should be ISIS'" [P29]

Approximately half of the migrants held a negative opinion about other recent migrants. They believed that migrants' delinquent behaviours were creating a negative image for all migrants, and some attributed these behaviours to the migrants' culture and religion. They believed that religion played a significant role in people's lives. They believed that the Muslim religion and culture was negatively influencing some migrants' lives by encouraging delinquent behaviours towards non-believers.

5.9 Cultural practices in Greece

Despite the fact that the migrants' cultures were different from the Greek culture, the majority did not seem to face any problems. Most of the migrants held a positive attitude towards the Greek way of life. Most migrants were happy with the Greek lifestyle and the Greek people. The migrants mentioned the weather, the Greek culture, and the Greek people's friendly attitude.

One of them said,

'I like their lifestyle, drinking coffee, yes I like the lifestyle. Like the Greek person meet you, they say "let's have coffee".' [P10]

Some of the migrants also mentioned that the Greek way of life had influenced theirs,

'Yes, whether I want or don't want, it influence me. I use the good ways, I want to catch the good ways from Greek. The things that I like, I'm, for example in the bus, they are very silent. I want to be like them, be very silent, respect each other, they pay for buses. These are all good things.' [P20]

Another one said,

'Before it was bothering ⁶⁹¹me because I couldn't adapt to ⁵³⁷it, but the more I learned about it and the more friends I got, and I was celebrating with their customs, I appreciate it and now I pursue these things'. [P32]

Religion was not mentioned much when they talked about their lives in Greece. Most migrants claimed that they did not face any problems with their religion. Only one migrant claimed to have been attacked by a local regarding his religion. Some of them shared stories in which the locals respected the migrants' religion and sometimes helped them fulfil their

religious duties such as pray. The only difficulty the migrants mentioned about their religion was the lack of mosques in Greece. Two of the Muslim migrants explained that even though they did not face any key issues with their religion in Greece, they found the lack of mosques inconvenient for their praying.

Also, I noticed that five out of eight Muslim women did not wear a hijab during my observations. One of them revealed that she was not wearing one in her country of origin because she was Kurdish, and in Kurdish culture, the hijab was not compulsory. The other four women shared that they had stopped wearing long dresses, hijabs or niqabs when they arrived in Greece while still following their religion. They believed that they were not bound to dress in a certain way to follow their religion. Two of those women confessed that they were not afraid of being criticised for not wearing a hijab either by the Greeks or the Muslim community. ¹³⁹ They believed that religion did not play a vital role in their lives and they respected other people's right to practice religion. The Muslim community consisted of migrants who had migrated from many different countries; thus, they did not know each other, and they might practice religion in diverse ways. The fact that five women stopped following a particular religious rule after distancing themselves from their home countries could mean that they were religiously and culturally oppressed. One of those women said

In Ghana, I'm a Muslim, so you have to dress like a Muslim, like a long dress and hijab. Here it is not forced. In Ghana if you don't wear that kind of dress people they are looking at you like you are a bad person. [P10]

Another migrant shared during our interaction,

'...yes, they [women] must wear every day a good abaya⁶... I was wearing a niqab there.' [P7]

[The migrants covered her mouth to saw me that the outfit covered her face.]

R: And here? You don't have to wear this?

'No. Here just this.' [P7]

[She pointed at her face which was not covered]

R: How do you call this?

'Hijab.' [P7]

The migrants seemed to be satisfied with their lives in Greece on a cultural, political, and social level. They were familiar with some parts of Greek history, especially the expedition of Alexandre the Great who occupied areas of the Middle East. The migrants claimed to enjoy the Greek way of life and the Greek culture. In addition, the majority claimed that they did not face any discrimination because of their different religion, on the contrary, some Muslim women felt safe to practise religion the way they wanted without being oppressed by religious law or judged by the locals and fellow migrants.

5.10 Conclusion

The main findings are largely consistent with the data available from RVRN and OSCE reports between 2016 and 2019. The migrants in this research were attacked both physically

⁶ Abaya is a full-length piece of clothing worn over other clothes by some Muslim women (Oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com, 2020).

and verbally because of their migrant status, religion, race, ethnic origin⁷. Most of the victims of hate incidents (13 out of 15) avoided reporting the incidents to the authorities.

Most of the migrants were not familiar with the term hate crime as a phenomenon or a type of crime. Fifteen out of thirty-three migrants were victims of hate incidents in Greece but only two reported the incidents to the authorities. The two victims decided to report the incidents because the crimes were physical attacks and also the migrants believed the police would protect them. The thirteen victims of physical and/or verbal attacks ⁵²³ who did not report the incidents to the police believed that either the police would not help them because of the nature of the crime, or they would ignore them because of their migrant status. Finally, the victims who were only attacked verbally did not believe that hate speech was a serious incident worth reporting.

Most of those that had never been victims of hate in Greece stated that they would report a hate incident of physical violence to the authorities in the future, but they would not report a verbal one. The non-victims were willing to contact the police in case of physical violence, but they too did not consider verbal attacks serious crimes and in some cases not crimes at all.

The nine migrants that had been victims of hate incidents in their countries of origin did not report to the police due to the lack of relevant legislation ¹⁷ in their countries of origin, fear of the police and lack of trust towards the legal system in general. Most non-victims claimed they would avoid reporting the incident to the authorities in a hypothetical hate incident scenario, for the same reasons.

The migrant victims seemed to alienate from law and the legal system due to distrust towards the police's bias behaviour towards migrants, their efficiency in tackling hate crime,

⁷ Unfortunately, there are no available data for the year 2020 from OSCE and the RVRN. Even though there are no official statements that suggest the following, I tend to believe it is partly due to the consequences of the COVID-19 virus which caused the recent world pandemic.

due to the nature of the crime, which was difficult to be addressed, and finally due to the migrants' beliefs that verbal abuse was not an incident worth reporting. However, most non-victims claimed that they would report hate incidents to the authorities in the future which shows a different attitude towards the legal authorities and the legal system. All victims avoided reporting the incidents to the authorities in their home countries for several reasons including, lack of relevant legislations, distrust towards the legal system, and fear towards the police.

Chapter Six: Migrants claiming rights in Greece

25 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I displayed how the migrants' perceptions and attitudes towards rights in the host country varied. The migrants' willingness to assert rights regarding their safety and survival in Greece, such as obtaining a secure legal status, housing, and jobs, differed significantly from their willingness to assert rights regarding hate crime. This chapter discusses the different types of legal consciousness migrants exhibited regarding their assertion of rights and their willingness and ability to report and deal with hate crimes in Greece. The chapter is divided into two themes. The theme addresses the migrants' legal consciousness during their attempts to enter Greece and apply for asylum. It discusses the migrant's legal consciousness throughout their migration journey from their countries of origin to Greece. The second theme discusses the migrants' legal consciousness towards hate crime by analysing the key themes influencing their perceptions of and reactions to hate crime. Hate crime is used in this research as a barometer for better understanding migrants' legal consciousness in the host country.

298 6.2 A journey towards political rights

This section explores the legal consciousness of migrants encountering the host State to receive rights and protection. It follows the migrants' physical and legal consciousness journey from the home to the host country and their conscious decision to momentarily step outside legality to ensure their survival. As discussed in chapter four, legal consciousness is not static and fixed; rather, it changes according to the different experiences of individuals (Ewick and Silbey, 1998). This section discusses the migrants' legal consciousness during their migration journey, particularly how their consciousness shifts from being citizens in their home countries to become citizens in the host country.

6.2.1 The motives to leave

Any migrant's journey begins with their decision to migrate. Population movement is not a new phenomenon but ⁴⁷⁶an integral part of human history (Bacci, 2018; Manning, 2015). ³²⁰Individuals migrate for a variety of reasons, including but not limited to economic reasons (Parutis, 2011; McDowell, 2008), environmental reasons ³³⁴(Koubi et al., 2018; Ransan-Cooper et al., 2015), educational reasons (Karimova et al., 2021) ⁷⁰¹and to escape war and violence (Castelli, 2018; ³Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003; Moore and Shellman, 2004). The study of migration has received much attention, and many studies have shown a particular interest in the factors that influence migrants' decision to leave their home countries (Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Aziz, Chowdhury and Cooray, 2021; Otrachshenko and Popova, 2014; Ozaltin, Shakir and Loizides, 2019).

However, forced migration has been studied as a separate form of migration motivated by distinguishing factors (Carling, 2017; Erdal and Oeppen, 2017). Migration is generally linked with individuals whose decision to leave is voluntary, while forced migration deals with individuals whose decision is based on necessity (Carling, 2017). The dichotomy between these two types of migration has received ³attention from scholars and policymakers, noting the necessity of this dichotomy and, at the same time, its problematic nature (Erdal and Oeppen, 2017; Udahemuka and Pernice, 2010). The distinction between these two different migration categories is necessary to identify the different needs migrants have. For instance, someone who migrates for educational reasons has different needs from someone who has the right to refuge. In this respect, humanitarian organisations have created definitions that distinguish refugees and asylum seekers from other types of migrants (United Nations, 2016; Amnesty International, 2016). As discussed in chapter one, the strict securitisation policies of States, especially in the EU, have propagated the necessity of distinction between different types of migrants. The labels put upon individuals can determine their future, as individuals considered

migrants are subjects of different laws and consequently do not receive the same protection by nation-States as those who seek asylum. The labels of refugee and asylum seeker manifest causes of forced migration, while other labels such as economic migrant and student manifest causes of voluntary migration (Zetter, 2007; Erdal and Oeppen, 2017).

Previous studies suggest that forced migration is motivated by ‘generalised violence’ (Schmeidl, 1997: 302), such as war (Moore and Shellman, 2004), dissident violence (Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003), genocide, State repression (Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003; Moore and Shellman, 2004), lack of democracy (Moore and Shelman, 2004) and human rights violations (Apodaca, 1998; Jonassohn and Björnson 1998). Individuals value their security and leave their homes when this security is threatened (Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003:31). Studies suggest that factors such as the type, the geographies, the level of conflict and the involvement of foreign troops, to name a few, contribute to the notion of threat perceived by individuals. The individuals assess these threatening situations by gathering information from their environment (Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003). Their decision to stay or leave their homes is based on the outcome of the threat assessments (Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003). The cost and benefit theory suggests that individuals weigh the threat to their security against the costs of migrating (Melander and Öberg, 2007, p.158).

However, the extreme conditions experienced by individuals in their home countries are not the only factors that drive them to flee. Another theory suggests that the motivating factors of migration are divided into two categories, the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. The push factors include the challenging and sometimes extreme situations individuals face in their home countries that push them to migrate (Kumin, 2014, p.50). On the other hand, the ‘pull’ factors attract individuals to migrate to the country of destination (Udahemuka and Pernice, 2010).

The findings of the current study suggest that the migrants' decisions to flee their home countries were motivated by two sets of factors. The primary factors that motivated migrants to leave were the extraordinary situations they experienced in their home countries, such as war and political violence. These primary factors threatened migrants' survival and physical wellbeing and clearly fit within the idea of forced migration. However, secondary factors were also the potential positive outcome of migration, such as receiving protection, rights and a better quality of life in the destination country. These secondary factors lend themselves more to voluntary reasons for migration.

Similarly, previous studies suggest that potential forced migrants are motivated to leave by both 'push' factors, like security threats, and 'pull' factors, such as the information available to them, including routes of migration, destination countries and other migrants' successful migration stories (Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003, p.46). In other words, there are not only grey areas between those forced to migrate and those doing so voluntarily but also overlap and blurring between forced and voluntary reasons within the motivating factors of each migrant. Ozaltin, Shakir and Loizides (2019, p.604) suggest that potential migrants' 'relative' needs, such as a better quality of life, can be as important as their 'absolute' needs, such as their security, in their decision to flee their homes. They suggest that the element of choice is not missing in forced migration, even if it is not the primary motivating factor.

The distinction between forced and voluntary migration is complex and challenging. If we imagine these two types of migration as a spectrum between extremes, most migrants fall somewhere in between, as they exercise some degree of volition (Erdal and Oeppen, 2017, p.982). Studies have shown that the decision to migrate is based on a combination of factors (Udahemuka and Pernice, 2010, p.51).

In this study, apart from war and conflict as primary motivating factors that directly threatened migrants' security, religious oppression was another primary factor that influenced migrants' decision to flee. As mentioned in the previous chapter, all migrants fled from Muslim majority countries with authoritarian governments which followed the Islamic law (Sharia). The migrants narrated their life experiences regarding religion, claiming that the religious law stood above everything in their countries. They explained that the law of Sharia was the official law, and it was described as a religion and a political movement. After the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, Islam interpreted itself as a universal community with shared values and a common sacred language, the Arabic (Abu Rabi, 1996:45,46). Migrants often referred to Muslim majority countries as the 'Arab world', which shows the notion of universalism cloaking their language, religion and culture. Most migrants described their religion as oppressive and challenging to follow.

One migrant said,

'We have a lot of rules, they are very strict, the women cannot go outside of the house alone.' [P19]

The migrants talked about the lack of democracy regarding political repression, civil and human rights, freedom of expression, and Islam's penal system. They felt that religion deprived them of ⁵⁷⁴ fundamental rights such as their right to sexuality and divorce or to drink alcohol. Many fled their countries in fear of persecution due to their choices and characteristics. They feared the severe punishments they would face if the government ever caught them. They believed that there was more than one way to practise religion. Their understanding and interpretation of the religious law left room for rights and liberties that were not present in their home countries and communities.

‘There is not democracy in Iran. People are scared, and they only follow the Islamic law... You are not free to speak outside about the politicians, the government or any problems. It is forbidden. They do not support you financially if you are not with them. No benefits etc.’ [P1]

They felt that their views and understandings of their holy book could not be expressed openly in their societies as they were contradictory to the Islamist interpretations provided by religious leaders.

The migrants claimed that the political regimes in their countries were based on a patriarchal and authoritative interpretation of the Qur’an that leaves no room for rights claiming or other voices to be heard. The debate between Islamic law’s fundamentalist and secular interpretations has been present since the early 1990s (Afkhani, 1995). Many social groups such as women and minorities supporting secular interpretations and fighting for their rights were hushed (An, 1995, pp.53-55). Migrant women in this research talked about the difficulties of living in communities that promoted gender inequality and lacked universal human rights. Islamic law controlled their lives, behaviour, actions and even dress choices.

‘For example, you have to dress up every morning and go outside, but in Iran, you have to think what you should wear, because you can’t wear whatever you want. They will ask you “this is a problem, this is a problem”, and you get a ticket. You have to wear the hijab. You have to wear long dress, don’t use pants [trousers], tight pants, this stuff. These are basic things, and you can imagine how things go beyond that.’ [P9]

The hijab, which has lately been part of public discourses in both European States and Muslim majority countries (Cumper and Lewis, 2008; Syed, 2013; Latiff and Alam, 2013; Harkness and Islam, 2011), is part of a Muslim tradition that aims for the security and

continuity of Islam through the homogeneity of the population (Kandiyoti, 1995, p.22; Mernissi, 1995, p.45). Women are the members of the society that stand out in the patriarchal Muslim tradition; thus, they are instructed to hide their differences by covering their bodies (Afkhami, 1995, p.22). Women's and other social groups' rights are subject to religious law instead of the constitution. People's right to practice religion the way they want is sacrificed to preserve culture (Afkhami, 1995, p.22). The hijab became political propaganda aiming to control women. Making the hijab compulsory for women in countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia or abolishing it in Western States render women subjects to political agendas and confine their identities and roles (Joosub and Ebrahim, 2020).

Things were even more complicated for those subject to religious law but following a different religion. They were afraid of persecution and even death if they revealed their beliefs. In countries with significant religious restrictions - such as the home countries of all migrants in this study - restrictions are imposed by the government in the form of political repression, increasing the likelihood of migration (Koble and Henne, 2014, p.679).

Apart from the primary factors displayed above, the findings suggest that secondary factors also influenced migrants' decision to leave. These factors included the destination country and the potential opportunities it offered regarding rights, protection and integration. The migrants showed knowledge of the socio-political landscape in the EU and particularly in Greece.

'I know there is democracy [in Greece] ...and in EU' [P9]

Two migrants mentioned their reunification with family and friends. The successful migration stories of other migrants in EU countries played an essential role in their decision to migrate. A migrant from Algeria who had a daughter in England explained that migrating to Greece and obtaining refugee status would help him travel to England and reunite with his daughter.

An 18-year-old man from Iran seeking political asylum expressed his dream to continue his studies in higher education. He believed his plan would be achievable in Greece once he held refugee status. The protected legal status would give him the right to enrol at a higher education institute. He believed his dream was feasible because he chose an EU State as his destination. An asylum seeker from Cameroon, who had to flee without his family, made efforts to settle in Greece, having in mind that he would reunite with his loved ones once he had a secure legal status. He believed refugee status would allow him to protect his family by bringing them to Greece. A Kurdish mother from Iran expressed her fear for her 7-year-old son's future. She explained that she fled Iran to ensure her son would grow up away from conflict and have more opportunities for a better future in a democratic State like Greece. These life stories show that even though the migrants' first motivation to migrate was their survival and physical security, other factors such as network, family reunification, democracy and the aspiration for a better quality of life also played a role in their decision to flee their homes. Day and White (2002), who interviewed Somali and Bosnian refugees in the UK, found that the migrants' network in destination countries, their knowledge of the destination language, the potential future life opportunities, and the institutional arrangements (both formal such as formal agencies helping individuals' transit to the destination country, and informal such as smugglers and providers of false documents) played a significant role in the migrants' decision to leave their homes and migrate to the UK (Day and White, 2002, p.24,25).

The findings suggest that forced migration is a conscious decision based both on survival from generalised violence and the condition of the journey and destination. The decision to flee their countries is a deliberate, calculated decision, even when migrants find themselves in extreme conditions such as war or conflict (Ozaltin, Shakir and Loizides, 2019, p.604; Adhikari, 2012, p.88).

6.2.2 A journey of legal consciousness

After they decided to leave, migrants prepared themselves for their journey. Their goal was to enter the EU and ²⁷⁴ apply for asylum in the first country they entered or follow the Balkan route to northern EU States. Using the information they had gathered from conducting their research before their migration, smugglers, and people in their network who already had fled to the EU, all migrants in this study reached countries adjacent to Greece. They intended to cross the land border or the Aegean ³¹⁷ Sea from the Turkish coast to the Greek islands to reach the Greek mainland.

Their choice to migrate to the EU was based on the pull factors of democratic values and rights the EU provided to its citizens and the better quality of life they believed they would experience there. When migrants fled their homes, they had to leave behind both material belongings, such as their homes, and non-material like their families, culture, and network. Most importantly, they had to leave behind their citizenship and rights. This goal was to re-obtain those by entering ²³ an EU State like Greece and applying for asylum. However, obtaining a protected legal status and asserting rights requires law knowledge. Legal knowledge ⁴³⁷ is necessary for individuals to become aware of their rights (Hernandez, 2010, p.111). Laws and policies are introduced under the premise that individuals will use them (Rowell, 2019, p.230).

During the interviews, the migrants showed a good understanding of international human rights and the EU asylum policies. This knowledge allowed them to see themselves as rights bearers. They knew they were eligible for rights and that western States were obligated to provide them refuge and assess their eligibility for asylum.

From a socio-legal perspective, the migrants' goal was to stay within the boundaries of the law, moving from one jurisdiction to another. They did not want to leave behind the citizenship and rights they possessed in their home countries. However, they were prepared to do so as a

matter of necessity to be able to lawfully assert their right to asylum (and the human and civil rights asylum comprises) in the EU. However, this movement from one jurisdiction to another was not easy. It meant that they had to momentarily step outside of normal legality. From the moment they left their respective countries to the moment they registered as asylum seekers in the refugee host centres in Greece, they were not citizens of any government or subjects to any jurisdiction. However, the data I⁶¹ collected from the interviews with the migrants suggest that stepping outside of their national legal status was not a⁵⁸⁸ complete abandonment of the law. Firstly, the abandonment of their national legal status is temporary and transitory – they are in the process of leaving behind one nationally framed legal status in order to attain a different national legal status; secondly, the journey from one national legal identity to another national legal identity is framed within an international legality. There is clear evidence from the migrants I interviewed, that they retained faith in international law as a legal justification underpinning and supporting their efforts to find a safer, more secure future in a different land. Their legal consciousness remains alive but is manifested through a temporary, international lens, as opposed to being presented in a stable, national form.

As discussed in chapter one, the State is the primary medium for administering and enforcing rights (Brysk and Shafir, 2004, p.23); however, human rights are importantly framed as universal values that transcend national boundaries. During their time-consuming and risky journeys, the migrants were unable to mobilise the national legal protections that framed their previous legal consciousness; nor could they assert the kind of national rights taken for granted routinely by citizens within a nation State, and nor could they until they had reached their preferred destination. Nonetheless, the journey could still be framed by international human rights, and this preserves the legal consciousness of the migrants in transit.

Upon their arrival in Turkey, many migrants narrated their experiences and their actions in entering Greece. They mentioned the difficulties they faced while they tried to cross sea and

land borders until they entered the country and were able to apply for asylum. A few mentioned the risks they had to take and their tactics to ensure their safety. One of their biggest concerns was being considered refugees by the local authorities and applying for asylum. Those who crossed the Aegean Sea were rescued and helped by local authorities and NGOs, but those who crossed the land border claimed to have been ⁴⁵⁶denied entry to the country by the border police. Those who entered Greece in their first attempt and those who had to try multiple times had to find loopholes and enter the State through deception to avoid its interception tactics.

The authorities in Greece sometimes did not recognise the migrants' needs and vulnerability. The migrants were denied the opportunity to seek asylum and obtain legal status. Greek border guards' intervention to stop migrants from entering the State collided with migrants' goals and human rights. The interception of migrants' movement is viewed as a measure some States employ to control irregular migration and disrupt migrant smuggling on land, air or sea (Brouwer and Kumin, 2003; UNODC, 2011). After the tragic shipwreck of a boat carrying 800 migrants in the Mediterranean Sea in 2015, measures were taken to protect migrants and eliminate migrant smuggling. The EU increased the budget of its rescue operations at sea (Marinai, 2016, p.906), and Frontex was involved in Poseidon operation that aimed to rescue migrants trying to cross the Aegean Sea between Greece and Turkey (Marinai, 2016, p.906). In addition, in 2016, NATO monitored migrant and smuggler movement from Turkey to Greece (Marinai, 2016, p.909). As Turkey is a member of NATO, NATO ships were able to enter and monitor Turkish waters for vessels carrying migrants, something the EU could not do (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018, p. 186). This operation disrupted the flow of migrants, as the rescued migrants that came from Turkey were returned ⁴⁹³to Turkey even if they were picked up in Greek waters (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018, p.187).

The migrants had the legal knowledge that Greece was obligated to accept them and process their claim for asylum under human rights law. Their understanding of human rights

depended on how they understood their own identities (Engel, 2012, p.427). They developed a rights consciousness that allowed them to consider themselves human rights bearers. Their rights consciousness collided with the States' attempts to deny them their rights. Inevitably, they had to find alternative ways to assert their right to asylum.

'There is a law, when you go to any country, they must ask you first "why are you here?", later they send you back. There is no asking anything, ⁵⁵ they don't ask "where are you from" or "what is your name", they don't ask for these things.' [P12]

Participant 12 was expecting the border police to ask him the reason he tried to enter the country. He knew that even though he was not a legal subject in Greece, he remained within an international legal framework. He believed that the Greek border police did not respect his right to seek asylum. The migrants had developed an identity which allowed them to see themselves as right bearers and eligible for international protection.

Rights can constrain and enable human action (Silva, 2013). The migrants who were denied entry at the borders came up with alternative ways to enter the State through loopholes and deceptions. An illustrative example is a migrant from Turkey, a taxi driver who wanted to enter Greece to seek political asylum but was denied entry by the Greek authorities at the Greek-Bulgarian border. He claimed that the border police did not believe he was seeking asylum because he did not come from an area of war or conflict and was of Turkish nationality. In a second attempt to enter the country, he destroyed his passport, drove to another entry point at the border and claimed to be a Syrian refugee who had lost his papers during the war. After a brief check by border guards, he was allowed to enter the country. He later applied for and was granted political asylum in the city of Thessaloniki. Similarly, other migrants followed the same tactic of destroying their identification documents. Another, after he was denied entry at

the land border, travelled to the Turkish coast and crossed the Aegean Sea to a Greek island, where he was received and registered as an asylum seeker.

The migrants who used boats to enter Greece usually managed to reach the islands on their first attempt. However, all of them managed to cross the sea with the help of smugglers. Those migrants either used false identification or were advised (and in some cases obliged) by smugglers to destroy their identification in order to be considered refugees by the Greek authorities upon their arrival on the Greek islands. Many migrants who used boats to enter Greece mentioned that the smugglers stopped the boats near the Greek islands' coasts and waited for the rescue vessels to come and rescue them. This way, the migrants would be considered shipwrecked or in danger, and the authorities would have to take them to safety onshore. The joint operation Poseidon, led by Frontex, patrolled the Greek Eastern Aegean islands and carried out ⁶⁵² search and rescue operations, rescuing more than 40,000 people in 2016 (Frontex, 2016). Even though these migrants did not directly collide with the State, they used trickery to enter Greece. According to migrants, using smugglers and following their suggestions to enter Greece was common knowledge among those trying to leave Turkey.

The migrants found themselves in situations where the State's power limited their movement and actions and prohibited them from claiming rights (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, p.184). Even though they had decided to step outside legality when they decided to flee their countries, their goal was to return to it. In their attempts to step into legality again and be part of a jurisdiction that would recognise their rights and provide protection, they had to find elusive alternative ways to accomplish their goal at any cost. As discussed in this and the previous chapter, migrants risked their lives at sea by boarding overcrowded boats, faced pushbacks and police brutality at the borders, spent a lot of money to pay smugglers, and destroyed their identification papers. Even though they knew that leaving their countries as

refugees was stepping outside legality and could not use the law, they also knew that they remained within the human rights law.

6.2.2.1 The 'Refugee' identity

Universal human rights framed the migrants' legal consciousness. However, legal consciousness is related to identity and the way people perceive themselves. This section focuses on how migrants formed the identity of refugee and right-bearer.

Migrants left behind parts of their lives that are inextricably linked to their identity. Upon arriving at the destination country, they had to re-build these parts of their identity in a new, unfamiliar environment.

Forced migration destroys individuals' identities by removing them from their social environment. The migrants can no longer identify with their social positions, categories and networks; neither can they identify with the power, status and prestige incorporated into these positions and categories. Identity is viewed as ⁴⁰⁷ a process that develops throughout an individual's life, and changes as individuals move from one society to another (Hamburger, 2019:70). However, in cases where people are forcibly removed from their environment, the trauma of losing their social and cultural environment and the extreme situations they experience as refugees (Hamburger, 2019, p.70) need to be added to the equation. Hamburger (2019, p.70) suggests that migrants experience a threat to their identities in the home country prior to migration and continue throughout the migrants' settlement in the host country (Hamburger, 2019, p.70). These identity threats can lead refugees to either protect or reform their identities (Wehrle et al., 2018).

Scholars have identified certain stages of identity reformation, such as the migration journey (Strang and Quinn, 2019; Papastergiadis, 2006), the waiting period in the refugee

centres until a decision is made regarding their status, and finally, the period after receiving a refugee status (Chtouris and Zissi, 2018). Forming a 'refugee' identity is a complex process generated by internal beliefs, values, and cultural norms, as well as by external factors such as the migration policies, socio-economic conditions and cultural norms individuals find in the host country (Burnett, 2013). During this identity reformation, the law appears to play a significant role. Law has the power to officially bestow labels and roles on individuals with social meanings such as 'spouse', 'felon', 'guilty' (Young, 2014, p.523) or, in this case, 'refugee'. The label of 'refugee' is usually attributed to individuals as a form of categorisation. As Zetter put it, 'Such a label does not only serve the need to manage globalised processes and patterns of migration and forced migration in particular' (Zetter, 2007, 174) but also has a significant impact on those who bear it.

This section is focused on the first stage of 'refugee' identity reformation. It focuses on migrants' perceptions of themselves during their migration journey. The section mainly discusses the impact of migrants' identity reformation and positionality regarding their attempts to assert asylum rights in Greece.

Upon arriving in the host country, migrants try to re-build these fragmented identities (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003, p. 338). As Hultin et al. (2022) puts it, after refugees have lost their homes, jobs, families, friends, culture, traditions, and legal status, they are not only trying to survive but also striving to be recognised in order to develop a sense that they matter (2022, p.670).

The migrants' choice to find elusive ways to enter the State and assert their rights regarding asylum can be interpreted as resistance to the law. Drawing from Foucault's work on power, the migrants' attempts to enter Greece through deceptions can be interpreted as a form of resistance to the hegemonic power of the State (Ewick and Silbey, 1998, pp.48, 49). By perceiving power

as dominance, one can assume that it can be used to subordinate others. Resisting this power will secure the subordinate groups' escape from the suppressive situation (Mazey, 2001, p.147). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, migrants collided with the State during their numerous attempts to enter Greece as they tried to escape the restriction of movement imposed by the State. However, the migrants' goal to enter Greece and seek asylum was not an unlawful action. ⁶³⁴ I argue that the migrants did not resist the law to enter Greece, as there was no law to resist. Rather they collided with the Greek State in an attempt to negotiate their identity and secure the benefits this identity entailed.

Having the knowledge that they were subjects of international human rights and eligible for international protection, their collision with the Greek state was a fight for recognition, a negotiation of their identity. The 'refugee' label they were given did not only serve States' and international agencies' need to manage forced migration but also helped migrants reform their identities. They took up the 'refugee' identity and held it as a banner, a key that would grant them access to Greece.

By taking up the identity of a refugee, the migrants positioned themselves in the situation they were experiencing. According to Davies and Harre definition:

⁶² 'Once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person
¹⁴ inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned. At least a possibility of notional choice is inevitably involved because there are many and contradictory discursive practices that each person could engage in' (Davies and Harre, 1990, p.46).

The migrants chose the vantage point of the 'refugee' and viewed themselves as individuals who are eligible of rights and help, and subjects of international human rights law.

In power literature, scholars have conceptualised power as a concept covering groups of phenomena. Power is viewed as domination (Mann, 1986; Haugaard, 2010, 2012), as empowerment and resistance (Allen, 1998; Arendt, 1971; Searle, 2007) or as both (Dagg and Haugaard, 2016). Allen (1998, p.33) argues that power as domination (or power over) is the ⁴⁶⁹ 'ability of an actor to constrain the choices available to another actor'. This form of power has been widely used and theorised in socio-legal studies exploring the hegemonic power of law, particularly State law (Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Aidinlis, 2019; Harding, 2011).

Empowerment and resistance or (power-to) is viewed as manifestations of a subgroup of domination power, when actors can act despite the power exercised upon them by others (Allen, 1998:34; Dagg and Haugaard, 2016). In this form of power, the actors have the power to bring a successful conclusion 'despite their subordination' (Allen, 1998, p.35).

Applying these conceptions of power and identity to this study, I argue that the label of 'refugee' adopted by the migrants was part of their negotiations for their social positions. The Greek State had the power to decide who would be considered a refugee, who would be protected and who would not be protected. Having in mind the dualistic conception of refugees in contemporary public discourses – being imagined as either 'genuine' refugees who deserve help or 'bogus' individuals who are dangerous, liars and want to take advantage of the system (Griffiths, 2018, p.472) –, the negotiation of migrants' identity becomes challenging and crucial to their survival. The migrants found themselves subordinated by the Greek State, which blocked their way to survival and legality. Their attempts to enter Greece and claim asylum through deceit show the migrants' ability to exercise 'power-to'. It shows the migrants' ability to act in response to the State's domination and resist the movement constraints placed upon

them. The 'refugee' identity was a social position which empowered them and gave them the ability to resist the power of the State.

As Dagg and Haugaard (2016, p.398) explain, the authority will tell individuals how to behave if they want to be recognised as refugees, and once recognised, a 'power-to' will be bestowed on them. The migrants in this study showed a 'power-to' and reacted to the State's power before they were recognised as 'refugees'. They perceived that the 'refugee' identity was already being recognised and bestowed on them by international human rights. They presented themselves as war victims (even those who were not) to fortify their reformed identity. After entering the country, they claimed to have applied for asylum, presenting their real-life stories. Negotiating their 'refugee' identity granted them access to Greece and a chance for protection.

After having successfully reformed their identities and entered Greece, the migrants had to find ways to navigate their lives through the Greek legal system and assert rights that would ensure their survival in the host country.

6.3 Migrants' legal consciousness in Greece

This section discusses the legal consciousness of migrants after their successful arrival in Greece. The migrants' endeavours to assert second-generation rights regarding labour, housing and benefits and their unwillingness to assert rights regarding hate crime are displayed and discussed.

6.3.1 Using the law to assert economic and social rights

After successfully entering Greece, all migrants were registered as asylum seekers with the help of the police and NGOs at refugee host centres. After registering with the Greek authorities, the migrants claimed that applying for asylum was the first thing they did in Greece.

The asylum applications were the key to their safety and their legality. Their applications gave them a temporary legal status and the label of ‘asylum seekers’. As discussed in the previous section, labels can shape individuals’ identities and make them identifiable in their social environment. Zetter (2007, p.173) argues that a label “recognises both a process of identification and a mark of identity; implies something independently applied, but also something which can be chosen and amended; has a tangible and real-world meaning but is also metaphorical and symbolic”. The asylum seeker label further secured migrants’ identities as protected and right-holder individuals. After applying for asylum, they were provided with a white card by the Asylum Office. Whenever I asked asylum seekers about their status in Greece, they referred to themselves as refugees and white-card holders. Even though the migrants already showed a rights consciousness regarding human rights during their journey, this new status strengthened their ‘refugee’ and ‘right-holders’ identity and allowed them to be legal subjects once again. They finally reached their goal and managed to step into legality once again.

6.3.1.1 Migrants’ integration and assertion of rights

After securing their stay in Greece by obtaining a (temporary) legal status, the migrants also had to secure their socio-economic survival in Greece. The newly arrived migrants needed to settle in the host society by finding jobs, houses, and accessing health care and education. The settlement in the host country conveys the migrants’ integration into the host society. The term integration has been given many definitions and has often been used interchangeably with the word assimilation as there is considerable overlap in the meaning of the two concepts (Heath and Schneider, 2021, p.2; Schneider and Crul, 2010, p.1144).

However, the term **assimilation** is primarily used in the USA, implying that migrants can potentially take in the mainstream culture and be ‘incorporated into the patterns of economic and social success’ (Schneider and Crul, 2010, p.1144). In Europe, the notion of integration does not aim for a homogenous society but aims for the acceptance, celebration and economic success of diverse cultures within the host society (Schneider and Crul, 2010, p.1144). Integration in this perspective refers to the policies that focus on the economic, social, political and cultural adaptation of both migrants and the host society (Geddes and Scholten, 2015, p.43). Similarly, in this research, the term is used to describe the bidirectional relation of migrants with the elemental structures of the host society (Vukojivic Tomic, 2018, p.224). The migrants must be active and involved in the host society by connecting with other groups and familiarising themselves with the country’s institutions to be accepted by the host society (Penninx and Garces-Mascareñas, 2016, p.11).

However, the integration process does not only depend on the migrants’ willingness and ability to get involved in the host society; it also depends on the State, since the State has to accommodate the migrants’ needs through social policies (Penninx and Garces-Mascareñas, 2016, p.11; Almohamed and Vyas, 2016). The rights provided by the host society in central areas such as political and legal, cultural and religious, and finally socio-economic, allow migrants to assert rights and participate in the society’s political life and grant them access to the labour market and other social rights (Vukojivic Tomic, 2018, p.224). For the last twenty years, the EU has been working on integration policies by introducing directives and treaties which are binding for the Member States. These include the Treaty of the European Union, stating the values the Union was founded on, including the respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. Similarly, the Directive 2011/98/EU of The European Parliament and The Council of 2011 included provisions on the residence and work permits

and a common set of rights for third-country workers residing legally in a Member State (European Union, 2011). Article 19 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union includes a provision to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation (EUR - Lex, 2008). The recent Regulation (EU) 2021/692 on establishing the Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values Programme states that the Member States should take actions to combat discrimination (European Union, 2021).

In addition, the European Commission has provided a framework for developing and strengthening integration policies in the Member States by launching the Integration Action Plan of Third-Country Nationals in 2016 (European Commission, 2016). The plan includes provisions for the preparation of migrants before they migrate to the EU, provisions for education, employment, access to healthcare and housing and finally, provisions for the migrants' participation and social inclusion in the host society (European Commission, 2016). However, this framework was non-binding for the Member States. Each Member State has developed their own policies to ensure migrant integration. In Greece, the integration policies of migrants appeared to be inadequate, as the State did not sufficiently support the migrants in this research.

The provisions, regulations and action plans stated above focus on migrants and third-country nationals residing legally in the country. Before analysing the migrants' integration issues related to their assertion of rights in Greece, it would be necessary to distinguish between the integration of migrants and forced migrants. This distinction will help identify the distinct needs of forced migrants regarding their integration. As discussed earlier in this chapter, forced and voluntary migration are considered two distinct categories of migration in terms of their needs, even though the two often overlap. Similarly, the integration of the two migrant categories should not be dealt with separately.

Upon arriving in the host country, migrants bring with them their skills and social capital (Zehra and Usmani, 2021). However, there are distinct differences between migrants' and forced migrants' skills and capital and their use in the host country. Forced migrants are individuals who have fled their countries. Unlike those migrating voluntarily, forced migrants have less to no opportunity to prepare for their upcoming journey and their settlement ⁵⁷⁶ in the host country (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008, pp.897-8). In addition, due to their flight they do not have the chance to take with them valuables such as education certificates or financial capital (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008, pp.897-8; Hynie, 2018). Asylum seekers also have a smaller social network than other migrants as they emigrate from different countries (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008:898; Hynie, 2018).

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the migrants made significant efforts to assert their political rights. Interestingly, their attitudes towards second-generation rights differed significantly. Cultural and religious rights did not appear to ⁵⁵ play a role in the migrants' willingness to assert rights in the host country. Apart from mentioning the absence of mosques, the migrants did not express any concerns regarding their religious and cultural practices in Greece. They generally expressed a positive attitude towards the host country's stance on cultural and religious diversity. Even though they faced racism and discrimination due to their social characteristics by the local population, they did not face any difficulties while practising religion or cultural traditions. Notably, they voiced their satisfaction with how local authorities, the police and other agencies dealt with their religious and cultural needs.

One participant said,

‘...We were in a village and the people wanted to pray. You know in Muslim religion, there is a stone, and all (people) when they pray they must face the stone. I was asking a lady in the police station to show us where Saudi

Arabia is, with her phone, and she helped us. Very friendly. Greek people are open mind you know'. [P12]

Their religious and cultural integration was not of great significance at the time. Conversely, their socio-economic rights appeared to be of paramount significance, as they were often the central topic of our interactions and emerged as a dominant theme during the interviews. The migrants' insufficient socio-economic integration was visible in migrants' efforts to ensure their economic survival in Greece. The migrants' socio-economic condition played a crucial role in their decision to assert their rights. During the interviews, the migrants often focused and redirected the topic of discussion to their economic situations and struggle to get jobs and housing. When asked about their problems in Greece at the time, most migrants mentioned their struggles to make ends meet, get jobs and find stable accommodation. It became clear to me that their most essential needs revolved around their socio-economic wellbeing in Greece. As mentioned in the findings chapter, the migrant's financial resources derived from the EU migration fund. All migrants in this research had registered for financial support upon their arrival in Greece, which they received through EU funding, the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF).

However, after obtaining official refugee status, the migrants had to work to financially support themselves and their families, as they were no longer eligible for funding. They felt that they were not ready for this status change - from asylum seeker to refugee – and accept the responsibility of living without financial support.

In Greece, third-country nationals who reside legally in the country have equal access to employment with Greek nationals (Skleparis, 2018:5). In reality, however, the migrants interviewed felt they did not have the same opportunities in employment because of their lack of knowledge of legal processes, their lack of language proficiency, and their status.

When this research was conducted, the migrants who had received refugee status or were close (time-wise) to obtaining one were looking for jobs or had initiated the process by contacting government offices and NGOs to find out the necessary paperwork to be employed in Greece. Their enquiries were focused on the procedures of getting work permits and national insurance numbers. They were trying to acquire the necessary legal knowledge to assert their employment rights in Greece.

⁶¹ The integration of migrants in the host country's labour market has attracted much attention from scholars who focus on the barriers to integration experienced by migrants. (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Roth et al., 2022; Ager and Strang, 2008). Unfortunately, the EU does not have common integration policies for refugees and asylum seekers (Bakker, Cheung and Phillimore, 2016:118). Greece's integration strategies ³³² for the induction of migrants into the labour market was limited to the amendment of previous presidential Decree 220/2007 (Article 10(1) - which required migrants to obtain work permits after receiving an asylum seekers card. In addition, Greek nationals, EU citizens and recognised refugees had priority in employment over third-country nationals (Government Gazzette of the Hellenoc Republic, 2007). The new law ¹⁰⁵ (Law No. 4375/2016) on the Organization and operation of the Asylum Service, Appeals Authority, Reception and Identification Services and other provisions provide migrants with ²⁸ automatic access to the labour market once they have received an asylum seeker's card (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2016). However, there are bureaucratic obstacles such as obtaining AMKA (Social Security Number) and AFM (Tax Identification Number) numbers, making their unemployed registration more difficult. One of the migrants [P4] mentioned the differences between different municipalities in Greece, showing that his efforts to obtain legal knowledge regarding employment fell short due to the different integration approaches followed on regional level.

In addition, opening bank accounts to receive their salaries was also tricky for migrants, especially those who lived in camps and had alternative residency documents. The lack of official rental contracts makes the process of opening bank accounts challenging for migrants. (Oxfam Policy & Practice, 2017, p.12).

Apart from employment, another vital part of their lives at the time was acquiring permanent accommodation. Again, the migrants showed a willingness to attain knowledge regarding housing in Greece. They consulted NGOs to determine whether they were eligible for any funding regarding housing and the procedures they had to follow to reach their goal. Their assertion of rights regarding employment and housing support was the migrant's most important concern. They acquired the legal knowledge necessary to access housing. Their rights-holder identity was visible through their actions to assert rights regarding housing.

However, becoming active in the host society and using rights presupposes the ability to communicate in the host country's language effectively. Language proficiency was a major barrier limiting migrants' access to social services and general activity in the host society. For instance, the lack of language proficiency made some migrants' access to health care in Greece challenging. The migrants' lack of language proficiency leads to miscommunication with health care providers and missing appointments (Gunst et al., 2019, p.821). The migrants in this research mentioned their difficulty communicating with health care professionals. However, they felt that the health care professionals made great efforts to successfully communicate with migrants in order to provide the best care possible.

Language proficiency has been integral to integration policies in European countries such as England and Netherlands (Bakker, Cheung and Phillimore, 2016, p.119). Greece's integration policies focus on integrating refugee children into Greek schools by creating preparatory classes for pupils under the law (4415/2016) (Skleparis, 2018, p.5). Refugee

children can attend afternoon classes regardless of their or their parents' legal status (Simopoulos and Alexandridis, 2019, p.28; Skleparis, 2018, p.5). Unfortunately, there are no provisions for adult migrants who want to learn the Greek language or improve their education. Adults can attend Greek language classes in NGOs and in certain municipalities (Skleparis, 2018, p.6). For the further integration of migrants, the Centres for Migrants Integration were established on the mainland under the jurisdiction of municipalities and at a national level as well (Bagavos et al., 2019, p.326). These centres provide migrants with language courses and other training and are funded by European Union funds (Bagavos et al., 2019, p.326). Many migrants mentioned that they were trying to learn the language by attending classes provided by NGOs, such as the international NGO premises where this research was conducted. Others mentioned that they were trying to learn through free online classes or videos on free online platforms.

Migrants who cannot communicate in the host country's language may experience difficulties expressing their needs, asserting their rights and forming networks with the local population, which can affect their overall integration experience in the host country. When this study was conducted, migrants did not appear to be integrated into the host society. However, they still made efforts to familiarise themselves with the Greek language and culture. The more integrated they become, the more they can assert their rights in Greece.

The migrants' concerns regarding employment, housing and their readiness to change status, show that the State did not properly support them. The lack of adequate integration policies in Greece creates a barrier between migrants and the Greek society and fosters migrants' exclusion and isolation.

6.4 Not asserting rights regarding hate crime

After discussing the migrants' legal consciousness regarding their assertion of political and socio-economic rights, this section discusses their legal consciousness regarding hate crime. As presented in the previous chapter, most hate incident victims (13 out of 15) avoided reporting the incidents to the authorities. The five factors identified to influence the migrants' unwillingness to report hate incidents to the authorities include the migrants' lack of legal knowledge, their political culture and religion, the seriousness of the crime, and finally, previous ¹⁷ negative experiences with the legal system in Greece and their countries of origin.

6.4.1 Lack of knowledge

³ The first factor discussed is the lack of legal knowledge and, more specifically, the lack of awareness of hate crime policies in Greece. Legal knowledge is necessary for individuals to use the law and assert their rights (Hernandez, 2010, p.111). Knowledge of the law is not merely the ability to repeat a set of rules but the ability to interpret them (White, 2002, p.1397). Like learning a language, individuals never know the law in its totality. They develop their understanding of the law by using it in different situations. Merry (2003) argues that for individuals to develop legal knowledge, they need to interact with the legal system. Individuals become aware of their rights when involved in legal processes (Hernandez, 2015). This knowledge can eventually help them in future legal matters and their assertion of rights, such as reporting hate crimes. In this section, the term legal knowledge is used in reference to the migrants' knowledge ²⁵⁶ of hate crime law and their awareness of hate crime policies and practices in Greece.

Legal knowledge has been identified as a critical factor that discourages reporting various types of crimes (Skogan, 2006, p.1984). Lack of awareness regarding hate crime policies and

practices has been previously identified as a factor that prevents the reporting of the crime (Vergani and Navaro, 2021; Chakraborti, 2015;; Culotta, 2005; Chacraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2015).

The migrants in this research did not perceive hate crime as a criminal offence. Their lack of knowledge included their lack of understanding of their rights and the legislation that protects them from hate. Most migrants (29 out of 33) were unfamiliar with the term 'hate crime'. Those migrants were not aware of hate crime either as a phenomenon or a criminal offence. Consequently, mobilising hate crime law was not an option for these individuals.

McDevitt et al. (2000) conceptualise the process of reporting a hate crime in Seven Key Decision Points. The first four points concern the actions taken by the victim for reporting a crime. Firstly, the victim needs to consider themselves a victim of a crime and secondly, to identify hate as the motivating factor. The third step is to contact the authorities, and the fourth and final step is to inform the authorities about the motivating factor (McDevitt et al., 2000, p.5). However, studies suggest that victims of hate crime do not always consider themselves victims of hate (Richardson et al., 2016; Wickes et al., 2016; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). They failed to recognise the motivating factor and considered themselves simply victims of crime (Wickes et al., 2016; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014) or failed to perceive themselves as victims at all (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014).

The migrants in this research often failed to consider themselves victims of crime. Although they perceived the incidents as discrimination directed at them due to their foreign status, they did not perceive the incidents as crimes. During the interviews, migrants often failed to recognise hate incidents and claimed they had never been victimised. However, they later narrated stories that could be considered hate incidents and crimes. Inevitably, their lack of awareness influenced their attitudes towards reporting. When one does not consider a

situation as harmful, at least to the degree that would allow them to perceive themselves as victims, they have no reason to try and expand their knowledge on the matter and be informed about its legal process.

The fifteen victims narrated their stories of victimisation in Greece only after I provided ⁴²⁰ definitions of hate crime and hate speech. In some instances when the definitions were not enough for the migrants to understand what hate crime is, I provided examples of verbal and physical attacks. The fact that the definitions were not enough for the migrants to comprehend ⁴⁴⁵ the concept of hate crime can be due to the terminology used by the official definitions. The alternative language I used alongside the examples helped migrants understand the concept of hate crime and narrate their experiences. Wickes et al. (2016) explored how alternative terms to hate crime, such as prejudice, motivated bias or targeted crime, used by police agencies in Victoria, Australia, are understood by victim groups. They also explored whether new terminology impacts hate crime reporting. The findings suggest that the terminology change was insufficient to increase hate crime reporting. However, the participants claimed that using more inclusive and particularly group-specific terms, such as ‘anti-Semitism’, was easier to understand (2016, p.251).

Interestingly, the migrants showed different levels of legal knowledge in different instances after their arrival in Greece. While migrants showed legal knowledge regarding their asylum rights, they showed limited to no knowledge regarding hate crimes. The following sections further discuss the reasons for this lack of knowledge and their unwillingness to assert their rights regarding hate crimes.

6.4.2 Political culture and religion

The migrants' unwillingness to report hate incidents to the authorities was also related to aspects of their culture and religion. Wu and Sun (2009) suggest that individuals who emigrate from societies that promote 'silence' to maintain social cohesion are less likely to report criminal offences to the authorities. Similarly, Özaşçılar, Narli and Öztürk's (2019, p.2010) research on Syrian refugees in Turkey suggests that 'being silent instead of saying bad things and 'being resilient against hardship testing and fear' were cultural norms advised in the Quran. They observed this culture of 'silence' in the participants' unwillingness to report crimes to the authorities (2019, p.2010). A few migrants in this study who referred to their Muslim religious beliefs or the Quran mentioned that avoiding confrontation was a virtue of a good Muslim. I asked a young migrant how she would react in case of a future hate incident, and she said,

'Because my mom said, if someone say any bad things just keep your head down and go. Don't pay attention, don't waste your time and don't waste their times. Make them to feel like they are not good in their way, so If you are good in your way they're gonna feel shy. They are not going to do the same thing with another people. What my mother told me I kept in my mind, so I'm doing this.' [P7]

Another one said,

'People have different lifestyles and character, if the person hate you or something bad, you just have to forgive him and move on.' [P10]

The tendency to avoid confrontation appeared to be a cultural norm for some religious migrants. Acting toward hate incidents could be considered disrespectful and against the norms of their religious culture.

6.4.3 Seriousness of crime and the normalisation of hate

Previous empirical studies have identified the seriousness of a crime as an indicator of willingness to report hate crimes (Skogan, 1984; Wong and Christmann, 2008; Wickes et al., 2016). Similarly, the findings in this study show that the migrants' decision-making towards reporting hate incidents was based by and large on their perception of the seriousness of the incident. For most victims (13 out of 15), hate incidents were not serious enough to report. The two victims who reported the hate incidents to the authorities were physically and verbally attacked. The attacks included bodily harm and the use of a weapon. ³ Pezzella, Fetzer and Keller (2019, p.12) found that the use of weapons during the hate incident and the presence of physical or psychological injuries sustained by the victim were factors related to the seriousness of the crime. When one of these factors was present, the ³ victims were more likely to report the incident (Pezzella, Fetzer, Keller, 2019). The two victims in this research who reported hate incidents to the police believed the incidents to be very serious and harmful; thus, contacting the authorities was the only way to resolve their problem. These were the only victims of hate crime who experienced life-threatening hate incidents.

The rest of the victims [12] were attacked verbally, and one was a victim of property damage, all claiming that the incidents they experienced were not serious enough to report. Similarly, none of the non-victims was willing to report a verbal hate attack to the authorities, and only half would report a physical hate incident in the future. Wong and Christmann (2008) suggest that victims of hate crimes appear to distinguish between violent and non-violent hate attacks. The victims were more willing to report violent hate crimes than non-violent. This finding suggests that migrants' willingness to report a crime to the authorities depended on ⁴³³ their perception of the seriousness of the crime. The migrants reported and were willing to report in the future only the crimes they perceived as serious, that is, violent incidents that

jeopardised their physical wellbeing. ⁵⁵ This finding is in line with previous studies on hate crime reporting (Williams and Tregidga, 2013; Vergani and Navaro, 2020).

‘Yeah, I would talk to the police, but not for word, because I can defend myself if somebody is racist with me. If they swear to my country or religion or something, I can swear back, that’s it’. [P12]

The migrants viewed hate speech as mere words they could easily brush off, and that had no serious impact on their lives. Even though many of the incidents they described could be labelled as hate crimes under scholar and law enforcement agency definitions, the migrants failed to recognise them as such. When individuals are unaware of what comprises a hate crime, like the migrants in this research, they cannot recognise the severity of hate incidents they experience; thus, they avoid reporting it (Wickes et al., 2016:244).

The migrants’ background and reasons for migration also appear ³ to have played a role in their perception of the seriousness of hate crime. Wong and Christmann (2008), who interviewed refugees and asylum seekers, found that the migrants compared their suffering in their home countries to the hate incidents presented to them by the researchers. The refugees and asylum seekers perceived the hate-related incidents as ‘inconsequential, or an annoyance and not worth reporting’ (Wong and Christmann, 2008:7). Four migrants in this research compared the suffering they experienced prior to their migration and sometimes the hate incidents they experienced in transit countries with the hate incidents they experienced in Greece.

‘It is not a problem for me [hate incident in Greece]. They are small incidents. ³⁰⁷ I try not to think about it, I try to forget it. I spend 5 years in Turkey before I come here, and there was a lot of racism, I had to change home for that.’ [P1]

For those migrants, the hate incidents they experienced seemed insignificant compared to the incidents they experienced before they arrived in Greece. They found hate speech incidents trivial compared to the hardships of their past.

In addition, the frequency of these hate incidents contributed to the normalisation of the phenomenon. Hate incidents were perceived as regular and normal. For most migrants, these verbal attacks were experienced so often that they became a routine part of their daily lives. Hate incidents that individuals routinely experience led them to normalise and validate their victimisation (Clement et al., 2011; Thorneycroft and Asquith, 2015; Vergani and Navarro, 2020; Richardson et al., 2016; Lumsden, Goode and Black, 2019). Richardson et al., (2016, p. 83), shows that handicapped victims of hate even claimed to feel that they deserved their victimisation. It was something they expected to happen, which made it difficult for them to recognise the prejudice motive behind their victimisation.

One of the victims said

‘Like I said before, when you go to a store, and they say you cannot enter. Or sometimes they say “wait, wait”, they finish the customers, and then you can go in. Now, I think it’s normal. At first, when I came, I felt bad. But now I think it’s normal. It’s not my country, so I know I’m not going to have things easy.... so I’m in the bus, and a man start shouting at me, he said “who asked you to come here, here is our country”? I said I seek asylum here. He said “here is our country, you have to go back to your country, here is poor economy”. So I understand them, they used to say we take the jobs, so sometimes I understand them.’ [P10]

In this example, the migrant does not recognise the negative impact of hate incidents. Lumsden, Goode and Black (2019), who interviewed Eastern European migrants in

England, found that the migrants generally normalise hate speech incidents. However, the migrants in their research resisted the discourses of 'othering' that contributed to the normalisation of hate speech suggested by Lumsden, Goode and Black (2019:178). The migrants did not show any elements of resistance towards hate speech and the notion of 'other' imposed on them by the offenders. They perceived themselves as the 'others' who stand out in the social ensemble. Kirkwood et al. (2013, p.758) found that ⁵⁸ refugees and asylum seekers downplayed the seriousness of the racial hate incidents. When they attributed the violence to racism, they tried to justify the offender, for instance, by portraying them as ignorant.

Similarly, the migrants in this study justified offenders of both physical and verbal hate incidents; however, they did not deny the existence of racism. They accepted it as part of their lives, refusing to take up the victim's identity regarding hate speech. The migrant's denial to take up the identity of the victim and accuse the offender could mean that they are trying to find the motivation to stay ³⁵⁵ in the host country (Kirkwood et al, 2013, p.759).

The normalisation of hate incidents and particularly hate speech leads to tolerance and makes the address of hate crimes even more challenging (Browne, Bakshi and Lim, 2011, pp.749,750).

'I just keep it within me. I guess it is a normal thing. Maybe it is the reason you come to their country. It is part of life. You need to meet new people, know how life is, that's why I keep it in me.' [P31]

When migrants are unable to recognise their victimisation and the harm it causes to them, they are not able to mobilise the law and assert their rights. For individuals to act legally and ask for compensation, they need to blame the offender and perceive the incidents as harmful to them (Engel, 2013, p.320).

6.4.4 Confidence in the legal system

Crime reporting and particularly the reporting of hate crimes is associated with the victims' perception of the authorities and the legal system (Skogan, 1984; Balboni and McDevitt, 2001; Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004; Fathi, 2013; Chakraborti, 2015; Özaşçılar, Narli and Öztürk, 2019; Pezzella, Fetzner and Keller, 2019; Wong and Christmann, 2008). Migrants usually tend to avoid reporting crimes to ²⁰⁵ authorities due to fear of deportation (Gutierrez and Kirk, 2017), ¹⁶² lack of trust and confidence in the police (Wong and Christmann 2008; Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Skogan, 1986), and/or fear of mistreatment (Zaykowski, 2010).

Interestingly, the migrants' willingness to report hate incidents was not associated with their views of the police in Greece. Only four migrants claimed that their unwillingness to ⁶⁷¹ report a crime was related to the police in Greece. One migrant mentioned his fear of being deported as he had a temporary status at the time.

'If I had papers I would go the police but now I cannot.' [P2]

Even though he was residing legally in the country, he was not comfortable contacting the police before he obtained a permanent permit. The lack of legal status can influence migrants' decision to contact the authorities (Gutierrez and Kirk, 2017, p.945). Migrants might be afraid of exposing their status to the authorities by reporting a crime (Tarling and Morris, 2010, p.475). Often migrants cannot distinguish the differences between the legal processes that will protect them from hate incidents and those that will prosecute or deport them, which prevents them from reporting hate incidents to the authorities (Fathi, 2013, p.261).

Another migrant showed a lack of confidence in police work. She claimed that she would not report hate speech in the future because the police would not be able to do something about it due to the nature of the crime. She believed that hate speech was difficult to detect, and the police would not be able to convince the offender to stop.

‘I will not report you to the police because the police cannot force you to change. The police will say to the person, change, but the police don’t live in the same place with me.’ [P10]

The migrants’ background also appears to have shaped their attitude towards the police in Greece. Most migrants held a positive opinion of the police in Greece. The migrants compared their ²⁶⁵ experiences with the police in Greece to those in their countries of origin. The Greek police was viewed as positively compared to the authoritative police in their home countries. However, this comparison appeared to work the opposite way for two migrants. The previous negative experiences with authoritative regimes in their home countries negatively influenced their attitudes toward the Greek police.

One of them claimed that he does not trust the police ‘anywhere’. Negative experiences with the law, the police ⁶⁶⁵ or corrupt legal systems in the country of origin can influence migrants’ perceptions of the authorities and the legal system in the host country (e.g., ¹⁷ Kirk, Papachristos, Fagan, & Tyler, 2012, pp.91,92; Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004; Fathi, 2013). The migrants might show distrust towards the police because they perceive the police as an authority that has the power to harm them potentially. This fear might be present, especially in those who have been victims of torture and mistreatment in their home countries (Herlihy and Turner, 2009:3), like the migrants in this research.

Previous studies suggest that members of minority groups show less confidence and trust in the police due to cases of police misconduct or perceived misconduct (Zaykowski, 2010, p.379). In contrast, confidence in the police would increase hate crime reporting (Balboni and McDevitt, 2001). Özaşçılar, Narli and Öztürk (2019), who researched Syrian refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey, found that those ¹⁷ who were satisfied with the police were more willing to report hate incidents. This is related to the idea of procedural justice. When

individuals perceive the police performance as fair and legitimate, they engage and cooperate with them (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003, p.514). In this research, most migrants held positive views of the police in Greece. They viewed the police' work as legitimate and justified the police actions even when those actions were against them or members of their group. Citizens who view legal authorities' actions as legitimate tend to believe that those authorities protect values important to them (Kääriäinen and Sirén, 2011, p.67). The migrants viewed the Greek police as the ones who will ensure all citizens' safety and described them as 'helpful' and 'friendly'. Kääriäinen and Sirén (2011) support the concept that satisfaction and trust in the police do not necessarily lead to crime reporting (2011, p.67). Their findings indicate that crime reporting is associated with trust towards the police and trust towards society in general. The more individuals trust in police and the community, the lower the crime reporting rates, while the less they trust the police and the community, the more likely they report a crime (2011, p.77).

Most migrants showed trust towards the police, even when police officers victimised them at the borders or when they were subjected to racism and discrimination during their stay in Greece. As discussed in previous chapters, the xenophobic discourses in Europe, particularly in Greece, led to the victimisation of migrants. Around half of the participants (15 out of 33) claimed they had been victims of hate incidents at least once upon their arrival in Greece. Interestingly, even though their exposure to racism and discrimination was high, the migrants narrated their experiences only after being asked about them. ⁵⁴⁴ Hate crime did not appear to be a significant concern for the migrants at the time.

The two migrants who reported hate crimes to the authorities claimed to trust the law and the courts in Greece and believed contacting the police was the only way to stop their harassment. Both victims accepted the authority of the law. They praised its impartiality by claiming that they did not face any discrimination and were treated 'like Greek people' by the

legal system. The two victims of hate crime mobilised the law because they trusted in the legal system.

As discussed in the previous section, migrants' political culture influenced their attitude towards the police and the legal system. Their attitude towards the police does not only explain their unwillingness to report hate incidents but also their legal consciousness in Greece. They mentioned interactions with border and city police, and three migrant narrated their interactions with the Greek courts. However, many of these interactions had a negative outcome for the migrants. Interestingly, even the individuals who claimed to have faced police misconduct and, in some cases, brutality – from a stop and search to excessive force –, or a negative court judgement justified the adverse outcomes. They viewed the police as the protectors of peace. They justified and viewed the police as the authority that protects the people. Albrecht and Green (1977, p.80) note that citizens' attitudes towards the police can express a broader set of attitudes towards society and its policies and not necessarily personal experiences with the local police.

A migrant from Algeria said,

'It's not every police bad you know; they do their job. The police here they do its job. I tell you something, Algerian men here, they (the police) hit us, I tell you why, because the most of Algerian steal. They go on buses, they steal phone, they steal anything, money...So the policemen saw this crime every day... They hit us no because we are Algerian, [they hit] those stealing, terrorise the people of Greece, I understand this, that's why they hit us.' [P4]

Participant [4], among others, justified police brutality. They believed that it was the fault of migrants that caused those actions. He viewed members of his group [fellow migrants] as criminals who were taking advantage of the host country and tried to distance himself from

them. Jones et al. (2017) observed a similar attitude among migrants in their research. Zimbabwean migrants in Glasgow devalued members of their own group (other migrants) because they did not deserve to be in the country due to their undesirable characteristics and behaviour (Jones et al., 2017, p.127). They portrayed Eastern Europeans as ‘thieves’ and ‘lazy’, claiming they took advantage of the system (Jones et al., 2017, p.127).

6.5 Conclusion: Legal alienation and prioritisation of needs

This chapter discussed the legal consciousness of migrants throughout their migration journey from their countries of origin to Greece, with a particular interest in their attempts to assert rights. Throughout this chapter, we can see how migrants’ legal consciousness shifts every time they encounter a different situation, further showing its polyvocality. We can see how different factors influence migrants’ perception of and attitude towards the law according to their needs.

The first half of the chapter is focused on the migrants’ attempts to assert political rights and their struggles to achieve that. Starting with the reasons that motivated them to flee their countries, we can see that their migration was not involuntary. The migrants decided to leave their countries, considering both the negative situation they experienced in their home countries and the potential positive situations they were expecting to find in the host country. What most people call forced or involuntary migration appeared to be a conscious choice for the migrants in this research. Their goal was not just to flee their countries but also to migrate to a country where they could potentially have a better quality of life. Thus, an EU Member-State was not chosen randomly as a destination. Greece was the chosen destination for most migrants due to its democratic values and the rights it provided to its citizens. Greece was an excellent destination to migrate and assert rights they could not assert in their home countries.

The migrants' choice of destination shows that they had developed a legal consciousness that allowed them to see themselves as right-bearers. They managed to familiarise themselves with international human rights and the EU policies on asylum rights. This knowledge contributed significantly to their decision to migrate to Greece. It implemented their legal consciousness and motivated them to leave their homes, loved ones, and belongings behind, but most importantly, it motivated them to leave behind their citizenship. Their rights-based legal consciousness inspired them to jump from their home countries' jurisdiction to the EU's jurisdiction. However, this transition meant they had to step outside legality momentarily like a hurdling athlete during a jump. The migrants were momentarily on neither side of the hurdle but somewhere in the middle, vulnerable and insecure about the outcome of the leap, hoping for the best. The migrants took the risk of leaving their citizenship rights and stepping outside legality, hoping that one day they would be able to claim citizenship in another place with more rights and privileges.

During this leap, the migrants did not belong anywhere. They were not citizens of any State and not subjects to any jurisdiction. Their perception of human rights was the element that kept their hopes high and encouraged them to move forward. They understood human rights as universal that transcend boundaries. This understanding of international human rights and their knowledge of the EU policies on asylum framed their legal consciousness.

During this process, the migrants reformed their identities and developed the identity of 'refugee'. When the Greek State denied some of them entrance and protection, the refugee identity empowered them and allowed them to resist the State's power. It gave them the ability to negotiate their social position. The State has the power to decide who will be recognised as a refugee (Dagg and Haugaard, 2016). This recognition gives migrants the power to react to the State's power.

Interestingly, the migrants did not depend on the Greek State to recognise them as refugees and bestow them the power to react. Legal consciousness is related to identity and how people perceive themselves regarding rights. The migrant's identity, and consequently, legal consciousness, were framed by human rights; thus, they perceived themselves to be already recognised as refugees by international human rights. The alternative ways and tricks migrants used to enter Greece, such as destroying their identification documents, were an attempt to solidify their refugee identity and win this negotiation of identity with the Greek State. Once they managed to enter the country, they asserted their rights to asylum. They finally managed to reach the other side of the hurdle and once again step into legality. The asylum seeker status gave them temporary protection and brought them one step closer to their goal.

After obtaining a temporary legal status and protection by the State, the migrants' next goal was to integrate into the host society and assert socio-economic rights. Most migrants wanted to stay in Greece permanently, which further motivated them to integrate into Greek society. However, their integration was not easy, as Greece's integration policies appeared to be inadequate. The migrants faced many difficulties regarding employment, housing and language proficiency. They felt they could not assert their rights to work or access the health system due to bureaucracy, lack of training and language lessons for adults. The migrants showed a willingness to assert socio-economic rights but found it challenging because of the States' inability to provide them with the necessary help.

The way individuals perceive themselves influences their attitudes towards the law and rights. For individuals to use the law, they first need to develop a rights consciousness. They must perceive themselves as eligible for rights and construct an identity, a rights-defined self (Merry, 2003). Law plays an essential role in the construction of the self and the formation of a rights-defined identity. As discussed in chapter three, studies show how immigration laws shaped the identity of migrants (Abrego, 2008, 2011; Schwenken, 2013)

Similarly, in this research, migrants developed a 'refugee' identity framed by international human rights and the EU asylum policies that empowered them to react to the power of the Greek State and assert their asylum rights. However, migrants' attitudes toward hate crime diverged significantly. The migrants did not adopt a rights identity regarding hate crime. Although they experienced hate incidents, discrimination and intolerance, their legal consciousness was not framed by hate crime laws and policies. The migrants' lack of knowledge regarding hate crimes did not allow them to perceive themselves as victims and develop a rights identity. Thus, they were unwilling to report hate crimes to the authorities.

The migrant's unwillingness to report hate incidents can be considered legal alienation. Ewick and Silbey's (1998) model of legal consciousness shows that individuals experience the power of the law in everyday settings. However, this appeared to not be untrue for most migrants. The migrants showed a lack of legal knowledge regarding hate crimes. During the interviews, most migrants did not refer to hate crime as a concept or criminal offence because they were unaware of it. Thus, they only reported to the authorities incidents they considered serious, such as those that jeopardised their physical wellbeing.

Hertogh (2018) challenges the idea of law being infused in everyday life. He argues that individuals are not always aware, identify, and comply with the law. The law can be perceived as irrelevant or meaningless to its subjects. Thus, its hegemonic power cannot be experienced by individuals in everyday life (Hertogh, 2018).

I argue that the migrants were alienated from the law because hate crimes appeared irrelevant and insignificant to them. The migrants did not develop a rights-based identity and identify with the law because hate crimes were not a priority in their lives at the time. As discussed in the first half of this chapter, the migrants' primary concern was to acquire political rights to ensure their protection. Although they were given a permanent or temporary secure

status, they still needed to find ways to survive in the host society. Therefore, they focused on asserting rights to ensure their socio-economic survival, such as obtaining social security and tax identification numbers, finding jobs and housing, learning the language, enjoy benefits.
569 Hate crime did not appear to be a priority in their lives at the time.

The factors contributing to migrants' unwillingness to report hate crimes discussed previously further show the migrants' indifference toward hate crime law. Most migrants were unfamiliar 337 with the concept of hate crime upon their arrival in Greece, as most participants had migrated from countries where 337 hate crime does not exist as a criminal offence. The migrants had to familiarise themselves with the hate crime concept after arriving in a jurisdiction that recognised it as a crime. However, their cultural background appeared to play a crucial role in their attitude towards hate crime law. The culture of 'silence' narrated by some Muslim migrants prompted individuals to avoid confrontation, further discouraging individuals from familiarising themselves with the concept of hate crime and its reporting. The migrants did not perceive hate crime as a distinct type of crime considered more harmful than other types of crime due to their impact on the victims and society. Therefore, they dealt with hate incidents the way they would with any other type of crime. That is, they took into consideration the seriousness of the incidents. Thus, they reported only the incidents they perceived as harmful to their physical wellbeing. This may further explain the fact that their opinion of the police in Greece did not play a significant role in hate crime reporting. Although they generally showed confidence and trust in the police in Greece, their positive opinions were not enough to encourage them to report hate crimes. The migrants focused on their physical wellbeing and their socio-economic survival in Greece.

The migrants did not need to acquire legal knowledge regarding hate crime because they did not perceive it as a criminal offence and were unwilling to confront the offenders. As long as their survival did not depend on hate crime, they had no reason to act towards it. Hence

acquiring legal knowledge on hate crimes was not one of their priorities. Hate crime appeared to be insignificant compared to the laws that enabled them to survive and fulfil their basic needs in Greece.

Chapter Seven: Legal consciousness of economic migrants in Greece

7.1 Introduction

⁴²⁵ This chapter explores the legal consciousness of six economic migrants in Greece. During the data collection, I had the opportunity to meet and interview migrants residing in Greece for more than 20 years. I originally planned to include these migrants in the primary research. However, refugees and asylum seekers differ significantly from economic migrants. As discussed in chapter six, the subcategories assigned to individuals who migrate indicate their situation, needs, and reason for migration (United Nations, 2016; Amnesty International, 2016; Erdal and Oeppen, 2017; Zetter, 2007). Labels like ‘illegal’, ‘undocumented’, ‘unauthorised’, ‘refugee’, ‘asylum seeker’ and more determine these individuals’ status and hence the amount of ⁴⁴⁶ protection and rights granted to them by the State (DeGenova, 2002).

The economic migrants and those seeking asylum have experienced distinct difficulties during their journey and stay in Greece. While the refugees and asylum seekers fled generalised violence, the economic migrants left their countries to find a better quality of life based on the economic opportunities Greece offered at the time. As discussed in chapter six, economic migration manifests as the cause of voluntary rather than forced migration (Erdal and Oeppen, 2017). Although the line separating voluntary and forced migration is very thin in certain situations, it can be helpful for the identification of the needs of distinct migrant groups.

In addition, the securitisation processes states follow are inextricably linked with the status migrants carry upon their arrival in the host country. Economic migrants are subject to different legislation than refugees and asylum seekers. Even though ³⁰ at the time of their migration in the early 1990s, the legislation and policies for economic migrants differed significantly from today, their migration was still considered voluntary rather than forced.

Thus, they received a different legal status and protection from the State compared to the statuses and protection that refugees and asylum seekers would receive.

Finally, the inspiration for this research was the current migration crisis in the EU. The research aims to show how highly vulnerable individuals like refugees and asylum seekers assert ²³⁹ their rights and develop legalities in the host country. Including economic migrants in the current study could potentially undermine the research aim for the reasons stated above.

Therefore, I decided to use the data I collected to write an additional small chapter on economic migrants, as I believe the findings are worthy of attention. Even though the inclusion of economic migrants in the primary research would be inapt, I believe their analysis in a stand-alone chapter would be a valuable contribution to this thesis. This analysis can afford us a better grasp of migrants' legal consciousness in the host country and help us identify the distinct forms of legal consciousness manifested in different migrant categories. A comparison between refugee and asylum seekers' legal consciousness with that of economic migrants would be unfitting, as the participants recruited in the two groups differ significantly in numbers. However, I believe this analysis could indicate the two groups' needs and inspire future research.

In the first part, I set the background of the socio-economic situation in Greece ⁴³⁶ at the time of migrants' arrival in the country. Then a small section on the methods used for collecting and analysing the data follows, along with the recruitment process and the limitation that emerged. Then a discussion follows with a focus on migrants' perceptions and attitudes toward the law in Greece, particularly their assertion of rights regarding their legal status and reaction to hate crimes. Finally, the conclusion summarises the chapter by displaying the main discussion points.

7.2 The development of migration policies

As presented in chapter two, the 1990s was a period of migration from the Balkan countries to Greece. The socio-economic situation in Greece at the time was quite different from today. During the 1990 and early 2000, Greece went through a period of Europeanization and socio-economic growth (Featherstone, 1998; Grigoriadis, 2008, p.25; Ioakimidis, 2000, p.76 Hlepas, 2020, p.243). Individuals started migrating to Greece ²⁷⁴ after the collapse of the former Soviet Union and other socialist regimes in Balkan countries (Cavounidis, 2004:37). Migrants from Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and several other countries migrated to Greece due to economic, political and cultural reasons (Hatziprokopiou, 2005, p.2; Sakellariou, 2017, p.511; Cavounidis, 2004, p.36; Cavounidis, 2013, p.60). An unprecedented inflow of migrants from the Balkans, especially Albania migrated to Greece to avoid the political and economic instability in their ⁴⁰⁷ countries (Mai and Schwandner-Sievers, 2003, p.940). In 2001 the number of migrants was 762,191, with Albanians making up 57.4%, Bulgarian 4.6% and Romanians 3.0% of the foreign population (Cavounidis, 2004, p.36). The migration towards Northern European States based on the 'Fordist economy' - the need of workers for the industrial ⁴⁰⁶ growth in the European North in the 1960s and 1970s – shifted towards the South with the development of agriculture and tourism in 1980s and 1990s (Cavounidis, 2004, p.37; King, 2002, p.95). Greece became a destination country for migrants seeking seasonal labour in agriculture, fishing, tourism, farms, and construction (Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2007, p.99).

This migration wave was challenging for Greece on an administrative and political level, as the country had never experienced inflows of migrants to this degree (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2005). Migration was not a priority in Greek politics up until then, as Greece was a sending rather than a receiving country. Consequently, more focus had been placed on emigration policies rather than the development of interior and foreign policies regarding migration (Triantafyllidou, 2009, p.162; Kalatzi, 2015, p.3). The migration policies were

gradually developed during the Europeanisation of Greece, as discussed in chapter two. Therefore, the migrants who entered Greece from the Balkan peninsula during the 90s had entered the country illegally (Cavounidis, 2004, p.37).

As a response to the inflows of migrants from the Balkan peninsula, the government drafted Law (1975/1991) on 'Entry, exit sojourn, employment, deportation of aliens', the procedure for the recognition of alien refugees and other provisions (Tzanetti, 2008, p.7; Triantafyllidou and Ambrosini, 2011, p.255). This law aimed to prevent entrance for undocumented migrants and facilitated the deportation procedures by giving autonomy to local authorities and imposing penalties on those 'illegally residing in the country' (Triantafyllidou, 2009, p.160). The law was not favourable for individuals to enter the country and obtain work permits; consequently, most migrants chose to enter the country illegally (Gropas & Triantafyllidou, 2005, p.6). As a result, the number of unauthorised migrants increased in the following years. Between 1991-2001, the number of migrants increased from 1.65% to 6.97% (Kapsalis, 2018, p.39). These unauthorised migrants were residing and working illegally in Greece, further expanding the informal economy (Fakiolas, 2003, p.542).

The Greek States' plan to deal with the growing number of unauthorised migrants was a series of regularisation programmes and legislation allowing migrants to legalise their presence in the country. The first migrant regularisation programme was inaugurated in 1998 after two presidential decrees (358/1997 and 359/1997) were introduced the previous year (Kalatzi, 2015; Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2005, pp.3). Approximately 372,000 immigrants applied for regularisation between January and May 1998, following a pretty lengthy process (Fakiolas and Maratou-Alipanti, 2000, p.107). However, a significant number of unauthorised migrants (over 200,000) did not apply for various reasons. Those individuals were not allowed to apply because a) they had entered the country legally, b) they had entered Greece after 23rd November 1997 when the presidential decrees were issued, c) they were employed as crews in

ships under the Greek flag and often were employed without work permits, d) they preferred to work in the informal labour market or were advised by employers to avoid applying and giving out their personal information to the Greek authorities, and e) they had criminal records (Fakiolas and Maratou-Alipanti, 2000, p.107-109).

In 2001 the then socialist governing party issued Law ²¹³ (2910/2001) on 'Entry and Stay of Aliens in Greek Territory, Acquisition of Greek Citizenship by Naturalisation and Other' (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2001; Kalatzi, 2015, p.4). Under this law, the migrants' presence in Greece depended on their employment status. The migrants could stay legally in the country as long as they were employed (Triantafylidou, 2009, p.166). The moment they found themselves without jobs, they had to leave.

A few years later, a more long-term regularisation procedure came in 2005 with Law No. ²¹³ 3386/2005, 'On the entry, residence and social integration of third-country nationals on Greek territory' were introduced (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2005;). The law gave legal status to migrants who could not prove their employment in Greece to renew their stay permits (Kalatzi, 2015, p.4). Finally, in 2010, the naturalisation of migrants was achieved with Law No. 3838/2010 that allowed migrants to apply only if they could prove ten years of legal residence in Greece (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2010). The naturalisation gave migrants the right to vote in a local election and granted citizenship to second generation migrants whose parents ⁴¹³ had been living in Greece legally for five consecutive years (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2010; Kalatzi, 2015, p.4). Up until their regularisation, the migrants' illegality led to their inclusion in the informal labour market but their exclusion in other areas. Their illegal presence in the country excluded them from asserting social and political rights (Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2007, p.96).

7.3 Methodology

⁵⁴² The methodology and methods used to collect and analyse the data did not differ from those used for the primary research. The data were ¹⁴ collected through semi-structured interviews and analysed using thematic analysis. These two methods have already been introduced in chapter four in detail. However, there are some differences regarding the recruitment process, the limitations that emerged and, of course the participants, which are worth mentioning and are displayed in the following sections.

7.3.1 Recruitment

The participants were recruited in the city of Veria. Being aware of the local churches' charitable service and their connection with migrants in the area, I believed it would be a good starting point. I informally spoke with a local priest who was able to introduce me to migrant families who lived in the area. The priest informed me that the church was trying to be close to migrants and their families, as they were trying to provide help when needed, for instance, through charities or through the network of churchgoers who were trying to support those in need in their community. After I contacted the first individual through the local church, I used a snowballing method to recruit the rest of the participants.

During the recruitment process of these individuals, I tried to adopt the same recruiting techniques, taking into consideration the potential vulnerabilities that economic migrants might go through. After the first few interviews and interactions with them, I realised that their vulnerabilities and needs differed significantly ²⁰ from the vulnerabilities of the refugees and ²⁰¹ asylum seekers. The economic migrants were individuals who were not forced to leave their countries but chose to migrate for financial stability. Another difference was language proficiency. The migrants spoke Greek, and they preferred to be interviewed in Greek. In addition, most of them were familiar with the concept of academic research and its processes through their previous participation in surveys.

7.3.2 The participants

The participants were migrants from Albania. I recruited male (4) and female (2) participants, and their ages varied between twenty-five and forty-eight years. All participants had migrated to Greece due to financial difficulties they experienced in their home country. Thus, I refer to them as economic migrants. All participants were long-term migrants meaning they had spent more than two decades in the host country.

⁶² In this research, I use the word ‘unauthorised’ to refer to economic migrants whose entrance to Greece was not recorded by State officials. The migrants who were interviewed were documented upon their arrival in Greece. They had identification documents to prove their identity but did not possess documents to confirm their authorised presence in Greece. Thus, the term unauthorised is used to refer to the migrants’ status in this chapter.

7.3.3 Limitations

One of the limitations that emerged during our interaction was the fact that none of the participants ⁴⁵⁹ were familiar with the English language. They all preferred to be interviewed in Greek because they claimed to be more familiar with the Greek language due to their long-term residency in Greece. To avoid any issues regarding our communication and their participation in the research, I provided information sheets and consent forms in Greek language. In addition, I ensured the participants’ knowledge of the Greek language was at a level that would allow in-depth communication during interactions and interviews.

7.4 Findings and discussion

Having entered the country without authorisation and carrying the label of ‘illegal’ brought significant issues to the migrants’ lives and shaped their legal consciousness in Greece.

All participants' migration to Greece was unauthorised and was motivated by economic factors. They had been visiting Greece yearly as seasonal workers in fields and farms in the area for a few years before they decided to stay permanently. Unauthorised migration is a phenomenon that can emerge in different ways. It can occur only once or repeatedly and regularly (Duvell, 2008, p.482). Repeated and regular migration usually occurs by individuals from neighbouring countries who have access to easy transportation (Duvell, 2008, p.482). All migrants in this research used to enter the country from countries that shared borders with Greece. They entered from the Albanian-Greek border. However, their journey was not easy; sometimes, they even travelled on foot. Four Albanian participants [P1, P3, P4, P5] claimed to have been walking for days and to have been sleeping in the woods near the Greek border before they could cross it. They would travel in packs of five to twenty people, trying to move at night to avoid being seen by the authorities. Their goal was to reach the Greek rural areas where they intended to work in agriculture and construction. Another two migrants [P2, P6] who claimed they drove or used busses to Greece, sometimes holding tourist visas.

However, after the first few years of seasonal migration, they did not use any documentation to enter Greece. They usually drove and used off-road routes or hid during traffic rush hours until they reached Greek villages and towns where they could settle. All migrants stayed in Greece for three to four months (May to September), usually picking fruits on farms in the northern part of Greece or working in construction. They claimed to be paid daily, thus they tried to do any low-skill and low-wage jobs available to them to earn as much as possible before they returned to their home countries. The need for cheap labour in the area motivated them to come back year after year.

‘[We came] for economic reasons. I had no work, no money in Albania; if you do not have work, you cannot have a family, you cannot have anything.’ [P37]

The migrants also mentioned their living conditions during their short stay in Greece. The migrants preferred to rent properties with other seasonal workers in order to save money, which meant that sometimes four or five adult individuals had to share one or two-room apartments. These apartments were usually in bad conditions because the locals would not rent refurbished properties to migrants, and the migrants would not be able to afford them. Most migrants [P2, P3, P5, P6] shared that sometimes they had to sleep in the fields, in basements, and in agricultural warehouses with no toilet facilities provided by their employers. The migrants explained that their employers would allow them to sleep in their basements or warehouses for free but pay them a smaller wage. In addition, these basements and warehouses served as hideouts, with fewer chances of getting caught by the police.

By the end of the agricultural season, the migrants were confident that they would be able to find jobs upon their return the following year. Three migrants [P1, P2, P6] claimed they had formed verbal agreements with land and business owners, who were satisfied with the migrants' work, to employ them again the following summer. Some farm and business owners asked the migrants to return to Greece on specific dates depending on their business needs. The migrants shared that they did not want to move to inner Greece. Instead, they preferred to stay in the northern part of the country, where they were closer to their home countries, and they could quickly leave at the end of the season. Three migrants [P2, P3, P6] claimed that after a couple of years of short-time migration to Greece, they decided to stay permanently, knowing they could be caught and deported by the authorities at any given moment. These migrants were deported after spending several months in Greece; however, they all decided to return for the summer season the following year.

7.4.1 Standing against the law

The migrants claimed their illegal entry into the country was necessary as there were no legal ways to enter Greece easily. These few years of temporary migration to Greece occurred

between 1992 to 1998. During that time, the laws regarding immigration, particularly the entry perquisites and migrants' residence and work, had not been developed yet (Duvell, 2008, p.481) to facilitate the needs of migrants or the need for an additional workforce in the local economy. The difficult access to legal migration due to the migration policies with lengthy bureaucratic procedures that were in place at the time, alongside the migrants' difficulty to renew their work-permit due to failure to prove formal employment and tax payments, contributed to the increase of unauthorised migrants in the country (Cavounidis, 2013, p.70).

Four Albanian migrants [P1, P3, P4, P5] seemed to blame both the Greek and the Albanian governments for the situation. The migrants believed that the Greek government turned a blind eye towards illegal migration in the early 90s because the economy was benefiting from the cheap labour of the illegal migrants. The low-cost labour provided by unauthorised migrants benefits the small family enterprises, and the service sector and further increases the informal economy (Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2007, pp.96, 99). The employers would pay them half the amount of money a Greek national would typically get paid for a day's work. In addition, due to the lack of residence permits, the potential employers could not officially register them on their businesses' payrolls. The employers would not pay taxes to the State for the undocumented employees, which would challenge their business viability. Consequently, the undocumented migrants would not be able to prove their residence or work in Greece. They were off the State's radars; in essence, they did not exist.

'Both governments [Albanian and Greek] were wrong. Either open the borders or not. Here they needed people to work in the fields and let us come in small groups. Why didn't they put us in busses to bring us here like they do in Germany? For example, Germany needs that many workers. We used to come here for work, and when the work was done, the police would get out on the street to arrest us.' [P33]

The migrants supported that both their home and the host country's governments should have developed bilateral agreements and appropriate migration policies for the lawful movement of the economic migrants. They claimed that the Greek government was taking advantage of the seasonal unauthorised workers by ²⁵⁷ turning a blind eye to the migrants' presence in Greece during the agricultural season. They felt the Greek government's attitude towards illegal migration was exploiting migrants.

The unauthorised migrants' labour is labelled 'illegal' by immigration law, and this illegality contributes to the creation and maintenance of cheap labour due to migrants' legal vulnerability (DeGenova, 2002, p.439,440). The migrants' vulnerability to deportation – the constant fear of their removal from the country - leads to labour subordination of this group (DeGenova, 2020, p.353). The migrants in this research did not have access to civil rights, such as working hours that did not exceed the maximum standard set by the law, days off, living conditions or health care.

The State creates the immigration law and the physical borders that produce illegality through immigration laws (DeGeneva, 2002). The migrants in the current research found themselves in a situation where their economic survival depended on the Greek States' need for cheap labour and its power to deport migrants whenever necessary. They were subjects to a power they had no control over, a power that allowed them to enter but excluded them from society and left them unprotected. The unauthorised entrance to the State appeared to be the only option for the economic migrants, a risk they were willing to take for a potentially prosperous future. Their illegality shaped how they navigated their lives through the Greek legal system.

Migrants viewed the Greek State as the enemy, an unfair power that had to be resisted. Entering without authorisation was viewed as a necessary action given the options they had at

the time. As discussed in chapter six, voluntary and involuntary migration sometimes can overlap. The socio-political instability the migrants experienced in their home countries due to the collapse of the socialist regimes made migration an attractive option that ensured their economic survival.

However, the choice to migrate illegally to another country is not a viable option that any individual would choose. As McKay, Markova and Paraskevopoulou (2011, p.4) put it, most illegal migrants ⁶⁵⁷ 'do not desire to engage in illegal activities'. Instead, they 'have to take the legal regimes as they find it' and 'take whatever roots are available to them'. Migrants' illegality is based on necessity – on the difficult conditions they face in their home countries and the receiving country's policies that prevent them from entering (McKay, Markova and Paraskevopoulou, 2011, p.4).

Drawing from Ewick and Silbey's (1998) model on legal consciousness, the migrants showed an 'against the law' attitude by entering the country unauthorised and overstaying their work permits. According to Ewick and Silbey's (1998) argument, individuals who belong to marginalised groups (such as the migrants in this study) show a critical stance towards ⁴⁶² the law. The law is perceived as powerful and unfair (Ewick and Silbey, 1998). This critical stance was developed through the migrants' acknowledgement of their position regarding power. The realisation of encountering a power imbalance situation, with the State being the 'haves' and themselves being the 'have nots', led to their decision to use any available means to escape this power overshadowing them. The migrants viewed the Greek State as the 'opponent' they had to defeat by using 'what they can to get what they need' (Ewick and Silbey, 1999, p.1034). Their attempts to enter the country illegally or use tricks like tourist visas allowed them to avoid (even for short periods) the State's power.

7.4.2 Standing before the law and asserting rights

Interestingly, the migrants' attitude towards the law shifted according to the changes in the migration policies adopted by Greek society. During the three regularisation programmes in 1998, 2001 and 2005, the migrants evoked the law to obtain legal status. The legal status allowed them to acquire certain rights such as reside and work legally, have access to benefits, and other social services, and helped them legally bring their families to Greece. The regularisation programmes allowed them to move from illegality to legality. This change had a significant impact on migrants' lives and changed the way they perceived the law in general.

Obtaining a legal status and residence permits allowed migrants to assert rights and become more active in the host society without fearing deportation. The migrants mentioned that they were able to live a 'normal life'. This normality included their legal access to labour market, national insurance, education, health, benefits and a number of other services. However, the migrants did not always feel their status gave them the rights they needed. Three migrants[P1, P2, P3] mentioned having limited rights in Greece because of their foreign status. They mentioned that they were not allowed to vote in Greece even though they legally reside there. They felt that the law was unfair and excluded them from society while obligating them to contribute to the economy by paying the same taxes as the local population.

'We have been here for many years and do not have rights because we are foreigners. I've been here for 23 years and still cannot vote. I pay taxes and everything, like every Greek citizen, and I do not have rights. It is a big issue for us.' [P1]

They mentioned their worries regarding pension and the legal status of their children. Even though they had been residing legally in Greece for decades and had been paying taxes, they were worried about the pensions they would receive after their retirement as there were

not aware of the provisions in legislation regarding the pension of migrants in Greece. Two migrants [P1, P3] tried to access legal help by contacting lawyers to be informed regarding the pension policies for migrants.

The migrants also claimed to face difficulties regarding their children's legal status. Two migrants [P1, P6] mentioned that their children had to be over the age of seven years in order to take Greek citizenship. The children of both migrants ⁴¹³ were born in Greece; however, they could not acquire a Greek passport because they had not resided in Greece for seven years. Participant [1] claimed that he could not visit his relatives abroad with his family because his younger daughter was not yet seven years old and thus could not apply for a Greek passport. He claimed that he could apply for a passport in Albania for his younger daughter but did not want his daughters to have passports from different countries. He said,

'The older one [daughter] has a Greek passport because she was born here and is over 7 years old, but the little one needs to wait to be 7 years old, go to school and then have a Greek passport, ⁶¹⁷ even though she was born here. I don't like this. She was born here, I live here; why does she need to be 7?' [P1].

This migrant father believed that his children should be able to obtain a Greek passport the day they were born. However, he accepts the law. The law's hegemonic power appears to overshadow the migrants' needs. Even though they believed the law was unfair towards migrants in certain, they neither tried to avoid nor use it strategically to implement their interests. The migrants accepted the law regardless of its restrictive and unfair nature. They believed everyone should follow the law even when they disagreed with it. The migrants' perception and attitudes towards the law in Greece were aligned ⁶⁰ with Ewick and Silbey's (1998) 'before the law' mode of legal consciousness.

All migrants interviewed claimed to follow the law in Greece and be law-abiding citizens.

One migrant said,

‘Laws are important, and you do not have a country without laws. If everyone did whatever they wanted, we would be animals. We follow the law in our country, and we follow it here.’ [P6]

The migrants perceived the law as unfair in certain situations; however, they respected it. Despite the difficulties it caused to migrants in certain situations, it never lost its legitimacy. The law remained a fixed set of rules that can be unfair but is respected, followed and considered the only means to justice regardless (Ewick and Silbey, 1998).

This is also evident from the migrants’ opinions of the current migration crisis. The economic migrants expressed concerns regarding newcomers in Greece. They believed that the newly arrived migrants attempts to enter the country illegally was a problem that needed a fast solution. One migrants shared,

‘We also came illegally, but they [newcomers] are coming from everywhere. Who are these people? Where are they coming from? They might be criminals. ⁴²² They don’t have papers, nobody knows who they are.[...] They should keep them in a secured place until they are identified or given papers before they can live in the society.’ [P1]

Another one said,

‘We have children and were afraid. They come into the country and roam around without papers. They need to be identified. When we came we did not have permits but we had IDs.’ [P5]

The migrants believed that all newcomers should go through the asylum process and be identified before they get integrated into the society. They were afraid that many of the migrants who arrived during the migration crisis entered Greece illegally and did not intent to seek asylum. The newcomers' lack of identification papers concerned the economic migrants, which further shows their 'before the law' legal consciousness and also their level of assimilation into the Greek society. The migrants felt Greece to be their home, which was invaded by foreigners of unknown origin. As discussed in chapter six, migrants tend to distance themselves from other migrants whom they consider

Hernandez (2010) suggests legal consciousness can shift from 'against the law' to 'with the law' when individuals acknowledge how and when the law is helpful. I argue that the migrants' legal consciousness in the current ⁶⁹ study shifted from 'against the law' to 'before the law' due to their understanding of the law's usefulness. The regularisation programmes allowed migrants to change their views on the law. The law not only had a restraining character that stopped them from entering the country, but it also had an enabling character that allowed migrants to assert rights.

7.4.3 Migrants' reactions to hate crime

The feelings of insecurity and fear towards migrants began in the 1990s and continue to date, contributing to the intolerance and discrimination towards economic migrants. The migrants claimed multiple times had been victims of hate incidents and xenophobia. However, the incident they described did not occur recently. These hate incidents took place more than a decade ago. They talked about the period between the mid-90s and mid-00s, the first decade they spent in Greece. The hate incidents described were motivated by the migrants' religion, ethnic identity, and foreign/migrant status.

‘There was racism. Even though I am young, I remember this decade of racism.’

[P34]

Another one shared,

‘When we first came, the first years, we felt it. The Greeks were saying, “Hey, you, Albanian”, not just to me but to others who came before me as well.’ [P33]

The migrants explained that their ethnicity was associated with criminality and an inferior culture. The media representation of the Albanian migrants at the time cultivated a negative image of the migrants portraying them as the enemy that would exploit the traditions and religion in Greece (Gogonas and Michail, 2014, p.200). The ⁵⁶⁰ negative representation of Albanians in the media contributed to the development of general fear of this population, which was referred to as ‘Albanophobia’ (Kokkali, 2011, p.161; Gogonas and Michail, 2014, p.200; Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2007, p. 92).

The migrants described incidents of hate speech and one incident of damage to property. The migrants did not report any of these incidents to the authorities either because they were not aware of the ⁶⁷³ hate crime as a criminal offence, they believed that ¹⁴ the incidents were not serious enough to be reported, or they feared deportation.

During the interviews, all six migrants were aware of hate crime as a criminal offence in Greece and expressed their worry regarding it as a social phenomenon. However, their hate crime awareness developed throughout their residence in Greece. The migrants explained that during the first decade of their stay in Greece, which was the period that most of their victimisation occurred, they were unaware of the concept of hate crime and the legislation. They claimed that they were unaware of hate crime because it was not part of public discourse at the time.

‘No one talked about it; it was not a thing back then. No one knew what hate crime was.’ [P3]

They claimed that ‘hate’ became a part of public discourse in the last decade with the rise of the extreme far right and specifically the illegal activities of the Golden Dawn party that were revealed at the beginning of the previous decade. The anti-migrant rhetoric and intimidation campaigns used by Golden Dawn (Malkopoulou, 2021, p.194; Lazarides & Skleparis, 2016, p.181; Karamanidou, 2016, p.2004) became part of the public discourse, particularly among migrant populations that were the potential victims of the party’s behaviour. The neoNazi political party attracted the public’s and the State’s attention in 2013 after the murder of a 34-year-old musician and activist, Pavlos Fyssas, by a 43-year-old man who appeared to be strongly connected with the general secretary of Golden Dawn. The 43-year-old man stabbed Fyssas in the presence of a police squad. The offender was arrested, and the Golden Dawn’s general secretary and other 46 members were arrested and detained for several offences, including violence against migrants (Papageorgiou et al, 2017, p. 1503).

Later, the Greek criminal court declared the party a criminal organisation in 2020, and many of its members were imprisoned (Malkopoulou, 2021). The evolution of the party into a criminal organisation further supports the claims of the migrants, who expressed unease and fear towards the then political party and its supporters.

The migrants’ unawareness of hate crimes during the first decade of their residence in Greece partly explains their unwillingness to report hate incidents to the authorities (Vergani and Navaro, 2021; Chakraborti, 2015; Cuerden and Blackmore, 2020; Culotta, 2005; Chacrabarti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). Individuals become aware of their rights when involved in legal processes (Hernandez, 2015). However, engagement with the legal system is considered dangerous for unauthorised migrants. The ‘unauthorised’ status makes migrants

live shadowed lives, avoiding contact with the authorities for fear of revealing their illegal status (Schwenken and Heimeshoff, 2013). Revealing their unauthorised status to the authorities would lead to their deportation from the country (Gutierrez and Kirk, 2017).

Only one migrant [P6] who experienced hate speech and damage to property claimed that he wanted to contact the police but was afraid of deportation as he resided and worked in Greece without authorisation at the time of the incident. He claimed that he rented an apartment with five other unauthorised migrants in the town of Veria. The apartment ³¹⁷ was located on the ground floor of the building and easily accessible from the street. He said that one day returning from work, they found the front windows of the apartment broken with a phrase written in Greek next to their door. The migrant later found out that the words written on the wall said ‘Εξω οι ξένοι’, which translates to ‘Foreigners out’. The migrant claimed he wanted to contact the authorities, but his unauthorised presence in the country was a substantial barrier. He believed that contacting the police would risk revealing his and his roommates’ status to the authorities. Legal status can influence unauthorised migrants’ lives. It can constrain them by influencing their actions and shaping their perception of what is possible in their lives (McDowells and Wonders, 2009, p.68). Reporting a crime was perceived as an impossible action for this migrant at the time.

The rest of the economic migrants [5] also expressed their unwillingness to report hate incidents to the authorities, but their decision was based on the seriousness of the crime. Being unaware of hate crime, the migrants dealt with it according to their gravity. The migrants who were victims of hate speech did not consider the incidents they experienced serious enough to take further actions, such as contacting the police. As ¹ discussed in chapter six, the seriousness of hate crimes plays a significant role in migrants’ decision to report them to the authorities (Wong and Christmann, 2008, 2010; Wickes et al., 2016). The less harmful a hate incident is considered, the less likely it is to be reported (Wickes et al., 2016). The migrants believed that

hate speech and intolerance incidents were ‘just words’ that did not hurt them or caused significant disruption in their lives.

They claimed they handled the incidents by leaving the scene and avoiding the offender in the future. Hate crime can cause the isolation of the victims and impact their identities. The victims of hate change their routines, such as their jobs and places they live or socialise, to avoid victimisation (Funnell, 2014; pp.72, 75; Meyer, 2010, p.6; Funnell, 2014, p.77).

During their residence in Greece, the migrants claimed that hate incidents and xenophobia decreased and eventually became scarce and isolated incidents. The migrants believed their victimisation decreased ³⁴ due to their integration into the host society.

7.4.4 Assimilating to avoid intolerance

The migrants believed adapting to the Greek culture would help them avoid hate and intolerance. However, their adaptation into the host society was not accomplished through integration programmes or any help from the Greek government. The integration policies in Greece were developed in the last decade (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2010; Kalatzi, 2015). The migrants’ integration became their responsibility; it depended on their willingness and efforts to learn and adjust to the Greek culture and society. This adjustment accrued through the migrants’ network and

All migrants claimed that they were familiar with the Greek culture and found many similarities between the Greek and the cultures of their home countries. They were familiar with Greek antiquity, the scientific achievements of ancient Greeks, Greek mythology, the economy, and the country’s landscapes and significant sites. They believed Greek culture was part of the greater Balkan culture, including their home countries. Music, cuisine, family bonds, and social relations in Greece were identified as similar to those in Albania by the migrants.

‘The Greek and Albanian cultures are very similar. People live there as they live here. The traditions are similar, and the food is similar. The only significant difference is the language.’ [P4]

Another one said,

‘Not many differences. Greece is more developed; it used to be more developed economically, but not in anything else. I don’t think there are significant differences.’ [P3]

They claimed that their adjustment into the host society was achieved easily. The only elements migrants recognised as barriers to their adjustment into the host society were their lack of language proficiency and their different religion. Language is one of the most critical aspects of integration. Not speaking the host country’s language can lead to migrants’ isolation. Lack of linguistic proficiency can limit migrants’ ability to communicate with health professionals (Gunst et al., 2019, p.821), employers, limit their access to information, and even their ability to stand up for themselves in cases they have been mistreated (Nawyn et al., 2012, p.265). Unfortunately, there were no policies for the linguistic integration of migrants in Greece. However, Greece’s integration policies for linguistic integration were created the last decade for refugees (Skleparis, 2018). Economic migrants do not have access to these integration programmes. Without help from the Greek government, the migrants tried to learn the Greek language through interactions with native speakers in their social and work networks.

The second element identified by the migrants that prohibited them from integrating and getting accepted by the Greek society was their religion. The notions of nationalism and ethnocentrism were cultivated over the last hundred years in Greek society (Tromara, 2015; Kritikos, 2020), which eventually led to the securitisation policies for the prevention of unauthorised individuals from the Balkan countries (Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2015; Rigakos &

Papanicolaou, 2003). As discussed in chapter two, religion plays an essential role in Greek society and culture. The economic migrants had to live in a society that did not accept their different religious backgrounds. Coming from countries governed by socialist regimes that suppressed religion (Vathi, 2015, p.43-45), the economic migrants' religious culture differed significantly from the Greek. The migrants claimed religion did not play a significant role in their lives before immigration. Three migrants [P1, P2, P6] claimed that they did not know anything about the religion their families followed growing up.

'We did not know anything about religion. No one talked about religion in Albania. My parents told me we were Muslim, but we did not follow any religion. It was never an issue.' [P2]

Another participant shared,

'We did not learn about religion at school. Here (in Greece), they teach it at schools. When I was growing up, the teachers never talked about religion at school; it was forbidden. Only your parents would teach you about religion at home if they were religious.' [P1]

The migrants expressed their dislike towards the emphasis on the religious education of Christian Orthodoxy in Greek schools. Religious education has been part of the Greek school curriculum since the establishment of the Modern-Greek State (Markoviti, 2018, p.32). The presence of religion in education maintained and further strengthened the relationship between religion and the Greek identity (Markoviti, 2018, p.32). Although the Greek State does not function under religious rules, the Greek Orthodox Church is present in the Greek constitution as the authority responsible for the religious education of students and their introduction to basic concepts of the Orthodox faith (Karamouzis and Athanassiades, 2011, p.313).

Despite the fact that the migrants were not religious, they used religion as a medium for their assimilation into Greek society. I noticed that all migrants I interviewed had Greek Christian names. When I asked them about it, the migrants said that during the first few years of their seasonal immigration to Greece, the locals used to give migrants new Greek names. The migrants claimed that the locals were unfamiliar with Albanian names and sometimes found them difficult to pronounce. Thus, they used to give migrants Greek names, often Christian. The migrants accepted their new names and shared that when they stayed permanently in Greece, they continued to use them or chose new ones that sounded similar to theirs. They felt that having Greek Christian names would help them stand out less in Greek society. The renaming of migrants is a finding in line with previous research on the Albanian population in Greece (Hatziprocopiou, 2003; Kokkali, 2015; Vathi, 2015).

Similarly, the migrants baptised their children as Christian Orthodox when they formed families in Greece. They believed religion was a great way to ensure their children would assimilate and avoid the discrimination and intolerance they faced.

One migrant shared,

‘Yes, I think it is an issue. Some children had to be baptised. Some parents baptised their kids in order to assimilate.’ [P6]

Another migrant of Muslim background who baptised his son Christian Orthodox shared,

‘It is very difficult. The other kids will make fun of him and say, “the Muslim, the Albanian”. I didn’t want that. We faced racism, but he can be like the Greek kids. Grow up like them. Now he speaks like the Greeks because he was born here and is ⁵⁶¹Christian... I don’t care for myself, we don’t believe in religions, but I wanted to do that [baptise his son] for him.’ [P39]

The migrants baptised their children in the local churches. The godparents were Greek people from the migrants' communities, such as neighbours, bosses, and local priests or members of their families. As discussed in chapter two, Christian Orthodoxy is associated with Greek national identity. The public discourses on religion are based on 'a hegemonic form of Helleno-Christian nationalism' (Vathi, 2015, p.61). Thus, religion is often perceived by migrants as a distinct cultural characteristic that becomes the motivating factor for racism (Vathi, 2015). This deep connection of Orthodoxy with Greek national identity creates pressure on religion that is felt by migrants. One migrant expressed the societal pressure he felt from the dominant presence of religion in Greek culture. He shared,

'If you tell them that "I'm not Christian or I don't believe in god", they don't like it; they step back because here in Greece they are very fanatic.' [P1]

Baptising their children shows the migrants' attempts to adapt to the host society and be accepted by the local population. At the same time, becoming godparents to migrant children shows the local populations' willingness to incorporate migrants into society (Hatziprocopiou, 2003: 1051).

Kokkali (2015, p.132) argues that the political situation and the propaganda of the socialist regime about the superiority of the Albanian people divided people's consciousness between the 'glory' of the past and the 'misery' of the real world after the regimes' end. The negative memories of the hardships they faced at home that made them immigrate, and the depictive portrayal of the outside world by the regime, created 'identity uncertainties' for the migrants (Kokkali, 2015, p. 132). At the same time, the negative representation of the Balkans in the Greek media in the 90s contributed to migrants' stigmatisation and also their perceptions of themselves. These factors appear to have influenced migrants' re-formation of identities in Greece (Kokkali, 2015, p.133).

In addition, the lack of integration strategies for the smooth induction of migrants in the county, led to their assimilation into the Greek society. As discussed in chapter six, the terms integration and assimilation are two similar terms but not completely interchangeable. ¹⁰² Integration into the host society is a long process aiming for a ²⁹⁴ mutual change of both migrants and the host society. At the same time, assimilation is focused more on migrants' ability to adapt to the society's culture (Schneider and Crul, 2010, p.1144). Greece lacked integration strategie for migrants. Thus their adjustment to the Greek society was achieved through the migrants attempts to become one with the local population. They assimilated by changing their culture and parts of their identity such as their names and religion.

More than twenty years after their immigration, the migrants felt they had assimilated into the society to the degree that they were satisfied with their lives in Greece and did not intend to migrate to ⁶⁴⁴ another country or return to their countries of origin. They felt comfortable living in Greece as the discrimination and hate incidents had decreased; they had built relationships with the local population and enjoyed the Greek way of life.

One migrant shared,

'We are not very relaxed when we return because we don't live there. In my neighbourhood, I'm more contracted. When I come here, I'm happier. I had a neighbour here who used to tell me, "your home is where you live". I agree, but you feel different for the place you live and the place you were born in.' [P5]

Interestingly, Greece's ongoing economic crisis was not mentioned as an issue that would make them leave Greece. Even though they immigrated to Greece for the economic opportunities it offered, the migrants did not want to leave. The migrants had built a life in Greece they were not willing to abandon.

‘I am not going to leave. We have adjusted here. I have a family, we have our children at the school learning Greek, we have made friendships. It is difficult to go back. It’s very difficult.’ [P4]

In addition, the migrants felt that after all those years in Greece, they had acquired the legal knowledge to react to hate incidents.

One of the participants stated,

‘I’ve been here many years, and I know how to move and where to report it. But when you’re many years here, the others do not see you differently. Sometimes you can see it, but they don’t insult you.’ [P1]

The migrants claimed that after their regularisation, contacting the authorities was no longer a problem as they were not afraid of deportation. Their residence and work permits also allowed them to assert rights regarding hate crime. In addition, they felt that they had developed the right skills to react to hate crime. The public discourse on hate crime appeared to have raised awareness among this migrant group. One migrant [P2] suggested that more should be done regarding hate crime awareness. She suggested a police initiative including flyers and public talks introducing hate crime to minorities and the means to report it.

However, none of the migrants was willing to report hate speech in the future. Even though they had experienced hate speech incidents in the past and were aware of the hate crime, their reaction to hate speech did not change. The migrants still believed that verbal hate attacks were minor incidents, and they would not contact the police. Their unwillingness to report hate speech might depend on their perception that hate speech is not harmful enough for them to act against it (Wickes et al., 2016; Williams and Tregidga, 2013). However, the reason for their underreporting might be connected to their legal culture. Legal culture is described as the stable ‘patterns of legally oriented social behaviour and attitudes’ (Nelken, 2017). Legal culture can

reveal a culture's legal behaviour. Nelken uses the example of road crossing suggesting that in different countries, drivers have distinct behaviours towards road crossings. While you might be very safe crossing the road in a road crossing in Germany, you might be less secure crossing the road anywhere in Italy (Nelken, 2017, p. 3). The Albanian legal culture might have influenced the economic migrants. For instance, if hate speech is not considered a crime in Albania or the reporting of hate speech is not a common practice there, then the migrants might avoid reporting hate speech in Greece. Migrants take parts of their culture with them to the host country. Certain behaviours might be transferred as well.

7.5 Conclusion

The legal consciousness of economic migrants was developed through ³their interactions with the legal system in Greece. The migrants showed two distinct types of legal consciousness. The first one regarded their socio-political rights. The migrants stood 'against' the law when they perceived it as unfair and distant. The migrants felt that the State turned a blind eye towards irregular migration at the beginning of the agricultural season and let migrants in, but tightened its security when migrants were no longer needed. The migrants perceived the State as an unfair power that had to be resisted. They entered the country illegally and sometimes overstayed their permits showing no regard for the law's authority. The migrants' illegal entry served their need for work but, at the same time, was a resistance to the State's power through its immigration law.

The regularisation programmes in the late 90s and early 2000s appeared to significantly impact migrants' perception of the law in Greece. The migrants were recognised by the State, which shifted their legal consciousness to 'before the law'. Migrants no longer perceived the law as distant and unfair but as a means that helped them live a normal life. They could work

legally, pay taxes, bring their families to Greece, and upgrade their living conditions as they would not have to hide their presence from the authorities anymore. The regularisation programmes made migrants legal subjects and gave them certain rights; however, the migrants felt they lacked ²⁰⁵rights such as the right to vote or for their children to receive Greek citizenship at birth.

Interestingly, despite their concerns regarding their limited rights, the migrants showed general respect towards the law noting its importance in society. Even though the law was perceived as unfair in certain situations, it did not lose its legitimacy and authority in the migrants' eyes. The law was no longer perceived as a power that limited their movement and jeopardised their socio-economic survival but as a mean that gave them access to rights and included them in society. This is also evident from their opinion of the migrants who arrived in Greece during the current migration crisis. The economic migrants believed that the newcomers should respect the asylum law and follow legal procedures in order to reside in Greece.

Despite the fact that the migrants experienced xenophobia and hate incidents during the first few years of their migration to Greece, the migrants ²³⁷did not report any of the incidents to the authorities. The presence of xenophobia and prejudice towards migrants was evident from the data; however, all the incidents described occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s. The migrants' legal consciousness regarding hate crime has changed significantly over this time. The migrants' illegality determined their reaction to hate incidents in the 1990s. The migrants' lack of awareness regarding hate crime and their unauthorised status limited their options. The migrants were not aware of hate crimes or the legislation that covered these types of offences.

Even though hate crime legislation has existed since the late 70s, the phenomenon has attracted much public discourse only in the last decade, especially during the political party's

anti-migrant campaigns. The migrants' claimed that their knowledge regarding hate crime developed only in the last decade through the media coverage of the Golden Dawn activities.

In addition, those few who wanted to report hate incidents avoided contacting the authorities because they feared revealing their status and being deported. Their coping mechanisms were limited to fleeing the scene and avoiding future interactions with the offender.

The migrants claimed a significant decrease in hate incidents and xenophobia by the local population. They believed this decrease to be the result of their efforts to adjust to the host society. The lack of integration policies in Greece led migrants to rely on their own efforts in order to adjust to the host society.

Their drive to assimilate led them to become receptive to the Greek culture and way of life. Adopting Greek-Christian names and baptising their children as Christian Orthodox worked as a net that hid their foreign status and otherness. At the same time, the Greek godparents of their children and network of Greek friends, bosses and neighbors ⁵⁸⁴ were a source of support in terms of their social integration (Vathi, 2015, p.52). The migrants' strategies to assimilate into Greek society show their unwillingness to challenge the host society's morals. They tried to seemingly change their identities to fit in the Greek culture. The migrants integrated into the Greek society through their 'invisibility' (Kokkali, 2011).

In addition, after their regularisation, Albanians were considered a 'settled' population in the country. The inflows of Asian and African migrants such as Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Afghanis, Kurds, and Nigerians in the mid-2000s and the massive influx of migrants during the current migration crisis shifted the public's opinion towards Albanians (Gogonas and Michail, 2014; Kokkali, 2011). The newly arrived migrants were portrayed as 'dangerous, dirty

and uncivilised'; by comparison, the Albanians became the 'good' settled migrants who did not challenge the morals of the Greek society (Adamczyk, 2016; Kokkali, 2011).

Overall, the migrants' integration into Greek society was not achieved through policies but mainly through their inclusion in the labour market, which motivated ³⁶⁹ them to stay in the country and their social network.

In addition, the migrants expressed willingness to report hate incidents in the future. They expressed that they knew how to handle hate incidents and were to report them. Having a legal status, migrants are no longer afraid of deportation. The law does not constrain their actions but enables them to assert their rights regarding hate crime.

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I offer the concluding remarks of this research. I provide my reflections on some findings and aspects of the research, and finally, I display the research contributions.

Inspired by the current migration crisis and the rise of xenophobia and anti-migrant discourse due to the mentioned crisis in Europe and particularly in Greece, I decided to conduct this research exploring migrants' reactions to hate crime.

Over the last decade, the vast influx of migrants in Europe, which intensified in 2015, found the EU unprepared. The EU asylum system at the time let asylum decisions be made nationally. As a result, the responsibility fell on the country of entry, causing the overload and collapse of asylum systems for States bordering the EU like Italy and Greece. The EU's attempts to manage irregular migration led to stricter border controls and the securitisation of migrants. The political and media discourses on migration in the EU and particularly in Greece sowed a feeling of insecurity and fear by associating migration with criminality and suggesting that the migrants' non-European background could lead to the exploitation or even eclipse of the Greek culture and national identity. The negative representation of migrants transformed migration into a security threat. In addition, the high number of asylum seekers impacted Greece's already strained economy. Greece experienced a decrease in the tourist economy due to the arrival of migrants on the Greek islands, which led to the perception of migrants as a threat to the Greek economy.

The political and media discourses on migration led to the rise of xenophobia in Europe, and an increase in hate crimes was observed in Greece. According to statistical data from the Greek authorities and non-governmental organisations, most hate crimes were committed towards migrants and refugees motivated by racism and xenophobia (RVRN, 2019). In

addition, most of these hate crimes were not reported to the authorities, according to RVRN reports.

The aim of the current research was to explore migrants' reactions to hate crime in Greece. I wanted to explore what role hate crime plays in migrants' lives and how they behave regarding reporting. To answer these questions, I employed legal consciousness as the theoretical framework. Legal consciousness allows the exploration of individuals' perceptions of the law. I developed questions that helped me understand how migrants perceive and use the law in general and in the specific context of hate crime. Legal consciousness as a theoretical framework allowed me to explore how migrants perceive rights and law and how they use these to navigate their lives in various situations.

Consequently, the research's philosophical framework was based on post-modernism and the idea that there is no objective reality, but individuals construct it through interpretations. Post-modernism allowed me to examine a social phenomenon like hate crime through the eyes of a disadvantaged social group in a society, such as migrants. Adopting a Foucauldian approach helped me reveal the power dynamics involved in the migrants' construction of reality. More specifically, I showed how the dynamics of power between the migrants and the State shaped migrants' perception of law and rights during their migration journey and settlement in Greece.

8.2 Research Findings

The terms Refugee and Asylum seeker are terms that international agencies and organisations use to refer to individuals who are forced to leave their countries due to fear of persecution, conflict or violence and are unable or unwilling to return (UNHCR, 2017, 2022a; European Commission, 2022). The terms are utilised in UN and EU definitions that implement legislation and policies to protect forcibly displaced individuals. However, these terms used as

labels to categorise individuals invoke a single-dimensional idea of the motivating factors of migration. Forced migration does not indicate a lack of options. On the contrary, it is one of the options available to victims of generalised violence. The migrants who reached the European shores decided to leave their countries; however, others chose to stay or move internally. This research shows that forced migration has a multi-dimensional character. The refugees and asylum seekers in this research left their countries influenced by two sets of motivating factors. The primary factors directly threatened the migrants' security and wellbeing. These factors included war, conflict, religious oppression, political repression, and lack of civil and human rights. The secondary factors were based on the opportunities the destination country had to offer. The socio-political stability, human rights, asylum policies, and education opportunities ¹⁵⁸ are some of the 'push' factors contributing to the migrants' decision to immigrate to an EU Member State like Greece. These findings suggest that their migration was a choice, a conscious decision based on various factors rather than just necessity.

Immigration is a trade-off. Immigrating to an EU State would mean the migrants could escape generalised violence in their home countries and enjoy rights and protection in the EU. However, their transition from one jurisdiction to another is not without a cost. The migrants had to leave behind their citizenship and rights in their home countries. Even though they were not satisfied with the rights available to them in their home countries, their migration meant they had to live without rights until they could assert rights in the destination country. Their decision to do so further shows that their migration was a conscious, calculated decision, as their need for security and human rights was more important than temporarily stepping outside legality.

Choosing an EU state as a destination shows that the migrants already had legal knowledge of international human rights and EU asylum policies, which allowed them to develop a legal consciousness framed by these laws and policies. Even though the migrants

were not subjects to any jurisdiction that could provide them rights and protection during their migration journey, they viewed themselves as subjects of international human rights. They developed a rights consciousness that allowed them to perceive themselves as right-bearers.

Rights consciousness, as described by Merry (2003), is developed through migrants' experiences with the legal system. Their interaction with the legal system allows individuals to reform their identities and develop rights-based selves. However, the migrants in this research immigrated from countries that did not recognise fundamental human and civil rights. Thus, the migrants did not have the opportunity to interact with EU and international human rights policies and legislation in order to develop rights-based selves. Their knowledge of these policies that framed their rights consciousness was developed through their network and the internet. Some migrants narrated stories of their friends and relatives who had already immigrated to the EU States. The successful immigration stories motivated the migrants in this research to acquire legal knowledge regarding asylum policies in the EU. Their online communication with friends and family abroad further motivated these migrants to leave their countries. In addition, other migrants stated they researched Greece and the EU online before their migration. Technological advancements, such as the internet and smartphones, have become part of a mainstream culture worldwide. The fast access to information can significantly impact migration patterns (Lif, 2016). Migrants gather information on their chosen destination country a few months before immigration (Lif, 2016). The migrants in this research appeared to have collected information regarding the policies and legislation regarding asylum through the internet. Further research can contribute to the relationship between migration behaviour and internet usage as we have entered an age of instant access to information.

The migrants' knowledge of international human rights and asylum policies in the EU contributed not only to the selection of the EU as their destination but also to their reformation

of identities. The migrants took up the identity of the 'refugee', a label that framed their legal consciousness throughout their migration journey. Labels are attributed to individuals but can also be chosen and amended (Zetter, 2007). The migrants' choice of the refugee label allowed them to perceive themselves as eligible for protection under international and EU laws.

Their entrance into Greece would automatically mean they would be protected under the EU laws and policies. However, the vast influx of migrants over the last decade, particularly during its peak in 2015, challenged the EU's response to migration. The EU systems appeared inadequate to handle the migrant arrivals (Lavenex, 2018:1196), with asylum systems collapsing in EU points of entrance such as Italy and Greece (Menendez, 2016:388). In addition, terrorist attacks in European cities during the migration crisis associated migration with security threats (Lazaridis and Wadia, 2015). This led to the prioritisation of security over the protection of migrants and disguised 'pushback' operations into acts of protection from smugglers and traffickers of migrants. Consequently, the entrance into the EU became quite challenging for the migrants seeking asylum.

Interestingly, many migrants entered Greece with the help of smugglers. The smugglers would try to transfer the migrants to Greece from Turkey on cars or boats in exchange for money. The migrants narrated that smugglers would destroy their identification documents or advise them to do so themselves in order for the migrants to be considered refugees. The lack of identification documents was associated with war and conflict victims who fled their countries.

The migrants' actions in destroying their identification papers aimed to negotiate their identities with the State and secure their social positions. Typically, the power dynamics in that situation would have the subordinate power (the migrants) asking for their recognition by the dominant power (the State). However, the migrants' identity was framed within an

international legality, which empowered them to resist the State's power that constrained their movement. The migrants did not wait for the State to recognise them as refugees because they perceived their refugee identity as being recognised by international human rights.

During their attempts to enter the country, the migrants showed a distinct mode of legal consciousness. *Stepping outside legality* is informed by an understanding of rights and identity. This mode of consciousness is developed through one's perception of themselves and their positioning in the realm of rights. By destroying their identification documents, the migrants stepped outside the law. They consciously abandoned their citizenship and rights in hopes of acquiring new ones in Greece. However, their abandonment of rights was temporary and framed by an international legality.

An indicative example is participant [P23]. The Turkish taxi driver physically erased his legal status by destroying his passport at the Greek border. He stepped outside legality in order to step into a different one in Greece. Participant's [23] action illustrates the physical abandonment of rights identity and the adoption of refugee identity for new rights, done in one action.

Stepping outside legality further develops the doctrine by adding a new understanding of migrants' legal consciousness. A consciousness that is formed and exercised outside national legal frameworks.

Once they entered Greece, the migrants could assert their right to asylum. The migrants were given the 'asylum seeker' label, which further secured their identities as protected and right-holder individuals. After obtaining a protected status, their primary concern was their socio-economic survival in Greece. They expressed the difficulties they experienced trying to rebuild ⁵⁴¹their lives in the host country. Their living conditions in refugee camps and host centres and the small monthly allowance they received from the government were not considered an

ideal lifestyle by the migrants. However, their attempts to assert rights in Greece regarding housing, jobs, and access to services and education were limited by the inadequate integration policies in Greece. The migrants' legal status, lack of linguistic skills, and lack of legal knowledge regarding employment were barriers that limited their integration.

The legislation allowed refugees to work in Greece; however, there were no integration policies to introduce them to the labour market and help them learn the Greek language. Fasani, Frattini and Minale (2018), who conducted a study on refugee integration into the labour market in several EU States, found that refugees are less likely to have a job compared to other migrants with similar demographics, origins, and entry characteristics. The migrants in the current research made efforts to integrate into society. They tried to learn the language and obtain the necessary knowledge to help them find jobs and houses through NGOs.

Interestingly, the migrants showed no interest in obtaining legal knowledge regarding hate crimes. Most migrants were unaware of hate crime and not interested in familiarising themselves with it. Even though they experienced hate incidents, discrimination and intolerance in Greece, they were unwilling to report them to authorities. Their attitude towards hate crime reporting suggests their alienation from the law.

The migrants came from countries where the concept of hate crime does not exist. Thus, the migrants dealt with hate incidents according to their seriousness. They reported only the incidents they perceived as harmful to their physical wellbeing, such as physical hate-motivated attacks. Verbal hate attacks - most of the hate incidents migrants experienced in Greece - were not considered serious enough to be reported. Similarly, the victims were more willing to report physical than verbal hate attacks in the future. Interestingly, the non-victims showed more willingness to report hate physical and verbal hate attacks in the future. The migrants' attitude

towards the law appeared to be influenced by their limited legal knowledge, political and cultural background, and ¹⁴⁴ trust and confidence in the police.

Most migrants showed ¹⁴⁴ trust and confidence in the police in Greece. Only four migrants appeared to avoid contacting the police due to negative experiences they had with the police in Greece and their home countries. These migrants showed a ¹⁷ lack of trust in the police due to police misconduct in Greece and their home countries, ⁴⁴¹ fear of deportation, and lack of confidence in the police to stop their victimisation. The positive opinion most migrants held about the police in Greece, was not enough to make them report hate crimes.

In addition, coming from countries where hate crime does not exist, the migrants had to familiarise themselves with hate crime after they arrived in the host country. However, the religious background of some migrants discouraged confrontation; thus, restrained them from acting toward hate incidents, especially those that did not cause them any physical harm like hate speech incidents.

The migrants showed no willingness to report hate incidents or confront the offenders. Thus, they did not try to acquire legal knowledge regarding hate crime. Hate crime appeared to be irrelevant to the migrants. In ⁵¹² socio-legal studies following a constitutive approach to law and society scholarship, the law is perceived to be part of everyday life Chua and Engel, 2019; Silbey, 2018). However, recent studies suggest that law might not be infused in everyday life (Hertogh, 2018, Aidinlis, 2019), as individuals might not be aware, identify or agree with the law (Hertogh, 2018). The migrants in this research did not identify with hate crime law because they were unaware of it. In addition, they did not appear to be trying to obtain legal knowledge because they perceived hate crimes as insignificant in their lives. Thus they alienated from the law. While they developed a rights-based identity to claim rights regarding asylum, they failed to develop a rights-based identity regarding hate crime. They did not perceive themselves as

right-holders regarding hate crime because hate crime was not a priority in their lives. The migrants' primary concern was their safety and socio-economic survival. After obtaining a legal status, they focused on asserting rights that would ensure their socio-economic survival in Greece, such as accessing the labour market, housing, benefits, and learning the local language. Hate crime was insignificant compared to the laws that would ensure their socio-economic survival in Greece.

604 8.2.1 Economic migrants

The legal consciousness of economic migrants was discussed in a different chapter because I believe merging data from two distinct migrant groups would undermine the aim of the primary research and produce inaccurate results. Thus, my conclusion on economic migrants is displayed separately from the main study. In this section and section 8.3, I refer to all migrant groups participating in the research. Throughout this thesis, I referred to refugee and asylum seekers as 'migrants', but to avoid any confusion, in sections 8.2.1 and 8.3, I refer to asylum seekers and refugees as 'forced migrants'.

The legal consciousness of economic migrants was shaped by immigration law and policies in Greece and their socio-economic needs. Albanian individuals immigrated to Greece due to their need for socio-economic stability. Their choice of destination was based on economic opportunities they would find in Greece, which was experiencing economic growth at the time. In addition, Albania shares a border with Greece, which made the migrants' transit easier, especially for those who chose to immigrate seasonally.

During the first few years of seasonal migration and later settlement in Greece, the migrants appeared to stand 'against the law'. The migrants found the restriction of movement imposed on them by the Greek immigration law unfair. They viewed the Greek State as the

enemy who took advantage of their need for work but chased them out of the country when they were no longer needed. The migrants' solution to this problem was their unauthorised entry and residence in the country. Driven by economic repression due to the collapse of the socialist regimes in their countries, they viewed their unauthorised entry into Greece as a solution that would allow their economic survival. Their unauthorised stay in the country led them to hide their presence and endure hardships. The migrants mentioned their exploitation by their employers regarding salaries, working hours, and the poor and sometimes inhumane living conditions provided by their employers. The endurance of these hardships indicates the grave need of these migrants to survive economically.

Their unauthorised presence ensured their economic survival and, at the same time, manifested their resistance to the State through its laws. However, this stance towards the law changed when the migrants were regularised ⁶¹⁶ in the late 1990s to the mid-2000s. After the regularisation programmes in Greece, the migrants became legal subjects and were given rights. This status change shaped their legal consciousness, and the migrants stood 'before the law'. Residing and working legally in Greece allowed them to assert rights and integrate into the host society. Their legality allowed them to bring their families to Greece, demand their work rights, access ¹³⁹ health care and other social services, and improve their living conditions. They experienced stability that allowed them to form networks and integrate into society.

However, they felt that the rights they received from the State were limited compared to the rights of the local population. They perceived the law as unfair when it did not cover some of their needs, such as the right to vote or citizenship for their children, but they chose to obey it. The law, even though perceived as unfair in certain situations, never lost its legitimacy and authority in the eyes of migrants.

The migrants' reaction to hate crime changed over time as well. The migrants' legal consciousness was shaped by their legality and awareness of hate crime, which both changed over the years. Migrants were unaware of ⁵ hate crime as a phenomenon and a criminal offence during their first few years of residence in Greece. Thus, they dealt with hate incidents according to their seriousness. They showed unwillingness to report hate speech incidents because they did not perceive them as serious, and the incidents they perceived to be serious, such as damage to property, were not reported due to fear of deportation.

After their regularisation that provided them with legal status and rights, their legal attitude towards hate crime also shifted. The migrants claimed they were not hesitant to contact the authorities as they were no longer afraid of getting deported. However, their victimisation decreased over time to the point that hate incidents were described as isolated events when this study was conducted. The migrants believed that the decrease in hate incidents and discrimination occurred because they managed to integrate into the Greek society. However, it is evident from the migrant narrations that they did not integrate but assimilated into the Greek society. Their assimilation resulted from their need to hide their otherness and the State's failure to support them through adequate integration strategies.

The integration policies in Greece were limited to regularisation programmes during the 1990s and mid-2000s and the naturalisation of migrants in 2010. However, these integration policies were limited to providing legal status and rights to migrants. Greece did not develop any integration strategies for the smooth induction of migrants into the society. The State appeared to allow the presence of migrants in the country through regularisation but did nothing for their social integration. European countries like Netherlands and England have adopted integration strategies to help migrants familiarise themselves with the country's institutions and acquire the necessary language proficiency (Bakker, Cheung and Phillimore, 2016). The

integration of migrants in these States appeared to be a two-way process that depended on both the State' and the migrants' efforts.

However, in Greece, the integration of economic migrants was an one-way process, as it depended only on migrants' efforts to adjust to the host society. As a result, the migrants did not integrate but assimilated into the Grek society. They abandoned their culture and identity by accepting Greek Christian names and baptising their children Christina Orthodox to blend with the local population and become one with the Greek nation. Kokkali (2011) suggests that Albanian migrants became 'invisible' in Greece so their 'otherness' would not challenge the Ethno-Christian morals of the dominant society.

In addition, the arrival of new migrants in Greece in the mid-2000s changed the nationality structure of the migrant populations, which shifted the public's attention away from the already settled and integrated Albanians and towards the newly arrived irregular migrants (Kokkali, 2011). The Albanian migrants became the good migrants, while the newly arrived migrants were vilified in the public discourses (Kokkali, 2011).

The migrants claimed that they became aware of hate crime during the last decade. With the anti-migrant activities and later prosecution of the Golden Dawn political party, hate crime became part of the public discourse. The migrants became aware of hate crime as a social and criminal phenomenon. However, two migrants felt that even though awareness is essential for hate crime reporting, especially for marginalised and disadvantaged groups such as migrants, it did not help them avoid victimisation. Hate crime and racism were no longer part of their everyday reality.

8.3 Reflections on the findings

In this section, I provide some reflections on the research. These reflections go beyond the aim of this research, but I believe they are worth mentioning as they may inspire future research.

The first thing I would like to reflect on is the European Union's response to irregular migration and the harm it causes to migrants and asylum seekers. The European Union is known for its values that promote freedom, security, and justice (European Union, 2022a) and its policies that protect and promote human rights (European Union, 2022b). However, its approach to the current migration crisis is at odds with its commitment to protecting and promoting human rights. During the last decade, the EU has failed to provide viable solutions to the current migration crisis. The EU's attempts to protect itself from irregular migration, terrorism and organised crime (Stambol, 2019, p. 294) led to stricter border security, criminalisation and militarisation practices, which stand against its ideals of peace, democracy and human rights (Stambol, 2019, p. 294). For instance, Frontex and EU Naval Force operations were set to fight smugglers in the Mediterranean (Hintjens, 2019; Stambol, 2019). In addition, three North Atlantic Organisation (NATO) warships were used in the Aegean Sea to prevent the smuggling of migrants (Musaro, 2016, p.15). These militarised operations aimed to put a stop to organised criminal activities of smugglers and traffickers of people, ensure the safety of migrants whose lives are put at risk by smugglers and traffickers, and protect the EU from terrorists who pretend to be migrants and refugees (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018, p.695). The EU strategy to control irregular migration had humanitarian motives but militarised manifestations.

According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) definition, smugglers take 'advantage of people who need to escape poverty, natural disaster, conflict or persecution, or lack of employment and education opportunities but do not have the options to

migrate legally' (UNODC, 2022b). Also, traffickers use deception, coercion, fraud, abuse of a position of vulnerability and abduction, and force individuals into exploitative situations such as sexual exploitation, forced labour, removal of organs and more (UNODC, 2022a). The EU's strategy to minimise irregular migration and ensure the migrants' safety is ⁴²⁵ focused on the fight against smugglers and traffickers.

However, the findings of the current research suggest that smugglers may not be the organised criminals depicted by the EU. Many migrants in this research crossed the Greek border with the help of smugglers. The migrants mentioned that a failed attempt to be smuggled into Greece would mean that the migrants would have to try and pay the smugglers again for their service. However, the migrants in this research did not vilify the smugglers or mention being exploited by smugglers in their narrations. On the contrary, the migrants described their exchanges with smugglers as typical exchange of money for service. In addition, a few migrants mentioned that if not for the smugglers, they would not be able to enter Greece or follow tactics (like destroying identification papers) that ensured their protection in Greece.

Previous researches suggest that smuggling is not necessarily a criminal activity but a consequence of the mass movement of people. It is perceived as an exchange of services for money (Achilli, 2018); a relationship of trust between migrants and smugglers (Icduygu, 2004). Sometimes even migrants take part in the smuggling business as intermediaries (Achilli and Sanchez, 2017). One of the migrants interviewed [P26] confessed that he worked for a smuggler for three months crossing people across the Aegean Sea to the Greek islands. The migrant was trying to earn money before he entered Greece to seek asylum as he expected an unstable future. Participant [26] stated that he knew what he was doing was illegal, but he believed he was helping people to reach safety.

This may suggest that the condemnation of smugglers by the EU might not be the solution to irregular migration. On the contrary, anti-smuggling militarised operations block migration routes, obstruct individuals from leaving their countries, and prevent migrants from accessing international protection (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018, p. 690).

Even though the current research findings did not suggest exploitations or mistreatment of migrants by smugglers, the routes used by smugglers to be undetected by the authorities were dangerous. In addition, the forced migrants' travelling conditions were risky and sometimes life-threatening. The forced migrants claimed to board overpacked boats and vans during their transit from Turkey to Greece. They also mentioned that smugglers would stop the boats offshore for the migrants to be considered shipwrecked or in danger. These risky tactics may result in real tragedies such as the numerous shipwrecks in Mediterranean Sea that caused the death of thousands of migrants over the years (IOM, 2020).

Perkowski and Squire (2019, p.2179) suggest that the answer to the smuggling issue would be the creation of more legal routes for migrants to follow and decreasing waiting times on the existing routes. Facilitating more legal routes would allow migrants to safely enter Europe without the help of smugglers. In addition, if the new routes provide easy and legal access to European countries, the migrants will no longer have to destroy their identification documents and sell the war-victim story to those at the borders. With legal ways paved for migrants, there would be no need to hide their identity, making their identification by EU and national agencies easier and faster. The faster identification of migrants would speed up the asylum processes and decongest the asylum system; avoiding system crashes such as the ones observed in Italy and Greece.

A common finding for both economic and forced migrants was their unawareness of hate crime. Hate crime is a phenomenon that has increased significantly throughout the last decade

in Europe (Papageorgiou et al., 2017). According to the discussions in the previous chapters and the available literature in the field, some recommendations are presented which would help increase hate crime reporting by vulnerable minorities such as economic migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. The findings suggest that one of the reasons both economic and forced migrants underreported hate crime was their unawareness. The forced migrants and the economic migrants showed limited to no knowledge of hate crimes and the legal processes available to them to assert their rights. Evidence from the UK suggests that marginalised and vulnerable victims are unfamiliar with hate crimes as offences, their victim status, and the support services available to them (Chakraborti, 2018, pp. 396,397). For instance, the Leicester Hate crime project in the UK, a study that was created for a better understanding of hate crime by gathering data from a very diverse UK city, revealed that many hate crime victims were not aware of the term hate crime. The victims were not aware of hate crime campaigns and were reluctant to report the incidents to the police or agencies that could provide help (Chakraborti, Garland, and Hardy, 2015).

The State plays an important role in raising awareness and supporting the victims through its response strategies to hate crime. Greece's response to hate crime appeared inadequate. Evidence from the current research and previous studies show insufficient monitoring of the crime by State agencies. RVRN has been recording hate crimes in Greece since the UNHCR and GNCHR initiative in 2011 (RVRN, 2019). However, there are discrepancies between the number of hate crimes recorded by the RVRN and those submitted to OSCE by the Greek State. A finding also noted by Perry (2016, p.616) who highlights the importance of collaboration between civil society (including activists and NGOs) and the State for a better understanding of and response to hate crime.

The police's failure to tackle hate crime and respond adequately to the issues that rose due to immigration and asylum allowed the expansion of hate crime (Papageorgiou et al.,

2017). Greece's response to hate crime was in line with EU standards on paper; however the reality was different, with police officers refusing to record hate crimes, stay neutral or even perpetrate them (Papageorgiou, et al., 2017).

In 2018 an ²²⁰ inter-agency co-operation regarding hate crimes in Greece was agreed upon and signed by multiple Greek Ministries, including Justice, Interior, Migration Policy, Health, the President and the Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Greece, OSCE/ODIHR and non-governmental organisations (OSCE, 2018). The report noted the gaps in hate crime response in Greece and suggested more resources be allocated to special prosecutors and police units throughout the country. They suggested more focus on training police and prosecutors and the co-operation of institutions for a better response to hate crime. In addition, they suggested consultation with affected groups in order to create an accessible reporting system. Finally, they suggested that Greece should improve their data collection system for hate crime complaints (OSCE, 2018).

The State response to hate crime in Greece needs much improvement. A very hopeful message on the intolerance towards hate crimes was the verdict of the Golden Dawn trial. The trial was called the 'biggest trail of Nazi criminality since the Nuremberg Trial' (Verousi, Boursinou and Kostopoulos, 2022). The conviction of the Golden Dawn Members of Parliament was considered by Amnesty International a ¹²⁰ 'turning point to deter racist violence and hate crimes in the future' (Amnesty International, 2020).

Although the State's response to hate crime appeared insufficient, international and non-governmental organisations appear to be quite active around hate crime and try ³ to raise awareness of hate crime through campaigns. ²⁰ The International Organisation for Migration, with the support of the Greek Ministry of Migration Policy, launched the *Stop Mind Borders* campaign to raise awareness against xenophobia, stereotypes, racism and discrimination in

Greece (IOM, 2018). In 2019 a campaign was launched by Rosa Luxembourg Foundation and Human Rights 360 ⁶⁰⁵ to raise awareness of the hate crime committed in public spaces in Greece. The *X Them Out!* (Βάλλ' τους X) campaign attempted to bring to light the racist violence that originated from fascism and the racist crimes of Golden Dawn with the help of 25 artists (ValtousX, 2019).

Apart from the campaigns, other NGOs try to promote awareness and contribute to tackling hate crime in Greece. Facing Facts is an NGO funded by the European Commission, among other funders. It raises awareness to increase hate crime reporting and provides online awareness training for the police and other agencies, among other activities (Facing Facts, 2022b). The RVRN is arguably the biggest network for hate crime recording in Greece and monitors hate crime with the help of 51 non-governmental organisations, civil society actors, ⁴⁸⁵ the Greek Ombudsman and the Council of Municipality of Athens (OSCE, 2022). The network monitors hate crime through in-person interviews and provide assistance to victims (OSCE, 2022). Giannasi (2014) and Perry (2016) suggests that third-party reporting can increase hate crime reporting, particularly among groups with weary relationships with the police.

Adopting a proactive strategy to hate crime could increase hate crime reporting. Perry and Samuels-Wortley (2021, p.82) suggest that police engagement with vulnerable communities can integrate law enforcement into the communities' dialogues which will help the police build rapport and learn first-hand about the communities' issues. Building rapport can reinstate the weary relationship some groups have with the police and increase reporting. Giannasi (2015) suggests that a proactive policing strategy on hate crime could also increase the reporting of other crimes that victims avoided reporting previously because of their strained relationship with the police.

Another proactive approach to hate crime is proactive education in schools. Even though there are not any empirical data to support that proactive education will prevent individuals from offending in the future (Meli, 2014). Meli (2014, p.963) suggests that diversity education could decrease misconceptions and misunderstandings between diverse groups, which could potentially decrease the probability of committing a hate crime. In addition, Meli (also suggests a rehabilitative education for the prevention of re-offending. Rehabilitative education is applied after a hate crime is committed and aims to introduce the perpetrator to the culture, beliefs and community of the victim. The perpetrator will be able to interact with the community, which will bond the offender with the community and create a connection between them. Meli (2014:963) suggests that the loose connection of the offender with the community could influence the offender's decision to commit a criminal offence. Davis' (2015:397) approach to offender rehabilitation is based on the idea of intervention. Davis suggests that the delivery of the intervention plays a significant role in the impact they have on the offender. An intervention should not be critical or blaming towards the offender but should be delivered in a motivational and encouraging way to have a positive outcome. The aim of rehabilitation programs is not to make the offender admit they are prejudiced but to help them make more emphatic choices in the future and avoid committing hate crimes (Davis, 2015:398).

An improved proactive response to hate crime by the State would raise awareness of hate crime and allow more individuals, particularly disadvantaged individuals, to report hate crimes to the authorities. The police engagement with victim groups would build relationships of trust and reduce the migrant population's fear of the police. The collaboration between State agencies and civil society such as NGOs, and vulnerable communities would allow better response to hate crime reporting. Finally, collecting data for hate crime complaints, as suggested by the OSCE 2018 report, would allow a better understanding and maybe the prevention of the crime. Drawing from the U.K. mechanism of hate crime reporting, I believe

there is merit in the recording of hate incidents by the police in Greece. Recording hate crimes and incidents would allow the police to better understand the patterns of hate-motivated behaviours. Hate incidents appear to precede hate crimes; thus, recording hate incidents could provide opportunities for intervention (College of Policing, 2022).

Even though the increased awareness and better response by the police can lead to more crime reporting, a critical factor is the migrants' integration into society. This research suggests that the integration programmes available to migrants in Greece appeared inadequate to facilitate their needs. The EU notes that migrant integration into the host society is elemental to wellbeing, prosperity and cohesion in the EU (European Commission, 2022). However, the integration of migrants in the Member States differs as there is not a common integration strategy in the EU.

The EU points out the current inequality between EU citizens and non-European migrants in employment, education and social inclusion (European Commission, 2022). This research suggests that migrants' access to the labour market, health, and social services was limited due to their lack of integration. For instance, migrants and refugees tend to be excluded from healthcare due to financial and cultural barriers (Myloneros and Sakellariou, 2021). Refugee children may be indirectly excluded from education, as they may receive language lessons in asylum seeker centres in an informal non-compulsory way, while education is compulsory for all children in Greece, regardless of their status (Crul et al., 2019). The forced migrants felt they were not ready to be fully recognised as refugees because they would no longer be eligible for financial support from the State. The forced migrants did not feel prepared to live without financial support because they lacked knowledge regarding employment and access to services. Even though forced migrants had received or were about to receive refugee status, they still lived precarious lives. Their primary concern was to step into a more stable life-style.

Consequently, hate crime, particularly hate speech, becomes a secondary need compared to their need for stable income and access to services.

⁶¹
In 2020 the European Commission launched its new action plan on integration and inclusion 2021-2027 (European Commission, 2020). The action plan focuses on educating and training migrants from childhood to higher education, recognizing their qualifications and continuing language learning. It envisions more employment opportunities for migrants with a particular interest in ³³² migrant women and easier access to the labour market for migrants. Furthermore, it intends to provide better health and mental healthcare access. Finally, it intends to fight discrimination and segregation in the housing market by providing further funding.

New integration policies in Greece would allow the faster integration of migrants and ensure their wellbeing. Language proficiency and access to employment information increase migrants' economic integration (Donato and Ferris, 2020). Thus, an action plan around migrants' specific needs would secure their economic survival and allow them to set new priorities in their lives. Supporting migrants to integrate into society economically, socially and culturally would change their perspective in life and allow them to fulfil needs beyond their immediate survival. Consequently, it would allow them to acquire legal knowledge regarding their rights, including those regarding hate crime.

The lack of adequate integration policies can have adverse effects on forced migrants. As discussed in chapter seven, the lack of integration policies led to the economic migrants' assimilation. The economic migrants changed or seemingly changed parts of their identity to fit into society and avoid hate crime. Such practices have negative effects on migrant populations while simultaneously accepting and perpetuating the discriminatory and intolerant behaviours of the host society. New integration policies would be a good way of introducing forced migrants into the Greek society and, at the same time, introducing the local population

to different cultures. This process would create a more open and tolerant society that accepts and celebrates diversity.

I believe there is merit in further exploring the findings discussed in this section. ²²² There is extensive research on the fields of hate crime and migration in European societies. However, further research on migrant securitisation and the migrants' attitudes towards hate crime is needed as the literature in Greece is quite limited. In addition, more studies need to cover the refugee and migrant populations, as they are two measurable groups in Greece and the general European region.

¹¹³ One theoretical aspect of the research that I found very interesting and would like to discuss briefly here is the fact that different legal consciousness approaches can be used to explain how individuals understand and react to the law. In this research, I used the three schools of thought, namely Hegemony, Identity and Mobilisation, to explore the legal consciousness of migrants. The economic migrants resisted the hegemonic power of the immigration law and later accepted its power in their lives. The forced migrants reformed their identities to mobilise the law and assert rights. The three schools of thought introduced in chapter three can overlap (Chua and Engel, 2019, p.337). I believe that these three approaches complement each other. Suppose we observe the legal consciousness of a group for an extended ³⁰ period of time instead of capturing their attitude toward the law for a specific event. In that case, we might see this relationship clearly. For instance, the forced migrants had to change their identity in order to perceive themselves as right-bearers. Once they did, they collided with the State and resisted its hegemony to enter the country and mobilise asylum law. All three approaches can be used to explore the legal consciousness of one group as it shifts over time.

Legal consciousness is polyvocal and depends on the situations individuals experience (Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Nielsen, 2000), which is true for economic and forced migrants. The law and their needs shaped the legal consciousness of these two distinct groups at different times of their lives in Greece. The current research findings show that legal consciousness is not static but changes over time. It can be framed by the law, individuals' past and present experiences with the legal system, their culture, and their socio-economic situations.

In addition, legal consciousness does not need to be framed within the boundaries of jurisdictions. As discussed in chapter six, it can be framed by international law. Individuals do not experience international law in everyday life; however, it framed refugee and asylum seekers' legal consciousness. These individuals left their countries, reformed their identities, risked their lives at sea and demanded access to safety, all based on their perception of the law. This further shows that legal consciousness is not based on objectivity but on individuals' subjective perceptions created according to their needs and stimuli.

8.5 Research contributions

One of the contributions of this research is the exploration of economic and forced migrants' legal consciousness, particularly regarding hate crimes. It shows that these migrant populations underreport hate crime in Greece. The research also shows the reasons migrant populations are unwilling to report hate crime. Finally, it provides suggestions for a better response to hate crime according to the findings.

This research explores the study of hate crime and irregular migration through the lens of legal consciousness. Both areas have attracted a lot of academic attention in the last few decades. However, the combination of the two is relatively limited. In addition, the literature on hate crime and legal consciousness is relatively scarce in Greece, even though the country

has experienced an ¹³⁹ increase in racist and xenophobic hate crimes in the last decade. I believe this research opens the way for further explorations ³ in the field of hate crime and legal consciousness with a focus on refugee and asylum seeker populations.

In addition, this research introduced migrants to hate crime. Even though the research aimed to explore migrant populations understanding and reaction to hate crime, many migrants were unaware of the phenomenon. The migrants who were unfamiliar with the term before our interactions were introduced to it by the definitions and examples of hate crime I provided. During our interactions, the migrants had the chance to recall past experiences and recognise some of them as hate crimes. Going back to the ¹⁴ Seven Key Decision Points introduced by ⁴²⁰ McDevitt et al. (2000), reporting a hate crime depends on the victims' perception of the incident. The victim needs to perceive the incident as a crime and recognise hate as an element in it. The victim's unawareness of what comprises a hate crime reduces the chances of reporting it (Chakraborti et al. (2014). During our interactions, the migrants had the opportunity ⁶⁰⁷ to better understand what hate crime is and think about how they would react to it in the future. In addition, our interactions may have encouraged some migrants to get further informed about hate crimes from NGOs or the police or even report a hate crime they had experienced.

Finally, the last contribution of this research is the impact it had on me as a person and as a researcher. In chapter five, I have presented the ways research can influence and be influenced by the researcher. I discussed how my social position and background could potentially affect this research. However, ⁴⁰² I believe it would be appropriate to mention here the impact of this research on myself. On a personal level, this research helped me better understand who I am as a person. Conducting research with migrant participants made me reflect on my life as a migrant in England. This research was an exciting but challenging journey. I interacted with fellow migrants whose life and experiences were totally different from mine. I talked with people that experienced violence in many different forms. These

people opened their hearts, and some even their hugs and let me take a glimpse into their lives. This research helped understand the migrants' needs and precarious lives. Also, it helped me understand myself and my country more deeply.

References

- ¹⁶⁶ Abrego, L. (2008). 'Legitimacy, Social Identity, and the Mobilization of Law: The Effects of Assembly Bill 540 on Undocumented Students in California.', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 33(03), pp.709–734.
- ¹⁶⁵ Abrego, L. (2011) 'Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Latinos: Fear and Stigma as Barriers to Claims-Making for First- and 1.5-Generation Immigrants', *Law & Society Review*, 45(2), pp. 337-370.
- ²⁸⁰ Abu-Rabi, I.M. (1996) *Intellectual origins of islamic resurgence in the modern arab world*. Albany: State University Of New York Press.
- ¹⁸⁵ Achilli, L. (2018) 'The 'Good' Smuggler: The Ethics and Morals of Human Smuggling among Syrians.', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 676(1), pp.77–96.
- ¹⁸⁹ Achilli, L. and Sanchez, G., (2017) 'What does it mean to disrupt the business models of people smugglers?', *European University Institute Issue*: 2017/09
- ³² Adamczyk, A., (2016) 'Albanian immigrants in Greece: From unwanted to tolerated?'. *J. Liberty & Int'l Aff.*, 2, p.49.
- ⁸⁶ Afkhami, M. (1995). *Faith and freedom : women's human rights in the Muslim world*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- ⁶¹ Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008). 'Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework.', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), pp.166–191.
- ²³⁴ Aghikari, P. (2012). 'The Plight of the Forgotten Ones: Civil War and Forced Migration', *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(3), pp.590–606.
- ³³¹ Agyare, P. (2021) 'Irregular Migration on the Central Mediterranean: A Critical Analysis', *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 24, pp. 638–649.
- ⁵² Aidinlis, S. (2019). 'Defining the 'legal': two conceptions of legal consciousness and legal alienation in administrative justice research.', *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 41(4), pp.495–513.
- ⁸ Albrecht, S. and Green, M. (1977). 'Attitudes Toward The Police And The Larger Attitude

Complex. Implications For Police-Community Relationships.' *Criminology*, 15(1), pp.67–86.

42
Almohamed, A. and Vyas, D. (2016) 'Vulnerability of displacement'. *Proceedings of the 28th Australian Conference on Computer-Human Interaction - OzCHI '16*.

198
Amiot, C. and Bourhis, R. (2005) 'Discrimination between dominant and subordinate groups: The positive-negative asymmetry effect and normative processes', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(2), pp. 289-308.

194
Amnesty International (2016) *Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants*. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/> (Accessed 7 Apr 2022)

120
Amnesty International (2020). *Greece: Golden Dawn verdict sends a clear message against the politics of demonization across Europe*. (online) Amnesty International. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2020/10/greece-golden-dawn-verdict-sends-a-clear-message-against-the-politics-of-demonization-across-europe/> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

322
An, A. (1995). *Human rights in cross-cultural perspectives : a quest for consensus*. Philadelphia: University Of Pennsylvania Press.

214
Anagnostaras, G. (2020) 'The Common European Asylum System: Balancing Mutual Trust Against Fundamental Rights Protection', *German Law Journal*, 21(6), pp. 1180–1197.

251
Angrosino, M. and Mays de Perez, K. (2000) 'Rethinking Observation', in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications, Inc, pp. 673-702.

41
Apodaca, C. (1998). 'Human Rights Abuses: Precursor to Refugee Flight?', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(1), pp.80–93.

8
Arendt, H. (1973) *The origins of totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

272
Armit, I. (2011) 'Violence and Society in the Deep Human Past,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 51(3), pp. 499–517.

²⁹ Arsenijević, J., Schillberg, E., Ponthieu, A., Malvisi, L., Ahmed, W.A.E., Argenziano, S., Zamatto, F., Burroughs, S., Severy, N., Hebting, C., de Vingne, B., Harries, A.D. and Zachariah, R. (2017) 'A crisis of protection and safe passage: violence experienced by migrants/refugees travelling along the Western Balkan corridor to Northern Europe', *Conflict and Health*, 11(1).

⁸⁴ Atkinson, P. (1992) 'The ethnography of a medical setting: Reading, writing, and rhetoric', *Qualitative Health Research*, 2(4), pp. 451–474.

³¹⁵ Ayoob, M. (2004) 'Political Islam: Image and Reality', *World Policy Journal*, 21(3), pp.1–14.

²⁹⁷ Aziz, N., Chowdhury, M. and Cooray, A. (2021) 'Why do people from wealthy countries migrate?', *European Journal of Political Economy*, p.102156.

Bacci, M (2018). *Short History of Migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

²⁵² Bagavos, C., Kourachanis, N., Lagoudakou, K., Xatzigiannakou, K. and Touri, P. (2019). *Policy Barriers and Enablers WP3 Report*. (online) [sirius-project.eu](https://www.sirius-project.eu), ²⁰ Sirius - Skills and Integration of Migrants, Refugee and Asylum Applicants in European Labour Market, pp.324–381. ¹⁵¹ Available at: <https://www.sirius-project.eu/> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).

⁴⁰ Bagavos, C., Lagoudakou, K., & Xatzigiannakou, K. (2018). Greece. In V. Federico (ed.) *WP2 Report – Legal Barriers and Enablers*, pp. 243–303. Available at: https://www.sirius-project.eu/sites/default/files/attachments/WP2_D2.2.pdf (Accessed: 7 May 2022)

¹⁹ Bakker, L., Cheung, S.Y. and Phillimore, J. (2016). 'The Asylum-Integration Paradox: Comparing Asylum Support Systems and Refugee Integration in The Netherlands and the UK.', *International Migration*, 54(4), pp.118–132.

¹⁷ Barbero, I. (2013) 'Migrant struggles and legal pluralism: claiming citizenship across multiple scales', *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 45(3), pp. 357-371.

⁴⁴⁴ BBC (2015) "Italian PM condemns 'new slave trade,'" *BBC News*, 19 April. ³⁶ Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-europe-32374027> (Accessed: 9 January 2022).

²⁶ Bello, V. (2020) 'The spiralling of the securitisation of migration in the EU: from the

- 183 management of a “crisis” to a governance of human mobility?”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(5), pp. 1–18..
- 134 Benier, K. (2017) ‘The harms of hate’, *International Review of Victimology*, 23(2), pp. 179–201.
- 15 Bergman, M. (2015) *Mediterranean: Another weekend of tragedy*, UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/55f80a906.html> (Accessed: 3 January 2022).
- 59 Billiet, J., Meuleman, B. and De Witte, H. (2014) ‘The relationship between ethnic threat and economic insecurity in times of economic crisis: Analysis of European Social Survey data.’, *Migration Studies*, 2(2), pp.135–161. doi:10.1093/migration/mnu023.
- 96 Blee, K.M. (2007). ‘The Microdynamics of Hate Violence.’, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(2), pp.258–270. 182
- 30 Boeckmann, R.J. and Turpin-Petrosino, C. (2002) ‘Understanding the Harm of Hate Crime’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(2), pp. 207–225.
- 1 Boeckmann, R.J. and Turpin-Petrosino, C. (2002). ‘Understanding the Harm of Hate Crime.’, *Journal of Social Issues*, (online) 58(2), pp.207–225. doi:10.1111/1540-4560.00257.
- 70 Boffey, D. (2020) ‘Violent extremism linked to failure of migrants to integrate, EU says. *The Guardian*.’, (online) 13 Nov. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/13/violent-extremism-migrants-failure-to-integrate-eu> (Accessed 5 Dec. 2021).
- 230 Boje, D.M. (2012) ‘Narrative Analysis’, in A.J. Mills, G. Durepos and E. Wiebe (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications, pp. 591–594.
- 348 Bordeau, J. (2010) *Xenophobia: the violence of fear and hate*. New York: Rosen Publ.
- 246 Boyatzis, R.E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information : thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks (Ca.): Sage Publications.
- 263 Brax, D. (2016) ‘Motives, Reasons, and Responsibility in Hate/Bias Crime Legislation’, *Criminal Justice Ethics*, 35(3), pp. 230–248.
- 534 Brewer, J. (2000) *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

- ¹⁶⁴ Brouwer, A. and Kumin, J. (2003). 'Interception and Asylum: When Migration Control and Human Rights Collide.', *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 21(4), pp.6–24.
- ¹¹⁵ Browne, K., Bakshi, L. and Lim, J., (2011) 'It's Something You Just Have to Ignore': Understanding and Addressing Contemporary Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans Safety Beyond Hate Crime Paradigms' *Journal of Social Policy*, 40(4), pp.739-756.
- ³³³ Brysk, A. and Shafir, G. (2004) *People out of place: globalization, human rights, and the citizenship gap*. New York: Routledge.
- ²³⁷ Bumiller, Kristin (1988) *The Civil Rights Society: The Social Construction of Victims*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.
- ⁴⁴ Buzan, B., Waeber, O. and De Wilde, J. (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder, Colo., USA: Lynne Rienner.
- ²¹ Cambridge Dictionary (2022) *limbo*, @CambridgeWords. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/limbo> (Accessed: 9 January 2022).
- ¹³⁵ Cannella, G. (1998) 'Critical Research: Postmodern Methodologies for the Examination of Race, Ethnicity, Class, and Gender in Education', *Advancing Women in Leadership Journal*, 1(2). doi: <https://doi.org/10.18738/awl.v0i2.36>.
- ³²⁹ Carling, J. (2017) "Refugee advocacy and the meaning of 'migrants'". *PRIO policy brief*, 2:2017.
- ³⁰² Castelli, F. (2018) 'Drivers of migration: why do people move?' *Journal of Travel Medicine*, (online) 25(1). doi:10.1093/jtm/tay040.
- ³⁹¹ Castells, M. (2010). *The Power of identity*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- ⁶¹ Cavounidis, J. (2004). 'Migration To Greece From The Balkans.', *South Eastern Europe Journal of Economics*, 2, pp.35–59.
- ²⁵⁰ Cavounidis, J. (2013) 'Migration and the Economic and Social Landscape in Greece', *South-Eastern Europe Journal of Economics*, 1, pp. 59–78.
- ¹¹⁶ Cavounidis, J. (2018). 'The migration experience of Greece and the impact of the economic crisis on its migrant and native populations.', *European Journal of Public Health*, 28(5),

pp.20–23.

⁷⁹ Chakraborti, N. (2014) 'Introduction and overview', in N. Chakraborti, and K. Garland, (eds.) *Responding to Hate Crime: The Case for Connecting Policy and Research*. Bristol University Press.

¹ Chakraborti, N. (2015) "Framing the boundaries of hate crime", in N. Hall et al. (eds.) *The Routledge International Handbook on Hate Crime*. New York: Routledge.

Chakraborti, N. (2018) 'Responding to hate crime: Escalating problems, continued failings', *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 18(4), pp. 387–404.

³ Chakraborti, N. and Garland, J., (2009) *Hate crime*. SAGE Publications Limited.

Chakraborti, N., Garland, J. and Hardy, S.-J. (2015). *The Leicester Hate Crime Project*. University of Leicester, pp.1–86.

¹⁰⁶ Chouliaraki, L. and Georgiou, M. (2017) 'Hospitality: The Communicative Architecture of Humanitarian Securitization at Europe's Borders', *Journal of Communication*, 67(2), pp. 159–180.

⁹⁴ Christopoulos, D. (2008), *The Unspoken issue of minorities in the Greek legal order*, (in Greek), Kritiki, Athens, pp. 33-67

³⁰³ Chua, L.J. and Engel, D.M. (2019). 'Legal Consciousness Reconsidered.', *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 15(1), pp.335–353.

¹ Clement, S., Brohan, E., Sayce, L., Pool, J. and Thornicroft, G. (2011) 'Disability hate crime and targeted violence and hostility: A mental health and discrimination perspective', *Journal of Mental Health*, 20(3), pp.219–225.

¹¹⁴ Cogan, J. (2002) 'Hate Crime as a Crime Category Worthy of Policy Attention', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46(1), pp. 173-185.

¹¹ Cohen, R. (2002) 'Refugees, Terrorism and Humanitarian Assistance', *In Defense of the Alien*, 25, pp. 27–31. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23141317> (Accessed: 11 August 2021).

¹ Colic-Peisker, V. and Walker, I. (2003). 'Human capital, acculturation and social identity:

²³⁶ Bosnian refugees in Australia.’, *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 13(5), pp.337–360.

⁵⁷ College of policing (2020) *Responding to non-crime hate incidents*, [www.app.college.police.uk](https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-protection/hate-crime/responding-to-non-crime-hate-incidents/#recording-non-crime-hate-incidents). Available at: <https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-protection/hate-crime/responding-to-non-crime-hate-incidents/#recording-non-crime-hate-incidents> (Accessed 7 February 2022).

⁵⁷ College of Policing (2022). *Responding to non-crime hate incidents*. (online) College of Policing. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/app/major-investigation-and-public-protection/hate-crime/responding-non-crime-hate-incidents> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

⁴³ Colombo, M. (2017) ‘The Representation of the “European Refugee Crisis” in Italy: Domopolitics, Securitization, and Humanitarian Communication in Political and Media Discourses’, *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 16(1-2), pp. 161–178.

¹⁷⁷ Coluccello, S., Kretsos, L. (2015). Irregular Migration, Xenophobia and the Economic Crisis in Greece. In: Massey, S., Coluccello, R. (eds) *Eurafrican Migration: Legal, Economic and Social Responses to Irregular Migration*. Palgrave Pivot, London.

⁶⁷ Cooper, D. (1995). ‘Local Government Legal Consciousness in the Shadow of Juridification.’, *Journal of Law and Society*, 22(4), p.506.

⁶⁰ Copland, F. and Creese, A. (2015) *Linguistic Ethnography: Collecting, Analysing and Presenting Data*. 55 City Road: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 63-78.

⁸⁰ Corbin, J. and Morse, J. (2003) ‘The Unstructured Interactive Interview: Issues of Reciprocity and Risks when Dealing with Sensitive Topics’, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9(3), pp. 335-354.

³⁶ Cortazzi, M. (2001) ‘Narrative Analysis in Ethnography’, in Atkinson, P. et al. *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 384-394.

⁹⁰ Council of Europe (2014) *Hate speech and violence, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)*. Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/hate-speech-and-violence> (Accessed 5 February 2022).

- ¹⁰³ Council of Europe (2022). *Council of Europe*. (online) Council of Europe. Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/home> (Accessed 12 Jun 2022)
- ⁹⁵ Cowan, D. (2004) 'Legal Consciousness: Some Observations', *Modern Law Review*, 67(6), pp. 928-958.
- ¹³⁸ Craig, K.M. and Waldo, C.R. (1996) "'So, what's a hate crime anyway?' Young adults' perceptions of hate crimes, victims, and perpetrators.", *Law and Human Behavior*, 20(2), pp. 113–129.
- ⁵⁰ Craig-Henderson, K. (2003) 'After the Hate: Helping Psychologists Help Victims of Racist Hate Crime', *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 10(4), pp. 481–490.
- Craig-Henderson, K. and Sloan, L.R. (2006) 'After the Hate: Helping Psychologists Help Victims of Racist Hate Crime', *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 10(4), pp. 481–490.
- ¹⁸ Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (2019). Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/37/part/II/crossheading/raciallyaggravated-offences-england-and-wales> (Accessed: 11 November 2018).
- ⁸⁹ Crul, M., Lelie, F., Biner, Ö., Bunar, N., Keskiner, E., Kokkali, I., Schneider, J. and Shuayb, M. (2019). 'How the Different Policies and School Systems Affect the Inclusion of Syrian Refugee Children in Sweden, Germany, Greece, Lebanon and Turkey.', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(1).
- ⁷⁹ Culotta, K.A., (2005) 'Why victims hate to report: Factors affecting victim reporting in hate crime cases in Chicago', *Kriminologija i Socijalna Integracija*, 13.
- ²² Cumper, P. and Lewis, T. (2008). "'Taking Religion Seriously"? Human Rights and Hijab in Europe— Some Problems of Adjudication', *Journal of Law and Religion*, 24(2), pp.599–627.
- ⁴ Dana, J., Dawes, R. and Peterson, N. (2013) 'Belief in the unstructured interview: The persistence of an illusion', *Judgment and Decision Making*, 8(5), pp. 512-520.
- ¹⁸¹ Davenport, C., Moore, W. and Poe, S. (2003) 'Sometimes You Just Have to Leave: Domestic Threats and Forced Migration, 1964-1989', *International Interactions*, 29(1), pp. 27–55.

- Davidson, J. (2018) 'NVivo', in Frey, B. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Measurement, and Evaluation*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., pp. 1166-1168.
- Davis, E. (2015) 'Helping offenders to "think again"' In: N. Hall, A. Corb, P. Giannasi and J. Grive, (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook on Hate Crime*. Oxon: Routledge, pp.391-398.
- Davis, K. (2020) 'The European Union's Dublin Regulation and the Migrant Crisis', *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, 19(2), pp. 259–287.
- Day, K. and White, P. (2002). 'Choice or circumstance: the UK as the Location of Asylum Applications by Bosnian and Somali Refugees.', *GeoJournal*, 56(1), pp.15–26.
- Deegan, M. (2001) 'The Chicago School of Ethnography', in P. Atkinson, et al., *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publication Ltd, pp. 11-25.
- Delgado, R. and Stefancic, J. (2004) *Understanding words that wound*. Boulder, Colo., USA: Westview Press.
- Delmas-Marty, M. and Chodkwiewicz, C. (1992) *The European convention for the protection of human rights: international protection versus national restrictions*. Dordrecht: Nijhoff.
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2000) *Handbook of qualitative research*. 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- DeWalt, K. and DeWalt, B. (2011) *Participant observation*. 2nd edn. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Dingwall, R. (1997) 'Accounts, Interviews and Observations', in R. Dingwall, and G. Miller, *Context and Method in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 51-65.
- Donato, K.M. and Ferris, E. (2020). 'Refugee Integration in Canada, Europe, and the United States: Perspectives from Research.', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 690(1), pp.7–35.
- Drymiotou, M., & Gerasopoulos, V. (2018). Entangling the Migration and the Economic 'Crisis': Claiming What's Rightfully Greek. *Race-ism*, 30(2), pp. 49–70.

⁷ Dück, E. and Lucke, R. (2019) 'Same Old (Macro-) Securitization? A Comparison of Political Reactions to Major Terrorist Attacks in the United States and France', *Croatian International Relations Review*, 25(84), pp. 6–35.

³ ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Discrimination (2016). *ECRI Report on the United Kingdom*. (online) *coe.int*, pp.1–49. Available at: ²⁸² <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/united-kingdom> (Accessed 7 Aug. 2020).

¹²⁶ EHRC - Equality and Human Rights Commission (2020). *Article 10: Freedom of expression / Equality and Human Rights Commission*. (online) *www.equalityhumanrights.com*. ²² Available at: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/human-rights-act/article-10-freedom-expression#:~:text=Article%2010%20of%20the%20Human%20Rights%20Act%3A%20Free%20of%20expression&text=Everyone%20has%20the%20right%20to> (Accessed 18 Mar. 2022).

¹ Elliott, J. (2005) *Using Narrative in Social Research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 36-59.

³²¹ Emerson, R., Fretz, R. and Shaw, L. (2001) 'Participant Observation and Field notes', in P. Atkinson, et al., *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 352-368.

⁶⁵ Enarsson, T. and Lindgren, S. (2018) 'Free speech or hate speech? A legal analysis of the discourse about Roma on Twitter', *Information & Communications Technology Law*, 28(1), pp. 1–18.

²⁵ Engel, D.M., (2013) 'Perception and decision at the threshold of tort law: Explaining the infrequency of claims', *DePaul L. Rev.*, 62, p.293.

⁹¹ Equalityhumanrights.com. (2018). *Home Page / Equality and Human Rights Commission*. Available at: <https://equalityhumanrights.com/en> 9 Accessed 12 Oct 2018.

⁴⁴ Erdal, M.B. and Oeppen, C. (2017) 'Forced to leave? The discursive and analytical significance of describing migration as forced and voluntary', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), pp.981–998.

²⁷¹ EUR - Lex (2008). *EUR-Lex - 12008E019 - EN - EUR-Lex*. (online) Europa.eu. Available at:

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12008E019> (Accessed 17 Apr. 2022).

¹⁵ EUR-Lex (2013) *Regulation (Eu) No 604/2013 Of The European Parliament And Of The Council*, Europa.eu. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32013R0604> (Accessed 25 Feb 2022)

²⁹ European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (2021) *Forced displacement: refugees, asylum-seekers and Internally Displaced People (IDPs)*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/what-we-do/humanitarian-aid/refugees-and-internally-displaced-persons_en (Accessed 10 Oct 2021).

⁴⁰ European Commission (2015a) *Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions A European Agenda On Migration*, Europa.eu. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A52015DC0240> (Accessed 8 Jan 2022)

¹⁹⁶ European Commission (2015b) *Refugee Crisis: Greece Activates EU Civil Protection Mechanism, Agrees Frontex Operation at Border with Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Triggers RABIT Mechanism*, European Commission - European Commission. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/it/IP_15_6249 (Accessed 3 Jan 2022).

³⁶⁸ European Commission (2016a). *Europe: Integration Action Plan of Third-Country Nationals launched | European Website on Integration*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/europe-integration-action-plan-third-country-nationals-launched_en (Accessed 5 Apr. 2022).

¹⁰ European Commission (2016b). *Implementation of the 2016 Action Plan on Integration | European Website on Integration*. (online) ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/eu-grid/implementation-2016-action-plan-integration_en#:~:text=In%20June%202016%2C%20the%20European (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

²⁵⁴ European Commission (2018) *Free movement - EU nationals - Employment, Social Affairs &*

Inclusion. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=457> (Accessed 8 January 2022).

⁸¹ European Commission (2019) *Schengen Area, Migration and Home Affairs*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/schengen-borders-and-visa/schengen-area_en ¹⁰ (Accessed 10 February 2022).

European Commission (2020) *Country responsible for asylum application (Dublin Regulation)*, Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/country-responsible-asylum-application-dublin-regulation_en (Accessed 1 April 2022).

¹⁴⁹ European Commission (2021) *The Commission Proposes to Extend the List of 'EU crimes' to Hate Speech and Hate Crime*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_21_6561 (Accessed 6 February 2022).

¹⁰ European Commission (2022a) *Common European Asylum System*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system_en. (Accessed 22 Jul 2022),

¹⁰ European Commission (2022b). *EU strategy / European Website on Integration*. (online) ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/eu-grid/eu-strategy_en (Accessed 17 Jul. 2022).

²⁵³ European Commission (2022c). *Migration and Home Affairs*. (online) home-affairs.ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/pages/glossary/refugee_en ¹⁴³ (Accessed 22 Jul. 2022).

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2019) *Hate speech and violence*. ²⁴³ Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/hate-speech-and-violence> (Accessed 2 May 2019).

³⁸ European Council (2020) *35 years since the signing of the Schengen Agreement*, Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/library/library-blog/posts/35-years-since-the-signing-of-the-schengen-agreement/> ⁴⁴⁰ (Accessed 17 Apr 2022)

European Council on Refugees and Exiles (2021) *Statistics, Asylum Information Database / European Council on Refugees and Exiles*. Available at: <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/statistics/> (Accessed 7 February 2022).

European Court of Human Rights (2010) *European Convention on Human Rights*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available at: https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf (Accessed 7 April 2019).

European Parliament (2013) 'Regulation (Eu) No 604/2013 Of The European Parliament And Of The Council'. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:180:0031:0059:en:PDF> (Accessed 5 January 2022).

European Parliament (2015) *Fingerprinting migrants: Eurodac Regulation / Think Tank /* Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_ATA\(2015\)571346](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_ATA(2015)571346) (Accessed 1 April 2022).

European Parliament (2019a) *Asylum Policy / Fact Sheets on the European Union* Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/151/asylum-policy> (Accessed 1 April 2022).

European Parliament (2019b) *Migration and Asylum* Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/infographics/migration/public/index.html?page=asylum> (Accessed 8 October 2021).

European Parliament (2021) *Asylum Policy, Fact Sheets on the European Union*. Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/151/asylum-policy> (Accessed 10 October 2021).

European Parliament (2022). *Treaty of Amsterdam*. (online) Treaty of Amsterdam. Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/treaty-of-amsterdam> (Accessed 25 Jan. 2022).

European Union (1997) *Official Journal of the European Communities, C 340, 10 November 1997*.

²⁹² European Union (2021). *REGULATION (EU) 2021/692 OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 28 April 2021*. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32021R0692> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).

European Union (2022a). *Aims and values*. (online) european-union.europa.eu. Available at: https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/principles-and-values/aims-and-values_en (Accessed 25 Jun. 2022).

¹⁹⁵ European Union (2022b). *Human Rights and Democracy*. (online) european-union.europa.eu. Available at: https://european-union.europa.eu/priorities-and-actions/actions-topic/human-rights-and-democracy_en#:~:text=The%20European%20Union%20is%20based (Accessed 29 Jul. 2022).

⁴⁹ Eurostat (2021) *Asylum statistics - Statistics Explained*, Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Asylum_statistics (Accessed: 8 October 2021).

²⁰ European Union (2011). *DIRECTIVE 2011/98/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 13 December 2011*. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32011L0098> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).

¹⁰² Ewick, P. and Silbey, S. (1998) *The common place of law*. 1st edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

³⁷ Facing Facts (2022a). *Connecting on Hate Crime Data in Greece | Facing Facts*. (online) www.facingfacts.eu. Available at: <https://www.facingfacts.eu/final-greece-country-report/> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

¹³⁶ Facing Facts (2022b). *Facing Facts*. (online) www.facingfacts.eu. Available at: <https://www.facingfacts.eu/> (Accessed 18 Jul. 2022).

²⁰⁸ Fakiolas, R. (2003) 'Regularising Undocumented Immigrants in Greece: Procedures and Effects.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29 (3), 535–561.

¹⁰⁴ Fakiolas, R. and Maratou-Alipranti, L. (2000) 'Foreign female immigrants in Greece', *Papers. Revista de Sociologia*, 60, p. 101. doi:10.5565/rev/papers/v60n0.1034.

- ¹³¹ Farbotko, C. and Lazrus, H. (2012) 'The first climate refugees? Contesting global narratives of climate change in Tuvalu', *Global Environmental Change*, 22(2), pp. 382–390.
- ¹⁹¹ Fasani, F., Frattini, T. and Minale, L. (2018). '(The Struggle for) Refugee Integration into the Labour Market: Evidence from Europe.', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 11333. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3129277.
- ⁴⁶ Fathi, S., (2013) 'Bias crime reporting: Creating a stronger model for immigrant and refugee populations', *Gonz. L. Rev.*, 49, p.249.
- ¹⁴ Felstiner, W.L.F. (1974). 'Influences of Social Organization on Dispute Processing.', *Law & Society Review*, 9(1), p.63.
- Felstiner, W.L.F., Abel, R.L. and Sarat, A. (1980). 'The Emergence and Transformation of Disputes: Naming, Blaming, Claiming . . .', *Law & Society Review*, 15(3/4), p.631.
- ³² Ferreira, S. (2018) 'From Narratives to Perceptions in the Securitisation of the Migratory Crisis in Europe', in M. Karakoulaki, L. Southgate, and J. Steiner, (eds) *In Critical Perspectives on Migration in the Twenty-First Century*. Bristol: E-International Relations., pp. 57–73.
- ²⁰⁷ Fine, S. and Ypi, L. (2016). *Migration in Political Theory : the Ethics of Movement and Membership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ³⁰⁵ Finlay, L. (1998) 'Reflexivity: An Essential Component for All Research?', *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 61(10), pp. 453–456
- ²⁶ Flaminia, S. (2017) 'Between Law and Trust. An Insight from Legal Consciousness and Ideology', *Romanian Journal of Comparative Law*, 8(2), pp. 246-259. Available at: https://heinonline.org/HOL/Welcome?message=Please%20log%20in&url=%2FHOL%2FPag e%3Ffname%3DST%26Acirc%3BRC-MECLEJAN%26public%3Dfalse%26collection%3Djournals%26handle%3Dhein.journals%26Fromajcl8%26men_hide%3Dfalse%26men_tab%3Dtoc%26kind%3D%26page%3D246 (Accessed 20 June 2019).
- ⁶⁹ Flores, A., Escudero, K. and Burciaga, E. (2019) 'Legal-Spatial Consciousness: A Legal Geography Framework for Examining Migrant Illegality', *Law & Policy*, 41(1), pp. 12-33.

277
Fontana, A. (2003) 'Postmodern Trends in Interviewing', in J. Gubrium, and J. Holstein, *Postmodern Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 51-66.

163
Fontana, A. and Frey, J. (2000) 'The Interview, From Structured Questions to Negotiated Text', in N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln, (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 645-672.

340
Fontana, A. and McGinnis, T.A. (2003) 'Ethnography Since Postmodernism', *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, pp. 215-234.

148
Fotaki, M. (2019). A Crisis of Humanitarianism: Refugees at the Gates of Europe. *International Journal of Health Policy and Management*, 8(6), pp.321-324.

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power knowledge*. Harlow: Longman.

480 117
FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018). *Unmasking Bias Motives in Crimes: Selected Cases of the European Court of Human Rights*. (online) European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Available at:
282
<https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/unmasking-bias-motives-crimes-selected-cases-european-court-human-rights> (Accessed 31 Jun. 2022).

91
FRA - European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2015). *Article 21 - Non-discrimination*. (online) European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Available at:
<https://fra.europa.eu/en/eu-charter/article/21-non-discrimination> (Accessed 25 Aug. 2019).

9
FRA- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2016) *Current migration situation in the EU: hate crime*, <https://fra.europa.eu>. pp. 1-19. Available at:
7
https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-november-monthly-focus-hate-crime_en.pdf (Accessed 22 July 2019).

126
Fritsvold, E. (2009) 'Under the Law: Legal Consciousness and Radical Environmental Activism', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 34(04), pp. 799-824.

148
Frontex (2021) *Western Balkan Route*, frontex.europa.eu. European Border and Coast Guard Agency. Available at: <https://frontex.europa.eu/we-know/migratory-routes/western-balkan-route/> (Accessed 22 Apr 2022).

134
Funnell, C. (2014) 'Racist hate crime and the mortified self', *International Review of*

Victimology, 21(1), pp. 71–83.

²⁷
Garelli, G. and Tazzioli, M. (2018a). 'The biopolitical warfare on migrants: EU Naval Force and NATO operations of migration government in the Mediterranean.', *Critical Military Studies*, 4(2), pp.181–200.

Garelli, G. and Tazzioli, M. (2018b). 'The Humanitarian War against Migrant Smugglers at Sea.', *Antipode*, 50(3), pp.685–703.

¹⁴
Garland, J. and Funnell, C. (2016) 'Defining Hate Crime Internationally: Issues and Conundrums', in M.A. Walters, and J. Schweppe, J. (eds) *The Globalization of Hate: Internationalizing Hate Crime?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷
Garland, J., Chakraborti, N. and Hardy, S.-J. (2015) "'It Felt Like a Little War": Reflections on Violence against Alternative Subcultures', *Sociology*, 49(6), pp. 1065–1080.

²⁷
Geddes, A. and Scholten, P. (2013) 'Policy Analysis and Europeanization: An Analysis of EU Migrant Integration Policymaking', *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 17(1), pp. 41–59.

⁹⁰
Gelber, K. (2017) 'Incitement to Hatred and Countering Terrorism: Policy Confusion in the UK and Australia', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71, pp. 28–49.

¹²¹
Gelber, K. and McNamara, L. (2015) 'Evidencing the harms of hate speech', *Social Identities*, 22(3), pp. 324–341.

¹⁰⁹
Giannasi, P. (2015) Policing and hate crime. In N. Hall, A. Corb, P. Giannasi, & J. Grieve (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook on hate crime* (pp. 331-342). London, England: Routledge.

¹²⁹
Gill, P. et al. (2008) 'Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups', *British Dental Journal*, 204(6), pp. 291-295.

¹⁷⁹
Gogonas, N. and Michail, D. (2014). 'Ethnolinguistic vitality, language use and social integration amongst Albanian immigrants in Greece.', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(2), pp.198–211.

¹⁴⁷
Gov.uk (2010). *Equality Act 2010*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at:

<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents> (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).

¹⁴⁷
Gov.uk (2011). *Public Order Act 1986*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1986/64/part/III/crossheading/acts-intended-or-likely-to-stir-up-racial-hatred> (Accessed 15 Jul. 2019).

⁹
Gov.uk (2012). *Criminal Justice Act 2003*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/44/section/146/2012-12-03> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2022).

⁴
Gov.uk (2019). *Crime and Disorder Act 1998*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/37/contents> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2022).

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2001) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*, Είσοδος και παραμονή Αλλοδαπών στην Ελληνική Επικράτεια, κτήση της Ελληνικής Ιθαγένειας με πολιτογράφηση και άλλες διατάξεις. Available at: <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-allodapoi/n-2910-2001.html> (Accessed 15 Apr 2022)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2005) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*, Law no 3386/05 on the Entry, Residence and Social Integration of Third-country Nationals in the Hellenic Territory Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/law-no-338605-entry-residence-and-social-integration-third-country-nationals_en (Accessed 17 Oct 2021)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2007) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*, Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 220/2007 Available at: <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-allodapoi/prosphuges-politiko-asulo/pd-220-2007.html> (Accessed 28 Apr 2021)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2010) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*, Νόμος 3838/2010 : Σύγχρονες διατάξεις για την Ελληνική Ιθαγένεια και την πολιτική συμμετοχή ομογενών και νομίμως διαμενόντων μεταναστών και άλλες ρυθμίσεις. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/law-38382010-current-provisions-greek-citizenship-and-political-participation_en (Accessed 15 May 2022)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2014) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της*

Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας. N.4285/2014 : Τροποποίηση του ν. 927/1979 (Α' 139) και προσαρμογή του στην απόφαση πλαίσιο 2008/913/ΔΕΥ της 28ης Νοεμβρίου 2008, για την καταπολέμηση ορισμένων μορφών και εκδηλώσεων ρατσισμού και ξενοφοβίας μέσω του ποινικού δικαίου (L 328) Available at: <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-anthropina-dikaionomata/n-4285-2014.html> (Accessed 12 April 2022).

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2016). *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας*. Νόμος 4375/2016 : Οργάνωση και λειτουργία Υπηρεσίας Ασύλου, Αρχής Προσφυγών, Υπηρεσίας Υποδοχής και Ταυτοποίησης σύσταση Γενικής Γραμματείας Υποδοχής, προσαρμογή της Ελληνικής Νομοθεσίας προς τις διατάξεις της Οδηγίας 2013/32/ΕΕ του Ευρωπαϊκού Available at: <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-allodapoi/prosphyges-politiko-asulo/nomos-4375-2016-phek-51-a-3-4-2016.html> (Accessed 06 Oct 2021)

Graca, S. (2017) 'Portuguese culture and legal consciousness: a discussion of immigrant women's perceptions of and reactions to domestic violence', *International Journal of Law in Context*, 14(3), pp. 416-436.

Grayling, A. (2008) 'Regardless of Frontiers', *Index on Censorship*, 37(3), pp. 14–19.

Green, D.P., McFalls, L.H. and Smith, J.K. (2001) 'Hate Crime: An Emergent Research Agenda', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), pp. 479–504.

Grigonis, S. (2016) 'EU in the face of migrant crisis: Reasons for ineffective human rights protection', *International Comparative Jurisprudence*, (online) 2(2), pp.93–98.

Grigoriadis, I. (2008) 'On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey', *Mediterranean Politics*, 13(1), pp. 23–41.

Grim, D. (2009) 'Freedom of Speech in a Globalized World' in I. Hare and J. Weinstein(eds) *Extreme speech and democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University press, pp. 11-23.

Gropas, R. & Triandafyllidou, A. (2005). *Migration in Greece at a glance*. Available at: <https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/en/2008/10/migration.pdf> (Accessed 28 Aug 2019)

Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (2000) 'Analyzing Interpretive Practice', in N. Denzin, and Y.

Lincoln, (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 487-508.

³²⁶
Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (2009) *Analyzing narrative reality*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Guillemin, M. and Gillam, L. (2004) 'Ethics, Reflexivity, and 'Ethically Important Moments' in Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), pp. 261–280.

³²
Guiraudon, V. (2017) 'The 2015 refugee crisis was not a turning point: explaining policy inertia in EU border control', *European Political Science*, 17(1), pp. 151–160.

³³
Gunst, M., Jarman, K., Yarwood, V., Rokadiya, S., Capsaskis, L., Orcutt, M. and Abbara, A. (2019). Healthcare access for refugees in Greece: Challenges and opportunities. *Health Policy*, (online) 123(9), pp.818–824.

⁷⁶
Gutierrez, C.M. and Kirk, D.S. (2017) 'Silence Speaks: The Relationship between Immigration and the Underreporting of Crime', *Crime & Delinquency*, 63(8), pp. 926–950.

⁸
Gutting, G. (1989) *Michel Foucault's archaeology of scientific reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²²³
Hagen-Zanker, J. (2008). Why Do People Migrate? A Review of the Theoretical Literature. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. (online) doi:10.2139/ssrn.1105657.

Hall, N. (2005). *Hate Crime*. London, UK: Willan.

⁵⁶
Halliday, S. (2019). 'After Hegemony: The Varieties of Legal Consciousness Research.', *Social & Legal Studies*, 28(6), pp.859–878.

⁵⁶
Halliday, S. and Morgan, B. (2013). 'I Fought the Law and the Law Won? Legal Consciousness and the Critical Imagination.', *Current Legal Problems*, 66(1), pp.1–32.

²¹⁵
Hammersley, M. (1998) *Reading ethnographic research*. 2nd edn. New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.

³⁴²
Hammersley, M. (2013) *What is Qualitative Research?* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

³⁵⁹
Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007) *Ethnography: principles in practice*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge.

Handmaker, J., (2019) ³⁹⁴ 'Researching legal mobilisation and lawfare', International Institute of Social Studies (No. 641).

Hannabuss, S. (1996) 'Research interviews', I, 97(5), pp. 22-30.

¹⁷ Harding, R. (2011). *Regulating Sexuality Legal Consciousness in Lesbian and Gay Lives*. Routledge, London.

⁷¹ Harkness, G. and Islam, S. (2011). Muslim Female Athletes and the Hijab. *Contexts*, 10(4), pp.64–65.

¹⁵³ Harris, B. (2002) 'Xenophobia: A new pathology for a New South Africa?', in D. Hook and G. Eagle (eds) *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*. Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.

³⁷ Hate Crime Laws (2019). Available at: <https://www.justice.gov/crt/hate-crime-laws> (Accessed 15 February 2019).

²⁰⁶ Hatton, T.J. (2017). Refugees and asylum seekers, the crisis in Europe and the future of policy. *Economic Policy*, 32(91), pp.447–496.

¹¹⁶ Hatzigeorgiou, A. and Lodefalk, M. (2021) 'A literature review of the nexus between migration and internationalization', *The Journal of International Trade & Economic Development*, 30(3), pp. 319–340.

⁵⁴ Hatziprokopiou, P. (2003). Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki, Greece: processes of economic and social incorporation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(6), pp.1033–1057.

³⁰⁶ Hatziprokopiou, P. (2005) 'Immigrants from Balkan countries in Greece: local and transnational processes of incorporation in Thessaloniki', *Belgeo*, (1-2), pp. 163–174.

⁴ Heisbourg, F. (2015). The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis. *Survival*, 57(6), pp.7-20.

³⁰ Herek, G.M., Cogan, J.C. and Gillis, J.R. (2002) 'Victim Experiences in Hate Crimes Based on Sexual Orientation', *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(2), pp. 319–339.

²⁶⁰ Herlihy, J. and Turner, S.W. (2009) 'The Psychology of Seeking Protection', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 21(2), pp. 171–192.

- ¹⁶ Hernández, D., (2010) 'I'm gonna call my lawyer:' shifting legal consciousness at the intersection of inequality. In: *Special Issue Interdisciplinary Legal Studies: The Next Generation* Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 95-121
- Hertogh, M. (2004). 'A 'European' Conception of Legal Consciousness: Rediscovering Eugen Ehrlich.', *Journal of Law and Society*, 31(4), pp.457–481.
- ³³ Hintjens, H. (2019) 'Failed Securitisation Moves during the 2015 "Migration Crisis"', *International Migration*, 57(4). doi:10.1111/imig.12588.
- ²²⁴ Hlepas, N.K. (2020) 'Checking the mechanics of Europeanization in a centralist state: The case of Greece', *Regional & Federal Studies*, 30(2), pp. 243–261.
- ⁷² Hodson, D. and Quaglia, L. (2009) 'European Perspectives on the Global Financial Crisis: Introduction', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47(5), pp. 939–953.
- ¹³⁷ Hogg, M.A., Abrams, D. and Brewer, M.B. (2017) 'Social identity: The role of self in group processes and intergroup relations', *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 20(5), pp. 570–581.
- ³⁶⁷ Holstein, J. and Gubrium, J. (1995) *The active interview*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.
- ⁹ Home Office (2019) *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2018/19*, assets.publishing.service.gov.uk. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/839172/hate-crime-1819-hosb2419.pdf (Accessed 11 Apr 2021).
- Home Office (2021) *Hate crime, England and Wales, 2020 to 2021*, GOV.UK. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2020-to-2021/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2020-to-2021> (Accessed 28 Feb 2022)
- ¹¹⁸ Hornsey, M. et al. (2003) 'Relations between High and Low Power Groups: The Importance of Legitimacy', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(2), pp. 216-227.
- ⁹⁵ Hull, K. (2003) 'The Cultural Power of Law and the Cultural Enactment of Legality: The Case of Same-Sex Marriage', *Law and Social Inquiry*, 28(3), pp. 629-657.

²¹² Human Rights Watch (2016). *EU Policies Put Refugees At Risk*. (Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/11/23/eu-policies-put-refugees-risk> ¹²² (Accessed Oct 19 2020).

Human Rights Watch (2020) *Greece: Violence Against Asylum Seekers at Border*, Human Rights Watch. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/03/17/greece-violence-against-asylum-seekers-border> ²³⁹ (Accessed 8 October 2021).

⁴³ Hurter, J. (2018) 'Hitler's Generals in the East and the Holocaust', in A. Kay, and D. Stahel, (eds) *Mass Violence in Nazi-Occupied Europe*. 1st edn. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

⁸¹ Huysmans, J. (2000) 'The European Union and the Securitization of Migration', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), pp. 751–777.

Huysmans, J. (2006) *The Politics of Insecurity*. London: Routledge.

⁷⁷ Huysmans, J. and Squire, V. (2009) 'Migration and Security', in M. Victor, and M. Victor, M. (eds) *Handbook of Security Studies*. London, UK: Routledge.

¹⁵⁸ Icduygu, A. (2004). 'Demographic Mobility and Turkey: Migration Experiences and Government Responses.', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 15(4), pp.88–99.

³⁰ Iganski, P. (2001) 'Hate Crimes Hurt More', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(4), pp. 626–638.

¹⁴¹ Iganski, P. (2002) 'Introduction: the problem of hate crimes and hate crime laws', in P. Iganski, and E. Burney, (eds) *The hate debate: should hate be punished as a crime?*. London: Profile, pp. 1-14.

¹³⁶ Iganski, P. and Lagou, S. (2014) 'Hate Crimes Hurt Some More Than Others', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 30(10), pp. 1696–1718. ¹⁸

Iganski, P. and Levin, J. (2015) *Hate Crime: A Global Perspective*. Oxon: Routledge.

²⁶⁶ Ignatow, G. and Mihalcea, R. (2017) 'Narrative Analysis', in G. Ignatow, and R. Mihalcea, (eds) *Text Mining: A Guidebook for the Social Sciences*. ²⁴⁵ Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc, pp. 88-95.

Il'in, I. (2012) *On the essence of legal consciousness*. London: Wildy, Simmonds & Hill

Publishing.

²⁶⁹ International Organization for Migration (2015). *Key Migration Terms* Available at: <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms#Migrant> (Accessed 17 August 2020).

²⁹³ International Rescue Committee (2022) *Greece: Refugees in Limbo, International Rescue Committee (IRC)*. Available at: <https://www.rescue-uk.org/country/greece> (Accessed 3 January 2022).

²⁹⁹ Ioakimidis, P.C. (2000) 'The Europeanization of Greece: An Overall Assessment', *South European Society and Politics*, 5(2), pp. 73–94.

IOM - International Organisation for Migration (2018). *Stop Mind Borders Campaign | IOM Greece*. (online) greece.iom.int. Available at: <https://greece.iom.int/stop-mind-borders-campaign> (Accessed 28 Jun. 2022).

²⁸⁸ IOM - International Organisation for Migration. "Shipwreck off Coast of Libya Pushes Migrant Deaths on the Mediterranean Past 20,000 Mark." *International Organization for Migration*, 2020, www.iom.int/news/shipwreck-coast-libya-pushes-migrant-deaths-mediterranean-past-20000-mark. Accessed 6 July 2022.

⁶³ Ivanov, S. and Stavrinoudis, T.A. (2018) 'Impacts of the refugee crisis on the hotel industry: Evidence from four Greek islands', *Tourism Management*, 67, pp. 214–223.

⁵ Jacobs, J.B. and Potter, K. (1998) *Hate crimes: criminal law & identity politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁶⁸ Jacq, C. and Teitgen, F. (1992) 'The Press', In: M. Delmas-Marty and C. Chodkiewicz, (eds.), *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights: International protections Versus National Restrictions*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp.59-81.

Jakob, C., Kron, S. and Christoph, W. (eds) (2019) *Atlas of migration facts and figures about people on the move*. 3rd edn. Berlin: Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Available at: <https://www.rosalux.de/en/publication/id/40425/the-atlas-of-migration> (Accessed 12 Oct 2020)

¹⁰ Jaskulowski, K. (2018) 'The securitisation of migration: Its limits and consequences', *International Political Science Review*, 40(5), pp. 710–720.

¹ Joffe, H., & Yardley, L. (2004). Content and thematic analysis. in D. Marks & L. Yardley (eds.). *Research methods for clinical and health psychology*. London: Sage.

³⁸ Jonassohn, K. and Björnson K.S. (1998). *Genocide and gross human rights violations : in comparative perspective*. London: Transaction Publs.

⁵¹ Jones, H., Gunaratnam, Y., Gargi Bhattacharyya, Davies, W., Sukhwant Dhaliwal, Forkert, K., Jackson, E. and Roayah Saltus (2017). *Go home? : the Politics of Immigration Controversies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

²⁸⁴ Joosub, N. and Ebrahim, S. (2020). 'Decolonizing the hijab: An interpretive exploration by two Muslim psychotherapists.', *Feminism & Psychology*, 30(3).

⁷ Kääriäinen, J. And Sirén, R., (2011) 'Trust in the police, generalised trust and reporting crime', *European Journal of Criminology*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 65-81.

Kalatzi, F. (2015) 'Securitisation of Migration in Greece: the role of Europeanisation', in *Paper for the 7th Biennial HO PhD Symposium*. Available at: http://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:vRiGwY1InxwJ:scholar.google.com/+europeanisation+of+migration+policies+in+Greece&hl=en&as_sdt=0.5&inst=17865657614040430227 (Accessed 16 April 2022).

¹⁵⁷ Kandiyoti D. (1995) Reflections on the politics of gender in Muslim societies: From Nairobi to Beijing. In Afkhami, M. (eds). *Faith and freedom : women's human rights in the Muslim world*. London: I.B. Tauris.

³¹ Kapsalis, A. (2018). 'The development of Greek migration policy and the invention of 'para-legality' in labour relations of immigrants.', *Κοινωνική Πολιτική*, 9, p.67.

³¹ Karamanidou, L. (2015) 'The Securitisation of European Migration Policies: Perceptions of Threat and Management of Risk', in G. Lazaridis, and K. Wadia, (eds) *The Securitisation of Migration in the EU. the European Union in International Affairs*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

²⁸ Karamanidou, L. (2016) 'Violence against migrants in Greece: beyond the Golden Dawn', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(11), pp.2002-2021.

- ¹²² Karamanidou, L. (2017) 'Historical Experiences of Migration in Political Discourse in Greece: Using Critical Discourse Analysis to Explore Policy Legitimation', ¹²⁴ *Middle East Journal of Refugee Studies*, 2(2).
- ¹⁹⁹ Karamouzis, P. and Athanassiades, E. (2011). Religiosity and Education: The Views of Greek Student Teachers on the Religious Education Course. *Religious Education*, 106(3), pp.312–331.
- ²³³ Karimova, L.K., Sagitova, V.R., Kirpichnikova, A.A. and Van Hoang, H. (2021) 'Educational migration from the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States to the Russian Federation', *Propósitos y Representaciones*, 9(SPE2). doi:10.20511/pyr2021.v9nspe2.1007.
- ¹⁸⁴ Kasperek, B. and Speer, M. (2015) *Of Hope. Hungary and the long Summer of Migration I* Available at: <https://bordermonitoring.eu/ungarn/2015/09/of-hope-en/> (Accessed 11 February 2022).
- ¹³⁹ Kay, T. (2011) 'Legal Transnationalism: The Relationship between Transnational Social Movement Building and International Law', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 36(02), pp. 419–454.
- ²⁷⁵ King, R. (2002). 'Towards a new map of European migration.', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 8(2), pp.89–106.
- ¹¹⁰ Kingsley, P. (2016) "'Prisoners of Europe': the everyday humiliation of refugees stuck in Greece," *The Guardian*, 6 September. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/prisoners-of-europe-the-everyday-humiliation-of-refugees-stuck-in-greece-migration> (Accessed 13 September 2018).
- ³⁶ Kirk, D.S., Papachristos, A.V., Fagan, J. and Tyler, T.R., (2012) 'The paradox of law enforcement in immigrant communities: Does tough immigration enforcement undermine public safety?', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 641(1), pp.79-98.
- ³⁶² Kirk, J. (2013) *Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement*. Edinburgh: Pearson education limited.
- ⁷ Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C., (2013) "'They're more than animals':

Refugees' accounts of racially motivated violence.' *British journal of social psychology*, 52(4), pp.747-762.

⁵⁶
Kivilcim, Z. (2016) 'Legal Violence Against Syrian Female Refugees in Turkey', *Feminist Legal Studies*, 24(2), pp. 193–214.

²³¹
Kokkali, I. (2011). 'From Scapegoats to 'Good' Immigrants? Albanians' Supposedly 'Successful' Integration to Greece.', *Quaderni Del Circolo Rosselli*, 3, pp.161–173.

¹⁰⁵
Kokkali, I. (2015). Albanian Immigrants in the Greek City: Spatial 'Invisibility' and Identity Management as a Strategy of Adaptation. In: H. Vermeulen, M. Baldwin-Edwards and R. van Boeschoten, eds., *Migration in the Southern Balkans*. (online) e-Book. Available at: ISBN 978-3-319-13719-3.

²¹⁰
Kolbe, M. and Henne, P.S. (2014). 'The Effect of Religious Restrictions on Forced Migration.', *Politics and Religion*, 7(4), pp.665–683.

³
Korbatieh, S. (2018). Adultery Laws in Islam and Stoning in the Modern World. *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies*, 3(2), pp.1–20.

²⁴⁸
Koubi, V., Böhmelt, T., Spilker, G. and Schaffer, L. (2018) 'The Determinants of Environmental Migrants' Conflict Perception', *International Organization*, 72(4), pp.905–936.

⁹⁹
Kruger, F.P. (2018) 'When two elephants fight, it is the grass that is trampled: A practical theological elucidation of the predatory attitude of hate speech', *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 74(2).

¹⁶
Kubal, A. (2011) 'Discussing Legal Adaptations: Perspectives on Studying Migrants' Relationship with Law in the Host Country', *SSRN Electronic Journal* (Preprint), (38). doi:10.2139/ssrn.2130599.

²¹⁸
Kubal, A. (2013) 'Migrants' Relationship with Law in the Host Country: Exploring the Role of Legal Culture', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 34(1), pp. ⁶⁹55–72.

Kubal, A. (2015). 'Legal consciousness as a form of social remittance? Studying return migrants' everyday practices of legality in Ukraine.', *Migration Studies*, 3(1), pp.68–88.

- ²³² Kuner, C., Cate, F.H., Millard, C. and Svantesson, D.J.B. (2011) 'Privacy: an elusive concept', *International Data Privacy Law*, 1(3), pp.141–142.
- ²³ Kurkchiyan, M. (2011) 'Perceptions of law and social order: cross-national comparison of collective legal consciousness', *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, 29(2), pp. 366-392.
- ²⁴⁵ Lahav, G. and Courtemanche, M. (2011) 'The Ideological Effects of Framing Threat on Immigration and Civil Liberties', *Political Behavior*, 34(3), pp. 477–505.
- ³¹⁰ Lamb, I.A. (2016) 'The Gates of Greece: Refugees and Policy Choices', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 27(2), pp. 67–88.
- ⁴ Lamond, G. (2007) 'What Is a Crime?', *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 27(4), pp. 609-632.
- ²⁸³ Larson, E. and Schmidt, P. (2014) 'Legal Confrontations-Disputing and Legal Consciousness', in E. Larson, and P. Schmidt, (eds), *The law and Society Reader II*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 173-174.
- ¹⁶⁰ Latiff, Z.Abd. and Alam, F.N.S.Z. (2013) 'The Roles of Media in Influencing Women Wearing Hijab: An Analysis', *Journal of Image and Graphics*, 1(1), pp.50–54..
- ⁴ Lavenex, S. (2018) "'Failing Forward" Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(5), pp. 1195–1212.
- ⁹ Laverick, W. and Joyce, N.P. (2020). 'Reinterpreting The UK Response To Hate Crime.', *British Journal of Community Justice*, 16(1), pp.82–102.
- Lawler, S. (2014). *Identity sociological perspectives*. Cambridge Malden Polity.
- ²²⁵ Lawrence, F. (2002) 'Racial violence on a small island: Bias crime in a multicultural society', in P. Iganski, (ed) *The Jate Debate*. London: Profile books.
- ³⁸ Lazaridis, G. and Khursheed Wadia (2015). *The securitisation of migration in the EU : debates since 9/11*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, Ny: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹³ Lazaridis, G. and Koumandraki, M. (2007) 'Albanian Migration To Greece: Patterns And Processes Of Inclusion And Exclusion In The Labour Market', *European Societies*, 9(1), pp. 91–111.

³⁷ Lazaridis, G. and Skleparis, D. (2015). Securitization of migration and the far right: the case of Greek security professionals. *International Migration*, 54(2), pp.176-192.

Lazaridis, G. and Tsagkroni, V. (2015). 'Modern Day Blackshirts': The strategies of hate against the 'other' in Greece and the UK'. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, (online) 43(260), pp.190-202. Available at: <https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-9X0G8GAH?&language=eng> (Accessed 7 May 2019).

¹⁵⁵ Lazaridis, G. and Veikou, M. (2017) 'The rise of the far right in Greece and opposition to 'othering', hate speech, and crime by civil and civic organizations', *Journal of Civil Society*, 13(1), pp.1-17.

³⁸ Lazaridis, G. and Wadia, K (2015) *The securitisation of migration in the EU : debates since 9/11*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹⁴³ Lea, J. (2000). 'The Macpherson Report and the Question of Institutional Racism.', *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39(3), pp.219–233.

⁷⁵ LeCompte, M. and Schensul, J. (2010) *Designing & conducting ethnographic research*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.

Leech, B. (2002) 'Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews', *Political Science & Politics*, 35(04), pp. 665-668.

¹¹ Léonard, S. (2010) 'EU border security and migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and securitisation through practices', *European Security*, 19(2), pp. 231–254.

¹⁶⁷ Lepoutre, M. (2017) 'Hate Speech in Public Discourse', *Social Theory and Practice*, 43(4), pp. 851–883.

³⁰ Lewis, S. (2009) 'ΙΣΗΓΟΡΙΑ AND ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ', *The Classical Review*. 59(1), pp. 85–88. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20482671> (Accessed 13 April 2019).

¹²⁷ Linton, E. (2016). 'Refugee Crisis: Hundreds Of Migrants Try To Crash Greek-Macedonian

Border'. (online) *International Business Times*, 27 March. Available at: <http://www.ibtimes.com/refugee-crisis-hundreds-migrants-try-crash-greek-macedonian-border-2343927> (Accessed 22 Apr 2021)

⁹³ Lumsden, K., Goode, J. and Black, A., (2019) 'I will not be thrown out of the country because I'm an immigrant': Eastern European migrants' responses to hate crime in a semi-rural context in the wake of Brexit.', *Sociological Research Online*, 24(2), pp.167-184.

¹³ Mai, N. and Schwandner-Sievers, S. (2003) 'Albanian migration and new transnationalisms', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(6), pp. 939–948.

³⁶¹ Maley, W. (2016). *What is a refugee?* Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

⁹² Malkopoulou, A. (2021) 'Greece: A Procedural Defence of Democracy against the Golden Dawn', *European Constitutional Law Review*, 17(2), pp. 177–201.

⁸ Mann, S. (2016) *The research interview: reflective practice and reflexivity in research processes*. Macmillan: Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Manning, P. (2015) 'Migration in Human History', in *The Cambridge World History*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 277–310.

⁸ Marcus, G.E. (1994) 'On Ideologies of Reflexivity in Contemporary Efforts to Remake the Human Sciences', *Poetics Today*, 15(3), p. 383.

¹⁷⁸ Marinai, S. (2016). 'The interception and rescue at sea of asylum seekers in the light of the new EU legal framework.', *Revista de Derecho Comunitario Europeo*, 20(55), pp.901–939.

¹⁷⁴ Markoviti, M. (2018). In-between the Constitution and the European Court of Human Rights: Mobilizations Around Religion and Education in Greece. *Politics and Religion*, 12(S1), pp.S31–S54.

⁸⁵ Maroney, T. (1998) 'The Struggle against Hate Crime: Movement at a Crossroads', *New York University Law Review*, 73(2), pp. 564-620.

³⁹ Maroukis, T. (2013). 'Economic crisis and migrants' employment: a view from Greece in comparative perspective.', *Policy Studies*, 34(2), pp.221–237.

¹ Marshall A.M. (2014) 'Idle Rights' In E. Larson and P. Schmidt (eds), *The Law and Society*

Reader IINYU Press, pp. 243.

221
Marshall, A.M., (2006) 'Communities and culture: Enriching legal consciousness and legal culture', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 31(1), pp.229-249.

83
Martin, M. (2013). *The rise of xenophobia and the migration crisis in Greece. The Council of Europe's wake-up call: 'Europe cannot afford to look away'* | *European Website on Integration*. (online) ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/rise-xenophobia-and-migration-crisis-greece-council-europes-wake-call-europe_en (Accessed 2 Jul. 2022).

1
Mason, G. (2013) 'The symbolic purpose of hate crime law: Ideal victims and emotion', *Theoretical Criminology*, 18(1), pp. 75–92.

311
Matsuda, M. (1993) 'Public response to racist speech: Considering the victim's story', in M. Matsuda, M. et al. (eds) *Words that wound*. Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 17-51.

87
Mauthner, N.S. and Doucet, A. (2003) 'Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Data Analysis', *Sociology*, 37(3), pp. 413–431.

118
Mayer, A.E. (1987) 'Law and Religion in the Muslim Middle East' *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 35(1)1, pp. 127-184.

5
McDevitt, J., Balboni, J., Garcia, L. and Gu, J., (2001) 'Consequences for victims: A comparison of bias-and non-bias-motivated assaults.' *American behavioral scientist*, 45(4), pp.697-713.

80
McDowell, L. (2008) 'Old and New European Economic Migrants: Whiteness and Managed Migration Policies', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(1), pp. 19–36..

128
McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2009) 'Precarious Work and Economic Migration: Emerging Immigrant Divisions of Labour in Greater London's Service Sector', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(1), pp. 3–25.

65
McDowell, M.G. and Wonders, N.A., (2009) 'Keeping migrants in their place: Technologies of control and racialized public space in Arizona', *Social Justice*, 36(2 (116), pp.54-72.

4
McIntosh, M. and Morse, J. (2015) 'Situating and Constructing Diversity in Semi-Structured

Interviews', *Global Qualitative Nursing Research*, 2, p. 233339361559767. doi: 10.1177/2333393615597674.

⁵⁵ McKay S, Markova E and Paraskevopoulou A (2011) *Undocumented Workers Transitions: Legal Status, Migration, and Work in Europe*. Routledge Advances in Sociology 58. New York: Routledge.

⁸ McSweeney, M. (2019) 'Reflexive Accounts of a Postcolonial Ethnographer: Understanding Insider-Outsider Status', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, ¹⁵⁶36(2), pp. 124–134.

Meer, N. (2008). The politics of voluntary and involuntary identities: are Muslims in Britain an ethnic, racial or religious minority? *Patterns of Prejudice*, 42(1), pp.61–81.

²⁴⁹ Melander, E. and Öberg, M. (2007). The Threat of Violence and Forced Migration: Geographical Scope Trumps Intensity of Fighting. *Civil Wars*, 9(2), pp.156–173.

²⁴ Meli, L. (2014). Hate Crime and Punishment: Why Typical Punishment Does Not Fit the Crime. *U. Ill. L. Rev.*, (online) 2014(3), pp.921-966. Available at: ³⁵¹<https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/unilllr2014&collection=journals&id=935&startid=935&endid=980> (Accessed 9 May 2019).

²⁶⁸ Meli, L., (2014) Hate Crime and Punishment: Why Typical Punishment Does Not Fit the Crime. *U. Ill. L. Rev.*, ²⁴p.921-966

Mellgren, C., Andersson, M. and Ivert, A.-K. (2017) 'For Whom Does Hate Crime Hurt More? A Comparison of Consequences of Victimization Across Motives and Crime Types', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(3-4), pp. 1–25.

¹⁰⁰ Menéndez, A.J. (2016) 'The Refugee Crisis: Between Human Tragedy and Symptom of the Structural Crisis of European Integration', *European Law Journal*, 22(4), pp. 388–416.

⁵³ Menjívar, C. and Bejarano, C., (2004) 'Latino immigrants' perceptions of crime and police authorities in the United States: A case study from the Phoenix metropolitan area.' *Ethnic and racial studies*, 27(1), pp.120-148.

⁵³ Menjívar, C. and Bejarano, C., (2004) 'Latino immigrants' perceptions of crime and police authorities in the United States: A case study from the Phoenix metropolitan area', *Ethnic and racial studies*, 27(1), pp.120-148.

- ⁸⁶ Mernissi, F., (1995) 'Arab Women's Rights and the Muslim State in the Twenty-first Century: Reflections on Islam as Religion and State.' *Faith and freedom: Women's human rights in the Muslim world*, pp.33-50.
- ⁷³ Merry, S.E. (1990). *Getting Justice and Getting Even: Legal Consciousness Among Working-Class Americans*. United States.
- ⁶⁰ Merry, S.E., (2003) 'Rights talk and the experience of law: implementing women's human rights to protection from violence'. *Human rights quarterly*, pp.343-381.
- ¹⁹³ Metelev, S. (2016) 'Migration as a Threat to National Security', *Indian Journal of Science and Technology*, 9(14). doi:10.17485/ijst/2016/v9i14/91086.
- ⁴⁷ Metropolitan Police (2019) *What is hate crime?* Available at: <https://www.met.police.uk/advice/advice-and-information/hco/hate-crime/what-is-hate-crime/> (Accessed: 10 October 2021).
- Meyer, D. (2010) 'Evaluating the Severity of Hate-motivated Violence: Intersectional Differences among LGBT Hate Crime Victims', *Sociology*, 44(5), pp. 980–995.
- ⁷⁰ Mezey, N. (2001) 'Out of the Ordinary: Law, Power, Culture, and the Commonplace', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 26(01), pp. 145-167.
- Michalowski, R. (2019) 'What is crime', *Critical Criminology*, 24(2), pp. 181-199.
- ³⁰⁹ Miller, W. (2012) 'Asymmetric adaptive legal cultures amongst minorities and Euro-migrants', *East European Politics*, 28(4), pp. 409-428.
- ⁴³ Mitchell, J. (2017) 'The Dublin Regulation and Systemic Flaws', *San Diego International Law Journal*, 18(2), pp. 295–324.
- ¹⁰⁰ Mitsilegas, V. (2014) 'Solidarity and Trust in the Common European Asylum System', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2(2), pp. 181–202.
- ⁴¹ Moore, W.H. and Shellman, S.M. (2004) 'Fear of Persecution', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(5), pp. 723–745.
- ²⁵ Morales, D.I. (2017) "'Illegal" Migration is Speech', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 92(2).

- ²⁴¹ Morning, A. (2007). 'Everyone Knows It's a Social Construct': Contemporary Science and the Nature of Race. *Sociological Focus*, 40(4), pp.436-454.
- ²⁸ Morris, L. (2012) 'Citizenship and human rights: ideals and actualities', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 63(1), pp. 39–46.
- ⁷³ Mudde, C. (2010) 'The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy', *West European Politics*, 33(6), pp. 1167–1186.
- ²¹ Mühlhäuser, R. (2017) 'Reframing Sexual Violence as a Weapon and Strategy of War: The Case of the German Wehrmacht during the War and Genocide in the Soviet Union, 1941–1944', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 26(3), pp. 366-401.
- ³ Myers, N. (2002) 'Environmental Refugees: A Growing Phenomenon of the 21st Century', *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences*, 357(1420). doi: 10.1098/rstb.2001.0953.
- ²⁰⁴ Myloneros, T. and Sakellariou, D. (2021). 'The effectiveness of primary health care reforms in Greece towards achieving universal health coverage: a scoping review.', *BMC Health Services Research*, 21(1).
- ⁴⁶ Nagesh, A. (2016) 'Bregret: 1.2million Brexit backers regret voting to leave the EU' *Metro*. 2nd July (online). Available at: <http://metro.co.uk/2016/07/02/bregret-1-2million-brexit-backers-regret-voting-to-leave-the-eu-5980332/> (Accessed 9 August 2019).
- ⁹ Naidoo, K. (2017) 'The historical prosecution of hate crimes in the United States of America', *Fundamina*, 23(2), pp. 21-38.
- ¹² Nancheva, N. (2015) 'The Common European Asylum System and the failure to protect: Bulgaria's Syrian refugee crisis', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 15(4), pp. 439–455.
- ²⁷⁰ Nancheva, N. (2015). Bulgaria's Response to Refugee Migration: Institutionalizing the Boundary of Exclusion. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 29(4), pp.549–567.
- ¹⁵ Nelken, D., (2017) Using the concept of legal culture. In *Legal Theory and the Social Sciences* (pp. 279-303). Routledge.
- ⁴ Nelson, J. (2017). *The Bill of Rights (Amendments 1 - 10)*. (online) National Center for

Constitutional Studies. Available at: <https://nccs.net/blogs/americas-founding-documents/bill-of-rights-amendments-1-10> (Accessed 19 April 2019).

Ng, K. (2020) *Greece-Turkey border is a “closed door”, EU tells refugees*, *The Independent*. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/greece-turkey-refugees-syria-eu-border-erdogan-a9384306.html> (Accessed 3 January 2022).

Nickerson, R. (1998) ‘Confirmation Bias: A Ubiquitous Phenomenon in Many Guises’, *Review of General Psychology*, 2(2), pp. 175-220.

Nielsen, L. (2000) ‘Situating Legal Consciousness: Experiences and Attitudes of Ordinary Citizens about Law and Street Harassment’, *Law & Society Review*, 34(4), p. 1055.

Nielsen, L.B. (2002) ‘Subtle, Pervasive, Harmful: Racist and Sexist Remarks in Public as Hate Speech’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(2), pp. 265–280.

Nimführ, S. and Sesay, B. (2019). ‘Lost in limbo? Navigating (im)mobilities and practices of appropriation of non-deportable refugees in the Mediterranean area.’, *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(26), pp.1–19.

Nisar, M.A. (2018). (Un)Becoming a Man: Legal Consciousness of the Third Gender Category in Pakistan. *Gender & Society*, 32(1), pp.59–81..

OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)(2009) *Annual Report 2009*. Warsaw Poland: OSCE, pp. 1–72. Available at: <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/0/9/67854.pdf>. (Accessed 28 Jan 2021)

OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (2016) *Countering Hate Crime together: the Racist Violence Recording Network in Greece* | Available at: <https://hatecrime.osce.org/infocus/countering-hate-crime-together-racist-violence-recording-network-greece> (Accessed 7 February 2022).

OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (2019) *Greece* | Available at: <https://hatecrime.osce.org/greece?year=2019> (Accessed: 7 May 2019).

OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (2017). *Greece* | HCRW. (online) [hatecrime.osce.org](https://hatecrime.osce.org/greece?year=2017). Available at: <https://hatecrime.osce.org/greece?year=2017> (Accessed 19 Jul. 2019).

- ¹⁰⁷ OSCE - Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2022). *Policy Brief: Specialist Support for Hate Crime Victims*. (online) www.osce.org. Available at: <https://www.osce.org/odihr/513127> (Accessed 5 Aug. 2022).
- ¹⁰⁷ OSCE - Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2028). *National Compilation Paper – Greece: Developing Interagency Co-operation and Capacity-Building Activities to Address Hate Crimes in Greece*. (online) www.osce.org. Available at: <https://www.osce.org/odihr/402248> (Accessed 4 Jul. 2022).
- ⁵ OSCE - Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, (2019). *Hate Crime Laws - A Practical Guide*. Available at: <https://www.osce.org/> /36426 (Accessed 17 March 2019).
- ¹⁸⁷ Otrachshenko, V. and Popova, O. (2014) ‘Life (dis)satisfaction and the intention to migrate: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe’, *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 48, pp.40–49.
- ¹² Oxfam Policy & Practice (2017). *Transitioning to a Government-Run Refugee and Migrant Response in Greece: A joint NGO roadmap for more fair and humane policies*. pp.1–16. Available at: <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/transitioning-to-a-government-run-refugee-and-migrant-response-in-greece-a-join-620397/> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).
- ⁴¹ Ozaltin, D., Shakir, F. and Loizides, N. (2019). Why Do People Flee? Revisiting Forced Migration in Post-Saddam Baghdad. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 21, pp.587–610.
- ¹ Özaşçılar, M., Narli, N. and Öztürk, O., (2019) ‘Crime reporting behavior among Syrian immigrants in Istanbul’, *Crime & delinquency*, 65(14), pp.1997-2018.
- ³⁹⁹ Papageorgiou, A.A., Spinellis, C.D., Theodorakis, N., Billis, E. and Papadimitrakopoulos, G., (2017) ‘Racist Violence in Greece: Mistakes of the Past and Challenges for the Future.’, *Europe in Crisis: Crime, Criminal Justice, and the Way Forward. Essays in Honour of Nestor Courakis*, 2.
- ¹⁵⁴ Papanikolatos, N. (1998) ‘Hate Speech: (Re)Producing the Opposition Between the National Self and the Others’, in <. Lenkova, (ed) *Hate Speech in the Balkans*. Vienna, Austria: The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, pp. 10-28.

16
Parutis, V. (2011). 'Economic Migrants' or 'Middling Transnationals'? East European Migrants' Experiences of Work in the UK. *International Migration*, 52(1), pp.36–55.

9
Paterson, J., Walters, M., Brown, R. and Fearn, H., (2018) Sussex hate crime project. Available at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/psychology/sussexhatecrimeproject/index> (Accessed 22 July 2022)

3
Penninx, R. and Garces-Mascarenas, B. (2016) 'The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept', In: B. Garces-Mascarenas and R. Penninx, (eds), *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors*. London: Springer, pp.11–29.

11
Perkowski, N. and Squire, V. (2018). 'The anti-policy of European anti-smuggling as a site of contestation in the Mediterranean migration 'crisis'.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(12), pp.2167–2184.

96
Perry, B. (2001) *In the name of hate*. New York: Routledge.

Perry, B. (2003) 'Accounting for hate crime', in B. Perry, *Hate and Bias Crimes: A reader*. New York: Routledge.

339
Perry, B. and Alvi, S. (2012) "'We are all vulnerable'", *International Review of Victimology*, 18(1), pp. 57–71.

125
Perry, Barbara, and Kanika Samuels-Wortley. "'We're Not Where We Should Be': Enhancing Law Enforcement Responses to Hate Crime." *Canadian Journal of Criminology & Criminal Justice*, vol. 63, no. 2, 1 Jan. 2021, pp. 68–98.

24
Perry, J. (2014) 'Evidencing the case for 'hate crime'', in Chakraborti, N. and Garland, J. *Responding to hate crime*. Bristol: Policy Press University of Bristol.

37
Perry, J. (2016). A Shared Global Perspective on Hate Crime? *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 27(6), pp.610–626.

7
Petrosino, C. (2003) 'Connecting the past to the future', in B. Perry, *Hate and Bias Crimes: A reader*. New York: Routledge.

24
Pezzella, F.S., Fetzer, M.D. and Keller, T. (2019) 'The Dark Figure of Hate Crime Underreporting', *American Behavioral Scientist*, pp.1-24

¹³ Pillow, W. (2003) 'Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(2), pp. 175–196.

²⁶⁷ Pontiki, M., Papanikolaou, K. and Papageorgiou, H. (2018) 'Exploring the Predominant Targets of Xenophobia-motivated Behavior: A Longitudinal Study for Greece', in *Natural Language Processing meets Journalism III*. Miyazaki, Japan, pp. 11–15.

¹ Post, R. (2009) 'Hate Crime', in I. Hare, I. and J. Weinstein, (eds) *Extreme Speech and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²³ Pound, R. (1910) 'Law in books and law in action' *American Law Review*, 44(1), pp. 12-36.

³⁵⁰ Prakoso, S.G. et al. (2021) 'The Application of Innovative Technology on Internal Border Control in Schengen Area', *JPPUMA Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Sosial Politik Universitas Medan Area*, 9(2), pp. 174–184..

¹⁸ Rankin, J. et al. (2020) 'Refugees told "Europe is closed" as tensions rise at Greece-Turkey border', *The Guardian*, 6 March. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/06/refugees-europe-closed-tensions-greece-turkey-border> (Accessed 3 January 2022).

⁷⁷ Ransan-Cooper, H., Farbotko, C., McNamara, K.E., Thornton, F. and Chevalier, E. (2015) 'Being(s) framed: The means and ends of framing environmental migrants', *Global Environmental Change*, 35(35), pp.106–115.

Ray, L. (2018) *Violence & society*. Los Angeles, USA: Sage.

Regano, E. (2019). *The Development of the Megali Idea through the History of Greece*. (online) pp.1–14. Available at: chrome-extension://efaidnbmninnibpcapjpcglclefindmkaj/https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/60055694/Megali_Idea_Regano20190719-37838-4ti24n-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1659230546&Signature=cTtioBqfsYC0XIHjHnIp3rxmZ-RRWixuRoUQQXe4a8IQJqIUxR6k71~vLYk3779hIw9jN3QXgOkNXoKUKRFDO8v9nF9bZ8i0H7yyaXPfYphkd4kzDCLEjOcLRgyPEMMsItxk7kGN6d-TQ5rzwiU-vRBEX4ACc5VnSBCJh25K21Rm4WxVZZNfISJx0b4uA8-58E74S-Cs-UxFdD0zoLtT2XWhphhkJqIuZnTkaY14Uo0zysMnav6U7FHqd2UiPpwg-

K75hsfmFvagzjBgF761Fe90R6Vlk95QGpt-
alRUTUYv8~hzjpUvh~WKnXSPuhjiWPduLEEmuskJ5xcwSPDkJQ__&Key-Pair-
Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA (Accessed 2 Oct. 2021).

⁸⁷ Rettberg, J.W. and Gajjala, R. (2015) 'Terrorists or cowards: negative portrayals of male Syrian refugees in social media', *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(1), pp. 178–181..

³⁸⁹ Reuters (2020) 'EU foreign policy chief tells Turkey border developments unacceptable' ⁶³ Reuters, 4 March. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/news/picture/eu-foreign-policy-chief-tells-turkey-bor-idUSKBN20R20W> (Accessed 3 January 2022).

⁵⁸ Richardson, L., Beadle-Brown, J., Bradshaw, J., Guest, C., Malovic, A. and Himmerich, J. (2016). 'I felt that I deserved it' – experiences and implications of disability hate crime. *Tizard Learning Disability Review*, 21(2), pp.80–88.

³⁴ Rigakos, G.S. and Papanicolaou, G. (2003) 'The Political Economy of Greek Policing: Between Neo-Liberalism and the Sovereign State', *Policing and Society*, 13(3), pp. 271–304.

²¹ Rizova, T.P. (2019) 'The Securitization of the European Migrant Crisis - Evidence from Bulgaria and Hungary (2015-2017)', *Review of European Studies*, 11(4), p. 78.

¹⁶² Roth, T. and Weißmann, M. (2022). 'The Role of Parents' Native and Migrant Contacts on the Labour Market in the School-to-Work Transition of Adolescents in Germany.', *European Sociological Review*.

Rowell, A. (2019). 'Law, Belief, and Aspiration.', *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
doi:10.2139/ssrn.2903049.

⁷ Roxell, L. (2011) 'Hate, Threats, and Violence. A Register Study of Persons Suspected of Hate Crime', *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, 12(2), pp. 198-215.

³⁵ Rozakou, K. (2021) 'The Violence of Accelerated Time: Waiting and Hasting during "The Long Summer of Migration" in Greece', in C. Jacobsen M.A Karlsen, and S. Khosravi, (eds) *Waiting and the Temporalities of Irregular Migration* Bingham, Oxon: Routledge.

⁸² RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2016). *Annual Report 2015*. (online) RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/annual-report-2015/> (Accessed 12 May 2019).

¹² RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2017). *Annual Report 2016*. (online) ¹² RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/annual-report-2016/> (Accessed 10 May 2019).

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2018). *RVRN Annual Report 2017*. (online) RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/rvrn-annual-report-2017/> (Accessed 11 May 2019).

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2019). *RVRN Annual Report 2018*. (online) RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/rvrn-annual-report-2018/> (Accessed 11 May 2019).

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2020). *Annual Report 2019*. (online) RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/annual-report-2019/> (Accessed 15 Aug. 2020).

³⁷⁴ Ryo, E., (2017) Legal Attitudes of Immigrant Detainees. *Law & Society Review*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 99-131.

³³⁰ Sachedina, A. (2010) 'The Nature of Islamic Juridical-Ethical Discourse', in: *Islam and the Challenge of Human Rights*. (online) Oxford Scholarship Online. Available at: [10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195388428.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195388428.001.0001) (Accessed DATE).

³⁹ Sakellariou, A. (2017) 'Fear of Islam in Greece: migration, terrorism, and "ghosts" from the past', *Nationalities Papers*, 45(4), pp. 511–523.

²⁸⁷ Saleh, A. (2010) 'Broadening the Concept of Security: Identity and Societal Security', *Geopolitics Quarterly*, 6(4), pp. 228–241.

¹⁰ Samatas, M. (2003) 'Greece in "Schengenland": Blessing or anathema for citizens' and foreigners' rights?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(1), pp. 141–156.

¹¹ Sarat, A. (1977). Studying American Legal Culture: An Assessment of Survey Evidence. *Law & Society Review*, 11(3), p.427.

Sarat, A. (1990) '"The Law Is All Over": Power, Resistance and the Legal Consciousness of the Welfare Poor', *Yale Journal of law and the humanities*, 2(2), pp. 343-379.

Sarat, A. and Kearns, T. (1993). Beyond the Great Divide: Forms of Legal Scholarship in Everyday Life. In: A. Sarat and T. Kearns, eds., *Law in Everyday Life*. University of

Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, pp.21–62.

⁴¹ Schmeidl, S. (1997) Exploring the Causes of Forced Migration: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1971-1990. *Social Science Quarterly*,

⁹⁸ Schneider, J. and Crul, M. (2010) 'New insights into assimilation and integration theory: Introduction to the special issue', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(7), pp. 1143–1148.

⁵⁹ Schneider, S.L. (2007). Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Europe: Outgroup Size and Perceived Ethnic Threat. *European Sociological Review*, 24(1), pp.53–67. doi:10.1093/esr/jcm034.

⁸ Schwenken H and Heimeshoff L-M (2013) Three Different Things - Having, Knowing, and Claiming Rights: Undocumented Migrant Domestic Workers in Germany. In A Triandafyllidou (ed) *Irregular Migrant Domestic Workers in Europe: Who Cares?*.

¹⁹ Schwenken, H. (2013) “‘The EU Should Talk to Germany’” Transnational Legal Consciousness as a Rights Claiming Tool among Undocumented Migrants’, *International Migration*, 51(6), pp. 132-145.

¹ Schweppe, J., Schweppe, J. and Walters, M. (2016) *The globalization of hate*. Oxford: Oxford University press.

Shaw, R. (2010) 'Embedding Reflexivity Within Experiential Qualitative Psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 7(3), pp. 233–243.

¹⁸³ Shepherd, A.J.K. (2021) 'EU counterterrorism, collective securitization, and the internal-external security nexus', *Global Affairs*, 7(5), pp. 1–17.

²⁴⁷ Sherman-Heyl, B. (2001) 'Ethnographic Interviewing', in Atkinson, P. et al. *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 369-383.

¹⁶ Shteynberg, G. (2010). 'A silent emergence of culture: The social tuning effect.', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 99(4), pp.683–689.

⁹⁷ Sigvardsdotter, E. (2012). Presenting absent bodies: undocumented persons coping and resisting in Sweden. *cultural geographies*, 20(4), pp.523–539.

²⁸⁵ Silbey, S. (1992) 'Making a Place for Cultural Analyses of Law: (Commentary)', *Law &*

Social Inquiry, 17(1), pp. 39-48.

182
Silbey, S.S., (2018) 'Legal culture and cultures of legality' in *Routledge Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. Routledge, pp. 426-435

318
Simopoulos, G. and Alexandridis, A., (2019) Refugee education in Greece: integration or segregation?. *Forced Migration Review*, (60), pp.27-29.

167
Simpson, R. (2012) 'Dignity, Harm, and Hate Speech', *Law and Philosophy*, 32(6), pp. 701-728.

52
Singer, S. (2019). 'Desert Island' Detention: Detainees' Understandings of 'Law' in the UK's Immigration Detention System.', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 38(1), pp.1-29.

176
Skogan, W.G., (1984) 'Reporting crimes to the police: The status of world research', *Journal of research in crime and delinquency*, 21(2), pp.113-137.

51
Smedley, A. and Smedley, B. (2005) 'Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race', *American Psychologist*, 60(1), pp.16-26.

392
Smith, R. (2014) . *Textbook on international human rights*. 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

111
Smith, Stephen (1995) 'There's Such a Thing as Free Speech: And it's a Good Thing Too', in Rita Kirk Whillock and David Slayden (eds.), *Hate Speech*, pp. 226-66. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

68
Souliez, G. (1992) 'Terrorism', on: M. Delmas-Marty and C. Chodkiewicz, (ed.), *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights: International Protection Versus National Restrictions*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp.15-30.

22
Sousa, F. (2010) 'Metatheories In Research: Positivism, Postmodernism, And Critical Realism', in A. Woodside, A. (ed) *Organizational Culture, Business-to-Business Relationships, and Interfirm Networks*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 455-504.

58
Stambøl, E.M. (2019). 'The Rise of Crimefare Europe: Fighting Migrant Smuggling in West

Africa.', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 24(Issue 3), pp.287–307.

180
Stets, J.E. and Burke, P.J. (2000). 'Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory.', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(3), pp.224–237.

75
Stets, J.E. and Serpe, R.T., (2013) 'Social identity' *Handbook of Social Psychology*, pp.31–60.

26
Stivas, D. (2021) 'Securitisation of Migration at the EU level after Paris' Attacks: The Response of the European Public', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies*, 11(1). doi:10.30722/anzjes.vol11.iss1.15208.

316
Stritzel, H. (2014) *Security in translation: securitization theory and the localization of threat*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

226
Stryker, S. and Burke, P.J. (2000). 'The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory.', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(4), p.284.

17
Stuesse, A. and Coleman, M. (2014) 'Automobility, Immobility, Altermobility: Surviving and Resisting the Intensification of Immigrant Policing', *City & Society*, 26(1), pp.51–72.

144
Sun, I. and Wu, Y. (2009). 'Contact with police: a comparison between Chinese and American college students.', *Asian Pacific Journal of Police and Criminal Justice*, 8, pp.29–48.

13
Sunshine, J. and Tyler, T.R. (2003). 'The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing.', *Law Society Review*, 37(3), pp.513–548.

15
Syed, I.U.B. (2013) 'Forced Assimilation is an unhealthy policy intervention: the case of the hijab ban in France and Quebec, Canada', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 17(3), pp.428–440.

8
Tamboukou, M. (2013) 'A Foucauldian Approach to Narratives', in M. Andrews, C. Squire, and M. Tamboukou, (eds), *Doing Narrative Research*. 55 City Road: SAGE Publications, Ltd, pp. 88-107.

304
Tamboukou, M. (2015) *Discourse and Narrative Methods: Theoretical Departures, Analytical Strategies and Situated Writings*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 63-78.

- ²⁶⁴ Tarling, R. and Morris, K. (2010) 'Reporting Crime to the Police', *British Journal of Criminology*, 50(3), pp. 474–490.
- ⁴⁷ Taylor, R. (1997). The changing meaning of race in the social sciences: Implications for social work practice. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 67(3), pp.277-298.
- ¹⁶¹ Templeton, A. (2013) 'Biological races in humans', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 44(3), pp.262-271.
- ¹⁵⁹ ten Have, P. (2013) *Doing Conversation Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd,
- ¹ Thorneycroft, R. and Asquith, N. (2015). The Dark Figure of Disablist Violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 54(5), pp.489–507.
- ¹⁴⁵ Thorpe, H. (2015) 'The Ethnographic (I)nterview in the Sports Field: Towards a Postmodern Sensibility', in K. Young, and M. Atkinson, (eds), *Qualitative Research on Sport and Physical Culture*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 51-79.
- ²¹⁷ Timotijevic, L. and Breakwell, G.M. (2000) 'Migration and threat to identity', *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 10(5), pp. 355–372.
- ²⁹⁶ Titzmann, P.F. and Lee, R.M., (2022) New temporal concepts of acculturation in immigrant youth. *Child Development Perspectives*.
- ³¹ Triandafyllidou, A. (2009) 'Greek Immigration Policy at the Turn of the 21st Century. Lack of Political Will or Purposeful Mismanagement?', *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 11(2), pp. 159–177.
- ¹⁶⁸ Triantafyllidou, A. and Ambrosini, M. (2011) 'Irregular Immigration Control in Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and Weak Gate-Keeping Serving the Labour Market.', *European Journal of Immigration and Law*, 13 pp.251–273.
- ¹⁰⁸ Tsitselikis, K. and Christopoulos, D. (2008) 'From the multicultural "great dream of Hellenism" of the beginning of the 20th century to the "multicultural reality" of the beginning of the 21st century', in Christopoulos, D. (eds.), *The Unspoken issue of minorities in the Greek legal order*, (in Greek), Kritiki, Athens, pp. 33-67

²⁴² Tsoutsoumpis, S. (2019) 'Paramilitarism, politics and organized crime during the Greek civil war (1945–1949)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 43(02), pp. 262–286.

⁴²⁹ Tungohan, E. (2017) 'Temporary Foreign Workers in Canada', *Social & Legal Studies*, 27(2), pp. 236–252.

Tzanetti, T. (2008) 'Organisation of Asylum and Migration Policies in Greece', *www.academia.edu* (Preprint). Available at: https://www.academia.edu/670136/Organisation_of_Asylum_and_Migration_Policies_in_Greece (Accessed 8 February 2019).

³⁰¹ Tzanetti, T., Konstantopoulos, V., Christodoulou, V. and Peppas, E. (2008). *Organisation of Asylum and Migration Policies in Greece*. Center for Security Studies, pp.1–52.

⁷⁵ Udahehuka, M. and Pernice, R. (2010). Does Motivation to Migrate Matter? Voluntary and Forced African Migrants and Their Acculturation Preferences in New Zealand. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 4(1), pp.44–52.

⁴⁷⁸ UNHCR - The United Nations Refugee Agency (2022c). *Trafficking in persons*. ⁴⁴ (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/human-trafficking.html> (Accessed 26 Jul. 2022).

⁷⁴ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1969) *OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Its Sixth Ordinary Session, Addis-Ababa, 10 September 1969*, Organization of African Unity. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/45dc1a682/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-africa-adopted.html> ²⁶¹ (Accessed 1 February 2022).

¹⁰⁷ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2000). *Interception Of Asylum-seekers And Refugees: The International Framework And Recommendations For A Comprehensive Approach*. (online) pp.1–6. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/excom/standcom/3ae68d144/interception-asylum-seekers-refugees-international-framework-recommendations.html>. ³²⁷ (Accessed 5 Feb 2022)

³⁹⁷ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2011) *The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol*, Available at:

⁴ <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/4ec262df9/1951-convention-relating-status-refugees-its-1967-protocol.html> (Accessed 17 August 2020).

²¹¹ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2015) *Situation Mediterranean Situation*, Available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5179> (Accessed 7 February 2022).

¹⁶⁹ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2016). *UNHCR viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'migrant' – Which is right?* (online) Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html> (Accessed 15 Mar 2019).

³³ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2017). *What is a refugee?* (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/what-is-a-refugee.html> (Accessed 22 Jul. 2022).

¹¹ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2018) *Figures at a Glance*, Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/figures-at-a-glance.html> (Accessed 12 Feb 2022).

⁴⁰ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2019) *Situation Mediterranean Situation*, Available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean> (Accessed 9 January 2022).

⁴³² UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2019a) *Refugee Crisis in Europe: Aid, Statistics and News* Available at: <https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/refugee-crisis-in-europe/> (Accessed 12 Feb 2022)

⁶⁴ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2021). *UNHCR Master Glossary*. (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/glossary/#a> (Accessed 29 Jan. 2022).

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022) *Asylum and Migration*, Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/asylum-and-migration.html?query=asylum> (Accessed 5 February 2022).

³⁵ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022a). *OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, adopted by the Assembly of*

Heads of State and Government at its Sixth Ordinary Session, Addis-Ababa, 10 September 1969. (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/45dc1a682/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-africa-adopted.html> (Accessed 31 Jan. 2022).

⁶⁴ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022a). *Asylum and Migration*. (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/asylum-and-migration.html?query=asylum>.

¹⁵¹ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022b). ²⁰⁰ *UK for UNHCR Launches 'The Refugee Dictionary' Campaign Marking the 70th Anniversary of the UN Refugee Convention Because Words Are Important*. (online) United Kingdom for UNHCR. ⁶ Available at: <https://www.unrefugees.org.uk/media-centre/uk-for-unhcr-refugee-dictionary/#:~:text=Article%201%20of%20the%20Convention> (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).

⁹⁸ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022d). *Ending Statelessness*. (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/ending-statelessness.html#:~:text=The%20international%20legal%20definition%20of> (Accessed 22 Jul. 2022).

²¹⁶ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2006) *UNHCR Master Glossary of Terms*, Rev.1, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/42ce7d444.html> (accessed 17 August 2020)

³⁴⁵ UNHCR - United Nations Office of the High Commissioner ⁴⁰ (2019) *Convention relating to the Status of Refugees 1951*, Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/StatusOfRefugees.aspx> (Accessed DATE).

United Nations (1976) 'MULTILATERAL ⁴⁵ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights', Vol. 999, pp. 171–346. Available at: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20999/volume-999-i-14668-english.pdf> (Accessed 12 July 2019)

¹⁷¹ United Nations (2016) *Europe and the Refugee Crisis: A Challenge to Our Civilization*, United Nations. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/europe-and-refugee->

[crisis-challenge-our-civilization](#) (Accessed 15 Mar 2019)

⁶³ United Nations (2019) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (Accessed 13 April 2019).

²⁸¹ United Nations (2022). *OHCHR / Universal Declaration of Human Rights - English*. (online) OHCHR. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/human-rights/universal-declaration/translations/english> (Accessed 9 Jun. 2022).

⁴¹¹ UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2022a). *Human Trafficking*. (online) ²⁵⁹ United Nations : Office on Drugs and Crime. Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/crime.html> (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).

¹⁹⁷ UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2022b). *Migrant Smuggling*. (online) ³⁰⁸ United Nations : Office on Drugs and Crime. Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/migrant-smuggling/crime.html> (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).

³⁴⁹ UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2011). Issue paper: *Smuggling of Migrants by Sea*. pp.1–71.

ValtousX (2019). *The Black Map of Racist Violence*. (online) Βάλ' τους X | X them out. Available at: <https://valtousx.gr/en/> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

⁵⁵ Vathi, Z. (2015). *Migrating and Settling in a Mobile World : Albanian Migrants and Their Children in Europe*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

⁸² Vergani, M. and Navarro, C. (2020). 'Barriers to Reporting Hate Crime and Hate Incidents in Victoria.', *Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies*. (online) Available at: <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5d48cb4d61091100011eded9/t/6179e4c12b11cd773f32fffe/1635378374634/Barriers+to+Reporting+Hate+Crimes.pdf> (Accessed 11 Apr. 2022).

⁴⁶ Vergani, M. and Navarro, C., (2020) Barriers to Reporting Hate Crime and Hate Incidents in Victoria.

⁹² Verousi, C., Boursinou, M.N. and Kostopoulos, C. (2022). 'The Sun Sets on Golden Dawn: Media Representations of the Biggest Trial of Nazi Criminality of Our Times.',

For(e)Dialogue, (online) 4(1).

203
Vijapur, A. (2018). The Magna Carta of Mankind: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights at 70. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 52(3-4). doi:10.2139/ssrn.3404884.

273
Voorhoof, D. and Cannie, H. (2010) 'Freedom of Expression and Information in a Democratic Society', *International Communication Gazette*, 72(4-5), pp. 407–423.

190
Waclawczyk, W. (2006) 'Freedom of Speech in Europe and in the United States of America. A Few Remarks on the History of the Idea and Its New Challenges.', *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, 35, pp.7–15.

62
Wald, K.D., Silverman, A.L. and Fridy, K.S. (2005) 'Making Sense Of Religion In Political Life', *Annual Review of Political Science*, (online) 8(1), pp.121–143.
doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.083104.163853.

49
Waldron, J. (2010) 'Dignity And Defamation: The Visibility Of Hate', *Harvard Law Review*, 123(7), pp. 1596–1657. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40648494> (Accessed 10 August 2021).

295
Wassenberg, B. (2020) 'The Schengen Crisis and the End of the “Myth” of Europe Without Borders', *Borders in Globalization Review*, 1(2), pp. 30–39. doi:10.18357/bigr12202019599.

188
Wauters, B. and Lambrecht, J. (2008) 'Barriers to Refugee Entrepreneurship in Belgium: Towards an Explanatory Model.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(6), pp.895–915.

16
Weiss-Wendt, A. (2018) *A Rhetorical Crime: Genocide in the Geopolitical Discourse of the Cold War*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

109
Whine, M. (2019) 'Hate crime in Europe', in N. Hall, et al. *The Routledge International Handbook on Hate Crime*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge.

112
Whitehead, T. (2005) 'Basic Classical Ethnographic Research Methods: Secondary data analysis, fieldwork, observation/participant observation and informal and semi-structured interviewing, ethnographically informed community and cultural assessment research systems (EICCARS) Working Paper Series', CEHC Cultural Ecology of Health and Change. Available at:

⁷¹
<http://www.cusag.umd.edu/documents/workingpapers/classicalethnomethods.pdf> (Accessed 4 June 2019).

¹⁸
Wickes, R.L., Pickering, S., Mason, G., Maher, J.M. and McCulloch, J. (2015) 'From Hate to Prejudice: Does the New Terminology of Prejudice Motivated Crime Change Perceptions and Reporting Actions?', *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(2), pp.239–255.

¹⁴
Williams, M.L. and Tregidga, J., (2013) All Wales hate crime research project.

²⁶
Wincup, E. and Noaks, L. (2004) *Criminological research: understanding qualitative methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.

¹³
Wipperman, W. (2019) 'The Definitive Solution to the Gypsy Question: The Pan-European Genocide of the European Roma', in A.J. Kay and D. Stahel (eds), *Mass Violence in Nazi-Occupied Europe*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

⁵
Wolfe, L. and Copeland, L. (1994) Violence against Women as Bias-Motivated Hate Crime: Defining the Issues in the USA. In: *Women and Violence*. London: Zed Books.

²²⁹
Wong, K. and Christmann, K. (2008) 'The role of victim decisionmaking in reporting of hate crimes.', *Safer Communities*, 7(2), pp.19–35.

²⁷⁸
Wright, Z. (2016) 'Hate Crimes: Clarification from Emotion Theory and Psychological Research', *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law*, 15. doi:10.5070/n4151032026.

¹⁷⁰
www.consilium.europa.eu. (n.d.). *35 years since the signing of the Schengen Agreement*. (online) Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/library/library-blog/posts/35-years-since-the-signing-of-the-schengen-agreement/>.

⁷²
Xenakis, S. (2012). A New Dawn? Change and Continuity in Political Violence in Greece. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24(3), pp.437–464.

¹⁷²
Xenakis, S. and Cheliotis, L.K. (2013) 'Crime and Economic Downturn: The Complexity of Crime and Crime Politics in Greece since 2009', *British Journal of Criminology*, 53(5). doi:10.1093/bjc/azt034.

⁹⁷
Yilmaz, I. (2002) 'The challenge of post-modern legality and Muslim legal pluralism in

England.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(2), pp.343–354.

73
Young, K.M. (2014) 'Everyone Knows the Game: Legal Consciousness in the Hawaiian Cockfight.', *Law & Society Review*, 48(3), pp.499–530.

76
Yun, I. and Mueller, D. (2011) 'A study of the determinants of reporting crime to the police among Chinese immigrants', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 35(1), pp. 53–71.

66
Zatz, M.S. and Smith, H. (2012) 'Immigration, Crime, and Victimization: Rhetoric and Reality' *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 8(1), pp.141–159.

314
Zaykowski, H. (2010) 'Racial Disparities in Hate Crime Reporting', *Violence and Victims*, 25(3), pp. 378–394.

39
Zehra, K. and Usmani, S. (2021). Not without family: refugee family entrepreneurship and economic integration process. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, ahead-of-print(ahead-of-print). doi:10.1108/jec-03-2020-0044.

23
Zetter, R. (2007) 'More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(2), pp.172–192.

240
Zoppi, M. and Puleri, M. (2021) 'The Balkan Route (and Its Afterlife): The New Normal in the European Politics of Migration', *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, pp. 1–18.

166
Abrego, L. (2008). 'Legitimacy, Social Identity, and the Mobilization of Law: The Effects of Assembly Bill 540 on Undocumented Students in California.', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 33(03), pp.709–734.

165
Abrego, L. (2011) 'Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Latinos: Fear and Stigma as Barriers to Claims-Making for First- and 1.5-Generation Immigrants', *Law & Society Review*, 45(2), pp. 337-370.

280
Abu-Rabi, I.M. (1996) *Intellectual origins of islamic resurgence in the modern arab world*. Albany: State University Of New York Press.

3
Achilli, L. (2018) 'The 'Good' Smuggler: The Ethics and Morals of Human Smuggling

- ³⁶ among Syrians.’, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 676(1), pp.77–96.
- ¹⁸⁹ Achilli, L. and Sanchez, G., (2017) ‘What does it mean to disrupt the business models of people smugglers?’, *European University Institute Issue*: 2017/09
- ³² Adamczyk, A., (2016) ‘Albanian immigrants in Greece: From unwanted to tolerated?’. *J. Liberty & Int'l Aff.*, 2, p.49.
- ⁸⁶ Afkhami, M. (1995). *Faith and freedom : women 's human rights in the Muslim world*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- ⁶¹ Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008). ‘Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework.’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), pp.166–191.
- ²³⁴ Aghikari, P. (2012). ‘The Plight of the Forgotten Ones: Civil War and Forced Migration’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(3), pp.590–606.
- ³³¹ Agyare, P. (2021) ‘Irregular Migration on the Central Mediterranean: A Critical Analysis’, *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 24, pp. 638–649.
- ⁵² Aidinlis, S. (2019). ‘Defining the ‘legal’: two conceptions of legal consciousness and legal alienation in administrative justice research.’, *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 41(4), pp.495–513.
- ⁸ Albrecht, S. and Green, M. (1977). ‘Attitudes Toward The Police And The Larger Attitude Complex. Implications For Police-Community Relationships.’ *Criminology*, 15(1), pp.67–86.
- ⁴² Almohamed, A. and Vyas, D. (2016) ‘Vulnerability of displacement’. *Proceedings of the 28th Australian Conference on Computer-Human Interaction - OzCHI '16*.
- ¹⁹⁸ Amiot, C. and Bourhis, R. (2005) ‘Discrimination between dominant and subordinate groups: The positive-negative asymmetry effect and normative processes’, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(2), pp. 289-308.
- ¹⁹⁴ Amnesty International (2016) *Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants*. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/>(Accessed 7 Apr 2022)

- Amnesty International (2020). *Greece: Golden Dawn verdict sends a clear message against the politics of demonization across Europe*. (online) Amnesty International. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2020/10/greece-golden-dawn-verdict-sends-a-clear-message-against-the-politics-of-demonization-across-europe/> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).
- An, A. (1995). *Human rights in cross-cultural perspectives : a quest for consensus*. Philadelphia: University Of Pennsylvania Press.
- Anagnostaras, G. (2020) 'The Common European Asylum System: Balancing Mutual Trust Against Fundamental Rights Protection', *German Law Journal*, 21(6), pp. 1180–1197.
- Angrosino, M. and Mays de Perez, K. (2000) 'Rethinking Observation', in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications, Inc, pp. 673-702.
- Apodaca, C. (1998). 'Human Rights Abuses: Precursor to Refugee Flight?', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(1), pp.80–93.
- Arendt, H. (1973) *The origins of totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Armit, I. (2011) 'Violence and Society in the Deep Human Past,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 51(3), pp. 499–517.
- Arsenijević, J., Schillberg, E., Ponthieu, A., Malvisi, L., Ahmed, W.A.E., Argenziano, S., Zamatto, F., Burroughs, S., Severy, N., Hebting, C., de Vingne, B., Harries, A.D. and Zachariah, R. (2017) 'A crisis of protection and safe passage: violence experienced by migrants/refugees travelling along the Western Balkan corridor to Northern Europe', *Conflict and Health*, 11(1).
- Atkinson, P. (1992) 'The ethnography of a medical setting: Reading, writing, and rhetoric', *Qualitative Health Research*, 2(4), pp. 451–474.
- Ayoob, M. (2004) 'Political Islam: Image and Reality', *World Policy Journal*, 21(3), pp.1–14.
- Aziz, N., Chowdhury, M. and Cooray, A. (2021) 'Why do people from wealthy countries migrate?', *European Journal of Political Economy*, p.102156.

Bacci, M (2018). *Short History of Migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

²⁵² Bagavos, C., Kourachanis, N., Lagoudakou, K., Xatzigiannakou, K. and Touri, P. (2019). *Policy Barriers and Enablers WP3 Report*. (online) [sirius-project.eu](https://www.sirius-project.eu), ²⁰ Sirius - Skills and Integration of Migrants, Refugee and Asylum Applicants in European Labour Market, pp.324–381. ¹⁵¹ Available at: <https://www.sirius-project.eu/> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).

⁴⁰ Bagavos, C., Lagoudakou, K., & Xatzigiannakou, K. (2018). Greece. In V. Federico (ed.) *WP2 Report – Legal Barriers and Enablers*, pp. 243–303. Available at: https://www.sirius-project.eu/sites/default/files/attachments/WP2_D2.2.pdf (Accessed: 7 May 2022)

¹⁹ Bakker, L., Cheung, S.Y. and Phillimore, J. (2016). ‘The Asylum-Integration Paradox: Comparing Asylum Support Systems and Refugee Integration in The Netherlands and the UK.’, *International Migration*, 54(4), pp.118–132.

¹⁷ Barbero, I. (2013) ‘Migrant struggles and legal pluralism: claiming citizenship across multiple scales’, *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 45(3), pp. 357-371.

⁴⁴⁴ BBC (2015) “Italian PM condemns ‘new slave trade,’” *BBC News*, 19 April. ³⁶ Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-europe-32374027> (Accessed: 9 January 2022).

²⁶ Bello, V. (2020) ‘The spiralling of the securitisation of migration in the EU: from the management of a “crisis” to a governance of human mobility?’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(5), pp. 1–18..

¹³⁴ Benier, K. (2017) ‘The harms of hate’, *International Review of Victimology*, 23(2), pp. 179–201.

¹⁵ Bergman, M. (2015) *Mediterranean: Another weekend of tragedy*, *UNHCR*. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/55f80a906.html> (Accessed: 3 January 2022).

⁵⁹ Billiet, J., Meuleman, B. and De Witte, H. (2014) ‘The relationship between ethnic threat and economic insecurity in times of economic crisis: Analysis of European Social Survey data.’, *Migration Studies*, 2(2), pp.135–161. doi:10.1093/migration/mnu023.

⁹⁶ Blee, K.M. (2007). ‘The Microdynamics of Hate Violence.’, ¹⁸² *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(2), pp.258–270.

- ³⁰ Boeckmann, R.J. and Turpin-Petrosino, C. (2002) 'Understanding the Harm of Hate Crime', *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(2), pp. 207–225.
- ¹ Boeckmann, R.J. and Turpin-Petrosino, C. (2002). 'Understanding the Harm of Hate Crime.', *Journal of Social Issues*, (online) 58(2), pp.207–225. doi:10.1111/1540-4560.00257.
- ⁷⁰ Boffey, D. (2020) 'Violent extremism linked to failure of migrants to integrate, EU says. *The Guardian*.' (online) 13 Nov. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/13/violent-extremism-migrants-failure-to-integrate-eu> (Accessed 5 Dec. 2021).
- ²³⁰ Boje, D.M. (2012) 'Narrative Analysis', in A.J. Mills, G. Durepos and E. Wiebe (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications, pp. 591–594.
- ³⁴⁸ Bordeau, J. (2010) *Xenophobia: the violence of fear and hate*. New York: Rosen Publ.
- ²⁴⁶ Boyatzis, R.E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information : thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks (Ca.): Sage Publications.
- ²⁶³ Brax, D. (2016) 'Motives, Reasons, and Responsibility in Hate/Bias Crime Legislation', *Criminal Justice Ethics*, 35(3), pp. 230–248.
- ²⁴⁷ Brewer, J. (2000) *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- ¹⁶⁴ Brouwer, A. and Kumin, J. (2003). 'Interception and Asylum: When Migration Control and Human Rights Collide.', *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 21(4), pp.6–24.
- ¹¹⁵ Browne, K., Bakshi, L. and Lim, J., (2011) '“It's Something You Just Have to Ignore”: Understanding and Addressing Contemporary Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans Safety Beyond Hate Crime Paradigms' *Journal of Social Policy*, 40(4), pp.739-756.
- ³³³ Brysk, A. and Shafir, G. (2004) *People out of place: globalization, human rights, and the citizenship gap*. New York: Routledge.
- ²³⁷ Bumiller, Kristin (1988) *The Civil Rights Society: The Social Construction of Victims*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.
- ⁴⁴ Buzan, B., Waeber, O. and De Wilde, J. (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder, Colo., USA: Lynne Rienner.

- ²¹ Cambridge Dictionary (2022) *limbo*, @CambridgeWords. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/limbo> (Accessed: 9 January 2022).
- ¹³⁵ Cannella, G. (1998) 'Critical Research: Postmodern Methodologies for the Examination of Race, Ethnicity, Class, and Gender in Education', *Advancing Women in Leadership Journal*, 1(2). doi: <https://doi.org/10.18738/awl.v0i2.36>.
- ³²⁹ Carling, J. (2017) "Refugee advocacy and the meaning of 'migrants'". *PRIO policy brief*, 2:2017.
- ³⁰² Castelli, F. (2018) 'Drivers of migration: why do people move?' *Journal of Travel Medicine*, (online) 25(1). doi:10.1093/jtm/tay040.
- ³⁹¹ Castells, M. (2010). *The Power of identity*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- ⁶¹ Cavounidis, J. (2004). 'Migration To Greece From The Balkans.', *South Eastern Europe Journal of Economics*, 2, pp.35–59.
- ²⁵⁰ Cavounidis, J. (2013) 'Migration and the Economic and Social Landscape in Greece', *South-Eastern Europe Journal of Economics*, 1, pp. 59–78.
- ¹⁰ Cavounidis, J. (2018). 'The migration experience of Greece and the impact of the economic crisis on its migrant and native populations.', *European Journal of Public Health*, 28(5), pp.20–23.
- ⁷⁹ Chakraborti, N. (2014) 'Introduction and overview', in N. Chakraborti, and K. Garland, (eds.) *Responding to Hate Crime: The Case for Connecting Policy and Research*. Bristol University Press.
- ¹ Chakraborti, N. (2015) "Framing the boundaries of hate crime", in N. Hall et al. (eds.) *The Routledge International Handbook on Hate Crime*. New York: Routledge.
- ¹⁸⁶ Chakraborti, N. (2018) 'Responding to hate crime: Escalating problems, continued failings', *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 18(4), pp. 387–404.
- ³ Chakraborti, N. and Garland, J., (2009) *Hate crime*. SAGE Publications Limited.
- Chakraborti, N., Garland, J. and Hardy, S.-J. (2015). *The Leicester Hate Crime Project*. University of Leicester, pp.1–86.

¹⁰⁶ Chouliaraki, L. and Georgiou, M. (2017) 'Hospitality: The Communicative Architecture of Humanitarian Securitization at Europe's Borders', *Journal of Communication*, 67(2), pp. 159–180.

⁹⁴ Christopoulos, D. (2008), *The Unspoken issue of minorities in the Greek legal order*, (in Greek), Kritiki, Athens, pp. 33–67

³⁰³ Chua, L.J. and Engel, D.M. (2019). 'Legal Consciousness Reconsidered.', *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 15(1), pp.335–353.

¹ Clement, S., Brohan, E., Sayce, L., Pool, J. and Thornicroft, G. (2011) 'Disability hate crime and targeted violence and hostility: A mental health and discrimination perspective', *Journal of Mental Health*, 20(3), pp.219–225.

¹¹⁴ Cogan, J. (2002) 'Hate Crime as a Crime Category Worthy of Policy Attention', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46(1), pp. 173–185.

¹¹ Cohen, R. (2002) 'Refugees, Terrorism and Humanitarian Assistance', *In Defense of the Alien*, 25, pp. 27–31. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23141317> (Accessed: 11 August 2021).

²³⁶ Colic-Peisker, V. and Walker, I. (2003). 'Human capital, acculturation and social identity: Bosnian refugees in Australia.', *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 13(5), pp.337–360.

⁵⁷ College of policing (2020) *Responding to non-crime hate incidents*, www.app.college.police.uk. Available at: <https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-protection/hate-crime/responding-to-non-crime-hate-incidents/#recording-non-crime-hate-incidents> (Accessed 7 February 2022).

⁵⁷ College of Policing (2022). *Responding to non-crime hate incidents*. (online) College of Policing. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/app/major-investigation-and-public-protection/hate-crime/responding-non-crime-hate-incidents> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

⁴³ Colombo, M. (2017) 'The Representation of the "European Refugee Crisis" in Italy: Domopolitics, Securitization, and Humanitarian Communication in Political and Media Discourses', *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 16(1-2), pp. 161–178.

177
Coluccello, S., Kretsos, L. (2015). Irregular Migration, Xenophobia and the Economic Crisis in Greece. In: Massey, S., Coluccello, R. (eds) *Eurafrican Migration: Legal, Economic and Social Responses to Irregular Migration*. Palgrave Pivot, London.

67
Cooper, D. (1995). 'Local Government Legal Consciousness in the Shadow of Juridification.', *Journal of Law and Society*, 22(4), p.506.

60
Copland, F. and Creese, A. (2015) *Linguistic Ethnography: Collecting, Analysing and Presenting Data*. 55 City Road: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 63-78.

80
Corbin, J. and Morse, J. (2003) 'The Unstructured Interactive Interview: Issues of Reciprocity and Risks when Dealing with Sensitive Topics', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9(3), pp. 335-354.

36
Cortazzi, M. (2001) 'Narrative Analysis in Ethnography', in Atkinson, P. et al. *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 384-394.

90
Council of Europe (2014) *Hate speech and violence, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)*. Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/hate-speech-and-violence> (Accessed 5 February 2022).

103
Council of Europe (2022). *Council of Europe*. (online) Council of Europe. Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/home> (Accessed 12 Jun 2022)

95
Cowan, D. (2004) 'Legal Consciousness: Some Observations', *Modern Law Review*, 67(6), pp. 928-958.

138
Craig, K.M. and Waldo, C.R. (1996) "'So, what's a hate crime anyway?' Young adults' perceptions of hate crimes, victims, and perpetrators.", *Law and Human Behavior*, 20(2), pp. 113-129.

50
Craig-Henderson, K. (2003) 'After the Hate: Helping Psychologists Help Victims of Racist Hate Crime', *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 10(4), pp. 481-490.

Craig-Henderson, K. and Sloan, L.R. (2006) 'After the Hate: Helping Psychologists Help Victims of Racist Hate Crime', *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 10(4), pp. 481-490.

- ¹⁸ Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (2019). Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/37/part/II/crossheading/raciallyaggravated-offences-england-and-wales> (Accessed: 11 November 2018).
- ⁸⁹ Crul, M., Lelie, F., Biner, Ö., Bunar, N., Keskiner, E., Kokkali, I., Schneider, J. and Shuayb, M. (2019). 'How the Different Policies and School Systems Affect the Inclusion of Syrian Refugee Children in Sweden, Germany, Greece, Lebanon and Turkey.', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(1).
- ⁷⁹ Culotta, K.A., (2005) 'Why victims hate to report: Factors affecting victim reporting in hate crime cases in Chicago', *Kriminologija i Socijalna Integracija*, 13.
- ²² Cumper, P. and Lewis, T. (2008). "'Taking Religion Seriously"? Human Rights and Hijab in Europe— Some Problems of Adjudication', *Journal of Law and Religion*, 24(2), pp.599–627.
- ⁴ Dana, J., Dawes, R. and Peterson, N. (2013) 'Belief in the unstructured interview: The persistence of an illusion', *Judgment and Decision Making*, 8(5), pp. 512-520.
- ¹⁸¹ Davenport, C., Moore, W. and Poe, S. (2003) 'Sometimes You Just Have to Leave: Domestic Threats and Forced Migration, 1964-1989', *International Interactions*, 29(1), pp. 27–55.
- ³¹² Davidson, J. (2018) 'NVivo', in Frey, B. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Measurement, and Evaluation*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., pp. 1166-1168.
- ⁴⁵⁰ Davis, E. (2015) 'Helping offenders to "think again"' In: N. Hall, A. Corb, P. Giannasi and J. Grive, (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook on Hate Crime*. Oxon: Routledge, pp.391-398.
- ²¹ Davis, K. (2020) 'The European Union's Dublin Regulation and the Migrant Crisis', *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* ²¹ *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, 19(2), pp. 259–287.
- ¹² Day, K. and White, P. (2002). 'Choice or circumstance: the UK as the Location of Asylum Applications by Bosnian and Somali Refugees.', *GeoJournal*, 56(1), pp.15–26.
- ²³ Deegan, M. (2001) 'The Chicago School of Ethnography', in P. Atkinson, et al., *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publication Ltd, pp. 11-25. ⁸⁴

²⁶ Delgado, R. and Stefancic, J. (2004) *Understanding words that wound*. Boulder, Colo., USA: Westview Press.

¹⁵ Delmas-Marty, M. and Chodkwiewicz, C. (1992) *The European convention for the protection of human rights: international protection versus national restrictions*. Dordrecht: Nijhoff.

¹⁵⁹ Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2000) *Handbook of qualitative research*. 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

²⁵⁷ DeWalt, K. and DeWalt, B. (2011) *Participant observation*. 2nd edn. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

²²⁷ Dingwall, R. (1997) 'Accounts, Interviews and Observations', in R. Dingwall, and G. Miller, *Context and Method in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 51-65.

¹³³ Donato, K.M. and Ferris, E. (2020). 'Refugee Integration in Canada, Europe, and the United States: Perspectives from Research.', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 690(1), pp.7–35.

²⁷ Drymioti, M., & Gerasopoulos, V. (2018). Entangling the Migration and the Economic 'Crisis': Claiming What's Rightfully Greek. *Race-ism*, 30(2), pp. 49–70.

⁷ Dück, E. and Lucke, R. (2019) 'Same Old (Macro-) Securitization? A Comparison of Political Reactions to Major Terrorist Attacks in the United States and France', *Croatian International Relations Review*, 25(84), pp. 6–35.

³ ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Discrimination (2016). *ECRI Report on the United Kingdom*. (online) *coe.int*, pp.1–49. Available at: ²⁸² <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/united-kingdom> (Accessed 7 Aug. 2020).

¹²⁶ EHRC - Equality and Human Rights Commission (2020). *Article 10: Freedom of expression / Equality and Human Rights Commission*. (online) www.equalityhumanrights.com. ⁴² Available at: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/human-rights-act/article-10-freedom-expression#:~:text=Article%2010%20of%20the%20Human%20Rights%20Act%3A%20Free%20dom%20of%20expression&text=Everyone%20has%20the%20right%20to> (Accessed 18 Mar. 2022).

¹ Elliott, J. (2005) *Using Narrative in Social Research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 36-59.

³²¹ Emerson, R., Fretz, R. and Shaw, L. (2001) 'Participant Observation and Field notes', in P. Atkinson, et al., *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 352-368.

⁶⁵ Enarsson, T. and Lindgren, S. (2018) 'Free speech or hate speech? A legal analysis of the discourse about Roma on Twitter', *Information & Communications Technology Law*, 28(1), pp. 1-18.

²⁵ Engel, D.M., (2013) 'Perception and decision at the threshold of tort law: Explaining the infrequency of claims', *DePaul L. Rev.*, 62, p.293.

⁹¹ Equalityhumanrights.com. (2018). *Home Page | Equality and Human Rights Commission*. Available at: <https://equalityhumanrights.com/en> 9 Accessed 12 Oct 20180.

⁴⁴ Erdal, M.B. and Oeppen, C. (2017) 'Forced to leave? The discursive and analytical significance of describing migration as forced and voluntary', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), pp.981-998.

²⁷¹ EUR - Lex (2008). *EUR-Lex - 12008E019 - EN - EUR-Lex*. (online) Europa.eu. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12008E019> (Accessed 17 Apr. 2022).

¹⁵ EUR-Lex (2013) *Regulation (Eu) No 604/2013 Of The European Parliament And Of The Council*, Europa.eu. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32013R0604> (Accessed 25 Feb 2022)

²⁹ European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (2021) *Forced displacement: refugees, asylum-seekers and Internally Displaced People (IDPs)*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/what-we-do/humanitarian-aid/refugees-and-internally-displaced-persons_en (Accessed 10 Oct 2021).

⁴⁶ European Commission (2015a) *Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions A European Agenda On Migration*, Europa.eu. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A52015DC0240> (Accessed 8 ²⁸

Jan 2022)

¹⁹⁶
European Commission (2015b) *Refugee Crisis: Greece Activates EU Civil Protection Mechanism, Agrees Frontex Operation at Border with Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Triggers RABIT Mechanism*, *European Commission - European Commission*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/it/IP_15_6249 (Accessed 3 Jan 2022).

³⁶⁸
European Commission (2016a). *Europe: Integration Action Plan of Third-Country Nationals launched | European Website on Integration*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/europe-integration-action-plan-third-country-nationals-launched_en (Accessed 5 Apr. 2022).

¹⁰
European Commission (2016b). *Implementation of the 2016 Action Plan on Integration | European Website on Integration*. (online) ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/eu-grid/implementation-2016-action-plan-integration_en#:~:text=In%20June%202016%2C%20the%20European (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

²⁵⁴
European Commission (2018) *Free movement - EU nationals - Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion*. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=457> (Accessed 8 January 2022).

⁸¹
European Commission (2019) *Schengen Area, Migration and Home Affairs*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/schengen-borders-and-visa/schengen-area_en (Accessed 10 February 2022).

European Commission (2020) *Country responsible for asylum application (Dublin Regulation)*, Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/country-responsible-asylum-application-dublin-regulation_en (Accessed 1 April 2022).

¹⁴⁹
European Commission (2021) *The Commission Proposes to Extend the List of 'EU crimes' to Hate Speech and Hate Crime*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_21_6561 (Accessed 6 February 2022).

¹⁰ European Commission (2022a) *Common European Asylum System*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system_en. (Accessed 22 Jul 2022),

European Commission (2022b). *EU strategy | European Website on Integration*. (online) ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/eu-grid/eu-strategy_en (Accessed 17 Jul. 2022).

²⁵³ European Commission (2022c). *Migration and Home Affairs*. (online) home-affairs.ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/pages/glossary/refugee_en (Accessed 22 Jul. ¹⁴³2022).

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2019) *Hate speech and violence*. ²⁴³ Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/hate-speech-and-violence> (Accessed 2 May 2019).

³⁸ European Council (2020) *35 years since the signing of the Schengen Agreement*, Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/library/library-blog/posts/35-years-since-the-signing-of-the-schengen-agreement/> (Accessed 17 Apr 2022) ⁴⁴⁰

European Council on Refugees and Exiles (2021) *Statistics, Asylum Information Database | European Council on Refugees and Exiles*. Available at: <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/statistics/> (Accessed 7 February 2022). ²⁶²

³⁴⁴ European Court of Human Rights (2010) *European Convention on Human Rights*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available at: https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf (Accessed 7 April 2019). ⁴⁵

European Parliament (2013) 'Regulation (Eu) No 604/2013 Of The European Parliament And Of The Council'. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:180:0031:0059:en:PDF> (Accessed ³⁷³5 January 2022).

European Parliament (2015) *Fingerprinting migrants: Eurodac Regulation | Think Tank |* Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_ATA\(2015\)571346](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_ATA(2015)571346) (Accessed ²⁸⁸1 April 2022).

European Parliament (2019a) ³³ *Asylum Policy | Fact Sheets on the European Union* ⁶ Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/151/asylum-policy> (Accessed 1 April 2022).

European Parliament (2019b) *Migration and Asylum* Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/infographics/migration/public/index.html?page=asylum> (Accessed 8 October 2021).

European Parliament (2021) ³² *Asylum Policy, Fact Sheets on the European Union*. ⁶ Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/151/asylum-policy> (Accessed 10 October 2021).

European Parliament (2022). ²²⁸ *Treaty of Amsterdam*. (online) *Treaty of Amsterdam*. Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/treaty-of-amsterdam> (Accessed 25 Jan. 2022).

European Union ³⁶⁴ (1997) *Official Journal of the European Communities, C 340, 10 November 1997*.

²⁹² European Union (2021). *REGULATION (EU) 2021/692 OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL* ⁴⁹ of 28 April 2021. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32021R0692> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).

European Union (2022a). *Aims and values*. (online) european-union.europa.eu. Available at: https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/principles-and-values/aims-and-values_en ¹³⁵ (Accessed 25 Jun. 2022).

European Union ¹⁹⁵ (2022b). *Human Rights and Democracy*. (online) european-union.europa.eu. Available at: https://european-union.europa.eu/priorities-and-actions/actions-topic/human-rights-and-democracy_en#:~:text=The%20European%20Union%20is%20based ¹⁹⁵ (Accessed 29 Jul. 2022).

⁴⁹ Eurostat (2021) *Asylum statistics - Statistics Explained*, Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Asylum_statistics (Accessed: 8 October 2021).

European Union (2011). *DIRECTIVE 2011/98/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 13 December 2011*. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32011L0098> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).

Ewick, P. and Silbey, S. (1998) *The common place of law*. 1st edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Facing Facts (2022a). *Connecting on Hate Crime Data in Greece | Facing Facts*. (online) www.facingfacts.eu. Available at: <https://www.facingfacts.eu/final-greece-country-report/> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

Facing Facts (2022b). *Facing Facts*. (online) www.facingfacts.eu. Available at: <https://www.facingfacts.eu/> (Accessed 18 Jul. 2022).

Fakiolas, R. (2003) 'Regularising Undocumented Immigrants in Greece: Procedures and Effects.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29 (3), 535–561.

Fakiolas, R. and Maratou-Alipranti, L. (2000) 'Foreign female immigrants in Greece', *Papers. Revista de Sociologia*, 60, p. 101. doi:10.5565/rev/papers/v60n0.1034.

Farbotko, C. and Lazrus, H. (2012) 'The first climate refugees? Contesting global narratives of climate change in Tuvalu', *Global Environmental Change*, 22(2), pp. 382–390.

Fasani, F., Frattini, T. and Minale, L. (2018). '(The Struggle for) Refugee Integration into the Labour Market: Evidence from Europe.', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 11333. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3129277.

Fathi, S., (2013) 'Bias crime reporting: Creating a stronger model for immigrant and refugee populations', *Gonz. L. Rev.*, 49, p.249.

Felstiner, W.L.F. (1974). 'Influences of Social Organization on Dispute Processing.', *Law & Society Review*, 9(1), p.63.

Felstiner, W.L.F., Abel, R.L. and Sarat, A. (1980). 'The Emergence and Transformation of Disputes: Naming, Blaming, Claiming . . .', *Law & Society Review*, 15(3/4), p.631.

Ferreira, S. (2018) 'From Narratives to Perceptions in the Securitisation of the Migratory Crisis in Europe', in M. Karakoulaki, L. Southgate, and J. Steiner, (eds) *In Critical*

Perspectives on Migration in the Twenty-First Century. Bristol: E-International Relations., pp. 57–73.

²⁰⁷ Fine, S. and Ypi, L. (2016). *Migration in Political Theory : the Ethics of Movement and Membership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³⁰⁵ Finlay, L. (1998) ‘Reflexivity: An Essential Component for All Research?’, *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 61(10), pp. 453–456

²⁶ Flaminia, S. (2017) ‘Between Law and Trust. An Insight from Legal Consciousness and Ideology’, *Romanian Journal of Comparative Law*, 8(2), pp. 246-259. Available at:
⁶⁶ https://heinonline.org/HOL/Welcome?message=Please%20log%20in&url=%2FHOL%2FPag e%3Ffname%3DST%26Acirc%3BRC-MECLEJAN%26public%3Dfalse%26collection%3Djournals%26handle%3Dhein.journals%26fromajcl8%26men_hide%3Dfalse%26men_tab%3Dtoc%26kind%3D%26page%3D246
(Accessed 20 June 2019).

⁶⁹ Flores, A., Escudero, K. and Burciaga, E. (2019) ‘Legal-Spatial Consciousness: A Legal Geography Framework for Examining Migrant Illegality’, *Law & Policy*, 41(1), pp. 12-33.

²⁷⁷ Fontana, A. (2003) ‘Postmodern Trends in Interviewing’, in J. Gubrium, and J. Holstein, *Postmodern Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 51-66.

¹⁶³ Fontana, A. and Frey, J. (2000) ‘The Interview, From Structured Questions to Negotiated Text’, in N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln, (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 645-672.

³⁴⁰ Fontana, A. and McGinnis, T.A. (2003) ‘Ethnography Since Postmodernism’, *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, pp. 215–234.

¹⁴⁸ Fotaki, M. (2019). A Crisis of Humanitarianism: Refugees at the Gates of Europe. *International Journal of Health Policy and Management*, 8(6), pp.321–324.

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power knowledge*. Harlow: Longman.

⁴⁸⁰ FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights ¹¹⁷ (2018). *Unmasking Bias Motives in Crimes: Selected Cases of the European Court of Human Rights*. ⁵ (online) European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Available at:

- ¹⁵¹ <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/unmasking-bias-motives-crimes-selected-cases-european-court-human-rights> (Accessed 31 Jun. 2022).
- ⁹¹ FRA - European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2015). *Article 21 - Non-discrimination*. (online) European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Available at: <https://fra.europa.eu/en/eu-charter/article/21-non-discrimination> (Accessed 25 Aug. 2019).
- ⁹ FRA- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2016) *Current migration situation in the EU: hate crime*, <https://fra.europa.eu>. pp. 1–19. Available at: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-november-monthly-focus-hate-crime_en.pdf (Accessed 22 July 2019).
- ¹²⁶ Fritsvold, E. (2009) ‘Under the Law: Legal Consciousness and Radical Environmental Activism’, *Law & Social Inquiry*, 34(04), pp. 799-824.
- ¹⁴⁸ Frontex (2021) *Western Balkan Route*, frontex.europa.eu. European Border and Coast Guard Agency. Available at: <https://frontex.europa.eu/we-know/migratory-routes/western-balkan-route/> (Accessed 22 Apr 2022).
- ¹³⁴ Funnell, C. (2014) ‘Racist hate crime and the mortified self’, *International Review of Victimology*, 21(1), pp. 71–83.
- ²⁷ Garelli, G. and Tazzioli, M. (2018a). ‘The biopolitical warfare on migrants: EU Naval Force and NATO operations of migration government in the Mediterranean.’, *Critical Military Studies*, 4(2), pp.181–200.
- Garelli, G. and Tazzioli, M. (2018b). ‘The Humanitarian War against Migrant Smugglers at Sea.’, *Antipode*, 50(3), pp.685–703.
- ¹⁴ Garland, J. and Funnell, C. (2016) ‘Defining Hate Crime Internationally: Issues and Conundrums’, in M.A. Walters, and J. Schweppe, J. (eds) *The Globalization of Hate: Internationalizing Hate Crime?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ⁷ Garland, J., Chakraborti, N. and Hardy, S.-J. (2015) ‘“It Felt Like a Little War”: Reflections on Violence against Alternative Subcultures’, *Sociology*, 49(6), pp. 1065–1080.

- ²⁷ Geddes, A. and Scholten, P. (2013) 'Policy Analysis and Europeanization: An Analysis of EU Migrant Integration Policymaking', *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 17(1), pp. 41–59.
- ⁹⁰ Gelber, K. (2017) 'Incitement to Hatred and Countering Terrorism: Policy Confusion in the UK and Australia', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71, pp. 28–49.
- ¹²¹ Gelber, K. and McNamara, L. (2015) 'Evidencing the harms of hate speech', *Social Identities*, 22(3), pp. 324–341.
- ¹⁰⁹ Giannasi, P. (2015) Policing and hate crime. In N. Hall, A. Corb, P. Giannasi, & J. Grieve (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook on hate crime* (pp. 331-342). London, England: Routledge.
- ¹²⁹ Gill, P. et al. (2008) 'Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups', *British Dental Journal*, 204(6), pp. 291-295.
- ¹⁷⁹ Gogonas, N. and Michail, D. (2014). 'Ethnolinguistic vitality, language use and social integration amongst Albanian immigrants in Greece.', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(2), pp.198–211.
- ¹⁴⁷ Gov.uk (2010). *Equality Act 2010*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents> (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).
- ¹⁴⁷ Gov.uk (2011). *Public Order Act 1986*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1986/64/part/III/crossheading/acts-intended-or-likely-to-stir-up-racial-hatred> (Accessed 15 Jul. 2019).
- ⁹ Gov.uk (2012). *Criminal Justice Act 2003*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/44/section/146/2012-12-03> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2022).
- ⁴ Gov.uk (2019). *Crime and Disorder Act 1998*. (online) Legislation.gov.uk. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/37/contents> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2022).
- Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2001) *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνησεως της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας*, ⁴⁴⁵ Είσοδος και παραμονή Αλλοδαπών στην Ελληνική Επικράτεια, κτήση της Ελληνικής Ιθαγένειας με πολιτογράφηση και άλλες διατάξεις. Available at:

⁴²
<https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-allodapoi/n-2910-2001.html> (Accessed 15 Apr 2022)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2005) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*, Law no 3386/05 on the Entry, Residence and Social Integration of Third-country Nationals in the Hellenic Territory Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/law-no-338605-entry-residence-and-social-integration-third-country-nationals_en (Accessed 17 Oct 2021)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2007) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*. Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 220/2007 Available at: <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-allodapoi/prosphuges-politiko-asulo/pd-220-2007.html> (Accessed 28 Apr 2021)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2010) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*. Νόμος 3838/2010 : Σύγχρονες διατάξεις για την Ελληνική Ιθαγένεια και την πολιτική συμμετοχή ομογενών και νομίμως διαμενόντων μεταναστών και άλλες ρυθμίσεις. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/law-38382010-current-provisions-greek-citizenship-and-political-participation_en (Accessed 15 May 2022)

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2014) *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*. Ν.4285/2014 : Τροποποίηση του ν. 927/1979 (Α' 139) και προσαρμογή του στην απόφαση πλαίσιο 2008/913/ΔΕΥ της 28ης Νοεμβρίου 2008, για την καταπολέμηση ορισμένων μορφών και εκδηλώσεων ρατσισμού και ξενοφοβίας μέσω του ποινικού δικαίου (L 328) Available at: <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-anthropina-dikaionomata/n-4285-2014.html> (Accessed 12 April 2022).

Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic (2016). *Εφημερίδα Της Κυβερνησεως Της Ελληνικης Δημοκρατίας*. Νόμος 4375/2016 : Οργάνωση και λειτουργία Υπηρεσίας Ασύλου, Αρχής Προσφυγών, Υπηρεσίας Υποδοχής και Ταυτοποίησης σύσταση Γενικής Γραμματείας Υποδοχής, προσαρμογή της Ελληνικής Νομοθεσίας προς τις διατάξεις της Οδηγίας 2013/32/ΕΕ του Ευρωπαϊκού Available at: <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-allodapoi/prosphuges-politiko-asulo/nomos-4375-2016-phek-51-a-3-4-2016.html> (Accessed 06 Oct 2021)

²⁵
Graca, S. (2017) 'Portuguese culture and legal consciousness: a discussion of immigrant

women's perceptions of and reactions to domestic violence', *International Journal of Law in Context*, 14(3), pp. 416-436.

Grayling, A. (2008) 'Regardless of Frontiers', *Index on Censorship*, 37(3), pp. 14-19.

Green, D.P., McFalls, L.H. and Smith, J.K. (2001) 'Hate Crime: An Emergent Research Agenda', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), pp. 479-504.

Grigonis, S. (2016) 'EU in the face of migrant crisis: Reasons for ineffective human rights protection', *International Comparative Jurisprudence*, (online) 2(2), pp.93-98.

Grigoriadis, I. (2008) 'On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey', *Mediterranean Politics*, 13(1), pp. 23-41.

Grim, D. (2009) 'Freedom of Speech in a Globalized World' in I. Hare and J. Weinstein(eds) *Extreme speech and democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University press, pp. 11-23.

Gropas, R. & Triandafyllidou, A. (2005). *Migration in Greece at a glance*. Available at: <https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/en/2008/10/migration.pdf> (Accessed 28 Aug 2019)

Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (2000) 'Analyzing Interpretive Practice', in N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln, (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 487-508.

Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (2009) *Analyzing narrative reality*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Guillemin, M. and Gillam, L. (2004) 'Ethics, Reflexivity, and 'Ethically Important Moments' in Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), pp. 261-280.

Guiraudon, V. (2017) 'The 2015 refugee crisis was not a turning point: explaining policy inertia in EU border control', *European Political Science*, 17(1), pp. 151-160.

Gunst, M., Jarman, K., Yarwood, V., Rokadiya, S., Capsaskis, L., Orcutt, M. and Abbara, A. (2019). Healthcare access for refugees in Greece: Challenges and opportunities. *Health Policy*, (online) 123(9), pp.818-824.

Gutierrez, C.M. and Kirk, D.S. (2017) 'Silence Speaks: The Relationship between Immigration and the Underreporting of Crime', *Crime & Delinquency*, 63(8), pp. 926-950.

- ⁸ Gutting, G. (1989) *Michel Foucault's archaeology of scientific reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ²²³ Hagen-Zanker, J. (2008). Why Do People Migrate? A Review of the Theoretical Literature. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. (online) doi:10.2139/ssrn.1105657.
- Hall, N. (2005). *Hate Crime*. London, UK: Willan.
- ⁵⁶ Halliday, S. (2019). 'After Hegemony: The Varieties of Legal Consciousness Research.', *Social & Legal Studies*, 28(6), pp.859–878.
- ⁵⁶ Halliday, S. and Morgan, B. (2013). 'I Fought the Law and the Law Won? Legal Consciousness and the Critical Imagination.', *Current Legal Problems*, 66(1), pp.1–32.
- ²¹⁵ Hammersley, M. (1998) *Reading ethnographic research*. 2nd edn. New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.
- ³⁴² Hammersley, M. (2013) *What is Qualitative Research?* London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- ³⁵⁹ Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007) *Ethnography: principles in practice*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge.
- ³⁹⁴ Handmaker, J., (2019) 'Researching legal mobilisation and lawfare', *International Institute of Social Studies* (No. 641).
- Hannabuss, S. (1996) 'Research interviews', I, 97(5), pp. 22-30.
- ⁷ Harding, R. (2011). *Regulating Sexuality Legal Consciousness in Lesbian and Gay Lives*. Routledge, London.
- ⁷¹ Harkness, G. and Islam, S. (2011). Muslim Female Athletes and the Hijab. *Contexts*, 10(4), pp.64–65.
- ¹⁵³ Harris, B. (2002) 'Xenophobia: A new pathology for a New South Africa?', in D. Hook and G. Eagle (eds) *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*. Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.
- ³⁷ Hate Crime Laws (2019). Available at: <https://www.justice.gov/crt/hate-crime-laws> (Accessed 15 February 2019).

- 206
Hatton, T.J. (2017). Refugees and asylum seekers, the crisis in Europe and the future of policy. *Economic Policy*, 32(91), pp.447–496.
- 116
Hatzigeorgiou, A. and Lodefalk, M. (2021) ‘A literature review of the nexus between migration and internationalization’, *The Journal of International Trade & Economic Development*, 30(3), pp. 319–340.
- 54
Hatziprokopiou, P. (2003). Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki, Greece: processes of economic and social incorporation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(6), pp.1033–1057.
- 306
Hatziprokopiou, P. (2005) ‘Immigrants from Balkan countries in Greece: local and transnational processes of incorporation in Thessaloniki’, *Belgeo*, (1-2), pp. 163–174.
- 4
Heisbourg, F. (2015). The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis. *Survival*, 57(6), pp.7-20.
- 30
Herek, G.M., Cogan, J.C. and Gillis, J.R. (2002) ‘Victim Experiences in Hate Crimes Based on Sexual Orientation’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(2), pp. 319–339.
- 260
Herlihy, J. and Turner, S.W. (2009) ‘The Psychology of Seeking Protection’, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 21(2), pp. 171–192.
- 16
Hernández, D., (2010) ‘I'm gonna call my lawyer:’ shifting legal consciousness at the intersection of inequality. In: *Special Issue Interdisciplinary Legal Studies: The Next Generation* Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 95-121
- Hertogh, M. (2004). ‘A ‘European’ Conception of Legal Consciousness: Rediscovering Eugen Ehrlich.’, *Journal of Law and Society*, 31(4), pp.457–481.
- 33
Hintjens, H. (2019) ‘Failed Securitisation Moves during the 2015 “Migration Crisis”’, *International Migration*, 57(4). doi:10.1111/imig.12588.
- 224
Hlepas, N.K. (2020) ‘Checking the mechanics of Europeanization in a centralist state: The case of Greece’, *Regional & Federal Studies*, 30(2), pp. 243–261.
- 72
Hodson, D. and Quaglia, L. (2009) ‘European Perspectives on the Global Financial Crisis: Introduction’, *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47(5), pp. 939–953.

- ¹³⁷ Hogg, M.A., Abrams, D. and Brewer, M.B. (2017) 'Social identity: The role of self in group processes and intergroup relations', *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 20(5), pp. 570–581.
- ³⁶⁷ Holstein, J. and Gubrium, J. (1995) *The active interview*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.
- ⁹ Home Office (2019) *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2018/19*, *assets.publishing.service.gov.uk*. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/839172/hate-crime-1819-hosb2419.pdf (Accessed 11 Apr 2021).
- Home Office (2021) *Hate crime, England and Wales, 2020 to 2021*, *GOV.UK*. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2020-to-2021/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2020-to-2021> (Accessed 28 Feb 2022)
- ¹¹⁸ Hornsey, M. et al. (2003) 'Relations between High and Low Power Groups: The Importance of Legitimacy', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(2), pp. 216–227.
- ⁹⁵ Hull, K. (2003) 'The Cultural Power of Law and the Cultural Enactment of Legality: The Case of Same-Sex Marriage', *Law and Social Inquiry*, 28(3), pp. 629–657.
- ²¹² Human Rights Watch (2016). *EU Policies Put Refugees At Risk*. (Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/11/23/eu-policies-put-refugees-risk> (Accessed Oct 19 2020).
- ²³⁹ Human Rights Watch (2020) *Greece: Violence Against Asylum Seekers at Border*, *Human Rights Watch*. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/03/17/greece-violence-against-asylum-seekers-border> (Accessed 8 October 2021).
- ⁴³ Hurter, J. (2018) 'Hitler's Generals in the East and the Holocaust', in A. Kay., and D. Stahel, (eds) *Mass Violence in Nazi-Occupied Europe*. 1st edn. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- ⁸¹ Huysmans, J. (2000) 'The European Union and the Securitization of Migration', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), pp. 751–777.
- Huysmans, J. (2006) *The Politics of Insecurity*. London: Routledge.
- ⁷⁷ Huysmans, J. and Squire, V. (2009) 'Migration and Security', in M. Victor, and M. Victor,

M. (eds) *Handbook of Security Studies*. London, UK: Routledge.

Icduygu, A. (2004). 'Demographic Mobility and Turkey: Migration Experiences and Government Responses.', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 15(4), pp.88–99.

Iganski, P. (2001) 'Hate Crimes Hurt More', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(4), pp. 626–638.

Iganski, P. (2002) 'Introduction: the problem of hate crimes and hate crime laws', in P. Iganski, and E. Burney, (eds) *The hate debate: should hate be punished as a crime?*. London: Profile, pp. 1-14.

Iganski, P. and Lagou, S. (2014) 'Hate Crimes Hurt Some More Than Others', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 30(10), pp. 1696–1718.

Iganski, P. and Levin, J. (2015) *Hate Crime: A Global Perspective*. Oxon: Routledge.

Ignatow, G. and Mihalcea, R. (2017) 'Narrative Analysis', in G. Ignatow, and R. Mihalcea, (eds) *Text Mining: A Guidebook for the Social Sciences*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc, pp. 88-95.

Il'in, I. (2012) *On the essence of legal consciousness*. London: Wildy, Simmonds & Hill Publishing.

International Organization for Migration (2015). *Key Migration Terms* Available at: <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms#Migrant> (Accessed 17 August 2020).

International Rescue Committee (2022) *Greece: Refugees in Limbo, International Rescue Committee (IRC)*. Available at: <https://www.rescue-uk.org/country/greece> (Accessed 3 January 2022).

Ioakimidis, P.C. (2000) 'The Europeanization of Greece: An Overall Assessment', *South European Society and Politics*, 5(2), pp. 73–94.

IOM - International Organisation for Migration (2018). *Stop Mind Borders Campaign | IOM Greece*. (online) greece.iom.int. Available at: <https://greece.iom.int/stop-mind-borders-campaign> (Accessed 28 Jun. 2022).

IOM - International Organisation for Migration. "Shipwreck off Coast of Libya Pushes

- ²⁸⁸ Migrant Deaths on the Mediterranean Past 20,000 Mark.” *International Organization for Migration*, 2020, www.iom.int/news/shipwreck-coast-libya-pushes-migrant-deaths-mediterranean-past-20000-mark. Accessed 6 July 2022.
- ⁶³ Ivanov, S. and Stavrinoudis, T.A. (2018) ‘Impacts of the refugee crisis on the hotel industry: Evidence from four Greek islands’, *Tourism Management*, 67, pp. 214–223.
- ⁵ Jacobs, J.B. and Potter, K. (1998) *Hate crimes: criminal law & identity politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ⁶⁸ Jacq, C. and Teitgen, F. (1992) ‘The Press’, In: M. Delmas-Marty and C. Chodkiewicz, (eds), *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights: International protections Versus National Restrictions*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp.59-81.
- Jakob, C., Kron, S. and Christoph, W. (eds) (2019) *Atlas of migration facts and figures about people on the move*. 3rd edn. Berlin: Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Available at: <https://www.rosalux.de/en/publication/id/40425/the-atlas-of-migration> (Accessed 12 Oct 2020)
- ³⁶⁰
- ³² Jaskulowski, K. (2018) ‘The securitisation of migration: Its limits and consequences’, *International Political Science Review*, 40(5), pp. 710–720.
- ¹ Joffe, H., & Yardley, L. (2004). Content and thematic analysis. in D. Marks & L. Yardley (eds.). *Research methods for clinical and health psychology*. London: Sage.
- ³⁸ Jonassohn, K. and Björnson K.S. (1998). *Genocide and gross human rights violations : in comparative perspective*. London: Transaction Publs.
- ⁵¹ Jones, H., Gunaratnam, Y., Gargi Bhattacharyya, Davies, W., Sukhwant Dhaliwal, Forkert, K., Jackson, E. and Roayah Saltus (2017). *Go home? : the Politics of Immigration Controversies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- ²⁸⁴ Joosub, N. and Ebrahim, S. (2020). ‘Decolonizing the hijab: An interpretive exploration by two Muslim psychotherapists.’, *Feminism & Psychology*, 30(3).
- ⁷ Kääriäinen, J. And Sirén, R., (2011) ‘Trust in the police, generalised trust and reporting crime’, *European Journal of Criminology*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 65-81.

Kalatzi, F. (2015) 'Securitisation of Migration in Greece: the role of Europeanisation', in *Paper for the 7th Biennial HO PhD Symposium*. Available at: http://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:vRiGwY1lnxwJ:scholar.google.com/+europeanisation+of+migration+policies+in+Greece&hl=en&as_sdt=0.5&inst=17865657614040430227 (Accessed 16 April 2022).

¹⁵⁷ Kandiyoti D. (1995) Reflections on the politics of gender in Muslim societies: From Nairobi to Beijing. In Afkhami, M. (eds). *Faith and freedom : women's human rights in the Muslim world*. London: I.B. Tauris.

³¹ Kapsalis, A. (2018). 'The development of Greek migration policy and the invention of 'para-legality' in labour relations of immigrants.', *Κοινωνική Πολιτική*, 9, p.67.

³¹ Karamanidou, L. (2015) 'The Securitisation of European Migration Policies: Perceptions of Threat and Management of Risk', in G. Lazaridis, and K. Wadia, (eds) *The Securitisation of Migration in the EU. the European Union in International Affairs*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

²⁸ Karamanidou, L. (2016) 'Violence against migrants in Greece: beyond the Golden Dawn', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(11), pp.2002-2021.

¹²² Karamanidou, L. (2017) 'Historical Experiences of Migration in Political Discourse in Greece: Using Critical Discourse Analysis to Explore Policy Legitimation', *Middle East Journal of Refugee Studies*, 2(2).

¹⁹⁹ Karamouzis, P. and Athanassiades, E. (2011). Religiosity and Education: The Views of Greek Student Teachers on the Religious Education Course. *Religious Education*, 106(3), pp.312–331.

²³³ Karimova, L.K., Sagitova, V.R., Kirpichnikova, A.A. and Van Hoang, H. (2021) 'Educational migration from the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States to the Russian Federation', *Propósitos y Representaciones*, 9(SPE2). doi:10.20511/pyr2021.v9nspe2.1007.

¹⁸⁴ Kasperek, B. and Speer, M. (2015) *Of Hope. Hungary and the long Summer of Migration I* Available at: <https://bordermonitoring.eu/ungarn/2015/09/of-hope-en/> (Accessed 11 February 2022).

139
Kay, T. (2011) 'Legal Transnationalism: The Relationship between Transnational Social Movement Building and International Law', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 36(02), pp. 419–454.

275
King, R. (2002). 'Towards a new map of European migration.', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 8(2), pp.89–106.

110
Kingsley, P. (2016) "'Prisoners of Europe': the everyday humiliation of refugees stuck in Greece," *The Guardian*, 6 September. Available at:
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/prisoners-of-europe-the-everyday-humiliation-of-refugees-stuck-in-greece-migration> (Accessed 13 September 2018).

36
Kirk, D.S., Papachristos, A.V., Fagan, J. and Tyler, T.R., (2012) 'The paradox of law enforcement in immigrant communities: Does tough immigration enforcement undermine public safety?', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 641(1), pp.79-98.

362
Kirk, J. (2013) *Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement*. Edinburgh: Pearson education limited.

7
Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C., (2013) "'They're more than animals': Refugees' accounts of racially motivated violence.' *British journal of social psychology*, 52(4), pp.747-762.

56
Kivilcim, Z. (2016) 'Legal Violence Against Syrian Female Refugees in Turkey', *Feminist Legal Studies*, 24(2), pp. 193–214.

231
Kokkali, I. (2011). 'From Scapegoats to 'Good' Immigrants? Albanians' Supposedly 'Successful' Integration to Greece.', *Quaderni Del Circolo Rosselli*, 3, pp.161–173.

105
Kokkali, I. (2015). Albanian Immigrants in the Greek City: Spatial 'Invisibility' and Identity Management as a Strategy of Adaptation. In: H. Vermeulen, M. Baldwin-Edwards and R. van Boeschoten, eds., *Migration in the Southern Balkans*. (online) e-Book. Available at: ISBN 978-3-319-13719-3.

210
Kolbe, M. and Henne, P.S. (2014). 'The Effect of Religious Restrictions on Forced Migration.', *Politics and Religion*, 7(4), pp.665–683.

- ³ Korbatiéh, S. (2018). Adultery Laws in Islam and Stoning in the Modern World. *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies*, 3(2), pp.1–20.
- ²⁴⁸ Koubi, V., Böhmelt, T., Spilker, G. and Schaffer, L. (2018) ‘The Determinants of Environmental Migrants’ Conflict Perception’, *International Organization*, 72(4), pp.905–936.
- ⁹⁹ Kruger, F.P. (2018) ‘When two elephants fight, it is the grass that is trampled: A practical theological elucidation of the predatory attitude of hate speech’, *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 74(2).
- ¹⁶ Kubal, A. (2011) ‘Discussing Legal Adaptations: Perspectives on Studying Migrants’ Relationship with Law in the Host Country’, *SSRN Electronic Journal* (Preprint), (38). doi:10.2139/ssrn.2130599.
- ²¹⁸ Kubal, A. (2013) ‘Migrants’ Relationship with Law in the Host Country: Exploring the Role of Legal Culture’, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 34(1), pp. ⁶⁹55–72.
- Kubal, A. (2015). ‘Legal consciousness as a form of social remittance? Studying return migrants’ everyday practices of legality in Ukraine.’, *Migration Studies*, 3(1), pp.68–88.
- ²³² Kuner, C., Cate, F.H., Millard, C. and Svantesson, D.J.B. (2011) ‘Privacy: an elusive concept’, *International Data Privacy Law*, 1(3), pp.141–142.
- ²³ Kurkchiyan, M. (2011) ‘Perceptions of law and social order: cross-national comparison of collective legal consciousness’, *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, 29(2), pp. 366–392.
- ²⁴⁵ Lahav, G. and Courtemanche, M. (2011) ‘The Ideological Effects of Framing Threat on Immigration and Civil Liberties’, *Political Behavior*, 34(3), pp. 477–505.
- ³¹⁰ Lamb, I.A. (2016) ‘The Gates of Greece: Refugees and Policy Choices’, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 27(2), pp. 67–88.
- ⁴ Lamond, G. (2007) ‘What Is a Crime?’, *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 27(4), pp. 609–632.
- ²⁸³ Larson, E. and Schmidt, P. (2014) ‘Legal Confrontations-Disputing and Legal Consciousness’, in E. Larson, and P. Schmidt, (eds), *The law and Society Reader II*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 173–174.

160

Latiff, Z.Abd. and Alam, F.N.S.Z. (2013) 'The Roles of Media in Influencing Women Wearing Hijab: An Analysis', *Journal of Image and Graphics*, 1(1), pp.50–54..

4

Lavenex, S. (2018) "'Failing Forward" Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(5), pp. 1195–1212.

9

Laverick, W. and Joyce, N.P. (2020). 'Reinterpreting The UK Response To Hate Crime.', *British Journal of Community Justice*, 16(1), pp.82–102.

Lawler, S. (2014). *Identity sociological perspectives*. Cambridge Malden Polity.

225

Lawrence, F. (2002) 'Racial violence on a small island: Bias crime in a multicultural society', in P. Iganski, (ed) *The Jate Debate*. London: Profile books.

38

Lazaridis, G. and Khursheed Wadia (2015). *The securitisation of migration in the EU : debates since 9/11*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, Ny: Palgrave Macmillan.

13

Lazaridis, G. and Koumandraki, M. (2007) 'Albanian Migration To Greece: Patterns And Processes Of Inclusion And Exclusion In The Labour Market', *European Societies*, 9(1), pp. 91–111.

37

Lazaridis, G. and Skleparis, D. (2015). Securitization of migration and the far right: the case of Greek security professionals. *International Migration*, 54(2), pp.176-192.

Lazaridis, G. and Tsagkroni, V. (2015). 'Modern Day Blackshirts': The strategies of hate against the 'other' in Greece and the UK'. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, (online) 43(260), pp.190-202. Available at: <https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-9X0G8GAH?&language=eng> (Accessed 7 May 2019).

155

Lazaridis, G. and Veikou, M. (2017) 'The rise of the far right in Greece and opposition to 'othering', hate speech, and crime by civil and civic organizations', *Journal of Civil Society*, 13(1), pp.1-17.

38

Lazaridis, G. and Wadia, K (2015) *The securitisation of migration in the EU : debates since 9/11*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

- ¹⁴³ Lea, J. (2000). 'The Macpherson Report and the Question of Institutional Racism.', *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39(3), pp.219–233.
- ⁷⁵ LeCompte, M. and Schensul, J. (2010) *Designing & conducting ethnographic research*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.
- Leech, B. (2002) 'Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews', *Political Science & Politics*, 35(04), pp. 665–668.
- ¹¹ Léonard, S. (2010) 'EU border security and migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and securitisation through practices', *European Security*, 19(2), pp. 231–254.
- ¹⁶⁷ Lepoutre, M. (2017) 'Hate Speech in Public Discourse', *Social Theory and Practice*, 43(4), pp. 851–883.
- Lewis, S. (2009) 'ΙΣΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ AND ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ', *The Classical Review*. 59(1), pp. 85–88.
³⁰ Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20482671> (Accessed 13 April 2019).
- ¹²⁷ Linton, E. (2016). 'Refugee Crisis: Hundreds Of Migrants Try To Crash Greek-Macedonian Border'. (online) *International Business Times*, 27 March. Available at: <http://www.ibtimes.com/refugee-crisis-hundreds-migrants-try-crash-greek-macedonian-border-2343927> (Accessed 22 Apr 2021)
- ⁹³ Lumsden, K., Goode, J. and Black, A., (2019) '“I will not be thrown out of the country because I’m an immigrant”: Eastern European migrants’ responses to hate crime in a semi-rural context in the wake of Brexit.', *Sociological Research Online*, 24(2), pp.167–184.
- ¹³ Mai, N. and Schwandner-Sievers, S. (2003) 'Albanian migration and new transnationalisms', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(6), pp. 939–948.
- ³⁶¹ Maley, W. (2016). *What is a refugee?* Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- ⁹² Malkopoulou, A. (2021) 'Greece: A Procedural Defence of Democracy against the Golden Dawn', *European Constitutional Law Review*, 17(2), pp. 177–201.
- ⁸ Mann, S. (2016) *The research interview: reflective practice and reflexivity in research processes*. Macmillan: Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Manning, P. (2015) 'Migration in Human History', in *The Cambridge World History*.

Cambridge University Press, pp. 277–310.

⁸ Marcus, G.E. (1994) 'On Ideologies of Reflexivity in Contemporary Efforts to Remake the Human Sciences', *Poetics Today*, 15(3), p. 383.

¹⁷⁸ Marinai, S. (2016). 'The interception and rescue at sea of asylum seekers in the light of the new EU legal framework.', *Revista de Derecho Comunitario Europeo*, 20(55), pp.901–939.

¹⁷⁴ Markoviti, M. (2018). In-between the Constitution and the European Court of Human Rights: Mobilizations Around Religion and Education in Greece. *Politics and Religion*, 12(S1), pp.S31–S54.

⁸⁵ Maroney, T. (1998) 'The Struggle against Hate Crime: Movement at a Crossroads', *New York University Law Review*, 73(2), pp. 564-620.

³⁹ Maroukis, T. (2013). 'Economic crisis and migrants' employment: a view from Greece in comparative perspective.', *Policy Studies*, 34(2), pp.221–237.

¹ Marshall A.M. (2014) 'Idle Rights' In E. Larson and P. Schmidt (eds), *The Law and Society Reader* IINNYU Press, pp. 243.

²²¹ Marshall, A.M., (2006) 'Communities and culture: Enriching legal consciousness and legal culture', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 31(1), pp.229-249.

⁸³ Martin, M. (2013). *The rise of xenophobia and the migration crisis in Greece. The Council of Europe's wake-up call: 'Europe cannot afford to look away'* | *European Website on Integration*. ⁴ (online) ec.europa.eu. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/rise-xenophobia-and-migration-crisis-greece-council-europes-wake-call-europe_en (Accessed 2 Jul. 2022).

¹ Mason, G. (2013) 'The symbolic purpose of hate crime law: Ideal victims and emotion', *Theoretical Criminology*, 18(1), pp. 75–92.

³¹¹ Matsuda, M. (1993) 'Public response to racist speech: Considering the victim's story', in M. Matsuda, M. et al. (eds) *Words that wound*. Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 17-51.

⁸⁷ Mauthner, N.S. and Doucet, A. (2003) 'Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Data Analysis', *Sociology*, 37(3), pp. 413–431.

- 118
Mayer, A.E. (1987) 'Law and Religion in the Muslim Middle East' *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 35(1)1, pp. 127-184.
- 5
McDevitt, J., Balboni, J., Garcia, L. and Gu, J., (2001) 'Consequences for victims: A comparison of bias-and non-bias-motivated assaults.' *American behavioral scientist*, 45(4), pp.697-713.
- 80
McDowell, L. (2008) 'Old and New European Economic Migrants: Whiteness and Managed Migration Policies', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(1), pp. 19–36..
- 128
McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2009) 'Precarious Work and Economic Migration: Emerging Immigrant Divisions of Labour in Greater London's Service Sector', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(1), pp. 3–25.
- 65
McDowell, M.G. and Wonders, N.A., (2009) 'Keeping migrants in their place: Technologies of control and racialized public space in Arizona', *Social Justice*, 36(2 (116), pp.54-72.
- 4
McIntosh, M. and Morse, J. (2015) 'Situating and Constructing Diversity in Semi-Structured Interviews', *Global Qualitative Nursing Research*, 2, p. 233339361559767. doi: 10.1177/2333393615597674.
- 55
McKay S, Markova E and Paraskevopoulou A (2011) *Undocumented Workers Transitions: Legal Status, Migration, and Work in Europe*. Routledge Advances in Sociology 58. New York: Routledge.
- 8
McSweeney, M. (2019) 'Reflexive Accounts of a Postcolonial Ethnographer: Understanding Insider-Outsider Status', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 36(2), pp. 124–134.
- 156
Meer, N. (2008). The politics of voluntary and involuntary identities: are Muslims in Britain an ethnic, racial or religious minority? *Patterns of Prejudice*, 42(1), pp.61–81.
- 249
Melander, E. and Öberg, M. (2007). The Threat of Violence and Forced Migration: Geographical Scope Trumps Intensity of Fighting. *Civil Wars*, 9(2), pp.156–173.
- 24
Meli, L. (2014). Hate Crime and Punishment: Why Typical Punishment Does Not Fit the Crime. *U. Ill. L. Rev.*, (online) 2014(3), pp.921-966. Available at:
351
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/unilllr2014&collection=journals&id=935&startid=935&endid=980> (Accessed 9 May 2019).

²⁶⁸
Meli, L., (2014) Hate Crime and Punishment: Why Typical Punishment Does Not Fit the Crime. *U. Ill. L. Rev.*, p.²⁴921-966

Mellgren, C., Andersson, M. and Ivert, A.-K. (2017) 'For Whom Does Hate Crime Hurt More? A Comparison of Consequences of Victimization Across Motives and Crime Types', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(3-4), pp. 1–25.

¹⁰⁰
Menéndez, A.J. (2016) 'The Refugee Crisis: Between Human Tragedy and Symptom of the Structural Crisis of European Integration', *European Law Journal*, 22(4), pp. 388–416.

⁵³
Menjívar, C. and Bejarano, C., (2004) 'Latino immigrants' perceptions of crime and police authorities in the United States: A case study from the Phoenix metropolitan area.' *Ethnic and racial studies*, 27(1), pp.120-148.

⁵³
Menjívar, C. and Bejarano, C., (2004) 'Latino immigrants' perceptions of crime and police authorities in the United States: A case study from the Phoenix metropolitan area', *Ethnic and racial studies*, 27(1), pp.120-148.

⁸⁶
Mernissi, F., (1995) 'Arab Women's Rights and the Muslim State in the Twenty-first Century: Reflections on Islam as Religion and State.' *Faith and freedom: Women's human rights in the Muslim world*, pp.33-50.

⁷³
Merry, S.E. (1990). *Getting Justice and Getting Even: Legal Consciousness Among Working-Class Americans*. United States.

⁶⁰
Merry, S.E., (2003) 'Rights talk and the experience of law: implementing women's human rights to protection from violence'. *Human rights quarterly*, pp.343-381.

¹⁹³
Metlev, S. (2016) 'Migration as a Threat to National Security', *Indian Journal of Science and Technology*, 9(14). doi:10.17485/ijst/2016/v9i14/91086.

⁴⁷
Metropolitan Police (2019) *What is hate crime?* Available at: <https://www.met.police.uk/advice/advice-and-information/hco/hate-crime/what-is-hate-crime/> (Accessed: 10 October 2021).

Meyer, D. (2010) 'Evaluating the Severity of Hate-motivated Violence: Intersectional Differences among LGBT Hate Crime Victims', *Sociology*, 44(5), pp. 980–995.

- 70
Mezey, N. (2001) 'Out of the Ordinary: Law, Power, Culture, and the Commonplace', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 26(01), pp. 145-167.
- Michalowski, R. (2019) 'What is crime', *Critical Criminology*, 24(2), pp. 181-199.
- 309
Miller, W. (2012) 'Asymmetric adaptive legal cultures amongst minorities and Euro-migrants', *East European Politics*, 28(4), pp. 409-428.
- 43
Mitchell, J. (2017) 'The Dublin Regulation and Systemic Flaws', *San Diego International Law Journal*, 18(2), pp. 295-324.
- 100
Mitsilegas, V. (2014) 'Solidarity and Trust in the Common European Asylum System', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2(2), pp. 181-202.
- 41
Moore, W.H. and Shellman, S.M. (2004) 'Fear of Persecution', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(5), pp. 723-745.
- 25
Morales, D.I. (2017) "'Illegal" Migration is Speech', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 92(2).
- 241
Morning, A. (2007). 'Everyone Knows It's a Social Construct': Contemporary Science and the Nature of Race. *Sociological Focus*, 40(4), pp.436-454.
- 28
Morris, L. (2012) 'Citizenship and human rights: ideals and actualities', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 63(1), pp. 39-46.
- 73
Mudde, C. (2010) 'The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy', *West European Politics*, 33(6), pp. 1167-1186.
- 21
Mühlhäuser, R. (2017) 'Reframing Sexual Violence as a Weapon and Strategy of War: The Case of the German Wehrmacht during the War and Genocide in the Soviet Union, 1941-1944', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 26(3), pp. 366-401.
- 3
Myers, N. (2002) 'Environmental Refugees: A Growing Phenomenon of the 21st Century', *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences*, 357(1420). doi:10.1098/rstb.2001.0953.
- 204
Myloneros, T. and Sakellariou, D. (2021). 'The effectiveness of primary health care reforms in Greece towards achieving universal health coverage: a scoping review.', *BMC Health Services Research*, 21(1).

- ⁴⁶ Nagesh, A. (2016) 'Bregret: 1.2million Brexit backers regret voting to leave the EU' *Metro*. 2nd July (online). Available at: <http://metro.co.uk/2016/07/02/bregret-1-2million-brexit-backers-regret-voting-to-leave-the-eu-5980332/> (Accessed 9 August 2019).
- ⁹ Naidoo, K. (2017) 'The historical prosecution of hate crimes in the United States of America', *Fundamina*, 23(2), pp. 21-38.
- ¹² Nancheva, N. (2015) 'The Common European Asylum System and the failure to protect: Bulgaria's Syrian refugee crisis', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 15(4), pp. 439–455.
- ²⁷⁰ Nancheva, N. (2015). Bulgaria's Response to Refugee Migration: Institutionalizing the Boundary of Exclusion. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 29(4), pp.549–567.
- ¹⁵ Nelken, D., (2017) Using the concept of legal culture. In *Legal Theory and the Social Sciences* (pp. 279-303). Routledge.
- ⁴ Nelson, J. (2017). *The Bill of Rights (Amendments 1 - 10)*. (online) National Center for Constitutional Studies. Available at: <https://nccs.net/blogs/americas-founding-documents/bill-of-rights-amendments-1-10> (Accessed 19 April 2019).
- ¹⁷⁵ Ng, K. (2020) *Greece-Turkey border is a "closed door", EU tells refugees*, *The Independent*. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/greece-turkey-refugees-syria-eu-border-erdogan-a9384306.html> (Accessed 3 January 2022).
- ²⁷⁶ Nickerson, R. (1998) 'Confirmation Bias: A Ubiquitous Phenomenon in Many Guises', *Review of General Psychology*, 2(2), pp. 175-220.
- ⁶⁷ Nielsen, L. (2000) 'Situating Legal Consciousness: Experiences and Attitudes of Ordinary Citizens about Law and Street Harassment', *Law & Society Review*, 34(4), p. 1055.
- ⁵⁰ Nielsen, L.B. (2002) 'Subtle, Pervasive, Harmful: Racist and Sexist Remarks in Public as Hate Speech', *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(2), pp. 265–280.
- ¹¹ Nimführ, S. and Sesay, B. (2019). 'Lost in limbo? Navigating (im)mobilities and practices of appropriation of non-deportable refugees in the Mediterranean area.', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(26), pp.1–19.

⁵² Nisar, M.A. (2018). (Un)Becoming a Man: Legal Consciousness of the Third Gender Category in Pakistan. *Gender & Society*, 32(1), pp.59–81..

³⁷⁵ OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)(2009) *Annual Report 2009*. Warsaw Poland: OSCE, pp. 1–72. Available at:
¹⁵² <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/0/9/67854.pdf>. (¹²¹ Accessed 28 Jan 2021)

OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (2016) *Countering Hate Crime together: the Racist Violence Recording Network in Greece* /Available at:
¹²³ <https://hatecrime.osce.org/infocus/countering-hate-crime-together-racist-violence-recording-network-greece> (Accessed 7 February 2022).

¹ OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (2019) *Greece*
Available at: <https://hatecrime.osce.org/greece?year=2019> (¹¹⁷ Accessed: 7 May 2019).

OSCE - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (2017). *Greece* / HCRW. (online) hatecrime.osce.org. Available at:
<https://hatecrime.osce.org/greece?year=2017> (Accessed 19 Jul. 2019).

¹⁰⁷ OSCE - Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2022). *Policy Brief: Specialist Support for Hate Crime Victims*. (online) www.osce.org. Available at:
³⁷² <https://www.osce.org/odihr/513127> (Accessed 5 Aug. 2022).

¹⁰⁷ OSCE - Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2028). ²²⁰ *National Compilation Paper – Greece: Developing Interagency Co-operation and Capacity-Building Activities to Address Hate Crimes in Greece*. (online) www.osce.org. Available at:
¹³⁶ <https://www.osce.org/odihr/402248> (Accessed 4 Jul. 2022).

⁵ OSCE - Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, (2019) *Hate Crime Laws - A Practical Guide*. Available at: <https://www.osce.org/> /36426 (³ Accessed 17 March 2019).

¹⁸⁷ Otrachshenko, V. and Popova, O. (2014) ‘Life (dis)satisfaction and the intention to migrate: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe’, *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 48, pp.40–49.

¹² Oxfam Policy & Practice (2017). *Transitioning to a Government-Run Refugee and Migrant Response in Greece: A joint NGO roadmap for more fair and humane policies*. pp.1–16.

Available at: <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/transitioning-to-a-government-run-refugee-and-migrant-response-in-greece-a-join-620397/> (Accessed 6 Apr. 2022).

Ozaltin, D., Shakir, F. and Loizides, N. (2019). Why Do People Flee? Revisiting Forced Migration in Post-Saddam Baghdad. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 21, pp.587–610.

Özaşçılar, M., Narli, N. and Öztürk, O., (2019) ‘Crime reporting behavior among Syrian immigrants in Istanbul’, *Crime & delinquency*, 65(14), pp.1997-2018.

Papageorgiou, A.A., Spinellis, C.D., Theodorakis, N., Billis, E. and Papadimitrakopoulos, G., (2017) ‘Racist Violence in Greece: Mistakes of the Past and Challenges for the Future.’, *Europe in Crisis: Crime, Criminal Justice, and the Way Forward. Essays in Honour of Nestor Courakis*, 2.

Papanikolatos, N. (1998) ‘Hate Speech: (Re)Producing the Opposition Between the National Self and the Others’, in < Lenkova, (ed) *Hate Speech in the Balkans*. Vienna, Austria: The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, pp. 10-28.

Parutis, V. (2011). ‘Economic Migrants’ or ‘Middling Transnationals’? East European Migrants’ Experiences of Work in the UK. *International Migration*, 52(1), pp.36–55.

Paterson, J., Walters, M., Brown, R. and Fearn, H., (2018) Sussex hate crime project. Available at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/psychology/sussexhatecrimeproject/index> (Accessed 22 July 2022)

Penninx, R. and Garces-Mascarenas, B. (2016) ‘The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept’, In: B. Garces-Mascarenas and R. Penninx, (eds), *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors*. London: Springer, pp.11–29.

Perkowski, N. and Squire, V. (2018). ‘The anti-policy of European anti-smuggling as a site of contestation in the Mediterranean migration ‘crisis’.’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(12), pp.2167–2184.

Perry, B. (2001) *In the name of hate*. New York: Routledge.

Perry, B. (2003) ‘Accounting for hate crime’, in B. Perry, *Hate and Bias Crimes: A reader*. New York: Routledge.

³³⁹ Perry, B. and Alvi, S. (2012) “‘We are all vulnerable’”, *International Review of Victimology*, 18(1), pp. 57–71.

¹²⁵ Perry, Barbara, and Kanika Samuels-Wortley. “‘We’re Not Where We Should Be’: Enhancing Law Enforcement Responses to Hate Crime.” *Canadian Journal of Criminology & Criminal Justice*, vol. 63, no. 2, 1 Jan. 2021, pp. 68–98.

²⁴ Perry, J. (2014) ‘Evidencing the case for ‘hate crime’’, in Chakraborti, N. and Garland, J. *Responding to hate crime*. Bristol: Policy Press University of Bristol.

³⁷ Perry, J. (2016). A Shared Global Perspective on Hate Crime? *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 27(6), pp.610–626.

⁷ Petrosino, C. (2003) ‘Connecting the past to the future’, in B. Perry, *Hate and Bias Crimes: A reader*. New York: Routledge.

²⁴ Pezzella, F.S., Fetzer, M.D. and Keller, T. (2019) ‘The Dark Figure of Hate Crime Underreporting’, *American Behavioral Scientist*, pp.1-24

¹³ Pillow, W. (2003) ‘Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research’, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(2), pp. 175–196.

²⁶⁷ Pontiki, M., Papanikolaou, K. and Papageorgiou, H. (2018) ‘Exploring the Predominant Targets of Xenophobia-motivated Behavior: A Longitudinal Study for Greece’, in *Natural Language Processing meets Journalism III*. Miyazaki, Japan, pp. 11–15.

¹ Post, R. (2009) ‘Hate Crime’, in I. Hare, I. and J. Weinstein, (eds) *Extreme Speech and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²³ Pound, R. (1910) ‘Law in books and law in action’ *American Law Review*, 44(1), pp. 12-36.

³⁵⁰ Prakoso, S.G. *et al.* (2021) ‘The Application of Innovative Technology on Internal Border Control in Schengen Area’, *JPPUMA Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Sosial Politik Universitas Medan Area*, 9(2), pp. 174–184..

¹⁸ Rankin, J. *et al.* (2020) ‘Refugees told “Europe is closed” as tensions rise at Greece-Turkey border’, *The Guardian*, 6 March. Available at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/06/refugees-europe-closed-tensions-greece-turkey-border> (Accessed 3 January 2022).

⁷⁷ Ransan-Cooper, H., Farbotko, C., McNamara, K.E., Thornton, F. and Chevalier, E. (2015) 'Being(s) framed: The means and ends of framing environmental migrants', *Global Environmental Change*, 35(35), pp.106–115.

Ray, L. (2018) *Violence & society*. Los Angeles, USA: Sage.

Regano, E. (2019). *The Development of the Megali Idea through the History of Greece*. (online) pp.1–14. Available at: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcgclefindmkaj/https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/60055694/Megali_Idea_Regano20190719-37838-4ti24n-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1659230546&Signature=cTtioBqfsYC0XIHjHnIp3rxmZ-RRWixuRoUQQXe4a8IQJqIUxR6k71~vLYk3779hIw9jN3QXgOkNXoKUkRFDO8v9nF9bZ8i0H7yyaXPfYphkd4kzDCLEjOcLRgyPEMMsItxk7kGN6d-TQ5rzwiU-vRBEX4ACc5VnSBCJh25K21Rm4WxVZZNfISJx0b4uA8-58E74S-Cs-UxFdD0zoLtT2XWhphhkJqLuZnTkaYl4Uo0zysMnav6U7FHqd2UiPpwg-K75hsfmFvagzjBgF761Fe90R6Vlk95QGpt-alRUTUYv8~hzjpUvh~WKnXSPuhjiWPduLEEmuskJ5xcwSPDkJQ__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA (Accessed 2 Oct. 2021).

⁸⁷ Rettberg, J.W. and Gajjala, R. (2015) 'Terrorists or cowards: negative portrayals of male Syrian refugees in social media', *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(1), pp. 178–181..

³⁸⁹ Reuters (2020) 'EU foreign policy chief tells Turkey border developments unacceptable' Reuters, 4 March. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/news/picture/eu-foreign-policy-chief-tells-turkey-bor-idUSKBN20R20W> (Accessed 3 January 2022).

⁵⁸ Richardson, L., Beadle-Brown, J., Bradshaw, J., Guest, C., Malovic, A. and Himmerich, J. (2016). 'I felt that I deserved it' – experiences and implications of disability hate crime. *Tizard Learning Disability Review*, 21(2), pp.80–88.

³⁴ Rigakos, G.S. and Papanicolaou, G. (2003) 'The Political Economy of Greek Policing: Between Neo-Liberalism and the Sovereign State', *Policing and Society*, 13(3), pp. 271–304.

²¹ Rizova, T.P. (2019) 'The Securitization of the European Migrant Crisis - Evidence from

Bulgaria and Hungary (2015-2017)', *Review of European Studies*, 11(4), p. 78.

Roth, T. and Weißmann, M. (2022). 'The Role of Parents' Native and Migrant Contacts on the Labour Market in the School-to-Work Transition of Adolescents in Germany.', *European Sociological Review*.

Rowell, A. (2019). 'Law, Belief, and Aspiration.', *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
doi:10.2139/ssrn.2903049.

Roxell, L. (2011) 'Hate, Threats, and Violence. A Register Study of Persons Suspected of Hate Crime', *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, 12(2), pp. 198-215.

Rozakou, K. (2021) 'The Violence of Accelerated Time: Waiting and Hasting during "The Long Summer of Migration" in Greece', in C. Jacobsen M.A Karlsen, and S. Khosravi, (eds) *Waiting and the Temporalities of Irregular Migration* Binghamton, Oxon: Routledge.

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2016). *Annual Report 2015*. (online)
RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/annual-report-2015/> (Accessed 12 May 2019).

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2017). *Annual Report 2016*. (online)
RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/annual-report-2016/> (Accessed 10 May 2019).

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2018). *RVRN Annual Report 2017*. (online)
RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/rvrn-annual-report-2017/> (Accessed 11 May 2019).

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2019). *RVRN Annual Report 2018*. (online)
RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/rvrn-annual-report-2018/> (Accessed 11 May 2019).

RVRN - Racist Violence Recording Network (2020). *Annual Report 2019*. (online)
RVRN.org. Available at: <https://rvrn.org/en/annual-report-2019/> (Accessed 15 Aug. 2020).

Ryo, E., (2017) Legal Attitudes of Immigrant Detainees. *Law & Society Review*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 99-131.

330
Sachedina, A. (2010) 'The Nature of Islamic Juridical-Ethical Discourse', in: *Islam and the Challenge of Human Rights*. (online) Oxford Scholarship Online. Available at: [10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195388428.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195388428.001.0001) (Accessed DATE).

39
Sakellariou, A. (2017) 'Fear of Islam in Greece: migration, terrorism, and "ghosts" from the past', *Nationalities Papers*, 45(4), pp. 511–523.

287
Saleh, A. (2010) 'Broadening the Concept of Security: Identity and Societal Security', *Geopolitics Quarterly*, 6(4), pp. 228–241.

10
Samatas, M. (2003) 'Greece in "Schengenland": Blessing or anathema for citizens' and foreigners' rights?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(1), pp. 141–156.

11
Sarat, A. (1977). Studying American Legal Culture: An Assessment of Survey Evidence. *Law & Society Review*, 11(3), p.427.

Sarat, A. (1990) '"The Law Is All Over": Power, Resistance and the Legal Consciousness of the Welfare Poor', *Yale Journal of law and the humanities*, 2(2), pp. 343–379. 130

Sarat, A. and Kearns, T. (1993). Beyond the Great Divide: Forms of Legal Scholarship in Everyday Life. In: A. Sarat and T. Kearns, eds., *Law in Everyday Life*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, pp.21–62.

41
Schmeidl, S. (1997) Exploring the Causes of Forced Migration: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1971-1990. *Social Science Quarterly*,

98
Schneider, J. and Crul, M. (2010) 'New insights into assimilation and integration theory: Introduction to the special issue', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(7), pp. 1143–1148.

59
Schneider, S.L. (2007). Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Europe: Outgroup Size and Perceived Ethnic Threat. *European Sociological Review*, 24(1), pp.53–67. doi:10.1093/esr/jcm034.

8
Schwenken H and Heimeshoff L-M (2013) Three Different Things - Having, Knowing, and Claiming Rights: Undocumented Migrant Domestic Workers in Germany. In A Triandafyllidou (ed) *Irregular Migrant Domestic Workers in Europe: Who Cares?*.

19
Schwenken, H. (2013) '"The EU Should Talk to Germany" Transnational Legal Consciousness as a Rights Claiming Tool among Undocumented Migrants', *International*

Migration, 51(6), pp. 132-145.

¹
Schweppe, J., Schweppe, J. and Walters, M. (2016) *The globalization of hate*. Oxford:
²
Oxford University press.

Shaw, R. (2010) 'Embedding Reflexivity Within Experiential Qualitative Psychology',
Qualitative Research in Psychology, 7(3), pp. 233–243.

¹⁸³
Shepherd, A.J.K. (2021) 'EU counterterrorism, collective securitization, and the internal-
external security nexus', *Global Affairs*, 7(5), pp. 1–17.

²⁴⁷
Sherman-Heyl, B. (2001) 'Ethnographic Interviewing', in Atkinson, P. et al. *Handbook of
Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 369-383.

¹⁶
Shteynberg, G. (2010). 'A silent emergence of culture: The social tuning effect.', *Journal of
Personality and Social Psychology*, 99(4), pp.683–689.

⁹⁷
Sigvardsdotter, E. (2012). Presenting absent bodies: undocumented persons coping and
resisting in Sweden. *cultural geographies*, 20(4), pp.523–539.

²⁸⁵
Silbey, S. (1992) 'Making a Place for Cultural Analyses of Law: (Commentary)', *Law &
Social Inquiry*, 17(1), pp. 39-48.

¹⁸²
Silbey, S.S., (2018) 'Legal culture and cultures of legality' in *Routledge Handbook of
Cultural Sociology*. Routledge, pp. 426-435

³¹⁸
Simopoulos, G. and Alexandridis, A., (2019) Refugee education in Greece: integration or
segregation?. *Forced Migration Review*, (60), pp.27-29.

¹⁶⁷
Simpson, R. (2012) 'Dignity, Harm, and Hate Speech', *Law and Philosophy*, 32(6), pp. 701-
728.

⁵²
Singer, S. (2019). '“Desert Island” Detention: Detainees’ Understandings of ‘Law’ in the
UK’s Immigration Detention System.', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 38(1), pp.1–29.

¹⁷⁶
Skogan, W.G., (1984) 'Reporting crimes to the police: The status of world research', *Journal
of research in crime and delinquency*, 21(2), pp.113-137.

⁵¹
Smedley, A. and Smedley, B. (2005) 'Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is

real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race', *American Psychologist*, 60(1), pp.16-26.

Smith, R. (2014) . *Textbook on international human rights*. 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Stephen (1995) 'There's Such a Thing as Free Speech: And it's a Good Thing Too', in Rita Kirk Whillock and David Slayden (eds.), *Hate Speech*, pp. 226–66. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Soulier, G. (1992) 'Terrorism', on: M. Delmas-Marty and C. Chodkiewicz, (ed.), *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights: International Protection Versus National Restrictions*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp.15-30.

Sousa, F. (2010) 'Metatheories In Research: Positivism, Postmodernism, And Critical Realism', in A. Woodside, A. (ed) *Organizational Culture, Business-to-Business Relationships, and Interfirm Networks*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 455-504.

Stambøl, E.M. (2019). 'The Rise of Crimefare Europe: Fighting Migrant Smuggling in West Africa.', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 24(Issue 3), pp.287–307.

Stets, J.E. and Burke, P.J. (2000). 'Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory.', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(3), pp.224–237.

Stets, J.E. and Serpe, R.T., (2013) 'Social identity' *Handbook of Social Psychology*, pp.31-60.

Stivas, D. (2021) 'Securitisation of Migration at the EU level after Paris' Attacks: The Response of the European Public', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies*, 11(1). doi:10.30722/anzjes.vol11.iss1.15208.

Stritzel, H. (2014) *Security in translation: securitization theory and the localization of threat*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stryker, S. and Burke, P.J. (2000). 'The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory.', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(4), p.284.

- 17
Stuesse, A. and Coleman, M. (2014) 'Automobility, Immobility, Altermobility: Surviving and Resisting the Intensification of Immigrant Policing', *City & Society*, 26(1), pp.51–72.
- 144
Sun, I. and Wu, Y. (2009). 'Contact with police: a comparison between Chinese and American college students.', *Asian Pacific Journal of Police and Criminal Justice*, 8, pp.29–48.
- 13
Sunshine, J. and Tyler, T.R. (2003). 'The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing.', *Law Society Review*, 37(3), pp.513–548.
- 15
Syed, I.U.B. (2013) 'Forced Assimilation is an unhealthy policy intervention: the case of the hijab ban in France and Quebec, Canada', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 17(3), pp.428–440.
- 8
Tamboukou, M. (2013) 'A Foucauldian Approach to Narratives', in M. Andrews, C. Squire, and M. Tamboukou, (eds), *Doing Narrative Research*. 55 City Road: SAGE Publications, Ltd, pp. 88-107.
- 304
Tamboukou, M. (2015) *Discourse and Narrative Methods: Theoretical Departures, Analytical Strategies and Situated Writings*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 63-78.
- 264
Tarling, R. and Morris, K. (2010) 'Reporting Crime to the Police', *British Journal of Criminology*, 50(3), pp. 474–490.
- 47
Taylor, R. (1997). The changing meaning of race in the social sciences: Implications for social work practice. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 67(3), pp.277-298.
- 161
Templeton, A. (2013) 'Biological races in humans', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 44(3), pp.262-271.
- 159
ten Have, P. (2013) *Doing Conversation Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd,
- 1
Thornicroft, R. and Asquith, N. (2015). The Dark Figure of Disablist Violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 54(5), pp.489–507.
- 145
Thorpe, H. (2015) 'The Ethnographic (I)nterview in the Sports Field: Towards a Postmodern Sensibility', in K. Young, and M. Atkinson, (eds), *Qualitative Research on Sport and*

Physical Culture. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 51-79.

²¹⁷ Timotijevic, L. and Breakwell, G.M. (2000) 'Migration and threat to identity', *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 10(5), pp. 355–372.

²⁹⁶ Titzmann, P.F. and Lee, R.M., (2022) New temporal concepts of acculturation in immigrant youth. *Child Development Perspectives*.

³¹ Triandafyllidou, A. (2009) 'Greek Immigration Policy at the Turn of the 21st Century. Lack of Political Will or Purposeful Mismanagement?', *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 11(2), pp. 159–177.

¹⁶⁸ Triantafyllidou, A. and Ambrosini, M. (2011) 'Irregular Immigration Control in Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and Weak Gate-Keeping Serving the Labour Market.', *European Journal of Immigration and Law*, 13 pp.251–273.

¹⁰⁸ Tsitselikis, K. and Christopoulos, D. (2008) 'From the multicultural "great dream of Hellenism" of the beginning of the 20th century to the "multicultural reality" of the beginning of the 21st century', in Christopoulos, D. (eds.), *The Unspoken issue of minorities in the Greek legal order*, (in Greek), Kritiki, Athens, pp. 33-67

²⁴² Tsoutsoumpis, S. (2019) 'Paramilitarism, politics and organized crime during the Greek civil war (1945–1949)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 43(02), pp. 262–286.

⁴²⁹ Tungohan, E. (2017) 'Temporary Foreign Workers in Canada', *Social & Legal Studies*, 27(2), pp. 236-252.

Tzanetti, T. (2008) 'Organisation of Asylum and Migration Policies in Greece', www.academia.edu (Preprint). Available at: https://www.academia.edu/670136/Organisation_of_Asylum_and_Migration_Policies_in_Greece (Accessed 8 February 2019).

³⁰¹ Tzanetti, T., Konstantopoulos, V., Christodoulou, V. and Peppas, E. (2008). *Organisation of Asylum and Migration Policies in Greece*. Center for Security Studies, pp.1–52.

⁷⁵ Udahehuka, M. and Pernice, R. (2010). Does Motivation to Migrate Matter? Voluntary and Forced African Migrants and Their Acculturation Preferences in New Zealand. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 4(1), pp.44–52.

⁴⁷⁸ UNHCR - The United Nations Refugee Agency (2022c). *Trafficking in persons*. (online) ⁴⁴ UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/human-trafficking.html> (Accessed 26 Jul. 2022).

⁷⁴ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1969) *OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Its Sixth Ordinary Session, Addis-Ababa, 10 September 1969*, Organization of African Unity. ⁷⁴ Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/45dc1a682/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-africa-adopted.html> ²⁶¹ (Accessed 1 February 2022).

¹⁰⁷ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2000). *Interception Of Asylum-seekers And Refugees: The International Framework And Recommendations For A Comprehensive Approach*. (online) pp.1–6. Available at: ³²⁷ <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/excom/standcom/3ae68d144/interception-asylum-seekers-refugees-international-framework-recommendations.html>. ¹¹³ (Accessed 5 Feb 2022)

⁴ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2011) *The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol*, Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/4ec262df9/1951-convention-relating-status-refugees-its-1967-protocol.html> (Accessed 17 August 2020).

²¹¹ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2015) *Situation Mediterranean Situation*, Available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5179> ²⁶¹ (Accessed 7 February 2022).

¹⁶⁹ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2016). *UNHCR viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'migrant' – Which is right?* (online) Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html> (Accessed 15 Mar 2019).

³³ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2017). *What is a refugee?* (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/what-is-a-refugee.html> (Accessed 22 Jul. 2022).

¹¹ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2018) *Figures at a Glance*,

Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/figures-at-a-glance.html> (Accessed 12 Feb 2022).

⁴⁰
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2019) *Situation Mediterranean*
¹⁰⁶
Situation, Available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean> (Accessed 9 January 2022).

⁴³²
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2019a) *Refugee Crisis in*
⁶¹
Europe: Aid, Statistics and News Available at:
¹⁸⁵
<https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/refugee-crisis-in-europe/> (Accessed 12 Feb 2022)

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2021). *UNHCR Master*
⁶⁴
Glossary. (online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/glossary/#a> (Accessed 29 Jan. 2022).

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022) *Asylum and Migration*,
Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/asylum-and-migration.html?query=asylum> (Accessed 5 February 2022).

³⁵
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022a). *OAU Convention*
Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, adopted by the Assembly of
Heads of State and Government at its Sixth Ordinary Session, Addis-Ababa, 10 September
1969. (online) UNHCR. Available at: [https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-](https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/45dc1a682/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-africa-adopted.html)
[us/background/45dc1a682/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-](https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/45dc1a682/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-africa-adopted.html)
[africa-adopted.html](https://www.unhcr.org/uk/about-us/background/45dc1a682/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-africa-adopted.html) (Accessed 31 Jan. 2022).

⁶⁴
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022a). *Asylum and Migration*.
(online) UNHCR. Available at: [https://www.unhcr.org/uk/asylum-and-](https://www.unhcr.org/uk/asylum-and-migration.html?query=asylum)
[migration.html?query=asylum](https://www.unhcr.org/uk/asylum-and-migration.html?query=asylum).

¹⁵¹
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022b). *UK for UNHCR*
²⁰⁰
Launches 'The Refugee Dictionary' Campaign Marking the 70th Anniversary of the UN
Refugee Convention Because Words Are Important. (online) United Kingdom for UNHCR.
⁶
Available at: [https://www.unrefugees.org.uk/media-centre/uk-for-unhcr-refugee-](https://www.unrefugees.org.uk/media-centre/uk-for-unhcr-refugee-dictionary/#:~:text=Article%201%20of%20the%20Convention)
[dictionary/#:~:text=Article%201%20of%20the%20Convention](https://www.unrefugees.org.uk/media-centre/uk-for-unhcr-refugee-dictionary/#:~:text=Article%201%20of%20the%20Convention) (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).

⁹⁸
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2022d). *Ending Statelessness*.
(online) UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/ending->

statelessness.html#:~:text=The%20international%20legal%20definition%20of (Accessed 22 Jul. 2022).

²¹⁶ UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2006) *UNHCR Master Glossary of Terms*, Rev.1, available at:
<https://www.refworld.org/docid/42ce7d444.html> (accessed 17 August 2020)

³⁴⁵ UNHCR - United Nations Office of the High Commissioner ⁴⁰ (2019) *Convention relating to the Status of Refugees 1951*, ⁴⁵ Available at:
<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/StatusOfRefugees.aspx> (Accessed DATE).

United Nations (1976) 'MULTILATERAL International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights', Vol. 999, pp. 171–346. Available at:
<https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20999/volume-999-i-14668-english.pdf> (Accessed 12 July 2019)

¹⁷¹ United Nations (2016) *Europe and the Refugee Crisis: A Challenge to Our Civilization*, *United Nations*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/europe-and-refugee-crisis-challenge-our-civilization> (Accessed 15 Mar 2019)

⁶³ United Nations (2019) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Available at:
<https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (Accessed 13 April 2019).

²⁸¹ United Nations (2022). *OHCHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights - English*. (online) OHCHR. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/human-rights/universal-declaration/translations/english> (Accessed 9 Jun. 2022).

⁴¹¹ UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2022a). *Human Trafficking*. (online) ²⁵⁹ United Nations : Office on Drugs and Crime. Available at:
³⁰⁸ <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/crime.html> (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).

¹⁹⁷ UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2022b). *Migrant Smuggling*. (online) United Nations : Office on Drugs and Crime. Available at:
<https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/migrant-smuggling/crime.html> (Accessed 25 Jul. 2022).

UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2011). Issue paper: Smuggling of Migrants by Sea. pp.1–71.

ValtousX (2019). *The Black Map of Racist Violence*. (online) Βάλ' τους X | X them out. Available at: <https://valtousx.gr/en/> (Accessed 1 Aug. 2022).

Vathi, Z. (2015). *Migrating and Settling in a Mobile World : Albanian Migrants and Their Children in Europe*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Vergani, M. and Navarro, C. (2020). 'Barriers to Reporting Hate Crime and Hate Incidents in Victoria.', *Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies*. (online) Available at: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcgclefindmkaj/<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5d48cb4d61091100011eded9/t/6179e4c12b11cd773f32fffe/1635378374634/Barriers+to+Reporting+Hate+Crimes.pdf> (Accessed 11 Apr. 2022).

Vergani, M. and Navarro, C., (2020) Barriers to Reporting Hate Crime and Hate Incidents in Victoria.

Verousi, C., Boursinou, M.N. and Kostopoulos, C. (2022). 'The Sun Sets on Golden Dawn: Media Representations of the Biggest Trial of Nazi Criminality of Our Times.', *For(e)Dialogue*, (online) 4(1).

Vijapur, A. (2018). The Magna Carta of Mankind: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights at 70. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 52(3-4). doi:10.2139/ssrn.3404884.

Voorhoof, D. and Cannie, H. (2010) 'Freedom of Expression and Information in a Democratic Society', *International Communication Gazette*, 72(4-5), pp. 407–423.

Waclawczyk, W. (2006) 'Freedom of Speech in Europe and in the United States of America. A Few Remarks on the History of the Idea and Its New Challenges.', *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, 35, pp.7–15.

Wald, K.D., Silverman, A.L. and Fridy, K.S. (2005) 'Making Sense Of Religion In Political Life', *Annual Review of Political Science*, (online) 8(1), pp.121–143. doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.083104.163853.

⁴⁹ Waldron, J. (2010) 'Dignity And Defamation: The Visibility Of Hate', *Harvard Law Review*, 123(7), pp. 1596–1657. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40648494> (Accessed 10 August 2021).

²⁹⁵ Wassenberg, B. (2020) 'The Schengen Crisis and the End of the "Myth" of Europe Without Borders', *Borders in Globalization Review*, 1(2), pp. 30–39. doi:10.18357/bigr12202019599.

¹⁸⁸ Wauters, B. and Lambrecht, J. (2008) 'Barriers to Refugee Entrepreneurship in Belgium: Towards an Explanatory Model.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(6), pp.895–915.

¹⁶ Weiss-Wendt, A. (2018) *A Rhetorical Crime: Genocide in the Geopolitical Discourse of the Cold War*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

¹⁰⁹ Whine, M. (2019) 'Hate crime in Europe', in N. Hall, et al. *The Routledge International Handbook on Hate Crime*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge.

¹¹² Whitehead, T. (2005) 'Basic Classical Ethnographic Research Methods: Secondary data analysis, fieldwork, observation/participant observation and informal and semi-structured interviewing, ethnographically informed community and cultural assessment research systems (EICCARS) Working Paper Series', CEHC Cultural Ecology of Health and Change. Available at: <http://www.cusag.umd.edu/documents/workingpapers/classicalethnomethods.pdf> (Accessed 4 June 2019).

¹⁸ Wickes, R.L., Pickering, S., Mason, G., Maher, J.M. and McCulloch, J. (2015) 'From Hate to Prejudice: Does the New Terminology of Prejudice Motivated Crime Change Perceptions and Reporting Actions?', *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(2), pp.239–255.

¹⁴ Williams, M.L. and Tregidga, J., (2013) All Wales hate crime research project.

²⁶ Wincup, E. and Noaks, L. (2004) *Criminological research: understanding qualitative methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.

¹³ Wipperman, W. (2019) 'The Definitive Solution to the Gypsy Question: The Pan-European Genocide of the European Roma', in A.J. Kay and D. Stahel (eds), *Mass Violence in Nazi-Occupied Europe*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

- ⁵ Wolfe, L. and Copeland, L. (1994) Violence against Women as Bias-Motivated Hate Crime: Defining the Issues in the USA. In: *Women and Violence*. London: Zed Books.
- ²²⁹ Wong, K. and Christmann, K. (2008) 'The role of victim decisionmaking in reporting of hate crimes.', *Safer Communities*, 7(2), pp.19–35.
- ²⁷⁸ Wright, Z. (2016) 'Hate Crimes: Clarification from Emotion Theory and Psychological Research', *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law*, 15. doi: 10.5070/n4151032026.
- ¹⁷⁰ www.consilium.europa.eu. (n.d.). *35 years since the signing of the Schengen Agreement*. (online) Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/library/library-blog/posts/35-years-since-the-signing-of-the-schengen-agreement/>.
- ⁷² Xenakis, S. (2012). A New Dawn? Change and Continuity in Political Violence in Greece. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24(3), pp.437–464.
- ¹⁷² Xenakis, S. and Cheliotis, L.K. (2013) 'Crime and Economic Downturn: The Complexity of Crime and Crime Politics in Greece since 2009', *British Journal of Criminology*, 53(5). doi:10.1093/bjc/azt034.
- ⁹⁷ Yilmaz, I. (2002) 'The challenge of post-modern legality and Muslim legal pluralism in England.', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(2), pp.343–354.
- ⁷³ Young, K.M. (2014) 'Everyone Knows the Game: Legal Consciousness in the Hawaiian Cockfight.', *Law & Society Review*, 48(3), pp.499–530.
- ⁷⁶ Yun, I. and Mueller, D. (2011) 'A study of the determinants of reporting crime to the police among Chinese immigrants', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 35(1), pp. 53–71.
- ⁶⁶ Zatz, M.S. and Smith, H. (2012) 'Immigration, Crime, and Victimization: Rhetoric and Reality' *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 8(1), pp.141–159.
- ³¹⁴ Zaykowski, H. (2010) 'Racial Disparities in Hate Crime Reporting', *Violence and Victims*, 25(3), pp. 378–394.

39

Zehra, K. and Usmani, S. (2021). Not without family: refugee family entrepreneurship and economic integration process. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, ahead-of-print(ahead-of-print). doi:10.1108/jec-03-2020-0044.

23

Zetter, R. (2007) 'More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(2), pp.172–192.

240

Zoppi, M. and Puleri, M. (2021) 'The Balkan Route (and Its Afterlife): The New Normal in the European Politics of Migration', *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, pp. 1–18.

Appendix A

Interview schedule

Before starting the interview, I would like to thank you for your participation in this research. In this interview I would like to ask you some question regarding hate crime. I would like to know your views on hate crime and the hate crime law in Greece.

Section A – Background information

1. What is your age?
2. What is your nationality?
3. What is the reason you migrated?
4. How long have you been in Greece for?
5. How long do you expect to be in Greece for?
6. Are you travelling alone?
7. Do you have children?
 - 7.1. If so, are they travelling with you?
 - 7.2. Did they have an impact on why and where you travelled?
 - 7.2.1. If yes, in what way?

Section B – Hate crime and law

8. What do you understand from the term ‘hate crime’?
9. Do you know if there is a law regarding hate crime in Greece?
10. Do you know if you have any rights regarding hate crime in Greece?
11. Elsewhere?
12. What do you know about the Greek laws?
 - 12.1 What do you know about the police in Greece?
 - 12.2 What do you know about the Greek courts?
 - 12.3 What do you know about any service providers regarding hate crime?

13. Should law be always followed?

13.2.1 if yes, why?

13.2. 2 if no, why not?

Section C – Reactions to hate crime

222

14. Have you ever been a victim of hate crime?

14.1. If so, could you describe the incident?

15. Why do you think you were attacked?

16. Did you report the incident?

16.1. If yes, why?

16.2. If yes, who did you contact/ share it with?

16.3. If no, why not?

16.4. If no, what would you do if you were ever a victim of hate crime here?

16.5. Would you report it?

16.5.1. If yes, why?

16.5.2. If yes, to whom?

16.5.2.1. Why?

16.5.3. If no, why not?

17. Would you trust the law to resolve a legal issue related to hate crime?

17.1. If so, why?

17.2. If no, why not?

Section D- Hate crime in the country of origin

18. Are there any hate crime laws in your country that you are aware of?

19.1 If no, should there be any?

19.2 What do they cover?

222

19. Have you ever been a victim of hate crime in your country?

19.1. If so, what did you do?

19.2. If no, what would you have done if you were a hate crime victim in your country?

20. Do you know any differences ⁶²³ between the Greek legal system and the legal system in your country?

Section E – Migrant culture

21. What do you understand with the term culture?

22. ⁶ What did you know about the Greek culture prior to your migration?

23. Do you believe there are cultural differences between Greece and your country of origin?

22.1 If so, what are those differences?

23. Does your culture influence your way of life here?

24.1 If so, in what way?

24. Does the Greek way of life influence your way of life here?

25. Do you believe religion plays an important role in your daily life?

26.1 Does it influence your decision-making?

26.2 If so, in what way?

27. Do you find any difficulties in your daily life here due to your culture, religion or way of life?

¹⁵² This is the end of the interview and I would like to thank for your time and your participation. Do you have any questions regarding this interview/ research?

Appendix B



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Understanding migrants' reactions to hate crime in Greece

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Violeta Kapageorgiadou.

Background

This research will explore how migrants (documented and undocumented migrants, refugees and asylum seekers) react to hate crime in Greece. Recent official statistical data provided by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Racist Violence Recording Network (RNRV) show an increase of hate crimes in Greece the last couple of years. The majority of these crimes were based on colour, religion and ethnicity and they were committed towards migrants and refugees. The official report shows that refugees show some tolerance towards verbal racist attacks and they do not seem to report them if they are not accompanied by physical attacks. This research will try to explore the legal consciousness of migrants –how they understand and react to hate crime in Greece- in order to understand whether they avoid reporting hate crimes and the reasons behind their decisions.

What will you be required to do?

Participants will be required to answer some questions made by the researcher during the interviews. Participants may also be observed in their interactions with the host services in the county of destination.

To participate in this research you must:

- Be over the age of 18
- Be a migrant (refugee or asylum seeker).
- Have provided written consent

Procedure

You will be asked to participate in a one to one interview or be part of an observation in which you will be observed by and interact with the researcher. You will be provided with consent forms and information sheets prior to the interviews and observations, in order to be informed about the project and your participation. During the interviews and interactions you will be asked questions regarding hate crime and the hate crime law in Greece. You are

asked to answer the questions as clearly as possible and with honesty. You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time during your participation, without giving a reason. You can do so by contacting the researcher via the contacts provided below. The last date you would be able to withdraw is 30 January 2020.

Feedback

If you would like feedback on the research or your participation in it, please contact the researcher, using the contact below.

Confidentiality

All data and personal information will be stored securely in private password protected computers and within CCCU premises, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the University's own data-protection requirements. Personal data can only be accessed by the researcher, Violeta

Kapageorgiadou. All data will be made anonymous for the purposes of analysis

(I.e. all personal information associated with the data will be removed). All data will be destroyed five years after completion of the study.

Dissemination of results

The results of this research will inform a PhD Thesis, and possibly other academic dissemination formats, such as conference papers and journal articles.

Deciding whether to participate

If you have any questions or concerns about the nature, procedures or requirements for participation do not hesitate to contact me. Should you decide to participate, you will be free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

Any questions?

Please contact Violeta Kapageorgiadou at email: vk53@canterbury.ac.uk

Φυλλάδιο ενημέρωσης

Understanding migrants' reactions to hate crime in Greece

Κατανόηση των αντιδράσεων των μεταναστών στο έγκλημα μίσους στην Ελλάδα

Διεξάγεται μια ερευνητική μελέτη στο πανεπιστήμιο Canterbury Christ Church (CCCU) από την Βιολέτα Καπαγεωργιάδου.

Υπόβαθρο

Τα πρόσφατα επίσημα στατιστικά στοιχεία που υπέβαλε ¹²⁴ ο Οργανισμός για την Ασφάλεια και τη Συνεργασία στην Ευρώπη (ΟΑΣΕ) και το Δίκτυο Καταγραφής Ρατσιστικής Βίας (RNRV) δείχνουν αύξηση των εγκλημάτων μίσους στην Ελλάδα τα τελευταία δύο χρόνια. Τα περισσότερα από αυτά τα εγκλήματα βασίστηκαν στο χρώμα, τη θρησκεία και την εθνικότητα και αφορούσαν μετανάστες και πρόσφυγες. Η επίσημη έκθεση δείχνει ότι οι πρόσφυγες παρουσιάζουν κάποια ανοχή έναντι των λεκτικών ρατσιστικών επιθέσεων και δεν φαίνεται να τις αναφέρουν εάν δεν συνοδεύονται από σωματικές επιθέσεις. Η έρευνα αυτή θα προσπαθήσει να διερευνήσει πώς οι μετανάστες κατανοούν και αντιδρούν σε εγκλήματα μίσους στην Ελλάδα, προκειμένου να καταλάβουν εάν αποφεύγουν να αναφέρουν τα εγκλήματα μίσους και τους λόγους πίσω από τις αποφάσεις τους.

Τι θα πρέπει να κάνετε:

Οι συμμετέχοντες θα πρέπει να απαντήσουν σε κάποιες ερωτήσεις του ερευνητή κατά τη διάρκεια των συνεντεύξεων. Οι συμμετέχοντες μπορούν επίσης να παρατηρηθούν στις αλληλεπιδράσεις τους με τις υπηρεσίες υποδοχής στη χώρα προορισμού.

Για να συμμετάσχετε σε αυτή την έρευνα πρέπει:

- ⁵⁹⁶ Να είστε άνω των 18 ετών.
- Να είστε μετανάστης, πρόσφυγας ή αιτών άσυλο.
- Να έχετε δώσει γραπτή συγκατάθεση.

Διαδικασία

³⁰ Θα σας ζητηθεί να συμμετάσχετε σε μια συνέντευξη ενός προς ένα ή / και να είστε μέρος μιας παρατήρησης. Θα λάβετε έντυπα συγκατάθεσης και ενημερωτικά δελτία πριν από τις συνεντεύξεις και τις παρατηρήσεις, προκειμένου να ενημερωθείτε για το έργο και τη συμμετοχή σας. Κατά τη διάρκεια των συνεντεύξεων και των αλληλεπιδράσεων, θα σας ζητηθούν ερωτήσεις σχετικά με το έγκλημα μίσους και τον νόμο για την εγκληματικότητα μίσους στην Ελλάδα. Σας ζητείται να απαντήσετε στις ερωτήσεις όσο το δυνατόν σαφέστερα και με ειλικρίνεια.

Σε περίπτωση που μια εγκληματική πράξη που θέτει σε κίνδυνο τη ζωή σας ³⁶⁶ αποκαλύπτεται κατά τη διάρκεια της συμμετοχής σας στην έρευνα αυτή, ο ερευνητής θα το αναφέρει στις αρχές.

Ο σκοπός αυτής της έρευνας είναι ακαδημαϊκός και δεν υπάρχει κανένα οικονομικό όφελος και κανένα προσωπικό πλεονέκτημα στο αποτέλεσμα της έρευνας.

Έχετε το δικαίωμα να αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα ³⁶⁶ οποιαδήποτε στιγμή κατά τη διάρκεια της συμμετοχής σας, χωρίς να δώσετε κάποιο λόγο. Μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με

τον ερευνητή μέσω των επαφών που παρέχονται παρακάτω. Θα μπορείτε να αποσύρετε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή μέχρι την υποβολή της διατριβής, η οποία θα είναι ο Ιανουάριος 2021.

Αποτελέσματα

Εάν επιθυμείτε ⁶¹² να μάθετε περισσότερα σχετικά με την έρευνα ή τη συμμετοχή σας σε αυτήν, επικοινωνήστε με τον ερευνητή χρησιμοποιώντας την παρακάτω επαφή.

Εχεμύθεια

Όλα τα δεδομένα και τα προσωπικά δεδομένα θα αποθηκεύονται με ασφάλεια στα γραφεία της CCCU σύμφωνα με τον περί Προστασίας Δεδομένων Νόμο του 1998 και με τις απαιτήσεις προστασίας του προσωπικού του Πανεπιστημίου. Τα δεδομένα είναι προσβάσιμα μόνο από την ερευνητή Violeta Karageorgiadou. Όλα τα δεδομένα θα καταστούν ανώνυμα για τους σκοπούς της ανάλυσης (δηλαδή όλες οι προσωπικές πληροφορίες που σχετίζονται με τα δεδομένα θα καταργηθούν). Όλα τα δεδομένα θα καταστραφούν μετά την ολοκλήρωση της μελέτης.

Διάδοση των αποτελεσμάτων

Τα αποτελέσματα αυτής της έρευνας θα οδηγήσουν σε μια διδακτορική διατριβή και, ενδεχομένως, σε άλλες μορφές ακαδημαϊκής διάδοσης, όπως έγγραφα συνεδρίου και άρθρα περιοδικών.

Τα αποσπάσματα και οι παρατηρήσεις σας θα γίνουν ανώνυμα για τους σκοπούς της διατριβής και άλλων εκδόσεων.

Αποφασίστε αν θα συμμετάσχετε

⁵⁵⁶ Εάν έχετε οποιοσδήποτε ερωτήσεις ή ανησυχίες σχετικά με τη φύση, τις διαδικασίες ή τις προϋποθέσεις συμμετοχής, μη διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί μου. Εάν αποφασίσετε

10 να συμμετάσχετε, θα είστε ελεύθεροι να αποσύρετε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή χωρίς να χρειάζεται
6 να δώσετε κάποιο λόγο.

Έχετε ερωτήσεις:

Επικοινωνήστε με την ερευνήτρια Βιολέτα Καπαγεωργιάδου στο email:
vk53@canterbury.ac.uk και την επιτηρήτρια Δρ Sofia Graca στο τηλ.: (0044) 01227 763180

CONSENT FORM



Title of Project:	Migrants' reactions to hate crime in Greece
Name of Researcher:	Violeta Kapageorgiadou

34

Contact details:

Address:

Canterbury Christ Church University, Graduate School,
N Holmes Rd, Canterbury, Kent, England, CT1 1QU

Tel:

(0044) 01227 767700

Email:

vk53@canterbury.ac.uk

Please initial box

88

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that any personal information that I provide to the researchers will be kept strictly confidential
4. I agree to be audio recorded during my interactions with the researcher.
5. I agree to my quotes to be used in the research.
6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant:	Date:	Signature:
Name of person taking consent (if different from researcher)	Date:	Signature:
Researcher: Violeta Kapageorgiadou	Date:	Signature:

Φόρμα συγκατάθεσης

Τίτλος:	<p>“Understanding migrants’ reactions to hate crime in Greece”</p> <p>“Κατανόηση των αντιδράσεων των μεταναστών στο έγκλημα μίσους στην Ελλάδα”</p>
Όνομα Ερευνητή:	Βιολέτα Καπαγεωργιάδου

Πληροφορίες επικοινωνίας:

Οδός:	N Holmes Rd, Canterbury, Kent, England, CT1 1QU
Τηλ.:	(0044) 01227 763180
Email:	vk53@canterbury.ac.uk

42

Παρακαλούμε βάλτε [✓] στο κουτί

- Επιβεβαιώνω ότι έχω διαβάσει και καταλάβει το ενημερωτικό δελτίο για την παραπάνω μελέτη και είχα την ευκαιρία να θέσω ερωτήσεις.
- Κατανοώ ότι η συμμετοχή μου είναι εθελοντική και ότι είμαι ελεύθερος να αποσύρω ανά πάσα στιγμή, χωρίς να δώσω κανένα λόγο.
- Κατανοώ ότι οι προσωπικές πληροφορίες που παρέχω στην ερευνητρια θα διατηρούνται αυστηρά εμπιστευτικές.
- Συμφωνώ να ηχογραφηθώ κατά τη διάρκεια των αλληλεπιδράσεών μου με την ερευνητρια.
- Συμφωνώ να παρατηρηθώ απο την ερευνητρια.
- Συμφωνώ να δώσω συνέντευξη στην ερευνητρια.

7. Συμφωνώ τα λόγια μου να χρησιμοποιηθούν στην παρούσα έρευνα ή σε οποιαδήποτε άλλη δημοσίευση ανώνυμα.
7. Συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω στην παραπάνω μελέτη.

Όνομα συμμετέχοντος:	Ημερομηνία:	Υπογραφή:
Όνομα ατόμου που λαμβάνει τη συγκατάθεση (εάν διαφέρει από την ερευνήτρια)	Ημερομηνία:	Υπογραφή:
Ερευνήτρια: Βιολέτα Καπαγεωργιάδου	Ημερομηνία:	Υπογραφή:

PhD Thesis 'Migrants' Reaction to Hate Crime

ORIGINALITY REPORT

30%

SIMILARITY INDEX

25%

INTERNET SOURCES

14%

PUBLICATIONS

19%

STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1

etheses.whiterose.ac.uk

Internet Source

1%

2

Submitted to Curtin University of Technology

Student Paper

1%

3

ebin.pub

Internet Source

<1%

4

www.citethisforme.com

Internet Source

<1%

5

vdoc.pub

Internet Source

<1%

6

Submitted to Canterbury Christ Church University

Student Paper

<1%

7

Submitted to University of Leicester

Student Paper

<1%

8

www.tandfonline.com

Internet Source

<1%

9

Submitted to Kaplan College

Student Paper

<1%

10	Submitted to University of Sussex Student Paper	<1 %
11	Submitted to London School of Economics and Political Science Student Paper	<1 %
12	Submitted to University College London Student Paper	<1 %
13	Submitted to University of Edinburgh Student Paper	<1 %
14	link.springer.com Internet Source	<1 %
15	Submitted to Leiden University Student Paper	<1 %
16	www.cambridge.org Internet Source	<1 %
17	journals.sagepub.com Internet Source	<1 %
18	Submitted to University of Greenwich Student Paper	<1 %
19	dokumen.pub Internet Source	<1 %
20	www.sirius-project.eu Internet Source	<1 %
21	Submitted to University of Exeter Student Paper	

<1 %

22

Submitted to Trinity College Dublin

Student Paper

<1 %

23

theses.gla.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

24

Submitted to University of Portsmouth

Student Paper

<1 %

25

repository.canterbury.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

26

Submitted to University of Melbourne

Student Paper

<1 %

27

Submitted to The University of Manchester

Student Paper

<1 %

28

www.globus.uio.no

Internet Source

<1 %

29

"DD311 Book 2 Chapter 9", Open University

Publication

<1 %

30

pearl.plymouth.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

31

Submitted to Australian National University

Student Paper

<1 %

32

Submitted to University of Bradford

Student Paper

<1 %

33	Submitted to University of Glasgow Student Paper	<1 %
34	create.canterbury.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
35	Submitted to School of Oriental & African Studies Student Paper	<1 %
36	Submitted to University of Cambridge Student Paper	<1 %
37	Submitted to Aston University Student Paper	<1 %
38	Submitted to University of Hull Student Paper	<1 %
39	Submitted to University of Leeds Student Paper	<1 %
40	library.oapen.org Internet Source	<1 %
41	purehost.bath.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
42	Submitted to Hellenic Open University Student Paper	<1 %
43	Submitted to University of Birmingham Student Paper	<1 %
44	Submitted to Charles University	

<1 %

45

nexushumantrafficking.files.wordpress.com

Internet Source

<1 %

46

Submitted to University of Derby

Student Paper

<1 %

47

Submitted to University of Hertfordshire

Student Paper

<1 %

48

www.flguwen.com

Internet Source

<1 %

49

Submitted to Queen's University of Belfast

Student Paper

<1 %

50

www.internationalhatestudies.com

Internet Source

<1 %

51

Hussain, Roohi. "A Qualitative Exploration of the Social Construction of the Asylum-Seeker Category in UK Policy, Media Discourse and Practitioner Work.", Canterbury Christ Church University (United Kingdom), 2020

Publication

<1 %

52

Submitted to Kaunas University of Technology

Student Paper

<1 %

53

aspire.surrey.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

wrap.warwick.ac.uk

54

Internet Source

<1 %

55

ceemr.uw.edu.pl

Internet Source

<1 %

56

Submitted to University of Bristol

Student Paper

<1 %

57

Submitted to University of Surrey

Student Paper

<1 %

58

eprints.lse.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

59

www.europeansocialsurvey.org

Internet Source

<1 %

60

dspace.stir.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

61

ikee.lib.auth.gr

Internet Source

<1 %

62

mafiadoc.com

Internet Source

<1 %

63

Sarantidis, Dimos. "Living in the Enduring 2015 "Refugee Crisis": the Perspectives of Lesvos' Local Populations", Open University (United Kingdom), 2021

Publication

<1 %

64

Submitted to Brisbane Catholic Education

Student Paper

<1 %

65	Submitted to Royal Holloway and Bedford New College Student Paper	<1 %
66	Submitted to University of Northumbria at Newcastle Student Paper	<1 %
67	dlib.scu.ac.ir Internet Source	<1 %
68	Maarten Vink. "Limits of European Citizenship", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2005 Publication	<1 %
69	core-cms.prod.aop.cambridge.org Internet Source	<1 %
70	Submitted to University of Warwick Student Paper	<1 %
71	dora.dmu.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
72	eprints.bbk.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
73	eprints.whiterose.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
74	www.scielo.br Internet Source	<1 %
75	Submitted to University of East London	

<1 %

76

Yue Yuan, Claudio Vera Sanchez, Clarissa Punla. "Procedural justice, neighbourhood context, and domestic violence reporting intention among subgroups of immigrants", *Policing and Society*, 2022

Publication

<1 %

77

Submitted to University of Oxford

Student Paper

<1 %

78

tandfonline.com

Internet Source

<1 %

79

eprints.lincoln.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

80

theses.ncl.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

81

Submitted to Universidad de Nebrija

Student Paper

<1 %

82

Submitted to University of Adelaide

Student Paper

<1 %

83

ec.europa.eu

Internet Source

<1 %

84

orca-mwe.cf.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

85	958be75a-da42-4a45-aafa-549955018b18.filesusr.com Internet Source	<1 %
86	rrojasdatabank.info Internet Source	<1 %
87	eprints.hud.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
88	ir.lib.uth.gr Internet Source	<1 %
89	research.vu.nl Internet Source	<1 %
90	Submitted to University of Canterbury Student Paper	<1 %
91	Submitted to University of Essex Student Paper	<1 %
92	Submitted to City University Student Paper	<1 %
93	Submitted to Bath Spa University College Student Paper	<1 %
94	Konstantinos Tsitselikis. "Old and New Islam in Greece", Brill, 2011 Publication	<1 %
95	core.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %

96	eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
97	eresources.uin-malang.ac.id Internet Source	<1 %
98	era.ed.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
99	hts.org.za Internet Source	<1 %
100	ceaseval.eu Internet Source	<1 %
101	"DD311 Week 14", Open University Publication	<1 %
102	www.scribd.com Internet Source	<1 %
103	archive.org Internet Source	<1 %
104	www.antigone.gr Internet Source	<1 %
105	Submitted to EIUC Student Paper	<1 %
106	Submitted to University of College Cork Student Paper	<1 %
107	library.gayhomeland.org Internet Source	<1 %

108	lse.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
109	www.springerprofessional.de Internet Source	<1 %
110	Submitted to The American College of Greece Libraries Student Paper	<1 %
111	www.sagepub.com Internet Source	<1 %
112	Rostron, Magdalena. "Studentsa□' Experiences of Othering: An Ethnographic Case Study of an English Language University Preparatory Programme in Qatar", The University of Manchester (United Kingdom), 2021 Publication	<1 %
113	arro.anglia.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
114	eprints.kingston.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
115	http://Pforbes.com/□ Internet Source	<1 %
116	www.econstor.eu Internet Source	<1 %
117	www.facingfacts.eu Internet Source	

<1 %

118 www.degruyter.com
Internet Source

<1 %

119 www.katraslaw.gr
Internet Source

<1 %

120 www.amnesty.org
Internet Source

<1 %

121 Submitted to National University of Ireland,
Maynooth
Student Paper

<1 %

122 researchonline.gcu.ac.uk
Internet Source

<1 %

123 www.hatecrime.osce.org
Internet Source

<1 %

124 Submitted to University of Nicosia
Student Paper

<1 %

125 Submitted to Columbia Basin College
Student Paper

<1 %

126 Submitted to La Trobe University
Student Paper

<1 %

127 Submitted to St. Mary's College Twickenham
Student Paper

<1 %

128 jyx.jyu.fi
Internet Source

<1 %

129 orca.cf.ac.uk
Internet Source

<1 %

130 Fabio de Sa e Silva. "'Not falling for that': law's
detraction and legal consciousness in the lives
of Brazilian anti-torture activists",
International Journal of Law in Context, 2020
Publication

<1 %

131 dspace.cuni.cz
Internet Source

<1 %

132 uir.unisa.ac.za
Internet Source

<1 %

133 Submitted to Aberystwyth University
Student Paper

<1 %

134 Submitted to Kingston University
Student Paper

<1 %

135 Submitted to University of Glamorgan
Student Paper

<1 %

136 Submitted to University of Limerick
Student Paper

<1 %

137 docslib.org
Internet Source

<1 %

138 eprints.lancs.ac.uk
Internet Source

<1 %

139	etheses.lse.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
140	www.article19.org Internet Source	<1 %
141	www.research.lancs.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
142	www.independent.co.uk Internet Source	<1 %
143	Submitted to Liverpool John Moores University Student Paper	<1 %
144	Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, Volume 35, Issue 4 (2012-10-27) Publication	<1 %
145	methods.sagepub.com Internet Source	<1 %
146	ir.canterbury.ac.nz Internet Source	<1 %
147	Submitted to Avado Learning Student Paper	<1 %
148	Submitted to Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies Student Paper	<1 %

149	Submitted to Manchester Metropolitan University Student Paper	<1 %
150	Submitted to Vrije Universiteit Brussels Student Paper	<1 %
151	"Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers' Integration in European Labour Markets", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2021 Publication	<1 %
152	Submitted to Associatie K.U.Leuven Student Paper	<1 %
153	projekter.aau.dk Internet Source	<1 %
154	Neslihan Ozguness, Georgios Terzis. "Constraints and Remedies for Journalists Reporting National Conflict: the case of Greece and Turkey", Journalism Studies, 2010 Publication	<1 %
155	scindeks.ceon.rs Internet Source	<1 %
156	www.mashreghnews.ir Internet Source	<1 %
157	www.scriptiebank.be Internet Source	<1 %

158	cadmus.eui.eu Internet Source	<1 %
159	stiba-malang.com Internet Source	<1 %
160	Submitted to Navitas Global Student Paper	<1 %
161	Submitted to University of Wollongong Student Paper	<1 %
162	academic.oup.com Internet Source	<1 %
163	dro.deakin.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
164	hdl.handle.net Internet Source	<1 %
165	rd.buap.mx Internet Source	<1 %
166	Submitted to Birkbeck College Student Paper	<1 %
167	Submitted to University of New South Wales Student Paper	<1 %
168	www.cyathens.org Internet Source	<1 %
169	Submitted to Anglia Ruskin University Student Paper	<1 %

170	Submitted to Centre International de Formation Européenne - CIFE Student Paper	<1 %
171	Submitted to De La Salle University Student Paper	<1 %
172	Submitted to University of North Carolina - Wilmington Student Paper	<1 %
173	Aluko, Opeyemi Idowu. "Election Petition Tribunal and the Credibility of Electoral Process in Nigeria: A Study of the Fourth Republic.", Kwara State University (Nigeria), 2021 Publication	<1 %
174	Submitted to Liberty University Student Paper	<1 %
175	Submitted to UC, San Diego Student Paper	<1 %
176	espace.library.uq.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
177	hrcak.srce.hr Internet Source	<1 %
178	portal.amelica.org Internet Source	<1 %
179	www.ipse.uni.lu Internet Source	<1 %

180	Submitted to The Robert Gordon University Student Paper	<1 %
181	Submitted to Bloomsbury Colleges Student Paper	<1 %
182	Submitted to Cardiff University Student Paper	<1 %
183	Submitted to King's College Student Paper	<1 %
184	Lorenzo Vianelli. " Warehousing asylum seekers: The of reception ", Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 2021 Publication	<1 %
185	Submitted to University of Teesside Student Paper	<1 %
186	oxfordre.com Internet Source	<1 %
187	www.apeeuropeus.com Internet Source	<1 %
188	www.testmagzine.biz Internet Source	<1 %
189	"The Palgrave International Handbook of Human Trafficking", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2020 Publication	<1 %

190	Internet Source	<1 %
191	repositori.upf.edu Internet Source	<1 %
192	repository.up.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
193	Submitted to Barry University Student Paper	<1 %
194	Submitted to South Bank University Student Paper	<1 %
195	Submitted to University of Northampton Student Paper	<1 %
196	Submitted to defensie Student Paper	<1 %
197	intermediate.lcwu.edu.pk Internet Source	<1 %
198	portal.research.lu.se Internet Source	<1 %
199	www.jrmdc.com Internet Source	<1 %
200	www.unrefugees.org.uk Internet Source	<1 %
201	"Refugees and Migrants in Law and Policy", Springer Science and Business Media LLC,	<1 %

2018

Publication

202	Jamieson, Martin. "Creating Space to Understand School-Based Community Development Within a Rural Malawian Community.", Canterbury Christ Church University (United Kingdom), 2020 Publication	<1 %
203	Submitted to University of Alabama at Birmingham Student Paper	<1 %
204	bmchealthservres.biomedcentral.com Internet Source	<1 %
205	cgrs.uchastings.edu Internet Source	<1 %
206	content.sciendo.com Internet Source	<1 %
207	www.cpg-online.de Internet Source	<1 %
208	www.mighealth.net Internet Source	<1 %
209	www.unhcr.org Internet Source	<1 %
210	Submitted to Australian Catholic University Student Paper	<1 %

211	Dgebuadze, Nino. "Life in Limbo: Refugees and Community Response in Athens, Greece.", University of Oregon, 2020 Publication	<1 %
212	Submitted to Fachhochschule fuer Wirtschaft Berlin Student Paper	<1 %
213	Kostas Maronitis. "Postnationalism and the Challenges to European Integration in Greece", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2017 Publication	<1 %
214	Submitted to Oxford Brookes University Student Paper	<1 %
215	Sekhukhune, Catherine Dikeledi. "An Ethnographic Account of Teaching and Learning of the First Grade R Programme in a Developing School in 2010 in a Black Urban Community", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021 Publication	<1 %
216	eprints.usq.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
217	opus.bath.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
218	www.birmingham.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %

219	www.mediawise.org.uk Internet Source	<1 %
220	www.osce.org Internet Source	<1 %
221	Patel, Nehal Ambalal. "Consciousness in the environmental movement", Proquest, 20111108 Publication	<1 %
222	sro.sussex.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
223	Submitted to American University in Cairo Student Paper	<1 %
224	Submitted to Hellenic National Defence College Student Paper	<1 %
225	Submitted to University of Durham Student Paper	<1 %
226	Submitted to University of Newcastle Student Paper	<1 %
227	Submitted to University of Queensland Student Paper	<1 %
228	Submitted to University of Sydney Student Paper	<1 %
229	Submitted to University of Wales Swansea Student Paper	<1 %

230	docplayer.net Internet Source	<1 %
231	repub.eur.nl Internet Source	<1 %
232	research.bond.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
233	revistas.usil.edu.pe Internet Source	<1 %
234	web.isanet.org Internet Source	<1 %
235	www0.health.nsw.gov.au Internet Source	<1 %
236	researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
237	udspace.udel.edu Internet Source	<1 %
238	"Gender Equality", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2021 Publication	<1 %
239	"The Informalisation of the EU's External Action in the Field of Migration and Asylum", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022 Publication	<1 %

240	Marco Zoppi, Marco Puleri. "The Balkan Route (and Its Afterlife): The New Normal in the European Politics of Migration", Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, 2021 Publication	<1 %
241	Submitted to RMIT University Student Paper	<1 %
242	Submitted to Southern New Hampshire University - Continuing Education Student Paper	<1 %
243	Submitted to University of Westminster Student Paper	<1 %
244	discovery.ucl.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
245	lirias.kuleuven.be Internet Source	<1 %
246	mro.massey.ac.nz Internet Source	<1 %
247	repository.edgehill.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
248	repository.essex.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
249	stichtinggerritkreveld.be Internet Source	<1 %

Submitted to uva

250

Student Paper

<1 %

251

www.alm-online.net

Internet Source

<1 %

252

www.bollettinoadapt.it

Internet Source

<1 %

253

www.itflows.eu

Internet Source

<1 %

254

www.oecd-ilibrary.org

Internet Source

<1 %

255

www2.warwick.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

256

yorkspace.library.yorku.ca

Internet Source

<1 %

257

Cini, Michelle, Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, Nieves. "European Union Politics", European Union Politics, 2022

Publication

<1 %

258

cyberleninka.org

Internet Source

<1 %

259

files.elsa.org

Internet Source

<1 %

260

themigrationist.net

Internet Source

<1 %

261	Ali Younes, Kotb M. Kotb, Mohamed O. Abu Ghazala, Mohamed R. Elkadeem. "Spatial suitability analysis for site selection of refugee camps using hybrid GIS and fuzzy AHP approach: The case of Kenya", International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 2022 Publication	<1 %
-----	---	------

262	Submitted to Bocconi University Student Paper	<1 %
-----	--	------

263	Submitted to Colorado State University, Global Campus Student Paper	<1 %
-----	--	------

264	Submitted to De Montfort University Student Paper	<1 %
-----	--	------

265	Egharevba Stephen, Crentsil Perpetual. "Migrants' perception of the police: Should it be a cause for concern in Finland?", European Journal of Criminology, 2013 Publication	<1 %
-----	---	------

266	Graham, Shana Rae Wessel. "Disrupting Euro-Western Onto-Epistemologies: (Re)Imagining Possibilities for Mathematics Education Through/With Indigenous Knowledges and Complex Conversations.", The University of Regina (Canada), 2021 Publication	<1 %
-----	--	------

Submitted to Hellenic Academic Libraries Link

267	Student Paper	<1 %
268	Submitted to RDI Distance Learning Student Paper	<1 %
269	Theses.ubn.ru.nl Internet Source	<1 %
270	Submitted to University of Lincoln Student Paper	<1 %
271	Submitted to University of Ulster Student Paper	<1 %
272	insight.cumbria.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
273	njips.nust.edu.pk Internet Source	<1 %
274	papasearch.net Internet Source	<1 %
275	phd.lib.uni-corvinus.hu Internet Source	<1 %
276	repositorio.comillas.edu Internet Source	<1 %
277	theasa.org Internet Source	<1 %
278	www-a10.sjsu.edu Internet Source	<1 %

279

www.asylumineurope.org

Internet Source

<1 %

280

www.hartsem.com

Internet Source

<1 %

281

Redhead, Caroline A. B.. "From Legislative Intent to Current Practice: A Relational Constructionist Perspective on the Mental Capacity Act 2005 and Legal Consciousness in Hospice Decision-Making.", Lancaster University (United Kingdom), 2020

Publication

<1 %

282

Joanna Perry. "The migration and integration of the hate crime approach in India", Jindal Global Law Review, 2020

Publication

<1 %

283

Submitted to University of Denver

Student Paper

<1 %

284

Vina Adriany, Hani Yulindrasari, Raden Safrina. "Doing feminist participatory action research for disrupting traditional gender discourses with Indonesian Muslim kindergarten teachers", Action Research, 2021

Publication

<1 %

285

warwick.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

286

www.patternsofpower.org

Internet Source

<1 %

287

www.soas.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

288

Submitted to Universiteit van Amsterdam

Student Paper

<1 %

289

eprints.ru.ac.za

Internet Source

<1 %

290

studenttheses.cbs.dk

Internet Source

<1 %

291

www.cas.usf.edu

Internet Source

<1 %

292

"Higher Education and Research in the European Union", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022

Publication

<1 %

293

Submitted to American University

Student Paper

<1 %

294

IMISCOE Research Series, 2015.

Publication

<1 %

295

Justyna Kajta, Elżbieta Opiłowska.
"Community Response to Rebordering Politics: The Case of Two Twin Towns in Central Europe", Nationalities Papers, 2022

Publication

<1 %

296	Peter F. Titzmann, Richard M. Lee. "New temporal concepts of acculturation in immigrant youth", Child Development Perspectives, 2022 Publication	<1 %
297	Submitted to University of New York in Prague Student Paper	<1 %
298	crime-in-crisis.com Internet Source	<1 %
299	etheses.bham.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
300	www.europarl.europa.eu Internet Source	<1 %
301	Submitted to Girne American University Student Paper	<1 %
302	Submitted to Macquarie University Student Paper	<1 %
303	Ramunė Miežanskienė. "Exploring Tendencies in Migrants' Legal Consciousness Research and Uncovering Factors for Socio-Legal Integration", European Integration Studies, 2020 Publication	<1 %
304	academyedstudies.files.wordpress.com Internet Source	<1 %

305	aut.researchgateway.ac.nz Internet Source	<1 %
306	journals.openedition.org Internet Source	<1 %
307	library.college.police.uk Internet Source	<1 %
308	www.drugsandalcohol.ie Internet Source	<1 %
309	www.koreascience.or.kr Internet Source	<1 %
310	Submitted to CITY College, Affiliated Institute of the University of Sheffield Student Paper	<1 %
311	Submitted to Franklin University Student Paper	<1 %
312	Submitted to New York College in Athens, Greece Student Paper	<1 %
313	Submitted to Sheffield Hallam University Student Paper	<1 %
314	Submitted to University of Cumbria Student Paper	<1 %
315	cebe.cf.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %

316	cvir.st-andrews.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
317	doi.org Internet Source	<1 %
318	inee.org Internet Source	<1 %
319	lup.lub.lu.se Internet Source	<1 %
320	onlinelibrary.wiley.com Internet Source	<1 %
321	socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca Internet Source	<1 %
322	www.johnjay.cuny.edu Internet Source	<1 %
323	Feeney, Christopher John. "Modelling Sediment Storage Times in Alluvial Floodplains", The University of Liverpool (United Kingdom), 2020 Publication	<1 %
324	M. Hertogh. "What's in a Handshake? Legal Equality and Legal Consciousness in the Netherlands", Social & Legal Studies, 06/01/2009 Publication	<1 %

325	Nina Peršak. "Criminalising Hate Crime and Hate Speech at EU Level: Extending the List of Eurocrimes Under Article 83(1) TFEU", Criminal Law Forum, 2022 Publication	<1 %
326	"Crime, Victims and Policy", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2015 Publication	<1 %
327	Filipe da Silva Felix Gomes. "O princípio do >i< non-refoulement >/i Publication	<1 %
328	Submitted to Middle East Technical University Student Paper	<1 %
329	brill.com Internet Source	<1 %
330	tandf.marka.pt Internet Source	<1 %
331	techniumscience.com Internet Source	<1 %
332	www.jyu.fi Internet Source	<1 %
333	www.paperdue.com Internet Source	<1 %
334	www.tdx.cat Internet Source	<1 %

335	www.unodc.org Internet Source	<1 %
336	www.kimburgas.com Internet Source	<1 %
337	www.open-access.bcu.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
338	"Companion to Urban and Regional Studies", Wiley, 2021 Publication	<1 %
339	Jennifer Schweppe. "What is a hate crime?", Cogent Social Sciences, 2021 Publication	<1 %
340	Www.emerald.com Internet Source	<1 %
341	Kinslow, Anthony Dylan, II. "The Application of Bayesian Inference to Identify the Energy Saving Potential for Energy Efficiency Measures Through Electric Utility Interval Data and Weather Information", Stanford University, 2020 Publication	<1 %
342	May, Tim, Perry, Beth. "Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process", Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process, 2022 Publication	<1 %

343	Stanton, John. "Blackstone's Statutes on Public Law & Human Rights 2021-2022", Blackstone's Statutes on Public Law & Human Rights 2021-2022, 2021 Publication	<1 %
344	Rechel, Bernd, Mladovsky, Philipa, Devillé, Walter. "Migration and Health in Europe", Migration and Health in Europe, 2011 Publication	<1 %
345	Riemer, Lena. "The Prohibition of Collective Expulsion in Public International Law", Freie Universitaet Berlin (Germany), 2021 Publication	<1 %
346	Submitted to University of Keele Student Paper	<1 %
347	Submitted to University of Lancaster Student Paper	<1 %
348	Submitted to University of the Aegean Student Paper	<1 %
349	crimecommission.gov.au Internet Source	<1 %
350	doaj.org Internet Source	<1 %
351	repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt Internet Source	<1 %

352	www.nomos-elibrary.de Internet Source	<1 %
353	www.scielo.org.za Internet Source	<1 %
354	Marc Hertogh. "Nobody's Law", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2018 Publication	<1 %
355	Milionis, Charalampos. "Health Care for Immigrants in the Context of Economic Crisis: The Perceptions and Experiences of Health Professionals in Greece", Lancaster University (United Kingdom), 2020 Publication	<1 %
356	eprints.utas.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
357	pure.coventry.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
358	www.refworld.org Internet Source	<1 %
359	Denscombe, Martyn. "Ebook: The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects", Ebook: The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects, 2021 Publication	<1 %

Submitted to Mary Immaculate College

360	Student Paper	<1 %
361	Submitted to University College Birmingham Student Paper	<1 %
362	african-american-civil-rights.weebly.com Internet Source	<1 %
363	arun kumar yadav, Abhishek Kumar, Shivani ., Kusum ., Mohit Kumar, Divakar Yadav. "Hate Speech Recognition in multilingual text: Hinglish Documents", Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE), 2022 Publication	<1 %
364	eur-lex.europa.eu Internet Source	<1 %
365	fcthighcourtelibrary.com Internet Source	<1 %
366	pergamos.lib.uoa.gr Internet Source	<1 %
367	text-translator.com Internet Source	<1 %
368	Submitted to uvt Student Paper	<1 %
369	"Mental Health, Mental Illness and Migration", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2021 Publication	<1 %

370	Submitted to American Intercontinental University Online Student Paper	<1 %
371	Thomas Brotherhood, Christopher D. Hammond, Yangson Kim. "Towards an actor-centered typology of internationalization: a study of junior international faculty in Japanese universities", Higher Education, 2019 Publication	<1 %
372	Submitted to University of Wolverhampton Student Paper	<1 %
373	Submitted to World Maritime University Student Paper	<1 %
374	journals.copmadrid.org Internet Source	<1 %
375	www.istss.org Internet Source	<1 %
376	"The Rise of the Far Right in Europe", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2016 Publication	<1 %
377	Submitted to Itä-Suomen yliopisto Student Paper	<1 %
378	Lautenbach, Geoffrey Vaughan. "Lecturers' Changing Epistemologies and Pedagogies During Engagement with Information and Communication Technology in an Education	<1 %

Faculty.", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021

Publication

-
- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 379 | Modery-Pawlowski, Christa Lynn. "Platelet-inspired Approaches in Vascular Nanomedicine.", Case Western Reserve University, 2020
<small>Publication</small> | <1 % |
|-----|---|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 380 | eudo-citizenship.eu
<small>Internet Source</small> | <1 % |
|-----|---|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 381 | www.diva-portal.org
<small>Internet Source</small> | <1 % |
|-----|---|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 382 | www.europeansources.info
<small>Internet Source</small> | <1 % |
|-----|--|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 383 | www.maccess.nl
<small>Internet Source</small> | <1 % |
|-----|--|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 384 | "Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on European Integration 2020", VSB - Technical University of Ostrava, 2020
<small>Publication</small> | <1 % |
|-----|---|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 385 | "Securitising Asylum Flows", Brill, 2020
<small>Publication</small> | <1 % |
|-----|--|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 386 | "The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2019
<small>Publication</small> | <1 % |
|-----|---|------|
-

387	Al-Bahloul, Nura. "The Securitization Process of Austria's Prison Population. Muslims and Foreigners in Focus.", Webster University, 2020 Publication	<1 %
388	Matteo Vergani, Carolina Navarro. "Hate Crime Reporting: The Relationship Between Types of Barriers and Perceived Severity", European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 2021 Publication	<1 %
389	ca.reuters.com Internet Source	<1 %
390	funandmagic.com Internet Source	<1 %
391	jurnal.unimed.ac.id Internet Source	<1 %
392	koleksikhusus.fh.unair.ac.id Internet Source	<1 %
393	livrepository.liverpool.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
394	www.eur.nl Internet Source	<1 %
395	www.mdpi.com Internet Source	<1 %

396	www.melissa.ens-cachan.fr Internet Source	<1 %
397	www.nmun.org Internet Source	<1 %
398	www.scilit.net Internet Source	<1 %
399	www.seerc.org Internet Source	<1 %
400	louisdl.louislibraries.org Internet Source	<1 %
401	nrl.northumbria.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
402	open.library.ubc.ca Internet Source	<1 %
403	researchersclub.org Internet Source	<1 %
404	www.nsar.org.rs Internet Source	<1 %
405	"Exploring the 'Legal' in Socio-Legal Studies", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2016 Publication	<1 %
406	"The Handbook of Security", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2014 Publication	<1 %

407	Cadmus.eui.eu Internet Source	<1 %
408	Julie Vullnetari. "Albania on the Move", Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2012 Publication	<1 %
409	Knapp, Martin, McDaid, David, Mossialos, Elias. "Mental Health Policy and Practice Across Europe", Mental Health Policy and Practice Across Europe, 2006 Publication	<1 %
410	Olszewska, Aleksandra Ita. "Counter-Stories from Poland: Identities and Language Identities of Adolescent Refugee-Background Students", University of Florida, 2021 Publication	<1 %
411	bmcpublichealth.biomedcentral.com Internet Source	<1 %
412	dspace.unive.it Internet Source	<1 %
413	eprints.soas.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
414	kar.kent.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
415	publications.aston.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %

416	www.e-ir.info Internet Source	<1 %
417	clock.uclan.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
418	etd.aau.edu.et Internet Source	<1 %
419	mobt3ath.com Internet Source	<1 %
420	rm.coe.int Internet Source	<1 %
421	search.coe.int Internet Source	<1 %
422	walatinos.net Internet Source	<1 %
423	www.die-gdi.de Internet Source	<1 %
424	www.freewebs.com Internet Source	<1 %
425	"Migrants with Irregular Status in Europe", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2020 Publication	<1 %
426	193.178.1.119 Internet Source	<1 %

427 Atieh Babakhani, Susan L. Miller. "'I Felt I Was Screaming Under the Water': Domestic Violence Victims' Experiences in Iran's Police Departments and Criminal Courts", Violence Against Women, 2021
Publication

428 De Mello, Tanya Jo-Anna. "The Fit Interview and Cultural Matching: Examining Equity in Hiring Processes in Law Firms in Canada", University of Toronto (Canada), 2020
Publication

429 Ethel Tungohan. "Living with Compromised Legal Status: Irregular Temporary Foreign Workers in Alberta and the Importance of Imagining, Strategizing, and Inter-Provincial Legal Consciousness", International Migration, 2018
Publication

430 L. Tobia. "Exposure to Violence and Conflict: Exploring Predictors of Unauthorized Migration to the USA", Global Social Welfare, 2016
Publication

431 Submitted to University of Aberdeen
Student Paper

432 Submitted to University of Southampton
Student Paper

433	apav.pt Internet Source	<1 %
434	bimc-ijm.com Internet Source	<1 %
435	docshare.tips Internet Source	<1 %
436	doczz.net Internet Source	<1 %
437	e-theses.imtlucca.it Internet Source	<1 %
438	edepot.wur.nl Internet Source	<1 %
439	epdf.tips Internet Source	<1 %
440	euaa.europa.eu Internet Source	<1 %
441	icrcndresourcecentre.org Internet Source	<1 %
442	jcer.net Internet Source	<1 %
443	journals.tdl.org Internet Source	<1 %
444	news.bbc.co.uk Internet Source	<1 %

445	pureadmin.qub.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
446	real.mtak.hu Internet Source	<1 %
447	staging.fra.europa.eu Internet Source	<1 %
448	www.cgdev.org Internet Source	<1 %
449	www.humanrights.org.lv Internet Source	<1 %
450	www.sydney.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
451	www.um.edu.mt Internet Source	<1 %
452	"Introduction to Migration Studies", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022 Publication	<1 %
453	Anna Earl. "'Your westernized habits': contextual nuances of qualitative research in Russia", Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal, 2021 Publication	<1 %
454	Christos Bagavos, Nikos Kourachanis. "Civil Society Organizations and Labour Market	<1 %

Integration for Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Greece", VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 2021

Publication

-
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 455 | Submitted to Higher Education Commission Pakistan
Student Paper | <1 % |
|-----|--|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 456 | Izabella Majcher. "The European Union Returns Directive and its Compatibility with International Human Rights Law", Brill, 2020
Publication | <1 % |
|-----|--|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 457 | Susan S. Silbey. "AFTER LEGAL CONSCIOUSNESS", Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 2005
Publication | <1 % |
|-----|--|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 458 | Submitted to Istanbul Medeniyet Üniversitesi
Student Paper | <1 % |
|-----|---|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 459 | Kapageorgiadou, Violeta. "Communication and Cultural Difficulties between Greek/Greek-Cypriot Migrants and the Police in England.", Canterbury Christ Church University (United Kingdom), 2021
Publication | <1 % |
|-----|---|------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 460 | Kenealy, Daniel, Hadfield, Amelia, Corbett, Richard. "The European Union", The European Union, 2022
Publication | <1 % |
|-----|--|------|
-

461	Lavoie, Carmen. "Race, power and social action in neighbourhood community organizing: A case study", Proquest, 20111109 Publication	<1 %
462	Sofia Graca. "Resistance and the paradox of legal entitlement – a theoretical analysis of migrant women's responses to domestic abuse in the host country", The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 2021 Publication	<1 %
463	epdf.pub Internet Source	<1 %
464	tbinternet.ohchr.org Internet Source	<1 %
465	"The Impact of Refugee Camps on the Process of Migration Towards Europe: An Assessment", Corvinus University of Budapest, 2021 Publication	<1 %
466	Submitted to City University of New York System Student Paper	<1 %
467	Juan-Miguel Fernández-Balboa. "Imploding the boundaries of transformative/critical pedagogy and research in physical education and sport pedagogy: looking inward for (self-)consciousness/knowledge and	<1 %

transformation", Sport, Education and Society, 2015

Publication

468	Ogg, Kate Elizabeth. "Protection from Refuge", The Australian National University (Australia), 2021	<1 %
-----	---	------

Publication

469	Pamela Pansardi, Marianna Bindi. "The new concepts of power? Power-over, power-to and power-with", Journal of Political Power, 2021	<1 %
-----	---	------

Publication

470	Ramanathan, Gurupriya. "An Exploration of the Nature of Social Interactions between Preschool Students with Diverse Social-Emotional Skills during Engineering Activities", Boise State University, 2021	<1 %
-----	--	------

Publication

471	Willig, Carla. "EBOOK: Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology", EBOOK: Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology, 2013	<1 %
-----	---	------

Publication

472	eurocrisislaw.eui.eu	<1 %
-----	--	------

Internet Source

473	guweb2.gonzaga.edu	<1 %
-----	--	------

Internet Source

474	wla.1-s.es	<1 %
-----	--	------

Internet Source

475

www.upeace.org

Internet Source

<1 %

476

"An Uncertain Safety", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2019

Publication

<1 %

477

Azim, Homaira M.. "A Foucauldian Archaeology of Modern Medical Discourse.", Indiana University - Purdue University Indianapolis, 2020

Publication

<1 %

478

Hannagan Lewis, Iona. "An Investigation into the Barriers to Education and Employment for Refugees in Wales.", University of South Wales (United Kingdom), 2021

Publication

<1 %

479

Italo Colantone, Gianmarco Ottaviano, Piero Stanig. "The backlash of globalization", Elsevier BV, 2022

Publication

<1 %

480

Leonidas K. Cheliotis. "Punitive inclusion: The political economy of irregular migration in the margins of Europe", European Journal of Criminology, 2017

Publication

<1 %

481

Loewen, Peter John. "Experimentation and political science: Six applications", Proquest, 20111003

Publication

<1 %

482	Moeckli, Daniel, Shah, Sangeeta, Sivakumaran, Sandesh. "International Human Rights Law", International Human Rights Law, 2022 Publication	<1 %
483	jimmyakin.typepad.com Internet Source	<1 %
484	"Native and Immigrant Entrepreneurship", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2017 Publication	<1 %
485	hatecrime.osce.org Internet Source	<1 %
486	repository.bilkent.edu.tr Internet Source	<1 %
487	www.infomigrants.net Internet Source	<1 %
488	www.prafak.ni.ac.rs Internet Source	<1 %
489	"Cultural Heritage in the European Union", Brill, 2019 Publication	<1 %
490	"Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe, Volume I", Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2019 Publication	<1 %

491 "The Europeanization of National Policies and Politics of Immigration", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2007 <1 %
Publication

492 Blom, Nadine. "The Victims of Human Trafficking and the Legal Remedy Issue", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021 <1 %
Publication

493 Glenda Garelli, Martina Tazzioli. "The biopolitical warfare on migrants: EU Naval Force and NATO operations of migration government in the Mediterranean", Critical Military Studies, 2017 <1 %
Publication

494 Kopping Athanasopoulos, Harald. "The Spillover of Misery: A Critical Investigation into the Social Purpose of European Integration Using the Case Study of Migration Management.", The University of Liverpool (United Kingdom), 2020 <1 %
Publication

495 Phoenix, Jessica. "Measuring the Repetition of Domestic Violence and Abuse in Police Data", Lancaster University (United Kingdom), 2021 <1 %
Publication

496	Pieraccini, Margherita, and Emma Cardwell. "Divergent perceptions of new marine protected areas: Comparing legal consciousness in Scilly and Barra, UK", Ocean & Coastal Management, 2016. Publication	<1 %
497	Schwenken, Helen. "'The EU Should Talk to Germany' Transnational Legal Consciousness as a Rights Claiming Tool among Undocumented Migrants", International Migration, 2013. Publication	<1 %
498	Swanborough-Nilson, Christine. "Actions and Words: Meaning Making in a Bilingual Arabic/English Kindergarten.", Open University (United Kingdom), 2020 Publication	<1 %
499	d-nb.info Internet Source	<1 %
500	edoc.hu-berlin.de Internet Source	<1 %
501	openarchive.cbs.dk Internet Source	<1 %
502	opus.lib.uts.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
503	pdfs.semanticscholar.org Internet Source	

<1 %

504

pure.royalholloway.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

505

su-plus.strathmore.edu

Internet Source

<1 %

506

unescochair.uom.gr

Internet Source

<1 %

507

www.icmpd.org

Internet Source

<1 %

508

www.orlandosentinel.com

Internet Source

<1 %

509

"African Migrants and the Refugee Crisis",
Springer Science and Business Media LLC,
2021

Publication

<1 %

510

"Eurafrican Migration: Legal, Economic and
Social Responses to Irregular Migration",
Springer Science and Business Media LLC,
2015

Publication

<1 %

511

"International Political Science Abstracts",
International Political Science Abstracts, 2020

Publication

<1 %

512 "The Handbook of Law and Society", Wiley, 2015 <1 %
Publication

513 Agnieszka Kubal. "Migrants' Relationship with Law in the Host Country: Exploring the Role of Legal Culture", Journal of Intercultural Studies, 2013 <1 %
Publication

514 Akis Kalaitzidis. "Europe's Greece", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2010 <1 %
Publication

515 Anna-Maria Marshall. "Communities and Culture: Enriching Legal Consciousness and Legal Culture", Law & Social Inquiry, 2/2006 <1 %
Publication

516 Blackwell-Hardie, Victoria Katherine Dale. "Community Conceptualizations of Women's Everyday Mental Distress: The Importance of Social Contexts, Power and Agency in Shaping Women's Distress Experiences in Eldoret, Kenya", University of Toronto (Canada), 2021 <1 %
Publication

517 Bressler, Holly Maria. "Lives Disrupted: Resettlement Stories of Men Leaving War Torn Countries", The University of Regina (Canada), 2021 <1 %
Publication

518 Calado, Filipa. "Youth Gambling: The Role of Individual and Family Factors in Youth Problem Gambling.", Nottingham Trent University (United Kingdom), 2020

Publication

<1 %

519 Distinto, Marco. "Pastoral Power and the Integration of Migrants: An Exploratory Study of Discourses and Practices of Integration Within Italian Refugee Reception Centres.", Open University (United Kingdom), 2021

Publication

<1 %

520 Geoffrey Hughes. "Political Correctness", Wiley, 2009

Publication

<1 %

521 Giuliana Sanò, Francesco Della Puppa. "The multiple facets of (im)mobility. A multisited ethnography on territorialisation experiences and mobility trajectories of asylum seekers and refugees outside the Italian reception system", Journal of Modern Italian Studies, 2021

Publication

<1 %

522 Jiang, Mengyao. "Cultural Fusion in the Digital Age: Rock Music Scenes and Its Subcultural Community in Contemporary China.", Canterbury Christ Church University (United Kingdom), 2020

Publication

<1 %

523 Jochem Tolsma, Joris Blaauw, Manfred te Grotenhuis. "When do people report crime to the police? Results from a factorial survey design in the Netherlands, 2010", Journal of Experimental Criminology, 2011

Publication

<1 %

524 Kubal, Agnieszka. "Conceptualizing Semi-Legality in Migration Research : Conceptualizing Semi-Legality in Migration Research", Law & Society Review, 2013.

Publication

<1 %

525 Munongi, Lucia. "An Investigation of Children's Rights and Responsibilities as Known by Grade 9 Learners and Their Significant Adults", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021

Publication

<1 %

526 M^a Ángeles Cea D'Ancona. "Immigration as a Threat: Explaining the Changing Pattern of Xenophobia in Spain", Journal of International Migration and Integration, 2015

Publication

<1 %

527 Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, Volume 33, Issue 4 (2010-11-20)

Publication

<1 %

528 Submitted to University of Newcastle upon Tyne

<1 %

529	academicrepository.khas.edu.tr	<1 %
	Internet Source	

530	acikerisim.isikun.edu.tr	<1 %
	Internet Source	

531	backend.hrw.org	<1 %
	Internet Source	

532	bora.uib.no	<1 %
	Internet Source	

533	cep.cl	<1 %
	Internet Source	

534	crabgrass.riseup.net	<1 %
	Internet Source	

535	easo.europa.eu	<1 %
	Internet Source	

536	fra.europa.eu	<1 %
	Internet Source	

537	ir.lib.uwo.ca	<1 %
	Internet Source	

538	jhs.press.gonzaga.edu	<1 %
	Internet Source	

539	migri.fi	<1 %
	Internet Source	

540	nonpareilonline.com	
-----	--	--

<1 %

541

opac.lib.idu.ac.id

Internet Source

<1 %

542

openaccess.city.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

543

openaccess.nhh.no

Internet Source

<1 %

544

opencommons.uconn.edu

Internet Source

<1 %

545

othes.univie.ac.at

Internet Source

<1 %

546

repository.londonmet.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

547

repozitorij.ffzg.unizg.hr

Internet Source

<1 %

548

static1.squarespace.com

Internet Source

<1 %

549

studenttheses.uu.nl

Internet Source

<1 %

550

ujcontent.uj.ac.za

Internet Source

<1 %

551

www.annualreviews.org

Internet Source

<1 %

552	www.college.police.uk Internet Source	<1 %
553	www.eapril.org Internet Source	<1 %
554	www.iicsa.org.uk Internet Source	<1 %
555	www.researchgate.net Internet Source	<1 %
556	www.wellacompany.com Internet Source	<1 %
557	www.yunturk.org.tr Internet Source	<1 %
558	"Mapping LGBTQ Spaces and Places", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022 Publication	<1 %
559	"Politics of (Dis)Integration", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2020 Publication	<1 %
560	"Toward a Positive Psychology of Islam and Muslims", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2021 Publication	<1 %
561	23thoughts.blogspot.com Internet Source	<1 %

563

Banister, Peter, Bunn, Geoff, Burman, Erica.
"EBOOK: Qualitative Methods In Psychology:
A Research Guide", EBOOK: Qualitative
Methods In Psychology: A Research Guide,
2011

Publication

<1 %

564

Barbara Perry, Kanika Samuels-Wortley.
""We're Not Where We Should Be": Enhancing
Law Enforcement Responses to Hate Crime",
Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal
Justice, 2021

Publication

<1 %

565

Buchanan, Michelle C. B.. "Becoming and
Being: A Narrative Study of Leadership Self-
Identity Development in Gifted and Talented
Teachers", University of Central Arkansas,
2021

Publication

<1 %

566

Carl Martin Allwood, Jens Knutsson, Pär
Anders Granhag. "Eyewitnesses under
influence: How feedback affects the realism in
confidence judgements", Psychology, Crime &
Law, 2006

Publication

<1 %

567 Carvalho, Ana. "Constructions of Career Progression by Women Leaders in a Corporate Context", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021
Publication

568 Champ, Francesca. "Psychological Development in Professional Youth Football: An Ethnography of Sports Psychology Practice", Liverpool John Moores University (United Kingdom), 2020
Publication

569 Chih Hoong Sin. "Commentary on "I felt I deserved it' – experiences and implications of disability hate crime"", Tizard Learning Disability Review, 2016
Publication

570 Ebony L. Hall, Nathalie P. Jones, Brooke Hughes. "The elephant in the room: teaching race in consensus", Social Work Education, 2022
Publication

571 Eduardo González Castillo. "External Intimacy: Community-based Intervention Concerning Crime and the Integral State in Quebec", Social & Legal Studies, 2022
Publication

572 Guofu Liu. "Chinese Refugee Law", Brill, 2020
Publication

573 Jafar, Hayfa. "Internationalization of Higher Education and Imported Universities in Post-conflict Iraq through a Policy Borrowing Lens.", University of Toronto (Canada), 2021

Publication

<1 %

574 Jardine, Akilah Afiya. "Regulating Modern Slavery: Contemporary Developments, Corporate Responsibility and the role of the State", Liverpool John Moores University (United Kingdom), 2021

Publication

<1 %

575 Kathleen M. Blee. "The Microdynamics of Hate Violence", American Behavioral Scientist, 2016

Publication

<1 %

576 Khizran Zehra, Sadia Usmani. "Not without family: refugee family entrepreneurship and economic integration process", Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy, 2021

Publication

<1 %

577 Leisy Abrego. "Legitimacy, Social Identity, and the Mobilization of Law: The Effects of Assembly Bill 540 on Undocumented Students in California", Law & Social Inquiry, 09/2008

Publication

<1 %

578	Lubberink, Rob. "Responsible Innovation in Industry: Learning from Social Entrepreneurship.", Wageningen University and Research, 2021 Publication	<1 %
579	Michał Gierycz. "European Dispute over the Concept of Man", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2021 Publication	<1 %
580	Submitted to Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University Student Paper	<1 %
581	Pirmasari, Desy Ayu. "Gender Discourse Within the Application of Islamic Law in Aceh, Indonesia.", Lancaster University (United Kingdom), 2020 Publication	<1 %
582	R. Harding. "'Dogs Are "Registered", People Shouldn't Be': Legal Consciousness and Lesbian and Gay Rights", Social & Legal Studies, 12/01/2006 Publication	<1 %
583	Rojas-Arauz, Bryan O.. "Undocumented Healing: Strengths and Resilience from the Shadows", University of Oregon, 2021 Publication	<1 %

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 584 | Roza Tsagarousianou. "Time and mobility/immobility: the chronopolitics of mobility and the temporalities of suffering and hope in situations of encampment", <i>Mobilities</i> , 2022
Publication | <1 % |
| 585 | Russell, Michael P.. "Privileging Tacit Knowledge within a Software Engineering Curriculum: A Living Educational theory of Practice", National University of Ireland, Maynooth (Ireland), 2021
Publication | <1 % |
| 586 | Rutter, Jill. "EBOOK: Refugee Children in the UK", <i>EBOOK: Refugee Children in the UK</i> , 2006
Publication | <1 % |
| 587 | Ryan D. King. "Chapter 24 Hate Crimes: Perspectives on Offending and the Law", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2009
Publication | <1 % |
| 588 | Sally Richards. "Unearthing bureaucratic legal consciousness: government officials' legal identification and moral ideals", <i>International Journal of Law in Context</i> , 2015
Publication | <1 % |
| 589 | Shafei Gu, Eric Fong. "Migration from Muslim-Majority Countries: A Tale of Two Patterns", | <1 % |

Population Research and Policy Review, 2022

Publication

-
- | | | |
|------------|---|----------------|
| 590 | Uir.unisa.ac.za
Internet Source | <1 % |
|------------|---|----------------|
-
- | | | |
|------------|--|----------------|
| 591 | Submitted to University of Central England in Birmingham
Student Paper | <1 % |
|------------|--|----------------|
-
- | | | |
|------------|---|----------------|
| 592 | Walshe, Kieran, Smith, Judith. "EBOOK: Healthcare Management", EBOOK: Healthcare Management, 2017
Publication | <1 % |
|------------|---|----------------|
-
- | | | |
|------------|---|----------------|
| 593 | Warden, Katarzyna. "Sustainable Social (Enterprise) Entrepreneurship. An Organisational and Individual Identity Perspective.", Canterbury Christ Church University (United Kingdom), 2020
Publication | <1 % |
|------------|---|----------------|
-
- | | | |
|------------|---|----------------|
| 594 | Willson, Catherine Louise. ""It's Wonderful Becoming a Mother...I Don't Think I Am a Mum with Multiple Sclerosis, I'm a Mum". The Lived Experience of Mothers with Multiple Sclerosis in Italy", Open University (United Kingdom), 2021
Publication | <1 % |
|------------|---|----------------|
-
- | | | |
|------------|---|----------------|
| 595 | Zuzana Gerháťová, Vladislav Zitrický, Vladimír Klapita. "Analysis of Customs Processing of Wagon Consignment at Slovakia-Ukraine | <1 % |
|------------|---|----------------|
-

Border", LOGI – Scientific Journal on Transport and Logistics, 2021

Publication

596	apknop.gr Internet Source	<1 %
597	archive-ouverte.unige.ch Internet Source	<1 %
598	b-ok.org Internet Source	<1 %
599	cdr.lib.unc.edu Internet Source	<1 %
600	civitas.org.uk Internet Source	<1 %
601	cmds.ceu.edu Internet Source	<1 %
602	dissertations.umi.com Internet Source	<1 %
603	documents.parliament.qld.gov.au Internet Source	<1 %
604	documents.worldbank.org Internet Source	<1 %
605	egradiva.fsd.uni-lj.si Internet Source	<1 %
606	em-al.org Internet Source	<1 %

607	eprints.uwe.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
608	erepo.uef.fi Internet Source	<1 %
609	etheses.dur.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
610	euba.sk Internet Source	<1 %
611	fis.uni-bamberg.de Internet Source	<1 %
612	healthyslimmer.com Internet Source	<1 %
613	hj.diva-portal.org Internet Source	<1 %
614	idsn.org Internet Source	<1 %
615	journals.rudn.ru Internet Source	<1 %
616	kobra.uni-kassel.de Internet Source	<1 %
617	lib.uky.edu Internet Source	<1 %
618	lifescienceglobal.com Internet Source	<1 %

619	lrd.yahooapis.com Internet Source	<1 %
620	ls00012.mah.se Internet Source	<1 %
621	mdl.donau-uni.ac.at Internet Source	<1 %
622	njlaw.rutgers.edu Internet Source	<1 %
623	obchod.wolterskluwer.cz Internet Source	<1 %
624	openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
625	opil.oupilaw.com Internet Source	<1 %
626	oro.open.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
627	otherreferats.allbest.ru Internet Source	<1 %
628	pdffox.com Internet Source	<1 %
629	press.nordicopenaccess.no Internet Source	<1 %
630	prod-com-bibliolabs-nuvique-app-content.s3.amazonaws.com	<1 %

631	pure.roehampton.ac.uk	<1 %
	Internet Source	

632	radar.brookes.ac.uk	<1 %
	Internet Source	

633	repository.gchumanrights.org	<1 %
	Internet Source	

634	rucforsk.ruc.dk	<1 %
	Internet Source	

635	sbc.org.pl	<1 %
	Internet Source	

636	scholar.sun.ac.za	<1 %
	Internet Source	

637	skemman.is	<1 %
	Internet Source	

638	slidelegend.com	<1 %
	Internet Source	

639	sure.sunderland.ac.uk	<1 %
	Internet Source	

640	tesi.luiss.it	<1 %
	Internet Source	

641	unesdoc.unesco.org	<1 %
	Internet Source	

642	uu.diva-portal.org	
-----	--	--

<1 %

643 vital.seals.ac.za:8080
Internet Source

<1 %

644 www.alticonsulting.com
Internet Source

<1 %

645 www.caritas.eu
Internet Source

<1 %

646 www.compas.ox.ac.uk
Internet Source

<1 %

647 www.emeraldinsight.com
Internet Source

<1 %

648 www.erudit.org
Internet Source

<1 %

649 www.hatecrimereviewni.org.uk
Internet Source

<1 %

650 www.instituteofcoaching.org
Internet Source

<1 %

651 www.journals.uchicago.edu
Internet Source

<1 %

652 www.magyc.uliege.be
Internet Source

<1 %

653 www.nst.org.rs
Internet Source

<1 %

654	www.puzzledbypolicy.eu Internet Source	<1 %
655	www.radoctores.es Internet Source	<1 %
656	www.repository.cam.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
657	www.research.manchester.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
658	www.ssoar.info Internet Source	<1 %
659	www.tasc.ie Internet Source	<1 %
660	yetkin.com.tr Internet Source	<1 %
661	zagan.unizar.es Internet Source	<1 %
662	"Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity", Brill, 2013 Publication	<1 %
663	"Sonderband Europäische Entscheidungen", Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2007 Publication	<1 %
664	Bektas, Gulseven. "Front National and Securitization of Migration in France.", Marmara Universitesi (Turkey), 2021	<1 %

-
- 665 Carmen M. Gutierrez, David S. Kirk. "Silence Speaks: The Relationship between Immigration and the Underreporting of Crime", Crime & Delinquency, 2015
Publication <1 %
-
- 666 Condino, Stephen Roy. "The Causes of the High Attrition Rate of Non-Owner Middle Managers in a Family-Owned Corporation in the Philippines", The University of Liverpool (United Kingdom), 2021
Publication <1 %
-
- 667 Ellis, Casey. "Aiding Muslim Refugees: Definitions Create Change.", University of Georgia, 2020
Publication <1 %
-
- 668 Ferdi P. Kruger. "When two elephants fight, it is the grass that is trampled: A practical theological elucidation of the predatory attitude of hate speech", HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies, 2018
Publication <1 %
-
- 669 Frank S. Pezzella. "Hate Crime Statutes", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2017
Publication <1 %
-
- 670 Gqibani, Samuel Loyiso. "Impact of Curriculum Changes in the Education <1 %

Programme for Mechanical Engineering
Technicians Over 25 Years", University of
Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021

Publication

671

Heike Goudriaan, James P. Lynch, Paul
Nieuwbeerta. "Reporting to the police in
western nations: A theoretical analysis of the
effects of social context", Justice Quarterly,
2004

Publication

672

Hurn, Jane Susan. "Investigating Austerity: An
Examination of the Effects of Austerity and
Additional Changes Between 2010 -2015 on
Detectives, Their Role and the CID
Investigative Process.", Canterbury Christ
Church University (United Kingdom), 2020

Publication

673

Jane C. Healy, Rosslyn Dray. "Missing links:
safeguarding and disability hate crime
responses", The Journal of Adult Protection,
2022

Publication

674

Jansen, Bram J.. "The Accidental City: Violence,
Economy and Humanitarianism in Kakuma
Refugee Camp Kenya", Wageningen University
and Research, 2021

Publication

<1 %

<1 %

<1 %

<1 %

675 Jeremy Segrott, Heather Rothwell, Gillian Hewitt, Rebecca Playle et al. "Preventing alcohol misuse in young people: an exploratory cluster randomised controlled trial of the Kids, Adults Together (KAT) programme", Public Health Research, 2015

Publication

<1 %

676 Jooste, Marli. "A Psychophysiological Study of Anxiety as Experienced by High School Rugby Players", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021

Publication

<1 %

677 Le Louvier, Kahina. "Between Exclusion and Inclusion: The Information Experience of People Going through the UK Asylum System.", University of Northumbria at Newcastle (United Kingdom), 2020

Publication

<1 %

678 Matteo Vergani, Barbara Perry, Joshua Freilich, Steven Chermak, Ryan Scrivens, Rouven Link. "PROTOCOL: Mapping the scientific knowledge and approaches to defining and measuring hate crime, hate speech, and hate incidents", Campbell Systematic Reviews, 2022

Publication

<1 %

679 Muhammad Azfar Nisar. "(Un)Becoming a Man: Legal Consciousness of the Third

<1 %

Gender Category in Pakistan", Gender & Society, 2017

Publication

-
- | | | |
|------------|--|----------------|
| 680 | Robinson, Kerry, Jones-Diaz, Criss. "EBOOK: Diversity and Difference in Childhood: Issues for Theory and Practice", EBOOK: Diversity and Difference in Childhood: Issues for Theory and Practice, 2017 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 681 | Stergios Aidinlis. "Defining the 'legal': two conceptions of legal consciousness and legal alienation in administrative justice research", Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law, 2019 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 682 | Taylor, T.. "A Retrospective Exploration of Women's Experiences in Violent Heterosexual Intimate Partner Relationships : A Thematic Case Analysis", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 683 | WILLIG. "EBOOK: Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology 4e", EBOOK: Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology 4e, 2021 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 684 | "Handbook of Religion and Society", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2016 | <1 % |
-

685	"Migration, Refugees and Human Security in the Mediterranean and MENA", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2018 Publication	<1 %
686	"Protecting the Displaced", Brill, 2010 Publication	<1 %
687	"Small States and the European Migrant Crisis", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2021 Publication	<1 %
688	"The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements", Wiley, 2018 Publication	<1 %
689	Anna-Maria Marshall. "Idle Rights: Employees' Rights Consciousness and the Construction of Sexual Harassment Policies", Law & Society Review, 3/2005 Publication	<1 %
690	Ayşe Güdük, Ellen Desmet. "Legal consciousness and migration: towards a research agenda", International Journal of Law in Context, 2022 Publication	<1 %
691	Dostoevsky, Fyodor. "Crime and Punishment (First Edition) (Norton Critical Editions)", W. W. Norton & Company Publication	<1 %

692 Ferreira-Snyman, Magdalena Petronella. "The Erosion of State Sovereignty in Public International Law: Towards a World Law?", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021
Publication

693 Ganany-Snider, Keren Levy | , םיִּסְטֵם לְמִשְׁלָה – םִּסְטֵם לְמִשְׁלָה
םיִּסְטֵם לְמִשְׁלָה. "Attitudes Toward Asylum Seekers Within the Framework of Exposure to Political Violence", University of Haifa (Israel), 2021
Publication

694 Hoffmann, Ulrike. "The Influence of Pro-migrant Groups Within the Shaping Process of the EU Asylum and Migration Policy.", University of Salford (United Kingdom), 2021
Publication

695 Holloway, Immy. "EBOOK: Qualitative Research in Health Care", EBOOK: Qualitative Research in Health Care, 2005
Publication

696 Judge, Emma. "The Experience of Thriving at Work for Managers in the Private and Public Sector.", Lancaster University (United Kingdom), 2020
Publication

697 Matthew D. Fetzer, Frank S. Pezzella. "The Nature of Bias Crime Injuries: A Comparative

Analysis of Physical and Psychological Victimization Effects", Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2016

Publication

-
- | | | |
|-------|---|------|
| 698 | McGhee, Derek. "EBOOK: Intolerant Britain? Hate Citizenship and Difference", EBOOK: Intolerant Britain? Hate Citizenship and Difference, 2005 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 699 | Moretta, Andrew. "Benchmarking Workplace Rights.", The University of Liverpool (United Kingdom), 2020 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 700 | Nishimwe, Clementine. "An African Women's Theology of Relatedness in the Context of Black African Migrant Women in South Africa", University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 701 | PRAKASH ADHIKARI. "The Plight of the Forgotten Ones: Civil War and Forced Migration1", International Studies Quarterly, 2012 | <1 % |
| <hr/> | | |
| 702 | Parker, Katharine. "Illicit Sex and Risk-Taking Behaviours: A Qualitative Study of the Public Sexual Practices of MSM in Newcastle upon | <1 % |

Tyne.", University of Northumbria at
Newcastle (United Kingdom), 2020

Publication

703

Simon Halliday. "After Hegemony: The
Varieties of Legal Consciousness Research",
Social & Legal Studies, 2019

Publication

<1 %

704

Tokuzlu, Lami Bertan. "Non-Refoulement
Principle in a Changing European Legal
Enviroment with Particular Emphasis on
Turkey, a Candidate Country at the External
Borders of the Eu.", Marmara Universitesi
(Turkey), 2021

Publication

<1 %

705

Veshi, Denard. "Refugee Flow: A Law and
Economics Approach", University of Haifa
(Israel), 2021

Publication

<1 %

706

Wheway, Lesley. "Adult Migrants' Writing in
English: Negotiating Social Processes for
Identity Construction in England.", Canterbury
Christ Church University (United Kingdom),
2020

Publication

<1 %

707

www.theguardian.com

Internet Source

<1 %

Exclude quotes Off

Exclude matches

< 3 words

Exclude bibliography Off