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## **CARIM INDIA – DEVELOPING A KNOWLEDGE BASE FOR POLICYMAKING ON INDIA-EU MIGRATION**

Co-financed by the European Union

### ***“Sweet Jail” The Indian Community in Greece***

**Nadina Christopoulou**

CARIM-India Research Report 2013/44



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**CARIM-India**  
**Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration**

**Research Report**  
**Case Study**  
**CARIM-India RR2013/44**

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## **CARIM-India – Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration**

This project is co-financed by the European Union and carried out by the EUI in partnership with the Indian Council of Overseas Employment, (ICOE), the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore Association, (IIMB), and Maastricht University (Faculty of Law).

The proposed action is aimed at consolidating a constructive dialogue between the EU and India on migration covering all migration-related aspects. The objectives of the proposed action are aimed at:

- Assembling high-level Indian-EU expertise in major disciplines that deal with migration (demography, economics, law, sociology and politics) with a view to building up migration studies in India. This is an inherently international exercise in which experts will use standardised concepts and instruments that allow for aggregation and comparison. These experts will belong to all major disciplines that deal with migration, ranging from demography to law and from economics to sociology and political science.
- Providing the Government of India as well as the European Union, its Member States, the academia and civil society, with:
  1. Reliable, updated and comparative information on migration
  2. In-depth analyses on India-EU highly-skilled and circular migration, but also on low-skilled and irregular migration.
- Making research serve action by connecting experts with both policy-makers and the wider public through respectively policy-oriented research, training courses, and outreach programmes.

These three objectives will be pursued with a view to developing a knowledge base addressed to policy-makers and migration stakeholders in both the EU and India.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/>

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## **Abstract**

Seen within the context of the rising Asian migration to Europe, the Indian community in Greece dates back to the early seventies. Contrary to most other migrant communities however, it is not concentrated in the capital Athens, but is mostly dispersed in various areas around Greece. Although the current crisis has slightly decreased its population, this predominantly male community finds employment in agriculture and manufacturing. The vast majority are Sikhs mainly from Punjab, who maintain tight links with each other through their various associations and gurudwaras, while at the same time they are in close contact with their homeland as well as with their diaspora networks worldwide.

*“In our language we say “mithi jail”- a kind of sweet prison. You want to leave, but you cannot leave it.”*

Barinder Singh interviewed in “For A Better Life”Indians in Attica: Here and There (Video Life Stories of Migrants, 2011, [www.videolifestories.org](http://www.videolifestories.org))

## **1. Introduction: A brief history, past and present**

The waves of Asian migrants heading to Europe over the last three decades, have brought a substantial number of Indians to Greece. In the early 1970s, the first Filipinos arrived, and they were soon followed by Pakistanis entering through a bilateral agreement, and subsequently by, inter alii, Indian, Chinese and Bangladeshis amounting to more than 130,000 (Tonchev 2007)<sup>1</sup>. The majority have either settled or sought temporary employment in Greece, in the course of migration.

The first Indian immigrants arrived in Greece individually, or in small family groups or groups with family ties, and not as parts of organized migration networks, in the early 1970s. They were predominantly male and of a relatively young age. They came searching for labour in order to support their families back home (Papageorgiou 2012, Tonchev 2007). Throughout this period, they settled in various locations within and outside the capital, and they established their communities there. As stated in the migrant communities register (2008:30-32, [www.inegsee.gr/equal/equal2/odigoskoinotiton.pdf](http://www.inegsee.gr/equal/equal2/odigoskoinotiton.pdf)), in the description of the origins of their main association, the Greek Indian Cultural and Welfare Association (GICWA), which was founded in 2005, they did not receive “any assistance from organized networks or communities at the time, and lived in severe circumstances experiencing difficulties and hardship”. Larger waves arrived in the years to follow, predominantly from Punjab. At first they found employment in the shipping industry as well as in fisheries, while they later infiltrated the agricultural sector, which currently remains their main source of employment.

Over the last three decades, Greece, a country with a complex migration history, has witnessed a significant transformation from being a traditionally “sending” to a “receiving” country (Fakiolas 1995, Kassimis and Kassimi 2004, Venturas 2004, Triandafyllidou 2009). This shift was not accomplished overnight, as there have been various incoming and outgoing waves and population movements throughout its history. Furthermore, it is closely interrelated with global dynamics and a variety of push and pull factors. The country’s status as the geographical gateway to Europe, together with Greece’s EU-membership have made it a necessary step for many, if not an attractive destination in itself. As an entry-point to the Schengen countries, it often serves as a bridge along migration routes originating in Asia and Africa. Many of the Asian migrants who have ended up settling in Greece may not have aimed at it primarily, but they stayed nonetheless, being unable to move further.

As a predominantly emigration country with a vast diaspora worldwide, Greece had already established links with the Indian subcontinent from the eighteenth century. It even boasted a vibrant Greek community, which had mainly settled in Bengal (Vassiliades 2000, Dodi 2002). That was the

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<sup>1</sup> The number corresponds to the findings of research on Asian communities in Greece (published in 2007), where the term is used in order to describe people originating in countries east of Iran, including Iran, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Thailand, China, Philippines. Smaller community cases such as Vietnam, Myanmar, Maldives, Bhutan, Nepal, North and South Korea, Mongolia, Japan, Taiwan, Brunei, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, East Timor, are included (though not examined in depth given their very low numbers in Greece). Turks, Syrians, Lebanese, Kurds, Iraqis, Palestinians and UAE are not included in the research, nor the Russian Federation and the former USSR republics nationals.

first destination in the subcontinent that Greek merchants reached in the middle of the eighteenth century, staying there for at least two centuries. Yet, smaller communities lived and thrived in other parts of the Indian subcontinent, and also in what is today Pakistan and Bangladesh. According to Dione Markou Dodi (2002), a researcher and writer born and bred within that diaspora community, Greek merchants had followed the spice route and the colonial networks, thus extending their activities beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. The first Greeks migrating from the Ottoman Empire eastwards, reached the English-speaking cities of the Asian subcontinent. They set up their businesses in the important trading junctions and subsequently migrated there, and established small but dynamic communities, trading jute, salt, soap, tobacco as well as horses. They actively supported the Greek liberation cause, contributing through remittances and also offering work to larger numbers of Greeks heading eastwards after the events in Asia Minor and the population exchanges. Cities like Calcutta and Dhaka hosted small communities of thriving Greek family businesses up until the 1950s (Dodi 2002).

On the other side, the Indian Army during World War I contributed various divisions and independent brigades to the European, Mediterranean and Middle Eastern theaters of war.<sup>2</sup>

One million Indian troops served overseas, of whom many died and others were wounded. The graves of those who died in Greece are located in the memorial grounds of the cemeteries of the Allied Forces in Athens and Salonica, and have recently attracted the interest of the Indian diaspora and the community living in Greece ([www.sikhnet.com](http://www.sikhnet.com)).

The good relations between the two countries together with a common commitment to freedom and democracy and admiration of Gandhi's ideals feature in official discourses between the two countries. In Greece, India is widely associated with the conquests of Alexander the Great. Part of India became the Indo-Greek kingdoms founded by his successors. As such it has a positive historical resonance and the links between the two cultures are often perceived as deep, strong and persistent (Vassiliades 2000).

Diplomatic relations between the two countries date back to 1950, while a resident embassy opened in Athens in 1978. In the official discourse of the Indian Embassy in Athens ([www.indianembassy.gr](http://www.indianembassy.gr)): "Interaction between India and Greece goes back to antiquity. In modern times, the two countries have developed a warm relationship based on a common commitment to democracy, peace and development in the world and to a social system imbued with principles of justice and equality. India and Greece also share common approaches to many international issues, such as UN reforms and Cyprus. Greece has been consistently supporting of India's core foreign policy objectives."

In the course of these years, a number of high ranking officials, including prime-ministers from both sides (J. Nehru, I. Gandhi, K. Karamanlis, A. Papandreou and K. Simitis among others), have exchanged visits. The city of Thessaloniki was twinned with Calcutta in January 2005.

A set of bilateral agreements regarding the economic relations between Greece and India have been signed over the years (see list in Appendix 1), while cultural relations with Greece are based on a bilateral Cultural Agreement which was signed in 1961 and revived in 1995. Several cultural organisations promote cultural contact between two countries. In India, there are two Greek centres, one in Calcutta and one in Varanasi, while in Athens there are several associations (i.e. Hellenic Indian Society) and so-called "Indophile" organisations (Yoga Institute, Bharatanatyam school, and the Brahmakumari Ashram). The Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) has also agreed with the Athens University of Economics & Business (AUEB) to establish a short term "Chair" in the field of Innovation and Entrepreneurship, while there are also strong links between the School of Foreign Languages, University of Athens the Banaras Hindu University. Indeed, every year a scholarship is

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<sup>2</sup> [www.britishpathe.com](http://www.britishpathe.com), [www.firstworldwar.com/features/casualties](http://www.firstworldwar.com/features/casualties), [www.1914-1918.net/salonica](http://www.1914-1918.net/salonica)

offered to a Greek national under the (Indian Council for Cultural Relations) ICCR's General Cultural Scholarship Scheme ([www.indianembassy.gr](http://www.indianembassy.gr)).

Yet, despite the optimal diplomatic relations, Indians were not among the first to start establishing migrant communities in Greece. At first they were sparse, mainly unspecialized workers, as well as a limited number of people with particular ties to Greece (i.e. marital, professional), while the majority of migrants originating on the subcontinent headed towards Britain and the Commonwealth countries.

The combination of push and pull factors that have given rise to Asian migration (Oonk 2007, Shukla 2002, Vertovec 1992), together with the vast demographic size of India, and the strategic location of Greece as an entry point to Europe, explain to a large extent its role as a bridge or a "stop-over junction" (Cholezas and Tsakoglou 2008, Tonchev 2007). Then, there is also the facilitating role of the support networks that established as well as emerging Asian migrant communities have in the arrival of other migrants from their various countries.

## **2. Demographic Characteristics of the Indian population**

The majority of Indian migrants are from Punjab. They are Sikh in religion and speak Punjabi. There are also some smaller groups of Indian Muslims and Hindus who come from other regions, mostly West Bengal (Papageorgiou 2006, 2012, Tonchev 2007). At first, they were almost exclusively male, but the number of couples and families has increasing with time, through family reunification schemes. The majority have established themselves in rural areas, in the vicinity of Athens or elsewhere. They remain strongly attached to their respective communities.

The current Indian population in Greece is estimated to be 12,000-15,000, most living outside Athens. According to unofficial estimates of the various Indian associations, the Indian population residing in Greece (including the undocumented migrants) reportedly exceeded 20,000 during the boom years of the Greek economy pre-2009. According to Maghar Gandhi, the president of the Greek-Indian Cultural Association, a sharp decline took place with the Greek crisis, with as many as 5,000 people heading elsewhere in order to seek employment in Northern Europe and the Arab Emirates, or even returning back to India with its booming economy.

Overall, the migrant population of Greece makes up approximately 10% of the local population and 20% of the economically active population of the country (Baldwin-Edwards 2004, [www.imepo.gr](http://www.imepo.gr), [www.migrantsingreece.org](http://www.migrantsingreece.org)). The majority originate in Albania and the Balkans as well as the former USSR republics, with an increasing number from Asia. The first to arrive in Greece were from Pakistan and the Philippines in the 1970s, to be followed by those from India, China, Bangladesh and Afghanistan (Tonchev 2007, Pavlou 2004). Documented third-country nationals stand at 537,237 (February 2013). According to statistics, Indians have been in the eighth position in the list of immigrant nationalities over the last decade and second in the list of Asiatic immigrants (Pavlou 2004: 373). According to informal sources, their number is significantly higher, as the majority of them enter the country without appropriate documentation and permits.

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**(2011 Census)**

Albania: 480.824 (52,7%)  
Bulgaria: 75.915 (8,3%)  
Romania: 46.523 (5,1%)  
Pakistan: 34.177 (3,7%)  
Georgia: 27.400 (3,0%)  
Ukraine: 17.006 (1,9%)  
UK: 15.386 (1,7%)  
Cyprus: 14.446 (1,6%)  
Poland: 14.145 (1,6%)  
Russian Federation: 13.807 (1,5%)  
India: 11.333 (1,2%)  
Bangladesh: 11.076 (1,2%)  
Germany: 10.778 (1,2%)  
Egypt: 10.455 (1,1%)  
Moldova: 10.391 (1,1%)  
Philippines: 9.804 (1,1%)

Source: *National Statistical Survey* (data provided September 2013)

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In recent data published by the Ministry of the Interior ([www.ypes.gr](http://www.ypes.gr), 4/2013) the registered numbers of the Indians residing legally in Greece are the following:

- Employed: 893
- Other categories: 5,635
- Family reunification: 3,731
- Studies: 20

According to the 2011 Census, the registered number of Indians in Greece differs slightly (10,043) ([www.statistics.gr](http://www.statistics.gr)). The size evolution progressed as follows:

1981: 754  
1991: 1720  
2001: 7583  
2006: 10697  
2013: 10279<sup>3</sup>

The Indian population of Greece is primarily male, as it was men of relatively young age seeking employment who arrived at first. Women did not migrate independently but those who are here today came mainly through family reunification schemes (see above stated numbers). A few have also intermarried with other nationalities, usually from the Indian subcontinent or Greece.

According to the Greek-Indian Cultural and Welfare Association, about 5% live in Athens by now (~ 1,000 people), mainly in the districts of Tavros, Menidi, or near the port of Pireus. The majority live outside Athens, in the surrounding rural areas (i.e. Marathonas, Koropi, Dilesi) or in other districts of Greece (Korinthia, Voiotia, Evoia, Crete and the islands of the Argosaronic Gulf), where they are employed mostly in agriculture and manufacturing.

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<sup>3</sup> This number differs slightly from the one provided by the Hellenic Statistical Service, which estimates Indians at 11,333.

The predominant type of Indian families in Greece is nuclear. Often however, they are surrounded by members of extended family networks who have also migrated along, or have later joined them. Yet, as the majority of the Indian immigrants are male, young and unmarried, they enter patterns of co-habitation either independently, or through their work contracts, patterns which strongly resemble extended family networks.

### 3. Socio-Economic Profile

Most male Indian migrants in Greece are unskilled. Many arrived irregularly, through land and sea routes, joining family members who had already settled in Greece. A substantial cluster of these arrived irregularly and acquired documents during the various regularization schemes that were implemented. Predominantly employed in agricultural, they often enter group contracts in seasonal labour. They are also employed in construction, manufacturing, shipping and fisheries, as well as small businesses, mainly in trade and tourism. The women are either employed in family businesses or as domestic aids, while the majority remain within the household sphere taking care of their families. Very few among the overall community enjoy insurance coverage and social security benefits (Tonchev 2007:3-11).

The level of education is presented in the following columns in comparison to the overall migrant population (source: Institute of International Economic Relations, Tonchev 2007). It should be remembered that the younger members of the community attend the mandatory educational system thus abolishing illiteracy rates.

<b>Education</b>	<b>Indians</b>	<b>Total of migrants</b>
MA/MB or PhD holders:	0.3%	0.6%
University Graduates:	1.6%	9.3%
Higher professional training:	1.2%	2.7%
College graduates:	22.9%	29.3%
Secondary school graduates:	21.1%	16.8%
Primary school graduates:	35.8%	21.9%
Primary school partly:	0.6%	7.4%
Basic reading and writing skills:	5.75%	2.8%
Illiterate:	10.7%	9.2%

The levels of linguistic integration are relatively low. The use of English sometimes persists as it has become acceptable as a means of communication, especially in working transactions. The use of Punjabi, the native language, persists among compatriots within the ethnic and religious community. The difficulty of learning Greek, the sparse offer of language courses for migrants by the state, together with the difficulties faced by the migrants themselves especially upon arrival, make it a major challenge. There are classes available at the Language Centre of the University of Athens as well as through various NGOs and citizen's initiatives, but attending them demands time, effort and flexible working conditions. This is not feasible for most migrants.

On the other hand, the so-called 1.5 generation (those who migrated at a young age following their parents), or the second generation (those who were born here and are still in school), are fluent in both Greek and Punjabi: they also learn English and even French at school. Their language skills also facilitate the linguistic integration of their parents. Often, they act as translators and mediators, undertaking adult roles and responsibilities (Christopoulou and DeLeeuw 2008). They help their

parents, and especially their mothers who mostly remain in the domestic sphere, not to mention newcomers. Those members of the community who engage in public activities mingling with the local population (work, school etc) often adopt or acquire a Greek name, usually one that acoustically resembles their own. This is not the case however, for the women who stay at home, and for whom a "local" name as a term of familiarity with the locals is not considered necessary.

The Indian community in Greece remains predominantly and disproportionately male. There are smaller numbers of women who joined their husbands through family reunification schemes, or in order to enter a prospective marriage. Although there are various professional women pursuing their careers in Greece, there are no records of women from India migrating independently and establishing themselves in Greece: save in cases where they have special links and strings attached to the host society or to already established networks within the Indian community in Greece.

A migrant enters a migration trajectory in the most productive period of life, which coincides with the reproductive period. The degree of integration and subsequently the levels of intermarriage within the host society consequently remain very low. The predominantly young male population of the Indian community, seek to create families mostly back in India. Those who arrive unmarried, may start pursuing an acquaintance or forming a connection with a potential bride in India. Vast and complex networks are involved in this process, as the aim largely remains a return there.

#### 4. Remittances and ties with India

Indians in Greece exhibit strong remittance behavior, sending most of their acquired income back to their homeland. This is especially the case for those who are employed in large, industrialized farms, living in the vicinity of their labour locations, with their basic needs covered by the employer (group accommodation and basic nutrition). They usually enter these agreements through the mediation of networks who also handle their movement from one place to another for seasonal labour and who may also be related to labour-trafficking networks. In those cases, the persons involved, do not engage much in the local life and save the majority of their income in order to send it back to their family in India. It is only in the case of those pursuing further migration, or those who have established families and small businesses, that remittances decrease. Yet, even in those cases, remittances are not omitted altogether, they merely decline in size. From personal communications and an informal survey conducted in small shops and businesses run by Indians in the centre of Athens, that also deal with remittances and arrange money transfers and other exchanges, most is channeled back to Punjab. Official data confirm this.

**Western Union Remittances (Source: Western Union)**

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013 (31/10)
<b>PAKISTAN</b>	7997	10213	15631	15514	17896	28444	24266
<b>INDIA</b>	14112	15869	12999	10906	11053	11283	8418
<b>BANGLADESH</b>	2550	2262	2770	2303	3154	5381	6174
<b>PHILIPPINES</b>	14769	18810	19395	15427	10771	8815	7016
<b>CHINA</b>	3888	6654	8717	8627	8800	8307	7832

**Total volume of remittances to India (in million €)**

2008:	0,020
2009:	0,130
2010:	0,033
2011:	0,018
2012:	0,015
2013 (January-July):	0,035

*Source:* Bank of Greece (October 2013)

Beyond the material contribution however, further ties with India are maintained mainly through familial and regional bonds. The use of internet, free or inexpensive phone services and social media is very widespread among the young male population. Young males seek to maintain contact with the homeland and, at the same time, make new acquaintances and form new bonds. Marriages are frequently arranged through these channels of communication, in a peculiar combination of old and new practices. Many such marriages eventually take place in India and the new couple either settles in Greece or divide for a long-distance relationship.

Most Indians in Greece are Sikh. They often have religious affiliations through Sikh networks and sanctuaries or gurdwaras (sanctuaries, literally meaning God's doors) around Greece. Although the dominant concerns are those related to life in the host society, links with India are sustained through this major socialization process. Returning to Punjab, even for a short while, and even managing to visit the Golden Temple, the holy place of the Sikhs, emerge frequently in informal talk.

Indian party politics on the other hand does not feature very highly, as the demands of daily life in Greece absorbs most energy and concerns. After all, this is the chosen place of residence, permanent or temporary, and, over time, it also becomes the primary frame of reference. As such, the longing that binds the migrant to the homeland is surpassed or at least paired by the longing to adapt and integrate in the host society, with the pursuit of a better life.

There is a small number of Indian students in Greece studying mainly computer science, business administration and information technology, in Athens, Patra and Ioannina. They often receive support from their associations and gurdwaras, as well as from their own relatives. There are also cases, however, where the offspring of Indians living in Greece are encouraged to pursue further studies abroad. Furthermore, there is no direct air link between India and Greece, and transport takes place via Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Istanbul, Doha, Bahrain, Amman and several European cities.

## 5. Legal framework

Greece's shift from a migration sending to a migration receiving country in the span of the last three decades found it unprepared in terms of migration policy and legislation (see also Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2007, Triandafyllidou 2005, Cavounidis 2002, Lianos 2001, Baldwin-Edwards and Fakiolas 1998, Fakiolas 1997). The issue was "pushed under the rug" and was not sufficiently acknowledged nor assessed by consecutive governments. The contribution of inexpensive –irregular and non-insured– labour to the growing economy was welcome. However, it was not paired by sufficient

measures promoting the regularization and integration of migrants. Eventually, and under pressure from inside and outside the Greek society, and mainly the EU, procedures were initiated. The 1975/1991 Act on the "entry-exit, residence, employment, expulsion of foreigners and procedure for the recognition of the status of refugee for foreigners" established at the time of a major influx of Albanian migrants, following the opening of the borders between Greece and Albania, created five permit categories for those entering Greece:

- a) short-term residence card,
- b) residence permit for work purposes
- c) family members residence permit
- d) student residence permit
- e) ethnic Greeks residence permits (for repatriating ethnic Greeks from the former USSR).

The Act addressed the needs of those wanting to enter Greece, but not, of course, those who would enter irregularly. Subsequently, a series of regularization procedures were undertaken. The Presidential Decrees 358/1997 and 359/1997 aimed at the legalization of migrants residence and labour in Greece, through the issuing of the so-called "green-card". The procedure entailed two distinct stages: all migrants living in Greece had the obligation to enroll at the OAED (Manpower Employment Organization) registers, in order to acquire a Temporary Residence Card (the so-called "white card"). Subsequently, after the submission of a further application, they were granted an "attestation letter", which gave them the right to stay and work in the country, until they were granted the Limited Period Residence Permit (2nd Article of the presidential decree 359/1997). 371,641 immigrants –an estimated half of the total migrant population residing in Greece at the time–registered for the white card, while 212,860 received a green card. Act 2910/2001 replaced the previous act, launching another regularization procedure. The most recent regularization program took place in 2005-6 (~200.000 applicants, Act-3386/2005). In this act, the residence permit and the work permit become a single document, issued by the regional authorities. The residence permits from then on, fell into the following categories:

- a) employment purposes (dependent employment, provision of services or work, seasonal employment etc)
- b) independent economic activity
- c) special reasons (e.g. studies, vocational training etc)
- d) exceptional reasons (e.g. humanitarian reasons, victims of trafficking, reasons of public interest)
- e) family reunification
- f) unfixed-term residence permit
- g) long-term residence permit

Despite these acts, however, and given the continuous pressure of incoming irregular migration at the Greek-Turkish borders, large numbers remain unregistered. At the same time, many of those who had submitted applications or were even granted temporary permits, have now fallen back into the previous state, as they did not manage to secure either the funds or the essential documents for proceeding (Triandafyllidou 2005, 2009).

The Greek state has largely perceived migration policy in terms of border control - a strategy that is bound to be unsuccessful given Greece's position upon the Turkey-to-Europe migration route, and the vast and permeable sea border. In this sense, the dominant trend in its migration policy is one of suppression and exclusion, rather than integration. The lack of broad and effective regularization programs, as well as the lack of sufficient integration strategies paired with insurmountable bureaucracy, have created many impediments for those migrants who wish to settle here. Often the situation they experience is described by some in terms of "entrapment" (male informant, married, 41 years old).

Despite the implementation of the legislation regarding family reunifications (EU directive 2003/86, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do>), the levels remain relatively low (Tonchev 2007), creating major obstacles to the predominantly male population in terms of living what they perceive as “decent lives” and pursuing their life prospects more generally.

Finally, the legislation on naturalization and acquisition of civic rights remained, until very recently, geared to the notion of *jus sanguinis* and not *jus solis*. A bold new law (3838/2010) established access to voting rights for third-country nationals legally residing in Greece, as well as citizenship acquisition for the Greek-born children of migrants (the so-called “second generation”) was annulled. It had been heavily criticized because it was alleged to alter the “homogeneous fabric” of Greek society. In the context of rising populism, racism and xenophobia that the severe financial crisis has allowed to flourish and expand, this has stirred public debate and created major frictions. With the suspension of this act, minors still have access to education and are, indeed, subject to mandatory schooling just like Greek nationals (under the provisions of Article 72 of the 3386/2005 Act). They also have access to health care. Their access to citizenship is still being debated and will be regulated with the anticipated new citizenship law. Overall however, the state policies could be characterized as non-inclusive.

## 6. Media perception of the Indian community

As the public perception of migration throughout Europe tends to be increasingly negative (Canoy *et al.* 2006), the Indians living within the EU countries face similar challenges. In Greece in particular, and especially in the course of the financial crisis that has given rise to overt racism, the public discourse has been contaminated by unprecedented hatred. This may not be directed at Indians *per se* but to “Asians” as a whole. There are references to “nameless masses” of people “invading Greece on their way to Europe”. Cultural traits and selective affinities between Greece and India are undermined, as the homogenizing term “Asians” prevails in public discourse. Although these views are not officially expressed in mainstream media and only find their way into the ultra-right propaganda, often anonymously, they flood the social media and the comments sections of online versions of newspapers and news websites.

Even a decade ago, the European Monitor Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC:2003), had reported findings of high resistance to immigrants (87%) and low tolerance to diversity in Greece (77%). The situation deteriorated with the crisis, and the migrants, instead of being perceived as contributing to the country’s economy, were perceived as a threat to the local workforce and as the main cause of mounting unemployment rates among Greeks. The numbers of irregular migrants entering Greece and the lack of efficient measures to control the influx have also severely affected the overall perception, presenting them as a major threat to the country’s security. Rising criminality, instead, of being seen in the wider context of financial collapse, has often been associated with a growing intolerance towards foreigners.

In the course of our research we tracked Greek Indian news stories. The press reports related to Indians living in Greece during the summer months included:

- Golden Dawn attacks on seven houses of Indian and Pakistani migrants living in Menidi (19/7/2013). The members of the ultra-right vigilante group broke into their houses in the evening, while they were resting with their families, and beat them, breaking their possessions. The response of the police was unsatisfactory (20/7/2013, [www.tvxs.gr](http://www.tvxs.gr))
- Indians involved in drug trafficking in Evia (24.7.2013)
- August uprising in the Amygdaleza pre-removal centre in the district of Attica, including Asians escaping (August 10-11/2013)

- August attacks against six Indian migrants in Rethymno, Crete. The six men were waiting for the bus they used in order to commute to their work when they became the target of knife attacks (9/8/2013, [www.tvxs.gr](http://www.tvxs.gr))
- August attack and rape of a woman by four men of Indian and Pakistani origin (29/8/2013, [www.star.gr](http://www.star.gr))
- Indian tourists attracted to Greece because of Alexander the Great (1/9/2013, [www.kerdos.gr](http://www.kerdos.gr))
- Indian high-school student tied onto a tree and beaten up in midday (29/9/2013)
- Indian migrant found murdered in Menidi, Attica (30/9/2013 [www.skai.gr](http://www.skai.gr))

Indians in Greece are a highly visible population with distinct physical characteristics, often in Indian attire as in the case of the women's head-scarf or the Sikh turban. Indians are widely perceived as being part of a wider Asian migrant population, which has increased rapidly in recent years. Yet, D. Vassiliades<sup>4</sup>, a distinguished scholar of Sanskrit and Hindi and founding member of the ELINEPA organization which promotes contact and communication between Greeks and Indians, makes another point. Indians are not the prime targets of racism due to the fact that few are Muslim. They may, indeed, attract less animosity but, as is frequently mentioned in the hatred-discourse inflamed by extreme populists, they have also started being perceived as "intruders". They arrive, it is alleged, in large numbers posing a threat to the inner structure and the ethical norms of Greek society. The rise of ultra-right populism, racism and xenophobia has affected all the "visible" communities, making them targets of racial hatred, thus forcing them into "invisible" positions within the social sphere.

Individual criminal cases reported among Asians have often acquired wider dimensions, while tensions caused by protests and uprisings on behalf of migrants themselves: e.g. in the 2009 demonstrations about the Koran incident between the police and a Pakistani immigrant, [www.news.in.gr/Greece/article/?=1016429](http://www.news.in.gr/Greece/article/?=1016429). As such Asians have had brushes with the police and an angry reaction from the public. On the other hand, after the alleged attacks of members of the ultra-right Golden Dawn on Indian immigrants, the vigilante party has even uploaded a reference to India on its website. There it refers to fights between Muslims and Hindus and "pogroms" by Indians against their compatriots in Assam, as a warning for what may happen to Greece with the invasion of Islam ([www.xrysiavgi.com](http://www.xrysiavgi.com), 22.6.2012). Yet at the same time, solidarity and support are being expressed, either by fellow migrants or Greeks who have reacted to the shift to a claustrophobic view of society and blatant racism.

Despite the negative associations and resonances of migrants that often surface in the media (Panousis 2002), Indians –especially non-Muslim Indians– are often portrayed differently. They are seen as having a higher education level (not least due to their knowledge of English), strong moral standards and high levels of dedication and commitment to their family and work. There are often various success stories of Indian immigrants who "made it" through their hard work and stand as positive examples: e.g. there is an owner of restaurant chain Indian Athens who started from heavy menial labour and succeeded as an entrepreneur, as portrayed in the popular Star TV channel and website ([www.star.gr](http://www.star.gr), 30.6.2003). Overall, not least due to the past record of good diplomatic relations between the two countries, as well as due to the active role played by their own networks, they command a high place in the Greek public perception. Certainly public perceptions are good compared to many other migrants, and especially migrants from other Asian countries.

Finally, there two main newspapers addressing the Indian community, namely *The Voice of India* and the (now sparsely published) *Indo-Greek Times*. Both are written in Punjabi, with some information in English, and both are published in Athens. They contain news from Punjab and India in general, as well as smaller sections with local and international news. They also serve as platforms of

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<sup>4</sup> (personal communication, July 2013)

advertising for Indian-owned and/or run businesses, as well as services that are provided to the resident Indian population in the host country or directly from the homeland.

## 7. Caste and migration

Much has been said about caste reformation or disintegration in the course of migration (Schwartz 1967; Brown 1981), concluding that despite the survival of certain elements of the caste system outside India, the caste as a system of social, economic and political organization is unable to persist and survive the migration process. It has also been argued that caste persistence may relate to the type of migration pursued and the emphasis on individual or group migration (Grieco 1998). Caste, as a major form of organization in India, can indeed be seen in the context of the general network reformation and the establishment of ethnic groups away from the homeland.

In the degree of caste transfer however, a major role is also played by the migration policy of receiving states (Freeman 1992), or the modes of incorporation of the migrant community into the receiving society (Portes and Borocz, 1989). The same could be argued in the case of the Indian community in Greece, as there is no direct manifestation of ancestral caste persistence. Rather there is the formation of new networks geared more towards the necessities of the host country. This is significantly accentuated by the lack of efficient integration policies in the host society and the urgent need faced by migrants to organize themselves in order to secure better circumstances for their subsistence. Hence, while certain networks may, indeed, be initially founded upon caste, they function in a way that is geared towards the pressing necessities of survival in the host country and the challenges encountered.

Overall, caste relates more to the forms of organization that refer back to the country of origin and the reasons that led to migration (Grieco 1998). It also relates to the type of labour sought and pursued, playing a role in encouraging and facilitating chain migration, rather than the actual life experience in the host country itself. There has been a shift to individual or small group migration instead of large, cohesive group units moving altogether as in previous periods, and within colonial bonds. Given the social and economic obligations binding one to one's own caste or subcaste groups recede or are eliminated (Grieco 1998:719). The survival-network in the reception country is activated prior to the course of migration, in terms of providing essential information and assisting with arrangements. Communication is pursued mainly through relatives, as well as the social and professional circuits. In that sense, caste influences or affects the flow of information, the choices and the migration plan, as well as the eventual access to work, resources and support upon arrival. Yet, once in the reception country, assuming that the migrant becomes acquainted with the wider community residing in the country, as well as other migrants of different origins, the situation starts shifting to a more open and flexible context. According to various informants, the jobs they have found come through relatives as well as friends, and the process is often more random than one of strict adherence to caste demarcations. The same happens in regard to socialization networks, as well as wider access to information and to other resources.

Furthermore, in the case of Greece, as most migrant Indians are Sikh, so caste is downplayed and to a large extent denounced. Sikhism is hostile to the caste system, and proclaims equality among its members, entailing a leveling of social divisions. Although caste is still observed in Sikh society, albeit in a limited manner, its persistence in the social organization of networks is scarcely visible but not overbearing. Hence castes exist, but, at least in official discourse, they are proclaimed as equal.

To the degree that caste persists, however, it is not an aspect of the identity of the local communities that is chosen to emphatically characterize their outward image and perception. As a cultural trait, it is a lot less pronounced than religious affiliations, for example, and not widely talked about with outsiders. Inter-caste relations are mostly affected by issues that arise locally, rather than caste allegiance. They are shaped by current pressures and necessities, rather than by retained links from their past. As a result, caste allegiance is not proclaimed, nor does it limit or impede inter-caste relationships.

However, one can detect clearer caste demarcation lines in relation to religion, as in the case of the Ravidassia community and their recent differentiation from the rest of the Sikh community in Greece, as well as elsewhere. In the course of this division, there is a certain degree of caste evocation on both sides. The explanations for the dissent and eventual separation of the Ravidassi is associated to lower caste allegiance. This is a recent split, which took place in 2010 following the 2009 Vienna shooting of a Sikh priest by Sikh extremists. The roots of this dissent, however, are deeper, and have been associated with caste as well as political and ideological reasons. The Ravidassia community stems from a lower caste of untouchables in Punjab, following the teaching of Guru Ravidass. Ravidass, though incorporated in the Sikh pantheon, and despite the fact that 41 of his hymns are included in the Granth Sahib, has not been granted the title of the *guru* or "teacher/saint". Rather he continues to be termed *abhat* or "holy person". This has been interpreted as due to his Chamar (leather-worker) caste origin. Various Ravidassi communities around Europe (e.g. Italy and Spain) have proceeded to create their own independent places of worship. As such, it is a religious formation that shaped itself in diaspora, despite the various claims that it came as a response to the exclusion of Ravidassi from certain temples in Punjab. In this sense, it poses a counter-argument to the theory of caste-disintegration in the course of migration (Schwartz 1967; Brown 1981, Grieco 1998). Indeed, it has been argued that inequalities emerge more in inter-caste mixing in the course of migration, than in Punjab, where religious life is more segregated (Lum 2011:193). This formerly untouchable community, having experienced the disparity between the caste-equality preached and the inequality practiced, proclaimed its independence in a move of self-assertion. The mainstream Sikh community presents this as a struggle for access to power and resources. The Ravidassi community, of course, presents the split as a reaction against the status they have been given.

## 8. Religious Centers/Cultural Associations

A variety of temples and worship places (*gurdwaras*) exist in the areas that the Indian communities live. Some are also linked to particular cultural associations. They are part of the weekly routine of the local community, serving not simply as places of worship but also as spaces of socialization. The spiritual element melds into the social, as religious practices are neither segregated nor separated from the daily lives of the Sikh Indian communities. Routine social exchanges also establish networks through which information circulates. Newly arrived migrants find support there, they become acquainted with and relate to those better established in the reception country. Access to resources becomes more feasible within these shared, communal contexts. Practical advice and information is dispersed, the knowledge and experience of others regarding the "new codes" of the host society is channelled to those in need, and at the same time, one can also find there spiritual and psychological support. The open "door of the teacher", according to a newly arrived informant, is a symbol of relief from the stress and anxiety of life in a foreign country.

Temples and other places of worship (*gurdwara*) are to be found in several locations around Greece: mainly in Attica (Tavros, Megara, Aghioi Theodoroi, Dilesi), but also in Voiotia (Oinofyta, Thiva), Korinthia (Korinthos), Argolida (Kranidi), Crete and the smaller island of Poros (Argosaronic Gulf). These worship places exist in rented or owned apartments and buildings. They may not necessarily resemble equivalent temples in India, as they are housed in old storage or retail spaces, which have been converted for the purpose they have to fulfill. Painted in bright colours, and decorated with the common Sikh symbols as well as plants and flowers, they are said to be always open. They are, indeed, open every day during the week, but attract larger crowds at weekends. Sikh rites are customarily observed, and everyone is welcome. The Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh holy book (also called *Adi Granth*) lies covered by a white silk cloth, beside bowls of food offerings and the *chauri*, the whisk that is waved during readings, as well as various other symbols and musical instruments. A communal kitchen usually exists, where the men and women of the community take turns in preparing the food to be offered. Communal meals are served (usually breakfast and lunch). In recent years, a few temples have been created on land that has been purchased for this purpose.

The biggest and best known among them, is the Shri Guru Nanak Darbar in the Tavros district of Athens. The gurudwara is linked to the Cultural Association of Indians in Greece. Food is cooked and served daily, while at weekends, large numbers of people gather in order to worship in common and socialize, or, as they say: “eat and pray together”. Other events are also celebrated there, such as someone’s birthday. This is a major place for worship and gathering, where Sikhs from all over Greece come to liaise and worship together during festivities. The money for its purchase and maintenance has reportedly come from contributions of members, donations as well as support from Sikhs around the world. People can, also, contribute in kind.

In formal and informal discussions taking place there, it is often emphasized that the gurudwaras are not open to Sikhs alone, but to everyone who wishes to go. That is also addressed to the Ravidassi who up until 2010 used to worship in common with Sikhs, but have recently departed and have been creating their own temples. Ravidassia community gurudwaras now exist in Koropi, Marathonas and Menidi in the Attica region, as well as in Schimatari (Voiotia region) and Psachna (Evoia region). They are called *bhawan* or *Gurughar*, although the Sikh term *gurudwara* may also be used. Their holy book is called “Amritbani Guru Ravidass Ji” and contains the hymns of Guru Ravidass. According to mainstream Sikhs who often evade the issue, it is “just like the Guru Granth Sahib with a few section removed”.

Associations also exist beyond the religious affiliation lines. The main registered association of the Indian community in Greece is the Greek-Indian Cultural and Welfare Association (GICWA). It is a non-profit organization dedicated to “furthering the professional development and advancement of Indian-Greeks” ([www.indogreek.org](http://www.indogreek.org)). GICWA organizes social and cultural events and get-togethers, while at the same time being a professional networking association. They provide assistance to newcomers from India and support them in the challenges they face within the host society, and also in their communication with the embassy and the local authorities. The aim is “to develop a support group which can be activated when in need, personally and professionally, to create bonds”. Furthermore, it aims to support underprivileged communities and assist those in need. According to its president Maghar Gandhi, a shipping businessman based in Piraeus, the association tries to cultivate a sense of community and help the people from the “tri-state area” of the Indian subcontinent when in need, irrespectively of their nationality and their ethnic ties, “abandoning isolationism and strengthening unity”<sup>5</sup>. The aim is to cultivate a sense of community through volunteer activities in order to create a better environment for the younger generation and to promote integration. They liaise with other migrant and local organizations as well as with municipal authorities in the high-density of Indian population areas (i.e. the Municipalities of Aghios Ioannis Renti, Nikaia, Menidi, Piraeus, Marathonas). At the same time, they liaise with the smaller cultural and religious associations founded in the dispersed Indian communities around Greece. The name of its website ([www.indogreek.org](http://www.indogreek.org)) is a direct reference to the Indo-Greek Kingdoms founded by the successors of Alexander the Great (180BC-10AD).

The Indo-Hellenic Society for Culture and Development is a non-profit organization which was founded in 2003 with the aim of the “growth of Indo-Hellenic educational, social, cultural and developmental cooperation resulting in the aesthetic, moral and intellectual uplift of the individual, development of universal thought, transcultural dialogue and peaceful coexistence of people” ([www.elinepa.org](http://www.elinepa.org)) and engages in a variety of activities including education (Hindi and Sanskrit language, lectures and seminars on philosophy and culture), research and publications, organization of cultural and artistic events as well as tours in Greece and India. Furthermore, as it states on its website, it encourages the growth of commercial and industrial collaboration between the two countries, while at the same time it aims to provide aid to immigrants, refugees and people in need. It has been founded by people with academic or family ties to India, and seeks to enhance the mutual understanding and respect, and to sustain the bonds between the two countries. They have links with various academic institutions in India, including the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies.

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<sup>5</sup> (personal communication, May 2013)

## 9. The Socio-cultural integration of the Indian population

Migrant integration is a major issue in Greece today, and has been severely challenged by the overall crisis and the accompanying rise of populism and xenophobia. Despite the proclaimed commitment to the 2005 Council of Europe "Common framework for integration: common basic principles for immigrant integration in the European Union" as stated in the "National Strategy for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals" ([www.ypes.gr](http://www.ypes.gr), 4/2013), there was a lack of efficient and effective integration policies even in the pre-crisis years. This has contributed towards the more general failure.

In the period preceding the crisis, local societies were institutionally unprepared for the shift in its demography. Though the economy absorbed incoming migration and enjoyed the benefits of inexpensive labour and over-abundant labour offers (see also Zografakis, Kontis and Mitrakos 2007, Labrianidis and Lyberaki 2001) it failed to confront the issues of political and sociocultural integration. In practice, integration was undertaken more by the migrant communities themselves, through formal and informal networks and initiatives, than by the state, despite various declarations and commitments to EU imperatives. As a result, various measures for prompting integration remained inactive or partial, and did not manage to contribute to the creation of a pluralist society (also see EUMC 2003 report on Racism and Xenophobia). The financial failures, which led to the severe crisis that the country is currently going through, have often been blamed on migrants. The unprecedented rise of the extreme populists has produced a blurred discourse confusing mounting unemployment and the causes and effects of the economic collapse. It has proved a fertile ground for their exclusionary tactics.

As with other migrant communities living in Greece, Indians have been struggling to subsist and integrate despite the adversities that they face. A major role in terms of that is played by the established networks, formal and informal. There is a variety of structural factors of both the sending and the receiving community, which have an effect on network formation (Portes 1995b, Gurak and Caces 1992, Portes and Borocz, 1989; Massey *et al.*, 1993 among others). Beyond facilitating migration, their role within the migrant communities is crucial. They sustain links among the migrants and the homeland, creating new ones with migrants facing similar problems and adversities, opening channels of communication between migrants and the host society.

According to the most informants who came to Greece in the years of economic growth, their first steps were facilitated by networks of settled Indians, or Asians in general. Many established themselves, in connection with incoming migrants from the subcontinent, rather than through interactions with the host society. A vast number of small-businesses are directly addressing the growing Asian communities, importing goods and offering services (i.e. travel, remittances, communication) to their rising demand. Some of the goods that they import and offer for sale and consumption may not have been on sale in Greece before: or if they had been on sale they had cost a good deal more. Beyond the formal transactions, there is a parallel informal sector of services offered (e.g. money-lending). Often, the two sectors may intermingle. A small shop for example, may serve as a hub of contact and communication among compatriots. There, they may seek information about issues of their interest or about work and services, and at the same time liaise with those offering them a parallel transaction. According to one informant who frequents such a small shop regularly, "I go at least once a week, usually on Thursdays, to meet people from the same area, and by now we are friends with the owner and his wife" (female, married, 38 years old). That is where she found her current job as a domestic aid, as well as a temporary job as a substitute, and where she was assisted through a loan when she faced some financial difficulties.

Many of those small businesses are situated in the areas a higher concentration of Indians or other South-Asians. But they are also found in the centre of Athens where migrants may come from the suburbs or even from other cities around Greece, in order to pursue their transactions and also socialize. Some Indian owners employ people from the other subcontinental states in order to run their businesses.

According to another informant (male, single, 27 years old) who works as a taxi-driver and lives in one of the Athenian suburbs, he came to Greece in order to join his cousin and they were both assisted by other compatriots in finding employment as taxi-drivers and eventually rented together a cab and worked in shifts. They stay in the same area where they first found accommodation and they have established links with their own community, as well as the host society. In their case, what was particularly helpful was their ability to attend Greek language classes and to improve their communication skills and their employment prospects.

Yet, the general level of sociocultural as well as the political integration of the Indian population remains relatively low. The pace is similar to that of the other migrant communities, if not lower. This is a result of the limited resources and opportunities available to migrants in order to promote their own integration, and most importantly, the state's inefficiency to implement efficient integration policies, not to mention securing access to citizenship and political rights. According to a male informant: "measures but not strategies, words but not deeds" (male, married, 62 years old). As a result, socio-cultural integration, albeit more pervasive than political integration, remains incidental and largely dependent upon the efforts and initiatives of the migrants themselves and their respective networks, who also play the role of creating bonds and bridges between the emergent ethnic communities and the host society and members of the migrant groups at large, fostering communication.

The opportunities for contact and cooperation among the so-called "tri-state" people, which did not exist back in the Asian context, but do come up abroad are frequently mentioned among the Indians living in Greece. Similarly, great value is attached to contact with the locals or other migrants from elsewhere. The potential for communication found in the course of migration, beyond the barriers of one's homeland is a source of strength and inspiration for many migrants, regardless of their place of origin. In that sense, the longing for a homeland is paired by the longing for a good life in the host society.

## 10. Epilogue

Kiranzat, a fourteen-year-old girl who also answers to the common Greek name Jota ("Zat" from Kiranzat sounds very similar to it, so we chose it" as she explains in fluent Greek), says: *"I was born here, I go to school and have many friends. I have been to Punjab three times and have visited the Golden Temple, it is so beautiful. We have a shared home with my grandparents, we have so many friends there. We are in contact through Skype and Viber and the Internet, all the time. But I don't think I would go there to live. Maybe I would go to Canada, I have other relatives there. That, I would really like... My ambition in fact, would be to become an air-hostess, that way I would not have to chose, I could just go back and forth from one place to the other and live between Athens and Canada and Punjab."* Her words, delivered in a matter-of-fact tone, convey the new orientations, the multiple allegiances and the broader identities that diaspora allows.

## Appendix 1

### Indian community in Greece - population data

Previous data:

Country of Origin	Census 2001		Valid Permits April 2008		EU Citizens' Valid Permits April 2008		All foreigners EU and non-EU 39,539	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Albania	438,036	57,49%	274,390	63.51%			459,390 <sup>1</sup>	68.47
Bulgaria	35,104	4.60%	18,154	4,2%	11,805	21,90%	29,959	4.47
Georgia	22,875	3.00%	12,825	2.96%			12,825	1.91
Rumania	21,994	2.88%	10,574	2.44%	8,775	16.28%	19,349	2.88
USA	18,140	2.38%	1,893				1,893	
Russia	17,535	2.30%	10,564	2.44%			10,564	1.57
Cyprus	17,426	2.28%			5,592	10.37%	5,592	0.83
Ukraine	13,616	1.78%	17,456	4.04%			17,456	2.60
UK	13,196	1.73%			6,715	12.45%	6,715	1.00
Poland	12,831	1.68%	876	0.20%	6,922	12.84%	7,798	1.16
Germany	11,806	1.54%			4,063	7.53%	4,063	0.61
Pakistan	11,130	1.46%	11,084	2.56%			11,084	1.65
Australia	8,767	1.15%						
Turkey	7,881	1.03%	1,069	0.24%			1,069	0.16
Egypt	7,448	0.97%	10,090	2.33%			10,090	1.50
India	7,216	0.94%	8,688	2.01%			8,688	1.29
Philippines	6,478	0.85%	6,790	1.57%			6,790	1.01
Italy	5,825	0.76%			2,218	4.11%	2,218	0.33
Moldavia	5,718	0.75%	8,767	2.02%			8,767	1.31
Syria	5,552	0.72%	5,586	1.29%			5,586	0.83
Bangladesh	4854	0.63%	3,761	0.87%			3,761	0.56
OTHER	68,385	8.97%	29,455	6.81%	7,810	18.60%	37,265	5.55
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>761,813</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>432,022</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>53,900</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>670,922</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: National Statistical Survey/Ministry of the Interior

#### 16 largest groups (2011 Census)

Albania: 480.824 (52,7%)  
 Bulgaria: 75.915 (8,3%)  
 Romania: 46.523 (5,1%)  
 Pakistan: 34.177 (3,7%)  
 Georgia: 27.400 (3,0%)  
 Ukraine: 17.006 (1,9%)  
 UK: 15.386 (1,7%)  
 Cyprus: 14.446 (1,6%)  
 Poland: 14.145 (1,6%)  
 Russian Federation: 13.807 (1,5%)  
 India: 11.333 (1,2%)  
 Bangladesh: 11.076 (1,2%)  
 Germany: 10.778 (1,2%)  
 Egypt: 10.455 (1,1%)  
 Moldova: 10.391 (1,1%)  
 Philippines: 9.804 (1,1%)

Source: National Statistical Survey (data provided September 2013)

## Appendix 2

### **List of Bilateral Agreements: ([www.indianembassy.gr](http://www.indianembassy.gr))**

Agreement on Cultural Exchange, 1961

Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation, 1967

Agreement for Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, 1983.

Joint Business Council of FICCI and ASSOCHAM and the Athens Chamber of Commerce, 1996.

Agreement of Cooperation between Hellenic Foreign Trade Board and India Trade Promotion Organisation, 1996.

Agreement on Tourism Cooperation, 1998.

MOU on Defence Cooperation, 1998.

MOU for Cooperation in Agriculture, 2001.

Agreement on Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments (BIPA), 2007.

Agreement on Cooperation in Science & Technology, 2007.

MOU between CII and Federation of Greek Industries, 2007.

MOU for Cooperation between Institute of Science, Bangalore and National Technical University of Athens (NTUA), 2007

Executive Programme on cooperation in areas of mutual interest in Science and Technology sector, signed on November 2010.

MOU between BIS and Greek Standardisation Organisation (ELOT) for Cooperation signed on September 2011.

## Appendix 3

### **List of worship places (*gurudwara*)**

1. Dashmesh Singh Sabha Marathona (Marathonas, Attica)
2. Ravidass Committee Marathona (Marathonas, Attica)
3. Ravidass Committee Koropi (Koropi, Attica)
4. Guru Nanak Committee Oinofyta (Oinofyta, Voiotia)
5. Guru Singh Sabha Sarbat Da Bhala (Theba, Boiotia)
6. Indian Cultural Association Poros (Poros Island)
7. Sarbat Da Bhala Kranidhi (Kranidi, Argolida)
8. Guru Nanak Darbar Athens (Tavros, Athens)
9. Social Welfare & Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Mission Society Greece (Menidi, Attica)
10. Hindu Sewa Sangh Dilesi (Dilesi, Attica)
11. Indian Cultural Social Welfare Committee Skala Oropou (Skala Oropou)
12. Singh Sabha Crete (Crete Island)
13. Singh Sabha Koropi (Koropi, Attica)
14. Shri Guru Arjan Devji Megara (Megara, Attica)
15. Ravidass Committee (Menidi, Attica)
16. Ravidass Committee (Schimatari)
17. Ravidass Committee (Psachna)

## **Appendix 4**

### **List of Interviews**

1. President of the Indo-Greek Association
2. President of the Cultural Association of Indians in Greece (telephone interview)
3. Ravidass Committee Gurudwara (Koropi) representative (telephone interview)
4. Taxi driver, male, 27 years old
5. Domestic aid, female, 38 years old
6. Assistant at the temple, male, 41 years old
7. Business administration student (newly arrived), male, 20 years old
8. D. Vassiliades, ELINEPA - Indo-Hellenic Society for Culture and Development Association (telephone interview)
10. Ship-yard worker, male, 54 years old
11. Shop owner, male, 62 years old
12. Pastry shop worker, male, 35 years old
13. Hair-dressing salon, male, 31 years old
14. Photographic studio clerk, male, 33 years old
15. Bakery worker, male, 24 years old
16. Ravidass Committee Gurudwara (Menidi) representative (telephone interview)
17. Shoe-maker, male, 50 years old
18. Transport agency employee, male, 47 years old
19. High-school pupil, female, 14 years old
20. Housewife, female, 32 years old

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