



**UNIVERSITY OF IOANNINA
SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY, EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY
SECTION OF EDUCATION**

**Integration of Bangladeshi Migrants children
into Greek Education**

**(Η εκπαιδευτική ένταξη των παιδιών των μεταναστών από το
Μπαγκλαντές στην Ελλάδα)**

A thesis presented

By

Muhammad Al Amin

In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

IOANNINA 2020, GREECE



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ACRONYMS

AD	-	Anno Domini (Year of God)
ASEAN	-	Association of South East Asian Nations
BC	-	Before Christ
BMET	-	Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training
EU	-	European Union
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
GATT	-	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
HDR	-	Human Development Index/ Report
HSA	-	Health and Safety Authority
HSC	-	Higher Secondary School Certificate
IKA	-	Idrima Kinonikon Asfaliseon (Greek Social Security)
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
MMO	-	Mediterranean Migration Observatory
NAFTA	-	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBG	-	National Bank of Greece
NGO	-	Non-Government Organizations
OAED	-	Organismos Apasholisseos Ergatikou Dynamikou (Greek job development organization)
OECD	-	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OGA	-	Organismos Georgikon Asfaliseon (Greek Agriculture Social Security)
PEC	-	Primary Education Closing
PPP	-	Purchasing Power Parity
SAARC	-	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSC	-	Secondary School Certificate
TCN	-	Third Country Nations
TEI	-	Technological Education Institutes
TEBE	-	Fund for Professionals, Manufacturers and Employers
TNC	-	Transnational Corporation

TVET	-	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UK	-	United Kingdom
US	-	United State of America
WB	-	World Bank
WTO	-	World Trade Organization

Dedication

To fulfill my father last wish of my acquiring higher educational qualifications, this thesis is dedicated to the departed soul of my beloved father (late) Alhajj, Muhammad Abdul Malek, (who is ideal for me and died in 2018, Almighty Allah send his depart soul to Jannatul Fedaus Haven) who strived and sacrificed the whole life for educating us and to help others.

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Chapter one:

Overview of the thesis

1.1 Introduction:

In contemporary Greek society, migration is one of the most significant public issues. From the last three decades, migration has significantly and irreversibly, altered the social, cultural, economic, ethnic, racial, and religious character of the population residing within Greece. In 1989 geopolitical changes and Greece became a European Union member lead the country into a target destination for a large number of migrants from all over the world (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2007). Migrants have come to Greece from various parts of the world some of them come from developing countries; some of them from industrialised parts of the globe. Some of the migrants have come through legal ways; some of them came through illegal ways. Some of the migrants arrive with professional and technical skills; others are unqualified. Some come independently without knowing anyone in Greece; others link with family or friends. Migrants were mainly from the Balkans, central and eastern Europe (Romania, Ukraine, and Russia) also gradually more from Asia (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh). Whatever the situation, these are ‘the new faces’ of Greece, and very much like the general inhabitants, they share the same human needs.

The trend of migration into Greece started, along with other Southern European countries, in the mid-1970s, but mass migration was not evident until 1991 and the collapse of the Albanian communist regime (Apostolatu, 2007). The situation spiralled out of control in the early 1990s as governments failed to acknowledge the new migratory pressures and the presence of many migrants within Greek territory. Greece was not the final destination country for most of the migrants from Bangladesh. First migrants from Bangladesh arrived in Greece during the 1970s. In the 1980s, the numbers of Bangladeshi nationals residing in Greece grew relatively slowly and in the 1990s, the numbers rose more considerably (Broersma & Lazarescu, 2009). In 2011 the European Court of Justice found that 90 percent of all irregular entry into Europe was through the Greek borders. According to data from Frontex, Greece is the major gateway of undocumented migrants and asylum seekers from Africa and Asia. Law 3907/2011 is an attempt to establish a realistic migration management system, through the operation of an independent Asylum Service, the establishment of First

Reception Centers, and the adaptation of Greek legislation to Community Directive 2008/115/EC on the return of irregular migrants.

During the last decade, international migration of labour has increased tremendously from Bangladesh. It has become an important source of employment and plays a vital role in reducing poverty in Bangladesh. Labour migration has become an important factor for Bangladesh concerning employment generation, GDP growth, and poverty reduction (Ahmed, 2019). Manpower export has been increasing since 1976 except for a few years. The number of migrant workers was 6087 in 1976 but at present, it stands at 13.7 million and the flow of total remittances to Bangladesh stands at the US \$18,566 million (BMET 2020). Remittances have now become the largest single source of foreign exchange earnings in Bangladesh. However, Bangladeshis suddenly emerged as one of the top migrant groups taking a perilous journey across the Mediterranean to reach European shores; a deadly journey in search of work, their migration paved by a complex set of factors at origin (Qayum, 2017). In 2016 alone, 34,000 illegal immigrants from South Asia tried to cross the Mediterranean to Europe; 8,131 Bangladeshi citizens as having arrived by unconventional means (Javed, 2020).

The rising number of Bangladeshis making the journey signals an alarming new trend in the migrant labor industry: the blurring of the line between recruitment and smuggling (Qayum, 2017). Young men and sometimes women pursue foreign jobs through recruiters, and in the process, get caught up in smuggling networks. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Bangladeshis are the highest in number among the people crossing the Mediterranean Sea in small dinghies. According to UNHCR data, about 8000 Bangladeshi died while attempting to enter Europe through the human trafficking channel in the land area, and about 13000 died in the Mediterranean Sea and an uncountable number is missing in the Mediterranean Sea. Recently 26 Bangladeshi were shot dead by human traffickers in Libya who were trafficked to Europe illegally via Libya.

The relationship between the environment and migration is often complicated by the multifaceted associations with other factors, such as population growth, poverty, governance, human security, and conflict. Migration is a multi-causal phenomenon: even in cases where the environment is a predominant driver of migration, it is usually compounded by social, economic, political, and other reasons. Furthermore, the “decision” to move or to stay is

highly complex and depends on available resources, social networks, and the perceived alternatives to migration. Therefore, just as the environment is only one among many factors that drive migration, migration is only one among many possible responses to environmental change (IOM 2010). In Bangladesh, several studies refer to floods as a contributing factor in decisions to migrate. In the last 25 years, Bangladesh has experienced six severe floods, with the 1988 and 1998 floods alone causing 2000-6,500 and 1,100 deaths respectively, and displacing as many as 45 and 30 million people. In the most recent severe floods of 2007, around 32,000 Km were inundated, affecting almost 16 million people in around 3 million households. Around 85,000 houses were severely damaged, with 1.12 million hectares of cropland affected and an estimated loss of BDT 5.8 million in livestock. Near about 10 percent of migrants told they migrated because of Natural Disaster.

However, migrants have consequences concerning the various institutions in the receiving countries: the educational system, public services, and welfare systems. The migration will also necessitate adjustments of the economy; these may be in terms of wages, employment, industry structure, or technology. The various aspects of migrants' integration in its different dimensions (social, cultural, and educational) and how these interact and are influenced by institutions and conditions, the native population determines the empowerment of the society. Integration can be measured in terms of social (language skills, relations with members of the mainstream population), political (voting, following of current affairs, the formation of 'ethnic' organizations), or economic (participation in the paid labour market) integration (Liebkind 2000).

Social integration can be defined as the inclusion and acceptance of migrants into the core institutions, relationships, and positions of a host society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the host society. For the migrants, integration means the process of learning a new culture, acquiring rights and obligations, gaining access to positions and social status, building personal relationships with members of the host society, and forming a feeling of belonging to, and identification with, that society. For the host society, integration means opening up institutions and granting equal opportunities to migrants. In this interaction, however, the host society has more power and more prestige. Nonetheless, the extent of migrants' incorporation within the host society's structures is not simply a linear function of 'cultural adjustment' or 'labour market integration'; it is a much more complex issue and takes place at different levels which are in constant and dynamic

interaction with each other (Hatziprokopiou, 2003). Integration, the incorporation of newcomers into the host society, is closely linked to the question of inclusion and exclusion. Integration, as well as exclusion, has several dimensions, and inclusion on one level does not necessarily prevent exclusion from other levels. Furthermore, the extent to which integration can be achieved depends on institutional practices and government policies as well as on the host populations' attitudes towards the newcomers (Markkanen, 2007).

On the other hand, Greece's migration policies remain unchanged, fragmented, and extremely limited in measures promoting integration. Moreover, any efforts at encouraging migrant acceptance in Greek society are largely predicated on a model of assimilation rather than the public recognition of cultural diversity. The naturalisation process is one of the longest in the EU, it is expensive and the process is discretionary and preferential towards individuals of Greek origin (Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2007). The goal of the Greek migration policy of the last twenty years has been the restriction of migration (legal and illegal), which has been considered to be "harmful" for the Greek society socially, economically, and culturally. The related laws stressed the legitimization of the irregular migrants but even more, they emphasized the internal and external control. Greece today requires a practical migration policy to control the legal migration, allowing for the integration of the foreigners who already live in the country and the legal entrance of new migrants, according to the needs of the Greek labour market.

1.2 Significance of the study

According to the Embassy of Bangladesh and community leaders' data, there are about 35000 documents and undocumented Bangladeshi migrants are living in Greece since the 1990s. Currently, there are approximately 400 families and 200 Bangladeshi migrants children are living all around Greece. Though Bangladeshi migrants show their visible presence in Greek society; no research has been conducted yet to identify their social-economic, educational, and cultural integration. Bangladeshi migrants are working in different sectors, running a business, their children going to schools; loving a long time will legally, consuming in Greece; one of the most important factors that they are trying hard to assimilation with the host society inhabitants. Based on the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) 2011 data 11076 documented Bangladeshi migrants are living in various parts of Greece (see Appendix D). Being highly visible in physical and cultural terms, Bangladeshi migrants

are at a particularly disadvantageous group in Greece, and their social, economical, and educational integration situation is under development.

Although there are many literature and research publications have been published by local and international researchers in various migrants group in Greece but till date, there is no research, literature or study have been conducted to identify Bangladeshi migrants socio-economical, cultural and educational integration situation in Greece yet. Greece becomes migration sending to the receiving country because of Geo-political and European Union member states. After 30 years as a migration receiving country and about one million, 10% of the total population but the integration policies for refugees and migrants are still under development. Bangladeshi migrants considered a vulnerable group and remain aliens in Greek society, among numerous grievances about the attitude of Greek public authorities. As a result, at this stage, the social integration prospects of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece appear to be extremely limited. Therefore, this research will be a milestone in presenting the tangible circumstances of Bangladeshi migrants' socio-economical, Educational, and cultural integration with qualitative and quantitative evidence.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The principal objective of this study is to examine the process of educational, social, cultural, and labour market integration and exclusion of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece. However, the objective of this thesis is to identify how Bangladeshi migrants are well integrated into Greek society or how they are living under social exclusion situation. On the other hand, the study also concentrates and focuses the structure, patterns, and processes of Bangladeshi migrants; how they are managing their lives in Greece and their relationship with local individuals and how they integrated into the Greek labour market; how their children integrated at the Greek school and what problems children facing in Greek school, etc. Therefore, we will describe both objective and perceptual aspects relating to the patterns of the Bangladeshi migrants themselves to identify their personal experiences in Greek society and their relationship with the host country individuals.

1.4 Research Questions

Concerning the practical achievement of these aims and to the carrying out of the research itself, the first task was to identify the fundamental issues that the study aims to address. The basic research questions underlying the study are as follows:

- ✓ What are the social, cultural, and institutional obstacles associated with the arrival of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece?
- ✓ What are the migration policies enhancing the integration of Bangladeshi migrants; to what extent are they successful in practice and do they really empower the society? What are the conditions and/or the processes shaping Bangladeshi migrants' lives in Greece?
- ✓ What are the main objectives of Greek educational policy regarding contemporary Greek society overall and the migrant population in particular? How has inter-cultural education been designed in Greece in response to growing migration?
- ✓ What are the obstacles posed by structural and institutional factors to the social integration of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece? How and to what extent do migrants overcome such obstacles, and how do they manage to organise their lives (in terms of social, economical cultural, and education) in Greece?
- ✓ How are the dynamics of migration linked to the processes of social change? What are the difficulties to be integrated into labour market?

Above all, we seek to address the issue of the integration of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece by identifying the mechanisms of exclusion and the patterns of integration. The purpose is to describe and analyse the present condition and to identify and explain the emerging trends of Bangladeshi migrants. Therefore the structure of the thesis has been designed cautiously in order to apply to other cases without sacrificing its local scope and empirical thrust. On the other hand, the methodology of this study is not based on particular principles or epistemological commitments; it rather came out of the real necessities of the research itself and the theoretical implications underlying the study.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Having outlined the main hypotheses and questions that frame the research, now I will describe the structure of this thesis:

Chapter one is an introductory chapter that mainly summarizes the general background and importance of the research topic. It also presents the problem statement of the research and the motivation which is followed by research objectives, questions, and hypotheses.

Chapter two is a background chapter. In this chapter, we will present a short brief of Greece and Bangladesh. This chapter is divided into two sections; in the first section, we will discuss the general history, educational structure, economy, cultural heritage, political system, migration history, foreign relationship, and demography of Greece. In the second section, we will discuss the general history, educational structure, economy, cultural heritage, political system, migration history, foreign relationship, and demography of Bangladesh. By this chapter, we will be familiar with how economical conditions and the educational system motivated Bangladeshi migrants for the ‘pushes and pulls’ factors to seek a better life in Greece and the degree of cultural difference or separation that may exist between Bangladesh and Greece.

In Chapter Three, a range of approaches to integration, migration, and globalization is reviewed. In approaching the concepts of integration and globalization, it soon becomes clear that the terms have many different meanings and uses in different contexts. The purpose of this chapter is to understand the concepts of migration, globalization, and integration. Therefore, the literature review concentrates on migration, integration, and globalization from this perspective, observing the different paradigms, debates, and associated concepts. Moreover, the theories of migration, integration, and globalization are also analysed, with debate focusing on specific approaches. At the end of this chapter, I have discussed the main socio-economic characteristics of Bangladeshi migrants and the recent development of integration policy in Greece.

Chapter four explains the methodological approaches for the data collection and the presentation of the research results. It starts by building a framework for the analysis of migrants’ integration and by specifying approach; quantitative, and qualitative methods also. Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 3). It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. Following this line, we use this chapter to explain the research design and the methodological tools of the fieldwork, including the interview process, as well as data management and analysis, including a personal account of the fieldwork experience. Explicate

In the next four chapters, Chapters five, six, seven, and eight consists of the empirical core of the thesis. In these chapters, we will explicate migration histories of Bangladeshi

migrants, circumstances of arrival, cultural dissimilation, language skills, reasons for migration, national identity, their children's school integration situation, legal statuses, labour market integration, relationship with locals, and their future plans.

Chapter five is the first empirical chapter of this thesis. At the beginning of this chapter, we have described migration patterns of Bangladeshi Asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants. The characteristics of the participants in the survey research (demographic, migration routes, educational, motivation for migration, etc.) are presented and discussed. Subsequently, the reasons, patterns, and dynamics of Bangladeshi migrants are explored. In the second part of this chapter, we have analysed how migration plays a potentially important role in the integration process and how educational integration can be a challenge for Bangladeshi migrants.

Chapter six deals with several issues related to Bangladeshi migrants' pathways to integration; their everyday lives, practices, experiences, relationships with the neighbour and housing conditions, etc. This chapter began with Food, identity, and cultural integration of Bangladeshi migrants, the second section is discussed religious identity and cultural xenophobia in Greek Society, and the third section is focused on the importance of collective organizations in regards socio-cultural integration. In the fourth section, we are going to elaborate on the impact of language on social and cultural integration, and in the fifth section we discuss migrants' residential situations and social integration, and in the sixth section are focused on how Bangladeshi migrants spend their leisure time and holiday choice. The last section is discussed regarding the importance of informal social networks in the social and cultural integration of Bangladeshi migrants into the host society.

Chapter Seven presents the integration conditions of Bangladeshi migrants into the Greek labour market. This chapter is divided into six sections; the first section of this chapter starts by analysing patterns and types of work Bangladeshi migrants are performing and their working conditions and access to the Greek labour market. In the second section, we are discussing the structure of Bangladeshi migrants' integration conditions from their early years in Greece to the time of the fieldwork; how they work with small amount of money and their employment trajectories, and the gradual improvement of their position into labour market and the discriminatory situation in various sectors in the labour market. In the third section of this chapter we are analysing challenges to assimilation at the labour market for Bangladeshi migrants and in the fourth section are discussed on Bangladesh Embassy and

community leaders' initiative to Bangladeshi workers in integration into labour market. In the fifth section, we explain the dynamics of labour market: social integration and economic mobility, and in the last section of this chapter are focused on labour market integration in Greece: policy barriers for Bangladeshi employees.

Chapter eight is the last empirical chapter of the thesis and focuses on the effects of Greek migration policy on the process of migrants' integration: i.e., how their legal status and the practical execution of policy influence migrants' lives. This chapter is divided into six sections; the first sections start with new migration policies and Bangladeshi migrants' condition, the second sections we are discussing how Bangladeshi migrants have been affected in practice by the restrictive policy structure, before and after regularisation, recognizing common problems of discrimination, bureaucracy and unfair treatment towards them. In the third section, we have presented xenophobic behaviours and attitudes by the state, media, police, and the local civil-society groups towards Bangladeshi migrants and xenophobic violence towards Bangladeshi migrants in Greece and health care facility: the pathway to social integration. In the fourth section, we explain how Non-government organizations and welfare associations play a significant role to shelter and to achieve migrants' rights. In the fifth section, we have analysed migrants integration strategy and social change policy barriers and the end of this chapter we have discussed what Bangladeshi migrants intend to do in the future; their future employment and residence plans.

Chapter nine draws the major conclusions of the study. This chapter also gives a detailed account of the major policy recommendations based on the results of the study for policy developers at governmental and non-governmental levels within the country as well as concerned international policy formulators. Lastly, this chapter also describes the limitations of the study and proposes future steps to research regarding integration.

Chapter Two:

An overview of Greece and Bangladesh

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a short description of Greece and Bangladesh. Greece is located in south-eastern Europe, at the meeting point of three seas: the Ionian Sea to the West, the Mediterranean Sea to the South, and the Aegean Sea to the East. Greece achieved independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1830. The historical and cultural heritage of Greece continues to resonate throughout the modern Western world - in its literature, art, philosophy, and politics (BBC, 2016). On the other hand, Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation-state in 1971. Although a relatively recent state, Bangladesh is an old country with a long recorded history and cultural heritage of several thousand years. This chapter is divided into two sections; the first section (section 2.2) discusses the general history, Diaspora, Educational Structure, Economy, Cultural Heritage, Political System, Foreign relationship, and Demography of Greece. The second section (Section 2.3) presents the general History, Diaspora, and Educational structure, Economy, cultural heritage, Political System, Foreign relationship, and the Demography of Bangladesh.

2.2 Greece

Greece, officially the Hellenic Republic and known since ancient times as Hellas, is a country in Southeast Europe. According to the 2011 census, Greece's population is around 11 million. Athens is the nation's capital and largest city, with its urban area including Piraeus. Greece is strategically located at the crossroads of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, and shares land borders with Albania to the northwest, Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria to the north, and Turkey to the northeast (Chrēstos, Gülay, and Gülden, 2003). The Aegean Sea lies to the east of the mainland, the Ionian Sea to the west, and the Mediterranean Sea to the south. Greece has the 11th longest coastline in the world at 13,676 km (8,498 mi) in length, featuring a vast number of islands (approximately 1,400, of which 227 are inhabited). Eighty percent of Greece consists of mountains, of which Mount Olympus is the highest at 2,917 m (9,570 ft). Greece is a democratic, developed country with an advanced, high-income economy, a high standard of living, and a very high Human Development Index (HDI, 2013)



Figure 2.1: Map of Greece
 Sources (<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/greece.html>)

Greece is a founding member of the United Nations, has been a member of the European Union since 1981 (and the eurozone since 2001), and has been a member of NATO since 1952.

2.2.1 History of Greece

The earliest evidence of the human presence in the Balkans, dated to 270,000 BC, is found in the Petralona cave, in the northern Greek province of Macedonia. Neolithic settlements in Greece, dating from the 7th millennium BC, are the oldest in Europe by several centuries, as Greece lies on the route where farming spread from the Near East to Europe (Perlès, 2001). Greece is home to the first advanced civilizations in Europe and is considered the birthplace of Western civilization, beginning with the Cycladic civilization of the Aegean Sea around 3200 BC, the Minoan civilization in Crete (2700–1500 BC), and then the Mycenaean civilization on the mainland (1900–1100 BC) (Pomeroy, 1999). From the eighth century BC, colonization had taken Greek speakers all over the Mediterranean from the Black Sea, Turkey, to North Africa, Italy, France, and Spain, like "frogs around a pond" (Plato) (Jones, 2010). By the fifth century BC, Classical Greeks had organized themselves into independent citizen states (known as *polis*, from which comes our word "political") such as Athens, Sparta, Ephesus, Byzantine, and Marseilles (Jones, 2010). Each *polis* had its laws, dialect, currency, and government. In the fourth century BC, Macedon in the north, under its King Philip II and his son Alexander the Great, took brief control, but on the death of Alexander in 323 BC, the mainland split into a series of leagues under Macedonian governors. Radical, direct democracy died at that moment, never to be restored (Jones, 2010).

The landmass of Hellas became part of the Roman Empire in the second century BC, and Greek *poleis* in Turkey and elsewhere followed. The leagues and *poleis* continued to run themselves but were now under close Roman supervision (Jones, 2010). Roman expansion east was made easier by the conquests of Alexander the Great, who introduced Greek *polis* style culture, administration, and urban living, as far as Afghanistan (Jones, 2010). By the fourth century AD, it was clear that the Roman Empire was becoming too large to be centrally controlled. In 324 the Roman emperor Constantine in effect split the empire into two halves, the eastern half centered on Greek Byzantium, renamed Constantinople (now Istanbul). When the Western Roman Empire collapsed under the impact of Germanic invasions in the fifth century, Constantinople became the new center of the Roman Empire, known as the Byzantine Empire (Jones, 2010). The collapse of the western empire led to some turmoil in the east, but the Byzantines gradually regained control over Greece until the treacherous attack on Constantinople in 1204 by the Frankish crusaders (western Europeans)

(Jones, 2010). The Franks split up Greece, but fighting among themselves and against Serbs, Albanians and Turks left them fatally weakened.

On 29 May 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottoman branch of the Turkish invaders, who had been mopping up the remaining territories of the old Byzantine Empire, and for nearly 400 years Greece was under Ottoman control (Jones, 2010). The Greek Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople were considered by the Ottoman governments as the ruling authorities of the entire Orthodox Christian population of the Ottoman Empire, whether ethnically Greek or not (Makrides, 2009). Although the Ottoman state did not force non-Muslims to convert to Islam, Christians faced several types of discrimination intended to highlight their inferior status in the Ottoman Empire. Discrimination against Christians, particularly when combined with harsh treatment by local Ottoman authorities, led to conversions to Islam, if only superficially. In the nineteenth century, many "crypto-Christians" returned to their old religious allegiance.

By the 19th century, the empire was economically on its last legs, and on 25 March 1821, Greece declared its independence (Brewer, 2001). When France, Britain, and Russia threatened to intervene against the Turks, the Turks capitulated. When Greece used various means to extend its territory into the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Macedon, Crete, and the Aegean a disastrous advance into Turkey (1919-22) failed (Marker, Bowman, Kerasiotis and Sarna, 2010). On 28th October 1940, Fascist Italy demanded the surrender of Greece, but the Greek administration refused and in the following Greco-Italian War, Greece repelled Italian forces into Albania, giving the Allies their first victory over Axis forces on land. The country would eventually fall to urgently dispatched German forces during the Battle of Greece. The German occupiers nevertheless met serious challenges from the Greek Resistance. According to some moderate reports over 100,000 civilians died of starvation during the winter of 1941-42, and the great majority of Greek Jews were deported and murdered in Nazi concentration camps (Brewer, 2001). German occupation of Greece in the second world war ended in 1944, but a violent and complicated civil war at once broke out between (broadly) communists and western-backed government forces (1944-49), resulting in a Greek government inclined to the west, but with significant anti-western sentiment still in force (Brewer, 2001).

After liberation, Greece experienced a polarizing civil war between communist and anticommunist forces, which led to economic devastation and severe social tensions between rightists and largely communist leftists for the next thirty years (Andreas, 2017). The

next twenty years were characterized by the marginalization of the left in the political and social spheres but also by rapid economic growth, propelled in part by the Marshall Plan. In 1967 a military junta ("the colonels") overthrew the government and ended the monarchy. In 1974, the regime imploded, and since 1975 Greece has been a democratic republic; in 1981, Greece became the tenth member of the European Communities (subsequently subsumed by the European Union) and adopted the euro in 2001. More recently, Greece has suffered greatly from the late-2000s recession and has been central to the related European sovereign debt crisis. The Greek government-debt crisis, subsequent economic crisis, and resultant protests have roiled domestic politics and have regularly threatened European and global financial markets since the crisis began in 2010.

2.2.2 Geography and Climate:

Greece consists of a mountainous, peninsular mainland jutting out into the sea at the southern end of the Balkans, ending at the Peloponnese peninsula (separated from the mainland by the canal of the Isthmus of Corinth). Due to its highly indented coastline and numerous islands, Greece has the 11th longest coastline in the world with 13,676 km (8,498 mi); its land boundary is 1,160 km (721 mi) (Marker, Bowman, Kerasiotis, and Sarna 2010). The country lies approximately between latitudes 34° and 42° N, and longitudes 19° and 30° E. Greece features a vast number of islands, between 1,200 and 6,000, depending on the definition, 227 of which are inhabited. Eighty percent of Greece consists of mountains or hills, making the country one of the most mountainous in Europe. Western Greece contains a number of lakes and wetlands and is dominated by the Pindus mountain range. The climate of Greece is primarily the Mediterranean, featuring mild, wet winters and hot, dry summers. This climate occurs at all coastal locations, including Athens, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and Crete, the Peloponnese, the Ionian Islands, and parts of the Central Continental Greece region.

2.2.3 Greek Diaspora

Migration is nothing new; it is embedded in the history of human societies. However, as a social phenomenon, it reflects and is determined by the historical era in which it takes place. In Modern Greek society, migration is the most significant public issue. There were two important waves of mass emigration that took place after the formation of the modern Greek state in the early 1830s, one from the late 19th to the early 20th century, and another

following World War II (Fakiolas and King 1996). The first wave of emigration was spurred by the economic crisis of 1893 that followed the rapid fall in the price of currants, the major export product of the country in the international markets. In the period 1890-1914, almost a sixth of the population of Greece emigrated, mostly to the United States and Egypt. This emigration was, in a sense, encouraged by Greek authorities, who saw remittances as helping to improve the balance of payments of the Greek economy. The lasting effect on Greece's national consciousness was the expansion of the notion of "Hellenism" and "Hellenic Diaspora" to the "New World" (Fakiolas 2003). Following World War II, the countries of Southern Europe, Greece among them, were the main contributors to migration to the industrialized nations of Northern Europe.

However, the oil crises of 1973 and 1980 caused economic uncertainty and a sharp fall in the demand for labor, which in turn led northern states to introduce restrictive immigration policies (Lianos and Papakonstantinou, 2003). More than one million Greeks migrated in this second wave, which mainly fell between 1950 and 1974. Most immigrated to Western Europe, the US, Canada, and Australia. Economic and political reasons often motivated their move, both connected with the consequences of the 1946-1949 civil war and the 1967-1974 period of military junta rule that followed. Official statistics show that in the period 1955-1973 Germany absorbed 603,300 Greek migrants, Australia 170,700, the US 124,000, and Canada 80,200 (Kasimis and Kasimi 2004). The majority of these emigrants came from rural areas, and they supplied both the national and international labor markets (King 2000). The migration balance started becoming positive for Greece during the 1970s, due to return migration, but immigration started rising as well at the beginning of the 1980s, after a small number of Africans, Asians and Poles settled in Greece and started working in construction, agriculture and domestic services (Triandafyllidou, 2009).

Conversely, Greek citizens are still moving to different countries due to the recent economic crises; according to (Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2014) the majority are living in Germany 316,331, Australia 96,433, The United Kingdom 41,000, The Netherlands 11,760 and Switzerland 9,788 till 2013. On the other hand, the 1991 population census registered 167,000 foreigners in Greece out of a total resident population of 10.3 million (that is, slightly above 1 %). After the collapse of the Central Eastern European communist regimes in 1989 however, migration to Greece, especially from neighboring countries such as Albania and Bulgaria, rose dramatically. Soon thereafter, during the first half of the 1990s, migration

flows became massive including hundreds of thousands of co-ethnics from the former Soviet Republics and Albania. A study from the Mediterranean Migration Observatory (MMO, 2004) maintains that the 2001 census recorded 762,191 persons residing in Greece without Greek citizenship, constituting around 7% of the total population. Migration flows became immense according to the 2011 national census data¹, there were 713,000 third-country nationals and 199,000 EU citizens (non-Greek) living in Greece accounting respectively for 6.5% and 1.8% of the total resident population (See Appendix A). The largest immigrant groups were Albanians (480,000), Bulgarians (75,000), Romanians (46,000), Pakistanis (34,000), Georgians (27,000), Ukrainians (17,000), Poles (14,000) and Bangladeshi (14,000). About 67% of Greece's TCN population (See Appendix C) and 52% of its total immigrant population (including EU nationals) comes from Albania while the second largest group are Bulgarian citizens, but their percentage in the total migrant population is considerably smaller (8% of the total foreign population but 37% of the intra-EU migrant population residing in Greece). Romanians Pakistanis and Bangladeshi are the third, fourth, and fifth largest communities but their size is considerably smaller.

2.2.4 Educational Structure

During the 19th century, Greece has implemented many reforms in the education field, concerning the structure of the system, the national curriculum, and the language used for education (Caforio, 2013). In 1975 the Constitution established the new paradigm of education legislation that was introduced through the reform of the education system, one year later, in 1976. The reform in question established a common language for education, has reformed the education division between primary, secondary, and tertiary education, and emphasized the modernization of curricula and the improvement of the administration and monitoring of education (Zygouritsas, 2014). The second period of reforms of the education system began in the mid-nineties and the third period in the early 21st century, between 2004 and 2006. This reform, introduced important changes, such as the creation of the Foundation of International University of Greece, the reform of secondary vocational training, the introduction of a new law for the assessment of education, and legislative actions concerning lifelong learning areas (Caforio, 2013).

¹ While the national census of 2011 does not provide the most up to date data for 2014, it is worth consulting as regards the total migrant population residing in Greek as it does not distinguish between legal and undocumented residents. Even though one might consider that recent arrivals were not registered as at all probability they lacked a fixed domicile (Triandafyllidou, 2014).

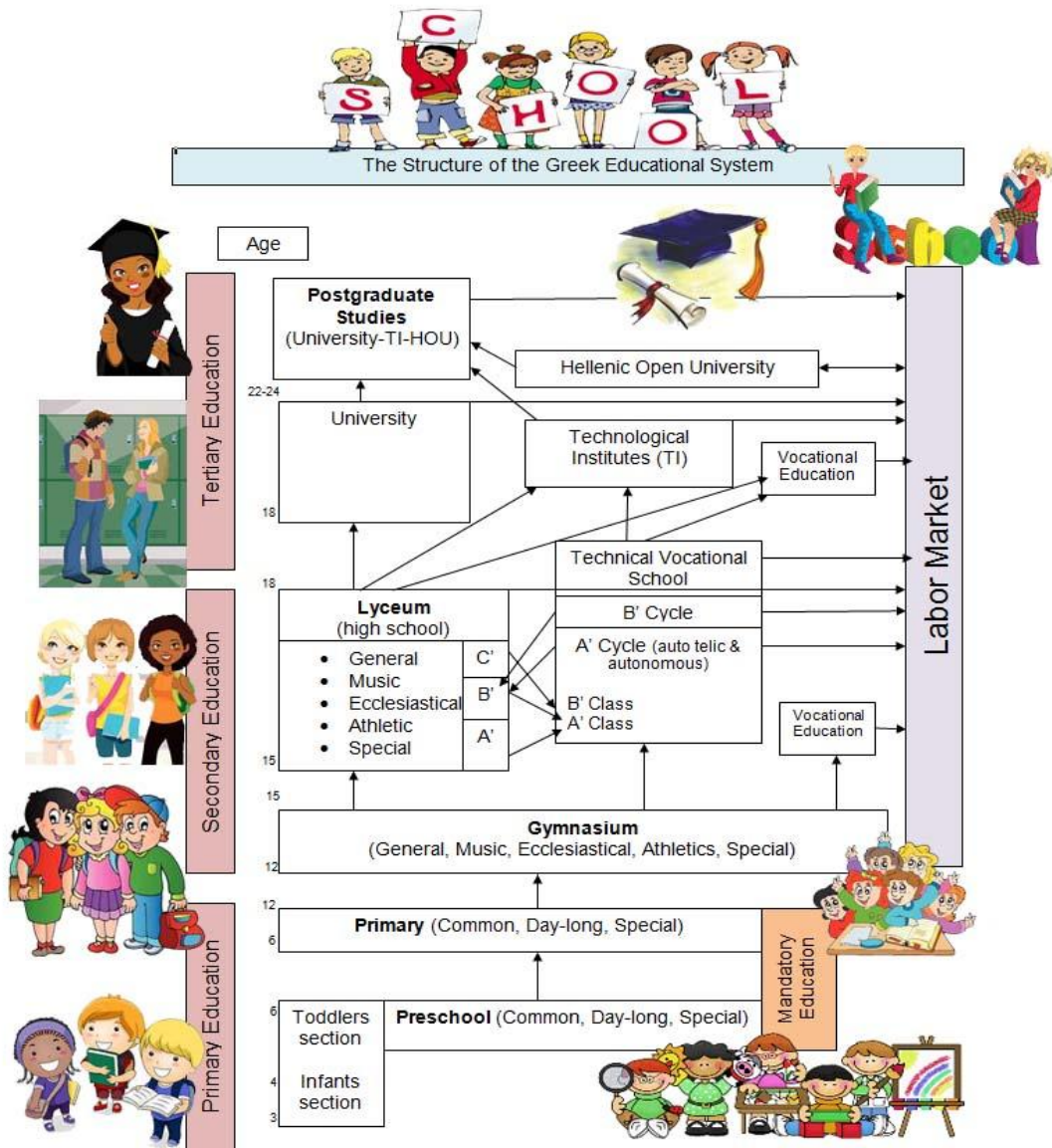


Diagram 2.1: Educational Structure of Greece
 (Source: http://www.ypepth.gr/en_ec_page1531.htm)

In the Greek Constitution, education is identified as a responsibility of the state. The majority of Greek citizens attend public schools; in fact, few private schools are supervised by the Ministry of Education (Zygouritsas, 2014). Following Article 16 of the Greek constitution, education, both moral, intellectual, occupational, and physical, is a basic mission for the state, intending to develop a national and religious conscience which will provide adequate training to future citizens (Zygouritsas, 2014). The following diagram 2.1 presents concisely the structure of the Greek education system, as it consists of institutions of the formal, classified, or unclassified education.

The Greek educational system is divided into five sections. First, the ***Pre-Primary education***; Law 1566/1985 determines all the details concerning the structure and organization of primary and secondary education (Caforio, 2013). The same law provides that pre-school education depends on the primary system and in this sense follows the regulations in place for Dimotiko Scholeio (primary school). In particular, pre-school education is provided by Nipiagogeia (Kindergartens) that operate independently or in specialized centers together with the state nursery school (children's centers). The frequency of nipiagogeio lasts 2 years and after the changes introduced in 2006 were made compulsory from 5 years of age (Zygouritsas, 2014). The issues concerning the organization of nipiagogeia are governed by decisions N° F27/148/G1/160/14-2-95 of the Minister of Education. Since 1997 has been set up full time: Oloimero nipiagogeio (All-day kindergarten) was introduced by Law 2525/97. Finally, concerning Article 73 of Law 3518/2006, the frequency at nipiagogeio begins from 4 years of age, becoming compulsory from 5 years onwards (Zygouritsas, 2014). The nursery school (Παιδικός σταθμός, Paidikós Stathmós) starts at the age of two and a half years, in institutions both public and private but attendance is not mandatory.

Primary Education: The Elementary school belongs to Compulsory Education. Attendance is compulsory and lasts six years, from the age of 6 to 12. Primary education is provided within the primary schools (scholia), whether public or private. The frequency in Dimotiko Scholeio lasts 6 years and includes levels 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. The access is possible after having completed 6 years of age. Oloimero Scholeio (All-day School) operates in parallel to the ordinary primary school, with an extended timetable and an enriched curriculum (Zygouritsas, 2014).

Secondary Education: Secondary education in Greece is divided into two levels: Compulsory Education and Higher Secondary Education. The compulsory secondary education is provided in Gymnasio, which lasts for 3 years: from 12 to 15 years of age. The Gymnasium covers the three final years of compulsory education and constitutes the lower level of secondary education. Since 1996 is adopted Multicultural Education designed to meet the educational needs of social groups with a particular social, cultural, or religious identity. Pupils leaving the Gymnasiums are given a leaving certificate which entitles them to move on to higher-level secondary education. Besides, Gymnasium leavers of over 18 years of age may enroll at Vocational Training Institute (IEK) departments in certain

specializations, where they study for two semesters and obtain Vocational Training Certificate Level (Caforio, 2013).

The upper secondary education (not compulsory) is provided through two types of institutions: Geniko lykeio (General Lyceum / GL) and epaggelmatiko lykeio - EPAL (Vocational Lyceum). The frequency in both types of school lasts 3 years. There are also epaggelmatiki Scholar - EPAS (ΕΠΑΣ / SS), professional schools, the frequency of which lasts for 2 years (Caforio, 2013). With the Law 3475/2006, it is determined that training is provided within the Vocational Lyceums (EPAL) and Vocational Schools (EPAS), which replaced the State Technical Vocational School (TEE), under the supervision of the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs. Besides, there are particular gymnasia and lykeia: religious, minorities, inter-cultural, music experimental and some special classes for pupils who need special education, called Secondary Special Needs Education Schools and Inclusion Classes (ΣΜΕΑ/SMEA). Other alternative secondary education is the School of Fine Arts, Sports Facilities Classes, and Second Chance Schools.

Higher education: Higher education in Greece comprises two parallel sectors (Law 3549/2007, Article 2), university, and technology. The university sector is including Universities (Ανώτατα Εκπαιδευτικά Ιδρύματα, Anótata Ekpaideytiká Idrýmata, "AEI"), Polytechnics and Higher School of Fine Arts (ΑΣΚΤ / ASKT) (Zygouritsas, 2014). The technology sector includes Higher Technological Education Institutes (TEI) and the School of Pedagogical and Technological Education. Entry to these institutions depends on the performance of the examinations that are performed in the 3rd grade of secondary school. In Greece, there are 23 universities, including the Polytechnics, the Academy of Fine Arts, and the Hellenic Open University (ΕΑΠ / EAP) (Caforio, 2013). The courses last for approximately 4 years, except certain faculties where the course lasts even 5 or 6 years. The academic year consists of two semesters, with 13 weeks of lessons and three weeks of examinations. Students complete their course of study after 4 years if they pass the examination of both the compulsory and the optional subjects. At the end of the studies, they obtain a Diploma or Degree concerning the Faculty concerned.

Post Graduate Education: The organization of postgraduate studies is governed by Law 2083/92: universities have full responsibility for the organization and payment of post-graduate courses (Zygouritsas, 2014). All TEI may participate, in the form of consortia with Greek or foreign universities, organizing courses. With the Law 3374/2005 the TEI that

have passed the assessment of the prerequisites, can provide post-graduate courses. There are different degrees of postgraduate courses: the Master's and Ph.D. The programs of post-graduate studies are appointed by the General Assembly of Special Composition of the department and are approved by the Academic Senate. Doctoral programs last a minimum of 3 years, as determined by law. Some programs are structured while others are based on pure research (Zygouritsas, 2014).

The specific changes introduced into the education system with the Greek Reform of 2007 include: The establishment of Unified Upper Secondary School (Eniaio Lykeio) which is gradually replacing all other existing types of upper secondary school (lykeio); The procedure for admission to higher education has been changed, with emphasis on the assessment of pupils in the second and third-degree of lykeio; The duration of kindergartens and primary schools has been stretched because it will gradually move to full-time; Second Chance Schools have been created specifically for teens who have already completed 18 years and have not yet completed the compulsory school; The design of a common curriculum for both primary and secondary education (Caforio, 2013).

2.2.5 Economy of Greece

The economy of Greece is the 34th or 42nd largest in the world at \$299 or \$304 billion by nominal gross domestic product (GDP) or purchasing power parity (PPP) respectively, according to World Bank statistics for the year 2011. Additionally, Greece is the 15th largest economy in the 27 members European Union. In terms of per capita income, Greece is ranked 29th or 33rd in the world at \$27,875 and \$27,624 for nominal GDP and PPP respectively (WB, 2011). Greece is a developed country with high standards of living. Its economy mainly comprises the service sector (85.0%) and industry (12.0%), while agriculture makes up 3.0% of the national economic output (HSA, 2011). The shipping industry is a key element of Greek economic activity dating back to ancient times. Today, shipping is one of the country's most important industries. It accounts for 4.5% of GDP, employs about 160,000 people (4% of the workforce), and represents 1/3 of the country's trade deficit (Puyvelde, 2010). According to United Nations Conference on Trade and Development report in 2011, the Greek merchant navy is the largest in the world at 16.2% of the world's total capacity, up from 15.96% in 2010. This is a drop from the equivalent number in 2006, which was 18.2% (NBG, 2006).

The total tonnage of the country's merchant fleet is 202 million dwt, ranked 1st in the world. An important percentage of Greece's national income comes from tourism. Tourism funds 16% of the gross domestic products which also includes the Tourism Council and the London Based World Travel. According to Eurostat statistics 2011, Greece welcomed over 19.5 million tourists in 2009, which is an increase from the 17.7 million tourists it welcomed in 2007. In 2011, Santorini was voted as "The World's Best Island" in Travel + Leisure. Although Greece is the 15th largest economy in the 27 members European Union, however by the end of 2009, as a result of a combination of international and local factors the Greek economy faced its most severe crisis since the restoration of democracy in 1974 as the Greek government revised its deficit from an estimated 6% to 12.7% of gross domestic product (GDP) (Lynn, 2011). In May 2010, the Greek government deficit was again revised and estimated to be 13.6% which was the second-highest in the world relative to GDP with Iceland in first place at 15.7% and Great Britain third with 12.6%. Public debt was forecast, according to some estimates, to hit 120% of GDP during 2010 (Balzli, 2010). As a consequence, there was a crisis in international confidence in Greece's ability to repay its sovereign debt. To avert such default, in May 2010 the other Eurozone countries, and the IMF, agreed to a rescue package which involved giving Greece an immediate €45 billion in loans, with more funds to follow, totaling €110 billion. To secure the funding, Greece was required to adopt harsh austerity measures to bring its deficit under control.

On 15 November 2010 the EU's statistics body Eurostat revised the public finance and debt figures for Greece following an excessive deficit methodological procedure mission in Athens and put Greece's 2009 government deficit at 15.4% of GDP and public debt at 126.8% of GDP making it the biggest deficit (as a percentage of GDP) among the EU member nations (Puyvelde, 2010). In 2011 it became apparent that the bail-out would be insufficient and a second bail-out amounting to €130 billion (\$173 billion) was agreed in 2012, subject to strict conditions, including financial reforms and further austerity measures. As part of the deal, there was to be a 53% reduction in the Greek debt burden to private creditors and any profits made by Eurozone central banks on their holdings of Greek debt are to be repatriated back to Greece (Elena, 2010). The second deal, however, calls for Greece's creditors to write down a significant portion of their Greek government bond holdings. In exchange for the second loan, Greece has promised to introduce an additional \$7.8 billion in austerity measures during 2013-15. However, these massive austerity cuts are lengthening Greece's economic recession and depressing tax revenues. Greece's lenders are calling on

Athens to step up efforts to increase tax collection, privatize public enterprises, and rein in health spending, and are planning to give Greece more time to shore up its economy and finances. Many investors doubt that Greece can sustain fiscal efforts in the face of a bleak economic outlook, public discontent, and political instability.

2.2.6 Cultural Heritage:

Greece is a country of great interests and diverse cultures, influenced by its location, at the junction between the East and the West, and by the many occupations of the Greek people throughout history (WCP, 2016). In general, the Greeks are particularly proud of their culture and speak of their country with an intense passion, feeling that their Greek culture is a definition of their national and ethnic belonging. Traditions, religion, music, language, food, and wines are the major composites of the Greece culture and constitute the base for those who wish to visit the country (WCP, 2016). Customs and traditions in Greece and the Greek Islands are either of a religious character or coming from paganism. Furthermore, most of the traditions and festivals still celebrated today are religious. The Greeks are very superstitious and believe a lot in religion but also a supernatural or paranormal phenomenon. Traditions and superstitions vary from island to island, from villages to villages, and from region to region (Moya, et.el, 2015). Here are some of the many Greek traditions still honored by all of the Greeks, no matter their age, until today.

Name days are a more important celebration than birthdays. Most Greeks are named after a religious saint. A very important tradition is that everyone who has a name coming from a saint celebrated by the church celebrates his name on a given day of the year. On the "name day" of someone, his friends and family visit them without invitation and offer wishes and small presents (Talent, 2017). The hostess of the house offers pastries, sweets and hors d'oeuvres to the guests. It is a custom in Greece to get engaged before getting married. The man has to ask for the hand of the woman from her father and close family, while the two families give presents to the bride and groom. The couple exchanges wedding rings that are worn on the left hand. After the wedding, these rings will be worn on the right hand. The Carnival is called "Apokries". The festival consists of two weeks of the feast, beginning from the Sunday with Meat Fare and ends with the first day of the Lent, called Clean Monday (Kathari Deutera) (Talent, 2017). Everyone is costumed and parties take place in the streets and bars, throwing colored confetti to each other. Easter is the most important celebration for the Greeks, even more than Christmas. On Good Thursday or Good Saturday, women dye

eggs in red and bake buns. On Good Friday, the day of mourning, the Epitaphios, the tomb of Christ with its icon, decorated with flowers, is taken out of the church and carried around the village followed by a slow procession. Greeks also celebrate 25th March as Independence Day, 28th October as “OXI” day, 1st January as the New Year's Day, 15th August as The Day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and 25th December as Christmas day.

Food and wine in Greece are famous for their good quality and amazing taste. Greek cuisine is an example of the healthy Mediterranean Sea (Cretan) diet (Edelstein, 2010). The cuisine incorporates fresh ingredients into a variety of local dishes such as moussaka, stifado, Greek Salad, fasolada, spanakopita, and souvlaki. Some dishes can be traced back to ancient Greece like skordalia (a thick purée of walnuts, almonds, crushed garlic, and olive oil), lentil soup, retsina (white or rosé wine sealed with pine resin), and pasteli (candy bar with sesame seeds baked with honey). Throughout Greece people often enjoy eating from small dishes such as meze with various dips such as tzatziki, grilled octopus and small fish, feta cheese, dolmades (rice, currants, and pine kernels wrapped in vine leaves), various pulses, olives, and cheese. Olive oil is added to almost every dish. Sweets; galaktoboureko, panakota, tiramisu as desserts, and drinks such as ouzo, tsipouro, Metaxa, and a variety of wines including retsina. Besides food, Greek music is of unbelievable diversity due to the creative Greek assimilation of different influences of the Eastern and Western cultures of Asia and Europe. Music and the Greek culture have a long history dating from Antiquity, during which poetry, dancing, and music were inseparable and played an important part in the ancient and modern Greek's everyday life. The Greek tragedy used music as one of its component elements. Apart from Music, religion also plays an important role in the Greek people. The Greek Constitution recognizes the Orthodox Christian faith as the "prevailing" faith of the country while guaranteeing freedom of religious belief for all (Makrides, 2009). The Greek government does not keep statistics on religious groups and censuses do not ask for religious affiliation. According to the U.S. State Department 2011, an estimated 97% of Greek citizens identify themselves as Orthodox Christians, belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church. Estimates of the recognized Greek Muslim minority, which is mostly located in Thrace, range from 98,000 to 140,000, (between 0.9% and 1.2%) while the immigrant Muslim community numbers between 200,000 and 300,000.

It is worth noting that some of the cultural elements mentioned above are not known to the Bangladeshi immigrants coming to Greece. They are getting familiar with the first

culture after coming to Greece because these features are part of the everyday life of locals. This means, immigrants get first in contact not with the “high culture” but with the “low culture” of Greece, that is the every-day rituals. On the other hand, the culture of Bangladesh is different from Greece and immigrants face some problems to adopt the Greek high culture at the beginning.

2.2.7 Political system and foreign relationships:

Greece is a parliamentary republic; the nominal head of state is the President of the Republic, who is elected by the Parliament for a five years term. The current constitution was drawn up and adopted by the Fifth Revisionary Parliament of the Hellenes and entered into force in 1975 after the fall of the military junta of 1967–74. According to the Constitution, executive power is exercised by the President of the Republic and the Government. From the Constitutional amendment of 1986, the President's duties were curtailed to a significant extent, and they are now largely ceremonial; most political power thus lies in the hands of the Prime Minister. The position of Prime Minister, Greece's head of government, belongs to the current leader of the political party that can obtain a vote of confidence by the Parliament. The President of the Republic formally appoints the Prime Minister, on his recommendation, appoints, and dismisses the other members of the Cabinet. Legislative powers are exercised by a 300 member elective unicameral Parliament. Statutes passed by the Parliament are promulgated by the President of the Republic, Parliamentary elections are held every four years, but the President of the Republic is obliged to dissolve the Parliament earlier on the proposal of the Cabinet, because of dealing with a national issue of exceptional importance (Mavriasis and Spiliotopoulos 2004). The President is also obliged to dissolve the Parliament earlier if the opposition manages to pass a motion of no confidence.

Greece's foreign policy is conducted through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and its head, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The main aims of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs are to represent Greece before other states and international organizations; safeguarding the interests of the Greek state and its citizens abroad; the promotion of Greek culture; the fostering of closer relations with the Greek Diaspora; and the promotion of international cooperation (Keridis 1999). Additionally, Greece has developed a regional policy to help promote peace and stability in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East (Stavridis 2002). Also a member of numerous international organizations, including the Council of

Europe, the European Union, the Union for the Mediterranean, and the United Nations, of which it is a founding member.

2.2.8 Health care and Demography:

Greece has universal health care. According to the World Health Organization report, 2013, its health care system ranked 30th in the overall performance of 191 countries surveyed. According to Save the Children report 2013, Greece has ranked the 19th best country (out of 176 countries surveyed) for the state of mothers and newborn babies. In 2010, there were 138 hospitals with 31,000 beds in the country, but on 1 July 2011, the Ministry for Health and Social Solidarity announced its plans to decrease the number to 77 hospitals with 36,035 beds, as a necessary reform to reduce expenses and further enhance healthcare standards. Greece's healthcare expenditures as a percentage of GDP were 9.6% in 2007 according to a 2011 OECD report, just above the OECD average of 9.5%. The country has the largest number of doctors-to-population ratio of any OECD country.

Life expectancy in Greece is 80.3 years, above the OECD average of 79.5, and among the highest in the world (Census 2011). The 2011 OECD report showed that Greece had the largest percentage of adult daily smokers of any of the 34 OECD members. The country's obesity rate is 18.1%, which is above the OECD average of 15.1%, but considerably lower than the American rate of 27.7%. In 2008, Greece had the highest rate of perceived good health in the OECD, at 98.5%. The birth rate in 2012 is 9.08 per 1,000 inhabitants (14.5 per 1,000 in 1981). At the same time, the mortality rate increased slightly from 10.8 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1981 to 9.6 per 1,000 inhabitants in 2012. Infant mortality is one of the lowest in the developed world, with a rate of 3.1 deaths per 1,000 live births. In 2011, 19.8% of the population was 65 years old and older, 66.12% between the ages of 15 and 64 years old, and 14.2% were 14 years old and younger. The population growth rate is 0.06%, the net migration rate is 2.32 per 1000 migrants inhabitants (2012 est.). However, here we describe the National Health Service (NHS) for legal and illegal immigrants in Greece.

Immigrants legally present in the country: Any person of foreign (non-EU/EEA) nationality who is on a stay/work permit enjoys access to the NHS with the same rights as a Greek citizen (July 2000 Circular of the Ministry of Health & Welfare, as in Immigration Law 2910/2001) (Kotsioni, 2009). Accordingly, regular migrants possessing a health book, issued by the insurance fund they are registered with, can receive treatment for free or paying

only a percentage of the incurred cost. However, given the spread of informal employment arrangements many legally residing immigrants are deprived of social security and hence access to healthcare (Hatziprokopiou, 2009). Moreover, access to health care services is gravely hindered by long delays (up to 6 months) in the renewal of residence and work permits, depriving them of social insurance and consequently from free access to the health care system.

Refugees and asylum seekers: Refugees and asylum seekers have equal access to healthcare as Greek citizens. By Presidential Decree 668 (May 2005) any refugee or asylum seeker in possession of the relevant documentation but without insurance or with insufficient income is entitled to primary and secondary care entirely free of charge (Kotsioni, 2009). However, there are no provisions for persons who have applied for asylum and are waiting for confirmation of their status as asylum seekers, apart from the right to access emergency services (in the same capacity as undocumented migrants). The procedure of granting asylum is also quite lengthy, lasting up to several months, and the approval rate is extremely low.

Immigrants without documents: By Law, undocumented immigrants in Greece are not entitled to healthcare, except for life-threatening situations, and until stabilization of their health is achieved (children under 18 years are exempted from this rule). These migrants can therefore be treated only in hospital emergency services. Emergencies include pregnancy-related complications and delivery, but not prenatal care. In the case of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, treatment is provided free of charge and a temporary stay permit for the period of the treatment may be issued (according to Law 2955/2001) (Hatziprokopiou, 2009). The category of undocumented migrants includes growing numbers of rejected asylum seekers, who face the same obstacles in accessing health care.

2.3 Bangladesh

Bangladesh (officially the People's Republic of Bangladesh), is a country in South Asia, located on the fertile Bengal delta. It is bordered by the Republic of India to its north, west, and east, by the Union of Myanmar (Burma) to its south-east and by the Bay of Bengal to its south. The name *Bangladesh* means "Country of Bengal" in the official Bengali language. Bangladesh is a parliamentary republic with an elected parliament called the Jatiyo Sangshad. With a population of more than 160 million people in a territory of 56,977 sq miles, Bangladesh is the world's eighth-most populous country, as well as one of the world's most densely populated countries. The Bengalis form the country's predominant ethnic group, whereas the indigenous peoples in northern and south-eastern districts form a significant and diverse ethnic minority and the Bengal delta region has a rich and diverse cultural heritage. The four largest religions in the country are Islam (89%), Hinduism (9%), Buddhism (1%), and Christianity (0.5%). According to the United Nations in 2010, the country is making major strides in human development, including significant progress in the areas of gender equity, universal primary education, women empowerment, reducing population growth, food production, health, and renewable energy. The poverty rate has declined considerably since independence, and per-capita income has doubled from 1975 levels. However, the country continues to face several major political and social challenges, including endemic bureaucratic and political corruption, widespread poverty, political instability, overpopulation, and vulnerability to global climate change.



Figure 2.2: General topology of Bangladesh
 (Source: <http://www.banglapedia.org>)

2.3.1 History of Bangladesh

Although Bangladesh has existed as an independent country only since the late 20th century, its national character within a broader South Asian context dates to the ancient past. Remnants of civilization in the greater Bengal region date back four thousand years to when the region was settled by ancient Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, and Austro-Asiatic peoples. The exact origin of the word "Bangla" or "Bengal" is unclear, though it is believed to be derived from *Bang/Vanga*, the Dravidian-speaking tribe that settled in the area around the year 1000 BCE (James, Robert, and Worden, ed. 1989). The region was known to the ancient Greek and Roman world as *Gangaridai*, or "Nation of Ganges". The early history of Bengal featured the rise of numerous city-states, or *janapadas* including Vanga, Samatata, and Pundravardhana. The Mauryan Empire was led by Ashoka Successive Magadhan dynasties for several centuries. Following the collapse of the Magadhan Empire, a local ruler named Shashanka rose to power and founded an impressive but short-lived kingdom. After a period of anarchy, the Bengali Buddhist Pala dynasty ruled the region for four hundred years, followed by the Hindu Sena Dynasty. Islam was introduced to the Bengal region in the 8th century by Arab Muslim traders and Sufi missionaries, and the subsequent Muslim conquest of Bengal in the 12th century helped spread Islam throughout the region (Eaton, R 1996). Bakhtiar Khilji, a Turkic general, defeated Lakshman Sen of the Sena dynasty and conquered large parts of Bengal in the year 1204. The region was ruled by the Sultanate of Bengal and the Baro-Bhuiyan confederacy for the next few hundred years. By the 16th century, the Mughal Empire controlled Bengal, and Dhaka became an important provincial center of Mughal administration.

Medieval European geographers located paradise at the mouth of the Ganges, and although this was hopeful, Bengal was probably the wealthiest part of the subcontinent until the 16th century. From 1517 onwards, Portuguese traders from Goa were traversing the sea route to Bengal. Only in 1537 were they allowed to settle and open customs houses at Chittagong. In 1577, the Mughal emperor Akbar permitted the Portuguese to build permanent settlements and churches in Bengal (D'Costa 1986). The influence of European traders grew until the British East India Company gained control of Bengal following the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The bloody rebellion of 1857 known as the Sepoy Mutiny resulted in a transfer of authority to the crown with a British viceroy running the administration. During

colonial rule, famine racked South Asia many times, including the war-induced Great Bengal famine of 1943 that claimed 3 million lives (Brijen 1966).

Between 1905 and 1911, an abortive attempt was made to divide the province of Bengal into two zones, with Dhaka being the capital of the eastern zone. With the exit of the British Empire in 1947, Bengal was partitioned along religious lines, with the western part going to newly created India and the eastern part (Muslim majority) joining Pakistan as a province called East Bengal (later renamed East Pakistan), with its capital at Dhaka. In 1950, land reform was accomplished in East Bengal with the abolishment of the feudal zamindari system. Despite the economic and demographic weight of the east, however, Pakistan's government and military were largely dominated by the upper classes from the west. The Bengali Language Movement of 1952 was the first sign of friction between the two wings of Pakistan. Dissatisfaction with the central government over economic and cultural issues continued to rise through the next decade, during which the Awami League emerged as the political voice of the Bengali speaking population. It agitated for autonomy in the 1960s, and in 1966, its president, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib), was jailed; he was released in 1969 after an unprecedented popular uprising. In 1970, a massive cyclone devastated the coast of East Pakistan, killing up to half a million people, and the central government responded poorly. The Bengali population's anger was compounded when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whose Awami League won a majority in Parliament in the 1970 elections, was blocked from taking office. After staging compromise talks with Mujib, President Yahya Khan and military officials launched Operation Searchlight, a sustained military assault on East Pakistan, and arrested him in the early hours of 26 March 1971. Yahya's methods were extremely bloody, and the violence of the war resulted in many civilian deaths. Chief targets included intellectuals and Hindus, and about one million refugees fled to neighboring India. Estimates of those massacred throughout the war range from thirty thousand to 3,000,000 (Rummel 1998). After nine months of the war, the Pakistani occupation forces surrendered in Dhaka on 16th December 1971 after killing an estimated three million people. Due to the heroic resistance and supreme sacrifices of the valiant freedom fighters Bangladesh finally became an independent sovereign state.

2.3.2 Geography and Climate:

Bangladesh lies between latitudes 20° and 27°N, and longitudes 88° and 93°E; in the low lying Ganges Delta. This delta is formed by the confluence of the Ganges (local name

Padma or *Pôdda*), Brahmaputra (Jamuna or *Jomuna* is also known as "Yamuna"), and Meghna rivers and their respective tributaries. The Ganges unites with the Jamuna (main channel of the Brahmaputra) and later joins the Meghna to eventually empty into the Bay of Bengal. The alluvial soil deposited by these rivers has created some of the most fertile plains in the world. Bangladesh has 57 trans boundary rivers, making water issues politically complicated to resolve in most cases as the lower riparian state to India. Most parts of Bangladesh are less than 12 m (39.4 ft) above the sea level, and it is believed that about 10% of the land would be flooded if the sea level were to rise by 1 m (3.28 ft) (Ali 1996).

Straddling the Tropic of Cancer, the Bangladeshi climate is tropical with a mild winter from October to March, and a hot, humid summer from March to June. The country has never frozen at any point on the ground, with a record low of 4.5°C in the southwest city of Jessore in the winter of 2011. A warm and humid monsoon season lasts from June to October and supplies most of the country's rainfall. Natural calamities, such as floods, tropical cyclones, tornadoes, and tidal bores occur almost every year, combined with the effects of deforestation, soil degradation, and erosion. The cyclones of 1970 and 1991 were particularly devastating. A cyclone that struck Bangladesh in 1991 killed some 140,000 people. Natural hazards that come from increased rainfall, rising sea levels, and tropical cyclones are expected to increase as climate changes, each seriously affecting agriculture, water, and food security, human health, and shelter. It is believed that in the coming decades the rising sea level alone will create more than 20 million climate refugees (Wheeler and Gravgaard 2010). Bangladesh is now widely recognized to be one of the country's most vulnerable to climate change.

2.3.3 Bangladeshi Diaspora

The Bangladeshi Diaspora consists of people of Bangladeshi descent who have immigrated to or were born in another country. First-generation migrants may have moved abroad from Bangladesh for better living conditions, to escape poverty, or to send money back to families in Bangladesh (Wikipedia). The country has a long history of migration both as a country of origin and as a land of destination. A remarkable migration from Bengal may be noticed by the visit of Buddhist religious scholar and saint Atish Dipankar to Tibet in 1042. A good number of Muslim spiritual-religious personalities like Hazrat Shahjalal (R), Shah Paran, and other '*Aulias*' came from Yemen to Sylhet and Chittagong areas and settled there in 1344 (Islam, 2010). Historical anecdotes suggest that the ancestors of Sri Lanka's

Sinhala population migrated to the island centuries ago from the territory that now constitutes Bangladesh. When the British developed the tea industry in Northeast Bengal in the 18th century, they brought some tribal groups for tea plantation as contracted based laborers from different parts of India. In the late 19th century, Colonial policies brought about the destruction of the jute and cotton industry of Bengal, plus the market for fine Muslin and this was brought about by a large scale migration of people from this part to Assam. People also migrated from East Bengal to Myanmar (Islam, 2010). However, since 1947 which saw the emergence of newly independent South Asian states, the gradual imposition of regulatory mechanisms has restricted the movement of people across state borders.

Migration to the industrialized countries, especially to the West, also dates back to the colonial past of Bangladesh. During the 18th and early 19th century, sailors originating from the south-eastern parts of East Bengal (Chittagong and Noakhali), found jobs in the British merchant navy shipping goods from Kolkata to all over the world. Landless peasants from the northern Sylhet district, who had no opportunities for work in their own locality, gained employment in the dockyards of Hooghly, near Kolkata, as well as in the British merchant navy. Many seafarers from the latter group jumped ship whenever opportunities arose, landing in the United States of America and the United Kingdom (Ali, 1997; Carey and Shukur, 1985). These stowaways were considered pioneer migrants to the West. Emigration from Bangladesh was also initiated in 1922 when workers from British-Indian Bangladesh moved to the African states under British colonial rule.

New opportunities for international migration arose following the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. During the early sixties, the Middle Eastern countries enriched their economy based on oil exploration and started to recruit various kinds of manpower. In 1970, rising oil prices led to a phase of major infrastructure development in the oil-producing Middle East countries, creating a demand for huge numbers of expatriate workers. Bangladeshi workers joined the migration of Asian workers to the Middle East labor market during this period. By the late 1970s, the newly industrialized countries of south-East Asia also gradually attracted more migrant workers from Bangladesh. Migration to the Middle East and Asia has been qualitatively different from the West. Migrants to the Middle East and Asia have had short-term employment offers, with specific job contracts, and had to return home upon completion of their contract period. Most migrants from Bangladesh belong to this category. In western countries, the majority of migrants become long term residents, after which, many opt

to be citizens of the host country/ area (Sikder 2008). The BMET 2020 data in figure 2.3 shows how many Bangladeshis are living overseas as well as their employment and remittances from 1976 to 2020 (till May).

Overseas Employment & Remittances (1976 to 2020)																										
Year	Name of the Country																		Misc	Total	Remittances*					
	KSA	UAE	Kuwait	Oman	Qatar	Bahrain	Lebanon	Jordan	Libya	Sudan	Malaysia	Singapore	S. Korea	UK	Italy	Japan	Egypt	Brunei			Mauritius	Iraq	Others	Clearance	Employment	Million USD
1976	217	1,909	643	113	1,221	335	-	-	-	173	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,395	-	6,087	23.71	35.85
1977	1,379	5,819	1,315	1,492	2,262	870	-	-	-	718	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,870	-	15,225	82.79	125.16
1978	3,212	7,811	2,243	3,877	1,903	763	-	-	-	3,394	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,483	-	22,909	106.90	165.59
1979	6,476	5,069	2,298	3,777	1,983	827	-	-	-	1,969	-	110	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,586	-	24,495	122.06	266.95
1980	8,695	4,847	3,687	4,745	1,455	1,351	-	-	-	2,976	-	3	385	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,929	-	30,073	301.33	492.95
1981	13,384	6,418	5,464	7,352	2,268	1,392	-	-	-	4,162	-	-	1,083	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14,264	-	55,787	304.88	620.74
1982	16,294	6,863	7,244	8,248	6,252	2,037	-	-	-	2,071	-	-	331	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13,422	-	62,762	490.77	1,176.84
1983	12,928	6,615	10,283	11,110	7,556	2,473	-	-	-	2,209	-	23	178	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,845	-	59,220	627.51	1,568.76
1984	30,359	5,185	5,627	10,448	2,725	2,300	-	-	-	3,385	-	-	718	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,925	-	56,714	500.00	1,265.49
1985	37,132	7,836	7,884	12,118	3,751	3,665	-	-	-	4,514	-	-	792	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,601	-	77,694	500.00	1,419.61
1986	27,235	8,750	10,286	6,255	4,847	2,597	-	-	-	3,111	-	530	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,982	-	68,658	576.20	1,752.85
1987	39,292	9,953	9,559	440	5,889	2,055	-	-	-	2,271	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,558	-	74,017	747.60	2,313.94
1988	27,622	13,437	6,524	2,219	7,390	3,268	-	-	-	2,759	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,900	-	68,121	763.90	2,423.59
1989	39,949	15,184	12,404	15,429	8,462	4,830	-	-	-	1,609	-	401	229	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,227	-	101,724	757.84	2,446.00
1990	57,486	8,307	5,957	13,980	7,672	4,563	-	-	-	471	-	1,385	776	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,217	-	103,814	781.54	2,691.63
1991	75,656	8,583	28,574	23,087	3,772	3,480	25	-	-	1,124	-	1,628	642	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	585	-	147,156	769.30	2,818.65
1992	93,132	12,875	34,277	25,825	3,251	5,804	37	-	-	1,617	-	10,537	313	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	228	12	186,124	901.97	3,513.26
1993	106,387	15,810	26,407	15,866	2,441	5,386	37	-	-	1,800	-	67,938	1,739	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	328	12	244,508	1,009.09	3,986.97
1994	91,385	15,051	14,912	6,470	624	4,233	382	-	-	1,864	-	47,826	391	1,558	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,335	26	186,326	1,153.54	4,629.63
1995	84,009	14,686	17,492	20,949	71	3,004	406	-	-	1,106	-	35,174	3,762	3,315	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,659	229	187,543	1,201.52	4,838.31
1996	72,734	23,812	21,042	8,691	112	3,759	490	-	-	1,966	-	66,631	5,304	2,759	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,062	196	211,714	1,355.34	5,685.30
1997	106,534	54,719	21,126	5,985	1,873	5,010	907	-	-	1,934	-	2,844	27,401	889	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,003	238	231,077	1,525.03	6,709.15
1998	158,715	38,796	25,444	4,779	6,806	7,014	1,389	-	-	1,254	8	551	21,728	578	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	169	16	267,667	1,599.24	7,513.23
1999	185,739	32,344	22,400	4,045	5,611	4,639	219	-	-	1,744	16	1	9,596	1,501	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	268,182	1,806.63	8,882.74
2000	144,518	34,024	594	5,233	1,433	4,637	37	-	-	1,010	54	17,237	11,095	990	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	222,686	1,954.95	10,199.12
2001	137,248	16,252	5,341	4,561	223	4,371	-	-	-	95	450	153	4,921	9,615	1,561	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	3	189,060	2,071.03	11,590.79
2002	163,269	25,462	15,769	3,854	552	5,421	2	1,829	1,574	136	85	6,856	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	37	225,256	2,847.79	16,484.53
2003	162,131	37,346	26,722	4,029	94	7,484	3	2,128	2,855	784	28	5,304	3,771	166	28	12	26	980	-	-	-	301	-	254,190	3,477.63	18,845.12
2004	139,031	47,012	41,108	4,435	1,268	9,194	-	-	-	6,022	606	923	224	6,848	215	2,055	550	47	33	1,802	44	2,859	8,582	272,958	3,565.31	21,286.52
2005	80,425	61,978	47,029	4,827	2,114	10,716	14	5,101	972	885	2,911	9,651	223	2,793	950	79	207	191	1,381	-	-	4,015	12,240	252,702	4,249.87	27,304.34
2006	109,513	130,204	35,775	8,092	7,691	16,355	821	2,822	104	2,380	20,469	20,139	992	1,625	1,428	174	639	496	2,090	-	-	8,995	10,720	381,516	5,484.08	38,366.56
2007	204,112	226,392	4,212	17,478	15,130	16,433	3,541	494	1,490	1,726	273,201	38,324	39	972	10,950	164	1,068	1,186	3,658	-	-	1,827	10,212	832,609	6,562.74	45,337.35
2008	132,124	419,355	319	52,896	25,548	13,182	8,444	682	5,067	170	131,762	56,581	1,521	951	6,928	193	1,891	1,054	3,071	-	-	2,461	1	875,055	8,979.00	61,587.83
2009	14,666	358,348	10	41,704	11,672	28,436	13,941	1,691	22,742	514	12,402	39,581	1,474	1,253	5,339	39	3,018	2,699	1,836	412	5,038	8,485	475,278	10,717.73	73,981.46	
2010	7,069	203,208	48	42,641	12,085	21,824	17,268	2,235	12,132	14	919	39,653	2,699	173	6,726	17	2,730	2,191	3,705	2,288	4,017	7,560	390,702	11,004.73	76,639.57	
2011	15,039	282,739	29	135,265	13,111	13,996	19,169	4,387	89	79	742	49,667	2,021	30	7,624	20	3,312	5,150	5,353	234	3,566	7,440	568,062	12,168.09	90,240.85	
2012	21,232	215,452	2	170,326	28,801	21,777	14,864	11,726	14,975	23	804	58,557	1,447	17	9,280	420	7,478	5,038	5,421	359	10,190	9,209	607,798	14,163.99	115,816.93	
2013	12,654	14,241	6	134,028	57,584	25,155	15,098	21,383	17,175	211	3,853	60,057	1,121	14	4,792	41	949	5,971	5,961	7,456	21,279	9,524	409,253	13,832.13	108,066.93	
2014	10,657	24,232	3,094	105,748	87,575	23,378	16,640	20,338	4,461	86	5,134	54,750	1,748	16	856	55	266	6,633	5,938	13,627	28,762	11,690	425,684	14,942.57	115,969.62	
2015	58,270	25,271	17,472	129,859	123,965	20,720	19,113	22,093	231	350	30,483	55,523	2,359	4	44	99	601	6,354	4,753	13,982	19,638	4,697	555,881	15,270.99	119,363.62	
2016	143,913	8,131	39,188	188,247	120,382	72,167	15,095	23,017	-	739	40,126	54,730	1,980	11	3	165	758	5,836	4,679	4,738	23,236	10,590	757,731	13,609.77	107,294.67	
2017	551,308	4,135	49,604	89,074	82,012	19,318	8,327	20,449	1	1,716	99,787	40,401	1,829	7	1	145	30	8,587	5,942	3,819	9,731	12,302	1,008,525	13,526.84	110,246.67	
2018	257,317	3,235	27,637	72,504	76,560	811	5,991	9,724	63	824	175,927	41,393	2,287	8	-	163	48	4,480	6,608	19,567	15,790	13,244	730,181	15,544.68	130,293.61	
2019	399,000	3,318	12,299	72,654	50,292	133	4,863	20,347	213	1	545	49,829	1,647	11	2	229	1	3,628	7,576	9,266	10,619	53,666	700,159	18,354.94	150,021.58	
2020	133,997	853	1,743	17,398	3,503	1	479	3,068	-	2	121	9,418	208	11	-	99	-	528	2,000	-	-	3,425	4,364	181,218	6,964.55	59,295.70
Total	4,183,585	2,372,398	630,693																							

migration from Bangladesh is about six hundred thousand. In the years of 2019, the migration from Bangladesh was 700159 and in 2020 till May 181218 migrants went to various countries around the world for employment. Bangladeshi workers are mainly engaged in 143 countries of the world but about 90% of the migration takes place in the Middle East and Malaysia. The world's largest Bangladeshi Diaspora population is in Saudi Arabia, where there is almost 3 million 29.13 percent of total migration. There are also significant migrant communities in the various Arab states of the Persian Gulf, particularly the United Arab Emirates about 2.5 million 25.65 percent and Oman, about 1 million 10.28 percent. The United Kingdom's 2011 census found 500,000 British Bangladeshi mainly concentrated in east London boroughs (Tower Hamlets and Newham). Besides the UK and the Middle East, Bangladeshis also have a significant presence in the United States about 300000, mainly in New York (where many are also from Sylhet, Chittagong, and other regions), in Far Eastern countries such as Malaysia, South Korea, and Japan, and other Western countries such as Greece Italy, Canada, Australia.

Bangladesh has been identified as one of the next 11 countries with the potential to become one of the world's largest economies in the 21 century. A major contributor to the country's growth is labor migration and the flow of remittances from migrant workers. The Gulf and Southeast Asian labor receiving countries, therefore, play a significant, if indirect, role in supporting Bangladesh's economic development.

2.3.4 Educational Structure

The education sector in Bangladesh has four tiers, pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary and is delivered through three main streams; the general government stream, which covers all tiers; the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) stream, which provides specialist secondary and tertiary institutions; and the Madrasha stream which has a similar structure to the formal government system, serving primary to tertiary, but with an emphasis on religion. There is a small but significant (mainly urban-based) private sector (including the not for profit NGOs) at all tiers. Education is thus largely state-dependent across all tiers. The following diagram 2.1 shows the educational structure of Bangladesh.

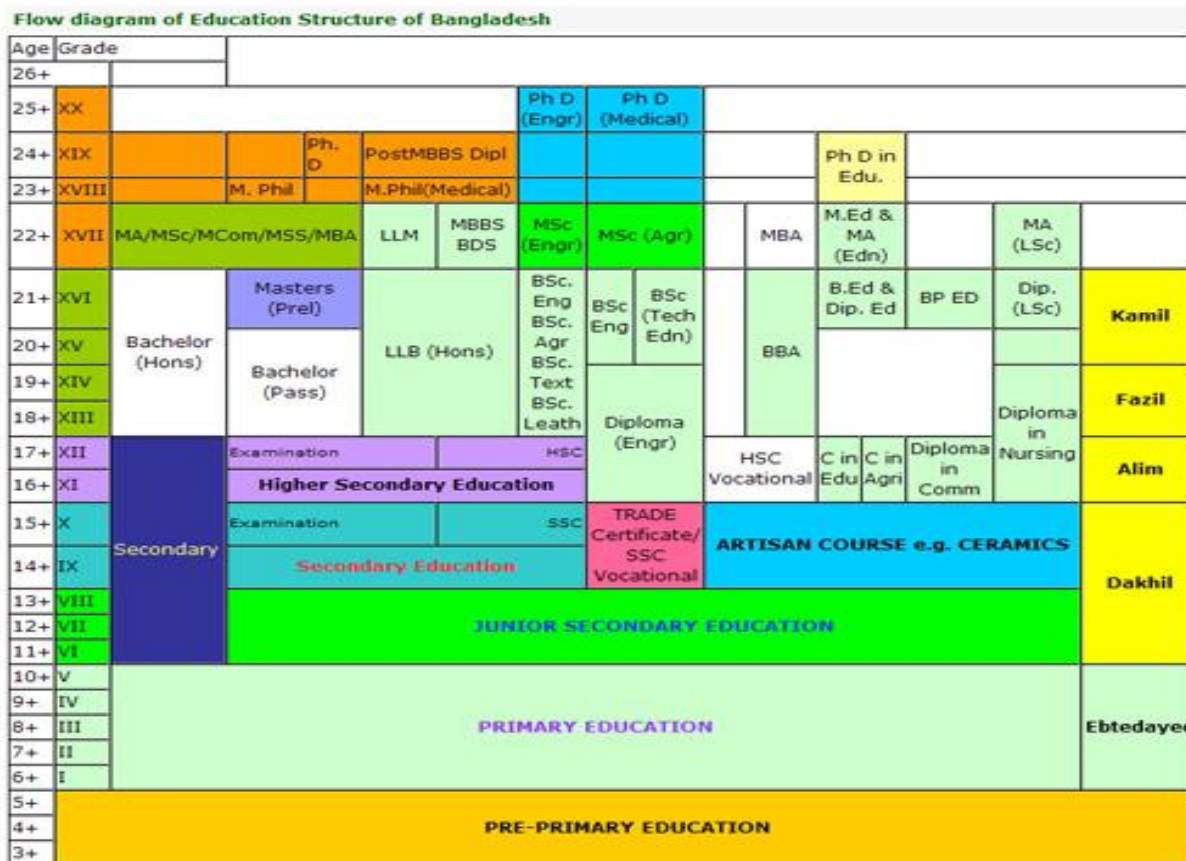


Diagram 2.2: Education Structure of Bangladesh
 Source: (http://www.moedu.gov.bd/old/edu_structure_diagram.htm)

The education system is divided into 6 levels: First level Pre-Primary education begins at the age of three until six years old. The second stage Primary education which begins at the age of 6 (from grades 1 to 5), then third stage Junior Secondary (from grades 6 to 8), fourth stage Secondary (from grades 9 to 10), Higher Secondary (from grades 11 to 12) and tertiary. The five years of lower secondary education concludes with a Secondary School Certificate (SSC) Examination but since 2009 it concludes with a Primary Education Closing (PEC) Examination. Also, earlier Students who pass this examination proceed to four years Secondary or matriculation training, which culminates in a Secondary School Certificate (SSC) Examination but since 2010 the Primary Education Closing (PEC) passed examinees proceed to three years Junior Secondary, which culminate in a Junior School Certificate(JSC) Examination. Then students who pass this examination proceed to two years Secondary or matriculation training, which culminates in a Secondary School Certificate (SSC) Examination. Students who pass this examination proceed to two years of Higher Secondary or intermediate training, which culminate in a Higher Secondary School Certificate (HSC) Examination. Education is mainly offered in Bengali, but English is also commonly taught

and used. A large number of Muslim families send their children to attend part-time courses or even to pursue full-time religious education, which is imparted in Bengali and Arabic in Madrasahs (Neville 1988).

Bangladesh conforms fully to the Education for all (EFA) objectives, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), and international declarations. Article 17 of the Bangladesh Constitution provides that all children between the ages of six to ten years receive a basic education free of charge (UNESCO, 2013). By this article presently Bangladesh has one of the largest education systems in the world with over 35 million children of primary and secondary school age; Nearly 100% of children studying at the primary level, about 50% at secondary and 10% at tertiary. Moreover, Non-formal education delivered through over 500 NGOs to 10% of the age cohort and Strong political support for education with a growing budget in cash terms through low as a proportion of GDP compared to other countries in the region. Compulsory Primary Education Act passed in 1990 leading to enrolment at the primary level of over 100% in 18,000 primary schools by 1997. Gender equality reached at primary and secondary level by the early 2000s supported by the flagship 'Female Stipend Program'. The first National Education Policy was approved by the Government in May 2010. Universities in Bangladesh are mainly categorized into three different types: public university (government-owned and subsidized), private university (private sector owned universities), an international university (operated and funded by international organizations). Bangladesh has some thirty-four public, sixty-four private, and two international universities. National University has the largest enrolment amongst them and the University of Dhaka (established 1921) is the oldest university in the country.

2.3.5 Economy of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a developing nation. The spirit of free enterprise, competition, and innovative entrepreneurship are the dominant forces in the economic life of Bangladesh; also considered as an economic miracle of this decade. With its pro-investment policies and commitment to international peace, stability, and economic development through international and regional trade with its development partners and increasing remittances by an expatriate. Bangladeshis, the country has achieved impressive economic growth during the last couple of years. In the last decade, the GDP growth hardly went down below 6%. It is expected that GDP will grow by around 7% in 2013. A strong domestic demand, high export growth, and continued expansion of infrastructural facilities helped to accomplish this

accelerated economic growth amidst the fragile pace of global economic recovery. Because of tremendous economic growth, Bangladesh gradually decreased its dependency on foreign grants and loans from 85% (In 1988) to 2% (In 2010) for its annual development budget (WEOD 2010). Its per capita income as of 2013 is US\$1,044 compared to the world average of \$8,985. International Monetary Fund (IMF) ranked Bangladesh as the 44th largest economy in the world in 2011 in PPP terms and 57th largest in nominal terms. The country registered a gross domestic product of US\$305.5 billion in 2012, US\$288.1 billion and US\$270.5 billion in 2011 and 2010 respectively in purchasing power parity (PPP). Nearly half of the GDP is generated by the service sector (54.1%), while agriculture and industry constitute 17.3% and 28.6% respectively. In 2012 the GDP in real terms is estimated to be US\$118.7 billion. In 2012 Bangladesh experienced a satisfactory FDI. World Investment Report 2012 ranked Bangladesh 16th among 74 FDI-recipient countries with a record of \$1.13 billion FDI inflow. The Bangladesh Government has planned a long-term perspective plan, with a target to make Bangladesh a middle-income country by 2021, by raising the real per capita income to US\$2000 which now stands at US\$1044.

In Bangladesh, a strong middle class is gradually forming which according to some estimates is close to 18 % of the population. Due to the emerging middle class and in general better income level of common people, domestic demand is growing an important driver of economic activity. As major economies of the world are gradually losing their competitiveness, manufacturing has been gradually starting to take root in Bangladesh. Bangladesh has now emerged as an important manufacturing base for textile products, pharmaceuticals, finished leathers, light, and medium industries and shipbuilding. Bangladesh has been ranked as the 4th largest clothing exporter by the WTO. According to FAOSTAT, Bangladesh is one of the world's largest producers of fisheries (5th), rice (4th), potato (11th), mango (9th), pineapple (16th), tropical Fruit (5th), onion (16th), banana (17th), jute (2nd), tea (11th). Jute was once the economic engine of the country. While world trade was severely disrupted by the global recession in the last three years with exports of most countries declining sharply, the export of Bangladesh shows satisfactory growth. Bangladesh has emerged as the second-largest exporter in the world apparel market, also doing exceedingly well in the exports of finished leathers and leather goods, frozen foods, jute and jute goods, pharmaceutical products, light engineering products, and small ocean-going vessels. In 2012 and 2011 Bangladesh posted US\$ 25.79 billion and US\$ 24.56 billion respectively in export earnings, while at the corresponding periods the country registered

import bills of US\$ 35.06 billion and US\$32.58 billion. Most of the items in the import list are petroleum products, capital goods, and industrial raw materials. According to the World Bank, Bangladesh is among the top 10 recipients of officially recorded remittances for 2019, which is larger than the national foreign exchange reserve. In 2019, reserves stood at US\$18.354 billion. Apart from remittances by expatriate Bangladeshis, the increase in export earnings and a decrease in import cost played their role in boosting the reserves.

2.3.6 Cultural Heritage

Bangladesh has a wealthy, various cultural diversity. It has deeply rooted inheritance which is thoroughly reflected in its architecture, dance, food, literature, music, painting, and clothing. The culinary tradition of Bangladesh has close relations to surrounding Bengali and North-East Indian cuisine as well as having its unique traits. Rice and fish are traditional favorites. With an emphasis on fish, vegetables and lentils served with rice as a staple diet. Biryani is a favorite dish as well; this includes egg biryani, mutton biryani, and beef biryani (see appendix A). Bangladeshi cuisine is known for its subtle (yet sometimes fiery) flavors and its huge spread of confectioneries and desserts. Bangladeshis make distinctive sweetmeats from milk products, some common ones being *Rôshogolla*, *Rasmalai*, *Rôshomalai*, *chômchôm*, and *kalojam* (see appendix A). Food is eaten with the right hand by mixing the curry into the rice and then gathering portions with the fingertips. In city restaurants that cater to foreigners, people may use silverware. Three meals are consumed daily. Water is the most common beverage. Snacks include fruits such as banana, mango, and jackfruit, as well as puffed rice and small fried food items.

The Sari (*shari*) is by far the most widely worn dress by Bangladeshi women. A guild of weavers in Dhaka is renowned for producing saris from exquisite Jamdani muslin (Familypedia). The salwar kameez (*shalwar kameez*) is also quite popular, especially among the younger females, and in urban areas, some women wear western attire. Among men, western attire is more widely adopted. Men also wear the *kurta-pajama* combination, often on special occasions, and the lungi, a kind of long skirt for men. Besides the dress, the marriage system also bears cultural heritage (Familypedia). Marriage is almost always an arranged affair and takes place when the parents, particularly the father, decide that a child should be married. Men marry typically between the ages of 20 to 30. Women usually marry between the ages of 18 to 25; thus the husband is usually at least ten years older than the wife.

Pohela Boishakh, the Bengali New Year, is the major festival of Bengali culture and sees widespread festivities. One of the major holidays celebrated in Bangladesh, only *Pohela Boishakh* comes without any preexisting expectations (specific religious identity, the culture of gift-giving, etc.). The four primary religions of Bangladesh are Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christian. Islam is the largest religion of Bangladesh; Islam contributing 89% of the population, Hinduism contributing 8% of the population, Buddhism contributing 1% of the population, Christianity with 0.5%, and Animists of 1.5% of the population. People of different religions perform their religious rituals with festivity in Bangladesh. The Government has declared national holidays on all important religious festivals of the four major religions. Eid-ul-Fitr, Eid-ul-Adha, Durga Puja, Buddha Purnima, and Christmas are celebrated with enthusiasm in Bangladesh. All of these form an integral part of the cultural heritage of Bangladesh. The people of Bangladesh have had a great influence on their culture and history.

2.3.7 Political System and foreign relationships

Bangladesh is a unitary state and parliamentary democracy. Direct elections in which all citizens, aged 18 or over, can vote are held every five years for the unicameral parliament known as the Jatiyo Sangshad (Khan1997). Currently, it has 350 members (including 50 reserved seats for women) elected from single-member constituencies. The Prime Minister, as the head of government, forms the cabinet and runs the day-to-day affairs of state. While the Prime Minister is formally appointed by the President, he or she must be a member of parliament who commands the confidence of the majority. The President is the head of state, albeit mainly ceremonially in his/her elected post; however, the President's powers are substantially expanded during the tenure of a caretaker government, which is responsible for the conduct of elections and transfer of power. The officers of the caretaker government must be non-partisan and are given three months to complete their task. This transitional arrangement was pioneered by Bangladesh in its 1991 election and then institutionalized in 1996 through its 13th constitutional amendment (Wikipedians).

The State shall base its international relations on the principles of respect for national sovereignty and equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, peaceful settlements of international disputes, and respect for international law and the principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter. The foreign policy of Bangladesh is tied closely to the realities of its economic condition. Since independence, the country has required a great

deal of foreign assistance in the effort to keep its people fed and to build, for the first time, a modern society. Under these circumstances, it has been important for successive regimes to seek good relations with all nations and to attract economic aid from every possible source. Bangladesh pursues a foreign policy that places heavy reliance on multinational diplomacy, especially at the United Nations. In 1974, Bangladesh joined both the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations and has since been elected to serve two terms on the Security Council in 1978–1979 and 2000–2001. In the 1980s, Bangladesh pioneered the formation of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), envisioning a South Asian version of ASEAN. In more recent years, Bangladesh has revived policies of promoting regional economic integration in South Asia, as well as the wider neighborhood. Bangladesh enjoys very warm ties with the People's Republic of China, and particularly in the last decade there has been increased economic cooperation between them. Bangladesh also enjoys close ties with the United State of America, the European Union, and Japan, involving politics, trade, development, defense, business, education, and culture. It is a founding member of the Developing 8 Countries. As the world's fourth-largest Muslim nation and third-largest democracy in the Muslim world, it is an important member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

2.3.8 Demography and Health Care

The population of Bangladesh is 142.3 million (census 2011); the 8th most populous nation in the world. It is also the most densely populated large country in the world, and it ranks 11th in population density when very small countries and city-states are included. Bangladesh's population growth rate was among the highest in the world in the 1960s and 1970s when the country swelled from 65 to 110 million. With the promotion of birth control in the 1980s, the growth rate began to slow. The fertility rate now stands at 2.55, lower than India (2.58), and Pakistan (3.07). The population is relatively young, with 34% aged 15 or younger and 5% 65 or older. Life expectancy at birth is estimated to be 70 years for both males and females in 2012.

Health and education levels remain relatively low; although they have improved recently as poverty (26% at 2012) levels have decreased. In rural areas, village doctors with little or no formal training constitute 62% of the healthcare providers practicing modern medicine and the formally trained providers are occupying a mere 4% of the total health workforce (Bloom, G; et al 2011). The poor health condition in Bangladesh is attributed to

the lack of healthcare and services provided by the government. The total expenditure on healthcare as a percentage of their GDP was only 3.70% in 2011, according to a World Bank report published in 2012. The number of hospital beds per 10,000 population is only 4. The General government expenditure on healthcare as a percentage of total government expenditure was only 7.9% as of 2009 and the citizens pay most of their health care bills as the out-of-pocket expenditure as a percentage of private expenditure on health is 96.5%. Malnutrition has been a persistent problem for the poverty-stricken country. The World Bank estimates that Bangladesh is ranked 1st in the world of the number of children suffering from malnutrition in Bangladesh, 26% of the population is undernourished and 46% of the children suffers from moderate to severe underweight problem. 43% of children under 5 years old are stunted. One in five preschool-age children are vitamin A deficient and one in two are anemic. Child malnutrition in Bangladesh is amongst the highest in the world. Two-thirds of the children, under the age of five, are under-nourished and about 60% of them, who under six are stunted. More than 45 percent of rural families and 76 percent of urban families were below the acceptable caloric intake level. Presently, several steps have been taken by the government to improve its leadership and regulatory role to improve equity and quality of services, especially to reach the poor and the disadvantaged. Initiatives for the development of new health policy, revitalization of primary health care by making all community clinics functional with required human resource, supplies and logistics, recruitment and appropriate deployment of human resource for health, and the gradual extension of e-health services to the rural areas are some of the examples for health development in the country (Rumesa 2009).

2.4 Concluding remarks

Based on the literature review, we can conclude, Greece is a European country, located in south-eastern Europe. The country is famous for its historical and cultural heritage. On the other hand, Bangladesh has located Southeast Asia with a long recorded history and cultural heritage of several thousand years. The climate of Greece is primarily the Mediterranean, featuring mild, wet winters and hot, dry summers. On the other hand, the Bangladeshi climate is tropical with a mild winter and a hot, humid summer with monsoons; natural disasters, such as floods, tropical cyclones, tornadoes, and tidal bores occur almost every year. Therefore, many people die in a natural disaster, while many others become vulnerable and migrate to another country to survive every year. Bangladesh is now widely recognized to be

one of the country's most vulnerable to climate change. However, in the matter of migration and education, both countries have long migration history and almost the same educational structure but in Bangladesh, school curriculums are in English and Bangla language. Teachers teach in both languages, but it depends on the student, in which language they want to study; in Greece, the school syllabus is only in the Greek language. One the other, according to Index Mundi 2014, a remarkable difference has been identified; the literacy rate is 97.3 percent in Greece but Bangladesh only 57.7 percent. According to gross domestic product (GDP) or purchasing power parity, Greece considers as a developed country, on the other hand, Bangladesh considers as a developing country. For economic reasons, many Bangladeshi are migrating all over the world. In regards to the political system; both countries (Greece and Bangladesh) practice parliamentary democracy and the Prime Minister is head of the government. In the next chapter, we are going to discuss theoretical concepts and approaches of Migration, Globalization, and Integration.

Chapter three:

Migration, globalization, and integration: Theoretical concepts and approaches

3.1 Introduction:

“Migration is the movement of people or groups which involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of usual residence” Clark and Souden (1987:11). Globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon that encompasses not only economic components but also cultural, ideological, political, and similar other facets (Prasad and Prasad, 2006). Integration is one of the most important subjects in migration research and one does not need to go through much of the literature on integration before it becomes clear that the notions have various meanings and are used in various aspects. This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study in three sections. In section 3.2, of this chapter we are going to discuss migration to Greece with the globalization, international migration, and integration context. In the sections 3.3 we will be present recently migration and integration policies development by the Greece government.

3.2 Migration, globalization, and integration in the contemporary world

Migration is the movement of people or groups of people from one location to another with the purposes of settling momentarily or permanently in the new region. On the other hand, globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon that encompasses not only economic components but also cultural, ideological, political, and similar other facets (Prasad and Prasad, 2006). However, globalization is not just a continuation of modernization but also a process of economical, social, and cultural integration. This section aims to present a short definition of migration, globalization, and integration and how globalization increasing economic integration and influencing an individual to migration for a better life and integrate into the host society.

3.2.1 Theories of migration: An overview

Migration is the movement of individuals or groups of the individual from one location to another to settle momentarily or permanently in the new region for various reasons; for a better life, for better employment possibilities, etc. This movement can happen over long distances inside the country and from one country to another country. In the last

few years, there has been a growing interest in the subject of migration and development by policymakers and scholars. The concept of migration has been defined in various aspects by scholars. In the words of Clark and Souden (1987:11) “Migration is the movement of people or groups which involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of usual residence”. Demko, Ross, Schnell (1970: 286) have been explained that migration is the most complicated element of individuals change. It represents a significant network for the dispersal and indicators of social and economical development that can be considered as an individual adjustment to economic, geographical, and social difficulties. Taylor and Lasker (1987) explain “Migration can be understood as a mechanism that inserts similar “kinds” of individuals into diverse environments, or different “kinds” of individuals into similar environments”. In the words of Johnston and Smith (1994: 380), “migration is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence of an individual or group of people”. They also mention that individuals have the goal to stay in the new reason for some considerable period.

However, some of the scholars condemn definitions and ideas of migration. Newman and Matzke (1984: 159) have been claimed that most migration definitions have been focused on the concept of a permanent or semi-permanent change of individuals living place to differentiate migration from circulation. These definitions did not include daily movement such as traveling to and from employment, shopping trips, and holidays. Both migration and movement are included under the broader heading of inhabitants’ mobility. Migration is a complicated universal topic; no one has yet presented any such notion or basis which can be universally accepted in all conditions or all senses (such as local, regional, national, and worldwide).

After a short brief of migration definition here we are going to discuss the most prominent migration theories to clarify the migration dilemma. There are presently a diversity of theoretical approaches which employ various ideas, notions, and analysis by migration researcher (Arongo 2000). However, most of the theoretical approaches were developed by particular empirical analysis. This dissertation briefly presents an overview of most dominated migration theories: the Neo-classical theory of migration (macro and micro-framework), the New economic theory of migration, World-systems theory, Dual labor market theory, and Network concepts of migration. Even though there are basic dissimilarities amongst theories of migration, this study has taken into consideration more recent approaches.

The Neo-classical theory of migration (macro and micro framework): The main concept of neoclassical theory originates by Sjaastad (1962) and Todaro (1969). The authors describe that migration is driven by differences in wages in labor markets across the world. Massey et al. (1998: 18-21) indicate that the neoclassical approach works at both the macro and the micro-level. Macro-level, migration results from the irregular spatial distribution of labor and wage over countries. In some states and regions, labor is abundant and capital is limited, so the wage level is respectively low. In other states the opposite circumstances: plentiful capital, labor limited, and high salary. The result is that workers move from low-salary to high salary economies. At the micro-level, migration is the result of decisions taken by individual 'rational actors' who do not think about salary but moving to stay with relatives based on plentiful information. However, Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) and Massey et al. (1993) explained that neoclassical models, where migration is determined by expected rather than definite income and the key variable 'wage' is subjective by the possibility of employment. On the other hand, Harris, and Todaro (1970) emphasized that migration outcomes from actual salary inequalities within markets or countries that appear from heterogeneous degrees of labor market severity. Authors indicate in their studies, geographic diversities in labor supply and demand, and the resulting differences in wages between poor versus rich countries influence migration. However, migration is not completely secure, because the immigrant does not get a job frequently upon their arrival in the place or country. The neo-classic model predicts that equilibrium will take place, but in the real world is not exist. Thus it can be said that the neoclassical approach is only concentrating on wages.

The New Economics of Labor Migration approach (NELM) has been conceptualized by Stark and Bloom (1985). The new economics of labor migration (NELM) model materialized as a decisive reply to neo-classical migration theory (Massey et al., 1993:436). This approach offers a new level of analysis and various characters of migration determinants. The new economics of labor migration theory states that migration waves and patterns cannot be explained exclusively at the level of individual workers and their economic motivations, but wider social entities must be considered. Furthermore, this theory shifted the focus of migration research from individual independence to common interdependence (Stark 1991). However, the New Economics of Labor Migration model identifies that migration decisions (who go, where to go, for how long, to do what, etc.) are not only individual decisions but combined decisions taken by the household, and other members of the household. On the other hand, the 'New Economics of Labour Migration'

theory is not well accepted by other scholars (Arango 2004:23). They argued that migration decisions are made by families or households' actors instead of isolated individual actors and household is seen as a black box without recognizing the tensions or conflicts that are contained therein. Finally, this theory concluded that the decisions of immigrants are influenced by a comprehensive set of factors that are formed by conditions in the home country. This new approach also enlarges the possibility of integrating aspects other than individual utility expansion as affecting to make migration decisions.

The world system theory (Wallerstein 1974) considered that the elements of migration are closely connected to the structural change in global markets; as a result, migration is viewed as a function of globalization. On the other, Faist (1997a: 193) perceives that world-system theory is an assumption of migration movement that immigrants move outside a linear, unidirectional, push-pull movement to an emphasis on migration as spherical, multi-causal and interdependent. Additionally, capital mobility is considered as a critical factor for the world system theory (Massey et al. 1998: 42-43). The capitalist extends deep consequences for migration topic, as not only the capitalist mode of production but also the human culture and stronger transportation, technological development of communication and military links infiltrate peripheral countries. On the other hand, Kritz et al. (1992) argued that capital and labor mobility are treated as jointly connected as two sides of one coin by the system theory. However, migration is considered as a natural outcome of the disruptions and dislocations that unavoidably occur in industrialist development and can be observed historically. This theory also highlighted the global political and economic inequalities.

The dual labor market theory established by Priore (1979); describes that migration is mainly caused by pull factors specifically strong patterns labor demand in developed countries. This theory focus that the labor markets consist of two sections by developed countries: 1) primary sector demands high-skilled labor, and 2) the secondary sector which is very labor-intensive but requires unskilled workers. This theory also explains that there is economic dualism in the labor market of developed countries and wages also fluctuate by position and standing of jobs. On the other hand, the dual labor market theory similar to world system theory considered that the determinants of migration are closely connected to the structural alters in the world economy and explains migration dynamics as a demand function. This theory divided the occupational structure into two heads and allowed a dual pattern of economic organization in advanced economies. The two types of organizations in

the economy are capital-intensive where both skilled and unskilled labor is employed, and labor-intensive where unskilled labor is employed. The theory argues that migration is driven by conditions of labor demand rather than supply and focus only pull factor; no strong analysis of migrant decision making.

The network theory of migration was conceptualized by Magobunje (1970) and developed by Massey. This theory is hypothetically similar to the migration systems theory. The main assumption of this theory is that migration changes the social, cultural, economic, and institutional situations at both the sending and receiving countries and forms an entire developmental space within migration function (de Haas 2009b). This theory does not consider the determinants which initiate migration, however, it considers the determinants that continues migration in time and space (Massey et al. 1993). On the other hand, the network theory describes the reasons for wage differential or employment policies and why migration patterns are not consistently dispersed across countries (Faist 2000). This theory also emphasizes the crucial role of individual relations between immigrants and locals and immigrant intensely adopts in both sending and receiving country political, economic, social, and cultural environments. However, Kritz et al. (1992) claim that network theory is the combination of system theory; this theory is failed to develop beyond the descriptive recognition of various national and regional systems.

Migration theories establish that migration patterns between the countries involved are based on a complex set of push and pull factors and through different kinds of networks and institutions, all playing a role in the ongoing migration process. Furthermore, migration is directed by individual behavior, it has aggregate impacts from society. For this reason, the levels of study of migration dynamics modify from micro-level decision processes to national or international levels decision processes. The neoclassical theory of migration has emphasized both macro and micro-level discussions considering wages and income differentials as the main explanatory variable. The main contribution of the human capital theory of migration is to introduce heterogeneity into individual decision-making based on predispositions and expectations. The new economics labor migration theory is an elaboration of the neoclassical theory which brings an important theoretical and analytical alteration. Moreover, a set of structural variables derived primarily from national or international levels are introduced by dual labor market theory and world-system theory. On the other hand, network theories operate across different analysis levels. Finally, migration should not be

considered as a historical and continuous process of human movement. Present immigrants can affect the structural environment, throughout influencing economic development in the origin country.

3.2.2 A conceptual framework for understanding Globalization

Globalization is a recent concept that starts in contemporary decades (Castells 1996), but the world-system model researcher claim globalization procedure has started five hundred years ago (Wallerstein 2000). The concept of Globalization is applied and explicated in many universal aspects. Many scholars define globalization in different prospects. In the words of Giddens (1990:64) “globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happening is shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. Today's globalization is forcefully exerting its influence upon nations, societies, communities, and every individual but the results have caused extensive concern. It is indubitable fact that globalization has created opportunities for economically developing countries to integrate into the global economy and thus modernize their technology and speed up their economic growth. Globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon that encompasses not only economic components but also cultural, ideological, political, and similar other facets (Prasad and Prasad, 2006).

On the other hand, globalization is increasing economic integration and rising economic interdependence between countries of the world economy. It is not only linked with the rising cross-border movement of people, products, services, international trade, modern technology, and migration but also as an institution of economic actions that cross national borders. In Krueger's (2002) own words, “Globalization is the process of integration of nations through the spread of ideas and the sharing of technological advances, through international trade, through the movement of labor and capital across national boundaries”. According to Scott (2006:76), “Generic globalization can be defined by four phenomena that have emerged or intensified since the middle of the twentieth century: (a) the electronic revolution that has transformed the technological base and global scope of the mass media and much of the material infrastructure of the world today; (b) the decolonization of most of Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean with its major impacts on cross-border economic and cultural activities and migration and post-colonial forms; (c) the creation of transnational social spaces, and (d) qualitatively new forms of cosmopolitanism that enable people and groups to construct multiple identities”. Thus, we can say, globalization is a process of communication

and integration between the individuals from different nations, international trade, and migration, social and cultural integration among the states.

However, globalization is not just a continuation of modernization but also a process of economical, social, and cultural integration. According to Binsbergen (1999:275), “Globalization is not about the absence or dissolution of boundaries, but about the dramatically reduce fees imposed by time and space, and thus the opening up of new spaces and new time within new boundaries that were hitherto inconceivable. Globalization as a condition of the social world today resolves on the interplay between unbounded world-wide flow, and the selective farming of such flow within localizing contexts; such farming organizes not only (of people, ideas, and objectives) and individual experience, but also the people involved in them, creating more or less enduring social categories and groups whose collective identity as supported by their members’ interaction creates as an eddy of particularism, of social localization, within the unbounded global flow”.

However, globalization has been categorized in different approaches by social scientists but Sklair (1999) classifies the four most important approaches of globalization to understand the forms of social interaction, the global economy, and human culture. These approaches are 1) the World system approach, 2) the Global cultural approach, 3) the Global society model, 4) the Global capitalism approach. World system theory focuses that the world does a unique rather than looking at individual countries (Sklair 1999). It divides the world into three regions, core countries, peripheral countries, and semi-peripheral countries; in terms of their changing roles of countries in the international division of labor dominated by the capitalist world-system (Wallerstein 1974). There is no particularly global dimension in the world systems model, as it remains locked into an international focus. Many scholars argue that the world systems model can not sufficiently deal with cultural issues it is only an economic model.

Global Culture Model is mainly concerned with the dimension of globalization and tends to highlight globalizing cultural forms and flows, over the economic and/or the political systems. This theory is driven by a homogenizing mass media-based culture that intimidates national and local cultures and individualities. The core mission of this theory is to support and develop a ‘culturalist’ theory to globalization. Castells (1996) generate an idea of the ‘informational society’ based on the global cultural model. On the other hand, Robertson (1992), threatens that global culture making the world as a single place and the media theorist

McLuhan (1964) especially called the 'Global Village'. However, global culture scholars are mainly interested in what happens to local identities (within and across countries) in the globalizing world.

Global society theory was developed mainly for understanding global relations, patterns, and practices and partly in response to world-system and global capitalism theories Castells (1996), and to analyze the capitalist system and its dynamics. Global politics and social theorists argue that the concept of the global, (Giddens 1991) late modernity, (Robertson1992) predates modernity, (Sklair 1995) outcome of post-1960s capitalism; has become a realistic idea only in the modern period when science, technology, industry, and worldwide values are gradually more creating a world that is different from any past age.

The global Capitalism Model focus that globalization is inherent in capitalism as a socio-economic system (Ross and Trachte 1990, McMichael 1996) and the appearance of transnational corporations (TNC) that cross state boundaries and achieving more economical and cultural power. Sklair (1995) has created the idea of the 'transnational practices' that originate with non-state actors and cross state boundaries. However, Sklair claims that the transnational corporations have their transnational political practices by the transnational capitalist class. Harvey, D. (1989) argue that capitalism is a world system which biased on three stages, specifically the level of the internal logic of the system (inspired by Marx, Engels, and Smith), the formational level of historical improvement, and the specific level of social structure, or society. On the other hand, there is a rising awareness that global capitalism, driven by the transnational corporations and support by the culture-ideology of consumerism and its significance is controversial.

However, these different approaches of globalization represent the function of institutions: the world-system model is established by the hegemonic nation-state to understand core peripheral and semi-peripheral countries economy; the world society approach is developed in the field of international organizations to realize the modernization; the global capitalism model established to understand of growing transnational state and global economy and Global cultural model established to comprehend cultural forms of nation-state. Turner (1997), explains that social institutions are a composite of positions, forms of globalization that are impacted in social systems to produce relatively sustainable structures of human activity. On the other hand, Turner (1997) claims that a) globalization is considered by the long-term dilemma of integration and exclusion; b) globalization is

signified by transform in the global economic, political and social-cultural importance of human society; c) globalization is defined by the speed, reach, and intensity of change; d) all institutional patterns ultimately break down and are modified by modern structures which are better suited to repeat the social environment. Therefore, we can say, Globalization is a complex phenomenon involving a wide variety of pre-requisites, and positions that affect many different facets of life in politics, society, and the economy.

Nevertheless, how has the world economy arrived at its present stage? The basic changes that led to what appears to be a linear trend towards the gradual 'unification' of the globe have been embedded in a wider process of restructuring (of production and consumption, capital, and labor) on a universal scale. The turning point is almost indubitably located in the changes brought by the economic crisis that followed the 1973 oil shock. The remarkable increases in energy expenses in the developed countries generated this crisis, with long-lasting effects: slowing down productivity, deteriorating profitability, increasing unemployment. The labor procedure and global economic development were the fundamental reasons underlying this cavernous structural crisis (Allen 1996). The first (supply) issue was related to the incapability of mass-production methods to understand further productivity gains within manufacturing, as well as their inadequate applicability to the growing services sector. The latter (demand) factor had to do with the changing patterns of post-war global demand, since, with the devaluation of the dollar (and the breaking up of the Bretton Woods monetary system), international competition intensified (as countries like Japan and West Germany saw their economic power augmenting), leading to increasing global economic instability.

On the other hand, the capitalist method identified a way out of the crisis through the radical transformation of its inner dynamic: although capitalist dynamic relations remain the same, deep qualitative changes happened in the structures of the system, stimulating productivity and profitability. However, the new post-Fordist system of flexible accretion presupposes competence and proficiency with a focus on modern technology, design, creation, and 'just in time' strategies, which now constitute critical elements for the competitiveness of endeavors (Murray 1989). Reformation involves three main changes in the structure and institution of labour and manufacture (King & Rybaczuk 1993: 182-183): (a) from the Fordist system of mass production for mass consumption (economies of scale) to the post-Fordist regime of flexible production in small and specialized units (economies of

scope); (b) from the dominance of heavy industry to the growing importance of high-tech production; and (c) the labor supply has undergone important shifts, mainly due to enlarged mechanization and informationalization of manufacture. Besides, I am going to highlight some core dimensions of globalization that brought the world to the present stage.

The first dimension concerns the inner dynamics of the system. Modern capitalism is marked by the transition from the industrial to the informational mode of development (Castells 1989). Informationalisation minimizes social and spatial length and composes time, to facilitate the development of networks between organizations (Castells 1996). New technologies raise the mobility and speed of monetary capital and have contributed to the following emergence of new economical structures, markets, and instruments (Harvey 1989). The massive economic capital has developed concerning the increased rate of the real economy, and it is gradually more devoted to ‘parasitic’ actions (Fröbel et al. 1983; Vergopoulos 1999). Similarly, the regional sector grows in size and importance as economic research and professional activities become central to the process of the scheme, but also as the demand for individual and low-skilled services increases, especially in cities (Sassen 1991; 1996). Informationalisation, deindustrialization, martyrization, and the domination of economic capital have led the researcher to emphasize the post-industrial character of financial restructuring. Additionally, material manufacture has lost its importance, since gradually increase the importance of product brands and labels (Lash & Urry 1994: 4).

The political system has been identified as the second dimension of globalization. The mainstream policy discourse and exercise transferred from Keynesianism, characteristic of the Fordist era, to neoliberalism. Gradually more, Western governments have accepted policies promoting ‘less state’ and deregulating the markets. This transition came as an outcome of the ideological and political ‘defeat’ of another (socialist) theory, as it had been practically adopted (in a rather distorted way) in the countries of the erstwhile Eastern Bloc. However, social confrontation and alternative paradigms shifted from traditional working-class struggle to identity politics and new social movements (Touraine 1971; Castells 1997). On the other hand, scholars stat that environmental safety, consumers’ rights, ethnical equality, human rights have appeared in the agenda of globalization, and are presently communicating in a rising global network of grassroots levels; states and NGOs are facing a challenge the neoliberal character of globalization.

The third dimension deal with new consumption patterns. This dimension describes

that an individual's class patterns change the production structures and manifested in new consumption patterns. Class opposition is no longer based only on the possession and control of the means of production, but increasingly on the access to information and its uses (Touraine 1971). Additionally, the patterns of social stratification have changed considerably and traditional class divisions are not that easily distinguishable today. Higher-income ambitions, higher living standards, and welfare systems in developed countries have led to the pattern of an extensive middle class, in terms of both income and mentality (Gorz 1980). This development has contributed to the establishing of new 'servile' classes, offering personal and other services to middle-class strata as well as to the traditional elites (Gorz 1980; Sassen 1996). As a result, labour markets are gradually more characterized by segmentation and dualism, which lead to the casualisation of employment relations, to new forms of employment (temporary, part-time). Together with joblessness and structural unemployment, these developments include two new types of social polarisation, which reproduce capitalist productive relations through circumstances of stable tension between a narrow economic elite and a growing population at the bottom of the pyramid, with a brittle middle class in between.

However, the past few decades have been marked by a trend towards the liberalisation of economic activity, trade, and investment. Given the international ladder of power and development, the main beneficiaries are the more affluent actors, those who control the rules of the market. Investment is relocated by the support of developed countries (Fröbel et al. 1983) and business takes place based on global contracts (GATT, NAFTA, etc.). At present, particularly, capital can decide where to locate: not only as an outcome of the haste and instantaneity of financial transactions but also due to the mobility of productive capital. Multinational and transnational companies have increased vastly in size and 'their international achievement has extended dramatically' (Sklair 1999: 146-147). Such financial organizations have succeeded in the spatial and institutional segregation of labor-intensive practices and material production from administrative actions. Administration, management, and research actions, and the high-tech industries are giving attention to mainly in the core areas of the developed world and global cities (Sassen, 1991). Given the mobility of capital, the position of countries or regional blocks within the world system, and international migration trends, international economic reformation assume and entails a new global division of labor (Fröbel et al. 1983).

To conclude, globalization is the continuous process of capitalist development and the qualitative changes are the indicative era of a global transformation. However, a homogeneous incorporated global economy would be an exaggeration; and to take present developments as centralized, definite situations suggesting that we live in a brand new world is sightlessness at best. It is rather wiser to talk about emerging trends consisting of greater quantities and new qualities: new and old forms coexist in paradoxical ways and are fused or interrelated in both time and space. After all, the new always brings malfunctions and destabilization, creating fragmented patterns of development and producing contradictions; globalization concerns a set of processes, which at the same time homogenize and differentiate. New and older forms are both parts of the system; in times of crises, its inner dynamics encourage discoveries, new mechanisms, new ways of exploiting labor and natural resources, but also new ways of life and social confrontation. Globalisation is more of a trend towards the internationalisation of economies, integration of markets, multiplication of flows, unification of networks, the fusion of cultures, etc. On the other hand, existing international migration is part of it: it is formed by and moderately shapes its époque, and it is not possible for it to be studied in segregation and integration.

3.2.3 Integration: Conceptual frameworks and approaches

Integration is one of the most important subjects in migration research and one does not need to go through much of the literature on integration before it becomes clear that the notions have various meanings and are used in various aspects. From the classic texts of Marx, through the assistance of Tonnies, Spencer, Durkheim, and Parsons to the 'modern classic' writings of Lockwood, Habermas, Giddens, Luhmann, and Mouzelis; all have materialized various way on models to integration. Some integration theories, the micro-macro models play an important function, while sometimes rather pays attention to the analysis (Habermas, Luhmann) (Sardinha, 2009). Here we will draw an overview of integration according to Møller's (2002) patterns. In the contemporary world, the migrant integration concept has created various hypothetical perspectives connected with migrant integration into the host country.

The concept of integration of migrants in the host country is evolving and is interpreted differently in different contexts. It is all too often confused with assimilation. The European Commission has defined integration:

“[I]ntegration should be understood as a two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations of legally resident third-country nationals [foreigners] and the host society which provides for the full participation of the immigrant. This implies on the one hand that it is the responsibility of the host society to ensure that the formal rights of immigrants are in place in such a way that the individual has the possibility of participating in economic, social, cultural, and civil life and on the other, that immigrants respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process, without having to relinquish their own identity” (EU, 2003b: 17-18).

Social scientist Audrey (2000: 6) has been defined integration. In his word, “integration is the relations between newcomers and local inhabitants through cultural adaptation and practice. On the other hand, Heckmann (2004) describes that integration as a procedure of learning a new culture, building relationships with the individual of the receiving country, adjust and follow the host country culture. Consequently, Favell (2003: 14) explains integration:

“[...] immigrant integration is what happens after [migration and settlement]; conceiving practical steps in a long process which invariably includes the projection of both deep social change for the country concerned, and of fundamental continuity between the past and some idealized social endpoint.”

Brochmann, (2003:4) defines ‘integration’ as deals with socialisation throughout the structure of expectations and contribute to creating social consistency and communal solidity. Integration, therefore, involves the learning and adjustment to, society’s values processes that bind individuals to society culturally, economically, and socially. However, the definition of Integration has been criticized by many scholars. Bauböck, (1994a) claims that integration is an inadequate concept; it cannot provide an authentic definition in the social research area which can be accepted by all.

After a short brief of integration definition here we are going to discuss some major integration theories to clarify the integration concept. There are a diversity of theoretical models which employ various ideas, notions, and analysis by integration researcher. David Lockwood’s (1964) describe two integration approaches: ‘system integration’, which is the form of integration in a system that works independently of the objects, goals, and relations of individual actors, and ‘social integration’, standing for the addition of new actors in a

structure, the creation of multiparty relationships among actors and their attitudes to the social system as a whole. Through the scholar description, integration is identified as a continuous process through which people and groups of people become dynamic members in the community, economic, political, cultural, and social life of the host country. According to Sardinha (2009:34) describes by Heckmann (2003, 2004, 2006), and Esser's (2000: 272-275) four basic forms of social integration: acculturation, placement, interaction, and identification conceptualised four integration variables of his own:

1. **Structural integration:** signifying the acquisition of rights and the access to positions and membership statuses in the core institutions of the immigration society: economic and labor market, education and qualification systems, housing system, citizenship as membership in the political community.
2. **Cultural integration or acculturation:** entails acquiring core elements and competencies of the culture and society immigrants are migrating into. These preconditions of participation refer to processes and states of cognitive, behavioural, and attitudinal change. This concerns not only the immigrants and their descendants, but it is also an interactive, mutual process that changes the receiving society as well, which has to learn new ways of relating and adapting to the migrants.
3. **Social integration:** is indicated by people's private relations and primary group memberships. Indicators are social intercourse, friendships, partnerships, marriages, and membership in voluntary organisations.
4. **Identification integration:** shows in feelings of belonging and identification, particularly in forms of ethnic, regional, local, and/or national identification or in combinations of these.

On the other hand assimilation approach pioneer by Gordon and Patterson. Assimilation can be defined as the procedure by which people belonging to a minority group will, through time, accept the lifestyles, behaviors, values, and cultural patterns of the receiving society. Bauböck (1996a: 9) explain that assimilation is a "dirty word" for several proponents of multiculturalism, who recognize it with coercive inclusion in a dominant culture'. Many researchers (Portes and Borocz 1989; Soysal 1994; Barry 2001) have analyzed theories of assimilation. Portes and Borocz (1989) indicate that this theory overlooks return migration and underplays the difference between the migrants' patterns of adjustment. Parekh

(2000) claim that migrants have the right to continue their lifestyle, and rejecting them is both inexcusable and likely to incite confrontation. In words of Bauböck (1998) Assimilation is different from acculturation in that the earlier entails some ratification by the receiving society. From another perspective, Bauböck (1996a) also uses the term ‘assimilation’ to express any intake of new members which makes them similar to the established ones in features applicable for the internal cohesion of a community. However, Sardinha (2009:34) describes according to Parekh (2000: 197) minorities are to be assimilated into:

The assimilationist assumes that society has a coherent and unified cultural and moral structure, [which] is rarely the case. Although the moral and cultural structure of society has some internal coherence, it is not a homogeneous and unified whole. It varies with class, religion, and the region is made up of diverse and even conflicting strands, and consists of values and practices that can be interpreted and related in several different ways. The assimilationist ignores all this, and either offer a highly abridged and distorted view of national culture or equates it with that of the dominant group.

On the other hand, Sardinha (2009:36) claims that integration alternatives to assimilation are based on pluralistic forms². But it is also worth noting that the integrationist model brings about a certain amount of debate when it comes to integration into the different spheres (i.e. socio-economic versus socio-cultural) Vermeulen and Penninx (2000) argue that there is little disagreement about the aims of integration in the socio-economic sphere (Sardinha, 2009). However, the integration study has conventionally focused on two different supplement trajectories: pluralism and assimilation. Nevertheless, integration recognizes that immigrants are gradually more eager to follow transnationalism³. However, Sardinha (2009:36) describes that Kivisto (2001) goes against this belief, setting forth the argument that it would be ‘most appropriate to consider transnationalism as one possible variant of

2 A well-known and often quoted pluralist definition is given by the British Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, who in 1966 described the concept of integration as ‘not a flattening process of assimilation, but as equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance’ (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000; Weber 2005).

3 Various definitions can be applied to the term transnationalism. We will here utilise Vertovec’s (1999a: 449-456) six uses of the term as a starting point: 1) as a social morphology focused on a new border spanning social formation; 2) as diasporic consciousness; 3) as a mode of cultural reproduction variously identified as syncretism, creolisation, bricolage, cultural translation and hybridity; 4) as an avenue of capital for transnational corporations, and in a smaller way, in the form of remittances sent by immigrants to family and friends in their homeland; 5) as a site of political engagement, both in terms of homeland politics and the politics of homeland governments vis-à-vis their émigré communities, and in terms of the expanded role of international non-governmental organisations; and 6) as a reconfiguration of the notion of place from an emphasis on the local to the translocal. For further readings on the topic of transnationalism see: Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Basch et al. 1994; Portes 1999; Faist 2000a, 2000b; Kivisto 2001; Glick Schiller 1999, 2004.

assimilation'. According to Sardinha (2009:36), the majority of the integration study explain that integration as a socio-economic good to be obtained, or as a policy objective; whether the literature focuses on political integration (Ireland 1994; Vertovec 1996), economic integration (Portes 1995) or social integration (Waldinger 2001), these analyses present integration as an end to a process.

However, integration is not only identified as learning and adjustment society's culture but also the framework of competition for political, economic, social, and cultural resources and benefits. Additionally, the integrationist model is deliberate to create a peaceful relationship between immigrants and host country individuals. On the other hand, the disparity and obstacle set up by the receiving society may prevent any effort immigrants make at integrating themselves. These obstacles may be institutional, coming in the form of imbalanced citizenship rights, exclusionary practices, and policies, or structural barriers in various public fields (i.e. the lack of recognition of occupational credentials will not allow labor market integration). Furthermore, they may also be societal or individual, coming in the form of racism, discrimination, and distancing. Dissimilarities related to the immigrants' culture of origin or perceived religion, racist perceptions, and linguistic distinctions are such barriers that can restrain integration. Immigrants can't successfully alone unless the receiving society is ready to accept their distinctions and get their contributions.

3.2.4 Exploring the links among Globalisation, migration, and integration

Researchers have recently recommended that a vigilant study of current migration should consider the changes brought by globalization (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Papastergiadis (2000: Ch. 1) has discussed the 'dual processes' of migration and globalisation; Castles & Miller (1998: 5) have described: 'international migration is part of a transnational rebellion that is restructuring society and politics around the world.' At the turn of the century, migration has materialized as an essential issue on the international economic and political scene and has become the most important feature in societal change and a crucial area of policy for many countries (Castles & Miller 1998; Castles 2000). Globalisation and capitalist reformation have changed the patterns of international migration, but they are themselves affected by the new multidimensional migration trends. Exploring the relations between globalization, migration, and integration is not just one more interesting but ineffective academic perforate (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). It can encourage a worthy debate and afford a framework for a better understanding not only of contemporary migration trends but also of

an aspect of the world in which we live. And it may also disclose positive implications for both policy-making and everyday life. The reasons of migration from the South and the East to the west of the globe are rooted in the problems briefly described before in this chapter: inequalities between and within states, together with political (wars, oppressive governments), cultural (gender inequalities, oppression of religious beliefs), and environmental (natural disasters, environmental degradation) factors (Hatziprokopiou, 2006).

From a geographical point of view global migration has become a tremendously complicated task; if there exists any global migration system, then this is a non-linear one. It would be not possible to sketch the turbulent flows of at present: the variety of paths and the difficulty of movements would direct us to a rather disordered map of universal migration (Papastergiadis 2000). On the other hand, it is not only the characteristics and patterns of movement that are changing but also significantly the economic, political, and cultural implications of contemporary migration procedures are changing. From the geopolitical point of view, migration has now become a global concern: sending countries gradually more need to merge their emigration and return policies with their development projects; host countries face growing immigration and integration pressures and have to deal with the existing migrant inhabitants (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). At the economic level, as we have seen, globalization stimulates significant universal changes (internationalization, multinationalism and shifting institutional formations, etc.). The key chore in exploring the connection between globalization, migration, and integration is to look for the relationship among these changes and the new characteristics of international migration presented above. Certainly, the changes in immigrant employment, the emergence of new paths and new sorts of migrants, etc., reflect the improvement in the international capital that is articulated equally in different social formations and recommend that migratory processes today take place within a growing universal environment (Hatziprokopiou, 2006).

However, there are two types of mobility also multiplying across the globe and remain comparatively tiny analyzed by scholarly research: professional transients and tourists, proficient migrants and international students. The variety and strength of recent individuals movements, even though obstacles to migration imposed by the West (to migrants from developing and 'transition' countries), recommend that labor should follow the rules of the capital; though it is not strictly 'the economy' that determines contemporary migration patterns, but rather a range of factors connected with a broad variety of causes and

motivations (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Immigrants have their arrangement within the new global labor market (Cohen 1987; Harris 1995), and they do not appear a homogenous international workforce. Furthermore, migrants and a variety of people 'on the move', and their actions, practices, and relationships, gradually more characterize and shape societal importance in countries, regions, and places. Though old forms still exist with new ones, the characteristics of contemporary international migration vary from those of the past.

It is significant to stress the qualitative features: exploring the new trends requires the analysis patterns and procedures rather than indicating on figures. However, figures and proportion are very meager means to articulate social alter: although the rise in the total number of migrants all over the world, from 75.2 million in 1965, 175 million in 2000 to 232 million in 2013; their share in the global population grew by only 2.2 percent (Zlotnik 1999: Table 1; UNPD 2013). Nevertheless, statistics are about the registered foreign-born or immigrant inhabitants; they cannot always calculate for their 'undocumented status' nor the children of immigrants who have been born and grow up in the receiving countries. Furthermore, there are still numerous other shapes of migration that remain undocumented: students work throughout their studies; tourists or travelers who stay for work in their target place, etc. Despite the inadequate data, the moderately low increase of the global immigrant residents is explained partly by the paradoxical structure in which migration takes place at present (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Whereas, the movement is towards the liberalization of markets for goods, services, and capital, with migration what happens, is rather dissimilar: although many political and technical barriers to the movement of immigrants have been abolished, leading strategy in capitalist states today restricts immigration. From a historical point of view, the highest migration movement happened in between 1815 to 1914. Nevertheless, migration flows are eventually speedily rising: in the last two decades (1990-2010) the number of people residing outside their country of birth grew by 13.5 percent (UNPD 2013). However, contemporary migration is part and parcel of globalization procedures, and the characteristics presented above undoubtedly propose the multiplication, diversification, and transnationalisation of flows.

Migration is, therefore, part of the dynamics of globalization, as it has a structural function in the dynamics of the capitalist approach (Cohen 1987; Harris 1995): although labor is less important than the tread, the modern capitalist world generates the situations for the 'transnationalisation' of employment (Portes 1997). However, migration is increasing the

communal bonds of production and personal networks of individual people and ethnic associations' (King 1995: 7). On the other hand, migrants create individual relations between locals and improve interpersonal relationships based on social work (Vertovec & Cohen 1999). Transnational practices increasingly characterize processes of migration and integration, and many migrants at present cannot fit within past ideas of the permanent or short time stay but lead lives tentatively. Migration is involving frequent moves of individuals between countries or communities (Smith & Guarnizo 1998). Contemporary migration has led researchers to consign to an outline of 'globalization from below' (Portes 1997). Earlier migrations along with modern technological development made possible the generation and extend of different forms of transnationalism. Such developments have partly undermined the territorial, cultural, and political foundations of the traditional nation-state: not only are national boundaries increasingly porous to human flows but also international levels even though facing obstacles (Soysal 1994; Baubock 2002). International or multinational cities (Sassen 1991) are pulling different categories of migrants; therefore they gradually become a multicultural society by multiculturalism actions (Papastergiadis 2000).

A versatile process in itself, and yet a dynamic one, international migration forms and is being formed by globalization forces, throughout numerous kinds of flows and various linkages and shapes of exchange between countries or places, cultures, economies, and people (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). As the universal context is frequently and significantly transforming, social science should separate from the certainties of the past and the linear deterministic approaches of reality. Migration research in the contemporary period will expose the complications of social processes that are gradually more interrelated. However, methods of communal transformation across the globe take place with the beginning of globalization, it is important to appreciate the integration of migration; i.e. the relationship between migration and social change/or integration on all possible scales (global, regional, national, local), all levels (economic, social, political, cultural, spatial), and the patterns of relations between these (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Finally, one needs to be careful not to lose the most significant component concerned in the migration process: the human one. On the other hand, King (1995: 31) has claimed that the study of migration may expose the 'disparities and human behaviors that lie at the core of the process of globalization'.

On the other hand, globalization and migration strengths are exclusively reflected in multinational cities, where they generate polarisation and multiculturalism (Sassen 1996a),

but also harmony and fusions that result in multiculturalism. Consequently, urban civilizations become mirrors of the world (Mendieta 2001). Globalization is characterized by steady relations and rising interdependence between remote societies, procedures, and patterns of international migration is becoming more difficult than ever before (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Migration is now an international concept, one of the visible features of globalization and one of its most important elements. Talking about ‘the globalization of migration’ would be a decoration; since much of today’s transnational mobility remains local or regional in scale. However, the brief analysis in this section without any doubt confirms that today more than ever, migration processes have intensified movement and resettlement of individuals for a certain period or permanent (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). It affects both sending and receiving countries and the migrants, of course, but also those left behind and the host residents.

However, connecting the structural background and the individual experience of migration not only underlines the important role of the dissimilarity structures but also implies that attention should be focused on the personal experiences and the voice of the migrants themselves (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Nevertheless, what is the relevance of the above rather hypothetical and conceptual analysis to the specificities of recent migration to Greece and the particular Bangladeshi? How do globalization forces affect given social formations and people in particular localities? It should be stated earlier that such an impact is rather circuitous and relates to exact manifestations of international processes at the regional/nationwide (e.g. the way Greece has been understanding the increase in the international demand for low-cost labor; (see Psimmenos 1995), or how it is sifted through local ‘layers’, which play a more significant function than conceptual mechanisms of the global economy (e.g. Greece’s EU membership and the procedure of European integration (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Therefore, what sort of approaches should be taken for Bangladeshi migrants to integrate? Furthermore, what other factors should apply? These issues will be examined in this thesis.

3.3 Greek migration and integration policies: recent developments

In this section, we are going to discuss recent developments in Greek migration and integration policies. From the past several years, the massive scale of illegal migration has been raised hastily in Greece from all over the world more specifically from Asian and African countries. The Greece government was not prepared to deal with such a huge number

of migrants within a short period and suffered to formulate new integration laws for migrants. Although the first concrete Greek legislation dealing with “ foreign residents aliens was law 4310/1929 on establishment and movement of aliens in Greece, police controls, passports, deportations and displacements (Magliveras 2011:24). Then, in 1991, after more than 60 years, the Greek government introduced new migration law No 1975/1991. This particular law 1975/1991 attempted to deal with migrants’ entry, exit, stay, employment deportation of aliens’ process of recognition of foreign refugees, and other provisions (Magliveras 2011:24) but it failed to handle with the massive number of undocumented migrants. Thus, the condition resulted from not only a huge number of illegal migrants was living under clandestine status, without any rights and intended to work informally but also the government was losing billions of euros for taxation, VAT, social security contributions. Therefore, the pressures were rising on the government through civil society and human rights organizations regarding undocumented migrants to legalization and to give them residence and work permits. Thus, the Greek government has prepared a limited number of regularization programs over the decades for undocumented migrants.

However, in 1997 the government introduced the first regularization program to deal with illegal migrants by the Presidential Decrees 358/1997 and 359/1997; after the end of this program, 371,641 migrants had been registered for a temporary residence permit but only 212,860 went on to receive a permanent residence permit (Kasimis, 2012). On the other hand, by this first regularization program less than half of the migrants got permission to stay and work in the country. Additionally, Government took another policy to control massive migration follow which concerned frequent police operations and huge numbers of arrests and deportations of undocumented migrants which were dubbed the ingenious and deeply offensive term ‘skoopa’ (from the Greek word skoúpa, ‘broom’) (Hatziprokopiou, 2006) but migration follow did not stop. However, after 4 years in 2001, the Greek government launched another regularization programme by the Law (No. 2910/2001) concerning the entry, residence, and naturalization of undocumented migrants in Greece. Nevertheless, the implementation of this program was troubled. It ultimately stretched on for several years beyond what was intended due to the weakness of public administration, a lack of infrastructure, confusing bureaucracy, and waning public support; only 400,000 immigrants had been regularized (Kasimis, 2012).

However in 2005, after 3 years of the second regularization programme the Greek government had launched another regularization programme by the law (No 3386/2005) on the entry, residence, and integration of migrants into the host society. This act basically concentrated on integration issues of legal and illegal migrants in Greece and made easier than the 2001 programme to apply for the residence permit and incorporated the relevant EU directives on family reunification (Council Directive 2003/86/EC) and long-term resident immigrants (Council Directive 2003/109/EC) (Kasimis, 2012). This third 2005 regularization programme also eliminated the separation of work and residence permits; differentiated residence permits for work, study, or family reunification; and required knowledge of the Greek language and Greek history and culture as a prerequisite for regularization; about 150,000 migrants applied for residence permits under this programme (Kasimis, 2012).

On the other hand, in 2007 the Greek government submitted a new migration bill in the parliament and declared that the law (No 3386/2005) was still having implementation problems. Therefore, the government introduced new Law (No 3536/2007) with some positive changes: this act eliminated the regularization fee for children between the age of 14 and 18, it allowed migrants to pay for up to 20 percent of the 200 days of social insurance contributions required (two-thirds of which is paid by the employer and one-third by the employee) to be eligible for regularization and permit renewal, and it gave an extension for the submission of the required documents (Kasimis, 2012). Consequently, in 2010, the Act 3838/2010 government took a more effective initiative to implement migrants' integration policy into Greek society. By the Act 3838/2010 government gave the voting rights in local elections of migrants who either held long-term residence permits or were of Greek origin. Additionally, the law 3838/2010 reformed citizenship rules by providing birthright citizenship to eligible children born in Greece to migrant parents.

Subsequently, in 2011 the socialist government introduced a new law (No 3907/2011) for undocumented migrants who are seeking asylum in Greece by the Presidential Decree number 114/2011 that had formed during the previous years. This law 3907/2011 launched the Asylum Service, an Appeals Committee, and a First Reception Service transposition into Greek legalization of Directive 2008/115/EC "on common standards and procedures in the Member States returning illegally staying their country nationals" and other provisions. It is clearly stated that: "A third-country national or stateless person who applies for international protection shall not be held in detention for the sole reason that he/she entered and stays

illegally in the country and “All third-country nationals who are arrested while entering the country illegally shall be subjected to First Reception procedures.” (Darmanin, 2013). Besides, there was a major concern with the inhuman and degrading conditions of detention of pending asylum seekers and about the fact that when they were released with a pink card (temporary permit allowing them to stay in Greece while their application was processed, renewable every six months) they were left to their own devices⁴ (Triandafyllidou et. al. 2014).

on the other hand, the Law 3907/2011 also implements two kinds of new permits for irregular migrants and asylum seekers: a formal toleration status for people who have been issued a return decision but cannot be returned to their country of origin, and a new type of permit for exceptional reasons that are given to irregular migrants who have been living in Greece for twelve years or more and in particular continuously for ten years before they applied for such a permit (Triandafyllidou 2014). However, in 2012 the Presidential Decree number 116 decided that the duration of the detention can be further extended to twelve months. As a result, the total period that an Asylum seeker can be detained cannot be more than 18 months (Darmanin 2013). Consequently, in 2014, the Greek Legal Council published Advisory Opinion⁵ no 44/2014, in which it held that it was legal for the Greek authorities to detain irregular migrants beyond eighteen months the maximum time allowed under Greek law and prolong their detention indefinitely, until the latter consent to return to their home countries (Angeli and Triandafyllidou 2014). It is also important to note that apprehension and temporary detention do not lead to effective expulsion/return for Asian and African migrants, though significant steps have been taken to ensure returns (Dimitriadi 2013; Yousef 2013). Police data concerning 2014 (www.astynomia.gr), show for instance that among expelled migrants Albanians are still the top nationality group with 4,599 people; Pakistanis come second with 1,896, while the third-largest group are Georgians with 472 returns, Bangladesh with 467, Egypt with nearly 400. Interestingly 258 Afghans and 168 Iraqis and

4 Greece had been under the spotlight because of its continuing inability to provide effective protection to asylum seekers arriving at its shores and having to be handled in Greek territory in line with the Dublin II regulation. Already on 31 January 2009, the European Commission had started infringement Proceedings with Greece because of its failure to implement the Dublin II regulation, bringing the country in front of the European Court of Justice. The infringement concerned mainly the fact that Greece lacked legal guarantees for a substantial examination of the application of asylum claimants. On 21 January 2011 the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) found that Greece's broken asylum system and appalling detention conditions meant that Belgium's transfer of an Afghan asylum seeker to Greece in 2009 under the Dublin II Regulation had breached the prohibition on ill-treatment and denied him an effective remedy (Triandafyllidou and Dimitriadi 2011).

5 Greek Council of State, Advisory Opinion No 44/2014, published on 24 February 2014, pp. 22-23.

154 Syrians were also returned to their countries during the first seven months of 2014 (Triandafyllidou et.al. 2014).

Integration through naturalization has not been an easy option since Greek nationality has been based predominantly on the 'jus sanguinis' principle and until March 2010 the naturalisation procedure was long, costly, and with a very uncertain outcome even for applicants who satisfied the requirements (Triandafyllidou and Marouf of 2011). Therefore, in 2010 the state government introduced Kallikratis law (No 3852/2010, OJG A' 87) which formed to re-organization of local and regional government and integration of migrants at the regional level. Consequently, the government launched another Law (No 4018/2011) to re-organization of the permit system regarding the stay of undocumented migrants in the country under situations of increased security. The objective of this to make faster third-country nationals stay permit issuing and renewals by generating one-stop shops across the country that substituted the local (municipal) and regional centers. This Law 4018/2011 has also facilitated the acquisition of the EU long term resident status as it provides that migrants can prove their knowledge of Greek language and history by taking a test without having to have attended a specific state-run course as law 3386/2005 foresaw (Triandafyllidou and Marouf of 2011). This facilitation is important not only for the enhanced status of protection that the long term resident status entails but also because having the EU long term resident status is a prerequisite for applying for naturalisation under the provisions of the 3838/2010 law on citizenship. On the other hand, in February 2013 the Council of State declared that the law 3838/2010 to be anti-constitutional therefore the Ministry of the Interior announced that the law would be replaced with legislation that would require migrants to show a 'genuine bond' with Greece and prove they had assimilated into Greek culture (Triandafyllidou 2011).

In 2014, for the first time, the Greece government introduced new Law (No 4521/2014) for "migration and Social Integration Code" in the parliament. The objectives of this new law (No 4521/2014) is to simplify and organize the different types of stay permits into six categories: stay permits for work or professional reasons; temporary stay permits: stay permits for humanitarian or exceptional reasons; stay permits for study, training or voluntary work; stay permits for victims of trafficking or human smuggling; stay permits for family reunification and stay permits of long duration (Triandafyllidou, et. al. 2014). This law 4251/2014 is more effective regulations for the second-generation immigrants (article 108), migrants who were born in Greece or who have finished 6 years of schooling in Greece by age 21 years can obtain a stay permit of 5-year duration. This law also offers residence

permits for third-country citizens, who are or will buy or start a real estate business (Christopoulos 2015).

Besides, in 2014 the government take a more effective step to integrate migrants by adopting new “anti-racism” Law 4285/2014 aiming at strengthening the existing anti-racism criminal legislation. The law 4285/2014 introduce that a criminal offense the public incitement either orally or through the press, the Internet, or violence or hatred or any other act of discrimination against a person or group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, color, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability, in a manner that endangers the public order and exposes the threat of life and freedom or, physical integrity, defined above to danger, will be punished by imprisonment of from three months to three years and a fine of €5,000 to €20,000 (Tourkochoriti, 2015). However, Law 4285/2014 abolished the part of Article 79(3) on aggravating circumstances and introduced Article 81A to the Criminal Code, rendering more severe the lowest sentences that can be imposed for hate-motivated offenses. Colour was added to the list of grounds and, again, the sentences cannot be suspended (ECRI 2015).

More recently, in 2015, the government introduced new migration Law (No 4332/2015) amending provisions of the Greek Nationality Code; Modification of Law 4521/2014 adapting the Greek legislation to the directives of the European Parliament and Council 2011/98/EU on a single application procedure for a single permit for third-country nationals to reside and work in the territory of a Member State and on a common set of rights for third-country workers legally residing in a Member State and 2014/36/EU on the conditions of entry and stay of third-country nationals for employment as seasonal workers. The new law provides for two new nationality acquisition modes via declaration and a transitional provision. First, immigrants who are living for more than seven years in Greece and can prove his or her presence in Greece they can apply under this programme. Second migrants children who are born in Greece and enroll the Greek elementary school and one of their parents was legally residing in Greece at least 5 years; immigrants who are permanent residents in Greece and have graduated from a Greek university or TEI may acquire Greek nationality within three years after graduation. However, this law (No 4332/2015) still is in process and did not start to receive an application from migrants.

On the other hand, to conclude, integration measures still have been mostly on paper but in practice rather negligible. Nevertheless, as far as integration of migrants is concerned,

Greek policy-making lags far behind from the related European Union legislation and the government has still not established a suitable institutional framework nor adopted a particular integration policy for migrants. Although the government launched some regularization programs still the majority of the migrants are undocumented that confirms the failure of migration and integration policies.

3.5 Concluding remarks

After the brief analysis of migration, globalization, and integration, we can observe that migration is now a global phenomenon, one of the visible aspects of globalization and one of its major forces. Talking about ‘the globalisation of migration and integration’ would certainly be an exaggeration; since much of today’s transnational mobility remains local or regional in scale. However, today more than ever, migration processes have intensified and have far more implications than the simple spatial movement and resettlement of people, whether temporary or permanent (Hatziprokopiou 2006). On the other hand, in the mid of the second decades of the twenty-first century, Greece, along with the rest of the European Union, is faced with pressing challenges concerning the integration of migration-related cultural diversity and particularly with responding to the needs and claims of its migrant population. Besides, integration policies are the key to counteracting the discrimination, marginalization, and social exclusion of newcomers, as well as weak social cohesion, ethnic and cultural tensions, and the irregular employment of migrants (IDEA 2009). To design more efficient integration policies, we should understand migrants’ conditions first and the relationship between authorities and migrants in the host society. On the other hand, as far as integration measures are concerned, more than 20 years after the increase of migration flows to the country, Greek policy-making has not managed to generate suitable and operational integration and regularization policies for undocumented migrants.

Chapter Four

Research Design and Fieldwork Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to present the methods of effectiveness and efficiency analysis and the way of data collection strategies. This chapter describes the research strategy and methodology followed to achieve the objectives of the study and explains the choice for selecting research tools and the methods for data collection. The core of the thesis is the presentation and analysis of empirical research concerning the mechanisms of integration and the pathways to Educational, Social, Economical, and Cultural integration of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece. The analysis is based upon a general descriptive structure that may apply to other cases too. The objective of this chapter is to draw the analytical and methodological structure upon which the research has been based and the discussion relies. Furthermore, we explain the insufficient existing knowledge and approaches and explain my contribution. Subsequently, we discuss the fieldwork itself, its concerns and problems, and the way it developed, as well as the nature of the material collected and the analytical equipment, used.

4.2 Literature review on integration and migration of Greece

Greece has been traditionally one of the most important emigration countries following the Second World War and one of the founding members of IOM. Since the 1990s migration is one of the most significant public issues in Greece. From the last three decades, migration has significantly and irreversibly, altered the social, cultural, economic, ethnic, racial, and religious fiber of the population residing within Greece. In 1989 geopolitical changes and Greece became a European Union member lead the country into a target destination for a large number of migrants from all over the world that currently account for approximately 10% (2011 national census) of the total residents of Greece. However, the migration policy for the asylum seekers, refugee and immigrants are still under development though there are many research and publications have been published in the local and international journal by the local and international scholars. Furthermore, in regards to integration policies for refugees and immigrants, very few research and publications have been conducted to date to develop the integration policies in Greece. Especially, in particular migration groups like Bangladeshi migrants in Greece and their social, education, cultural and labor market in integration situations are not taken into consideration for policy

development.

Bangladesh migrants start coming to Greece in the 1990s but the massive migration flow started in 1995 after the first regularization program taken by the Greece government. There were no public discussion, literature or any research has been conducted in regards to Bangladeshi migration and integration in Greece. On the other hand, in the 1990s, literature, and research on migration in Greece start developing in various sectors to identify the migration patterns, socio-economic consequences, social and cultural integration situation by the local and international scholars. Furthermore, the researcher starts research on migration and integration to know the actual situation to recommend contemporary policies on social integration, intercultural educational policy, and labour market integration policy and its consequences. Lots of researches have been failed of this generation to understand the transformation of Greece into a receiving country rather than migration sending country, by assuming that the phenomenon was temporary, thus neglecting the implications for integration until at least the middle of the decade (Glytsos 1995). However, some of the researches have been conducted to find out customs, gender, discrimination, social networks, media, prejudice, education, and socio-cultural context in particular. Previous research publications have been focused on observations, hypotheses, and estimations, given the lack of existing data. Except for a few theoretical works (Zygouritasas, 2014, Mousourou 1991; 1993, Markou 1996, 2009), most publications were mainly descriptive and mainly concerned with the demographic and economic structures of migrants (Taylor 1986; Arango, 2000; Faist, 1997; Hatziprokopiou, 2001 Markou 2007), migrant's rights and their legal status (Triandafyllidou 1996, 1999 Bauer & Zimmermann 1998).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter about one million (10% of the total population of Greece) migrants from all over the world are currently living in Greece. To properly utilize massive migrants and generate a multicultural society migration and integration policy need to develop. Therefore migration research increase over time, in particular after the first regularisation program (Amitsis & Lazaridis 2001). However, to know the migrants economic and social conditions, socio-economic research has also been taken as consideration ((Fakiolas & Maratou 2000, Zygouritasas, 2014, King et al. 2000; Lyberaki & Pelagidis 2000), However, plenty of research on the other that can be considered as Educational, political, historical (Bauer & Zimmermann 1998) to political economy (Marvakis et al. 2001; Markou 2009) and human geography (Johnston 1994), to education

(Damanakis 1997; Markou 1993, 1997, 2009). In parallel, the interest in the legal framework and the policy implications remained strong (Triandafyllidou 1996, 1999; 2012, 2014, Baldwin-Edwards 1999; Fakiolas 2003), while much research started focusing on specific migrant groups but for Bangladeshi migrants, there was only a few research publication regarding social and legal status (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007, 2009, 2014, kasimi, 2017, Rahman, 2010, Tonchev et al. 2007, Lazarescu and Broersma 2010). Integration is described concerning the labor market (Tonchev et al. 2007; Markou 2007; Broersma-Lazarescu 2009), language and identity (Koiliari 1997, Markou 2007), and recent policy steps (Tonchev et al. 2007; Triandafyllidou 2011, 2012, 2013). Now a day's many research organizations, the government, national and international institutions, universities, local and international researchers working to develop a tangible migration and integration policies for asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants in Greece.

However, previously Greece is considered a migrant-sending country but currently, Greece considers as a migrant-receiving country. On the other hand, both the receiving society and sending countries, the migrants are mostly seen as unitary and homogeneous entities, restraining our ability to establish and describe the change in either case. Despite their qualities, plenty of researches succeed and many researchers have been failed to date to address the dynamism of migration-related improvement and provide rather motionless situations capturing the moment, which are then replicated in the literature with a misshapen edition of reality as a result. Additionally, even though the criticisms against the policy structure, racism, or exploitation, references to Greece as a multiethnic or multicultural society are meager and lately have the implications of this underdeveloped to be conversed (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Furthermore, the migrant is frequently portrayed as a victim of the legal agenda or the police, of employers, or prejudiced behavior and abstract social patterns and agency and action. However, Greece has not been finalized migration and integration for the migrants who are living in Greece since from the beginning yet.

Furthermore, the main purpose of the study is to present the tangible scenarios of the Educational, Social, Cultural, and labour market integration situation of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece since their arrival. Therefore, quantitative and qualitative search method has been applied to collect the data from the participants beside literature, newspaper, official data from the Government and different Non-Government Organizations data to find out Bangladeshi migrants daily life integration situation in Greece. From a methodological point of view, the thesis is an attempt to approach the subject of Bangladeshi migrants' integration

situation at various levels of respondents by identifying the ways Bangladeshi migrants are treated in Greece. The migrants are perceived as actors rather than victims, although much of their experience involves negative features (illegality, prejudice, discrimination), and the study is explained how ‘they’ are formed as a standardized social class through political, social, and cultural mechanisms (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). The pattern of Bangladeshi migrants and their integration circumstance will be focused throughout the dissertation and some short of integration policies will be recommended at the end of the thesis to easily cope with assimilation into the host society. There are significant efforts that have been made to syntheses dialectically the integration and assimilation and develop a coherent and prismatic structure of analysis to realize the vitality of the incident, its inconsistencies, and the patterns of relations incorporation with integration into Greek society. However, Greece has not been finalized migration and integration for the migrants who are living in Greece since from the beginning yet and some policies need to be revised as per socio-economic demand.

4.3 Methodology and study design

In this part of this chapter two objectives are discussed. The first is to illustrate the research patterns and fieldwork technique; how the research was carried out, focusing on the interview material, data preservation and analysis, and document research and application. The second is to present the definite fieldwork, including its regional location, migrant substantial spaces, respondent’s inspection as well as complications, and related experiences in the field. However, multiple methods are applied to collect and analysis the research data as per the requirement depending on the character of the information needed: on-site field research, governments’ statistics data, and electronic media reports, literature, and Non-Government organization data. There are many references to empirical research and academic books that presented significant background information to support the study. Furthermore, some statistical data have been collected from International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the Ministry of Interior and Ministry and the Ministry of Migration, Police data management websites also Embassy of Bangladesh in Athens. On the other hand, some official statistical data also has been taken to consideration 1998, 2001, 2005 regularization statistics, and 2011 census data which help the study more precise.

Furthermore, a significant number of data from the daily newspapers has also been composed and will be used concerning particular actions of individuals’ educational

integration situation, living and working conditions, attitudes and perceptions towards them, legal status, and activities. The research findings result is mainly based on the primary data which have been collected at the time of fieldwork but secondary data will draw a tangible result of the study. The main sources of secondary data which have been employed in the thesis are the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) 2018, International Organization for Migration 2019, Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training BMET 2020, Greece 2011 census (NSSG), data from the regularisation programmes Cavounidi & Hatzaki 1999, Hatziprokopiou, 2006, Sardinha, 2009, Broersma & Lazarescu 2009, Triandafyllidou 2011, Angeli, & Triandafyllidou 2014), or other sources (NSSG, e.g. Labour Force Surveys, IKA, NTO, Hellenic police, various ministries, etc.), including empirical studies using official statistics (Lianos 2001; 2003; Fakiolas 2003, Tonchev et al. 2007; Broersma & Lazarescu 2010; Papageorgiou 2011) and newspaper (Kathimerini; Athens News; Clandestine; ENAR; FRONTEX, etc) articles.

Nevertheless, quantitative and qualitative methods are used to analyse study data to detect the research findings, therefore, qualitative data don't dominate alone the research findings. The questionnaire is created by testing hypotheses method consequently some of the unnecessary questions have been overlooked to find the tangible research findings at the time of fieldwork. On the other hand, while I was collecting data from different cities and assist me in understanding the daily life of Bangladeshi migrants at the time of fieldwork. Therefore, I have pictured Bangladeshi migrant's living conditions, social status, and residence place and observed their miserable lifestyle at the time study conducted. The primary data have been collected through 310 questionnaires and 80 open-ended interviews from Bangladeshi migrants around Greece. The research questionnaire has been finalized after completing the hypothesis; to collect the quantitative data for the research the questionnaires have been created closed-ended methods. On the other hand, to accumulate the qualitative findings the questionnaire has been created using open-ended methods for the particular information from the Bangladeshi migrants to understand the existent Educational integration, socio-cultural integration, housing conditions, labor market discrimination, and integration situation. Most of the open-ended interviews are preserved on the tape recorder and were transliterated into the English language and saved into MS Word document files.

Furthermore, while conducting the open-ended interviews the participates were to discuss everything without having any fear to expose the actual integration situation in the host in regards to the behaviour by host institutions, services and individuals, media, police

and to comment on cultural features. Especially in the cultural context, open-ended questionnaires are prepared for the women who wear “Borkha” while going out of the house what kind of difficulties they faced while walking on the road or going in any market. As we have discussed earlier, the questionnaire has been finalized after the pilot test with the twenty participants in April 2011. After editing and correcting the pilot-test questionnaire, the main questionnaire is divided into seven sections: A. Personal data B. Migration data: Entry and legal status in Greece C. Housing conditions in Greece D. Employment conditions in Greece E. Educational integration Conditions F. Social and Cultural integration conditions G. Additional Information. The research questionnaire is provided in Appendix D. The schedule was a semi-structured, open-ended one, and the series of questions did not always pursue the real methods, the intent was to obtain in-depth abundance and thus it was planned participant free to talk without any hesitation.

However, legitimate methods have been applied to the participants while collecting research data, the person of concern has been informed if he/she wants an answer or if don't fill comfortable can skip the question. The quantitative questionnaire was formulated with close-ended methods with boxes to tick participants to various answers. The respondents in the dichotomous questions will answer with yes or no range. On the other hand, technique and simple ranked items like ‘Rather friendly - Friendly – Neutral - Rather hostile - Hostile’ was the general answer methods used. Where it was needed, there was also extra space supplied for other options to extend the answer to the participants. To collect to qualitative findings open-ended questionnaire has been creating for the individuals to know more about their daily activities and integration situations. Most of the open-ended questions formulated as per the research demand and better explain in the research Bangladeshi migrant's involvement in economic sectors, social status, discrimination in their daily life, difficulties in access into the housing market and labor market, and also in the health sector. My research project is titled ‘Educational, Social and Cultural integration of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece’, which was funded by the State Scholarship Foundation (IKY) and Prof. Athanase Gotovos, Department of Philosophy, Education and Psychology, University of Ioannina is the principal investigator of this project and my supervisor.

4.4 Mapping the fieldwork: interview schedule and conducting the interviews

The research findings which serve as the primary source of information for this thesis are the results of a period of more than two fieldwork in Greece. The hypothesis of the study

has been conducted in April 2011 to finalize the research questionnaire. After that, at the first phase 210 questionnaires and about 60 open-ended interviews have been conducted between December 2011 and July 2013, following a one-month pilot phase in April 2011. In the second phase 100 questionnaires and 40 open-ended interviews have been carried out in-between September 2018 till December 2018 as per research requirement. Questionnaires and interviews with migrants started in December 2011 but progressed slowly, and a great many of them were conducted between June 2012 and July 2013. In the first period, conducted 210 interviews have been conducted with Bangladeshi migrants across the country. The interviews in Athens started in June 2012 and finished in September of that year. Within this time, there are 70 questionnaires and 20 interviews have been conducted with Bangladeshi migrants, community leaders, and the president of cultural organizations, etc. In Patra, 25 questionnaires and 5 open-ended interviews were conducted in November 2012 for over two months.

However, from the second largest city of Greece, Thessaloniki 30 questionnaires and 10 interviews have been conducted between February 2013 and March 2013. From the historical city of Greece, Ioannina, there were 25 questionnaires and 10 interviews conducted in April of 2013. On the other hand, the majority of the Bangladeshi migrants are living in Kalamata and Manolada working in the agricultural sectors. To fulfill the research demand, I have visited Manolada and Kalamata for June and July of 2013; I have spent almost one month in each place in conducting 30 questionnaires and 10 interviews from each. However, research data has been collected from Mesolongi, Zakynthos, Agrinio, Volos, Lefkada, and Preveza, where Bangladeshi migrants are working in various sectors (for example in hotel, restaurants, harvesting orange and other agriculture firms).

In the second phase, as per research requirement, close-ended questions are asked towards 100 migrants as questionnaires are designed for research findings, open-ended questions are asked approximate 50 participants and recently 12 open-ended interviews have been conducted all around Greece (Athens, Thessaloniki, Patra, Manolada, Kalamata, Ioannina and Lesvos) from Bangladeshi migrants, The Ambassador of Bangladesh, Counsellor (labour) and Counsellor & (HOC) of The Bangladeshi Embassy in Athens in 2018 and 2020. In the capital city of Greece Athens, 40 research questionnaires and 30 open-ended interviews have been conducted on 10th September till 30th September 2018, in Thessaloniki 20 study questionnaires and 10 open-ended interviews have been carried out from 15th October till 25th

October 2018. Furthermore, there were 19 questioners and 5 interviews have been collected in Patra from 2nd October till 8th October 2018. In Ioannina, there were 10 questioners and 4 open-ended interviews have been conducted from 10 till 15th October 2018, in Manolada there were 10 questioners have been conducted over the phone from 9th October till 10th October 2018. On the other hand, 12 open-ended questioners have been conducted in Lesvos in March 2020 as the study needed.

However, in the beginning, the process and progress of conducting questionnaires and interviews were slow because of the difficulty to directly contact with participants, some of them were reluctant to contribute; some of them were afraid because of undocumented status. To conduct a questionnaire and interview first of all need to have an appointment because all of them are working in the daytime some of them are free in the evening or at the weekend. Therefore, most of the questionnaires and interviews have been conducted in the evening and weekend as per the respondents given an appointment. To collect personal data or an interview first of all need to create a trustful relationship with the participants at the time of fieldwork; this is one of the most difficult parts of the research. To reduce the data collection complexity, snowball methods have been applied. At first, I have collated the community leader's name, cultural organization president and secretary names, trade union leader name, and the headteacher name of Doel Academy which make easier my data collection process.

Consequently, I have communicated with these individuals and meet them personally and make them understand and explain the consequence of my research; convince them for their open-ended interviews. Also, their assistant has been asked to find the individual for an interview and to help with the next appointment. On the other hand, some of the respondents were very much interested to participate in the questionnaire and interview which noticeable. However, Bangladeshi Embassy has been supported me a lot in providing the number and locations of Bangladeshi migrants around Greece and assist me whenever I need to reach the individuals to collect research data.

Nevertheless, Doel Academy is a Bengali curriculum-based school that originated for Bangladeshi migrants' children to teach the Bengali syllabus from kinder garden to high school level; situated in Athens. By this academy, I had a chance to meet some of the volunteer teachers involved and gained access to the classes, and so I had the opportunity to speak to some of the students and their parents. Besides this, I have met different association's representative, for instance, the Bangladeshi trade Union, Bangladesh Doel

Cultural Organization (Member of the Athens municipality integration council), Bangladesh community in Thessaloniki, and other different associations organized by the Bangladesh community. After being introduced by the association's representatives, it was a good opportunity to conduct questionnaires or interviews with parents who were waiting for their children.

On the other hand, I have faced many difficulties while conducting research data, first of all, my based was Ioannina, at the beginning I did not know anyone in Athens, and hard to communicate and search a stay place for few days. Though I have overcome these difficulties some of the individuals complaining that I am working for the government, some of them telling me that I work for a spy. On their word, I will collect their data and submit to the government so that the government can find them and arrest them for deport. This group also rumoring against me even I have been threatened to stop conducting interviews. Such problems were connected with the lack of faith between a migrant and as the researcher. However, the majority of questionnaires and all interviews were conducted personally by myself and were face to face. The questionnaires were completed in respondent houses, open public places, coffee shops, mini supermarkets, and restaurants and rooms at the offices of organizations. The completed questionnaire takes approximately 30 to 40 minutes sometimes it takes more time because the participants want to talk more and more. Though the questionnaire was formulated in the English language I was explaining every question to the person of concern in the Bengali language for better understanding. Some of the participants were proficient in English, so they answer the questionnaire without asking anything.

4.5 Data management and analysis

In the following part of this section data, collection methods, and analysis will be discussed which I have been collected at the time of fieldwork. The research data has been analyzed through qualitative and quantitative methods to find detailed information. Consequently, the quantitative material provides information about Bangladeshi migrant's demographic characteristics, how Bangladeshi migrants enter, their current legal status, migrants children's educational integration at the Greek school, employment and integration situation, social integration. Statistical software Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) has been used to analyzed quantitative data. However, to collect the random sample snowball data collection method has been applied to make easier the data collection process. Nevertheless, because of the undocumented status of many Bangladeshi migrants, the statistical data which have been collected from the Greek government websites, newspapers,

and other Non-Government organizations were not enough to fulfill the research demand.

However, some statistical data have been collected from International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the Ministry of Interior and Ministry and the Ministry of Migration, Police data management websites also Embassy of Bangladesh in Athens. Some statistical data also has been taken to consideration 1998, 2001, 2005 regularization statistics, and 2011 census data which help the study more precise. Nevertheless, the main purpose of the study is to focus on Bangladeshi migrants' integration situation in Greece; therefore only statistical data will not furnish the existing condition of integration. The quantitative data has been used to create a correlation with qualitative details in an attempt to relate my case study to other cases of migration and integration. The research questionnaire has been formulated based on qualitative and quantitative analysis to focus on Bangladeshi migrants' integration situation in education and socio-economic sectors.

Nevertheless, all the qualitative and quantitative research data have been processed into MS Word and MS Excel and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyze and functions efficiently. At first, the quantitative data has been coded after that inputted into Ms excel spreadsheet than processed into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyze statistical methods. On the other hand, while I was coding quantitative data, I have faced some sort of complications of some variables. However, almost all the questions were answered by the Bangladeshi migrants but some questions were not answered by participants; which becomes relatively less important to find out the integration situation. I have analyzed quantitative variables with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences through line chart, bar chart, pie chart, cross-tabulations for more precision. All the research data elaborate according to the findings requirement with frequencies and percentages for better understanding of the actual circumstances. In point of observations, some authentic data from electronic media, international publications, and the Government website have been taken into consideration.

The research stipulates to discover the real situations of Bangladeshi migrant's socio-economical and educations integration conditions. Therefore, the quantitative data is not adequate to observe the concrete integration circumstances as a result open-ended interviews were conducted face to face and were tape-recorded almost in Bengali language, then transcribed into English following the needs of the analysis. Some of the participants refuse

to talk in front of the camera; some of them disallow the recorder while the interview was conducted. Therefore, I have been recording their speech in my notebook in Bengali languages, sometimes code/shorthand symbols/writing are used to capture all the information. I have some shorthand working knowledge because of the journalist profession. After collecting the interview, though the limits of 'the human as analyst' (Robson 2002: 460); I have created a formation to properly use the speech in specific functions and as per study needed. Some of the open-ended interviews were large that it would be hard or very time consuming for me to analyze them all. Besides, the open-ended interview data were kept in detailed notes, which helped to go through a careful explanation without losing significant points. In the open-ended interviews, some of the respondents never stop talking; some of the interviews even take more than two hours.

On the other hand, quantitative and qualitative methods are used to analyze study data to detect the research findings; therefore, qualitative data don't dominate alone the research findings. The questionnaire is created by testing hypotheses method consequently some of the unnecessary questions have been overlooked to find the tangible research findings at the time of fieldwork. However, some open-ended questionnaires have been conducted to the participants and recent literature has been reviewed according to the necessity and requirement of the study. The qualitative data prolonged of the interviews will be used to frame or re-frame hypotheses, to understand relationships, to build and support arguments, and to further interpret the raw numeric data coming out of the rest of the study. On the other hand, the qualitative data has been included for analysis, with references to common findings and evocative summaries of parts of the narratives, while particular extracts from migrant interviews are included according to the needs of the research. However, the objective of quantitative analysis is not simply to explain the characteristics and integration situation of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece, but rather to explore relationships, prove hypotheses and provide the statistical consequence to expressed arguments based on the qualitative elements.

However, to find out the integration situation both quantitative and qualitative methods are applied which implies research findings. Each method supports, complements, and fills in the gaps of the other, or uncovers various features of the subject discussed, allowing thus for general and holistic interpretations. Additionally, at the time of the analysis of the open-ended interviews, the personal data (Name, age, religious background, living year in Greece, marital status, etc.) have been added in the dissertation. The participants have been

asked for their consent to provide personal information or if they want they can skip any particular questions to answer. First of all, I need to develop a trustful relationship with the respondents and make them understand to consequent of the study. As we have discussed earlier in this chapter there are limitations of literature or research in particular Bangladeshi migrant's integration status in Greece. Therefore, the most important objective of the study is to analyze the empirical findings and also use the Government official data, NGOs data to propose a current integration condition of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece. According to the qualitative and quantitative findings and the official resources, it has been identified that Greece is still suffering to make an appropriate integration policy for migrants to become a multicultural society.

4.6 Concluding remarks

This chapter has described, the study area, the data collection, and the analytical methodology utilized in my thesis, especially during the main yearlong fieldwork period. 310 migrants were interviewed from different cities in Greece. Secondary data was also collected from several organizations different reports and policy documents were consulted with some officials for getting information. The data were corrected and transferred into MS word, excel, and SPSS data editor. As a first step, to achieve the objectives of the study, preliminary descriptive analyses were carried out. The results of the field survey are presented in the next chapter.

This chapter has set the scene for the four 'results' chapters to come. Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 will now analyze the field data gathered in Greece, taking into consideration **Chapter 5** is the core chapter of this thesis associate with migration, Patterns of Settlement, and educational integration of Bangladeshi migrants. **Chapter 6** will be conferred on civil society, public opinion, and culture. This chapter has focused on the role of various social actors (migrants' associations, political parties, NGOs, etc.) and the widespread beliefs of the locals, touched also on the issue of racism and the role of media. **Chapter 7** will be presented the economic integration of Bangladeshi migrants. The analysis of this chapter is to focus on patterns and working relationships in the host labor market and the implications of the processes of restructuring. **Chapter 8** will be discussed of state policy and welfare system towards migrants. This chapter contains the policy context of migrants' reception and their degree of integration into the social state. The discussion is on the effects of migration policy and the pertinent legal structure, as well as Bangladeshi migrants' access to the basic welfare.

Chapter five

Demographic structure, patterns of migration, and educational integration of Bangladeshi migrants

5.1 Introduction

The enormous movement of peoples as a result of voluntary choice, climate change, forced removal, political instability, economic and cultural displacement has been one of the most significant reasons for social change over the past. In this first chapter of this thesis the primary aim is to represent migration patterns and educational integration situation both the general and the specific contexts of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants' in Greece. In this chapter of this thesis, we are going to describe the migration patterns, migration route, the reasons for migration, the modes of entering the country, climate change and human traffickers' role behind migration decision, educational background, and the reason of leaving the country of origin of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants. However, we are going to discuss the educational integration situation and the structure of public and private educational institutions; the schooling of Bangladeshi migrants' children and their integration at the school of the Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants'.

This chapter has been divided into two sections. In the first section, we describe the sample and sketch the migration profile of the participants and patterns and dynamics in this newly formed migration, highlighting the motivation behind migration, migration routes, climate change, and human traffickers' role, etc. In the second section, we elucidate the educational background of Bangladeshi migrants, Bangladeshi curriculum based schools, and how Bangladeshi migrants' children's educational shape inflow influences their integration practice at the school.

5.2 Migration patterns of Bangladeshi Asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants

In this first section, we analyze quantitative and qualitative data concerns with the migration profile of the Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants. At the beginning demographic characteristics, migration profile of the participants and patterns and dynamics in this newly formed migration, highlighting the motivation behind migration, migration routes, climate change, and human traffickers are described. In the second part of

the part are presented the reason for leaving in the country of origin or other countries, the migrants' motivation behind leaving the country of origin; their human capital characteristics, and migration routes they used at the time of the fieldwork.

5.2.1 Demographic structures of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants'

The research finding in the table gives information about the percentage of the age group of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants in Greece. In this part of this chapter, we have analyzed the demographic characteristics of 310 Bangladeshi respondents in Table 5.1. The share of women is only 15.5 percent among Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants'. Approximately half of the persons questioned belong to the 20-30 age groups; the second largest group about one third 40.0 percent people aged between 31-40 years.

Table 5.1 Demographic Characteristics of Bangladeshi migrants (%)

The age group of Bangladeshi Asylum seekers/Refugees/Immigrants (%)				
Age	Male	Female	Total %	Total (N)
20-30	36.8	4.8	41.6	129
31-40	31.6	8.4	40.0	124
41-50	13.2	1.6	14.8	46
51-60	2.9	0.6	3.5	11
Total (%)	84.5	15.5	100	
Total (N)	262	48		310

The percentage of older people (of 50 years or more) is just 3.5 percent. This variation in age between young and old migrant groups may imply differences in their patterns and reasons for migration, as we are soon going to see. However, the highest male respondent age group 20-30 is 36.8 percent; on the other hand the highest female respondent age 31-40 is 8.4. Additionally, the data shows that the male dominating the migration flow. The largest group of the respondent are male 84.5 percent while only 15.5 percent are female of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants'. Overall it is clear that the highest percentage respondent aged 20-30 and 31-40 total 81.4 percent while the lowest percentage of respondents aged 51-60 only 3.5 percent. They are reluctant to move or leave their country at any cost.

Based on empirical findings, we have observed significant differences between the subgroups in the sample, namely concerning gender. We can also notice that males are the

majority group among immigrants, a picture not that far from the reality of available statistics and other sources⁶. The sample, therefore, identifies a ‘dependent’ pattern in female migration: women usually follow men, as dependent family members, or are left behind. This is particularly true in Bangladeshi migrants: the share of women is only (15.5 percent), perhaps due to the more ‘familial’ character of this group’s emigration patterns.

5.2.2 Marital status of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants

The study finding in the table presents the percentage of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants in Greece till 2018. According to the empirical data of Table 5.2 shows that the largest group of respondents 48.9 percent are married and the second largest group 47.9 percent are single. While a significant share divorced rate concededly very low (1.9 percent) and four of them widowed.

Table 5.2 Marital status of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants

Marital status of Bangladeshi Asylum seekers/Refugees/Immigrants by gender (%)				
Family status	Male	Female	Total (%)	Total (N)
Single	45.0	2.9	47.9	148
Married	37.2	11.7	48.9	151
Divorced	1.3	0.6	1.9	6
Other	1.0	0.3	1.3	4
Total (%)	84.5	15.5	100	
Total (N)	261	48		309

In terms of single status, there is a large variation between male and female respondents; 45.0 percent male are single while only 2.9 percent female is single. On the other hand, compared to the marriage status 37.2 percent of the male is married and 11.7 percent of the female are married. However, the divorce rate does not show a great discrepancy between men and women respondents. What is the reason behind the less divorce rate we are going to discuss in the next part of the chapter? Additionally, a significant number 78 percent said their wives live in Bangladesh and about 35.7 percent said their children are there⁷.

Finally, the table gives an overall idea about the marital status of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants. It appears that the large numbers of the respondents have

⁶ Consequently, the disproportion between the two sexes is especially apparent in the communities of South Asians, as the big majority of them are men (Pakistanis 96%, Indians 93%, Bangladeshis 97%) (Lazarescu and Broersma 2010: 391-391).

⁷ The majority of Bangladeshi immigrants are young men in the productive age of 20-40; they are single or married who live in Greece without their family, which they have left back in their home country. More specifically, 78% of married Bangladeshi lives in Greece without their wife and children. (Lazarescu and Broersma 2010: 391-391)

close bonds with their family and the divorce rate is very low compare to the general rate all over the world

5.2.3 Marital status of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants by age

The table demonstrates the percentage of marital status according to the age group of Bangladeshi respondents. The research data shows that the highest 35.6 percentage between 20-30 are single on the other hand the largest number 27.2 aged 31-40 are married also we can see that the highest divorce rate 1.6 percent aged 31- 40 while the divorce rate age 41-50 is zero.

Table 5.3 Marital status of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants by age (%)

Marital status of Bangladeshi Asylum seekers/Refugees/Immigrants by age group (%)					
Age	Single	Married	Divorced	Others	Total
20-30	35.6	4.9	0.3	0.6	41.4
31-40	11.3	27.2	1.6	0.0	40.1
41-50	1.0	13.6	0.0	0.3	14.9
52-60	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.3	3.6
Total (%)	47.9	48.9	1.9	1.3	100

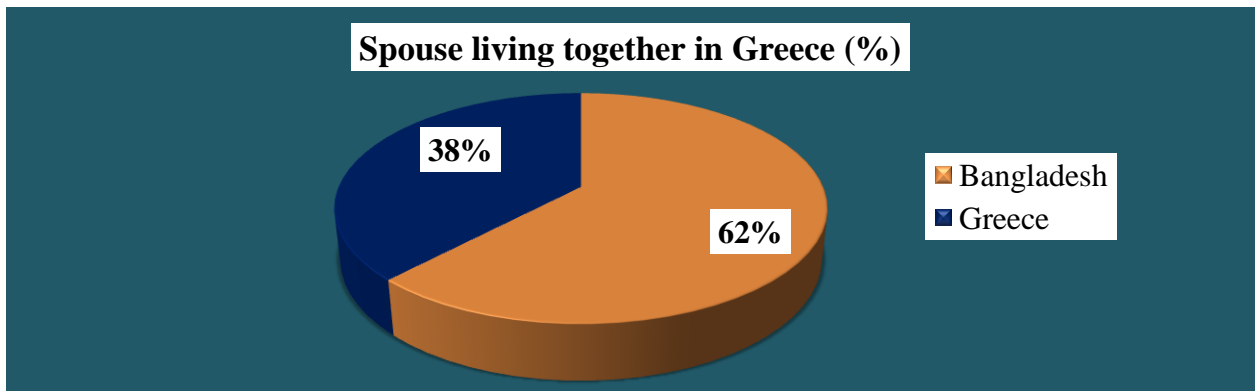
However, the important number of immigrants who are divorced particularly women, who may involve an unknown feature of this specific migration group: migration increases as a solution for divorced women, usually themselves responsible for their children, who decide to go abroad to improve their situation. Sometimes they go abroad to improve the family condition, most of the women go to the Middle East as a worker (housekeeper) but they face difficulties over and decided to move to another country. Research findings shows, the figure of the ‘young single represents 41.4 percent of the asylum seekers in Greece, however, the sample is described by immense heterogeneity: family background, gender, and age interpretational relationship play a significant function for the movement.

Regarding the geographic origin of the participants, about 42.6 percent of the immigrants come from the Barisal division, in the south-central part of Bangladesh, 19.3 percent from the East, and nearly 9.2 percent from the North part of the country. Another 17.4 percent are from the Southeastern, mostly from Nowakhali and Comilla, where people are mostly affected by natural disasters. The rest comes from various central areas, while the northern regions are far less represented (11.5 percent, from Rangpur division).

5.2.4 Spouse living together in Greece or living alone in Bangladesh

The research findings in the pie chart provide information about the percentage of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants' family/husband and wife living status. The pie chart 5.1 shows that the highest percentage of about 62 percent spouse living in Bangladesh while only about 38 percent spouse living in Greece. Research findings confirm the reason behind such a big discrepancy.

Pie chart 5.1 Spouse living together in Greece or living alone in Bangladesh (%)



To know the reason some qualitative material drawn from the interview data are also utilized into the discussion; to highlight features that quantitative data captured that brings out the movement own perceptions. Some of the participants' statements regarding why the majority of spouse can't live together in Bangladesh:

First of all, I have a question for you, can you please tell me who wants to live without their family in this world? I came to Greece in 2005, after 7 years of waiting, I got a stay permit in 2012; when I got stay permit I went to Bangladesh to visit my family. I am married and have two children. When I come back from Bangladesh I decided to bring my family here in Greece. I start the process for the family visa in 2014. It's a long journey lot of paper they need; I waited more than two years to get permission from the ministry. Please let me explain everything...I am so tired of this long journey...one difficulty in Bangladesh there is no Greek embassy or consulate, so my family has to take an Indian visa to go to India to apply for a Greek visa. Finally, the Embassy rejected my family reunification visa application in 2017. I am so frustrated, no one getting a visa. I don't know what to do know. (Jakir Hussain)

My family (wife and daughter) was living with me in Greece since 2014 but they were not living permanently; they stay six months Greece and six months in

Bangladesh but the last time in 2018 they stayed at Bangladeshi more than 8 months...when I went to renew their stay permit, I was informed by the authority that if someone stays more than six months out of Greece their stay permit will be rejected. So they did not renew my family stay permit and they are bound to leave the country also I am planning to leave the country. (Mubarak Hussain)

I am living for more than 20 years in Greece but I could not bring my family here in Greece. I have applied two times for family reunification but the embassy rejected two times. I don't know what the reason was. I have expended about 5 years and lots of money for the family reunification....every time I got clearance from the ministry but the embassy rejected. What does it mean? (Rafiq Sarkar)

Greece's family reunification process is prolonged and complex compare to other European countries for the Bangladeshi applicant. First, you have to take the family certificate from the local administrative office then sign from the law ministry a then foreign ministry then you have to submit to the VFS center for verification then you have send this certificate for attestation to the Embassy of Greece in India....then if the embassy sign then they will send to your address after that you have to submit this letter along with other documents to the ministry and then the ministry again send this certification to the embassy of Greece in India....its long process....only the Greek government follow this long process... you cannot find this kind of process rest of the world...I have passed through all the processes but the embassy rejected my application..they want to give pain to us. (Hasanuzzaman)

The research finding shows some other reasons cased not living together with the family in Greece. Some of the spouses voluntarily return to Bangladesh, some of them forced to return, some of them for their children's education. Some of the respondents explain why their family (wife and children) living in Bangladesh.

I was living with my family since 2006, I had a mini supermarket in Athens, I was passing a good time with my family but suddenly economic crisis show in Greece, my business was shrinking down, the sales becoming less and less, I could not manage to bear my family expenses, finally I closed my business and sent my family back to Bangladesh, I have left my previous house and rent a small house. I was unemployed

for a long time. When the situations become improve but my family settles in Bangladesh. I don't want to bring my family again in Greece. (Rakib)

Mr. Imtiaz explaining the reasons...I am living in Greece for more than 22 years...when I got a stay permit, I went to Bangladesh, got married, and after few years I brought my wife to Greece, my two children born in Greece...Everything was going great but one day I was thinking about my children's future...if they study at the Greek school, what will be their future...I was also planning to leave Greece after a few years. So I discuss with my wife and for the children future education plan she was agreed to leave Greece

Since 1998 I am living in Greece and my wife came in 2006, I had a garments business here in Greece. About 20 workers were working in my garments factory. I have three children...because of the economic crisis of Greece in 2010, I did not find any contract for my factory, and it was difficult to pay all the workers without work. I was bound to close my factory and me along with my family left Greece. When the situations get better I return to Greece but I did not bring my family. (Hafizur Rahman)

5.2.5 Family members living in Greece/Bangladesh

The table presents information about the percentage of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants' whole family members' living status. Table 5.4 illustrates that the highest percentage of 99.0 percent of parents living in Bangladesh only 1.0 percent of parents living with their son or daughter in Greece. On the other hand, a remarkable percentage of children not living with their family parents in Greece. However, a significant percentage of children 53.3 percent living in Bangladesh while less than half 46.7 percent of children living with their parents in Greece. The table itself provides important information that 98.6 percent of respondents' sister living in Bangladesh and only 1.6 percent living with them. Conversely, the largest parentages 90.7 percent of participants' brother living in Bangladesh while only 9.3 percent living with family members in Greece.

Table 5.4 Family members living in Greece/Bangladesh (%)

Family members living in Greece/Bangladesh (%)			
	Greece	Bangladesh	Total
Parents	1.0	99.0	100
Children	46.7	53.3	100
Sister	1.6	98.6	100
Brother	9.3	90.7	100

The variety of reasons and factors are behind the actuality; not living together with the family members in Greece. Some of the participants' statements about how they do not succeed to manage visa for their family members:

Mr. Rafiq explaining his experiences...It's very difficult to even bring a spouse in Greece how can you predict to bring your parents or siblings. My wife was pregnant and she was so sick...I am living for about 20 years in Greece and I have never been unemployed...I have to buy a house and having enough bank balance...I can easily bear two persons daily expenses...I have applied a visa for my Mother in Low to stay with my wife to support her pregnancy period. I have sent all the necessary documents but finally, the embassy rejects the visa.

I am 50 years old and living more than 18 years in Greece my wife and two other children living with me but my elder children are over eighteen years old...I have tried much time and discuss with the ministry and with many lawyers but still no result...what kind of law having Greece that I can't bring my children to stay with us. I think the government should flexible some rules for the family member so that they can stay together. (Belal Ahmed)

Marketer Hussain showing his allegation against the system: I am a businessman, living 22 years in Greece, having medium garments factory...about 30 workers working in my factory and having two mini supermarkets, one mobile shop, one barbershop and bought three houses in Greece. I pay lots of tax to the government; my brothers are living in Greece as well since 2001. Out of my family members only my mother living in Bangladesh...she is too old...she does not take care of herself...I wanted to bring my mother in Greece...I have applied with all the documents...unfortunately she did not get a visa...no proper reason to reject the visa...

It's giving me lots of soreness whenever I remember about my father's death...I am living legally in Greece since 2001 along with my family. Suddenly I heard that my father having cancer but in there is no hospital for proper cancer treatment...I have an urge to the government with all the necessary doctor reports to bring my father for better treatment...I managed money for his treatment in Greece but he did not get a visa...in the 20 years I never heard anybody brought their parents in Greece...what's wrong with the government's law...why they don't want to allow to bring parents or other family members. (Sagor)

My brother is a university graduate and he was very much interested to come to Greece for a higher study. I told him to apply to different universities and me personally looking professor for him...finally he got admission to the University of Athens...he was too happy that he is coming also I had arranged everything for him as well. He went to apply for the visa at the Greek Embassy in India...(Imtiaz)

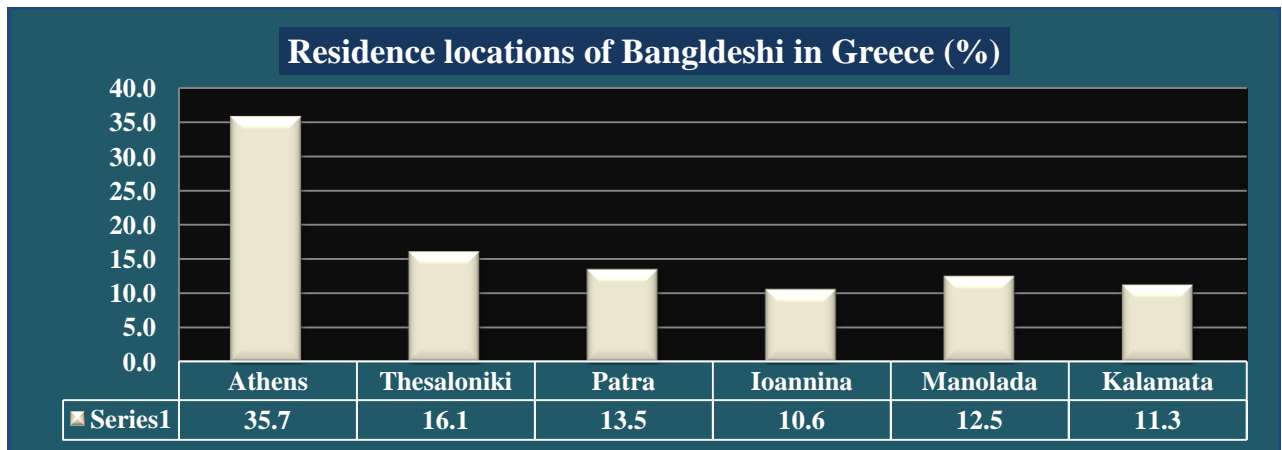
As far I know nobody succeeds to take their parents or brother or sister in Greece...because the government does not want us to live with our whole family. The government created very had a law for the family reunification process. I wanted to bring my old mother in Greece... I have asked many persons about the process and success rate...When I heard the success rate is zero...I was disappointed and I did not apply. I thought that its nothing but a waste of money and time. (Sardar)

I came to Greece in 1995 with a tourist visa, after that I stay in Greece, I married an Albanian woman in 2000, and she was living a long time in Greece. I have two children one is about 19 years old and the second child is 10 years old. When my wife died my little son was only 2 years old, it was very difficult to take care of my little son so I took him to Bangladesh and kept him with my parents and brother's family. 5 after a few years again I married a Bangladeshi woman in Bangladesh for this moment my little son living with my wife in Bangladesh and older son living with me in Greece. More recently, I have applied a family reunification visa for my wife but the embassy rejected my application. I have legally lived more than 24 years in Greece and having everything but...(Khan)

5.2.6 Settlement of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants

The bar chart provides information on the Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants' location of residence. Bar chart 5.1 shows that the highest percentage of 35.7 percent of Bangladeshi is living in the capital of Athens while the lowest percentage 11.3 percent are living in the village called Kalamata. The second-largest percentage of Bangladeshi 16.1 percent is living in the second-largest city of Greece in Thessaloniki. However, a remarkable percentage of 13.5 percent is living in the port city Patra while 10.6 percent living in Bangladesh. Compare to the largest city a significant percentage of 12.5 percent of participants are living in the village Manolada because of their profession.

Bar chart 5.1 Settlement of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants' (%)



On the other hand, the research findings presented above reflect some of the important discrepancies between the city and the village. We observed a massive deflation of their living and professional attributes after the collapse of the asylum procedure and job opportunities arose as a solution to an immediate movement to the village. Most of the Bangladeshi was living in the capital but when the situation was quite complicated: Majority of them were unemployed, they did not find any job because lack of local language skills, some of them knows how to work in the agriculture sector so they moved to villages Kalamata and Manolad to fulfill their immediate needs. Additionally, a few numbers of Bangladeshi is living on different islands because of their work purpose.

5.3 Migration structure and dynamics of Bangladeshi migrants towards Greece

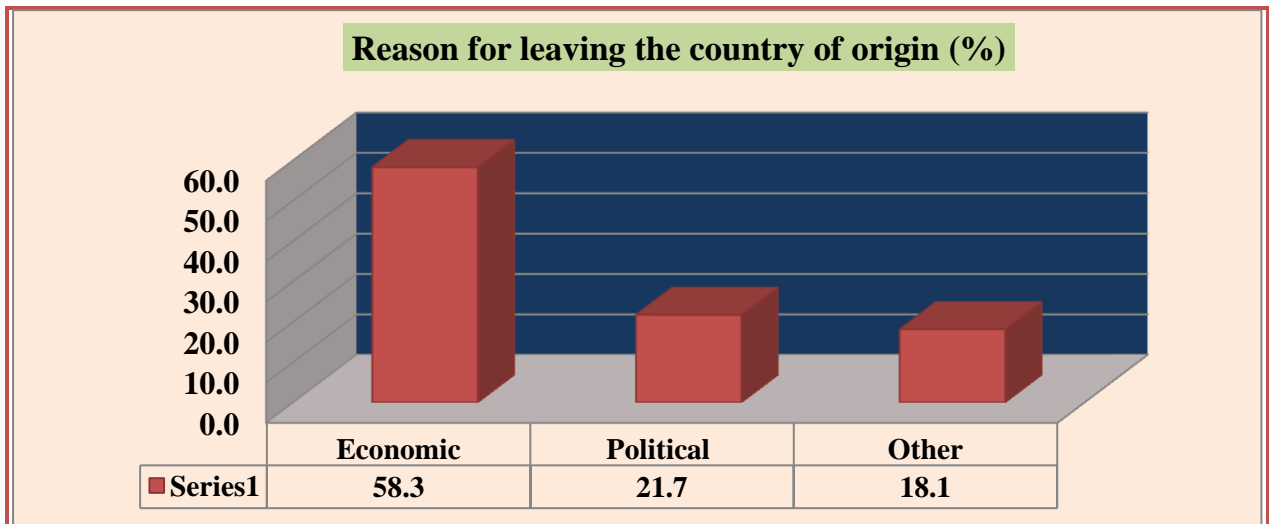
Human species started spreading on the planet within and outside of Africa between 2 and 2.5 million years ago (Rossi, 2018). The enormous movement of peoples as a result of voluntary choice, climate change, forced removal, political instability, economic and cultural displacement has been one of the most significant reasons for social change over the past. To examine the Bangladeshis' structures and dynamics of movement towards Greece, we will discuss how the actual move took place. Freedom of movement has become an important stratifying factor in the globalizing world (Bauman 1998: 2), and we need to be attentive not only to 'who travels, but when, how and under what circumstances?' (Brah 1996: 82; Ahmed 1999: 332). Migration research should consider not only the 'here' and 'there' but the journeys in between (Burrell 2008). Therefore, we give an account of some main aspects of the participants' movement histories: the motivation behind the movement, entry time into Greece, how participants crossed the border, and the direction was perused before coming to Greece. Besides, some qualitative material drawn from the interview data are also utilized

into the discussion; to highlight features that quantitative data captured that brings out the migrants' perceptions.

5.3.1 Reasons for leaving the country of origin/other countries

This section explains various factors behind the movement from Bangladeshi. Bar chart 5.2 shows that general economic reasons (push factors) dominated decisions to migrate: 58.3 percent of the respondents mentioned economic problems as being at the root of their decision to move. On the other hand, 21.7 percent declare that political instability played also a significant role. However, 18.1 percent of the participants said that, natural disasters, human smugglers, education, conflict with a neighbor, or simply the desire to stay with relatives who were already in Greece.

Bar chart 5.2 Reason behind the departure of the country of origin (%)



Overall it is clear that the majority of the Bangladeshi move to Greece for an economic reason also motivated by the human smuggler, climate change played a significant role to move from the different countries.

The variety of reasons and factors for deciding to migrate to Greece, suggests a more difficult movement story than that told by 'push' and 'pull' factors. Some of the participants' statements regarding their movement decision to Greece or Europe:

My home district is Comilla and I was an active supporter and Thana secretary of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), one of the largest political parties of Bangladesh. Our political party win three times National parliamentary elections consecutively and rule the country for 15 years. Last election BNP was

defeated by Bangladesh Awamilgue than they start to torture the BNP supporters; many supporters were killed, confiscated, and sent to detention. I was one of them who sent to the prison and intolerable torture. I was about one year in the prison I got bail for a month; somehow I knew that I will be killed by the ruling party. Therefore in 2017, I left Bangladesh and after passing through many difficulties I reached Greece to survive. If I return to Bangladesh the ruling government will kill me. (Sahajahan)

I am the only son of my family. My sisters are living in England but my parents are living in Bangladesh. I was living with them and looking after our properties. One day my cousin captures one of our houses with a group of thugs and threatens me that if I take any action against him, he will kill me. I and my father went to the police station to complain about him. At the night, he came to our house with the gang and bitted me and my father and warned that if I saw you again in our village I kill you. He was a political leader of the ruling party. So my father was too anxious, for my protection, I was a force to leave the country. (Nasim)

My father is paralyzed and my sister is physically disabled and my mother having a high blood pressure problem. I am the only earning person in my family. I was earning only a smaller amount of money; it was not even enough to bear only the daily food expenses, how to buy medicine for three persons every day. So, I told my parents that I need to earn more money to take care of the family. One of my neighbors living in Italy, I know that he earns lots of money per month...so I decided to leave Bangladesh for Italy, in 2017 I came to Greece and still in Greece. (Yakub)

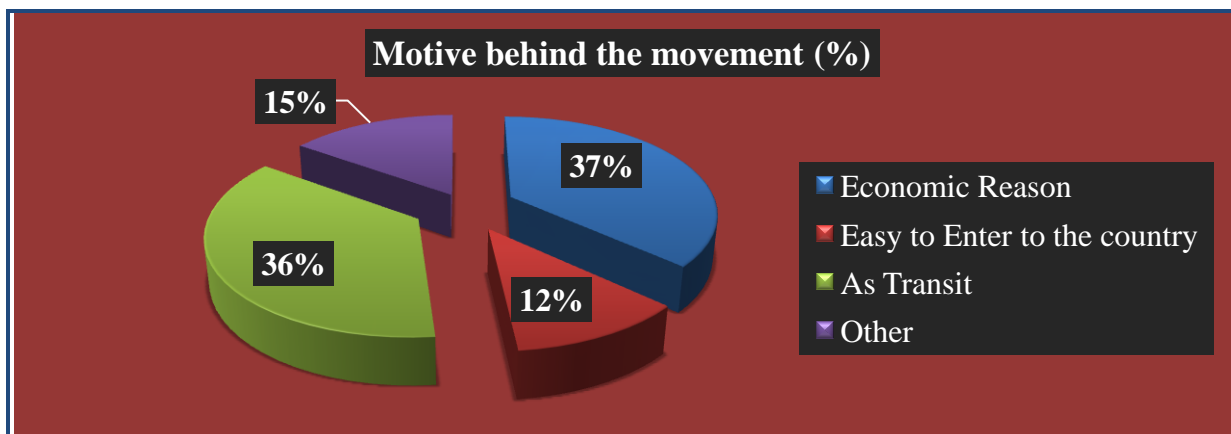
My family members were murdered by a gang when I was out of the city and they were looking for me as well. I even could not see my parents' dead body. I have left the country to survive. I am living in Greece since 2015 and there is no in Bangladesh for me. (Munna)

You know that the majority of the Bangladeshi is Muslim. I follow Hinduism, at my college I love a Muslim girl but her family did not accept our relationship. Her brother warned me many times but we loved each other very much. Her family was so powerful and controlling the area where we lived. One day her brother came and destroy our house and they bit me very badly and I was about to die...we left the area even I left the country for my safety. Still, I love Her...(Ratan sing)

5.3.2 Motivation behind the migration from Bangladesh/Middle East

The research findings clearly show that economic reasons (pull factors) played a significant role compared to other movement factors. The pie chart 5.2 presents that the majority percentage of about 37.0 percent of participants migrated for economic reasons; they considered economic conditions in Greece that favorable. Geographic proximity emerged as the most important reason for almost 36.0 percent of the participants while about 12.0 percent state ‘ease of entry’ as an important factor for them. Therefore, emigration may perhaps have arisen as significant for many persons, but the migration to Greece became an opportunity mainly because of the easy-to-cross borders and the geographic proximity to other European countries. Conversely, there is a significant share of respondents about 36.0 percent who consider Greece as a transit country, and who intend to migrate later on to other European countries.

Pie Chart 5.2 Reasons for migrating one country to another (%)



Finally, about 15 percent of participants indicated network factors, namely friends or family members who migrated earlier, which seem to have conditioned their patterns of settlement within Greece. I will provide further explanation on this in section 6.5.2. As I have already mentioned earlier, there is a minority of qualified professionals who had relations in Greece, which, together with their professional attainments, played a significant role in their migration, which can be identified as a ‘career development’ policy. However, the variety of reasons and factors for deciding to migrate to Greece, suggests a more difficult migration story than that told by ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. Some of the participants’ statements regarding their migration decision to Greece:

I was working in the United Arab Emirates, one day one of my friends came and influence me to come to Greece. He told if I come I will earn 1500 euro per

month money. I thought it a huge amount of money compare to my current salary. Therefore, I decided to migrate for economic reasons. (Jalal)

The motivation was the reason for coming to Greece because some of my friends came to Greece before me. They said Greece is a fantastic country ... jobs are available with a high salary... therefore I said to myself 'Why don't I go to try my luck there?' I was single; I was not married ... so I told my family to arrange some money for me because I will also go to Greece (Abu Salim)

I am an illiterate person ... I did not manage to find any kind of job in Bangladesh. I saw my neighbor living in Greece and earning lots of money. It makes me crazy, on the other hand, my family had some land properties we sold our land; gave to an agency to come to Greece. It was a money matter for me to come to Greece. (Rashed)

For me, I can say that it was not a purely economic motivation, but also a psychological one ... For instance, I was a student, and my parents had a business. I didn't have a direct need to work ... But, back at that time ... everybody was leaving from my place, coming to Europe and earning a lot of money having beautiful houses in my place that was it. So I started dreaming to earn money to have a beautiful house and to make a beautiful future for me ... So I determined to leave. (Rabbi)

I came here because my family was living here. They came here in 1990, and then my mother came.....so how can I live in Bangladesh without my family. Also, economic reason another factormy father runs businessto support him I am here in Greece. (Joy)

I came here because my brother was here ... he was earning a good amount of money he persuaded me to make my mind. I was also influenced when he was sending money. I thought that I will earn money and help my family as well.... make my future. After lots of ups and down I am in Greece. (Kobir)

We are 8 brothers and sisters in our family. It was very hard for my parents to run this big family. I was in the middle ... I was frustrated ... because I wanted to help my father and my other family members that is the reason.... you can only economy reasons...now my family member having economic solvency. (Faisal)

5.3.3 Natural catastrophe/Climate change as a motive for Migration

The relationship between the environment and migration is often complicated by the multifaceted associations with other factors, such as population growth, poverty, governance, human security, and conflict. Migration is a multi-causal phenomenon: even in cases where the environment is a predominant driver of migration, it is usually compounded by social, economic, political, and other reasons. Furthermore, the “decision” to move or to stay is highly complex and depends on available resources, social networks, and the perceived alternatives to migration. Therefore, just as the environment is only one among many factors that drive migration, migration is only one among many possible responses to environmental change (IOM 2010).

In Bangladesh, several studies refer to floods as a contributing factor in decisions to migrate⁸. In the last 25 years, Bangladesh has experienced six severe floods, with the 1988 and 1998 floods alone causing 2000-6,500 and 1,100 deaths respectively, and displacing as many as 45 and 30 million people⁹. In the most recent severe floods of 2007, around 32,000 Km were inundated, affecting almost 16 million people in around 3 million households¹⁰. Around 85,000 houses were severely damaged, with 1.12 million hectares of cropland affected and an estimated loss of BDT 5.8 million in livestock. Near about 10 percent of immigrants told they migrated because of Natural Disaster. The following interviews indicate how climate change and environment force them to take such a complex decision to migration:

In the 1998 flood, I lost my family... my parents...my house was destroyed ... there was no one to support me...I was lost...I didn't have money to survive... I was about to get mad... at that time one of my cousins how was living in Dubai (UAE), he helped me to come over there...then in 2000, I came to Dubai and I stay there for few years after that I decided to come to Europe. (Rahim)

It was a horrible moment for me; on 26 July 2007 (at midnight), we were sleepingsuddenly a huge wave of water flow over my village ... make big flood but from where and how, before understand ... it destroys everything ... my house....my

8 See for example, Emigration and development: the case of a Bangladeshi Village, Rahman, 2000

9. p9 Ibid. and National Adaptation Plan of Action, GoB, 2005

10 Consolidated Damage and Loss Assessment, Lessons Learnt from the Flood 2007 and Future Action Plan (Executive Summary), Disaster Management Bureau, Ministry of Food & Disaster Management and Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme, 2007.

family... all shrink under the water ... by the grace of Allah I was alive...after that, I stay some days under the open sky... when my friend hears this news he contacted with me and gave me consolation and told me that he will bring me in Saudi Arabia... after few days I went there with a work permit...in 2009 I decided to come to Greece. (Basir)

I can't explain to you what happens in my life in 1998 ... I just watched the way destroyed our house and our land how it became disappeared under the river...my family lost everything... we didn't have anything ...no food ...no money... no house...I was the only hope for my family... so I determined to move and do something for my family ...that's the reason I am here today. (Mubin)

My home district is Rajbari, beside the big forest Sundarban and the largest river Padma which is situated south part of Bangladesh. My house was about three kilometers far from the Padma River. Because of flood and landslide every year, the River changes the way...in 2016 our house and all our land went under the river, one of my sisters died because of this flood. I did not have any place to stay in Bangladesh...I did not see my future in Bangladesh so plan to move to another country. I know that many of my friends' house and properties went under the river some of them living in Greece as well (Jawad)

5.3.4 Human smugglers and traffickers role behind the migration

Human smuggling involves the provision of a service type, transportation, or fraudulent documents to an individual who voluntarily seeks to gain illegal entry into a foreign country (ICE 2017). Human smugglers play a significant role in decisions to emigrate. A large team of smugglers is responsible for the organization and operation of the trip. They often consist among others, of "leaders" and "local" smugglers or drivers. The longer the journey, the greater the number of persons of different nationalities involved (Kanellopoulos 2006:28). The trip is mainly based on the cooperation of many independent actors or otherwise in the "chain collaboration of smuggler to smuggler" (Içduygu and Toktas 2002). This naturally poses risks in the top-down cooperation of the smugglers' group, as there are the chances of death or kidnapping from the same or other smugglers at the

intermediate stops of the journey¹¹. Significant roles in the smugglers are circuit people who supply the group with counterfeit documents. Usually, they are public servants who work in Greek organizations / local authorities/consulates or even members of the Greek police or coastguard that “turn a blind eye” (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk 2006:451). For Bangladeshi migrants, human smugglers play an important role to migrate. Almost one-third of the respondents declare that they came to Greece through trafficking networks from the Middle East. Some interviewees’ statements on how smugglers motivated them to migrate:

I was working in a restaurant in Oman in 2001, I was getting a good amount of salary. One day one man (human smuggler) come to our restaurant to talk with me regarding Europe like this way... “Money is flying in the sky of Europe; you just have to catch... you can earn 1500 euro per month, the job is available and so on”... he assured me that he will manage a job for me... I have to pay only 10000 dollars to go to Europe ...then he will manage everything for me.....I started to dream become reach within a few years ...so I pay him half of the money...and start my journey to Greece in 2005. (Kamal)

In 2009, I was working as a salesman in a supermarket in Dubai, One of my friends told me that he is going to Greece because someone told him that if he goes to Greece he will earn 1200 euro per month... jobs are available...life is so beautiful... So he decided to go...I told him I want to meet with this man...I met with him (human smuggler) and he told me the same and make sure that he will do all for us...I was influenced by his word ...Now I am here but the situation is worst (Rabbi)

By the motivation of the human smuggler since 2009, I am here in Greece...I am facing lots of problems... I could not imagine the situation will be like this... he saw me unpredictable dream ... I trusted him... I lost all the money that I earn in Iran...I am thinking to go back to my home country but what I will there also...I don't have any job there as well. I destroy my future...I paid him 8000 euro... he cheated with me. (Sohel)

11 For example, the article in the newspaper *Kathimerini* (2008) that refers to third country nationals of Pakistani origin who were kept hostage until they or their families back in their homeland are able to pay back the cost of their trip «Even five minors were prisoners of smugglers’ circuit» (Maroukis 2008).

Regarding the conditions of entering Greece (see Pie Chart 5.2), about 61.3 percent of all migrants crossed the border illegally; of them, one in third said that they went through trafficking networks and had to pay. The moderately higher number who followed trafficking networks was men; this could be credited to the organized cross-border illegal channels that gradually more increased during the 1990s. These networks also controlled other illegitimate activities, sometimes in collaboration with corrupt state and police officials. Prices varied from 300-500 euros in 2005 (Sakis) to between 500-1000 euros in 2010 (Rashed, Jamal, Mustak); payment was in US dollars, sometimes in Euro as well. A broad idea of how this worked is given in the following quotes:

Twelve people, together we traveled, We came on foot, we passed through Skopje [Macedonia] ... to Polykastro ... then our guide took a taxi, ... until Thessaloniki ... We paid a guy to bring us here, someone like a 'trader' – how can I say it? ... we left Istanbul, and he brought us down here ... We paid him two hundred dollars each ... half the money, I paid it then ... the rest ... I was working, and I paid for it after a period, because then I didn't have all the money. (Mustak came in 1999.)

There was a guide. There are Turkish who collaborate with the Greeks. We crossed the Turkish border, we entered the country, and then we'd been traveling for two days and two nights. We'd been walking during the night and we were hiding during the day because we were afraid that somebody could see us and tell the police to arrest us ... A lorry was waiting for us in the street, there, on the mountain, in Greece, and all twenty-seven people got in the lorry. All of us came to Thessaloniki. (Rabbi came 2005)

However, research findings show that 'trafficking' is not essentially associated with criminal networks; this was particularly true throughout the early stage of intra-Turkish motion. It was not common for Asian in the early 1990s to travel in groups of people originating from the same place; but in the 2000s the guides (connect with the human trafficking groups), however, who helped them to cross the mountainous border-zone on foot, were often people who just 'knew the way through the mountains'¹². Some of the respondents' experience:

¹² These cases are counted under the category 'illegal entry' in bar chart 5.2, whereas those who had to pay appear in 'illegal entry (trafficking)'.

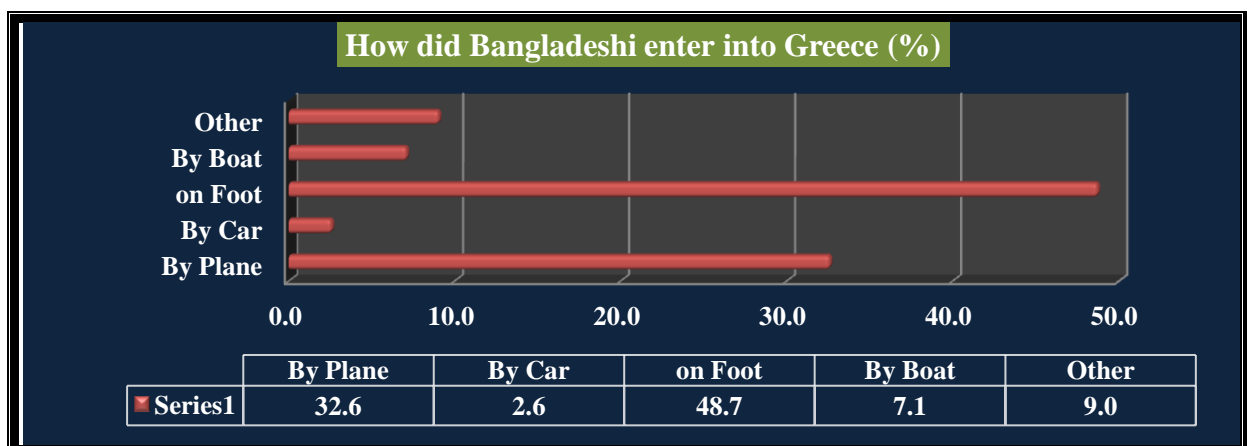
I have contacted the agency in Bangladesh to work abroad. The agency find a job for me in Romania I paid 7000 euro.... but when I went Romania...what can I say... there was nothing even no company....the agency cheats with me....and...I did not have money to return ... finally, I decided to move to other European Union countries, ... I met with one trader and paid the US \$700 Romania to Greece, but my destination was Italy ...finally, I am in Greece till then... (Sentu 2009)

29 years old Yaqub Hasan Saberi.....Europe was in my dream because I was thinking to make money is very easy....so contact my friend and paid 6000 euro...first I came from Bangladesh to Georgia by plane than by bus or car till Thessaloniki border...My dream...I can't explain it....!!

5.3.5 Means of transportation exercised to entry into Greece

The study findings in the following bar chart 5.3 summarize the data of respondents' entrance status for the first time into Greece. The majority percentage of participants 48.7 percent arrived on foot crossing Greece border illegally from Turkey or Albania while the second largest group of all respondents 32.6 percent entered Greece legally with a tourist visa (did not return though stay permission expired) especially male interviewees. Additionally, in this category, family members, students, seasonal workers are included, because most of the family members enter Greece with residence permit/visa by plane. Also, significant percentages 7.1 percent enter by boat crossing the Aegean Sea putting their lives in danger; mainly their target to stay in the Island or it's very close to the Greek land.

Bar chart 5.3 The pathway to enter into Greece (%)



However, the lowest 2.6 percent entry by car, these participants came from Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania with the help of human traffickers the participants planned from

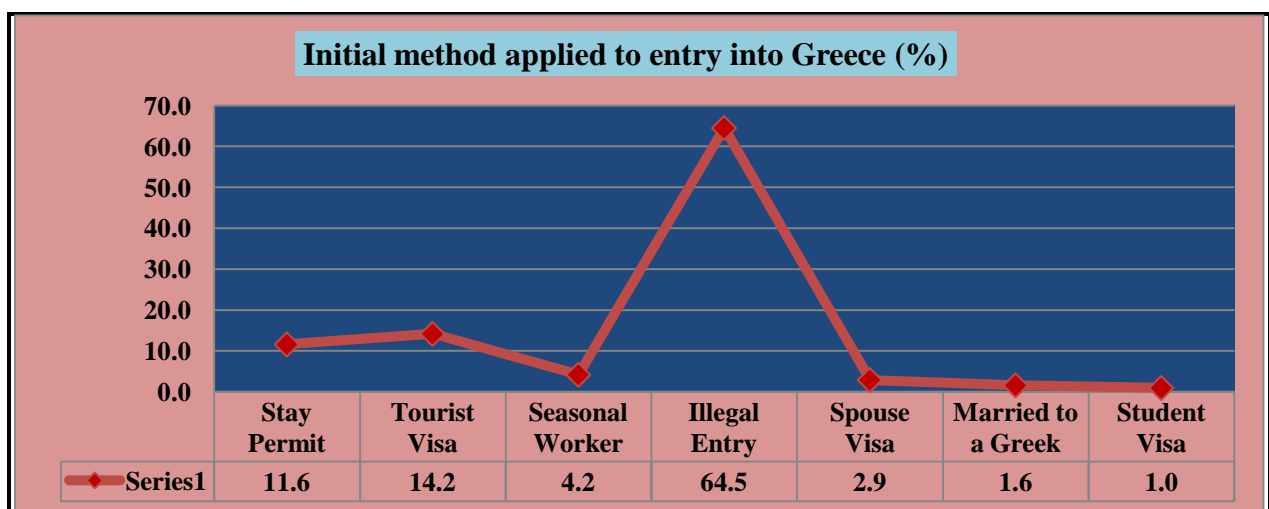
Bangladesh that if they enter any Schengen countries so that they can move easily other European countries.

Besides, an important percentage of 9.0 percent came to Greece in many different ways, sometimes human traffickers put them into a big lorry, sometimes inside the fridge box or washing machine box or some time with the big ship from Malaysia, Singapore, or Iran. Many of them died because of the deadly journey. We will discuss more details regarding the fatal journey of the respondent's next part of this chapter.

5.3.6 First time entry methods applied by Bangladeshi migrants

Illegal migration to Greece has increased rapidly over the past several years. Migration flows from Asia and the Middle East mainly Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Bangladesh to Greece have increased as well (Kasimis, 2012). In 2010 alone, nearly 133,000 people were apprehended for unauthorized entry or stay in Greece a number that has decreased since the deployment of specialized Frontex teams in the region in October 2010 (Kasimis, 2012). In 2017, an estimated 100,000 to 200,000 unauthorized immigrants lived in Greece, according to Center estimates. An estimated 1.2 million immigrants lived in Greece in 2017, according to data from the United Nations. They made up roughly 11% of Greece’s population that year (Phillip 2020). Greece has become one of entry and transit for hundreds of thousands of unauthorized immigrants from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (Kasimis, 2012).

Line chart 5.1 initial status of the respondents while entry into Greece (%)



The line chart 5.1 presents the information of Bangladeshi migrants arriving status when they entered into Greece; their documents and status. The majority of the participants 64.5 percent arrived illegal way, second-largest percentage 14.2 percent entered Greece legally with a tourist visa (did not return though stay permission expired) especially male interviewees. A common initial strategy for migrants was to travel in organized groups, arrived by flight or coach as tourists. On the other hand, an important percentage of 4.2 percent participants emigrated as seasonal workers, 2.9 percent of the immigrants emigrated with a spouse's visa. However, though it is very difficult to get a student visa 1.0 percent gave details that they had come with a study visa while finished their study started working, and stay in Greece. The issue of non-tourist visas was limited to the professionals mentioned above, or to men/women who were married to Greeks and therefore had a special status. Nevertheless, a significant percentage of 11.6 percent came with a stay permit visa; means their spouse holding residence permit and they also received one kind of stay permitted by the government while they enter the country. Marriages play an important role to come or get legal in the country 1.6 percent of interviewees married to Greek boys or girls. Overall, it becomes very clear that the patterns of migration have become more institutionalized: human traffickers or human smugglers played a significant role to reach the peaks entry has become the case for the majority of the migrants.

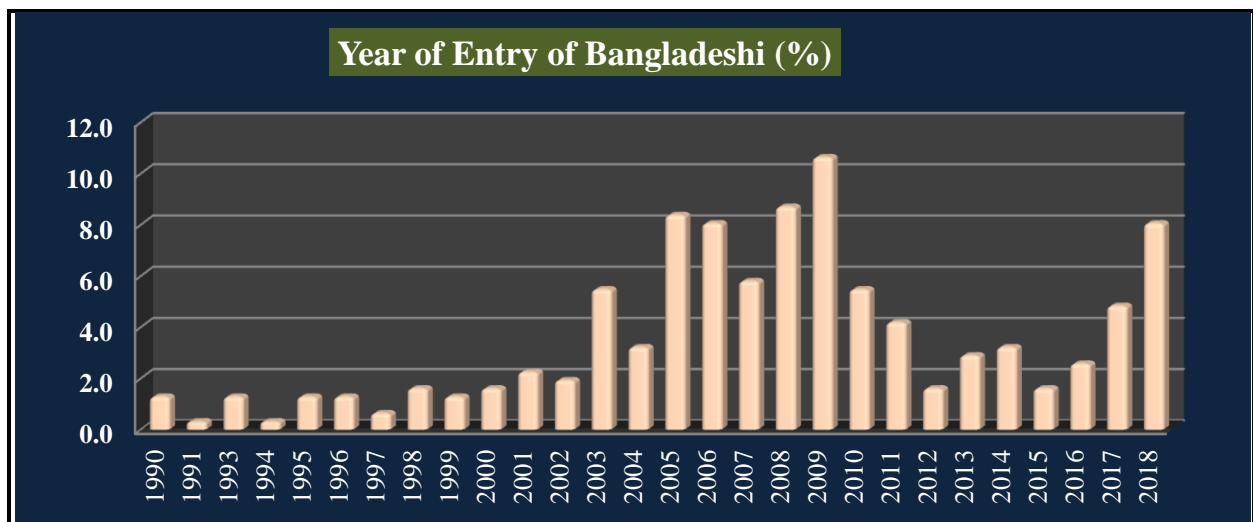
5.3.7 Entry year of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants

Greece is used as a gateway to the Schengen area by flows of illegal migrants, especially those originating from the Middle East (Wikipedia). Greece's geography, which became especially important after the formation of Europe's borderless Schengen Area, has also contributed to the country's transition to an immigrant-receiving nation (Kasimis, 2012). Positioned at the southeastern "gate" of the European Union, and with extensive coastlines and easily crossable borders, Greece has become a common transit country for those seeking entry into Europe (Kasimis, 2012). According to UNHCR data from 2020 till July 10785 people illegally enter Greece. Greece is predicting up to 100,000 asylum-seekers to arrive on its islands from Turkey in 2020 (DW 2020)

In this section, I will discuss migration flow started from Bangladeshi towards Greece. The bar chart presents the information that the highest percent about 12 percent of participants had been in Greece for ten years or more, and approximately one third had already spent more than nine years; long-term residence plays a crucial role in the integration

and the impact of time will reappear throughout the thesis. Bar graph 5.4 illustrates the migratory waves followed by the participants, according to the year they entered the country. Bangladeshi migrants started to come to Greece in the early 1990s. The numbers were considered the same throughout the decade till 2000, but the migratory wave started to rise when Greece joined the European Union in 2001. A significant percentage of about 50 percent of participants migrated to Greece between the years 2003 to 2009. Since then, the number of people emigrating each year has increased notably. The highest number of migrants 11.0 percent migrated in 2009. After, the migration wave declined considerably due to the economic crisis that led many factories to close. However, females seemed to ‘follow’ males, showing again the primarily male-dominated migration patterns.

Bar chart 5.4 Bangladeshi migrants’ year of entry (%)



On the other hand, some other information regarding the entry year of the immigrant is the existence of mobility in Greece before the 1990s. Ten respondents had migrated before 1990, seven of them from 1988-1989, when the signs of change were quite apparent, and two much earlier, one of them in 1978, following his Greek wife after she finished her studies in Moscow Russia¹³. As for the other three people who came before 1990, they are all professionals from Italy, Portugal, and Bangladesh. The research data shows that there was a big fluctuation between 2015 till 2018; migration flows slowed down in 2015 but we can see in 2016 to 2018 it increase rapidly an important percentage about 22 percent participants

13 This particular individual may be an exception in my study, but it further confirms the fact of pre-1989 mobility in the Bangladeshi immigrants’ case, supporting the argument ‘love’ play an important role in marriages.

migrated between 2016-2018. Overall it seems that migration flow is not stopping for ever; it's continuous with ups and downs process.

5.3.8 Migration routes of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and settlement in Greece

Bangladeshis suddenly emerged as one of the top migrant groups taking a perilous journey across the Mediterranean to reach European shores; a deadly journey in search of work, their migration paved by a complex set of factors at origin (Qayum, 2017). For several decades, Bangladeshis unable to find jobs amid uneven development at home have set out to work in countries that need their labor, primarily in the oil-rich Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) region. But increasingly, brutal working conditions combined with an economic slowdown and restrictive government policies toward migrant workers in the GCC are leading some to reroute their Dubai Dream to Europe though the numbers heading there remain a fraction of overall Bangladeshi emigration (Qayum, 2017).

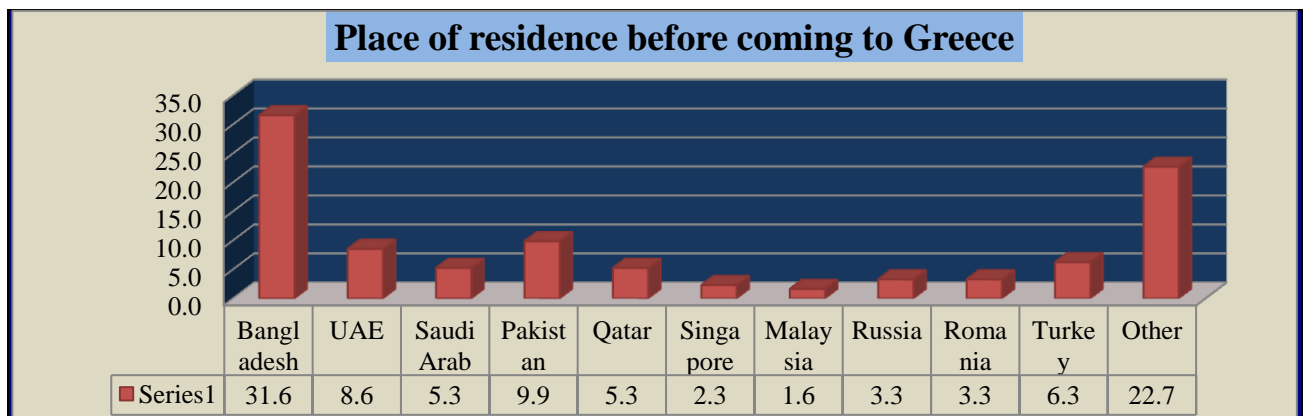
The rising number of Bangladeshis making the journey signals an alarming new trend in the migrant labor industry: the blurring of the line between recruitment and smuggling (Qayum 2017). Young men and sometimes women pursue foreign jobs through recruiters, and in the process, get caught up in smuggling networks. Smugglers are now charging Bangladeshis exorbitant fees for the promise of a visa, passage, and employment in another country. But very often, a journey that begins with promises of a better life abroad turns into a harrowing ordeal involving risky passages and forced confinement. They travel through unknown lands without knowledge of local languages and may have handed over passports and other valuables to their recruiters. Unable to escape even if they try, smuggled migrants become victims of trafficking (Qayum, 2017).

In this part, we analyze the direction that migrants used on their way to Greece and their settlement status. The research findings assumed the presence of previous migration experience among the respondents; a significant number of people, who had indeed been in other countries, however unimportant as a percentage of the sample as a whole, may represent an interesting aspect of East-West European mobility structures in general¹⁴. Despite the different routes some took when they first entered into Greece, reaching border

¹⁴ Five had worked in Italy and Portugal before coming to Greece; all had relatives in Greece and three decided to come during 1996-1997, when the first amnesty programme was announced by the government. Information about the regularisation programme through friends was a factor for the respondent who had been to a different country before re-emigrating to Greece.

villages firstly and then arriving at their destination with several stops on the way (visit relatives and friends for assistance), it was also common for some to settle in a specific place for a period and then re-migrate within the host country itself. The bar chart 5.5 shows that a significant percentage of 31.6 percent came directly from Bangladesh to Greece, an important percentage of 22.7 percent of respondents were living in many different countries before they migrate to Greece. However, a remarkable percentage of 9.9 percent came from Pakistan actually about a million in Bangladesh still living in Pakistan since 1971 and the Pakistani government did not give them nationality still they are considered as Bangladeshi, then a big shear of migrants 8.6 and 6.3 came from the United Arab Emirates and Turkey consecutively, and from Saudi Arabia 5.3 percent from Qatar.

Bar Chart 5.5 Bangladeshi migrants’ residence place before coming to Greece (%)



However, after Bangladesh's second-largest percentage of participants came from Middle East countries; UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, etc. because majority of the Bangladeshi workers are working in the Gulf countries. The research findings show a considerable percentage of respondents migrate from Russia 3.3 percent, from Singapore 2.3 percent, Romania 3.3 percent. Given this, how are we to understand Greece as a final destination in the migratory ‘journeys’ of the participants? This question is not only a rhetorical one, since the place of settlement, as will be broadly argued throughout the thesis, forms the migrants’ integration patterns.

The journey from Bangladesh to Greece followed various routs, mentioned by the Greek and international literature, also by the respondents. The migratory route is usually as follows (See Appendix C): From Bangladeshi to Pakistan then Pakistan to Iran, specifically to the city of Quetta, through Turkey to Greece; those who emigrate from Russia pass through Russia to Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria and then Greece; those who

emigrate from Jordan travel through, Jordan to Syria, Turkey and Greece; migrants from Saudi Arabia travel to Jordan, Syria, Turkey, and Greece; respondents who came from Dubai (UAE) use flowing route; Dubai to Oman to Iran to Turkey to Greece. The majority percent of Bangladeshi irregular migrants enter Greece through the Turkish border. The passage from Pakistan, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Iran to Turkey is the second leg of the trip and is mostly prepared by smugglers channels. It usually includes crossing through the rocky mountain which separates Iran and Turkey. The route is one of the most hazardous due to climate situations, geography (the crossing takes place mostly on foot and at night), and prepared by smuggler channels and earning money from their families by abducting migrants (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis 2012). In Turkey, the first stops are usually the cities of Van or Tatvan, from where immigrants are then sent to Istanbul, where they stay until the next phase of the trip (İçduygu 2005; Terzioglu 2004); the routes to Greece has been broadly recorded in various researches (Marouf 2011; FRA 2013).

The path in the Greek-Turkish border is done either by land-in the Evros region of the province of Edirne in European Turkey or from the coast of Izmir to the Greek islands (Lesvos, Samos, Chios) (Icduygu 2004:298). The selection of transit either by land or sea borders varies depending on the difficulty of the route, for example, if it is a route where border police or coastguard is possibly present, the cost of travel, etc. (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk 2006: 452). According to Antonopoulos (2006), the cost of the route depends on various factors such as the distance, the means of transport, provision of documents or not (Passport/tourist visa), the involvement of many / few smugglers, and the level of border control in the region. In the case of Bangladeshi, at least half of the agreement money is paid before the journey, and the rest of the money is paid after arriving in Greece, by mediators, either in Bangladesh or Greece that can be the migrant's relatives or friends. It is worth mentioning that the cost of the route is rapidly declining. More specifically, from 8,000 euros, it fell to 5,500 euros in 2011 and just 4,000 euros in 2012 (by interviewers). The cost's diminution is a result of lower demand, information that stems from the social contact of Bangladeshi living in Greece. Furthermore, the price of 4,000 euros refers to the journey that is to be made on foot! (Sabbir). Respondents quotes mentioning how they arrived in Greece:

In 2007, I came from Bangladesh to Pakistan via India then stayed 6 months there. Then I start my journey with a group of people those who wanted to go to Greece. In 2008 by the trafficking network, at first, we cross the Pakistani border and enter into Iran. We stayed 7 days in Teheran then start our journey to Turkey. We reached

Istanbul using different vehicles sometimes by foot by car, by truck, and by bus; sometimes at the day time even at night as well. On my way to Greece police caught me two times and sent into prison. They kept me 7 days each time and sent back to Pakistan. I tried times 5 times all my way Pakistan to Greece four times I was failed to inter but the fifth time I succeeded. I expend one year and lots of money (Salim)

Rahim, who stroke a cheap deal with the smuggling broker (6,500 euros in June 2009 as opposed to 8,500) and a flexible way of payment (4,000 upon arrival and the rest while working in Greece) passed the Iran border with the nominal payment from the smuggler's side: he arrived Tehran along with 30 other immigrants in one vehicle (a big truck carrying soil), which in itself is quite rare, and did big detours to avoid police roadblocks. Spent ten days in Teheran and then in groups of seventy people, they were driven with a private bus to Salmas and crossed the Iranian-Turkish border on foot. Then at night, they picked a truck beside the border for Istanbul. He stayed for more than one month in Istanbul; one day he started a journey with a group of 40 people Istanbul to Evros reason and at night crossed the border and enter Greece.

It is worth mentioning that migrants coming directly from Bangladesh through a travel agency or human smuggler channels by tourist or family or student visa, they need to pay the total amount of money (6000-8000 Euros) before travelling. If the person does not have enough money and very willing to migrate than they sell their valuable properties or keep their properties to someone with a condition (within the time limit he/she has to return the money otherwise he/she will lose the ownership). On the other hand, Bangladeshi migrants migrate to other countries except for Greece for work to earn and save some money. By the influence of human traffickers, they plan to move Greece, and before starting their journey they need to pay (5000-7000 euros) the total amount of money they deal with to come to Greece. In many cases, if they do not have sufficient money than they ask for money from their parents or relatives over Bangladesh. One important subject has been noticed that no one informs their parents or relatives that they are going to go to another country or Greece by road by a walk with heavy risk. Besides, on the way to Greece, so many migrants trap by the trafficker, they lock them in a room and ask to pay more money, tell them to call their parents or relatives to pay if they don't pay or refuse to pay than traffickers bit them very roughly, sometimes cut their finger or take out nails or cut their ear. Furthermore, some of the migrants told that they sold out many times on the way to Greece.

Based on the research findings, most of the Bangladeshi migrants enter Greece to have a corridor to enter other European Union countries also geographic characteristics of Greece insist them to pass through Greece. Besides, sometimes social networks and human traffickers influence individuals to migrate first world countries for better life style and economic improvement. In contrast, kinship and identity, when activated through the migrants' networks, may be used as a source in the migration process, determining thus the patterns of settlement in ways that push and pull factors are incapable to interpret. Therefore, answering the question 'Why Greece?' requires us to take into accounts all of the above issues: easy to entry for a geographic reason, economic, productive, and employment structures; but also, the migrants' networks of social relationships and sometimes considered as a transit country. On the other hand, the majority percent of the Bangladeshi migrants said that they came Greece to move to other countries, also some of them told because they had friends and relatives who had settled in the country previously and came with family reunification visa. However, in the next section, I am going to discuss the educational integration of Bangladesh migrants' in Greece.

5.4 Educational integration: a challenge for Bangladeshi migrants

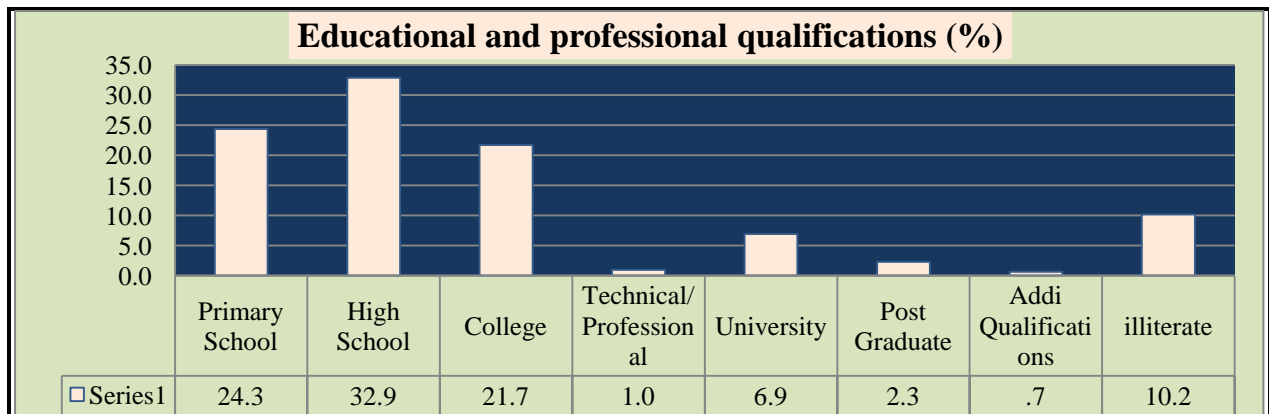
Education is an instrument of social integration. Schools are primary sites of socialization and national and ethnic identity negotiation. The way that the foremost cultural majority frames the educational system and the values that it spreads through schooling (methods, syllabus, etc), states and decides perceptions of own individuality and understandings of the 'other.' The challenge for a heterogeneous society is to meet raised expectations for educational policies that can respond to the needs of the entire student population (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007). In short, for educational policies, those are culturally sensitive and enhance educational, socialization, and personal development opportunities for students of all communities (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007). Therefore, in chapter two we have discussed Bangladesh and Greek Educational structures, policies, and practices. On the other hand, in this empirical section, we will discuss Bangladeshi migrants' educational status and the integration situation of migrants' children in Greek schools.

5.4.1 Educational background of Bangladeshi migrants

Education is the backbone of a nation and most of the powerful weapon you can use to change the world. Through education, we can discover the social and cultural status of a nation. In this part of this section, we are going to discuss the educational and professional

qualifications of the Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants. The bar chart 5.6 provides information about the participants' education and professional qualifications at the time of the fieldwork. The majority of respondents 32.9 percent have completed primary education; The second-largest percentage of 24.3 percent have completed primary education, however a remarkable percentage of interviewees 21.7 percent have been completed their college education but only 6.9 percent have been finished their university.

Bar Chart 5.6 Bangladeshi migrants' educational and professional qualifications (%)



If we discrepancy between the college completed with university completed ratio we can observe the giant difference. An economic or inefficient educational structure is behind the massive fall. On the other hand, only 1.0 percent of the respondents are having technical and professional training. According to the Bangladeshi education ratio, a good number of migrants about 2.3 percent having university degrees (with twenty people possessing postgraduate degrees and five Ph.D. degree holders), and many migrants did not go to school and are illiterate 10.2 percent. Hidden information, women appear to have better educational qualifications than men. Nearly 30 percent of the female have a college degree; about 14.5 percent hold post-secondary professional degrees and 12.5 percent have a post-graduate degree. In the Bangladeshi perspective, higher education does not give assurance to get a good job or financial solvency. It just helps to understand the world better in that way you are supposed to get or achieve some skills which may change your social status in the society.

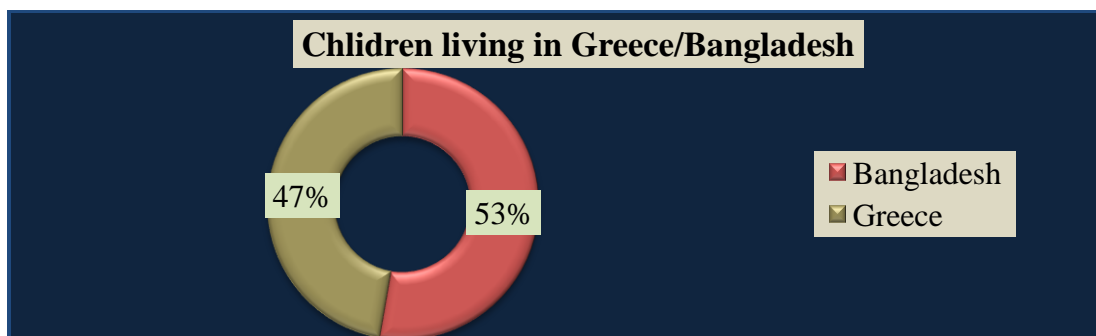
5.4.2 Children living with parents in Greece

Because of economic crises and complex migration policies, many Bangladeshi migrant children remain in Bangladesh. When the economic crises start Greece in 2009-2010, many Bangladeshi migrants lost their job, many businessmen closed their business and return to Bangladesh with their family. When the Greek economic condition starts to recover since 2015, many migrants return to Greece again and start jobs, business but unfortunately they

cannot bring their family because of complex migration policies. Furthermore, many children started school in Bangladesh they also reluctant to return to Greece, not to discontinuation their study.

Research finding in pie chart 5.2 presents information about Bangladeshi migrants' children living status at the time of fieldwork. The pie chart 5.2 illustrates the majority percentage approximately 53 percent of respondents said their children living in Bangladesh with their relatives.

Pie Chart 5.3 children living with family in Greece/Bangladeshi (%)



On the other hand, around 47 percent of children are living with their parents in Greece at the research conducted. The study findings show many reasons for keeping children in Bangladesh. One of the most significant causes is to children's study; some of the children already completed primary school and start going to high school. Second of all, the complex migration policy and difficult to get a family reunification visa is one of the most complicated procedures to stay with family members in Greece. Some of the participants explaining why they left their children in Bangladesh while they are living in Greece:

More than 25 years I am living in Greece, I married with Albanian girl, I was running a small-medium supermarket, but when the economic crises start, I was forced to close my business and return with my family in Bangladesh. My wife and children were living with my family in Bangladesh. One day my wife died because of a heart attack, then my small son living with my parents...it has been passed three years...now I want to bring my son to Greece but I can't though he was born in Greece. (Khan)

I was running a garment factor, 25 employees were working in my factory; because of the economic crisis, I did not get any order, therefore I close my factory and back to Bangladesh with my family. I admitted my children at the school in Bangladeshi to continue their studies. I have three daughters, elder daughter going to

finish high school from Bangladesh, the second one studying at the school in class eight, and a small daughter about to finish primary school. When the economic situation starts improving, I return to Greece with my younger daughter and wife but I did not want to bring my other two daughters. If I bring them here, they will be disturbed by their study. (Mukter)

I have sent back my children to Bangladesh for their studies. The Greek school curriculum is in Greek and I am not going to live in Greece forever. My children return to Bangladesh with Greek school curriculum studies, they will face lots of problems in getting access to Bangladeshi schools. It's about my children and I don't want to destroy it. (Rafiq)

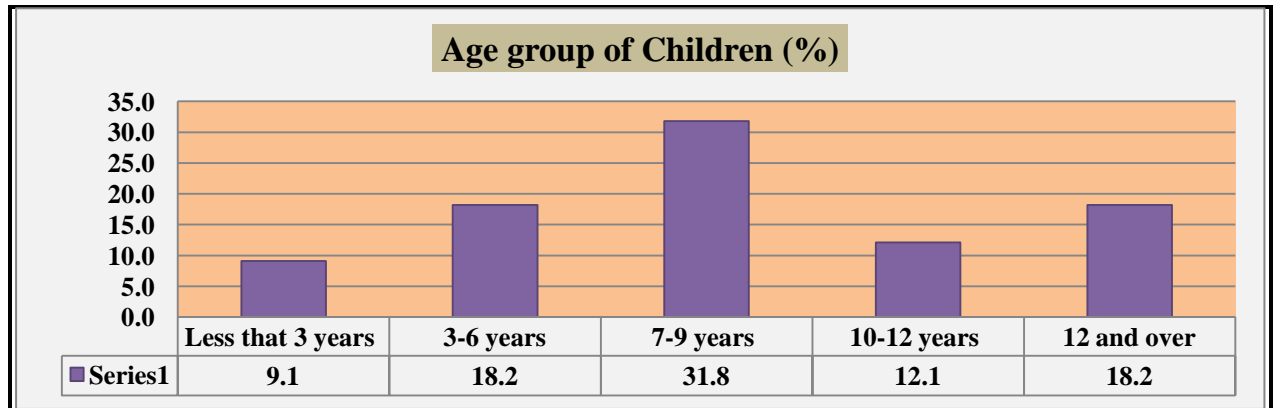
When I came to Greece after few years I bring my family. My elder son was studying at high school in class nine in Bangladesh, second son primary school in class four. My elder son could not cope with the study syllabus in Greece, now he is helping to run my business. It was the wrong decision that I took my children to Greece. I have sent my younger children in Bangladesh to continue his study and he is doing well over there though we are missing him very much, we sacrifice our happiness for his better future. He is staying with my parents. (Sattar)

5.4.3 Age structure of Bangladeshi migrant children and school attend ratio

The influx of migrants from Bangladesh to Greece starts in the 1980s. In subsequent years, there was a gradual increase (in the 1990s) in the number of migrants from Bangladesh, most of them arrived illegally, some of them by tourist visa or student visa and stay in Greece after finishing permit. On the other hand, the 2011 census data showed the number of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece: 11,076 (Triandafyllidou 2014:11). The actual number of migrants is not known, as it is estimated that there is a very large number of irregulars, which are not counted officially (Tonchev1 2007:18). The Bangladeshi community is the second-largest Asian community in Greece, with a population of approximately 25,000-30,000 people, as opposed to official sources, which indicated only 11,076 people. In Greece, the first generation of Bangladeshi migrants is living. According to the Bangladesh Embassy in Athens data, almost 500 Bangladeshi families are living in various cities in Greece. Table 5.5 is giving information about the age description of Bangladeshi migrant children. The research findings in Bar chart 5.7 illustrates the highest percentage of 31.8 percent of respondents' children's age are between 7 to 9 years old and most of them born in

Bangladesh. On the other hand, the second-largest percentage of 18.2 percent of children age is 3 to 6 years nearly all of them born in Greece.

Bar chart 5.7 Age group of Bangladeshi migrant children (%)



However, an important percent of interviewee’s children age is 12 and over and some of them born in Greece consider as second-generation migration. Also, a remarkable percentage of children ages are between 10-12 years, and most of them are attending Greek school. The table shows also 9.1 percentage of children's age is three and below. Overall it's clear that Bangladeshi migrants are still in first-generation though I have found that some of the participant's children age over 20 years and married to a Greek man/woman.

Table 5.5 Bangladeshi children schooling structure in Greece (%)

As we have seen in pie chart 5.1 that 48.9 percent of migrants are married but a significant number about 62 percent of spouses (husband or wife) are living in Bangladesh on the other hand only 38 percent of the spouse is living in Greece. The study finding in table 5.5 presents information about Bangladeshi migrant children's school attendance status in Greece.

Bangladeshi children schooling statistics in Greece				
Do you have children in Greece	Do they go to school		Which School do they study	
Yes	25.2	Yes	74.6	Government 59.2
No	74.8	No	25.4	Private 39.8

The research finding shows in table 5.5 that the majority of the families 74.2 percent don’t have children in Greece; some of the family still don’t have children some of them send their children back to Bangladesh for study reason or some of them did not manage to bring their children in Greece because of visa difficulty. However, almost an important number of the

family having children but only 25.2 percent of families living with their children in Greece, and a significant percentage of 9.1 percent of children age between 1-3 years. The finding shows that a remarkable percentage of children 74.6 percent are attending school in Greece, only 25.4 percent are not going to school maybe because of age or helping the family to run their business. Also, data present that all the students not going to government schooling though it's free of charge; 59.2 percent of children going government school on the other hand 39.8 percent attending 39.8 private schools because of their parents' indecision.

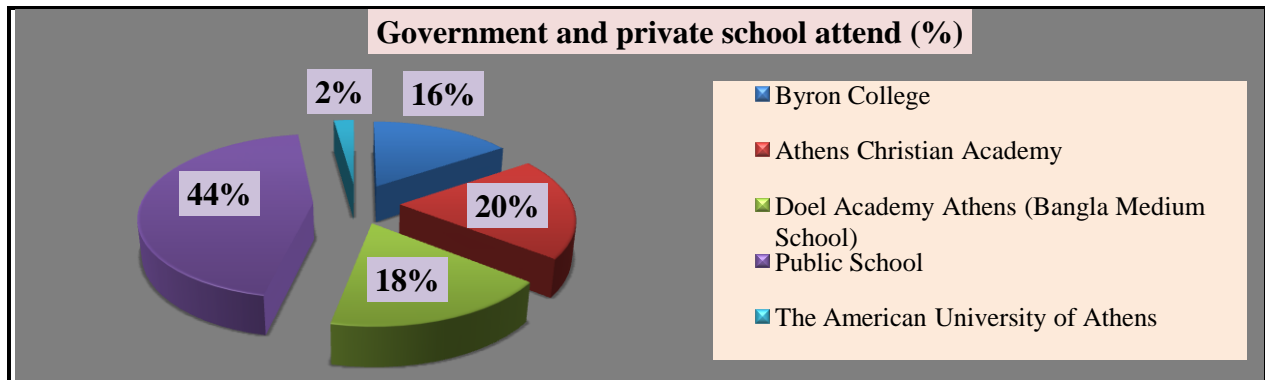
The highest percentage 35.7 percent migrants' families are living in the capital city in Athens (see bar chart 5.1) on the other hand, a hidden finding shows out of the 35.3 percent having children and 65.5 percent children are going to school rest of them can't go as because of the age limit. The second largest 16.1 percent families are living in Thessaloniki (see bar chart 5.1); only 15.5 percent are having children and 32.6 percent are going to school. A considerable number 13.5 percent of families are living port city Patra; only 12.5 percent are having children out of them and 25.8 percent are going to school. Although 10.6 percent are living in Ioannina 22.3 percent are having an infant and a significant number of children are going to school. However, significant percentages 23.8 percent of Bangladeshi are living in Manolada and Kalamata (see bar chart 5.1) but only three families we found there though they are having children but children unable to attend school because of the age limit.

5.4.4 Bangladeshi children attending government and private schools in Greece

There are plenty of reasons why parents look at private schools as an education option for their children to include smaller classes and superb facilities. However, there are other important reasons why families choose to send their children to private schools. Most parents want their children to have as much personal attention as possible and want them to receive as much individual attention as possible in school as well (Kennedy 2019). From the perspective of Greece bureaucracy and economic conditions, most of the Bangladeshi families could make their final decision to stay Greece forever or for some time. This indecision influences their children study structure either they will study Greek government school or private school; their thought that if they send their children to a Greek government school and they finally come to a decision to leave the country so what will their children future schooling because in the government school curriculum only in Greek on the other hand if they send their children at private school. Private school is that they provide exceptional and challenging educational experiences through extracurricular activities and the

curriculum is in English medium and follow international Baccalaureate program so that if they return to Bangladesh their children continue their study at the same class. The insecure future of migrants' families in Greece is the barrier to the educational integration of the children.

Pie chart 5.4 Students attending government and private school in Greece (%)



The research findings in the pie chart 5.4 provide information about the Bangladeshi pupils attending government and private schools in Greece. The pie chart 5.4 demonstrate the majority percentage about 44 percent of the student attending Greek government school but

before the government announcement “Residence Permit to adult third-country nationals, who were born in Greece, or have studied in Greek schools for six years (article 108 law 4251/2014)” (IOM 2017) the percentage of government school attending was too stumpy.

On the other hand, more than half of the students are attending assorted private schools around Greece. The second-largest percentage around 20 percent of students attending Athens Christian Academy a private school situated in the capital. On the other hand, a remarkable number of students approximately 18 percent are attending Doel Academy Athens only Bengali medium school in Greece. Significant percentages of almost 16 percent of pupils are attending Byron College and a small number of students going to the American University of Athens. Overall it’s clear that the majority of the Bangladeshi still attending Government to get the residence permit and at the same time they are attending Bengali or English medium school for their family choice.

5.4.5 Bangladeshi curriculum-based (Bengali) schools in Greece

Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today (*Malcolm X*). Moving beyond providing immediate support to asylum seekers and new refugees, policy-makers have to deal with the challenges of how to promote the integration of those who are likely to stay, including refugee children and youth (OECD, 2018). The first challenge for host countries is to provide access to education to refugee children and the second challenge is to develop educational policies and practices that respond to the needs of refugee students and promote their inclusion in schools and societies in the medium- to long-term (Pastoor, 2016). Bangladeshi migrants are always suffering to formulate the right decision or plan, that's why they are reluctant to integration into Greek society. For this purpose, they established a Bangladeshi curriculum-based school in Athens for their children. Currently, there are two Bangladeshi educational curriculum-based schools in Greece and another one is going to inaugurate very soon by the Bangladeshi Embassy in Athens authorized by the Ministry of Education of Bangladesh. So in total, there will be three schools named, Doye Academy, Bangla Greek Educational center, and Bangabandhu Educational Center; all are situated in Athens.

Doel Academy (A Bangladeshi education curriculum-based school) was established in 2009 beside platia ameriki in Athens to execute the demand of migrants by the permission of the Education Ministry of Bangladesh. The school was started only with 8 students but at present, it has 55 to 65 students in different classrooms and the school strictly follows the Bangladeshi educational curriculum (Bangla and English version). According to the school coordinator Mr. Jahidul Haque, in the beginning, the education ministry of Bangladesh permitted to teach from playgroup till class five primary levels, but recently by the help of the Bangladeshi Embassy in Athens, the Bangladeshi government permitted to teach high school level till class ten SSC level (Secondary School Certificate). In the beginning, the school was operating regular basis means Monday to Friday at the morning 8:00 am till 14:00 but because of the Greek government amendment in 2016 "Residence Permit to adult third-country nationals, who were born in Greece, or have studied in Greek schools for six years (article 108 law 4251/2014)" the school authority has changed the schedule. For the new law, all the Bangladeshi children are going to attend the Greek government regular basis for their residence permit.

At present, the school is operating two days in the afternoon and two days in the morning, when students are going to attend Greek school so they are coming to Doel Academy in the afternoon. Every year Doel Academy students sitting for Bangladeshi National exams for example Secondary School Certificate exam. The textbooks for all the students are provided by the Education Ministry of Bangladesh for free of charge. There are five permanent teachers and two part-time teachers, one Greek teacher for the Greek language and one Arabic teacher to teach for the religious lesson. The highest number of 45 students was in the session 2011-12, but in the session 2014-2015, there were only 32 students in session 2018-2019 55-65 students attend the school. The school is run by the Bangladeshi community and the Embassy of Bangladesh and student tuition fees. The school organizes various cultural functions all over the year and the students of the school participate in these kinds of functions. Because of the economic crisis in 2010 in Greece, many Bangladeshi lost their job and obliged to shut down their business and return to Bangladesh. In 2015 when the situation became stable they return to Greece with their family and started business or job and their children started to go to school again and the ratio of Bangladeshi children have been increased at the Greek schools and Bangla School as well.

Bangla Greek Educational Center: According to the demand of Bangladeshi migrants' families, Bangladeshi community leaders established another Bangladeshi educational curriculum-based school for Bangladeshi children at Nikopolos 54, Katopatision, in Athens in 2018. The Ambassador of Bangladesh Mr. Jasim Udduin inaugurated the school named Bangla Greek educational center in January 2018. The school follows the Bangladeshi educational curriculum to teach the Bangladeshi students. At present there are almost 45 students at the school in different classrooms, the government of Bangladesh and the Ministry of Education permitted the school to run from playgroup to class ten; to higher secondary level. There are 5 permanent teachers at the schools and the school committee organizes a variety of cultural functions for the students' entertainment. However, day by day Bangladeshi children increasing in Greece, to reduce the children difficulties the honorable Ambassador of Bangladesh Mr. Jasim Uddin takes a great initiative to establish a permanent Bangla curriculum-based school in Athens. The school named "Bangabandhu educational center" ready to inaugurate very soon in Athens.

In the flowing section, we are going to focuses on the challenges that cultural and religious diversity brings to Greek private and public schools regard Bangladeshi migrants,

children. As the motion of this section is to highlight how intolerance/tolerance/respect for Bangladeshi children has been considered in Greek school life.

5.4.6 Bangladeshi migrant children integration situations at Greek Schools

Education is of paramount importance for the well-being of individuals and societies today. Moving beyond providing immediate support to asylum seekers and new refugees, policy-makers have to deal with the challenges of how to promote the integration of those who are likely to stay, including refugee children and youth (OECD, 2018). The first challenge for host countries is to provide access to education to refugee children and the second challenge is to develop educational policies and practices that respond to the needs of refugee students and promote their inclusion in schools and societies in the medium- to long-term (Pastoor, 2016). At the same time, education is also the principal institution through which children become socialized into a core set of values and norms and through which they acquire a feeling of belonging to a specific country and/or a specific (minority or majority) group (Triandafyllidou 2011). The background of Greek national identity formation and the subsequent dominant discourses (Triandafyllidou 2007) make for a rather set mono-ethnic understanding of identity that constitutes a fundamental component of the Greek educational system. Faced with the challenges of ethnic and cultural diversity, schools may become places of inclusion, and contribute towards the incorporation of immigrant and native minority children, or they may propagate directly or indirectly prejudice, stereotypes, perceptions of cultural confrontation, superiority, or discrimination (Triandafyllidou 2011).

Since the early 1990s, there have been provisions for the education of immigrants' children. Kiprianos (2002) divided into two phases in the improvement of the pertinent educational policies: the first phase stayed until the mid-1990s and was characterized by an ethnocentric potency; the second phase starts in 1996 when policy-making takes into account the need for intercultural approaches for the first time¹⁵. In the mid-1990s the government recognized that the numbers of 'foreign' students in Greek schools were increasing, and therefore they should be able to register in any school even if their parents were illegal, Education Minister G. Papandreou (19 June 1995). In 1999, the government put forward a

¹⁵ As early as 1992 a ministerial council recognised the necessity for establishing reception/support classes for immigrants, based on the related provisions applying to ethnic Greeks. In 1996, an educational law (2413/1996) raised the issue of intercultural education for the first time, acknowledging the needs of children with 'educational, social and cultural particularities' and the consequent necessity for the establishment of 'intercultural schools' (Chapter 1, articles 34-37). This provision allowed for the recognition of foreign communities' schools (Polish, Russian), but left the responsibility for the foundation of intercultural schools to local authorities, community organisations and the Church.

program of reception and support classes for the integration of immigrants' children into the Greek educational system. Reception classes consist of two stages: the first one lasts one year and mainly contains language courses and a few compulsory subjects (sports, arts, foreign language); the second provides two extra years of language support parallel to the school program. Support classes apply to pupils with linguistic difficulties already following the curriculum program, providing extra hours of language teaching and support.

However, through 1999-2000, 500 reception classes and 701 support classes were functioning all over the country, with a total of about 13,500 foreign students attended (Hatziprokopiou 2006). A year later, the Ministry of Education established a foundation class program for foreign students who did not have any knowledge of Greek. The Immigration Bill (Law 2910/2001, article 40) recognized equal rights and obligations to 'aliens' regarding schooling, participation in educational activities, and documents required for registration (Hatziprokopiou 2006). Moreover, criticism focusing on the educational segregation of immigrants' children whose parents are irregular, the law approved registration inattentive of the legal status of parents (Kiprianos 2002). Greek academics started an intense debate on the concept of intercultural education in the mid-1980s. For example, Gotovos and Markou (1984) criticized the assimilatory educational policy and practices and so proposed that students should be allowed to retain their cultural elements during their stay in a reception country without being considered as a disadvantage.

Similarly, the word intercultural meaning "of, relating to, involving or representing different cultures", something that occurs between people of different cultures including different religious groups or people of different national origin" (Arslan and Rata 2013: 6). On the other hand, intercultural education is about "developing an understanding of and valuing others and (...) understanding of valuing self (Arslan and Rata 2013: 6). Since 1996, 26 intercultural schools have been established across the country, 13 primary /schools, nine gymnasia (first cycle of secondary education), and four lykeia (second cycle of secondary education). Out of 15,174 state schools, these 26 intercultural schools correspond to 0.17 percent whereas there are 12 percent of students with a migrant background (excluding Muslims and Roma children) in Greek primary schools (Palaiologou and Evangelou. 2011). Nevertheless, the implementation of such measures, and given the limited number of special (intercultural) settings, many Bangladeshi children have been able to register in normal state schools. The fieldwork findings show that, at a practical level, few obstacles were found to

the schooling of Bangladeshi migrants' children. About one third (25.4 percent) of the participant's children are going in Greek educational institutions, mostly in preschool, primary and secondary education; among them, five respondents children studying in Greek universities. As we mentioned earlier that many migrants, came at a young age and had got married and had children while in Greece, we can assume that many of the remaining respondents' children were too young to be at school at the time the fieldwork.

Furthermore, some of the respondents were children themselves when they came, following their parents, and had continued their education in Greece. In respect to this, a small minority had received education in Greece: seven had graduated from a Greek high school, while another ten had studied in a Greek university¹⁶. The novelty of the phenomenon of Bangladeshi migrants' children in Greek schools created the only notable problem regarding their schooling, which has to do with the registration process. Registration at school can become a complex issue concerning the documents and certificates required, although bureaucratic obstacles are sooner or later overcome. Some of the respondents' personal experiences regarding documents required for his children admission at the school:

Mukul about his daughter had to get a birth certificate from here, since she was born in Greece, stating that she was born in Greece. We got this one, we had to translate it into Bangla, and then attested from the Bangladesh Embassy stating, and 'This person was born in Greece' it was very difficult because there was no Bangladeshi embassy in Athens it was only in Italy. Then I went to Italy...attested the statement and brought it here and I had to translate this into Greek.

My father came to Greece ten years earlier. Then he got legal documents ...after that, he took me along with my mother ... I have completed primary education and admitted to secondary school in Bangladesh. After that to continue my study he took me to this returning migrants' school. They helped us a lot. We did the first year's textbook [primary] to learn the language, the letters [alphabet], and everything ... We were studying textbooks from previous classes, and then, when we finished this school, we registered normally in Greek school, and there was not any problem.(Mukesh)

¹⁶ These finding points also to a trend which is not specifically revealed by the fieldwork material, neither is it supported by available official statistics: the numbers of foreign students in Greek universities have grown immensely during the past decade. The principal countries of origin happen to coincide with the countries many immigrants come from: Bangladesh and other Balkan and Eastern European or former Soviet countries, as well as Asian, African and Western European countries.

On the other hand, the numbers of both ‘foreign’ and ethnic Greek pupils, especially in primary education, have increased considerably in the last twenty years and keep rising: in 2002-2003, the total number of children of foreign and ethnic Greek origin in state schools was 130,114, comprising 9 percent of the total pupil population (Kathimerini, 3 January 2004) (Hatziprokopiou 2006) and in 2008-2009 the total number was 134562, comprising 10.29 percent of the total school student (Triandafyllidou, 2011). According to data from the Institute for the Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies, in 2005-06, 42.7% of foreign pupils had been living in Greece during the past six years, while 57.3% had been living in Greece for under five years (Hellenic Regional Development Centre 2007: 55). Regarding the distribution of foreign students in Greek schools in 2005-06, 35.6% of schools in Greece have no foreign pupils enrolled (Triandafyllidou, 2007). By contrast, the highest concentration of immigrant students is found in the Athens metropolitan area where immigrant and co-ethnic students are about 12% of the total school population (Triandafyllidou, 2007). However, table 5.7 illustrates the personal experiences of the migrant children; how they discriminated, and what the reason is behind and religious complexity at the school¹⁷.

5.4.7 Bangladeshi migrant children experiences in Greek schools

The table provides information about Bangladeshi migrant children's experiences at the school; the way they have been treated and discriminated against. Table 5.6 demonstrated that the majority percentage of 56.8 percent of Bangladeshi migrant children are been an

Table 5.6 Bangladeshi migrant children experience at the Greek schools (%)

Children experience discrimination at the school (%)					
Treated differently at the school	By whom discriminated		Reason for Discrimination		
Yes	56.8	Teacher	3.7	Origin	74.3
No	43.2	Children	88.9	Religion	14.8
		Children	7.4	Color	11.9
		Parents			

¹⁷ The questions were “have your children complained about being treated in a different way at the school”, “Who was involved in the incident” (Please see the questionnaire in Appendix E) as indicators of discrimination at the school. Almost all the students (Forty parents and children) answer the questions and explain the way they were treated at the school.

unmerited or prejudicial distinction in the treatment of different. On the other hand, almost half of the participants said that their children are very happy and feel more comfortable even than at home at school.

Another finding in table 5.6 gives an idea about the discrimination that the highest percentage of 88.9 percent of Bangladeshi migrant children are discriminated at school by other children in the classroom or at the school. However, an important percentage of 7.4 percent of Bangladeshi children have complained that they are upset about their classmates' parents' behaviour. Though, it not an important percentage but only 3.7 percent said that their teacher's behaviour was not good enough for them compare with other classmates. The research finding shows in table 5.7 that the majority percentage 74.3 percent of Bangladeshi children are discriminated against because of their origin, 14.8 percent because of their religious background, and 11.9 percent for their color. Children schooled complained about unfair treatment: in most of the cases these concerned problematic relationships between pupils, while in a limited number of cases (twenty), discriminatory attitudes by teachers and pupils' parents were also reported.

Discrimination is one of the common factors of segregation of Bangladeshi pupils from the school. They are discriminated against because of their origin, color, and religious background. The segregation of Bangladeshi children in particular and their rejection even when they are integrated into the school environment with other Greek majority and with other migrant children as happens in school is understood as discrimination. The few informants from Bangladeshi noted that skin color is something that conditions their existence in Greece and schools. One of the students' fathers living in Greece for many years noted that 'brown' people are always made to feel different. Some of the students was explaining how she discriminated at the school:

'I believe they do not want me in class because I am from Bangladesh, they tease me as poor and beggar, they tell me bad words (...) both girls and boys make a fool of me.' No one wants to play with me even no one wants to sit beside me. (Anika)

I cannot say that they tell my daughter bad things, but generally, they distinguish her from other children. For instance, someone would watch a documentary or movie regarding Asian culture and would come and say to the child that I know who you are and what you do, what clothes you wear in your country. I

cannot say that it is negative, but to a certain extent it is a form of racism'. They have in their mind Asians are worse because Asians are thieves; they are mugging our things; steal our girls. The race is thus an important dimension in the discrimination. (Sabbir)

However, research findings show that some children adapt very quickly to the new circumstances and some perform exceptionally well. Some of the Bangladeshi students rapidly adjust to the new circumstances and performing better at the school. Sometimes, the good performance of Bangladeshi pupils is even highlighted by teachers as an example to be followed by students. One of the students' fathers describing his son performance at the school:

There was not any injustice at the school, they, the teachers didn't say 'Look, he's Bangladeshi,' on the contrary, they were saying, 'Look, he came from a foreign country and he is such a good pupil,' they loved him ... And when I went to ask about his progress, they were saying 'You should be proud of your kid.' (Mustak)

Nevertheless, the problems connected with linguistic obstacles and difficulties in adapting are rather more significant at a practical level. Therefore, they may negatively affect the performance and progress of children at school, creating serious delays and in some cases being a reason for not finishing basic education. Some of the respondents highlight how language complications discourage their children from schools:

I got married before coming to Greece. After a few years, I bring my family, at that time my son was studying in a primary school in Bangladesh, when he came I Admitted him at school ... but he didn't know a word of Greek ... At school, he only sat and listened to ...without understanding. He felt difficulties in Greek school... then I admitted him to an English medium school. (Asraf)

Almost all foreign immigrant children faced problems at the beginning; because they came here, without knowing the language. My daughter faced language difficulties and still facing ... that's why she is a little behind in the class. What can we do...we don't have enough money to admit her in a private school (English medium School). We are trying to solve her problem (Sadeka)

It was very disappointing for me ... my son quit school, he couldn't make it. He was 12 years old when he came. He didn't finish school in Bangladesh, here in Greece I admitted him in a public school but he could not manage to carry his study because he was facing difficulties in language. At this moment he is helping me in my business. (Ali Hossain)

Based on an elaboration of Kiprianos (2002), statistical trends reports that an important figure of foreign students is dropped out of school (usually after the Gymnasium), mostly due to educational difficulties. Furthermore, the shares of those continuing to a technical high school are far greater among foreign pupils compared to those of Greeks, who do not consider technical schools as 'good'; the majority of Greeks attend a general high school, which is the route into higher education. We should also consider the economic condition of Bangladeshi migrant families, which in some cases leads children towards elimination from basic education and early entrance into the labor market to add to the family income or be financially independent. One of the participants elaborates his perceptions:

To support the family my son left school when he went to Gymnasium. He attended the Gymnasium only for few months. He could not make it ... because of the language difficulties... My son said that it was better to look for a job... Now he is working as a cook and helping the family. (Aminul Islam)

However, the migration experience itself de facto barred some from any further educational prospects. Many Bangladeshi migrants came at an early age and before finishing high school. Young teenagers followed others on the migration path but were sometimes unaccompanied by parents or older relatives. These people neglected any further education or training out of necessity, and immediately faced harsh employment conditions as unskilled workers in the Greek labor market. Such is the case of Sahadat, who was only twelve when he arrived, with a fake family visa, soon after finishing primary school:

When I came for the first time, my uncle told me, I will register you at school. I told him I didn't come here for school; I came to have a wage, to make some money, to help my family over Bangladesh. But that was not good; it was stupid that I didn't continue my study. If I finish study here I could to find a better job in Greece.

5.4.8 The practice of religious freedom at the school significant for integration

Religion plays an important role in public life. As far as Greece is concerned, it has always been a key element in public life, including education (Chrysoloras 2004). Greek education has been made to modernize through constructing new curricula, installing new technology, and adopting an entrepreneurial culture. It is obvious that such a curriculum aims at disseminating ‘religious truth’ but, in doing so, it contradicts the multicultural character of education by excluding students of different religious backgrounds (Sotirelis 1998; Zambeta 2005). Students can be exempted from religious classes at the request of parents or guardians. This option is considered compatible with the constitutional claim of religious freedom (Sotirelis 1998). However, morning collective prayer and visits to church so that religious feelings can be reinforced are still included in contemporary school culture (Sotirelis 1998; Chrysoloras 2004) thus widening the gap between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’.

Table 5.7 Children feel difficulties at the school syllabus (%)

Feel difficulties at the school curriculum (%)					
School Syllabus		Religious Complexity		All religious books are suggested	
Yes	74.0	Yes	87.0	Yes	93.3
No	26.0	No	13.0	No	6.7

Religious exercise plays a significant role in Greek school, table 5.7 provides data on how Bangladeshi children countenance at the school syllabus. The majority percentages of 74.0 percent of children are facing difficulties at the school syllabus. Although, almost 91.2 percent of Bangladeshi students are Muslim and follow Islam as a religion there are no religious books for the Muslim minority at the school. Therefore, the highest percentage of 87.0 percent of students are feeling religious complications and attitude at the school that’s why almost all children's parents 93.3 percent suggest Muslim religious books should be included in the school syllabus for Muslim migrant children. These types of attitudes reflect both the extensive prejudices about migrants’ children in Greece and the ethnocentric spirit characterizing the syllabus and the educational system as a whole. Research findings recommend that prejudices and/or discrimination at school are certainly a reality; practically affect the majority of migrants’ children: but in some cases, the latter are well-accepted by other pupils and supported by teachers to overcome linguistic and other complications.

Based on research findings religious diversity is not mentioned spontaneously as a challenge for Greek schools but it’s a very sensitive issue for students and their parents as

well. Some school teachers, headmasters, and some of the Bangladeshi students' parents concentrated that religion is a private matter. However, one of the high school teachers in Athens told religion is a private matter and given in the following statement in supporting his statement:

Yes we have Muslim students and we accept that they do not want to participate in the prayer every morning, at home they can do whatever they want. We follow the rules of the school. We pray every morning, we do religion classes, all the normal stuff that we receive from the Ministry of Education, and we do not care about the religion of each person. One can believe whatever he wants, at home. (..) what does it mean to be different? On the other hand, in the classroom they are all together, to learn and go ahead. I do not think that the educator should see it in this way. (..) in the classroom we all progress together. With the particularities that may exist, we address them, we help the pupil, we include him/her in the group, we cannot leave her/him out because s/he is Bangladeshi or from other counties. I do not even ask what each student where are they come from and what religion do they practice.'

My daughter is studying in a primary school, she told me that they have to participate in prayer every morning; though we are Muslim. I don't mind ... I think religion is a private matter...my daughter practices Islam as a religion at home. She has a private teacher who teaches her Islamic religion books in our home.

On the other hand, religion is a confidential issue is not accepted by the all migrant parents regardless of their views which vary a lot (some are in favor of religion classes as they are, others would like religion out of the school, and still others would like to see religion classes diversified teaching all religions). It is significant for them that their children learn about Islam and do not lose their belief by assimilating into Greek society. In regards to one of the students' mother speech:

School is a primary stage to learn culture, norms, and morality...so if my children learn to christen religion and practice it in the school she might follow...or think about it...as an elegant Muslim mother, I will not let my children learn this type of knowledge which will be harmful to her or our religion. That is why I am suggesting all religions teach in the school. (Saba)

Bangladeshi migrants' future plans also play an important role in segregating their children from their school. Some of the parents may think there is no future for their children in Greece because the educational system does not have an international standard, their children who study here will not find a job in Bangladesh. That is the reason they are sending their children to English medium school, those who are not having enough money they are sending back to Bangladesh only for study. Some of the students' parents giving the following statement to support their logic.

My son is studying at American Christian Academy in Athens in class eight. This an English medium school and follow an international curriculum... after finishing his study he can admit to any institution for higher education all over the world even if he wants to continue his study in Bangladesh he can do it...after finishing his study he can get a job in Bangladesh also. (Zafrul Alam)

I have sent my son to Bangladesh to my parents only to study. They will send him to school and take care of him. We don't have enough money to send him in English medium school here and we don't want to send in Greek school; because Greek education has no value (I mean if he goes to Greek public school he will learn only Greek and if we return to Bangladesh it will be very difficult for him) in Bangladesh. (Rubina)

However, both the literature review and my fieldwork findings suggest, despite the undocumented status of most children's parents, Bangladeshi migrants' children did not segregate from education in Greece, at least not in institutional terms. However, there are existing problems regarding the integration of Bangladeshi migrant's children at school. These are to an extent related to the complications increasing from their language skills and the process of adaptation into a new educational system. But the extensive prejudices and negative perceptions about Bangladeshi migrants in Greece, affecting both teachers and students, are factors that should not be underestimated. On the other hand, there are certainly foremost obstacles connected to the economic situation and future plan of the migrants.

5.5 Concluding remarks

Based on the research findings majority of the Bangladeshi migrants came to Greece using diversity of routes to settle other European countries, many of the attempted many times but

fail and settled in Greece. However, their integration into the host society are still long way to go. On the other hand, integration at the school; while segregation and discrimination against migrant or minority children are illegal and anti-Constitutional in Greece there is a certain level of informal segregation taking place in some schools (Triandafyllidou 2011). Research findings confirm the existence of this problem, in schools with Bangladeshi migrant populations does not contain issues of clear segregation. The relevant challenges in these schools are to avoid the risk of becoming a ‘ghetto’ or ‘all migrant’ schools because this is coupled with being a low-quality school, where students are troublemakers and know no discipline and discrimination is common practice (Triandafyllidou 2011). The issue is therefore not presented as a question of rejecting, tolerating, or accepting minority or migrant children but rather on how to raise the performance of the school and its students. On the other hand, research findings depict the discrimination that more than religion, race (skin color) is a relevant dimension for being seen as ‘different’ in Greek schools (Triandafyllidou 2011). Therefore, there is a need for a renewed emphasis on citizenship and civics education that introduces the concepts of identity, diversity, citizenship, tolerance, acceptance, and religious diversity and racism. Children should be better equipped to deal with an increasingly diverse classroom and society at large.

Additionally, well-trained teachers, school leaders, and other professionals are key to be able to support refugee/migrant students. Teacher training and professional development should raise awareness and understanding of refugee issues, the impact of the refugee experience on learning and behavior, the school and the classroom teacher’s roles in promoting recovery from trauma, and strategies for addressing barriers to learning as a result of the refugee experience and disrupted schooling (OECD, 2019). Furthermore, it is important to provide information and professional learning around refugee issues to new staff members during their induction (Foundation House, 2016). The learning environment can play a crucial role in supporting or hindering specific language and learning programs for refugee students. Providing a supportive learning environment could support students’ integration. To continue research findings, therefore, in the next chapter I am going to deal Cultural and social integration of Bangladeshi migrants which is the second core of my analysis.

Chapter Six

Cultural and social integration of Bangladeshi migrants

6.1 Introduction

‘Culture’ is the entire way of life of society as well as all its products. Society is composed of individuals who share a culture. Integration is a process of developing a society in which all the social groups share socioeconomic and cultural life. This integration will take place primarily at a local level, through education, access to housing, integration of migrants' cultural organisations or participation in civil society (Penninx 2003). The term cultural integration means the process of one culture gaining ideas, technologies, and products of another and so this means that this culture will seem to be integrating into the other. In contrast, Social integration is the movement of minority groups such as ethnic minorities, refugees, and underprivileged sections of a society into the mainstream of society (Solomos 2012). Members of the minority groups thus gain full access to the opportunities, rights, and services available to the members of the mainstream. Therefore, this chapter of the thesis deals with several issues related to the Bangladeshi migrants’ pathways to cultural and social integration; everyday lives, practices, experiences, relationships with state and actors, housing conditions, membership in migrant organisations, etc.

In the first section of the chapter, the main interest is to focus on food diplomacy and cultural integration, religious identity and cultural xenophobia, role of collective organization in socio-cultural integration, impact of language in regards social integration, etc. and in the second section concerned migrants’ housing and residential conditions; how migrants spend their leisure time and their holiday activities and the respective pathways of access of the migrants. The third section deals with membership practice in collective organizations, social network and interpersonal relationships, and the daily integration process into the Greek society.

6.2 Bangladeshi cuisine/food: cultural integration into Greek society

Food always plays a significant fraction of the cultural heritage and national identity of a nation and it is one of the main components to integrate into a multicultural society and it can be connected with individuals and places, bringing friends and families together even sometimes two nations together. Food and foodways are central features of human societies. By cooking together, tasting each others’ food, and mixing ethnic flavors, can promote both

cultural diversity and the appreciation and acceptance of other cultures (Campanari, 2019) However, Food has always played an important role in interstate relations and diplomatic practice. It has been used as a medium for projecting influence, communicating one's culture, identity, and messages that express friendship or enmity (Lusa, 2019). Since the mid-1990s, Bangladeshi migrants start increasing; currently about 30000 Bangladeshi living in Greece. Bangladeshi refugees and immigrants make Greece as their second home; integrating with Greek culture besides preserves their cultural heritage.

There are more than 40 Bangladeshi restaurants situated across the country most are in Athens named Royal curry house, Curry Garden Bangladesh and Indian food, Dhaka Place Halal restaurant, ABC Indian restaurant, Titas restaurant, Ma restaurant, Rajdhani Restaurant, Bangla Restaurant, Tak Tak restaurant, Tajmahal restaurant, etc, served Bangladeshi food. Nowadays there are many Greeks, tourist, and other nationalities apart from Bangladeshi are visiting these Bangladeshi restaurants almost every day to taste Bangladeshi food in Athens. Restaurants are open almost every day morning till night, food menu almost the same to all the restaurants. Food menu usually, Chicken curry, Beef curry, Chicken Tikka Massala, chicken Kabab, Aloo vorta naan, Mutton Briyani, Chicken Briyani, Vegetable curry, Somossa, Daal, (see appendix A) plain rice, etc. Some of the Greeks/tourist expressing their experiences about Bangladeshi food and restaurant service:

Mr. Kostandinos (Greek) expressing his feeling why he visiting Bangladeshi restaurant frequently; *I was living in England for my study purpose, my close friend was from Bangladesh, I became used to have spicy Bangladeshi food. I was going to have my lunch/dinner in a Bangladeshi restaurant in London. When I back to Greece, I was looking for a Bangladeshi restaurant in Athens, finally I found some of them serving a very delicious dish, I love especially chicken curry, brainy. Once a week, I am coming to the royal curry house to test Bangladeshi food.*

Mr. Pavlos (Spain), *I wanted to have some Bangladeshi food in Greece and found a Tajmahal restaurant. As you see, I had dinner with my wife; we have eaten beef curry, daal, chicken curry, aloo vorta naan, and rice. The food was extremely delicious, feel like, we are eating in a restaurant in Barcelona, and foods are the same taste. The beef curry was so tender, juicy with the right level of spice. The portion of food was big and each curry served two of us but we could not eat all. The chicken curry was beautifully cooked and tasted so delicious. On the other hand, the staff was*

friendly and the service was good. Wherever I visit, always try to find Bangladeshi or Indian restaurant to have spicy food. I love to have hot, spicy delicious food always.

I am living in Greece since 2010, earlier I did not find a good and clean Bangladeshi, Indian or Pakistani restaurant in Athens but currently, there are many well organized, clean, and fresh food Bangladeshi restaurant in Athens. I visit very often to Bangladeshi restaurant with my family and friends sometimes I parcel food to have it with my family at home. We love mutton brainy. It's very cheap and delicious. (Vania, Bulgaria)

I want to say something about Royal Curry house restaurant... is a family-run restaurant and everybody puts their heart to serve the food and run the restaurant healthy way. The best thing about the restaurant is the service is excellent, the food is amazing, and the food price is very reasonable. Only in 10 euros, you can have a 3-course meal (different flavors every day)! It includes appetizers (usually pakora, samosa, naan bread, papadums) with dips, plain basmati rice, and/or Biryani rice with assorted main courses (curry chicken tikka masala, chicken curry, beef curry, vegetable curry, etc) plus dessert. I have been visited this restaurant many times with different friends and all were satisfied. They also play Indian music sometimes they arrange Bollywood live music and Indian dance party to attract the customers. (Khristos, Greek)

Though I can't eat very spicy food I love to taste different countries' cuisines. I born and grow up in a multicultural environment in Germany, my classmate and friends were from different nationalities. We always arranged food party to have the flavor of different food. From then on I am used to eating varieties of food but still can't eat very spice food. I love Mutton Byrianni, Chicken tikka masala, Pakura. I found some of Bangladeshi, Indian, and Pakistani restaurant in Athens. Occasionally I visit these restaurants with my children. To be honest, I like the curry smell. (Jeni Papakosta, Greek)

Nowadays you can find not the best and most clean Bangladeshi restaurant to enjoy your meal and It is cheap, the employees are super nice the food is pretty good. I usually like sommosa, Pakura, pitha, this food is not that much spicy but smells very good and very delicious. I visit with my friends very often. I can recommend someone who wants to try Bangladeshi non-spicy food. (Andreas, Greek)

6.2.1 Food diplomacy: the role of Bangladesh Embassy and restaurant owner union to cultural integration

Sharing food can mark the entry into a community, making people an integral part of the same culture, and putting them in communication with each other. For example, a gift of food creates a bridge between people, and in all societies, it has always had major importance in social relations (Barilla Center). As a result of this, sharing the same food is the basis of rituals. As a social force, food requires shared customs that allow for orderly interaction between people. Except for restaurants, there are three Bangladeshi sweet shops situated in Athens where Bangladeshi sweets (Rosogolla, Jilapi, Sondes, Pitha, Doi, and Chanachur) are available. Besides, there are more than 200 small-medium supermarkets across Greece run by Bangladeshi and selling Bangladeshi products (Spices, Muri, Chanachur, special fish, Pan, Supari, etc). Most of the mini supermarkets are situated in Omonia, Akhanon, and Katopatisia in Athens. Also, there are some barber, mobile, shoe, grocery, butcher shops, many travel agencies, and wholesale shops run by Bangladeshi.

Bangladeshi Restaurant owner Union and Bangladeshi Embassy in Athens, Bangladesh chamber of commerce and Bangladeshi cultural organizations are always trying to enhance Bangladeshi cuisine and culture into Greek society. Restaurants owner unions are promoting Bangladeshi cuisine through the website, social media, advertising in the local newspaper, radio station, through distributing leaflets, organizing parties at their restaurant to draw any attention to the Greek customer. Sometimes, the Bangladesh Embassy in Athens and the Cultural Organization of Bangladeshi in Greece are arranging the Bengali food festival and inviting locals to introduce Bengali cuisine. Some of the restaurant owners expressed their plan, how they worked together to enhance Greek and tourist customers to experience Bengali cuisine in Greece:

Mr. Jahir Dakua, President, Chamber of Commerce of Bangladesh in Greece and owner of Royal Curry House restaurant; speaks his hard effort to accomplish the current position of Bengali cuisine in Greece:

Bengali cuisine is one of the most popular cuisines around the world, especially in England, the USA, and other European countries except Greece. So, we tried to find the reason behind backward in Greece; first of all, we find a lack of advertisement, clean, service, etc. Therefore, we determined to modify our market strategy to magnetize the local and tourist customers; modernize the restaurant

environment, improved service quality, organize Greek nights at the restaurant with live Greek music and dance, Bollywood nights with Bollywood live music, and dance with special food offer. We announce our offer to the local newspaper, social media, Radio channels, distributing leaflets, even we request the customers to express their experience about Bengali cuisine and service quality in Trip Advisor. We have been participated in many food festivals to show and familiar with Bengali cuisine to Greeks. We did lots of effort to accomplish the current position, now Bengali food is familiar to locals and tourists. Almost every day, the Greeks and tourists are visiting Bengali food restaurants to have their meals with friends and family. Still, we have many works to carry out to reach our goal. I do believe one day Bengali cuisine will be one of the most popular cuisines in Greece like other European countries.

Mr. Jasim Uddin, Ambassador of Bangladesh, Athens Greece, expressing how the Embassy trying to introduce Bengali cuisine to locals to enhance cultural integration with Bangladeshi migrants in Greece;

Food is an important component of human life has always played a significant function in between two state relations and diplomatic put into practice. The embassy of Bangladesh always attempts to develop bilateral relations between two Greece and Bangladesh and Bangladeshi migrants to culturally integrate into Greek society. Therefore, every year the Embassy organizes the Bengali food festival with the cultural organization and invites locals to introduce Bengali cuisine. I visited almost the restaurants to observe the restaurant environment, quality of food, and service; organize a meeting with the restaurant owner to improve the quality of service and food to enhance local customers and tourists to Bengali cuisine. Currently, it gives me pleasure to express my feelings that many locals and tourists are visiting Bengali restaurants with their friends and family almost every day.

Recently in 2020, Bangladesh Embassy signed a contract with a famous local chef training organization “IEK DELTA” to train Bangladeshi migrants to improve their cook skills and find a job in the local market. The training name “Basic Training Program in Culinary Arts” and it's free of cost. After completing the course, the organization search and provide jobs for the participants.

Mosaddek, owner of Rajdhani restaurant enlighten his future plan and policy to attract Greek customers to introduce Bengali food:

At first in my restaurant, only Bangladeshi customer was coming. My restaurant was not so clean and well decorated; after a discussion with restaurant owner union bodies, I have changed the restaurant decoration, change stuff and food menu, and service system. At this moment, two Greek girls are working as waitress and customer relation officer Greek as well. In my restaurant, you can find Indian, Bengali, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan food. Now not only Bengali customer is coming but also Greeks and tourist from all over the world visiting my restaurant every day. You can say this is a multicultural restaurant. I am going to open another branch of Rajdhani restaurant in Marusi, Athens.

6.2.2 The role of Bangladeshi Cultural organizations to integrate into the host society

Although integration and culture have been dominant themes in contemporary academic and policy debates, the links and intersections of migration, integration, and arts and culture remain understudied (McGregor & Ragab, 2016). Art and culture of immigrants and refugees can enable the cultivation of heritage, traditions, customs, and culture of the origin country (Netto, 2008). Maintaining a cultural identity of the country of origin can have very positive effects on integration if it is combined with identification with the destination country (Le, Polonsky, & Arambewela, 2015; Phinney et al., 2001). Other migrants' and refugees' cultural and artistic productions develop ways of expressing the challenges of the immigrant community in the destination country and to raise the voice against discrimination, therefore having a transformative role by contributing to community cohesion, structural integration, and social change (Delhaye, 2008; Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008). In Greece, Bangladeshi cultural organizations and the Embassy of Bangladesh working together to promote Bangladeshi culture with locals and attempt to integrate with the local culture.

However, Bangladeshi migrants establish many cultural organizations in Greece to promote and preserve their cultural heritage in Greece. Some of the Bangladeshi cultural organizations named Doyel Cultural Organization, Dhaka cultural association in Greece, Bangabandhu cultural organization, Bangladesh Greek cultural center, Nokhali Cultural Association in Greece, etc. Embassy of Bangladesh along with Cultural organizations of Bangladesh in Greece celebrate 26 March as Independence day of Bangladesh, 15 August as National Mourning Day of Bangladesh, 16 December Victory day of Bangladesh, 21 February International Mother language day, 14 April as Bengali New Year Pohela Boishak, Eid ul Fitar, Eid ul Adza, etc. in Greece. These days' cultural organizations represent

Bangladeshi cultural heritage, history of Bangladesh in various ways. For example, sometimes they characterize drama about Independence Day, Victory Day, Mother language day of Bangladesh, Sometime they arrange fashion show to promote Bangladeshi dress, sometimes food parties, they perform Bangladeshi folk music. Almost, these entire functions Bangladeshi student invited their Greek friends, Family invite Greek family also from the organizations always inviting locals to introduce Bangladeshi cultural heritage with locals.

On the other hand, Bangladesh Embassy and cultural organizations president and secretary explained why cultural integration is significant for Bangladeshi migrants in Greece and why cultural associations formed in Greece. Mr. Sujan Debnath, Counsellor, the Embassy of Bangladesh, Athens, expressing how Bangladesh Embassy is working for cultural integration for Bangladeshi migrants into Greek society;

Around 30000 Bangladeshi migrants are living in Greece; Bangladesh is famous for the world for its cultural heritage and Embassy aspires to preserve Bangladeshi culture to migrants and introduce Bangladeshi cultural heritage with locals. Thus, whenever the embassy celebrates any kind of celebration, always prioritize locals to involve in the success of the program. Recently, Embassy has established Greek-Bengali cultural center in Athens; where not only the Bangladeshi migrants are coming also the locals are coming and participating program. Embassy creates a Music video where Bangladeshi and Greeks performing the Bangladeshi National Anthem Greek language. The embassy also participates in any Greek cultural functions or celebration to present Bangladeshi culture to locals.

Jamal Hussain, Secretary of Doyel Cultural organization in Greece speaking why they formed this organization:

Culture is part and parcel of human life; without cultural activities very difficult to survive. We are almost 20000 Bangladeshi living in Athens and everyone working in many different places and far from our family. We need some entertainment to happy to survive in Greece...so we formed this organization to get together and keep our culture alive in Greece and promote our culture as well. We celebrate all the national days of Bangladesh, we arrange a food party, we sing together, we dance together even we invite our Greek friends to enjoy our celebration.

Shannon Ripon, President of Greater Dhaka Cultural Association in Greece, elaborating what kind of cultural activities his association performing to enhance Bangladeshi cultural heritage in Greece:

Music is the heart of life, we perform Bangladeshi folk music in any kind of cultural function...sometime we are invited to perform Bangladeshi folk music in Greek cultural program, Indian and Pakistani cultural program. Our main target is to spread Bangladeshi folk traditional music everywhere in Greece. We are very happy that within a few years many Greeks, Indians, Pakistani know Bangladeshi folk music and culture.

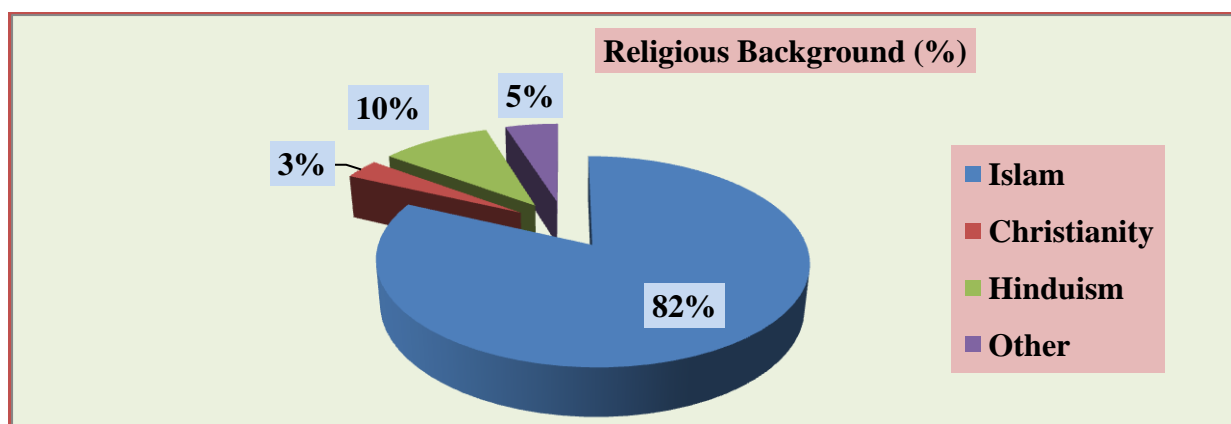
6.3 Religious identity and cultural xenophobia in Greek Society

Greece is home to around 500,000 Muslims. Many of them are undocumented migrants including a community of over 100,000 Greek citizens of Turkish origin in the country's northeast. On the other hand, the majority of 82 percent Bangladeshi migrants are Muslim as well. The public discourse on migration reflects the exclusionary construction of the Greek national identity, which defines the concept of 'Greekness' based on religious, linguistic, and genealogical criteria, rather than civic ones ((Triandafyllidou 2000; Hatziprokopiou 2006:129). Research findings show Greece located widespread sentiments of mistrust towards distinct national and religious identities of the migrants, particularly 'the Muslims' (Kafetzis et al. 1998 & Hatziprokopiou 2006). However, it's been about 200 years after Ottoman Empire to date there is no government authorize Mosque in Greece, additionally, Bangladeshi migrants are facing xenophobic attitudes towards them in the workplace, on the street even in the living region. The Pie chart 6.1 indicates the religious practice of Bangladeshi migrants, prejudice as because of religious background, and their daily religious needs fulfillment eminence.

6.3.1 Religious Background of Bangladeshi migrants

Regarding the respondents' religious status, key data are summarised in Pie chart 6.1. A significant percentage almost 80 percent of migrants practice Islam as because 92 percent Bangladeshi are Muslim, the second largest group around 10 percent exercise Hinduism for being Hindu; on the other hand a positive number about 3 percent practice Christianity and a shear of 5 percent of the total migrants practice other religion (Buddhism, Sikhism, etc).

Pie chart 6.1 Religious Background of Bangladeshi migrants (%)



Ten migrants informed they do not follow any religion. The majority of the migrants are Muslim because about 89 percent inhabitant of Bangladesh is Muslim and follow Islam as religion.

6.3.2 Religious liberty and cultural integration situation

Religious freedom is defined in the narrow sense, as negative freedom and at the individual level only. Individuals who are part of minority religious groups may not participate in events or processes that they may feel like a violation of their religious identity. There is no positive sign to fulfill the needs of religious freedom. There are no institutional fora in which to engage in a dialogue and in which migrants can raise claims that relate to their cultural and religious needs. State responses to such needs and claims are understood as benevolent concessions that the majority makes to disenfranchise minorities mainly for its interest (including the negatively defined interest not to be exposed to criticism by other countries).

Table 6.1 Religion practice and freedom of choice (%)

Religious practice and Needs					
Consider as a religious person		Religious needs are met		Treated different way because of religion	
Yes	99.0	Yes	57.4	Yes	55.4
No	1.0	No	42.6	No	44.6

The research findings in table 6.1 depict the information on Bangladeshi migrants' religious status and their religious needs fulfillment condition and how they are been treated as because of religious background. The majority percentages of respondents 99 percent consider themselves as a religious person. On the other hand, the matter freedom of religious

practice, the majority of migrants 57.4 percent said religious needs are not fulfilled because there is not enough mosque to pray, however almost half of the participants approach they did not face any kind burden to follow and practice their religious activities in Greece. Nevertheless, the highest number of respondents 55.4 treated differently because of their religious background and religious dress. Some of the Hindu religious followers said that they don't have any problem practicing their religion also most important finding is that Christians are not being discriminated against because of their beliefs in any place and almost everyone said they fulfill their religious needs.

Thus, religious freedom is understood as tolerance in the narrow sense rather than as a condition of religious equality, much less so as a basis for religious pluralism. Some of the interviewees have stated violence attack in their prayer place:

One day in the evening I was praying in an irregular Mosque in Athens. Suddenly a group of people scolding very loud in front of the Mosque through a petrol boom inside the mosque and the boom blast and the fire spread everywhere inside the mosque then they left, some of us burn and we take them to the nearest hospital. We complain to the police about this incident but to date, the police can't catch the criminal. Now I am very much afraid to go to the Mosque to pray. (Noyon)

Friday is the most important for the Muslim community. We wear special clothes and go to pray in the afternoon at the Mosque. On one of the Friday while I was coming back home from the Mosque with my traditional Muslim clothes suddenly 4/5 young boys stopped me in the street and scold me very much and they hit me very badly. I was admitted to the hospital. After that, I did not go out with my traditional Muslim dress. (Sajjad)

We the Muslim religious people celebrate two big festivals each year. One of them is called Ide-Ul-Fitar and the other one is called Ide-Ul-Azah. In these two festivals, the Muslim communities gather together in one place and pray. We don't have enough space inside the Mosque to pray, so we pray in an open place. One of these festivals when we were praying, some people were through rotten eggs to us. We complain to the police but they did not take any action against them. That's how violence is increasing day by day to the Muslim community in Greece. (Rafique)

6.3.3 Mosque in Athens: progress of Cultural Integration

Athens is one of the few European capitals without an official Mosque. The issue of mosques in Greece started popping up shortly after 2000, as the 2004 Athens Olympics approached. With an increasing number of migrants from Bangladesh, Pakistan and other Muslim countries have recently found their way to the Greek capital, the matter has become more pressing and in 2011 the government approved the construction of a mosque in Athens but till date did not start its contraction because of the bureaucratic process. However, there are more than 50 Mosques unofficially situated in Athens run by different Muslim communities. Most of the mosque places are rented and all of the mosques are situated underground of a building. Muslim community goes 5 times a day to the mosque to pray and also teach the Holy Quran to the follower and Muslim children and celebrate the religious festival at the mosque.

Table 6.2 Religious believers differentiated according to religion (%)

Religious followers integration situation			
Discriminated because of religion		Religious needs fulfill (Yes)	
Muslim	80.5	Muslim	54.4
Hindu	4.1	Hinduism	76.7
Christian	9.4	Christianity	96.7
Other	5.9	Other	66.7

The study findings in table 6.2 present the information of religious followers' integration saturation in Greece. Muslim is in a vulnerable position; most discriminated followers and long behind to fulfill their religious needs; the majority of the percentage 80.5 percent of participants being treated unusually, though more than half 54.4 percent said that they can only fulfill their basic religious needs. On the other hand, only 4.1 percent Hindu said that they have been treated in a strange way as because of their religious background, however, the Majority of the Hindu respondents 76.7 approached that they are satisfied with their religious freedom and not facing any problem to celebrate the religious celebration. Additionally, the majority percentage 91.6 percent of Christian said that they did not face any discrimination because of Christianity but sometimes discriminated for their color about 97 percent fulfill the religious need.

Athens is one of the few European capitals without an official mosque. Most of the people questioned when construction will start and highlighted their problem in a variety of ways in the interviewees' narratives:

A mosque is a holy place for the Muslim community where they can practice their religion. But it's a matter of regrets... having a large group of Muslim communities, there is no Mosque in Greece...They are very much conservative and racist nation. At the age of Globalization Greece is still behind. (Jahangir)

If there is a permanent mosque here in Athens ... people will be more religious and they can pray in the mosque without fear. They will be grateful to the state and its nation. It will make them easily integrated into Greek society. In my point of view, the government should take quick initiatives to start construction for the permanent mosque. (Rasel)

I am living last 20 years in Greece, I have been visited almost all European countries, I find every county having a permanent mosque for the Muslim community but here in Greece we don't have any, we can't practice our religion with the proper way. Even I am afraid to go to the irregular mosque because some time I feel insecure. I saw lots of terrorist incidents happen to the Muslim. (Mukul)

Mahabubur Rahman, President of Al Zabbar Mosque, and Athens explaining how this mosque helping the Bangladeshi migrant community and their children:

My heart and soul I am Muslim and I try to follow Islam the way our Prophet Muhammad (sm) show us...I came to Greece in 2000, on that time very few Bangladeshi came to Greece...we were going to pray in a Pakistani mosque...when Bangladeshi community raising, we decided to rent a place to set up a Bangladeshi Mosque...where everything will be in the Bengali language...so we established Al Zabbaar Mosque though every Muslim community people are coming for pray...but what makes different for Bangladeshi community...almost all Bangladeshi children about 100 children are coming to learn Holy Quran, and Hadith. We are teaching the community people how to pray proper way...we celebrate the biggest Muslim celebration Eid ul-Adza, Eid-Ul-Fitar at the Mosque.

6.4 Importance of collective organizations in regards to socio-cultural integration

The practice of collective organizations enhances cultural and social integration into the host country. Migrant networks not only spread information about the host country or locality prior to migrants but also function as a factor of influencing and facilitating the migration decision and journey. Moreover, these networks are helping migrants to overcome

initial difficulties and further problems and linking to their home places. Throughout the discussion of the findings, it has become obvious that migrants rely to an important extent upon personal contacts and relationships in order to access employment, rent, etc. As a person of concern extends their stay, they increasingly interact with both their co-nationals and the locals. At the same time, networks of a more proper and institutionalised character develop, like different types of migrants, often, again, in relation to the citizens and institutions of the receiving society. However, both official and unofficial migrant networks determine the senses of belonging and patterns of membership in the migrant group, in the sending country, or the receiving society thus they specify the idea of the community playing therefore a significant role in the integration process. In this part, we illustrate the social space for Bangladeshi migrants in Greece, space being here a sign referring to relational and organisational characteristics of migrants' integration. However, this section begins with an outline of organised community patterns, such as (cultural associations, community and treads union), and the conditions of membership and participation.

Throughout the past twenty years, Bangladeshi migrants have managed to establish various associations throughout Greece. In 2011 there was one weekly print Bangla newspaper and one monthly magazine published in Athens; dedicating significant to migrants' issues, legal provisions, and rights. At the time of the fieldwork, there were several migration associations in Athens and Thessaloniki; such as the Bangladeshi community in Greece, the Bangladeshi workers Association, the Greco-Bangladeshi Association, 'Boiskhak', etc. There are also several cultural associations representing Bangladeshi culture in Greece; Such as "Doel Cultural Academy, Boyshak ujjapon Association, and some regional cultural associations, etc. Besides, internal Bangladesh politics are reproduced among migrants in Greece, and parties/organisations are likely to have representation in Greece¹⁸. However, the organisational performance of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece has been poor so far, and collective membership appears limited in scale. Furthermore, table 6.3 provides information about Bangladeshi migrants' provision of collective organization and what organizations they involve more.

18 Both the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Bangladesh Awami league main parties of Bangladesh have representation in Greece, as well as other organisations. About 15 per cent respondents said they are or used to be in contact with one of the above.

Table 6.3 practice of collective organisation of Bangladeshi migrants (%)

Bangladeshi migrants perform communal association			
Practice collective organization in Greece		Which organization they involved	
Yes	67.8	Migration association	36.5
No	38.2	Cultural organization	37.0
		Trade union body	13.2
		Political organization	13.2

Research findings in table 6.3 show that the majority percentage 67.8 percent of migrants practice collective organization in Greece. On the other hand, 38.2 percent informed at the time of fieldwork that they are not interested to become a member of any kind of organization. Some of them told that they do not have enough time to attend a collective organization program. Some of the newcomers said that they are very much interested to attend any kind of cultural functions but because of irregular status. On the other hand, the highest number of respondents 37.0 percent active members of cultural organizations. The second largest group 36.5 percent involve with the migration association to get the recent update of Greek migration law and help in access to labour market. A small number of migrants 13.2 percent having their own business and they practice Trade union association to have updates about the business. Another important percentage of 13.2 percent of migrants are involved in practicing Bangladeshi political parties in Greece.

However, the Bangladeshi community in Greece was founded by migrants in 2001, with the support of various local political parties. They worked together with various local organisations, anti-racist groups, NGOs, and trade unions, as well as with other migrant associations. It functions as an officially recognised institution, representing Bangladesh in negotiations with local authorities and the government. It has ties with all Bangladeshi migrants all over the country. Its initiatives include legal advice and social support, organisation of cultural events, the celebration of national holidays, participation in cultural festivals, and anti-racist demonstrations. Since December 2005, it has found a Bangla curriculum-based school (Doel Academy) in Athens for Bangladeshi migrants' children (the teachers are Bangladeshi volunteers). However, participation rates remain low: only 36.5 percent of the respondents were members or in contact with the "Bangladeshi community in Greece", which seems poor when compared to other migrant groups that are more dedicated

to maintaining community ties. The interviewees themselves show conscious of this fact and bring it out in their narratives:

According to Rashed: *Well, let me tell you the real fact of Bangladeshi, first of all, they are not well organized, they are more dedicated to their family or with specific friends, on the other hand, if you look other community like Pakistan, they are more dedicated to the organization, if one of the community members bitten by someone they came out all together and demonstrated but in Bangladeshi community, you will find this. Some of them even don't if there any community organization.*

In words of Kamal: *I am working long hours; I go to a job almost every day. I don't have time to go to the community office, even what I will do over there, I don't need anything. I heard that sometimes they are making problems even for Bangladeshi. But I participate in the cultural program organized by Doyle cultural Academy.*

However, the quotes above reference a number of factors that were also touched on by other interviewees. Firstly, the circumstances of the migrants, in terms of their legal status (particularly in the early years), their work, leisure time, and family responsibilities do not allow them for frequent participation. Secondly, the community is large and heterogeneous, so that ties amongst the Bangladeshi population as a whole are weak and information is difficult to spread. On the other, information depends on word of mouth, on Bangla newspaper or magazine, especially those published in Athens. Thirdly, membership, in general, might also be hindered by collective institutions, as commented by some interviewees. There is, though, a significant distinction one should make: while migrant associations are poorly developed among Bangladeshi and cultural unions have appeared since the very beginning, with the help of other organisations. However, in some cases, migrants originating from the same area, emerge much more excited to established and participate in collective organisations, for their integration patterns, as well as because of strong perceptions of identity dating back to their years in Bangladesh.

There are several community associations in Athens, Thessaloniki, and Patra, the participation rates among respondents approach 50 percent. Such associations usually provide to maintain or enhance feelings of identity, sometimes along nationalistic. Furthermore, they also established on the basis for migrants of common origin to meet each other, to celebrate cultural events, to socialise, or discuss issues related to their home places. To some extent, they have also managed to the campaign (e.g. for citizenship rights) and/or support

compatriots in various ways. However, while contact has been the case for many, especially in their early years in Greece, it seems that membership or frequent participation is not a lasting choice for the majority. On the other hand, migrant associations have various tasks: while, naturally, they operate as an identity-enforcing system, they are more active in providing practical help and support, and in campaigning for migrants' rights in general, in cooperation with other migrant communities as well as with local organisations. One of the respondents' narratives:

Razzak voice regarding support of other commonalities for immigrant's rights: This is a good thing, everybody should be united so we have a voice ... It's different when you are organised, you can express your complaints. The president of the Bangladeshi community along with presidents of associations of migrants from other states, such as (Indians, Pakistani, and Palestinians, Afghanistan) for instance, went to the ministry and elsewhere, to campaign for immigrants' problems. Bangladeshi community has done also many things regarding immigrants' rights, it has organised an anti-racist festival, a food festival, and it has participated in other initiatives too. (Razzak)

On the other hand, apart from a community organization, migrants are concentrated around cafes' and restaurants owned by Bangladeshi. This is primarily a place of meeting, socialisation, and entertainment, but it also consider as a place of communication, where migrants can get information about jobs and housing circulates, as well as newcomers can get helpful information and advice regarding legal procedures and other issues related host culture.

6.5 The impact of local language on social and cultural integration

Proficiency in the local dominant language is an essential first step toward upward socio-cultural mobility of migrants in the host countries (Zorlu and Hartog 2019). Language skills are not only a form of human capital to enhance individual productivity in economic actions (Chiswick and Miller 1995) but also a gateway for immigrants entering the receiving society. Language skills create a foothold for migrants to explore opportunities and to integrate into the host society. In particular, a lack of proficiency in an official language combined with inadequate access to cultural knowledge can lead to limited opportunities for migrants to fully participate in Greek society. The empirical data in table 6.4 presents

information about Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrant's language proficiency at the time of fieldwork.

Table 6.4 level of the Greek language of Bangladeshi migrants (%)

Greek language proficiency of Bangladeshi migrants (%)				
level	Listing	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Poor	28.1	27.7	62.1	64.9
Fair	43.1	44.1	31.0	29.8
Good	25.8	24.4	6.9	5.3
Very Good	2.3	1.6	0.0	0.0

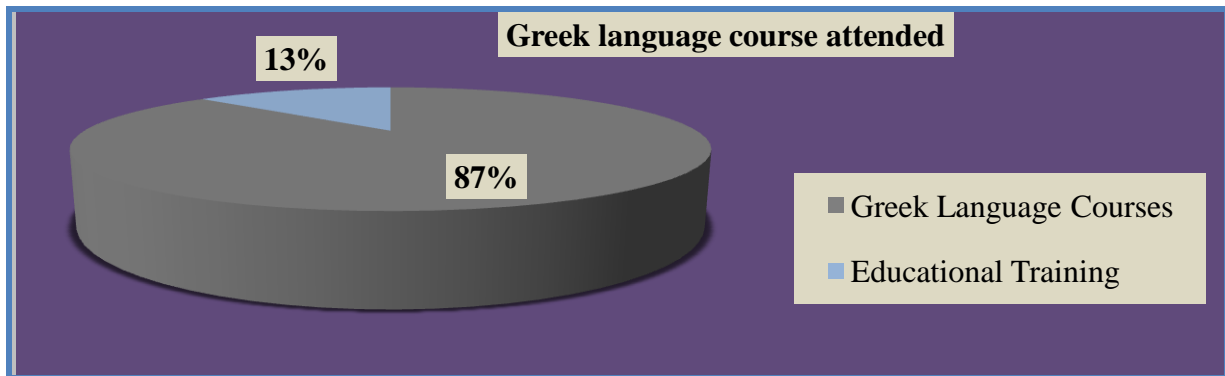
The study findings in table 6.4 illustrate the majority percentage 43.1 percent migrants can understand Greek while listening, this particular group live Greece more than 5 years, the second-largest percentage 28.1 percent can't understand Greek when they listen; most of them are newcomers and living less than one year in Greece. Talking about communication level, the highest percentage of 44.1 percent of participants communication levels are almost ok; these individuals are living more than 5 years in Greece, many of them are students and studying at Greek schools, while 27.7 percent can't communicate in the Greek language. On the other hand, a shear of 24.4 percent of respondents are fluent in Greek, most of them are involved in Business, some of them are working as an interpreter, some of them are working in Greek restaurant as an assistant chef. However, a shear of 1.6 percent migrants are excellent in communicating in the Greek language, they adopt this langue as a mother tongue.

In the matter of reading level, the majority percentage 62.1 percent participants face difficulties in reading Greek, while 31.0 percent can read a bit but hard for them to understand, on the other hand, a shear of 6.9 percentage can read fluently and their understanding level is good as well, most of them are a student. In regards to the writhing level of Bangladeshi migrants, the majority percentage 64.9 percent of respondents cannot write Greek, furthermore, 62.1 percent of migrants cannot even read Greek. As we have seen in chapter 5 (bar chart 5.6) A shear of Bangladeshi migrants are illiterate, they cannot even write in Bengali which is their mother tongue; most of them are from this group who are facing difficulties in reading and writing in Greek. On the other hand, 29.8 percent of participants' writing levels are fair, only 5.3 percent of migrants can write Greek perfect way; most of them are children who are studying at the Greek schools.

To be integrated into a host society language plays an important role. Apart from the basic need of speaking and contacting, most of the Bangladeshi migrants tried hard to learn

the Greek language, by themselves or with the support of others; some also had the chance to participate in language courses. Therefore, the language skills of migrants improve over time, with helpful effects on numerous aspects of the migrants' everyday lives, as we have identified earlier. The study findings in pie chart 6.2 provide information about how many Bangladeshi migrants attend the Greek language to integrate into Greek society.

Pie chart 6.2 Greek language course attend by Bangladeshi migrants (%)



The empirical findings in Pie chart 6.2 show that the majority of the percentage of approximately 87 percent attend Greek language courses and another 13 percent participate in educational training which helps to get access to the Greek labour market. A qualitative account would expose further aspects that play a function regarding non-material elements of Bangladeshi migrants' integration process. On the other hand, various language practices may create complexity for the receiving country individuals. However, Bangladeshi migrants' language skills improve over time as we have seen. Most significantly, the concern of the so-called 'second generation', the Greek-born or Greek educated children, brings the language issue to the front of the dynamic, long term character of integration. More likely Bangladeshi migrants speak Greek at home and specifically kids enforce on their parents the importance of learning and practicing the language of the host country. The tendency of younger children to practice basic Greek at home therefore parents need to practice the language as well. It's apparent in many of the respondents' relevant statements:

Well, I am living in Greece along with my family for the last twelve years. I learned the Greek language at the University of Thessaloniki. Now a day my daughter is going to Greek primary school, and she is trying to speak with us in the Greek language. Therefore to improve her language skills, we speak Greek and Bengali language at home, so that she will learn both languages together. (Beauty)

To be honest, we mostly speak in Greek in our home in order to help my son. Sometimes we speak in Bengali too, but even when we speak in Greek, most of the words are in Bangla, she laughs. Because, whether we want it or not, we live here, so we are going to speak in Greek only for him. Although I am older and have forgotten many words and I don't know how to say certain things (in Greek) and of course, I don't know Greek perfectly, but we speak. (Mahmud)

However, recently Bangladesh Embassy in Athens initiate an online-based Greek language course for Bangladeshi migrants to improve their language skills to enhance social and cultural integration into Greek Society. On the other hand, Doel Academy also teaching Greek language courses for migrants. Furthermore, Abdul kuddus, president of the Bangladesh community in Greece organize the Greek language for newcomers in Greece in access to the Greek labor market. Mr. Jasim Uddin, Ambassador of Bangladesh is explaining why he inaugurates an online-based Greek language course;

As you have noticed that there are around 30000 documented and undocumented Bangladeshi migrants living in Greece since 2001 but unfortunately very few of them can speak fluently. Language is one of the most imperative indicators to socioeconomically integrate into the host society. Another fact is that half of the Bangladeshi migrants are living in many different villages, working as a seasonal worker in the agriculture sector. They don't have time or facilities to attend Greek language courses in their residence area. As per their demand also I wanted to widen the Greek language to every single Bangladeshi who is living in Greece. Because of the technology era; teaching online is one of the best approaches to reach everyone. Therefore, I inaugurate an online Greek Language course since June 2018 twice in a week. We have two teachers who teach Greek to Bengali every Monday and Thursday. This course is become very popular with Bangladeshi migrants and getting lots of benefits to learn the Greek language.

Mr. Abdul Kuddus, President of the Bangladesh community in Greece expressing why Greek language course is so important for Bangladeshi migrants;

If you don't know the local language, you will face the problem every single step. Most of the Bangladeshi migrants are illiterate and reluctant to learn the Greek language properly. They learn from here are there that's why facing difficulties to get a work or any other assistance from the country or other organizations.

Consequently, knowing the actual language status of Bangladeshi migrants, the members of the Bangladesh community in Greece decided to arrange a basic Greek language course in the evening with the help of one school teacher and NGO. Currently, many Bangladeshi newcomers are attending this language course and enhancing themselves to integrate into the host society.

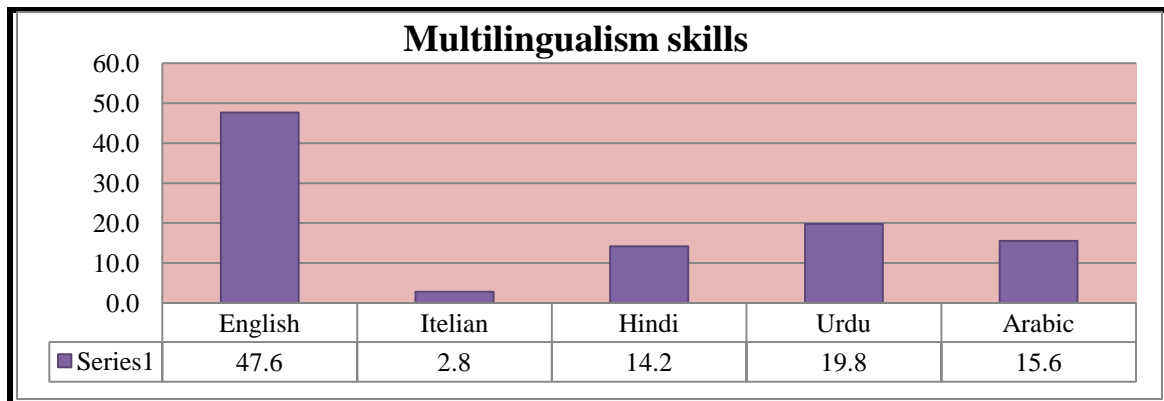
Md. Jahid Hussain, headteacher of Doel Academy in Athens, speaking why Doel Academy arranges Greek language course for Bangladeshi migrants:

Doel Academy is the first academy begins to teach Greek language courses in Greek to the Bengali language. Now there are many places where migrants can learn the Greek language but still, we are running this course for the children in the morning and the newcomers in the evening. The course is free of cost, Bangladesh community helping to run this course. Every Bangladeshi should learn Greek accurately so that they will face any problem in any place.

6.5.1 Multilingualism as assets to social integration in the host society

This is a thematic issue on the relation between multilingualism and social integration. Multilingualism, the capability to speak two languages with high skills and capability, is a serious issue in the developed world where immigration is a socially and culturally accepted reality (Dispatch, 2018). Due to globalization, Europeanization, supranational and transnational regulations linguistic diversity and multilingualism are on the rise. Migration and old and new forms of mobility play an important role in these processes (Marácz & Adamo 2017). However, most of the Bangladeshi migrants speak more than one language because the majority of them were working in many different countries in the Middle East before coming to Greece and adopt their language. The bar chart 6.1 provides information about Bangladeshi migrants Multilingualism skills and how these skills helping them to integrate into the host country. Research findings in bar chart 6.1 illustrate that the majority of the percentage of 47.6 percent can speak the English language beside mother tongue Bengali. In Bangladeshi English consider as the second language of the country. Most of the people can communicate in the English language. On the other hand, the second-largest percentage 19.8 percent can speak the Urdu language because this migrant group was living in Pakistan before arriving in Greece. Also another remarkable percentage of respondents 14.2 percent can fluently communicate in the Hindi language beside the mother tongue.

Bar chart 6.1 Multilingualism skills of Bangladeshi migrants (%)



The reason this group uses to watch Indian Movies, drama serials etc. The study also shows that 15.6 percent of migrants can speak the Arabic language; they were working in Middle East countries for many years and learned properly Arabic language. Some of the participants, who speak the fluently Arabic language, are working as an interpreter Arabic/Greek/Bengali in many different NGOs in Greece. On the other hand, some of the participants can communicate more than two languages e.g Hindi, Urdu, and Arabic; some of the English, Farsi, and Urdu also. Some of the participants' narratives of how bilingualism and multilingualism are helping to integrate into a multicultural society like Greece.

I was living in Pakistan for more than 15 years; I was working in a garments factory and married a Pakistani girl in Pakistan. I can read and write in the Urdu language. I do believe this helps me a lot to find a job in Greece. I am working on a chicken farm in Greece and the manager is from Pakistan and almost all of the workers in the chicken farm are from Pakistan. So, I can easily communicate with them. (Shahajahan)

Since 2017, I am working as an interpreter (Farsi/English languages) in Happy Family NGO though I am from Bangladesh and my mother tongue is Bengali. I was working and living in Iran for 6 years and I learn the Farsi language. I am happy that I find a job because knowing more than one language. I never thought this language will help me a lot... (Harun)

If you know more than one language for sure you will get benefited, I am living in Greece for more than 15 years and running a small-medium garments factor. For this reason, I need to communicate with the buyers sometimes in the Greek language some times in English. I can say knowing multi-languages are an asset for any person; it

may help you when you are in trouble. I suggest everyone who wants to stay abroad should know more than one language. (Mukter)

I can easily communicate in Hindi and Urdu languages Hindi and Urdu is almost the same when you are speaking but writing is different. Currently, I am working as an interpreter Urdu/Greek language in NGOs. I never thought this language will help me that much. I have many friends from Pakistan and almost everyday hangout with Pakistani migrants and they are my close friend. (Jamal)

Overall, Bilingualism and Multilingualism are very much important for socio-cultural integration also host country language is extremely important for the socio-economic integration of migrants. The role of language is much pronounced for social integration, compared to economic integration. However, religious expression is not the same for all migrants; only the Orthodox religious people are welcome on the other hand, other religions particularly Muslims, are not easily accepted or welcomed in Greece. On the other, the majority of the Bangladeshi migrants are Muslim. The host society's xenophobic perception of Bangladeshi as mainly Muslims is misleading, putting an additional negative element to the image of 'Bangladeshi'. On the other, Bangladeshi are considered as a moderate Muslim nation. They practice traditional culture more than religion. Therefore, we can observe that Bangladeshi migrants are trying hard and soul to be well integrated into Greek society.

6.6 Bangladeshi migrants' residential situations and social integration

In this section, we examine patterns of residential location among migrants and what the most significant factors are in determining a migrant's location and how cultural reasons appear to play an important role. Therefore, we discuss migrants' everyday lives, practices, experiences, relationships with the neighbour, etc. Furthermore, we consider the socio-spatial level of Bangladeshi migrants' integration; their area of residence, and their housing conditions, i.e. what is usually related to the personal sphere of living; but it also refers to their lives outside of the home, at the workplace or holiday, at spaces of action and dealings amongst themselves and with the host society and how space also reflects broad socio-spatial mechanisms of segregation and prejudice.

6.6.1 Residence patterns of Bangladeshi migrants

The empirical findings in table 6.5 present the information about the living status and residence situation of the Bangladeshi migrants in Greece. The research finding shows in

table 6.5 that the majority percentage 67.3 percent of the respondents are living in rented flats; homeownership is the case for only 5.5 percent, and the rest of them live in accommodation provided by their employers or are hosted temporarily by relatives or friends. Among those who rent, a significant percentage 27.1 percent pay less than 200 euros per month; but the majority of the percentage of respondents 25.9 paying more than 250 euros. However, a significant percentage of 55.2 percent living in a single house/ studio type house and shearing with someone from the same country.

Table 6.5 Migrants residence situations in Greece (%)

Bangladeshi migrants living conditions					
Living place		House/Room rent		Living status	
House	55.2	50-100	6.3	Rented	67.3
Flat	22.3	101-150	20.8	Owned	5.5
Room	20.0	151-200	24.6	Offer free of charge	26.2
other	2.6	201-250	22.8	Offer in exchange for work	1.0
		251+	25.9		

On the other hand, an important percentage of migrants' 27.1 percent are living in unsuitable/bad-quality space, such as basements and storerooms converted to flats or on the unpopular ground floors at the time of fieldwork¹⁹. The majority though about 48 percent rest flats on the basement and first floors because of rent and nearly one in four lives on the upper floors. Furthermore, properties with central heating are having only 25.9 percent of participants, whereas a significant number of respondents 51.7 percent had no heating at all; some of them use oil/wood stoves or, in a few cases, electric heaters.

However, an important percentage of 27.2 percent of Bangladeshi those who are working in the agriculture sector as a seasonal worker living free of charge and exchange for work. Bangladeshi migrants who are working in the field living in wagons or sheds converted into rooms, without water, and with outdoor self-made toilets. Those who are working in the city most of them are living near their workplace and city center because is related to issues ranging from work accessibility to the function of social networks. This confirms both their spatial diffusion and the mixed social geography of cities. Although the findings do not imply a clear pattern of rent gradients according to specific areas, they do show that the inner cities

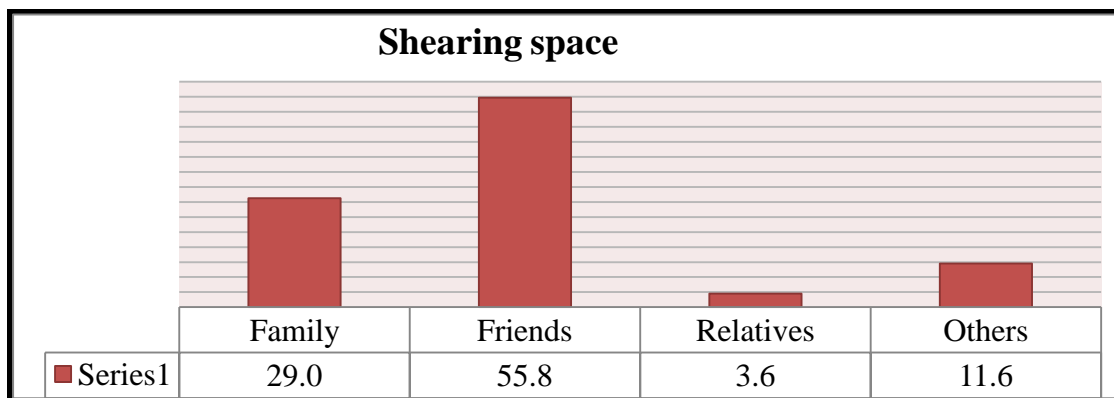
¹⁹ However, cases with different housing situations have been included in this structure. Basement of buildings should not always be considered as unsuitable neither are they less popular among locals. On the other hand there are many Bangladeshi migrants those who are working in the field living in wagons or sheds converted into rooms, without water and with outdoor self-made toilets.

tend to be more expensive, with an average monthly rent less than 150 euros (compared to a total average rent of 190.2 euros for the sample as a whole). But do the monthly rent migrants can afford and the area where they live corresponds strictly to what they earn? The share of those earning more than 40 euros a day who live in central cities is about 30 percent lower than in the whole of the sample; half of the migrants on this wage scale live in the (presumably poorer) outside of the city center.

6.6.2 Shearing space with family members, and friends

The study findings in bar chart 6.2 illustrate information about how and with whom Bangladeshi migrants sharing space in Greece. The bar chart shows that an important percentage of 29 percent of the participants live with their families, especially women and children almost all respondents are living with their families. The highest number of participants 55.8 percent are living with friends. Most of them met each other in Greece and build a friendship relation to have some benefit and get information, create opportunities, and have some concession. This group of people rent a house and about 5 /6 person live together to have some saving. Most of them are living in a house or building where about 150 people live and eat together, the end of the month pays all together 130/150 euros. Some of the participants 3.6 percent are living with their relatives and another 11.6 percent are living religious place Mosque.

Bar Chart 6.2 Shearing space with family and relatives (%)



However, there are some distinctions between the different subgroups of the sample and according to the positive characteristics of the respondents, i.e. by gender, family status, fluency in Greek, education level, etc. On the other hand, no clear structure can be identified apart from a general propensity among some kinds of migrants to enjoy better housing conditions, but this stands more as a fact somewhat than providing any straight explanatory elements. One explanation could be that this information concerns the household, not the

individual, and thus depends on household types and sizes. Other aspects may also play a role: e.g. the presence of ‘elite’ migrants among participants, various migration strategies, or even lifestyles. Rather, the quality of the migrants’ living situations seems to depend on, and reflect, their status in the labor market²⁰. Migrants living in the municipalities tend to rent smaller properties, and the majority of them rent inappropriate housing on the first floor or ground floors.

In contrast, amongst the lowest wage category people earning less than 20 euros a day, we find many who live in the municipalities 70 percent, most in the overpopulated (Omonia) in Athens, (northern and eastern) parts of Thessaloniki, (western) parts of Patra and city center of Ioannina, where the houses are usually older. Furthermore, the average monthly rent paid by migrants in the highest wage category 250 euros does not exceed that paid by those in the lowest wage category 150 euros. This indication recommends that the level of the rent may determine more in the properties that migrants tend to occupy than the location of the property itself. However, in-depth interviews expose reasons such as the quality of houses, the size and building time of the properties, but also the location of the workplace or children’s school, the number of household members. Some of the interviewees’ narratives how the better educated and better employment influences to justify their choice of a specific area:

At first, I was living city centre Omonia (Athens) because of my business... but the place was very crowded... after that, I bought a house in Peria eastern part of the city. I chose it because it’s not overpopulated, the building is new ... and I know the area because one of my friends was living there. Here I feel very comfortable; most of the people are nice though sometimes some people treat us in a racist way. (Minhaz, a Ph.D. holder, runs a consultancy firm)

In the beginning, I was living in Omonia (Athens) the reason that the house is very cheap and to get rent very easily. Also, I did not earn enough money to rent a well-decorated apartment, after that, I earn a good amount of money, open a travel

20 For instance, those who are working highly skilled positions and those who are self-employed and those who earn 40 euros or more a day are more likely to have their own house, to live on second or third floors, or to enjoy central heating and a larger housing space.

gency and now I move to Sindagma along with my family, I am satisfied in my new house although rent is comparatively high. (Delewar)

On the other hand, research findings show that when Bangladeshi migrants look for house for rent they first consider distance from the workplace and family consider their children school location or how far from the metro station and also if the same community people are living in that area or not. Some of the participants expressing how these factors play a significant role for their decision to rent a property. However, Bangladeshi migrants rent property according to the size of their family. Findings shows that many of the families living together with their family members and to save some money many 6/7 migrants rent a house together. The interview quotes below highlight some of these factors by the respondents:

Satter, owner of a mini supermarket in Athens; at first, he was living alone in Greece with some of his friends in Attica, after few years he brought his family. He was explaining regarding his housing condition: *When my family came, I rent a house on the ground floor and the building was relatively old because I did not have much money. Now I move to Peria and the apartment is nice, it is big and cheap and comfortable for my family. I liked this one very much. (Sattar, Athens)*

At the beginning I was alone in Greece and lived with my friend, when my family came, I rented a new apartment to live with comfortably. (Mukul, Thessaloniki)

Shahin, (work in a travel agency, Athens) mentioned: *earlier we were living with another family; we've chosen this place because we needed an extra room for the children to study and we didn't have enough space in our previous apartment. It was a basement, it was not healthy, but we had financial problems as well; Now we are a little better position; we rented this apartment to be more comfortable.*

Based on the findings, Bangladeshi migrants are considered as low-income migrants group in Greece. They accept any kind of job and salary offered by the owner to survive. Therefore, they do not have enough money to rent high quality of property, some of the migrants search cheap property and most of the property rented by Bangladeshi migrants situated ground floor where no basic facilities, central heating or not made for living but to save some money they live there. These are the most common problems mentioned by the respondents and confirmed by the empirical data presented earlier in this chapter. Most

migrants explain that the vulnerable economic situations lead them to cheap and bad-quality accommodation, generally on the ground floors of inner-city properties and dwellings on the outskirts. On the other hand, room sharing policy and overcrowded housing have also been identified in individual migrants' attempts to reduce the cost of living costs. The following cases give a more vivid picture of the living condition of the Bangladeshi migrants:

I am living in Omonia (centre of Athens), in the basement of an old and humid house without central heating along with 18 people; we have only one toilet, one small kitchen for these many people. I don't earn much per month, to move somewhere else that's why I am leading a very miserable life here. (Sohel Rana).

Since 2011, I am living in this old building with other immigrants from different countries free of charge, because I don't have any job, no money...nothing... I expense all my money therefore now having a very miserable life. We don't have a bathroom and kitchen, there is only one big room, and we sleep on the floor. I don't have money to move somewhere else...Hope the situation will be better and I will find a job then I will move. (Masud, Patra)

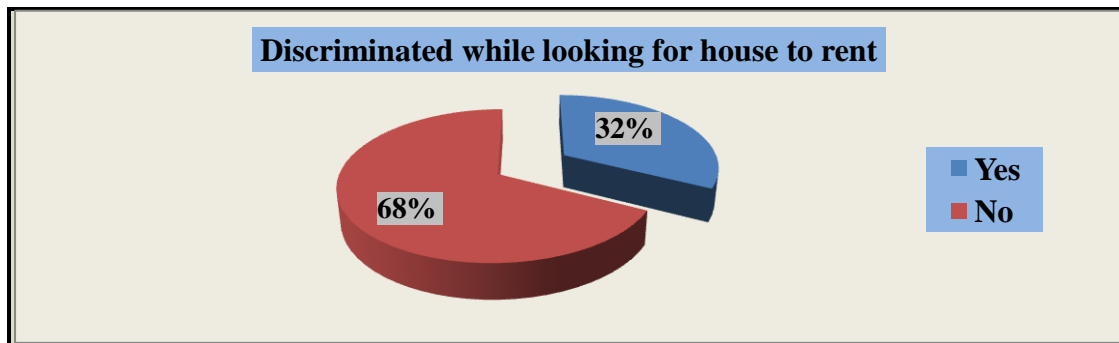
I am living with 15 people in a hall room with other immigrants from Bangladesh. I do not like the room at all, because there is much dampness, only one toilet, and bathroom, even the kitchen is worst, but I can't move to some other place because I couldn't afford to pay more. I do not have any job; bringing money from Bangladesh for my daily expense. (Jamal, Athens)

6.6.3 Xenophobic attitudes towards Bangladeshi in access to the housing market

The research findings in the pie chart provide information regarding xenophobic attitude towards the participants and how they discriminated while looking for a living space to rent. Research findings show in the pie chart 6.3 that the majority of the respondents around 68 percent said that they did not face xenophobic attitudes or any kind of discrimination while they were looking for flats to rent while approximately 32 percent responded that they encountered discrimination. Based on empirical findings, we can observe that, as far as access to housing is concerned, the majority of the Bangladeshi migrants depend on their relatives, friends or some other Bangladeshi whom they know after coming to Greece to access the housing market. On the other hand, access as such is not prevented, but the socio-economic conditions of the migrants generally lead them towards particular areas and specific

types of properties, often in flats or on floors or on the ground floor unwanted by the majority of locals.

Pie chart 6.3 xenophobic attitudes while looking for space (%)



However, the respondents' residential experiences recommend that non-market obstacles also exist, which creates difficulties in the Bangladeshi migrants' pathways of access to housing. Furthermore, findings identified that discrimination is common towards Bangladeshi migrants in Greece and xenophobic approaches that are apparent in their daily interaction with a part of the local inhabitants. Therefore, one of the most significant features of migrants' experiences is discrimination; they face in access to the housing market. Some of the landlords reject to rent their property to a foreigner, particularly to Bangladeshi (and especially to young single males). The significant percentage of the respondent around 32 percent said that they had such an experience is, but the real scenario will increase among migrants those who are single. Therefore, we can identify a clear conception regarding the locals that they don't want to rent their houses to the young single male migrants. Some of the participants highlight their experiences while looking for accommodation for rent:

When I came here, I did not know anyone here, I had some money that's why I stayed in a hotel and was looking for a room to rent, I went to lots of places when the landlord saw me they deny to rent as because I am a foreigner and black, I could not manage to rent a room and my money finished...I was in big trouble...I left the hotel, stayed a few days in Mosque...I meet some Bangladeshi there...make friends with them...now I stay with them (Tulu, Athens)

Jubaer mentioned: what surprised me was when we had found a nice big apartment ... we had signed a contract too, through a common friend, but when the landlord realized that we were from Bangladesh, he hesitated. He said, 'No, I won't rent this to Bangladeshi.' Well, this is his right; he didn't want to rent it to a foreigner, what can

I say about that? I could not get angry; this can happen to anybody. Some people don't rent their properties to students, for instance ... We saw many apartments, and when we said 'Bangladeshi', they'd shut the door. So, we got this one after telling the landlords that we are from South America. (Thessaloniki)

At first, they wanted to rent the apartment to you. When they hear that your Greek is not good then they ask, where are you from? What are you doing here? Where do you work? Then finally they will say we are not going to rent this apartment right now because we need to paint and furnished etc, lots of excuses. It means they are not going to rent you. (Kamal, Ioannina)

Based on the survey, we observed, that there is an extreme discrimination practice by landlords which leads migrants to develop particular ideas to access housing. Therefore, some of them introduce themselves as a good person or foreigners of other nationalities that are generally welcome; some of the migrants use their social networks, especially Greek employers, friends, or relatives, as mediators that might speak to the landlord and facilitate access to a specific property. Nevertheless, what we are facing here is not an exclusionary phenomenon; the housing market, like any other market, operates in terms of exchange, of supply and demand: if a landlord rejects to rent his/her property to a migrant family, someone else will welcome; because everyone does not pose the same manner regarding migrants.

6.7 Residential pathways of Bangladeshi migrants

Research findings provide information in the earlier of this chapter that most of the Bangladeshi migrants are illiterate they even do not know how to read and write Bengali even in Greek. Therefore, in access to housing market they faced many difficulties, first of all they can't communicate in Greek language, second of all their refugee and economical conditions create barricade to rent a property in Greece. The majority of the respondents expressed negative experiences in the past; they could not cope with the situations at the beginning to rent a house. Whatever their accommodation situations were at the time of interviews, things had been worst in the beginning for most of the migrants, especially for single young men during the first years of their migratory journey to Greece. At the beginning majority of the migrants had crucial economic satiation, and their undocumented status, and insecurity conditions pushed them to sleep at the workplace, or even out in the open air such as in the park or beside the street. More than 40 respondents said they had stayed a certain time in the country reception camps which were formed by the government at the border area or in the

island to control the massive migration flow. Some of the respondents expressing their experiences how they survive at the beginning:

At the begging of 2010, I was alone I used to live in Athens, I was looking for a job but ... then I move to Thessaloniki because my two cousins were working there, they assured me to find something for me, but the living condition was not good. They were lining in the basement. There was the humidity, it was bad ... when I got a new job, and we change accommodation. (Rafi, Thessaloniki)

When I first arrived I was living in a flat along with two families for a certain period until I settled. After that I found work and I rent an apartment with my brother-in-law. After a few months, his family came from Bangladesh. I was planning to bring my wife also. That's why I was looking for another apartment to rent because when my sister came with her family I did not feel comfortable with them also room space was too short but I did not have that much of money so I manage to stay with them. (Anwar, Athens)

In 2005, I came to Ioannina, I did not know anyone here. In the beginning, I slept in a park, it was too cold, I was looking house to rent but I could not manage...one day one old man come and told me to stay in his old house. I stayed a few days there and find a job and then rent a house with the help of my boss. (Rafique, Ioannina)

However, this indication underlines the clear dynamic feature of the socio-spatial conditions of migrants' assimilation. As we have seen in the chapter five on employment, it points again to the trajectories that individual migrants follow in the destination place, this time in terms of residence and housing conditions, recommending that, for many, conditions have been changed over time. According to the respondent's material, we can identify that not only migrants' understanding of a high degree of living mobility, but also that the qualities of housing conditions gradually get better over time. Some of the migrants describe their experience in regards to housing conditions:

As a student, initially, I stayed in the university hostel at the University of Thessaloniki. I did not like it very much. I prefer to stay outside instead of a university hostel. I have changed more than four properties, all in the eastern part of the city,

finally I am living in western Thessaloniki together with my wife because we find a job over there. (Jamal)

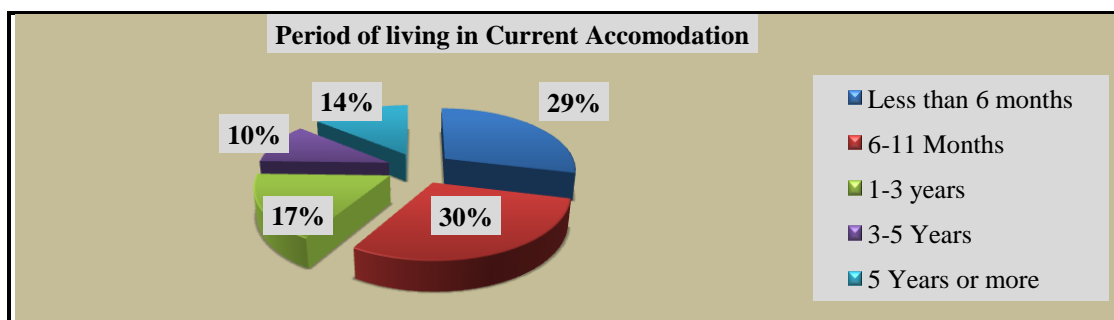
Firstly I stayed in the apartment of a friend, as a guest. After that, I found a job in a factory for five years and my accommodation was provided by the owner of the factory. After that, I left the job and start my own business than I rented a flat and lived alone until married. Now I live in his apartment in Attica, (Athens) together with my wife, and daughter. (Mukul)

In the beginning, I stayed, together with my uncle and aunty, in a little house in Athens. After six months I moved to Thessaloniki, where I found work. I could not manage to survive in Thessaloniki then I moved to Athens again. I was looking job but I found one in Ioannina so I stayed two years there; finally, I am living in Athens. I have changed accommodation more than ten times: at present, I stay Sindagma closer to my workplace, also, close to my uncle's house. (Rashed)

6.7.1 Bangladeshi migrant’s phase of current space and circumstance

The empirical findings in Bar chart 6.4 provide information about Bangladeshi migrants living status in the present accommodation. However, qualitative and quantitative findings support the argument that the important relationships between the number of years respondents have spent in the same accommodation in Greece and certain characteristics of their housing conditions. Additionally, qualitative analysis recommending that the longer a migrant has been in the host society, the longer s/he tends to settle in a particular place, and the more likely s/he is to own accommodation or to live on the upper floors. As we have seen in chapter 5 (see table 5.6) that 7.5 percent of respondents having their own house/flat in Greece and came about 10 years ago in Greece.

Bar chart 6.4 periods of living in present space (%)



The research finding shows in bar chart 6.4 that the majority of the participants about 30 percent living 6 to 11 months in the same accommodation. Most of them are newcomers and changing their space very frequently until they find suitable and comfortable at a reasonable price. On the other hand, second-highest percentage about 29 percent of respondents is living the same accommodation for less than six months. Nearly everyone is a seasonal worker moving one place to another whenever finished season for example (harvest olives, potatoes, oranges, watermelon strawberry, etc. Most of them are living in the village, none of them having a permanent address. More will be discussed regarding the specific vulnerable group next chapter. One of the significant percentages about 17 percent are living in the same accommodation for 1 to 3 years than they change their space because of the working place and most of them are a single young man. On the other hand, approximately 14 percent of respondents are living the same accommodation for more than five years and most of them are living with their family and living their own house. However, about 10 percent of participants are living in the same space for more than one year; most of them are having their own business in the same place and having a family.

6.7.2 Relationship with a neighbour: integration provision

In order to be socially integrated into society, relationships with neighbours play a significant role. The empirical results in table 6.6 present the information about Bangladeshi migrants' relationship status with their neighbour and pleasing eminence of current accommodation. The table depicts that the majority of the migrants who have been in Greece for nine years or longer stay with their families and enjoy a large housing space and heaving a tremendous relationship with their neighbours, they visit each other house frequently. However, the majority of the respondents 56.8 percent mentioned that friendly relationship with their neighbours. The second-largest group of participants 40.3 percent informed that their relationship with the neighbour is dispassionate, 2.3 percent said that they are not having a good relationship with their neighbour. However, the share of only 32.8 percent, respondents who declared themselves 'satisfied' with their housing conditions at the time of the fieldwork most of them are male and married and speaks good levels of the Greek language. On the other hand majority of the respondents 44.5 percents said that they are not super happy with their current accommodation, 22.6 percent are not satisfied with their current space Nevertheless, migrants are more satisfied regarding space in their home country compared to Greece, 55.1 percent migrants said they are not satisfied with their accommodation condition in Greece; they are more comfortable in Bangladesh, only 22.9 percent are satisfied.

Table 6.6 Relationship with neighbour and accommodation condition (%)

Migrants residence circumstances							
Satisfy current accommodation		Relation with neighbor		Compare space with the home country		Compare with the previous residence	
Yes	32.8	Friendly	56.8	More satisfactory	22.9	More satisfactory	20.8
No	22.6	Hostile	2.9	Similar	22.6	Similar	50.9
Neutral	44.5	Neutral	40.3	Less satisfactory	55.1	Less satisfactory	28.3

Besides, the research finding in table 6.3 shows another important indicator that Bangladeshi migrants are not changing their accommodation for happiness sometimes they are forced to leave their present residence. The highest number of migrants 50.9 percent said that their current house condition and the present one is the same. Migrants left the previous residence because the present one is close to the workplace, school and communications facilities are good. A shear of 28.3 percent is not happy about their present accommodation to compare to the previous one. However, after showing all this evidence we can highlight exactly what was the housing percent said that they are happy with their new residence. They are considered as elite class migrants, some of them buy their own house, some of them to enjoy a luxurious lifestyle. The survey has depicted that Bangladeshi migrants in Greece still tend to occupy particular properties of residence within the urban fabric and the local housing market, just like they cover a specific ‘space’ within the labour market for many, these are far from being acceptable standards of living. Besides, one has to develop a dynamic perspective and to address the changes that have gradually taken place over the past twenty-four years, including significant developments in the lives of many migrants, which have happened despite their vulnerable position in a rather critical environment and with specifically informal assistance at all. Despite all the complications and tribulations, Bangladeshi migrants are making Greece their new home, changing the nature of the country as a ‘place’. This last point will be further supported by the analysis in the next section.

Concluding this discussion, based on research findings it becomes clear that there is no common structure of Bangladeshi migrants' housing location evident in the many regions. On the other hand, economic and cultural factors influence migrants to chose the residential location and the residential patterns of migrants, depending on the local conditions, policies and institutions, the cultural background of migrants, and the time that migration takes place

(Arvanitidis 2008). However, research findings once again show the flexibility of the Greek labor market: Bangladeshi migrants are not only prepared (or forced by necessity) to accept any type of work, but also they are ready to travel anywhere around the country for work. On the other hand, Bangladeshi migrants are generally looking for work; and almost any job is welcome, wherever the workplace is located.

6.8 Leisure time activities and holiday choice of Bangladeshi migrants

In the previous section we have analysed migrants' residential condition and pathway to integration into the Greek society therefore this section represents the places migrants tend to spend most of their time. How do Bangladeshi migrants experience the public space and to what extent do they make use of private spaces of consumption and entertainment? The majority of the Bangladeshi migrants go out very frequently, buy goods and socialise with other people, even though they are facing the financial crisis; sometimes discrimination and racist attacks towards them. On the other, although Bangladeshi migrants go out frequently but not like Greek, in general, go because of economic conditions. In addition, most of the Bangladeshi migrants spend their leisure time with friends, going to city centre, most of the women going to neighbour or their relatives' houses. Table 6.7 illustrates information about how Bangladeshi migrants expend their free time and how often they go out.

Table 6.7 Consumption of leisure time (%)

Consumption of free time			
Going out free time		How often you are going out	
Yes	78.9	At least once in 15 days	72.4
No	21.1	Once in a month	4.0
		Rarely	23.6

The quantitative findings in table 6.7 demonstrate that the majority of the participants 78.2 percent used to go out almost every day. On the other hand, 21.1 said that they are not interested to go out frequently. The reason behind that still they are not having documents to legally stay in Greece. They are afraid because they are almost are newcomers and if they go out police may check and arrest as they are still undocumented. The table indicates another important frequency of how often Bangladeshi migrants go out. The majority percentages of the respondents 72.4 percent going out to enjoy his or her leisure time at least once in 25 days, another important percentage 23.6 percent go outside the home whenever they need anything for the house not really to enjoy with friends and relatives. However, 4.0 percent of participants said that they go to the city centre once a month. Through the in-depth

interviews, we can observe various options and habits of Bangladeshi migrant's spend their free time. Some of the participants expressing how they expend their leisure time are as flows:

Faruk was explaining regarding going out: I came to Greece in early 2012, till then I always stay in the house. Last six months I could not manage to go out, first of all, I don't have any legal paper, afraid if police catch me, second of all I don't have money to expand. So I stay home, cook for household members, watch TV, talk with family in Bangladesh.

I am working in a Greek restaurant as a cook, so I have many Greek friends... though I am working long hours when I get time I go out with them...sometimes night clubs or long drive of coffee. (Kamal)

I don't get much time for my business whenever I get time I prefer to go with my family to the neighborhood or relatives. Sometimes I invite them to my house. I through a small party with Bangladeshi traditional food ...we enjoy it a lot. (Mukul)

For economic reasons here I am in Greece ... I try not to go out that often and spend a lot of money ... I stay mostly at home, watch TV, cooking and talk with others in the house. I've been twice with Greek friends, but it's too expensive there. (Juwel)

In the beginning, when I came to Greece (2005), I had a job and was earning lots of money, I was going out very frequently with my Greek and other countries friends, even Bangladeshi friends in the Bar, Coffee shops, Nightclubs, restaurant, and long drive but from last one year, I don't have a job though I wish to go out because of money I could not manage. (Rafique)

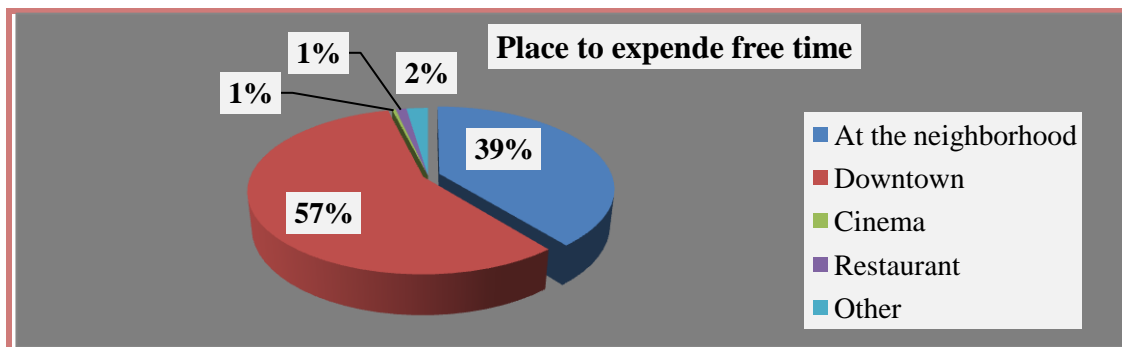
Research findings show that the economical solvency and individual's choice and demand play a significant role to select the entertainment place and location. However many of the Bangladeshi migrants intend to go to the same places as Greeks go but depend on their financial capacity, age, and cultural background they could not. On the other hand, fashionable bars and nightclubs are common and traditional local coffee shops for migrants and locals. However, two significant observations are relevant: Firstly, the majority of Bangladeshi migrants are inserted into the leading leisure-consumption culture that prevails in Greece today and therefore tends to make use of the same personal entertainment spaces.

This is predominantly true for the group studied here, coming from far away country where inhabitants follow modern cultural expressions (commercial music and dance, club culture) which differ much from Bangladesh, although Bangladeshis are a little bit experienced with western cultural imperialism.

6.8.1 Bangladeshi migrants holiday choices in spare time in Greece

The study findings in pie chart 6.5 provide information about which place Bangladeshi migrants prefer to expend their spare time in Greece. Naturally, there is a high degree of diversity, in terms of stay period, age, family status, the area where they live, their employment conditions, etc. Research findings show in the pie chart 6.5 that the majority percentage of the migrants around 39 per prefer to visit their neighbour in their free time. This group lead by women and families who are living in Greece for more than 5 years, they usually visit their neighbour to expend their free time, sometimes they invite their neighbour or relatives once in a week to meet or discuss a non important matter. As we have discussed cultural differences between Bangladeshi and Greece. However, Bangladeshi women, possibly due to household/family roles and cultural diversity, tend to go out less frequently

Pie chart 6.5 places where Bangladeshi migrants expend leisure time (%)



and are not used to go at the night club or visit restaurant and don't go regularly in the bar, cafe, a night club that's the reason they invite or visit neighbor to fulfill their entertainment. On the other hand, the highest percentage of migrants about 57 percent of those living in the center, prefer to go downtown rather than choosing among their limited and closed neighbourhoods for their based entertainment. Besides, we can observe that single young participants among the different groups prefer to visit downtown. Old and married especially women and living outside the city enter appears to be more popular to visit a neighbour. Despite the attention of bars, coffee shops, downtown; they prefer to go in certain other parts of the city or country's historical place in their free time. It is worth noting that

some of the migrants particularly the youngest ones, prefer to go to nightclubs or Greek pop stars or one of the expensive but popular live-music nightclubs on a Saturday night or visiting relatives, or going for walk into the city center on a quasi-daily basis. The percentage of migrants for such practices might be limited, however, due to long working hours and inadequate free time, which make difference with the habits of the residents. Some of the respondents describing their desire that they could not go out frequently:

To be honest with you, I came here to study, I like Greece very much therefore after finishing my graduation, and I have started an export-import business here in Greece. I don't have time much time to cook or make breakfast in the morning. As a result, I eat in a restaurant almost every day, and whenever I got free time I go to nightclubs or live music shows for entertainment. (Sayyed)

Although at times of economic crisis some Bangladeshi immigrants are still having a good position in the job market and earning a good amount of money. I suppose some of them wake up in the morning, at 9 or 10 o'clock, and they go straight to the coffee shop. They do not take breakfast, lunch, or dinner at home, they prefer to eat outside. (Rashed)

Furthermore, there are some specific places where Bangladeshi migrants get together all most every day at the evening. Bangladeshi migrants are Muslims and women strictly follow Islamic rules and do not go out very frequently without urgent need. However, almost all the male migrants at any ages go out almost every day. However, Bangladeshi migrants visit certain coffee shops, bars, and restaurants, some of them visit Bangladeshi restaurant or coffee shops to find their community and discuss about the local and Bangladeshi political agenda and family situations. For example, Monjur, migrants, talks about Sotabdi restaurant in Athens where Bangladeshi migrants gather after work or on weekends for tea or lunch or dinner to have company and enjoy themselves. I had the chance to visit this place in the city center of Athens, to meet Bangladeshi migrants regarding my fieldwork. Once again, I am excited to highlight the dynamic feature: in this domain too because the situation has been changed over time. Some of the migrants are not going out therefore not to be arrested by the police, also some of them keep away from busy public places; that is why many migrants towards a lasting invisible existence, disgusting between the private sphere and the workplace. One of the participants elaborates on their perceptions:

I am very much afraid to go out of the house because I don't have any legal papers ... even in the street I couldn't walk, I was hiding ... [so as] not to be caught by the police, not to walk through places where there were police. (Manik)

On the other hand, there are the practicalities that appear from the way the authorities (more correctly: the police) treat Bangladeshi migrants on a daily routine. As we are going to discuss in Chapter eight (in section 8.3.1), even when they manage to obtain legal status, frequent controls and arrests by police continue to be the case for many Bangladeshi, also troubling their everyday schedule regarding their leisure time and their experiences of space. Furthermore, the issues of discrimination or racist attitudes towards migrants: Bangladeshi migrants frequently face xenophobic attitude and offensive behaviors from the locals, whether in public or private places, that often force them to stay home. Some of the migrants explain their experiences:

A few days ago I was walking beside the road in Omonia, Athens; suddenly one police car stops in front of me and without saying anything they took me to the police station although I had legal paper. I told them why you are taking me, I have legal documents ...they told me we are in duty. They kept me two hours then let me go. After that, I am too afraid to go out. After this occurrence I never went out even I have enough free time. I stay at the home, watch a movie or play the game or talk with my family via skype or phone. (Mustak)

One day I was walking beside the road ... unexpectedly one old lady appeared and started to sought...(Ela re Malaka..ti kanies edw...giati den figis patrida sou), I felt embarrassed, after that I never take that road again. (Rashed)

I am a university student, I have lots of Greek friends, When I go out with them for coffee, and everyone looks at me much weird way...I feel humiliated even when I walk with them people are looking the same way...my friends also feel uncomfortable. (Abdul)

Nevertheless, certainly, the presence of migrants continues to reshape the face of Greece: particular places (for instance, parks, squares, restaurants etc.) become spaces where Bangladeshi migrants get together to meet each other or to look for work. The demand for particular categories of work on the part of the migrants (such as translations, newspapers, garments, construction) and the commercial action of themselves and locals, transform the

urban landscape in specific places and neighborhoods. For example, Omonia in Athens, Courts Square in Thessaloniki, Port area in Patra, Nomarxia in Ioannina; these areas are considered as meeting place for Bangladeshi migrants. On the other, we can detect that there is the enlargement of several small ethnic businesses, ranging from street traders to specialized food stores and traditional restaurants with self-descriptive, place-specific names (e.g. the ‘Sotabdi Restaurant) by the migrants. However, Bangladeshi migrants introduce new colors and nature to the changing urban morphology as well as develop new social uses of place, which obtains a specific meaning towards them and becomes their ‘space’. In the narratives of many participants, the host country is imagined as a new home for them:

I am staying for more than 20 years in Greece with my family. I have bought a house, having my own business, my children are going to school. We almost adjust to this culture. That is why I consider Greece is like my home now as well as it has become a part of my daily life. On the other hand, I go to Bangladesh only for holidays. (Joynal)

Well, I came to Greece in 1991; I have passed almost 23 years in Greece with my family. In these years I have bought two houses, I have opened a restaurant; my children are going to English medium school. We are very happy in our life here. We did not face any difficulty to date. What else someone needs to become happy. Therefore I along with my family want to stay in Greece. We like this county very much. (Mukul)

6.9 Importance of social networks into social integration

In the first part of this chapter we are going to present how social network helped Bangladeshi migrants to assimilation with the host society and assist to find a job in Greece. Research findings show that social networks played one of the most important roles to be integrated into Greek society. The Bangladeshi migrants not only had contacts in Greece before moving, but also relationships with friends who offered assistance in the beginning, and the geographical patterns of the migrants’ settlement in Greece (see bar chart 5.1) helped them to settle in Greece. In general, social networks work as a resource of social capital for individuals and households to overcome difficulties obliged by the market (Portes 1995; Sassen 1995) and by an alien environment that sometimes turns hostile. To explore the patterns of the Bangladeshi migrants’ social networks in our case, it is useful to pay closer

attention to the nature of informal relationships formed and maintained by Bangladeshi migrants in Greece, between themselves and concerning the local inhabitants. However, the majority of the respondents said that they prefer to socialise with the people who came from the same place or region. On the other hand, the workplace or the neighbourhood are the most important places for communication, where new relationships are developed, with home country people, Greeks, or other countries migrants. Some of the participants elaborating their impression how they improve their relationship with different person:

Well, I have lots of friends in my workplace; some of them are Greek and some of them are from different countries. They are very friendly to me. I expend a very good time with them, I go for a long drive, go for coffee and visit each other house on the other hand I don't have many friends from Bangladesh. (Kajol)

Sattar describes: *I have a very good relationship with my owner. He is like my friend. I go out to have coffee, lunch with him, even if I need something I told to the owner he takes me that place. In my city "Volos" there are very few Bangladeshi immigrants living also I don't want to make relation with them.*

Rakib explaining his thought regarding helping hand to immigrants: *I don't want to help everyone from Bangladesh, I prefer to help my relatives then close friends after that anyone from my town (Madaripur), if they are from other places/districts/reason, so I don't want to extend my helping hand towards them.*

However, Bangladeshi nations known as one of the most kindness nations, wherever they go always try to develop relationship with the neighbour, host country people to integrate easily into the host society. On the other hand, sometime this approach create several problems when can't manage to keep contact with each other or the other relatives. According to the Bangladeshi migrants speech economic condition responsible to create such a situation some time their long work hours, time for the family and living location are generate such problems . Some of the participants mention how economic factors force people to make the distance from others:

In my point of view, economic situation, employment condition, geographical distance, and family responsibilities can change the immigrants' relationship status. When I came here I was living with some of my friends from Bangladesh. After that

my family came, I start a new business therefore I don't have sufficient time to keep relationships with other Bangladeshi. Also, I have children I give time to them. You can also observe how busy I am with my family as well as business. (Mannan)

From my home town, two intimate friends came together in Greece. In the beginning, we were working in a garments factory together in Athens, after that he finds a job in a better position in Thessaloniki therefore he left me. In the beginning, he was calling me but time has been changed. Now he is busy with his work and earning more money. At present we don't talk to each other therefore I can say distance and employment situation change the relationship importance. (Zubair)

On the other hand, some interviewees insisted that bonds between relatives and friends became stronger abroad. In the words of Kabir, 'generally geographical distance makes relationships tighter'. So tight those cultural and social differences are often eliminated, and people of different backgrounds are brought together. One of the respondents' speeches:

There is a commitment; it is imposed because of the situation. There are relationships built here, even friendly ones, between people that wouldn't come into contact there just because you are in a foreign land. Here I have very good relationships with them even more closely than blood relatives, they are always beside you in a good or bad situation. (Jamshed)

The patterns of the relationship differ considerably according to age, gender, family status, geographical origin, education level, or financial situation. For example, families are more likely to socialize with other families, male mostly with male colleagues and females mostly with female colleagues or neighbors, rich to rich, young to young, etc. Actually, it was sometimes the same people who argued both cases: migration and the conditions in Greece are responsible for both distances between people in general. On the other hand, they may result in closer bonds and more frequent contact among small groups. Furthermore, a more dynamic observation distinguishes between past and present experiences of the migrants' interpersonal relationships according to their legal status and living conditions. Some of the interviewees gave such accounts themselves:

When I was working in Athens, I used to have lots of friends, hang out with them, going out almost every day. After that, I find a job in Patra that's why I move to Patra. I am working outside of the city center and rent a house close to my workplace.

I am working everyday therefore I don't have enough to go to the main city also I don't know very much about this city and city dwellers. On the other, I have only a few friends and not getting time to go out with them. (Manik)

As time passes relationships are becoming more commercial, some fewer people stay, they get closer to each other. When people are illegal, they tend to hide, to avoid others because they don't want to get in trouble. Things are changing very fast, everyone trying to protect his home and his work. This is why sometimes we cannot help each other. On the other side, if you don't help they might misunderstand. Competitive relationships developed regarding their income. (Rabbi)

On the other hand, many Bangladeshi migrants working together with locals which really breakdown the cultural obstacle and create friendly bandings with two nations which is going to discuss next chapter of the dissertation. However, the empirical findings show that a significant percentage of about 29.2 percent of the participants have a relationship with Greeks and some of them have close Greek friends (see section 8.4). Locations of communication include the neighbourhood, the school, the workplace consider as the primary stage where migrants and locals have the chance to meet, cooperate, talk, and build the relationship. On the other, the majority of the respondents mentioned that they established a closer relationship with Greeks at their workplace. Some of them also described that their dedication to work generated to the development of personal relationships with their employers. Some of the migrants elaborating how they develop personal relationships with their boss:

When I came to Greece, I started working in a restaurant as a cleaner in the kitchen; the chef was from Bangladesh, he helped me a lot at the beginning. I was working for about 15 hours every day. The chef teaches me how to cook therefore I learned very quickly because he was teaching me in my native Bangla language. Now I am working as a chef in the same restaurant. The owner knows how I cook and how much I am dedicated to his restaurant that why he appointed me as a chef. (Kamal)

Well, the restaurant, where I am working at present, he was living in Australia, He had a restaurant over there. Therefore he had experience regarding immigrants' life that the reason, he is very friendly with me at the workplace and he helps me a lot to make my stay permit (Faisal)

Research findings show that contact between migrants and locals' socialisation, friendship, even love affairs in a few cases that appear to beat prejudice in the long run. On the other, some respondents get to know locals especially employers or colleagues at work, neighbors, or younger people. However, the majority of the respondents considered that they are discriminated in different sectors through their Greek colleagues by the owner. Nevertheless, migration referred to the cultural proximity between Greeks and Bangladeshi and develops interpersonal contact.

6.10 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, on the basis of the research result, we can identify that there is no particular structure of Bangladeshi migrant residential area. On the other hand, economic and cultural aspects force migrants to choose the residential location and the Bangladeshi migrants' residential patterns, depending on the local economic conditions, job availability, and the cultural background of migrants and the time that migration takes place. Bangladeshi migrants are generally looking for work; and almost any job is welcome, wherever the workplace is located. On the other hand, most of the Bangladeshis are undocumented and access to the Greek national health system depends primarily on the legal status and registered employment. That's why less the 50 percent having health insurance and getting treatment in a public hospital. Whenever they are going to the hospital for treatment, they face lots of problems. Most of the problems reported by the respondents concerned about bureaucracy and some rather isolated events of discriminatory attitudes by employees. Successful integration in the field of health could be measured in terms of equality of access to health care, health information, etc., and the same incidence of health risk factors within migrant stay in the host country (Cairde 2014). On the other hand, contact between migrants and locals socialization, friendship, even love affairs in a few cases that appear to beat prejudice in the long run. Although, some respondents get to know locals especially employers or colleagues at work, neighbors, or younger people, and develop a relationship with host country inhabitants majority of the respondents could not manage to develop relationships therefore they are discriminating in different sectors with the locals. However, a significant number of migrants are trying heart and soul (Culturally, Economically, and socially) to be well integrated into Greek society. In the next chapter, we will analyse labour market integration situation of Bangladeshi migrants to further discuss Bangladeshi migrant's integration experience.

Chapter seven:

Labour market integration scenarios of Bangladeshi migrants

7.1 Introduction

Labour market integration is arguably the single most important contribution to the integration of migrants (Lemaître, 2007). Migrants' access to the labour market is an essential part of integration and integration policy. The labour market integration is one of the most important factors of the assimilation into the host society. The labour market integration represents Bangladeshi migrant's economic and living status in the host society. However, in this chapter Bangladeshi migrants employment patterns, previous work experience, current position in the labour market, working conditions, payment, way to find work, discrimination and integration situation will be discussed to understand the tangible assimilation situation in the host society labour market.

This chapter is divided into five sections, in the first section; we discuss patterns of work migrants performed before moving to Greece, present occupation, sector of employment by Gender, and feedback about their current occupation. In the second section, we describe the migrants' integration situation at the Greek labour market, work environment, and employment trajectories starting from the occupations they held at the time of the fieldwork. In the third section, we explain assimilation challenges in the Greek labour market for Bangladeshi migrants, language proficiency, equal opportunity, etc. In the fourth section, we explore Bangladesh Embassy and community leaders' role in the integration, and in the last section, we illustrate, labour market integration and policy barriers. Also, we have explored the fieldwork data and extended using extracts from the in-depth interviews of migrants to know the concrete labour market integration situation of Bangladeshi migrants.

7.2 The dynamic of labour market flexibility in Greece

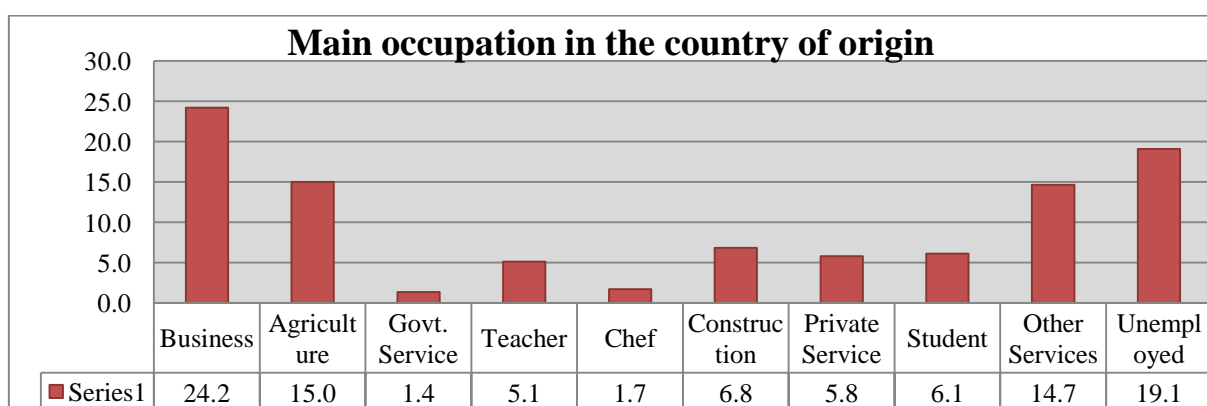
A flexible labour market is one where firms are under fewer regulations regarding the labour force and can therefore set wages (i.e. no minimum wage), fire employees at will, and change their work hours. A labour market with low flexibility is bound by rules and regulations such as minimum wage restrictions and requirements from trade unions. Labour market flexibility puts all the power in the hands of the employer, resulting in an insecure workforce. we, therefore, analyse the quantitative and qualitative element from the

questionnaire survey and some primary key observations to understand the fundamental characteristics of the migrant labour market situation in Greece; such as, what kind of jobs they perform and what types of companies give them the job, in which sectors of the economy they mostly work, and the differences between man and woman migrant into labour market. In the following section we will also analyse migrants' employment conditions, length of their working days, their wages, if they are registered or not, and their relationships with employers and colleagues.

7.2.1 Bangladeshi migrants' occupations before arrival in Greece

Previous work experience both paid and unpaid and specific skills of an individual play a significant role in access to any labour market even in the host country. This part of this section we are going to discuss the Bangladeshi migrant working profession before coming to Greece. However, we have observed in the earlier Chapter 5, only a small percentage of participants only 1.0 and 6.9 percent consider as skilled and qualified workers those who completed university or technical/professional education (See Bar chart 5.6). On the other hand, a significant percentage of 24.3 percent of migrants finished primary education also an important number of 10.1 percent of respondents are illiterate even did not know how to read and write. One-third of the migrants used to work in skilled positions before coming to Greece. The study findings in the bar chart 7.1 provide information about Bangladeshi migrants working activities and professions before coming to Greece.

Bar Chart 7.1 Bangladeshi migrant's profession before coming to Greece (%)



The research findings in Bar chart 7.1 illustrate that the majority percentage of 24.2 percent of the Bangladeshi migrants were undertaking business before coming to Greece. Most of the participants of this migration group came directly from Bangladesh; some of them came from many different countries from the Middle East. They were running their

business but by the encouragement of human traffickers, they decided to move to European countries. The second-largest percentage 19.1 percent was unemployed and looking for work but could not manage or family pressure force for migration decisions. On the other hand, significant percentages of 15.0 percent of the respondent were working in the agriculture sector. Some of them were cultivating rice, wheat, potato, tomato, etc. in their land, some of them borrow land to cultivate paddy to help their family.

However, a share of 14.1 percent uses to work in the Garments sector, assistant in a shop, in mobile mechanic, drive, etc. We can also observe in the finding that 6.8 percent of the respondents in the construction sector to maintain and repair. Another 5.8 percent of individuals use to work in a private company or personal services for example cleaning, private care, casual maintenance, and repair work (Bank employee, gardening, painting, roofing, etc.). Nevertheless, a shear of 6.1 percent came in Greece with a student visa, after their study they did not return and convert their visa into employment visa. We can also perceive that 5.1 percent of the migrants were working as a teacher, most of them are women, and they migrate to Greece with family reunification visa to stay with their family. Some of the migrant's 1.5 percent were working in the government sector some of them felt Bangladesh for better life some of them left to stay their family. Overall, it is clear that most Bangladeshi is unskilled and educational qualifications are very low even the majority of them even did not work before coming to Greece.

In that respect, it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that migration involves a momentous deflation of the individuals' employment profile and employment status. It has a deep 'de-skilling' effect since what used to be a rich educational qualification in the countries of origin becomes worthless in the Greek labour market. Besides, in the Greek labour market, the high demand for foreign labour is for the bottom-end works in the employment pyramid. Bangladeshi migrants are therefore forced or willingly ready to accept any kind of work which is available in Greece, despite their educational qualifications and professional experience. Some of the respondents expressing their previous profession and the present employment are performing in the host country:

I was working as an electronic engineer in Bangladesh in a private company; earning a good amount of money according to the Bangladesh context. I heard that if I go to Europe, I will earn a huge amount of money per month. Anyhow, I came to Greece one year ago still facing difficulty getting my paper and I feel that it was my wrong

decision. How long you can stay without work. I am planning to move to Village to work in the agriculture sector. (Rownok)

I came from Iraq; I had my own business and I was earning about 2000 USD per month. My friend told me if I go to Italy you will earn four thousand euros every month. I planned to go to Italy, but I could not manage to go, Now I am staying in Greece and trying to find a job, but it seems very difficult. (Ali)

I have completed a university degree from one of the best universities in Bangladesh. I was working as a teacher in a High school, but my husband was living in Greece and because of family reunification I move to Greece and now working in a money transfer company. (Sattar)

Before coming to Greece, I was working in the agriculture sector in Bangladesh but here in Greece working as a cook in a restaurant in Ioannina. (Kamal)

When I came to Greece, I was only 18 years old. I was a student in a college, and I did not involve in any work in Bangladesh. Here in Greece working as a waiter in KFC restaurant in Athens. (Masud)

In Bangladesh I was working as an assistant to a doctor then I move to Pakistan there I worked in a hospital but here in Greece I did not get a job according to my profession, At present, I am working in a chicken farm in Ioannina. (Shahalom)

Well, I worked as an assistant teacher in a primary school in Bangladesh, but now I am working in a garment factory in Athens in Greece. (Sahida Parvin)

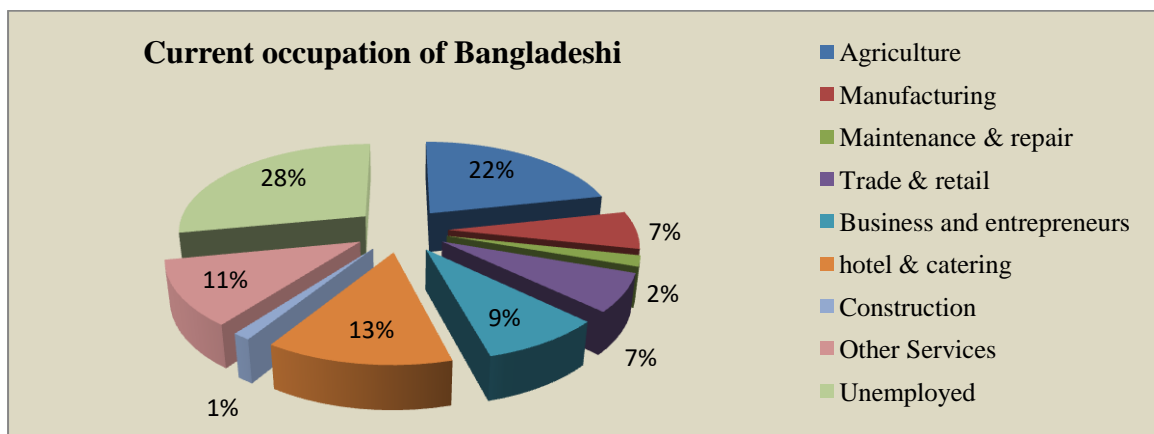
I was running a small business in Bangladesh; here in Greece, I do not have that much money to start a business that is why at present I am working in a construction site in Thessaloniki. (Mahmud)

I worked as an office secretary in Bangladesh, at present working in the agriculture sector in a strawberry farm in Manolada. (Sajjad)

7.2.2 Current profession of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece

Generally, many research studies demonstrate that migrants play a significant role in the access labour market in the host country because of some job sectors avoided by locals e.g. dirty, difficult and dangerous jobs, low-paid agriculture sector jobs, low-skilled jobs for example harvest olives, orange, and road construction sector, etc. Because of the unwillingness to work difficult sectors by the locals, these sectors would probably face severe shortages of labour. On the other hand, Bangladeshi migrants consider as a low skilled worker and they are ready to work in any kind of sector to survive. Furthermore, language proficiency plays an important role to get a job in the host country, as a lack of local language skills they are bound to accept any kind of job in access to the labour market though some of them are a really high skilled worker. The empirical findings in the pie chart 7.1 provide information about Bangladeshi migrants' current occupation in Greece.

Pie Chart 7.1 Present profession of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece (%)



Research findings in pie chart 7.1 illustrate that the majority percentage of almost 28 percent of migrants are unemployed at the time of fieldwork, most of them were new arrivals or seasonal worker. Second largest percentage 22 percent of the participants are working in the agriculture sector, hidden finding shows that most of them are undocumented. However, one important number of migrants approximately 13 percent are working in hotels and catering. Most of them are chef assistants, some of them are kitchen assistants e.g. washing dishes, cleaning the place, etc. Another finding need to point out that about 11 percent of the respondents working as a vendor, for example, selling product beside streets, cleaning car glass at streets, at the summer by the sea, and many other places around Greece, most of them selling goods in Omonia, in the center of Athens.

However, a sheer of 9 percent of migrants involves doing business; as we have seen in chapter 5 that there are more than three hundred small-medium supermarkets and about thirty small garments factory run by Bangladeshi migrants around Greece. A small percentage of participants are working in the maintenance and repair sector, few of them were working in the same sector in Bangladesh. In the manufacturing sector around 7 percent of migrants are working, most of them are working in the garments; they were working in the same sector in Bangladeshi and Pakistan. Also, some of the Bangladeshi migrants currently work in the construction site. Overall, it is clear that the types of work Bangladeshi migrants are performing at present are generally physically demanding, often of a servile type as well as most of the work are in low-skilled positions.

The research findings illustrate that most of the Bangladeshi migrants work in jobs requiring either no skill at all or very basic ones. On the other hand, less than one-quarter of migrants work as domestic workers (for instance cleaners, maintenance/construction workers), but a significant 42 percent work as a manual worker; work in agriculture, manufacturing, and construction, and one-fifth work as assistants in retail shops and trading companies. On the other hand, only 20 percent of Bangladeshi migrants perform skilled manual work, about 11 percent work in factories and workshops (such as garments machine operators, crouton factor). Present some respondents narratives regarding the position of work at the beginning and the current status in labour market at the time of fieldwork:

To tell you the truth, I started working as a cleaner in a restaurant (plates, glasses, etc), then started to learn how to cook, I learn and now become a good cook ... Planning to open my restaurant. (Jalal, cook in a renowned restaurant)

When I came, I was fresh; I mean, I didn't know anything, now I am a construction worker, a skilled worker, a builder. I've learned the job here; at the beginning, I was only helping, but I had to learn the job, I had to get some more money. (Suronjit construction worker.)

In the beginning, I was working in a bakery as an assistant. After that I became an expert, now I am in charge of that bakery. There are three people, and in the morning the boss comes and says 'We have to prepare this and that, bread, this amount in kilos ...' (Sahin, works in a bakery.)

Well, I got a scholarship for my master degree in Greece, I have completed a one-year Greek language course, now I can speak Greek and I can also speak French, Arabic, and English. Having good knowledge of all those languages, now I am working in a refugee camp as a translator. (Kadir, working in a refugee camp)

Now, I have my own garments factory, I started to work in garments sites, then I learn and become an expert in this sector.... then decide to open ... This is what I chose, and it suits me because I love this job (Motiur, owner of a garments factory.)

Research findings also show, how skilled workers or qualified persons may move towards low-status, low-skilled occupations. In some cases, this appears to be partly a result of linguistic or cultural obstacles, or due to outdated qualifications. Some of the respondents describing their experiences; did not find a job according to their qualifications:

Well, I have completed MBA from Belgium, I married a Greek girl when he was studying in Belgium; after finishing my study I moved to Greece with my wife but according to my qualification I did not find any job in Greece, therefore, I start the business. (Mannan)

I have completed a master's degree from a reputed university in Bangladesh, after that, I got a scholarship for my Ph.D. degree in Greece. I have completed my doctoral degree but according to my qualification, I did not find a job here. At present, I am working as a manager at the Hotel in Zakynthos. (Rabbi)

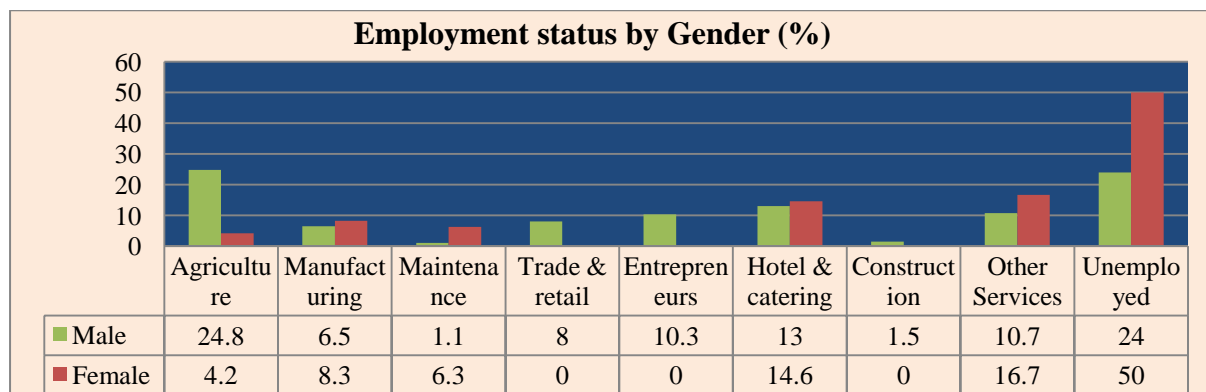
At present, I am working in a travel agency but I have a higher education degree from University. I was dreaming after finish my graduation I will work in a multinational company but dream and reality are different. (Habib)

7.2.3 Bangladeshi migrants' sectors of employment by Gender

Achieving gender equality is important for workplaces not only because it is 'fair' and 'the right thing to do,' but because it is also linked to a country's overall economic performance. Workplace gender equality is associated with: Improved national productivity and economic growth (WGEA). However, in the context of Bangladeshi women, migrants' equal access in the Greek labour market is quite low, maybe they are not permitted by their husbands. The sectors of employment those working at the time of the fieldwork are presented in bar chart 7.2 according to gender. The quantitative findings in Bar chart 7.2

describe men in the sample, the majority of participants 24.8 percent work as a manual worker on agriculture sectors, the second-largest percentage 24.0 percent were unemployed at the time of research conducted, most of them were seasonal worker, an important percentage of respondents 13 percent working in a coffee shop, restaurant, bar, etc. however, 6.5 percent work in the manufacturing sector (factories and workshops), only 1.5 percent labour working in construction sites, a small percentage 1.1 percent employee in maintenance and repair and 8 percent working in trading companies and storerooms at the time of fieldwork. On the other, 9.5 percents are assistants or shopkeepers in small retail stores, bakeries, and petrol stations, an important shear 10.7 percent, who are casual manual workers, perform other/personal services.

Bar chart 7.2 Sector of employment of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece by gender (%)



On the other hand, the highest percentage 50 percent women comprise are housekeeper and inactive, the second-highest number of women 14.6 percent work as waitresses or assistants in coffee shops or kitchen assistant, an important percentage 8.3 percent work in the manufacturing factory (almost exclusively in small- or medium-sized clothing manufacturers), however, a small percentage 4.2 percent working in the agriculture sector. Overall, we can observe some differences in the sectoral employment of immigrants by gender. For male migrants, Agriculture and manufacturing work are more common. The hotel and catering workplaces are less significant to males compared to females. The majority of women, on the other hand, are unemployed and inactive compared to the man. In the sector of entrepreneurship and self-employment are more common among men and women: eighteen out of the thirty business-owners are men rest of them are women. On the other, managers of larger companies are exclusively men, while women entrepreneurs tend to run a mini-market. Besides, twelve women are supporting to run the family business, one-third of them are self-employed at the time of the survey. For men, self-employment refers mainly to

enterprise small-scale construction, painting or house-repair, or too specialized technicians (electricians, plumbers), often together with relatives or friends during their earlier years in Greece. This explains the high degree of self-employment among those running a mini supermarket, travel agency, money transfer in personal services and maintenance and repair, as shown in bar chart 7.2. The participants' narratives reveal their involvements in self-employment/entrepreneurship:

From the beginning, I have been working in a supermarket for all these ten years. At first, I was working as an assistant in the supermarket for four or five years. After that, I get to know that the owner does not want to run this supermarket anymore. He wants to stay with his family in the USA. I then discuss with my brother if we can rent it and run together. He told me yes we can but we have to take a loan from the bank. We manage everything, therefore, for the last six years, I along with my brother running this supermarket. In the beginning, I had a problem with the papers to open a market, because to get the papers you have to have a stay permit, which they wouldn't issue during those years. (Jahid Bokul, runs a supermarket together with his brother.)

I came to Greece to do my master's degree. I have been admitted to Athens University. Before coming to Greece I had learned several languages. In Greece, I learned the Greek language at the University. After that, I got a job in the asylum centre as a translator. Besides that, I was thinking to open a translation office so that it will be helpful for Bangladeshi immigrants. At first, I have faced the same problems that a Greek can face when they start their business. Finally, I have started an office for translation, where I have three full-time employees and many external collaborators. The external collaborators are mostly Greeks. Well, some of them are foreigners, because we offer translation services and we need people who speak foreign languages. Besides translation, I give other services like printing and press, a legal assistant for immigrants and travel agency, money sent, etc. (Sajib, owns a translation office.)

Well, in the beginning, I was working as a helper of a Pakistani in construction, painting, and plaster site. I worked five years as an assistant with him I then gathered experience on how to work and I became very close with some people who worked in this sector. After that, I decided to open my construction farm with one of my best friends. He agreed to invest some money to start this farm. Therefore, you can see my

farm. Nowadays, some other people are working as well on my farm. Currently, we are running 4 projects; we never run out of work. I am happy because we are in a good position in our sites. (Rabbi, self-employed in construction, undertakes repair/renovation projects.)

To sum up, the majority of Bangladeshi migrants work in agriculture, manufacturing, and construction, various low or semi-skilled services (for instance, restaurant, coffee shop, bar, domestic service, garments, etc.). Because of the exclusionary legal framework and due to the structural features of the Greek labour market, the significant percentage of Bangladeshi migrant labour has been absorbed by the underground economy and informal employment remains widespread for large shares of Bangladeshi migrant workers even after legal status is achieved.

7.2.4 Bangladeshi migrants' opinion regarding current occupation

The study finding shows Bangladeshi migrants' reactions regarding the current profession at the time of fieldwork. The empirical data in table 7.1 depict information about Bangladeshi migrant's worker what kind of contract holding, satisfactory level from the current occupation, and their working status in Bangladesh at the time of fieldwork. In regards to the employment contract, the majority percentages of 85.8 percent of respondents are holding a temporary work contract. Most of them are working either in the Agriculture sector or summer job in a restaurant, bar, or cafeteria. On the other hand, only 13.8 percent are having a permanent contract. Most of them are working for a manufacturing company; some of them are working as an interpreter, performing the same job for more than 8 years. However, the research findings illustrate in table 7.1 the current profession satisfactory level of Bangladeshi migrants. The majority percentage 43.2 percent of the respondents are expressed at the time of fieldwork that they are not happy with their current work, most of

Table 7.1 Migrant's judgment about their present employment (%)

General reaction about the current occupation (%)					
Type of contact		Satisfaction from the current occupation		Use to work at Bangladesh	
Permanent	13.8	Yes	31.9	Yes	72.1
Temporary	85.8	No	43.2	No	27.9
		Neutral	24.1		

them are educated and qualified skilled workers but because of documents and job market conditions, they are performing any kind of work to survive in Greece. The second-largest

percentage of 31.9 percent migrants are pleased regarding their present job, most of them are illiterate and unskilled workers and working in the agriculture sector. On the other hand, a shear of 24.1 percent of respondents said they like their present employment but looking for a better opportunity, most of them are semi or skilled workers, working in a restaurant.

Furthermore, empirical data table 7.1 presents the employment status of Bangladeshi migrants before coming to Greece. The mainstream percentage 72.1percent of the participants use to work in various sectors in Bangladesh, while 27.9 percent of the respondents provide information that they did not perform any kind of work in Bangladesh and most of them are students.

7.3 Employment and integration situation into labour market

Bangladeshi migrants perform any kind of work to survive or access to the local labour market even though their qualifications and experience do not match. This section aims at presenting the labour market conditions and integration situation of Bangladeshi migrants' in the Greek labour market. Almost all migrants have worked in various occupations during their stay in Greece. Research findings shows that Bangladeshi migrants have changed my job across the country, most of the respondents express that at the beginning of their arrival in Greece they were working in the agriculture sector because of their undocumented status. This heterogeneity of Bangladeshi migrants' job experiences, despite their concentration in specific labour-market positions, exposes two basic features in Greece, both connected to migrants' access in the Greek labour market. Most of the single respondents have been changed their employment several times across the country until they find suitable one according to salary and working hours, they don't concentrate geographical location. As we have discussed earlier because of urgent need and to survive Bangladeshi migrants had to agree to perform any work that was offered to them, even though their qualifications and experience do not match. Therefore, despite representing a high profile or good position in the labour market they try to give their best effort whatever they are performing and they are more flexible about their working hours as because of the undocumented status and not to lost the employment.

7.3.1 Bangladeshi migrants' integration into the Greek labour market

Labour market integration is one of the most significant indicators of integration into the host country. The research findings in table 7.2 provide information about Bangladeshi migrants' daily working hours, salary, and type of contract they are having in Greece. The

first contribution of this section is to extend empirical evidence of working conditions and payments of the respondents to reflect an extent of the cheap and flexible labour offered by migrants. The main issues addressed here concern the participants' daily working hours, payment, and type of contract as summarised in Table 7.2. To start with, working days for most of the respondents are in line with the unusual Greek standards (six or seven days per week), depending on the sector and the needs of each job. On the other hand, research finding in Table 7.2 illustrate for many of the Bangladeshi migrants working day is much longer than the usual eight-hour one. A working day of up to eight hours is the case for only 22 percent of migrants. For an equal share, the working day usually exceeds eight hours almost 45.4 percent work for more than ten hours a day. The remaining 31.7 percent, respondents said their daily working hours were not fixed.

Table 7.2 Bangladeshi migrants working condition by wage, duration, and type (%)

Working/contract details of Bangladeshi					
Daily working hours		Per day wage (Euro)		Type of employment	
8 or less	22.0	Less than 20	7.7	Seasonal	32.3
8 and over	45.4	20-29	47.3	Part time	9.1
Not fixed	31.7	30-39	13.6	Full time	58.6
		40 and more	3.2		
		Not fixed	27.7		

Besides, quantitative data in table 7.2 shows, a significant number of respondents' 47.3 percent earn between 20-29 euros per day, while only 13.6 percent earning more than 30 euros, only a few 3.2 percent earning 40 euros or more²¹. A daily wage of fewer than 20 euros is the case for 7.7 percent of the respondents, while 27.7 percent said their wage is not fixed but depends on the availability and hours of work, or if the 'business goes well'. On the other hand, domestic employees and cleaners get less than 20 euros per day. However, those who are working construction and maintenance/repair sector get between 30-39 euros per day, in the agriculture sector worker get between 20-29 euros but these sectors are also the ones where wages fluctuate more, especially for the self-employed.

On the other hand, more than half of the employed having permanent full-time employment contracts, while the second-largest percentage 32.2 percent said their job

²¹ For the respondents who stated their monthly salary, daily wages have been calculated by dividing this amount by twenty working days. In the few cases where respondents stated their hourly rate of pay this was multiplied by eight hours of work per day. 50 people did not state the exact amount they earn, but said their payment was 'very low', 'high' or 'unstable/not fixed/depends' and were processed in SPSS under the relevant categories ('less than 20', '40+', 'not fixed', respectively).

arrangements were temporary as a seasonal worker. Additionally, only 9.1 percent were doing casual or part-time work and an equal share was holding more than one position (combining either two part-time jobs, or a full-time one with part-time work or self-employment). However, research findings clearly show a certain degree of heterogeneity; the respondents reveal that payment first depends on the nature of employment and the position held, but also on the period a person was working for the same owner, the working hours, and the kind of relationships with employer. The daily wage for a manual worker in (metal or wood processing) workshops as well as on construction sectors (building, cement-mixing, painting) differs from 20 to 30 euros. For a domestic servant/cleaner it varies between 10-20 euros per day, depending on the hours of work and the goodwill of the owner.

However, unskilled workers in small manufacturers and entrepreneurs (garments factory, mini supermarket) receive around 20 euros for ten hours of work; skilled worker work in the bigger company might get paid more than 700 euros per month, however, depending on the employment position as well as qualifications and on the period of working for the same owner. The low payment was one of the most significant problems concerned by most of the respondents compare with Greek workers' payment. Particularly when it connected the same category of employment and longer working hours are done by migrants and the lower wages they receive as an 'advantage' for being preferred by Greek owners. Some of the respondents showing their reaction regarding low payment:

I am working in a bar/restaurant as a barman and working more than 10 hours but getting only 20 Euros on the other hand, in the same position and same bar Greek man is working, he is getting 40 euros in 8 hours. I am getting less than half what I deserve (Tulu)

Well, hope you also know about Greek works how they work at their job/workplace. They want to have a coffee break at ten o'clock, at noon they want to have a lunch break for half an hour, at two o'clock they want to have a break again fifteen-or twenty-minute for coffee and a cigarette, that's how they work. Here all the Greek bosses don't want Greek workers for their small-medium factories. Therefore, they hire Bangladeshi or other country workers, because we work for less money and long hours. (Momotaj, Garments worker)

7.3.2 Employee social security and apprehensive job environment

Based on research findings, majority of the Bangladeshi migrant are do not have the social security number at the time of fieldwork conducted only 44.9 percent had social security (see chapter 8). However most of the respondents said they bought their social security from IKA in order to apply for regularisation or renewal of their stay and work permits. On the other hand those who work in the agriculture sector most of them are having OGA insurance worthies they it as because of low cost. Furthermore, very few Bangladeshi working freelancing and entrepreneurs based and they were registered with TEBE insurance. There are some general factors seen amongst migrants who work on an irregular basis, such as self-employed in the construction sector, electricians, and domestic employees, mini shop owners; they paid IKA by themselves, sometimes by their employers. On the other, an important percentage of the participants said, social security is not much necessary for them but they are paying only to cover health insurance, they knows that they are not going to stay in Greece for forever so they don't care about pension after their retirement. However, according to the Greek legislation stay permit/work permit will not be renewed without social security insurance. Some of the participants expressing their experience to clarify this issue are as flows:

Well, what to say to you, first of all, there are no lots of job opportunity nowadays in Greece. Therefore, I am working for more than 10 hours in a garment factory per day and getting 20 euros from the last two years. In the matter of social security, none of our factory workers having social security so how can I ask for social security. (Majid)

I am working in a bar in the last three years, I got only 2 euro per hour. I work 10 hours a day sometimes 12 hours also but I got only 20 euros per day. I ask my boss to pay IKY, she told me she can't pay. If I force her to pay social security; she always shouts at me and told me to leave this job. When someone coming from the IKA office to inquire about the bar staff; she was always telling me to leave the bar for a while. That's how I am working without social security. (Abu Hossain)

However, the president of Greek Chamber of Commerce is Mr. Jahir Dakua, from Bangladesh but Bangladeshi migrants in Greece are reluctant to become a member of labour union bodies. Therefore the labour union participation rates are extremely low: only 13.2 percent of Bangladeshi migrants were members of a trade/labour union at the time of

fieldwork (See table 6.3). Especially, newcomers are not interested also their undocumented status creates a barricade to become a member of this group. However, most of the restaurant owners, Garments factory owners, mini-supermarket owners, some of the Bangladeshi migrants who work in various sectors in Greece are member of these particular union bodies for their right. However, the extensive irregularities and the types of jobs migrants perform (casual work, domestic service) rather provide the account for such limited union membership, in cooperation with fear, lack of information, inadequate language proficiency, and maybe a certain degree of distrust towards collective organizations. Bangladeshi migrants worker are consider in the labour market in Greece as 'kalo pedi, good person as because their hard working attitude, working hour flexibility, salience manner and respectful behaviour to the colleagues and owner. Some of the participants elaborate their views and experiences regarding trade union practice at the time of fieldwork:

Since 2009 I am in Greece before I came to Greece I was working in a garments factory, therefore I had working experience in garments. That's why I got a job very quickly in this sector. So I did not have time to learn the Greek language. I am afraid to talk with Greek people because I don't know anything. On the other hand, I don't have any idea about trade union, what is this, and how its work. (Mahbub)

Well, I don't think a trade union can solve my problem. I am quite happy because I have a job though getting paid only 500 euro per month and working every day 10 hours and no social security; many people in this country do not have a job. What about, I will complain to the trade union. If I complain I may lose my job that's why I don't want to be a member of the Trade Union. (Sajjad)

Well, I was working in a restaurant; I had a good relationship with my colleges. We were getting a salary very late sometimes three/four months later. One of my colleges complains to the trade union. Some people from the trade union came to speak with the owner. After a few days, he was fired. The bosses found an excuse to fire him. I was new there, but I could understand what was going on. Later on, I did not see anybody came from the trade union to request the owner to reappointment him. (Rashed)

Additionally, the research findings concerning access to employment, migrants tend to get assistance through an informal relationship in order to access the local labour market.

However, the majority of the participants 50.7 percent said they found their work at the time of the fieldwork alone and other job-finding tactics emerge even less significant. The second-largest percentage 46.1 percent found a job through straight support from relatives and friends or sometimes also by Greek people they knew. Very few of them only 0.5 percent of the samples, particularly males, were in a position they found through the specific meeting points where migrants get together and where Greek employers know that they can find employees to work for them. Few made use of the newspapers' job pages 1.8 percent, or of official employment agencies (see table 7.3). In conclusion, it materializes that the major sources of information about job opportunities or assistance in job searching are the migrants' social bonds and relationships. Sometimes they are even necessary, in order to facilitate access to employment, as shown in the example:

I was looking for a job for a long time. I have visited almost all the places in Athens. Some owners told me they do not have any vacancies, some of them kept my number and told me that they will call me later but I did not get any call from anywhere. Then I talked with one of my friends' relatives. He recommended me to a restaurant and I got this job. The most interesting matter, I went to that restaurant while I was searching job but the owner did not give me a job at that time (Sayem)

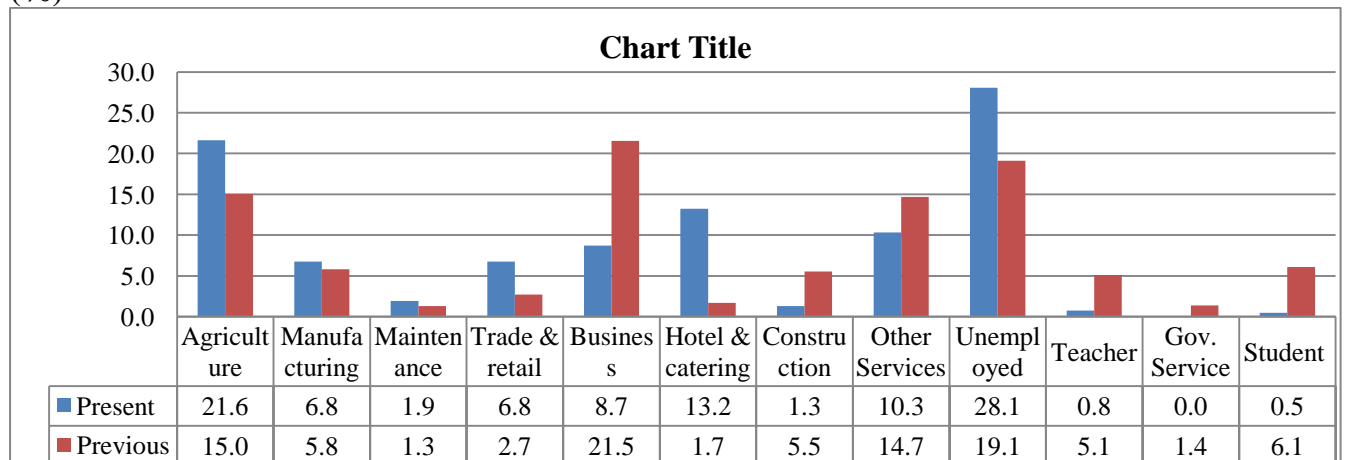
Well, my husband is working in a furniture factory since 2005. He had a very good relationship with the owner. When I came to Greece in 2009, I went to meet with the boss. Then he told me your husband is a very loyal person. I would not mind if you are interested to work in my factory. I told him I love to work in your factory. That's how I get a job through my husband. (Beauty)

To sum up, the majority of the Bangladeshi migrants are having temporary work contract which is alarming and one of the most significant component to integration into the host society labour market. Apart from the earlier mentioned only 32.3 percent who said their employment agreement was for a certain limited period, many had started working not long earlier than the time of the fieldwork. Almost 15 percent said that they had been working at the same job from one to five years, while only about 5 percent had been in more stable positions for more than five years. The average mean period in the last job was two years, with fluctuation of five or six months more for men and less for women because women want to keep their job at any cost. The integration policy maker should take this indicator as consideration for labour market assimilation.

7.3.3 Bangladeshi migrants ready to work in any position to access the job market

At the beginning of their arrival, Bangladeshi migrants accomplish any kind of job to survive or access to the host country labour market even though their professional qualifications and earlier work experiences do not match with the work they are offered by the locals. The empirical data in Bar Chart 7.3 provide information about Bangladeshi migrants' previous work experiences and current work they are performing in Greece. The research findings in Bar Chart 7.3 demonstrate the highest percentage of the migrant 21.1 percent involve in doing business while 19.1 percent were unemployed before coming to Greece, on the other hand, an important percentage 15.0 percent were working in the agriculture sector, cattle-breeding, and fishing, while 14.7 were performing various work, e.g. driver, brickfield, shop assistant, etc. 5.5 percent in construction. However, 6.1 were students and 5.1 percent of migrants were involved teaching service, another 5.8 percent in manufacturing, 1.7 percent were previously employed in hotels, coffee shops, and restaurants, 1.3 percent as maintenance gardeners, painters, and technicians, 2.7 percent in trade and retail also 1.4 percent working in government sector. On the other hand, Bar chart 7.3 also showing the current employment status of Bangladeshi migrants: The majority percentage of respondents 28.1 are unemployed and inactive at the time of fieldwork, while 21.6 percent were working in the Agriculture sector, harvesting olives, potatoes, oranges, strawberry, etc, on the other hand, a significant percentage 3.2 percent cent working in hotels, coffee shops, and restaurants, 10.3 working as personal service, a shear of 8.7 percent running their own business, while 6.8 percent working in

Bar Chart 7.3 Bangladeshi migrants' employment trajectories into the labour market (%)



manufacturing, no one working in the government sector. However, 0.5 percent are still studying at the college/university while 0.8 percent migrants working as a schoolteacher, 1.3 percent in the construction sector.

However, the research finding in bar chart 7.3 illustrates Bangladeshi migrant occupation has been changed over time. The large percentages of 28.1 percent of participants are currently unemployed and inactive, most of them are newcomers and female migrants previously 19.1 percent were unemployed. On the other hand, in the agriculture sector previously 15.0 percent were working, at present 21.6 percent working in the agriculture sector. Another remarkable change has been identified in the empirical data that 13.2 percent are currently working in the Hotel, restaurants, and coffee shop while only 1.7 percent was working in this sector before coming to Greece. Additionally, working in the government sector and the teaching profession has been changing over time, previously 6.5 percent were working in the government and teaching profession but currently only 0.8 percent of respondents are involved in these sectors. The study also shows Bangladeshi migrants are more involve in tread and retail compare with previous working experience in the country of origin in the same sector.

Based on the research finding the large portion of migrants' 28.1 percent are unemployed and inactive, especially women as because they are staying in the house and taking care of their family and children, while 17.5 percent of the participants had been practicing the same profession since they arrived, but even in such cases it was exceptional to have been doing this for the same employer. Migrants who had been working under the same owner regularly, their responsibilities and task did not remain the same over time. Some of the respondents recalled several different jobs they had done, sometimes at many places. Examples from the relevant section of the questionnaire follow some Bangladeshi migrants' trajectories in the Greek labour market:

Well, at the beginning I started working in the agriculture sector for one year, (collecting strawberries, oranges, olives, etc), then worked in a cattle-breeding farm for six months after that worked as a cleaner for a year in a restaurant, then worked as a kitchen assistant for two years then I knew very well how to cook, finally at present I am working as a cook since 2010. (Kamal)

I have completed a master degree but when I came to Greece I did not get any job according to my educational background. I was searching job for one year but I did not get any then I started working as an assistant in a travel agency for one year but the salary was not enough, after that, I started work in a furniture company for about ten months then packaging company for one year, at present working as an assistant teacher in Doel Academy (Bangla medium school) in Athens. (Beauty)

I came in 2004; I did not know any Greek language that's why I did not find a job in Athens. I knew someone who was working on an agriculture site. He gave me a job in his workplace. So at the begging, I was working in the agricultural sector (olives, tomatoes, grapes, strawberry farms), I did not like this work very much. Then I move to Athens again. After that I found a job in room service in a hotel in Rhodes then I became a waiter in the same hotel. In the next, I was working as a barman in a cafe´ bar-restaurant in Zakynthos after that kitchen assistant in a restaurant in Parga now working as a cook in Ioannina. (Rashed)

To be honest with you, I am an illiterate person. Before coming to Greece I was working in Dubai on a construction site so I had experience on that site when I came to Greece I was looking for the same profession. In the beginning, I started work in a plaster materials company but that company was closed then worked as a kitchen assistant in a restaurant for almost eight months, I did not like it. After that, I worked as a carpenter's assistant for one year then carrying boxes for a transport company finally working in a factory producing plastic boxes. (Jahid)

Well, at first started working in garments, then waiter in a fish restaurant in Athens I moved to Ioannina worked as a waiter in an Italian restaurant for two years then I started working as a kitchen assistant and at present, I am the main cook of that Italian restaurant in Ioannina. (Mannan)

I have done lots of jobs in many places all over the country. I started working in agriculture, picking peaches in Veroia, apples in Agia (Larisa), oranges in Argos, olives in Korinthos, watermelons, grapes, tomatoes, peaches in several villages around Larisa and kalamata, strawberry in manolada. For six months I was working as a gardener in a big hotel in Lefkada. Currently, I am working on a chicken farm as a manual worker in Ioannina. (Sahajahan)

However, based on respondents' statement, we can observe many of the obstacles potentially imposed by the labour market, or by the limited knowledge of Bangladesh migrants about the current situation of Greece. On the other hand, language difficulties are overcome in practice, not only by the flexibility and the cheap labour, but also because they take advantage in terms of social capital. This shows the strength and density of their social networks, i.e. the informal bonds and interpersonal relationships that are naturally improved between migrants and locals. Therefore, in the next part, we are going to focus on social networks and interpersonal relationship issues.

7.3.4 Role of social network and interpersonal relationship to access the job market

Social networks and interpersonal relationships played a significant role in access to the labour market and decision for the movement and settlement in Greece. We have also observed; when the question turns to labour market integration, networks also consider as a significant resource of information about job opportunities for specific reasons or are of direct support in finding employment. Table 7.3 provides information on how interpersonal relationships and social networks help them to find a job for Bangladeshi migrants in Greece and their unemployment status and how many times they changed their job at the time of fieldwork. According to the research data, almost half of the migrants find a job through the assistance of relatives, friends, or acquaintances since they arrived in Greece. Research findings show in table 7.3 that most of the participants 50.7 percent said they found their work at the time of the fieldwork alone and other job-finding tactics emerge even less significant. The second-largest percentage 46.1 percent found a job through straight support from relatives and friends or sometimes also by Greek people they knew.

Additionally, very few of them only 0.5 percent of the samples, particularly males, were in a position they found through the specific meeting points where migrants get together and where Greek employers know that they can find employees to work for them. Few made use of the newspapers' job pages 1.8 percent, or of official employment agencies. In contrast, almost 15 percent of females who said they had found employment alone may perhaps be hiding other tactics of job finding, especially newspaper advertisements and private agencies, both appearing more important for women respondents. However, the types of jobs Bangladeshi migrant women perform, especially those working as domestic servants, cleaners as well as carers, are more distinctive and do not allow for much socialisation at the workplace.

Table 7.3 Ways to get work, change and period of unemployment (%)

Bangladeshi migrant's employment status in Greece					
Way to find present employment		Job changed in Greece		Unemployed by months	
Alone	50.7	Once	21.1	Less than 3	4.8
Friends/relatives	46.1	Twice	45.6	3-6	35.2
Vacancy add	1.8	Thrice	26.7	7-9	8.4
Job center	0.9	Forth	3.3	10-12	14.1
Other	0.5	Fifth	2.2	12 and above	32.6

However, male works in restaurants, construction, and garment factories, for example, might be asked by their boss to tell their friends that there is a need for workers. The in-depth interviews emphasize better the vital function of social networks, because, going into more detail, they assist to clarify such difficulties. For example, even those respondents who criticized the lack of solidarity and help among their compatriots acknowledged; but the truth is that information at least exchanges about job opportunities between relatives and friends and its assist the individuals to access into the labour market. Social networks assure securing pathways to employment, particularly for those who have been living in Greece for longer periods and who also have a relation with local people. Some of the participants describe how social network and interpersonal relationship help them to access in labour market:

At first, start working as an assistant in the kitchen, after that, I learn how to cook now I am the main cook of the same restaurant. Boss knows me very well how dedicated I am at work. I have a good relationship with the boss and other staff. One day, I told the boss I have a friend, he is a nice guy and if you need some more stuff I can recommend him. Boss told me to bring him to introduce. That's how I give the job to my friend. (Jabbar)

This is a common phenomenon if you are good at your job and the boss needs some more workers usually the boss says 'bring me more people like you', so at first, you will search for people from your relatives then friends the place you are from. I was working in a garment factory; the manager asked if I know some good workers; So I recommended some of my friends. (Manik)

To tell you the truth, Last one year I was looking for a job, I visited almost all the restaurant, bar, and some other places in Thessaloniki, I gave them my CV, I explain my experience. On one show their interest. Some of them keep my CV and told

me if they need them will me. Unfortunately, I did not get any call. I told some of my friends if they can manage something for me to survive. One of my friends refers to one hotel and then the manager told me to start work from the next day. This is the way I got my first job. (Sultan)

Usually, firstly we help our relatives like a brother, cousin, sister, or family member. Secondly, we help very close friends or family members of friends, thirdly we help somebody we know from the place where we live in Bangladesh finally we prefer anybody we can help, we do. For example, I was working in a company then I give a job to my brother then his wife, and then we gave someone from the place where I live in Bangladesh. That is how we help each other. (Nirob)

One of my relatives was living in Greece. He manages everything for me to bring me here. He paid all my cost of coming. When I came to Greece he even manages a job for me. You can say I am lucky to have such type of relatives. (Robiul)

When I was working on one of the United Nations projects in Bangladesh; I introduce one Greek delegate, we became friends, and he influences me to do my higher study in Greece. Therefore, he finds a supervisor for me and I apply for a scholarship by recommendation of that supervisor. So, that is how I am in Greece. (Sattar)

However, the empirical data in table 7.3 also shows how often or how many times Bangladeshi migrants changed their job after arriving in Greece. Most of the participants 45.6 percent stressed at the time of research conducted that they have changed twice their job after arriving in Greece. The second-largest percentage 26.7 said that three times, on the other hand, 21.1 percent of respondents changed their job only once. Another 3.3 and 2.2 percent told that they have changed their job fourth and fifth times because over and over they have improved their work skills and experiences and offered a good amount of salary or some of them were not satisfy with their wage or work environment.

On the other hand, based on research findings in table 7.3 depicts most Bangladeshi migrants have experienced shorter or longer periods of unemployment during their period in Greece and in between different professions. Most of the respondent's 35.2 percent have found themselves unemployed for periods of three to six months. Therefore, such an experience might be explained by what economists call natural rather than structural

unemployment. Some of them work in the summer in different Islands around Greece, some of them are newcomers. On the other hand, for males, that would generally mean a lack of permanent job availability, specifically between two jobs (when fired, or look for something better), or because the shift to another place in Greece. Besides these, many of the respondents 32.6 percent expose they were unemployed for more than one year, most of them are new arrivals and female migrants. For females it was also related to the female life course, birth, and maternity, connecting an essential leave from work during the pre- and post-natal phase, therefore, it's very difficult to finding a job quickly when they want to come back to the labour market. For a small number of migrants of both sexes, there were periods of voluntary and strategic unemployment to get a job according to their qualifications. Finally, the majority of the participants mentioned, at an initial stage, they face difficulties to find a job, when they first entered the country, according to their experience as well as their limited knowledge of the language. Some of them quote:

When I came in 2003, the job was available, and then slowly job market goes down I was about one year of unemployment in between the two jobs ... I was looking for something better, I couldn't find anything until I found this one. (Rashed)

Well, there was a period I was looking for a job and could not get any. I don't remember now for how long. That was after my daughter was born... because I had to stay with her when she was a baby, but then I started looking for a job. I was looking for a job in an office, or a saleswoman, this kind of job, and I couldn't find any until I found this one. (Kobita)

When I was in Athens I did not find any job for one year. One of my relatives recommends me to go to Thessaloniki to search for a job. I left Athens and came to Thessaloniki. And then I found a job here. I worked only two years then I lost my job because of the company decrease employee. So I became unemployed and last one year I am not finding any job. (Sabbir)

When I came to Greece I was fresh I mean I did not have any job experiences; I didn't know the language, anything. I was unemployed for about six months. Then found work in a garments factory, I worked for two years months there in 2002; suddenly the factory shut down and I found myself unemployed. After three months I found a

job in other garments. I worked seven years there again this closed. Therefore the last two years I am unemployed. (Asad)

I came to Greece in 2009 from Romania; I did not know anyone in Greece. At first, I stayed in the hotel but my money finishes for this some days I stayed in the park. I bring money from my country and looking for a job. I could not manage anything. More than one year I was unemployed. I went into the jobcentre they told me I have to give 600 euros to get a job. So I paid them and finally, I found a job in a restaurant. (Rajib)

To conclude, research findings show, in the beginning, a significant number of Bangladeshi migrants were working in agriculture and fewer Bangladeshi migrants were working in the leisure and catering industry, in personal services, or were employed as general manual workers. Now days many Bangladeshi migrants working in industrial sectors, barman, shop assistants, skilled workers, waiter/waitress technicians, and white-collar employees, including some in highly skilled positions. They develop their skilled overtime as a result they in the better position in the host country labour market. On the other hand, Bangladeshi migrants worker are consider in the labour market in Greece as ‘kalo pedi, good person as because their hard working attitude, working hour flexibility, salience manner and respectful behaviour to the colleagues and owner.

7.4 Challenges to assimilation at the labour market for Bangladeshi migrants

Labour market assimilation for the migrants is working always a challenge to the host country. However, we are concentrating on this part of this section, what kind of difficulties Bangladeshi migrants are facing to access and to integrate into the Greek labour market. The majority of the migrants have faced serious complications in pathways to the Greek labour market. Although a significant percentage of the migrants are working informal labour market and paid manual jobs at the time of fieldwork; this might be true for Bangladeshi migrant who goes through unskilled or low-skilled posts, it does not appear for many migrants who look for more skilled positions in sectors where the contest is high for locals too. Additionally, we have observed that job in non-manual skilled workers only fifteen percent of the participants, while only one quarter works as skilled manual workers. These percentages distinguish sharply with the educational and professional background of the

Bangladeshi migrants: indeed, an important number of the migrants are not specialised or qualified for any kind of job.

7.4.1 Language proficiency plays a significant role in labour market integration

Based on the findings, the local language proficiency plays a significant character to access the host country labour market and assimilation with the employees. As we have mentioned earlier in the chapter five, very few of the Bangladeshi migrants only 22.5 percent can speak moderate Greek, only about 8 percent speak fluently, the majority of the Bangladeshi migrants cannot communicate in Greek language. However, research finding shows that the Bangladeshi students are difficulties to recognize their degree from DOATAP because highly bureaucratic as well as lengthy procedures. Sometimes DOATAP asked Bachelor and Masters Degree thesis paper which make more complicated for Bangladeshi students. These types of difficulties elaborate by one of the respondents:

Well, I have completed my master's in physics department from Bangladesh. I got a scholarship for my doctoral Ph.D. degree from the state scholarship foundation (IKY); after that, I came to Greece. I was looking for a supervisor in almost all the universities; nearly all professors were asking do I have the degree to recognize certificate from DOATAP. Without recognition, I can't get admission to the department. I waited for one and a half years to get recognition of my degree from DOATAP, after that I got admission. The lengthy process made me very much disappointed. (Jamal)

However, research finding shows that sometime qualified skilled and high educational level and knowledge of the Greek language is force to take low-skilled informal work to cover their urgent need. On the other hand, the patterns in access to Greek labour of Bangladeshi migrants are different from others which are significant for labour market integration. Most of the Bangladeshi migrants are working low-skilled manual position, these worked mostly refused by the locals and labour market demand. When migrants fire from the workplace or the labour market, after that they face difficulties accessing again because of structural and institutional barriers, discrimination, and sometimes completely segregation. Especially for those Bangladeshi migrants who have a university education, institutional complications together with linguistic difficulties make things even more complex. On the other hand, we have identified many of those migrants employed in personal services,

especially men, are in most cases, manual workers or assistants before arriving in Greece. on the other hand, very few Bangladeshi migrants performing non-manual work in skilled positions in 'mainstream' economic division in Greece. Consequently, the step towards better positions is not an easy task for qualified Bangladeshi migrants. Although, despite the highly qualified positions, this is also true for certain specializations for which competition is sharp in the host economy. Some of the interviewees' narratives regarding their qualification and job conditions:

I have a bachelor's degree from Dhaka University; at first, I was employed in Greece as a receptionist, I did not like this profession therefore I wanted to change my career. Then I have admitted to an institution for my further study so I got a diploma from there and then I join as an office assistant but the workplace was not easier for me. Then I join as an assistant teacher in Doel Academy (Bangla medium school in Athens) (Mahbuba)

I have completed post-graduation from Dhaka University. When I came to Greece I was looking for a job in the biology field. I had sent a job application to lots of organizations but did not get a replay from anywhere. I was too much disappointed ... what else I can do... I was needed to work badly therefore I start working in a travel agency in Athens. (Sadia)

7.4.2 Skilled and qualified Bangladeshi migrants: labour market assimilation

As we have seen in chapter 5 approximately 15.0 percent of Bangladeshi migrants are university graduates and highly qualified to access the Greek labour market, some of them were working technical sectors before arrival in Greece. However, Bangladeshi migrants accept to perform any kind of job for their economic conditions or to support family over Bangladesh who is effected by natural disaster also host country labour demand force them to accept any kind of work offer to them. In the way, they are ready to work in any position in order to survive or to assist their family in Bangladesh, by sacrificing valuable time to gain a better future. To perform verity of work across the country several time many migrants faced difficulties but family need migrants tolerate these difficulties. However, the study findings shows that only 32.9 percent of the Bangladeshi migrants' workers were not satisfied with the working circumstances in Greece (section 8.6) at the time of fieldwork. On the other hand, hard work is connected to the status of the migrant as an alien in Greece. Bangladeshi migrants tend to accept any kind of works but it also shapes, partly at least, their identities, as

well as the way locals see them. Many interviewees explain their views regarding access to the job market:

I don't feel shame to do any kind of job even it is very heavy. I am considered a foreigner in Greece, when I came here I came for work, any kind of work to earn some money. I did heavy jobs here, jobs that Greeks don't do at all. I am not talking only about the Bangladeshi I think almost all foreigners can do a heavy job to earn money and to survive. (Rana)

I never perform any kind of job in Bangladesh but I was determined to perform any kind of job in Greece. I've worked as a construction worker since the beginning. It's a heavy job, as you know. It was difficult for me because I had never performed any job of this kind, but I needed to work and I wanted to live in Greece. That's why I don't mind working in any job. (Foysal)

Since I came to Greece I worked in different sectors almost all over the country I do not mind working in any position; light or heavy, and day or night time even working hours. I'm not afraid of hard work (Kamal)

However, hard work might affect their daily lives in very precise ways, if we pay closer attention to individual experiences. The interview quotes below are only moderate examples of the problems emerging as a result of hard work, for example in the migrants' family lives and regarding personal health. Two of the respondents (Mukul and Jewel) were explaining how hard and heavy work reflects their daily life and health problem:

When I start a business I was alone, I stayed all day in my business. On the opposite, my wife was working in a travel agency. When we had a baby she resigned from her job and taking care of the baby. When I was leaving in the morning my baby was sleeping and when coming back in the evening he was sleeping also. I was working too many hours; my baby could not see me. Finally, I find out my son did not recognize me and ask his mother who am I. He was not seeing his father at all. And we said enough before the situation goes more difficult, I keep someone in my store to take care of my business. (Mukul)

When I came to Greece, I start working in a wood factory. I was bringing wood from different places and chopping wood by axe, after that I started having health problems. Lifting lots of heavy wood; my hands started giving me pain, I could not

move my hand, I admitted in a hospital, I stayed seven days there and the doctor suggests not to do heavy work. I decided to stop, so as not to sacrifice my health. Therefore I am working in a restaurant right now. (Jewel)

To sum up, the narratives in this part, economic conditions, and the need to work and secure an income were the main cause for Bangladeshi migrants to leaving the home country. Therefore, hard work is essential for migrants in order to survive and realize their plans. As a result, Bangladeshi migrants ready to perform any kind of job, they do not care day or night, heavy or light, even longer working hours. They just want to have a job to earn money to survive.

7.4.3 Changed residence zone in access to labour market

We have seen in chapter six most of the Bangladeshi migrants changed their residence area more than twice. Research findings show that the place where migrants work does not generally depend on where they live (or vice versa). The location of the workplace rather reflects economic development as well as the unusual nature of migrant labour in respect to three of its main aspects: its flexibility, its concentration in specific economic sectors (construction, personal services, manufacturing, and agriculture), and the importance of social networks as a means of accessing employment. The empirical findings in table 7.4 provide information on how the location of the workplace coincides with the area of living; it also illustrates the relationship between where Bangladeshi migrants work and what type of job they perform.

The research findings in table 7.4 illustrate Bangladeshi migrants' residential distribution of different cities in Greece. The majority percentage of the respondents 35.8 percent live in Athens, 16.1 percent living in (the second largest city of Greece) Thessaloniki, another 13.5 percent of migrants living in the rest port city Patra, a significant number of interviewers 23.9 percent staying in the agriculture area Manolada and kalamata village. Migrants appear to be spatially dispersed all over the country, though more than half (70.3 percent) stay in the municipalities, the rest of them are in the rural area. However, research findings reflect the key features of urban and rural economic geography. Firstly, we have a relatively centralised structure: the capital numerous activities, mostly services of all types. Secondly, the industrial area is located in Athens and Thessaloniki and thirdly agriculture zone is found in the western part of Greece (Monolada and kalamata areas).

Table 7.4 Sector of employment and location of the workplace of Bangladeshi migrants (%)

Employment sector and area or residence of Bangladeshi (%)							
	Athens	Thessaloniki	Patra	Ioannina	Manolada	Kalamata	Total
Manufacturing	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	6.8
Agriculture	0.3	0.6	2.3	0.0	11.6	6.8	21.6
Maintenance	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.9
Trade & retail	1.6	2.3	1.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	6.8
Hotel catering	7.4	1.0	1.0	1.3	0.0	1.0	13.2
Construction	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.7
Other services	3.9	3.2	1.0	2.3	0.0	1.3	11.6
Unemployed	10.3	6.1	4.2	5.5	0.3	1.6	28.1
Total	35.8	16.1	13.5	10.6	12.6	11.3	100

The empirical findings in table 7.3 depicts 6.1 percent of migrants working in the manufacturing sector in Athens while 6.8 percent all over the country; a significant number of migrants' 21.6 percent working in the agriculture sector, most of them are living in Kalamata and Manolada. Shears of 13.2 percent of migrants are involved in smaller-scale work in various divisions (for instance, cafes, garments and restaurants, small production factories, etc.) across the country. A significant number of 8.7 percent work in construction which is not located in certain areas; most of them work in the historical building. Lastly, many migrants 28.1 are unemployed and inactive across the country, most of them 10.3 percent living in Athens. However, 11.6 percent working in personal services (house repair, cleaning, domestic work, care work selling goods by the sea and road, etc) tend to concentrate in the more affluent central areas and island, but many of them work for more than one employer and therefore, in various places (working from 'home' mostly refers to live-in domestic helpers/carers) all over the country. Some of the participants expressing why the change their area of residence many times after arriving in Greece:

When I came to Greece, I was living in Greece, I was looking for a job, six months I did not find any work, so I plan to move another city, I know someone who was living in Ioannina, I contact with him regarding have a job. He offers me a job and I move to Ioannina and about 7 years I am living in Ioannina. (Kamal)

I was working in a Garment factory in Athens, suddenly the factory was closed, I became unemployed, and money was about to finish, and I could not manage to find a job in Athens. I moved to Ioannina and working on a chicken farm last 5

years. Still, Athens is in my heart, if I find anything better or similar, I will move to Athens. (Sahajan)

First of all, I came to Greece to work, to earn some money, the place of residence does not a big matter for me. Wherever I will find a job I will move. I was in Athens at the beginning, then I move to Zakynthos...working in a restaurant. I am happy here. (Rejaul)

Though my family members are settled in Athens I have changed many places after coming to Greece...I was living in Athens then move to Ioannina, I stayed two years there, then move to Athens...then move to Paros for work...then move to Zakynthos. Most important is to have a job rather than being unemployed (Rashed)

7.4.4 Equal opportunity in the labour market and integration situation

Discrimination means exclusion, negative distinction, restriction, or preference. Discrimination may be expressed directly and/ or indirectly based on race, colour, gender, descent or national or ethnic origin, religion, age as well as physical condition, sexual orientation, or other socio-cultural factors. Its purpose and it implies that it prejudices or even cancels out equal access to and enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres of public life. The following part, therefore, we concentrate on issues about discrimination in the workplace in the case of Greece in particular the Bangladeshi migrants' group, how they are discriminated, as well as when and in what circumstances.

Discrimination in the workplace is rather commonplace across Greece. In 2000 the complement of wide-ranging legislation that has been adopted by two European directives, (the Racial Equality Directive (2000/43/EC of 29/06/2000) and the Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC of 27/11/2000), based on Art. 13 of the Treaty of Amsterdam) to fight against discrimination based on sex, on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religious or other beliefs, disability, age, and sexual orientation, particularly in the workplace over the past three decades across all EU Member States (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2008). The EU Member states had to transpose these directives into national law by 2003/2004²². At the end of 2004, Greece had still not transposed these directives into national legislation. After being

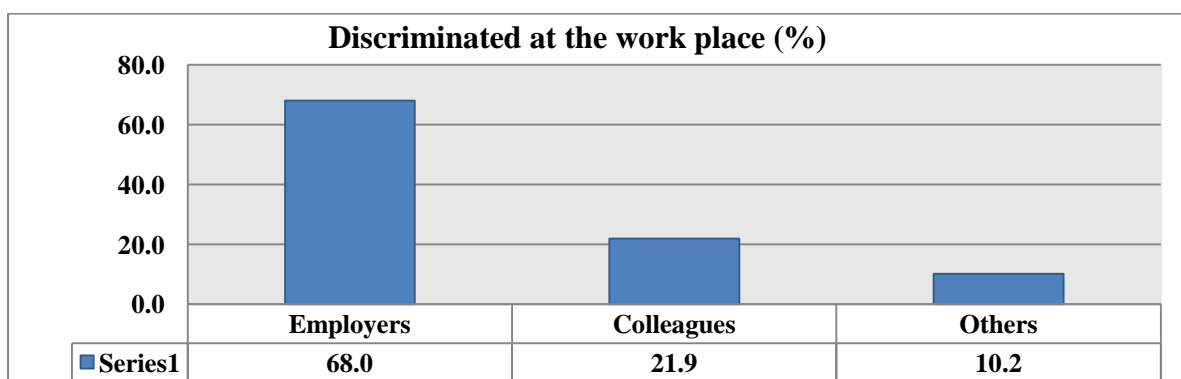
²² The 15 'older' EU Member States had to transpose the Racial Equality Directive into national law by the 19 July 2003 and the 'newer' ones by 1 May 2004, while the Employment Equality Directive had to be transposed by 2 December 2003 in the former and 1 May in the latter group of Member States.

placed in infringement proceedings with the European Court of Justice, Greece complied. In 2008 it was one of the seventeen EU Member States that had fully transposed the two Directives into national legislation. In a single act, Law 3304 (published in the Government Gazette A'16/27.01.2005), the two directives were more or less directly reproduced in Greek legislation (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2008). It is important to underline here that before this law there had been no anti-discrimination legislation in force in Greece.

Migrants makeup 9.5-13 percent of Greece’s labor force and have so far typically occupied jobs in the labor-intensive sectors of the economy: construction, agriculture, tourism, domestic and home care (Triandafyllidou, 2014). Given the high proportion of undocumented or irregular Bangladeshi migrants in Greece and the large portion of the country’s informal economy, the most widespread challenges faced by Bangladeshi migrants in the workplace have to do with job insecurity and ‘exploitation’ by their employers. Research findings show on the matter of discrimination in their workplace, more than half 68.0 percent of the Bangladeshi migrants told that they are experienced discrimination in the context of commercial dealings (refused to access housing or work), majority of the 52 percent discrimination in their workplace. More specifically, 45 percent told that a particular job had been refused to them because of their racial background; also a significant 34 percent said that they had not been promoted for this same reason, and an important shear of 48 percent said having been the victim of harassment in their workplace.

Bar Chart 7.4 provides information about Bangladeshi migrants experiences unequal treatment at their workplace and by whom they were discriminated at the time of fieldwork. Most of the respondents 68.0 percent complain they have been discriminated at their workplace by their employers, while 21.9 percent said that by their colleagues and the rest of the 10.2 percent of the Bangladeshi migrants experienced discriminatory practices in their

Bar chart 7.4 Experiences discrimination at the workplace (%)



contact with state institutions, this mainly being the case for job agencies, bank, health, and social security services. Discrimination in wages and inequality plays a significant role in the Greek labour market for Bangladeshi migrants. They are more vulnerable than Greeks, on average, both economically and in terms of legal status: they need work badly because to survive and to renew their stay permits. Therefore, Bangladeshi migrants frequently ready to work without social insurance as a result when they apply for renewing their permits, they need to buy the necessary welfare 'stamps' which prove their employment status. Recent data obtained from the regular updates of the National Welfare Institute (IKA) concerning waged labourers show a significant inequality between the wages of different nationalities. Foreign workers receive wages that are between 30% and 50% lower than those of Greeks for general waged work and services (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2008). Here we are presenting respondents statement regarding their low wages and social security discrimination in the workplace:

I am working in the same restaurant since 2009 and getting paid 20 euros per day. In the beginning, I was working as a cleaner but from the last two years, I am working as a kitchen assistant. Therefore, several times I told the manager to increase my salary but he always replayed that he will talk to the owner and informs me. However, a few days ago he told me that he talked with the owner and from the next year he will increase my salary. (Jamal)

When I came here I did not find any job...I was looking for a job very badly to survive ...after a long time, I got one in a garment factory but the salary was too low only 12 Euros 10 hours work per day without social security. I worked there only to survive in Greece. (Mamun)

I am working in a workshop for the last seven years...I open the workshop at 9 am and close at 9 pm every day. Other Greeks are working in the position but they come at 12 and finish at 8 pm. I work 12 hours and they work 8 hours ... the most important is that I got paid 700 euros as a monthly salary and they got paid 1200 euros. I don't have a legal document ... so I cannot move from here. (Irfan)

Though having legal documents I am working as a cleaner in a hotel with some other Greek staff. I work for about ten hours but I get only 600 Euros even no social but my

colleagues are working only eight hours and getting 1000 euro with social. Is this not big discrimination? (Bablu)

Discrimination in the workplace refers to notions of superiority and inferiority and may be expressed through refusal to recruit an individual or maybe expressed through verbal or physical harassment (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2008). Some scholars have claimed the need to distinguish between the racist dimension and ethnic discrimination (Heckmann 2001) which tends to be founded on prejudices and stereotypes of cultural difference but in most cases, there is a mixture of both (Wrench 2007: 117). Bangladeshi migrants are in a particular group to face racist discrimination in their workplace and compared to Greeks who, in their view, face more difficulties in finding a job. According to the respondents:

As because of good English and Greek knowledge at the beginning, I was working as a waiter in a restaurant. The owner liked me very much because of my work performance but sometimes I feel embarrassed in my workplace when some customers are aggressive to me. I told to boss I can't work in this situation but the boss did not want me to leave ... so he offers me to work inside the kitchen as a kitchen assistant. (Mahmud)

I came to Greece in 2002; in the beginning, it was very easy to find a job. I started working as a kitchen assistant then a few years later I learn how to cook ... at present, I am known as a good cook... but at this moment I don't have a job... when I am going to search job they are telling, there is no vacancy but I knew that there is a vacancy. This happens many times with me. They don't want me because of my color and county of origin. (Sowkat)

According to the research findings, Bangladeshi migrants accepted lower wages to enter the labour market. Their thought was that once they have the job and develop the relevant and necessary skills, they then demand higher wages from the employer. Thus, eventually, they reach the same levels as a Greek worker but in the end, they did not get the same paid. It is difficult even for migrants with legal status to find employers willing to pay their precise wages and insurance as they should (Triandafyllidou and Maroufof 2008). This is one of the forms of inequality that Bangladeshi migrant workers suffer in Greece that can be characterized clearly as a form of opportunistic discrimination.

7.4.5 Labour market integration: exploitation and successful stories

All the Bangladeshi migrants' workers are not always discriminated in the labour market; some of them are working in higher position in this sector and easily integrated with the host country labour market and locals. Therefore in this part of this section we are going to present some successful stories of Bangladeshi migrants in the Greek labour market; how they set up their minds to work any position and how they integrated into labour market and society. Although, we have already indicated the migrants' employment characteristics earlier in the chapter, with the situation they faced initially. However, this finding should not divert our attention far from other essential features of Bangladeshi migrant labour in Greece, its exploitation being certainly one, especially during the first years, but still the case for many. As we have discussed earlier of this chapter, the majority of the Bangladeshi face difficulties to access into Greek labour market. Because of their undocumented status and limited knowledge of the Greek language, create a massive problem in access to housing and labour market; at the beginning almost all the migrants lead miserable life in Greece.

As a result, they were obliged to accept the situation and perform any kind of job only to survive. About 10 years earlier there was enough job although it would offer little in terms of payment, it would be very demanding, and it was not a matter of choice. On the other hand, the majority of the employment contracts were temporary or seasonal; in many cases, Bangladeshi migrants used to work for a few days here, a few days there, changing repeatedly not only employers but also tasks and types of occupation. Furthermore, most of the Bangladeshi migrants found their job by the information sources were relatives, friends, or simple acquaintances from the same region in Bangladesh. Many of the respondents reminded these first years by referring to their need for survival, to their enormously low payments, and to their insufficient earlier experience of the work they were asked to perform. We are highlighting some of the respondents' experiences at initial conditions in the job market:

Well, in the beginning, I did not get anywhere. After that, I found work at a small clothing firm but the salary was too less to survive. To tell you the truth, in the firm I was getting paid less than 10 euros, from the morning until evening (12 hours). But I didn't know anything, I was tidying up, I was cutting thread, such things until I learned. After a few years, my wage reached 20 euros. After five years I was almost like a technician and save money. Now I am running my garments factory (Mannan)

I think all most all the Bangladeshi are having the same problem at the beginning as I faced. After arriving the first six months I did not get any job. It was difficult to find a job. In the beginning, I was shelling goods beside the road. After that I found a job in a garment although I did not know anything, I was sewing, at the machine and iron the clothes, I was paying me very poor money. According to the Bangladeshi salary structure, it was fine, also I was unemployed in Bangladesh, I was working for twelve hours and earning 12 euros, very little money ... without social security stamps, without anything. I worked there for a year and a half and in the end; they owed me 1500 euros. Finally, I got it, with a lot of difficulties. I was lucky. After that, I found another job with a good amount of salary. (Arif)

When I came first I did not get any job. About one year I was unemployed, I brought the money from home to survive. The beginning was too much difficult for me, I came to Greece because I wanted to go to Italy but till data, I could not manage to go. The language is very difficult here. In the beginning, I was working as a cleaner in a hotel, after that worked as a bar assistant, and I was interested in how to make all the drinks. I learned very quickly and the boss appointed me as a barman. Since 2010 I am working in the same bar as a barman. (Mansoor)

I came in 2005, I was looking a job very badly but I could not manage in Athens then I move to Manolad to work in a strawberry farm, I lived there for seven months then I move to Ioannina. Here I worked in several places; Cutting woods, chicken farm, cleaner, etc. When I was in Lebanon, I was working in a restaurant but at first, I did not find this job here in Greece. After many ups and down I got a job in a restaurant in Athens as a kitchen assistant, I became a good cook. At present, I am working as a chef in an Academy restaurant in Ioannina. (Kamal)

In Dubai, I used to work in a supermarket but the salary was not sufficient that the reason I came to Greece. Here, I did not find work according to my experience. At first, I was working in the car-washing shop, after that, I find a job in a petrol pump station. After that I worked as a shop assistant in the mini supermarket, I have saved money, therefore I rent a shop and I am running my own business. (Sohag)

Based on the research findings Bangladeshi migrants are ready to perform any kind of work offer to them to access in the host country labour market. However, more than half of the participants expressed at the time of fieldwork they were discriminated by employers, in terms of low wages, long working days, no social security, some of the work 7 days in a row with having day off, no holiday, no bonus etc. Some of respondents exploring their employment conditions:

I am working for the last seven years in a hotel in Zakynthos. The owner pays me only 20 euros though I am working 12 hours per day and he does not pay social security. Whenever I asked him to increase my salary and to pay social insurance always he told me “not this year, from the next year I will pay your social security and increase your salary”, unfortunately, seven years past, I am working with the same salary and without social security. On the other hand, sometimes he threatens me that he will fire me. I am afraid because if I lose this job I will not get another one. (Yakumi)

What can we do, we need a job to survive, therefore, if we find any kind of job, we are ready to accept, we don't care if the boss going to pay social security or not even how long have to work. You have always kept in mind; the employer wants to make a profit out of you, that's why he employs you. That's how it is. I know people who have worked, let's say, three years for the same employer and when they start asking for social security stamps, they are fired. Even you cannot complain to the police because you don't have legal contact paper. There is exploitation. (Rasel)

Besides, at the time of fieldwork, the majority of the respondents have been expressed in many hours of work a day, no weekend, lack of insurance and low payments. On the other hand, it used to be mostly tremendous and far more common during their first years in Greece, also as an outcome of their weak bargaining position. This was indeed connected to migrants' clandestine status, but it can also be recognized to their inadequate level of spoken Greek language proficiency, insufficient information on the real conditions in the host country, and their urgent need to work to survive and to support their families over Bangladeshi. There are stories of semi-slavery conditions, with employers not paying migrant workers and threatening to inform the police about their clandestine status. Some of the respondents describing how the employers reduce their payment even stop to pay as well change their attitudes towards them:

Well, I am working in Greece for the last ten years but in the last five years under the same owner. At the begging, he was giving me a good amount of salary, and regularly after that, he reduces my salary and started paid irregularly. Last eight months I did not get any salary whenever I ask him always replaying the next months. I am searching job but it very hard to get. I am planning to go back home country forever...I know also the boss will not pay me. (Munayem)

I came in 2010 from Libya, I did not know anyone here even the language, I was trying to learn but it seems very difficult for me after that I did not try to learn. Therefore I moved to Manolada to work as a farmer. I started working in a strawberry firm and I was getting paid 20 euros per day but in the last four months, I did not get paid. (Manik)

I came 2012, I can speak English, I got a job in a hotel in Rodos, the manager told me I will get 20 euro per day, he will give the place to stay but the food I have to buy or cook. I did not have any legal paper to stay in Greece; I went there, first few months he paid me regularly. After that he stopped paying, I asked me the money he told me later, in between I passed six months, and I expend all my money. I asked money to survive the threat me; if I asked one more time he will call the police. I was afraid and escaped from that hotel. (Rana)

7.5 Bangladesh Embassy and community leaders' initiative to Bangladeshi workers in integration into labour market

The Embassy represents its country and head of state, along with its policies, to a foreign host country of which they retain a governmental residence and their own sovereign territory (Zilberboim, 2018). An Embassy is headed by an ambassador, who directly represents their countries own head of state who carries and sees out business on their behalf. The ambassador has the responsibility to maintain and increase relations with its host country while acquiring key information and reporting back to the country it represents. Ambassadors also have the responsibility of protecting and offering information and help to its country's citizens abroad (Zilberboim, 2018). Therefore, Bangladesh Embassy in Athens and the community leaders play a significant role to assist Bangladeshi migrants' workers to integrate into the Greek labour market. However, Bangladeshi migrant's worker faces any discrimination and complains to the embassy, Embassy deal with these kinds of allegations

very carefully. Most of the time Embassy provide legal assistant to protect the labour right and to protect Bangladeshi migrants right in Greece. Bangladesh Embassy and the community leaders describing how they help in protecting Bangladeshi migrants right at the labour market and how they are assisting workers to integrate into the labour market:

Mr. Jasim Uddin, Ambassador, Bangladesh Embassy of Bangladesh, Athens expressing how the Embassy helping Bangladeshi migrants to integrate into the labour market in Greece:

Bangladeshi embassy very concerns about Bangladeshi migrant's labour rights and integration. Whenever, the embassy receives any kind of allegation regarding workplace discrimination, at first try to find out the reason, after observation of the case, provide legal assistance as needed. The Embassy has its own lawyer to protect the Bangladeshi migrants right, also keep in contact with the labour ministry to receive the latest update from the Government if any law comes out for migrants and workers. For the Manolad incidence, when we did not get proper justice from the Greek court, we file a case in the European Union court of justice, and we received justice.

Dr. Syeda Farhana Noor Chowdhury, Counsellor (labour), Embassy of Bangladeshi, Athens, exposing how she is working for labour rights and labour market integration:

I am responsible for the labour wings on behalf of the Embassy. I always try to find opportunities for unemployed Bangladeshi migrants in the Greek labour market. Besides, help migrants whenever get complain about wage discrimination and delay payment, I try to assist through the legal channel to protect labour right. However, Embassy organize many training program/Workshop for the Bangladeshi migrants to enhance skills in according to current labour market demand in Greece and deliver information on how to access into labour market.

Mr. Sujan Debnath, Counsellor & HOC, Embassy of Bangladesh, Athens describing how the Embassy assisting Bangladeshi migrants in Greece:

As we have found that most of the Bangladeshi migrants came to Greece for work and to support their family to reduce poverty. To keep continue working for a long time in the labour market there is no alternative of integration. Bangladesh embassy takes many initiatives to integrate Bangladeshi migrants' workers into the Greek labour market. The embassy organizes friendly football, a cricket match

between local workers and Bangladeshi workers. We provide language courses, information about the job market, various training/Workshop to Bangladeshi migrants to enhance their skills to easily access the labour market. Now a day's many Bangladeshi migrants are working in a good position in several sectors.

Jahir Dakua, President of the Greek Chamber of Commerce, Athens talking about his effort from the very beginning achieves labour migrants right and integration:

From the very beginning, I am concern about labour right, and this help to achieve my target...now I am the president of the Greek Chamber of Commerce. Bangladeshi migrants workers consider as low skills besides lack of local language proficiency, most of them are discriminated against their daily working hours, wage and social security, and job contract. Well, if I get any complaints from the workers I try to take immediate action through the organizations also a record of the allegations and to discuss with the ministry.

Mr. Abdul Kuddus, President of the Bangladesh community in Greece, explaining how he is preaching awareness about labour market integration:

Bangladeshi migrants never barged about their salary, they accept whatever they are offered by the owner or manager. They intend to get a job, whenever they compare their salary much less than regular or with others then they discuss with the owner or manager, if it remains unsolved then they come to the community leaders. Also, whenever community organize any functions or celebrate any occasion, we invite the locals and we insist Bangladeshi worker learn the language, increase their skills and try to improve their relationship with colleagues, owner, and managers.

7.6 The dynamics of the labour market: social integration and economic mobility

In this section, we will describe the dynamics of the labour market and explain its progress to the social integration of Bangladeshi migrants. On basis of research findings, we can identify situations are getting better over time. It is clear from the material presented so far that there are considerable changes in the categories of works and the level of remuneration of migrants in the host country. Most of the respondents mentioned at the time research conducted their position have been hanged and salary has been increased since they

start working, some of them are working more than ten years in the same company. Some of the participants explaining how they become success in the Greek labour market

At the begging I started working in the agricultural sector, picking tomatoes, oranges, olives, and strawberry, then I worked in a chicken firm after that kitchen assistant and cleaner in a restaurant now working as the cook of the restaurant (Mostofa).

At the beginning, I used to work at a small clothing firm because he didn't know anything, I was tidying up; cutting thread, such things until I learned; after five years I was almost like a technician because I was working with all the machines. Now I am running my own clothing factory. (Rabbi)

At the begging worked as a seasonal agricultural worker in Kalamata and Manolada, then moved to Thessaloniki worked as a carpenter then builder then technical assistant in a hotel at a present plumber in a company in Athens. (Manna)

At first, I was shelling goods beside the road, and then worked in a garments factory, after that in a supermarket, then in a hotel as an assistant waiter. At present, I am working as a waiter in a restaurant in Ioannina. (Nirob)

However, the findings present that many of the respondents are satisfy of their gradual improvement in the Greek labour market and assimilation condition with the locals. In addition, we can also notice a gradual improvement in situations seems to compensate for the years of hardship. On the contrary, hard work in that sense has not been for anything: as the time pass, Bangladeshi migrants make a better position in the labour market, not only for regularisation, but also because of hard working attitude, reverential behaviours with the colleagues, language proficiency, more efficient networks, and relationships with Greeks and their flexibility and dedication to their work. Some of the respondents expressing their dedication for the work:

I came in 2005 before I was living in Iran, I was working there. When I came to Greece, I couldn't communicate with people because of the language. I was talking only with Bangladeshi. After lots of hazards, I found work in the garment sector, there I was getting only 15 euro per day 12 hours work, and then I left the job. After that about three years, I was working as an assistant to cook, I learned how to cook. In the beginning, I was getting 20 euros per day for 10 hours. At present working as a cook,

eight hours, and I am getting paid about 35 euros, plus the social security stamps. (Hannan)

Well, I came in 2007, in the beginning, when I couldn't even speak; I was working in a shop assistant in a mini-market (Bangladeshi owner). I was getting paid 500 euros per month without social security. In between I study Greek language, now I can understand and speak Greek. Therefore, I got a job in a hotel as a waiter and getting 1000 euros per month with social security. (Faruk)

I came to Greece in 2001, I was working in a garment's factory, and I was paid 25 euro per day. After two years the factory was shut down. I was unemployed for one year. Then I found a job in another factory 20 euro per day without social security. I then started work as a kitchen assistant, the last 6 years I am working in the same position and the same restaurant and getting 900 euro per month with social security. (Taher)

I love to work hard and make a strong position in the job market. At first, I was working in a supermarket, I was getting 600 euro per month without social security. Then I started working in a Furniture Company, I paid 800 euros, I worked there for two years, Now I am working in a travel agency and getting 1000 euro per month with social stamps. (Munayem)

As we have seen, earlier of this section, migrants who perform similar work for a few years, acquired experience and become specialise as well as skilled workers. This is true in the cases of shop assistants, kitchen assistants, construction workers, garments workers, who start by doing general manual tasks, often on a casual basis, but later achieved certain skills related to their profession and progress their condition in terms of responsibilities and payment. On the other hand, after a few years, such experiences lead them to self-employment or entrepreneurship in small business or construction projects, house-repair work, or chefs, or factory owner. Some of the respondents highlighted their experiences:

I came to Greece in 2002, at the beginning; I have been working in a small garments factory. After a few years, I became specialised in this sector and earn some money also. Therefore, I was thinking why not I open my own factory; I have legal documents, money, and so on. As a result, since 2009 I am running my own small garments factory. (Mannan)

Well, since 2006, I am working in the same factory. I have started my job there, and still, I am there, but I don't do the same job, and my duties have changed. In the beginning, I was working with other workers to make furniture. After that I become an expert and boss trust me very well, right now my position and salary have been changed. I am working as a manager and getting 1500 euros per month with social security. (Habib)

When I came to Greece in 2005, I did not know how to work in a restaurant. One of the Bangladeshi workings in the restaurants, he teaches me how to work. At the beginning I was working as a cleaner, after that kitchen assistant, now I am working as a cook. Last 10 years I am working in the same restaurant, after gathering experience, gradually my employment status has been changed and my wages also. (kamal)

However, research findings shows that Bangladeshi migrants' not only develop their presence in the Greek labour market, but also the more common amelioration aspects which are not straight connected to the market and realize the patterns of integration of migrants in the labour market over time. Furthermore, this is a great achievement for the Bangladeshi migrants to hold a better employment positions, salary, and working environment, but also improved relationships with employers and colleagues, which is the key factor of integration. Some of the interviewees elaborating their personal experiences regarding relationships with employers and colleagues:

Rashed explaining his experience regarding his workplace and condition: well, the restaurant I am working at this moment, the owner and colleagues behave very well to me. I am very lucky to get such type of owner. In my eyes, he is a very good person, and the working conditions are good, and I'm doing a job that the way like and the boss let me do because he knows how I work.

Kamal explains his workplace environment: To be honest, I have a pleasant relationship with my colleagues. Well, not with everybody, because in general, no one has been accepted by all but generally, it's nice. I am satisfied in my workplace, in comparison to other workshops where I have worked before. This is the first one, the only one, I can tell, where I feel comfortable, and I can talk more and do whatever I want to.

Arif is elaborating on his experiences at the workplace: *In the beginning, I was working as an assistant waiter in a restaurant. As because of the foreigner, almost everyone in the restaurant treat you differently, but the owner always helps regarding this matter. He was always beside me, sometimes he was screaming to other employers. But as time passes, when they get to know me, they have started understanding who I am; how much hard work I do. Therefore, at present everyone behaving well and friendly.*

7.7 Labour market integration in Greece: policy berries

The migration issue in Greece is one of the most important socio-economic matters for the European Union. In the past, Greece considers as a migrant's sender country but since 1990, Greece has become migrants receiving country. Migration flow increased day by day, it's become massive after 2000. Most of the migrants' targets were moved to other European countries and Greece has used the gateway of Europe. In 2015, Greece has received an enormous number of economic migrants from many different countries. Greece was not prepared to receive a massive number of asylum seekers. However, appropriate factors and over time disparity in the economic circumstance has had an important effect on the farming and the execution of socio-economic integration. Nevertheless, the targeting of the social dialogue is changing from reception to access in the labor market due to the visible signs of the permanence of migrants and refugees. Along with issues of exclusion and unequal treatment at work, active employment policies have been added in the agenda, mainly in the context of the preparation of the National Strategy for Integration of 2018 (Ministry of Migration Policy 2019).

On the other hand, financial crisis and high unemployment rates shared with the unsettled issues of previous years and the settlement of newcomers' refugees magnified explicit barriers in the labour market integration. However, the subsequent austerity measures and continuous economic downturn increase the massive number of unemployment, especially construction, transportation and retails considered most affected sectors. The process of asylum application, granting, and renewing residence permit one of the key obstacles to access into the labour market. Additionally, administrative delays during the applications for resident permit left many migrants with temporary protection against expulsion, but with no right to legal access to the labor market for a long time while were

also problems regarding the initial grant for a work permit for asylum seekers led migrants to turn to “black work” in order to survive with a significant cost for the insurance funds also pre-registered asylum seekers are deprived of the right to work (SIRIUS, 2019). Moreover, if someone gets asylum or refugee status it means that they are going to face more administrative problems for example to have a social security number (AMKA) and tax number (AFM) which create consequent difficulties in the right of asylum seekers to register in OAED (Public Employment Service).

Moreover, immigration policy, in particular, is articulated through three main issues: a) the legal stay of immigrants, mostly for those entering the country before the recent refugee crisis, b) the reception of refugee streams from 2015 onwards, and, to a much lesser extent, c) the socio-economic integration of immigrants (Bagavos, et. El, 2019). The first issue was tackled through the focus on the simplification of the legal and institutional framework which resulted in the introduction of the Migration and Social Integration Code (Law 4175/2014). The Code, further strengthened by Joint Ministerial Decision 30651/2014 and Law 4332/2015, has rationalized the issue and the renewal of residence permits and facilitated the access of migrants to the labor market by simplifying the procedure and extending the duration of their legal stay (Bagavos, et. El, 2019). As for refugees and asylum seekers, the increase in (sea) flows, the closure of the so-called Balkan route in March 2016, the EU-Turkey agreement also in March 2016, and the transposition into Greek law of the EU Directive (2013/32/EU) on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection, resulted to new asylum legislation (Law 4375/2016, amended by Law 4399/2016, Article 86) (Bagavos, et. El, 2019). The implementation of the new legislation led to different asylum procedures for those applicants who arrive in Greece after the EU-Turkey agreement (fast-track procedure) as compared to those who were relocated to the mainland and had reached the country before this date (AIDA 2018).

The limited effectiveness of policies aiming to fight employment in the informal sector is one of the main policy aspects of migrant integration. Since the onset of immigration flows to Greece in the early 1990s, employment in the secondary labor market has been the main way for the economic integration of migrants (Bagavos, et. El, 2019). This is combined with temporality and seasonality in migrant employment which is very often coupled with informal activities and informal work. Several recent reports (e.g. European Commission 2017; Karantinos 2016; Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017), indicate that in practice migrants are mostly seen as a flexible and temporary labor force responding to the seasonal needs in

agriculture, construction, distributive trades, hotels, restaurants, and (domestic) services provided to households. This is also confirmed by findings of research projects; findings of the IRMA project (2015) on “Governing Irregular Migration: States, Migrants, and Intermediaries at the Age of Globalisation” highlight the existence of an informal labor market, which needs cheap and flexible seasonal work in tourism and agriculture (Triandafyllidou and Gemi 2015). These pull factors combined with migrations networks are seen as critical elements in shaping the ‘irregular’ migration condition.

However, Greece does not have sufficient migration and labour market integration policies, second, lack of properly monitor the policies, finally, reluctant to implement a dynamic migration policy as needed. Moreover, given the longstanding economic recession and the recent increase in refugee flows, the socio-economic integration of migrants remains a challenge. In particular, for women, research, such as the Assess project on “Monitoring and Assessing the Integration of Vulnerable Migrants in Greece” (Anagnostou and Gemi 2015), indicate that many migrant women have limited opportunities to benefit from policies and specific gender-targeted programmes aimed at labor market integration, vocational training and education since policies and programmes are fragmented and ad hoc (Bagavos, et. El, 2019).

Although migrants are more vulnerable than nationals to experience discrimination and labor exploitation, those phenomena are less reported than occurred, in particular in the case of work in the informal sector. This is because of the fear the migrants face when making complaints as well as the lack of information.

There is no effective labour market integration policy for migrant women and people with disabilities. However, most of the migrants considered Greece is as transit and not as a real settlement country. Therefore, they by themselves not willing to integrate and wait for the opportunity to

The lack of Greek language proficiency of migrants another barrier to integrating into the labour market, the fact that language courses are rarely provided by the Greece government. Although NGO’s and civil society providing language courses to the migrants, they cannot provide official language skills course certificate to the migrants.

7.8 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, the narratives in this section indicate that the majority of Bangladeshi migrants work in construction, agriculture, manufacturing, and various low or semi-skilled services (in tourism, catering, domestic service, caretaking, etc.); this is often due to the exclusionary legal framework and partly due to the structural characteristics of the Greek labour market. However, Bangladeshi migrants' trajectories in the Greece labour market indicate the significance of a dynamic time-based approach. Moreover, the impact of the three regularisations that had preceded my fieldwork has certainly been important and should be emphasised, since this improvement obviously highlights a turning point regarding the position of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece. Nevertheless, Bangladeshi migrants are facing discrimination, xenophobic and racist attitudes towards them in various job sectors but gradually they have been improved their job skills, which lead them to integrate into Greek labour market. Furthermore, with legal documents in their hands, Bangladeshi migrants feel safe, and they are more likely to move towards registered employment, escaping the highly exploitative conditions of the informal working sectors. In order to better understand the integration condition of Bangladeshi migrants in the host society; in the next chapter, we are going to highlight how Bangladeshi migrants change their behaviour to integrate and explain some of the obstacles they face in their everyday life.

Chapter Eight:

Greece migration and integration policies: social change

8.1 Introduction

Recently, the Greece government has been introduced new asylum law that has been narrowed the eligibility measures for refugee status and announces various strict provisions if not strictly followed, would void the individual's asylum application. Therefore, in this chapter we are going to discuss Greek migration policies regarding the process of migrant integration; how legal status and the practical implementation of policy influence migrants' daily lives; policy berries in access to the health sector for asylum seekers, and integration situation. What is the role of police, media, and civil society towards Bangladeshi migrants and how are Bangladeshi migrants changing their daily activities to integrate into Greek society?

The chapter is divided into six sections; in the first section, we are going to discuss new migration policies and Bangladeshi migrants' conditions, in the second section we are going to focus on the situation when the migrants were undocumented and their experiences regarding the regularisation programmes. In the sections, third and forth we are describing the role and attitude of Police, Media, civil society, xenophobic violence towards Bangladeshi migrants, health care facility: pathway to social integration and NGOs, and welfare association towards Bangladeshi migrants. In sections fifth and sixth we analyse Migrants integration strategy and social change policy berries, Bangladeshi migrant's perception about Greece, future employment and residence plan, and how migrants are changing their behavior and daily activities to well integrate into the society and their future employment and residence plan.

8.2 New migration policies and Bangladeshi migrants' condition

Recently, the government has introduced new migration laws for asylum seekers to control and constraints migration flow. Though the government insists that the system will become more effective and the asylum processes will be finished within a few months, but the reality is found different. First of all, the government transfers the refugee camps to the Ministry of Citizen Protection responsible for Greece's public security services, which previously belongs to the Ministry of Migrants policy indicating that the predecessors of

mishandling the refugee crisis and of leaving people stranded, under inhuman conditions, in overcrowded refugee camps and reception centers. Secondly, the government changes the health care system for the asylum seekers; previously, whenever an individual was applying for the asylum, after getting through he/she was eligible to have a health care number (AMKA number) in access to the Greek regular health care system for free. The newly elected government in 2019 announced that it would not grant health insurance cards to non-EU-nationals anymore, preventing them this way to have access to the Greek healthcare system.

Besides, the parliament passed a new provocative asylum law (L. 4636/2019) to accelerate the asylum procedure and to finish the application process soon. On the other hand, the government shutdown many reception and identification centers in the eastern Aegean, the creation of new closed detention centers, and the transformation of the open refugee camps in the mainland into controlled ones. Moreover, the law (L. 4636/2019) itself illustrates that if the asylum application is not being eligible for refugee status and void, so the person of concern will get a notification to leave the country within 10 or 30 days beside will have the opportunity to file a petition against the decision within these days. After reviewing his/her application, if the decision is still negative, the individuals will be sent to the detention center for deportation.

However, according to a report by Just Security, (the Humanitarian' 2020), Greece is illegally deporting asylum seekers from the Aegean islands by putting them in orange, tented rescue rafts, and set them adrift at sea. Furthermore, the government data from January to June 2020, shows that the total number of people who were returned to their countries of origin or relocated to other EU countries amounted to 3,591. This total corresponds to 36.7 percent of the number of arrivals in the first half of this year. More specifically, a total of 1,343 forced deportations of migrants to third countries have taken place so far this year. A total of 420 voluntary departures of migrants to their countries of origin were also recorded from January to June of 2020. In addition, 948 foreign nationals from third countries voluntarily returned to their countries of origin through the auspices of the International Organization for Migration (Claus, 2020).

Moreover, recently the Government also decrease financial assistance for asylum seekers and refugees from September 2020. For example, before one asylum seeker/refugee self-accommodated was getting 150 euro per month, now they will receive only 90 euros each month, the family of five-member self-accommodated was receiving 400 euro per

month now they will get 300 euro. On the other hand, previously a recognized refugee was receiving the cash assistant for six months after his/her recognition; from now on they will receive cash assistant only for one month. Though the new migration policies are formulated to reduce lengthy asylum process, to improve the quality of asylum service but its effect many of the migrant's application. Some of the refugees transferred to the mainland without providing any shelter. However, Bangladeshi migrants are also affected by the new measure taken by the government. Some of the respondents expressing how they are affected by the new law;

I came in Greece 2019, I am having political problem in Bangladeshi, I was in prison for six months, after my father died, I got bail from the prison for few days and I scape from the country...I know if I return to the country, I will be sentenced to death. I have submitted all the documents about the case against me in Bangladesh and also while I was coming to Greece, our car had an accident and my hands and legs broke. After having all these problems, recently my asylum case has been rejected and I have been told to leave the country within 30 days (Sahajan Siraj)

I am living in Lesbos, in 2019, I came to Lesvos since I came, I could not move anywhere because of close trifold. In Bangladesh, "bede" considered as a special ethnic group, we don't have social status, we cannot go to school, etc. also I had a problem with a neighbor and they wanted to kill me and I left the country but a few days ago my case has been void and noticed to leave the country within 10 days. (Sonju)

Currently, I am psychically disabled, while I was coming to Greece our van crash in the road, and my both legs cut because of the deadly road accident. I am having a huge problem in Bangladesh because or religious background. This government reject my case and give me notice to leave the country within 30 days. They did not consider any of my problems just reject. (Ayub Ali)

My family and neighbor were about to kill me because I like a man. It's forbidden in Bangladesh, to save my life I left Bangladesh and I should have privilege about my asylum application, but it has been rejected. I hear this government rejecting all the Bangladeshi asylum applications with judgment. What I will do now... (Do not want to tell his name)

Furthermore, to reduce the massive migration flow, on 2 March 2020, the Greek government adopted an emergency legislative decree (“suspension of the submission of asylum applications”, Gov. Gazette A’ 45/2.3.2020, a”) stripping persons arriving undocumented in the country of the right to seek asylum during that month (RSA, 2020). The Decree suspended the registration of asylum applications for one month and foresaw immediate deportation for those entering the Greek territory, without registration, to their countries of origin or Turkey. As a result of the Decree, individuals who entered Greece intending to seek international protection in March 2020 were automatically and indiscriminately detained for return and were denied access to the asylum procedure and a series of rights provided by national, European, and international legislation. According to UNHCR statistics, 2,927 persons entered Greece via land and sea in the course of that month. These persons were automatically and arbitrarily placed in detention under abhorrent conditions and continue to remain in closed facilities without effective judicial protection, despite ultimately being allowed to express the intention to lodge an asylum application with the Asylum Service.

8.3 The problems of an uncertain migration policy structure

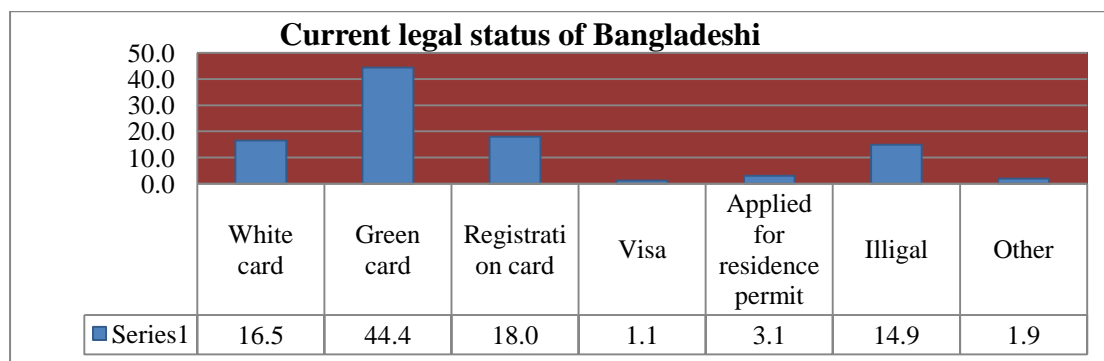
In the following section, we are going to outline the most outstanding characteristic of Greece’s exclusionary migrants’ legal policy structure. As we have discussed in chapter five that the majority of Bangladeshi migrants had either crossed the border illegally, or they had overstayed though their stay permission expired and had not had an opportunity to apply for the regularisation programme at the time of fieldwork. Therefore, the shortage of documents had certainly forced the majority of Bangladeshi migrants to work the informal sectors of the economy, as discussed in chapter seven. However, living under clandestine status influences much more than working informally to lead their everyday life. Irregular migrants lead their life in fear, and many times they hide themselves to avoid arrest by the police.

8.3.1 Existing legal status of Bangladeshi migrants’ in Greece

The empirical findings in bar chart 8.1 provide information about Bangladeshi migrant’s legal status/what kind of documents holding at the time of fieldwork. Research finding in bar chart 8.1 illustrates the majority percentage of 44.4 percent of the participants having a Green card/stay permit, most of them are female and children, emigrated from Bangladesh with family reunification visa. On the other hand, the second-largest percentage 18.0 percent were holding a registration card/trifold, some of them holding pre-registration

cards, which does not allow work and health access. Also, 16.5 percent had a white card which allows access to the labour market. However, a shear of 14.9 percent did not have any documents till they arrive in Greece, most of them found newcomers, some of them are waiting one year or more to get an appointment to claim their asylum, some of them living villages working in the agricultural sector. Because of the complex asylum procedure, some of them tried many times, when they did not succeed then left Athens to avoid arrest by police. An important percentage 3.1 percent applied for the residence according to new regularization law (showing 7 years documents that stay in Greece) but did not issue at the time of fieldwork. A shear of 1.1 also holding a visa, they are new immigrants with family reunification visa.

Bar char 8.1 legal status of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece (%)



However, because of the lengthy asylum procedure, many of the respondents have not seen their family for several years; some of them did not have any legal travel documents more than 10 years, some of the more than 8 years, some of them applied for a residence permit after 7 years, having blue certificate but they do not want to take the risk of traveling Bangladesh because of the difficulty and hazard of re-entry. Because of illegal status, many Bangladeshi migrants become invisible and limit their public presence. They just come out from home when they have urgent work or needs. Such experiences and feelings, and highlighting the effects of Greek non-policy on the lives of migrants by their expressions:

I was always afraid of the police because if they catch me and they will send me back. The last eight years I am hiding.... still I am illegal; if I saw police somewhere, I change the road. (Kamal)

Well, if you are illegal, you will have to always afraid of the police ... because they can stop you anywhere and send you to prison or send back to your country or they might behave very awful without reason. (Rashed)

To be honest, I feel always insecure. I do not have legal paper at present, whenever I go out, I try to keep looking in the road if there are any police in front because I have a terrible experience with the police. One day, Police check my documents even though, I had a red card they took me to the police station and told me to leave the country. Although, I had legal permission to stay in the country. (Anil Kumar)

I came 2008 until today I don't have any legal paper, since I came, I am hiding, maybe I am lucky enough that the police didn't catch me, and send to prison for 3 years (Shajahan)

Recently, Athens police raid, in a particular place where many undocumented Bangladeshi were living together, when they heard about the police raid and looking for illegal migrants to arrest, they tried to hide, run and jump other buildings to scape. While jumping another building to scape, one Bangladeshi migrant falls from the 3rd floor and he died on the spot. Although harassment by the police authorities was not the case for all, many migrants were affected by their attitude. On the other hand, stops by the police for document checks were daily routine; check-up also happened at the workplace, or even at migrants' homes. Whenever the police catch an undocumented Bangladeshi migrant, they kept them in a detention center for a certain time before deportation. On the other, behaviour towards migrants depended largely on the attitude of individual policemen, and it was often offensive; incidents of verbal, and even physical, violence was not rare. Among the respondents, 10.2 percent described the attitude of police authorities towards them as 'hostile' (see table 8.2). The following testimonies of some of the interviewees give an idea about such experiences:

I am a Ph.D. student in one of the universities in Greece; I went to Bangladesh to see my family, while I was coming back from Bangladesh, Police stopped me in Omonia, told me to raise my hand...Without asking any documents, one of the police kick on my ass and scolding me without any reason...When they check my documents then they let me go...it is intolerable. (Sofiq)

I work in sindagma (Athens) in a restaurant, usually, I finish work late night, I was waiting for the bus to go home, and suddenly one car (no sign of a police car) stopped in front of me then told me we are police...come with us...I told how can I believe you....they sought me, about to hit me and told me if you don't come we will shout you...I was too much afraid...Then I went with them (Rashed)

When we were crossing the border the police arrest us they kept us at the police station for a night ... there were some people [policemen] who were playing the tough guys ... to scare the people inside ... Then ... they took us to a building like a prison, where all the immigrants were [the Police Transportation Department Metagon]. We stayed there for another night, and then they sent us to the border on a bus. (Kamal)

I was working for four years, without having legal paper ... I was arrested by the police ... Fine, we didn't have papers, you know, they sent me in the prison. After 6 months they release with a notification paper that I have to leave this country within three months, now it's very difficult, I don't have money even to return (Khalid).

However, the three regularization programmes in 1997, 2001, and 2005 were welcomed by migrants; because it helped them to feel secure and led them to carry normal life. At the time of fieldwork, those who are having stay permit by three regularization programs, the majority almost everyone said that legalisation would allow them to walk around freely without fear, work legally; travel back home, and return and they would have access to social insurance and public health. Besides, the regularisation programme allowed those left behind, usually who are living more than seven years to re-join their family in Bangladesh, on the other hand, in many cases those who could not manage their legal stay permit they don't want to back to the county but they are taking the risk and paying the high cost to bring their family or wife illegally:

I came to Greece in 2004 but to date could not manage to get a green card. I married in 2002, my wife was living in Bangladesh. Therefore, I have agreed with one of the immigrants who had a Green card to bring my wife. I have paid him 4000 euro to bring my wife in Greece. After all this procedure I am living with my wife here in Greece. (Sawkat)

we don't have the Greek embassy in Bangladesh, so I went to India with all documents and I submitted my paper but the embassy rejects to give me a visa... told me to bring some other documents ...then I returned to Bangladesh...I told my husband to send, I went again to the embassy they reject me over again... This happens to me four times... then I understand they will not give me a visa, so we manage someone and paid 3000 euro ...finally I am here...having all the documents they reject me. (Ripa)

On the other hand, many of the Bangladeshi migrants had applied during this first and second phase but talked also about their more recent experiences of the third regularisation programme. We have also discussed earlier (Section 8.3); the process itself was marked by numerous problems. The most common ones, according to the respondents' experiences, concerned the following:

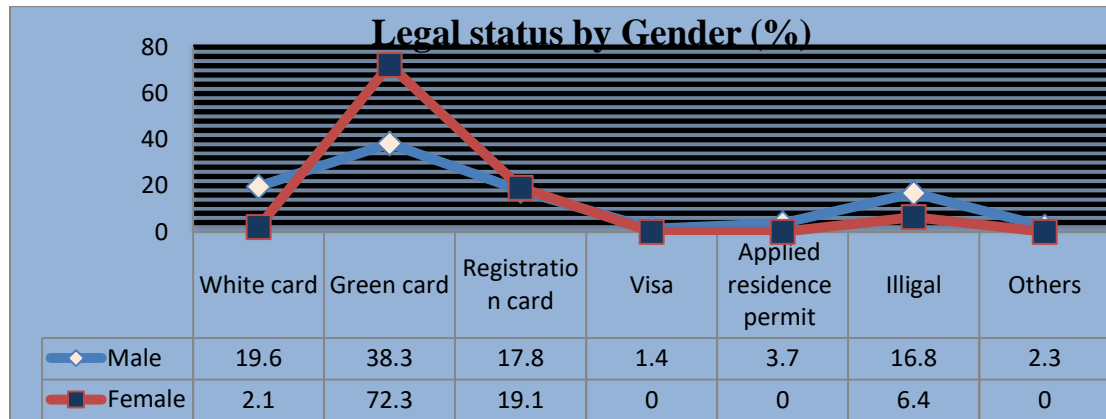
Firstly, the financial costs of legalization programme: if any migrant wants to apply, therefore, each applicant, including minors above fourteen, had to pay 150 euros for a year, every time s/he applied even though if it was for a renewal of the stay permit. Secondly, the complexity of documents requirement: there are several documents required for the application (birth certificates, etc.) had to be issued by the home country authorities, it is creating lots of problems for Bangladeshi migrants, being illegal they cannot travel the home country. Thirdly, complicated for unregistered employment: The regularization procedure is very complicated for unregistered employ. To apply for they have to buy social security stamps, which increase the total cost of application even more; those who did not manage were expelled from the regularization programme.

8.3.2 Bangladeshi migrants' present legal status by gender

Research findings in line chart 8.1 depict information about the legal status of Bangladeshi migrants by gender at the fieldwork. The line chart 8.1 illustrates the majority percentage of male respondents' 38.3 percent are having green card or long/short term stay permit while women are 72.3 percent. Especially women those who came with family reunification visa they receive green card/stay permit according to their husband stay permit. The second-largest percentage 19.6 percent male migrants are having white cards while women only 2.1 percent. However, an important percentage of male and female 16.6 and 6.4 percent do not have any documents to legally stay in Greece. On the other hand, 17.8 percent men and 19.1 percent women have 'registration card' and are applying for stay permit

asylum; only 3.7 percent male respondents applied for stay permit but, had not yet received the card itself, and were issued a special temporary document (a certificate of application) while women are zero percent.

Line chart 8.1 legal status of Bangladeshi migrants by gender (%)



A shear of 1.4 percent men having a visa and while women found zero percent at the time of fieldwork. Women are having more green cards compare to men because they come with a spouse visa. The registration card holder percentages are still high. Others status; 2.3 percent men and had been granted Greek citizenship, with long periods of residence in Greece, and to get married to Greek nationals (all but one of those who were granted citizenship had been living in Greece for more than 20 years). It seems that, the minority who hand regular status but worked as unregistered worker therefore they did not have any social security stamps and they pay when they renew their stay permit. One of the respondents' narratives regarding this issue:

Well, I was working in a hotel and I was having social security, recently I have lost my job. On the other hand, I used to have a stay permit for one year, it will expire also in a few days. I am going to apply to renew my stay permit, but I don't have insurance, so I don't know if I'm going to get the papers, without social security stamps. I think I have to buy social security stamps to apply. (Kajol)

Based on the research findings, we observe that the complexity of the existing legal policy framework. It does not guarantee a stable and long-term feeling of security to the Bangladeshi migrants. The immigration law is being frequently revised; long-term residence is still refused to the majority of Bangladeshi; there is no established scheme for stay permit renewals running during the year; bureaucracy and delays generate problematic circumstances; prejudices and discriminatory attitudes by government officials are common

towards Bangladeshi migrants. Migrants' who are having legal status and work informally without social security therefore it will be very difficult for them to remain regular. Therefore, we can say that the improvement of consistent and practical immigration policy in Greece is currently at the initial stage.

8.4 Bangladeshi migrant's relationship with the state and civil society

In the following section, we will illustrate the challenging and controversial relationship of Bangladeshi migrants with the state and civil society. This section is divided into three parts; in the first part we are going to discuss the attitudes and behaviours of the public service, media, and civil society towards Bangladeshi migrants in everyday life. In the second part will be focused on xenophobic violence and discriminatory attitude towards migrants by locals and public service which create obstruction to integrate with host society. In the third part of the section will be explored health care system of Greece and how it works as integration indicators in Greece. However, the complicated relationship between migrants and certain employers of the state: although not all migrants have had a negative experience.

8.4.1 The State, Media, Police and civil society: negative attitudes towards migrants

In this first part of this section, we will address the attitudes and behaviours of the state, media, and civil society towards Bangladeshi migrants. Research findings show that xenophobic attitudes are quite widespread within contemporary Greek society and Bangladeshi migrants are more victims. The initial, and to a certain degree expected, xenophobic reactions towards the substantial influx of Bangladeshi migrants have unfortunately led to openly racist feelings. The problems started when the unemployment rate going up and the rise in criminality during the 1990s; it has been the main arguments used in racist discourse, linked directly to the coming of migrants. The experiences of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece confirm this situation. The detailed interviews expose experiences of discrimination or offensive treatment of Bangladeshi nationality. This is more obvious, due to their commonly negative public image, which relates them to dirty, hard work, illegality, and hence criminality, and backwardness. Such expressions of racism and xenophobia are reflected in the majority of the respondents. Questioned and highlighted in a diversity of ways in the interviewees' narratives:

I was walking by the sea in Thessaloniki in the evening, suddenly 4/5 young men came in front of me, all of them wear a black t-shirt, they started to bit me ...Even I could

not manage to run away... 10 days I was hospitalized. They scold, you bastard Asian, leave this country soon otherwise we will kill you all. (Mukul)

I think, you also observe, lots of people thinking very bad things regarding us. Many of them are thinking we are very poor people, we came to Greece for begging and mugging and we destroy their society. (Hafiz)

On my way to work, one old lady told me, ‘what do you want here, you immigrant?’ I mean, particularly regarding Asians because they can recognize us as because we are brown people, there is something here, not that all Greeks say such things, but there are many reactions against us. So many times I heard these types of words even from the bus driver, ‘What do you want here? Go back to your country, find a job there. You can’t stay here.’ (Jabbar)

On the other hand, how are we to describe xenophobia and the increase of racism in Greek society? Additionally, it has appeared as an irregular reaction to the migration boom and the massive arrival of Bangladeshi migrants in the mid-1990s. Research on xenophobia in Greece has been identified as a widespread feeling of ‘extreme numbers of foreigners’ between the host individuals (Kafetzis et al. 1998). On the other hand, an additional issue that contributed considerably to the increase and spread of xenophobic reactions, as to identify earlier, has been the legal structure itself. However, the ‘police’ implement the government policy through the criminalization policy therefore their concept is ‘illegal migrant increase crime’ in the society (Karydis 1996). The research finding in Table 8.1 shows the attitude by the state, police, media, and civil society towards Bangladeshi migrants. Based on the research findings, table 8.1 shows the state, media, civil society attitudes towards migrants according to their experience at the time of the interview.

Table 8.1 Attitudes of the local society (people, services, institutions) towards Bangladeshi migrants (%)

The behavior of the local (people services, institutions) towards Bangladeshi							
	Public service	Police	Media	Employers	Tread unionist	Greek	other nationalities
Rather Friendly	46.0	21.3	14.2	29.2	26.4	27.2	25.7
Friendly	16.4	27.9	23.6	29.2	22.7	31.5	33.6
Rather Hostile	22.6	17.0	37.3	22.2	22.7	22.9	25.7
Hostile	1.4	10.2	1.9	2.3	5.5	4.3	2.4
Neutral	13.6	23.3	23.1	17.0	22.7	14.0	12.6

In the public services, the majority percentage 46.0 percent respondent said that their attitudes towards them are rather friendly; while 16.4 percent said friendly, a shear of 22.6 percent told they are rather hostile and only 1.4 percent said hostile. The Police attitude towards Bangladeshi migrants identified friendly, a significant percentage 27.9 percent said they are friendly towards them on the other hand only 10.2 percent said they behaved hostile while 21.3 percent said they are rather friendly. Though sometimes media creates a negative image of migrants but almost half of the Bangladeshi migrants 23.6 and 23.1 percent said that friendly and neutral towards Bangladeshi migrants, while 37.3 percent respondents said that rather hostile only 1.9 percent said media coverage is hostile towards migrants.

In the matter of Employers, the significant percentage 29.2 percent said that they are not friendly at the workplace, while another same percentage 29.2 percent participants said that friendly, 17.0 percent neutral, and 22.2 percent rather hostile Regarding trade unionists, the majority percentage of respondents 26.2 percent told attitudes towards them was rather friendly, second-largest percentage 22.7 percent told friendly, only 4.3 percent told hostile. Greeks' behaviour towards Bangladeshi migrants observed friendly; the large proportion 31.5 percent said Greeks behave friendly to them, the important shear of 27.2 said not friendly at all, 14.0 percent said they are neutral, only a small number 4.3 percent said they are friendly to them. However, the majority percentage of respondents' 33.6 percent of respondents said that they are having a good relationship with other nationalities. To summarise research data in table 8.1 public services and the Greek's behavior towards Bangladeshi were not friendly their behaviour and attitude to the migrants are hostile more than trade unionists and government actors.

In discussing, the relationship between Bangladeshi migrants and some representatives of the state, namely police and border officials appears to be highly problematic. The excessive sense of duty of some of these officials and their often unpleasant attitude towards migrants reflects their exploitive and xenophobic characters. Such incidents appear in the narratives of some of the respondents and are characteristic of similar experiences of offensive or unfair treatment experienced by many Bangladeshi migrants²³. The state gave the right to exercise the power to the police officers, in order to protect the state from illegal aliens and suspected criminals. Therefore, cases of police brutality are

23 The National Commission for Human Rights, in its 2012 report, talks about 'bad detention conditions', 'inadequate legal support' and 'racist treatment' by Greek police officers towards aliens arrested for lacking documents (2012: 31-32). Amnesty International's 2013 report on Greece denounces cases of 'torturing' and 'ill-treatment' of alien detainees 'during arrest and in custody'.

common and reports of such incidents come out frequently in the daily news. Nevertheless, there are many cases of Bangladeshi migrants being arrested even when they had their documents with them, and being taken to the police station to confirm that their documents were valid or not. Some of the respondents mentioned verbal abuse during inspections or arrests by the state police:

From my personal experience ... I went Thessaloniki with my friends to take my father from Airport. While we were coming back with my father to Ioannina...it was midnight, on the highway police stop us and told us to raise our hand and sit down... gave them all papers... and they search our car like..... We were taken into the police station though we had all legal documents, It couldn't have been worse ... It was one of these operations. They put us in the police van, in the police station they check our paper it was all OK ... they finally let us go, but they treated us very badly, they were insulting us. (Zaman)

While I was walking in Omonia, Some police came to me without saying anything they arrested me and put in the police van.....though I had a copy of my Green card, stamped by the police, and they didn't believe that it was legal. They arrested me ... they kept me ... until the afternoon, and then they let me go. (Komol)

We were 30 people together coming from the turkey into Greece in December; it was too cold. While we were crossing the border, maybe border guard saw us; without saying anything starts fire, then we start running here and there. Some of us hit by bullets, one of them died, we run towards the mountain. We hide...the police come close to us and told come out otherwise we will kill all of you. When we came out from the hidden place they start to bit us until senseless...They took us into a police van...Take beside the border then hand over to the Turkey border guard. (Rabbi)

Research finding shows, media sometime create a negative image of migrants in four ways: first, they are selecting news to highlight that migrants increasing crime; second, they are showing problems in the society associate by migrants; Third, they are covering reports much similar to police reports and focusing migrants nationality and presenting as criminal; fourth, giving high attention of migrants in specific reason as worrying situations. Some of the TV serials are also focusing on neglect the image of migrants' presence in Greece which enlightening the new exclusionary thought of xenophobia and racism. Stereotype and

prejudices about migrants from Asian countries in particular Bangladeshi are the most common. The contribution of the media in creating a negative image of migrants in Greece, particularly among Bangladeshi; respondents are highly emphasized:

The media always try to create an initial impression from the civil society, I believe that in the beginning, whenever a terrible incident happen, without any judgment they try to focus it's happening by an Asian (Bangladeshi, Afghani, or Pakistani) immigrants or by anybody in order to impress the public opinion and attract to the immigrants. And this has passed to the people; civil society and government show their reaction to us. (Kharul)

Well, everyone knows that media always insult us as uncivilized, third world country people. When I don't go out, I watch TV a lot, at night; to tell you the truth, they focus that we are bad people, and they insult everybody, not only us. They insult all the immigrants who are living in Greece. (Rabbi)

Media, such a source they make people believe even if it is wrong. So many people believe what they see on Television. The news may exaggerate with a simple event. People don't think that good Asian (Bangladeshi) may also exist ... 'All of them are like that, even the newspapers; all immigrants are not bad. (Kholilur)

In conclusion, the narratives in this section indicate that the interpersonal relationship between Bangladeshi migrants and locals has been better over time based on mutual trust, assistance; friendship, etc. (see table 8.1). On the other hand, regularisations allowed Bangladeshi migrants to lead normal lives and allow a public presence, xenophobic attitudes gradually reduce and racist attitudes become characteristic of only a small minority among the local inhabitants. Additionally, The media, presently focusing more sincerely on the significance of anti-discriminatory regulations, resist violence towards migrants and many times positive representation of migrants are more frequently pictured, even some state TV channels showing programmes for migrants (e.g. ANT TV play Hindi movies every Saturday night)²⁴.

24 It is worth mentioning here that ANT TV play Hindi movies every Saturday night, therefore it is very likely to have a positive impact on common perceptions because by the movie people will know the culture and the life style of Asian; it will make a good impression of Asian immigrants to the host society. Obviously, movie indicates a degree of 'absorption' of immigrants by the dominant culture; by the movie Greek media certainly reflect a change of attitude to Asian.

8.4.2 Xenophobic violence towards Bangladeshi migrants in Greece

The phenomenon of violence against migrants in public places has risen in the past few years in Greece. Third-country nationals, including asylum seekers, refugees, and irregular migrants are increasingly attacked, by main members of right-wing groups, in a context of racist motivations and the principle that “the majority has priority”, meaning of course a 'Greek' majority who shares a common history, language, religion and national consciousness (Yousef 2013). It should be noted that not only members of migrant and refugee communities have become a target but also informal mosques, shops, and community lounges belonging to members of immigrant communities (Amnesty International, 2012:23)²⁵.

In contrast discrimination against minorities and foreigners in general and the creation of racist stereotypes and xenophobic tendencies are based on this principle (Pavlou, 2007:18). On the other hand, the Majority of Bangladeshi migrants are Muslim. There are no common cultural ties between Bangladesh with Greece therefore Greek society making the situation worse in terms of cultural differentiation and ideological dissimilarities on the symbolic and practical acceptance of the majority. Research findings indicate in chapter six, almost 25 percent of Bangladeshi migrants faced xenophobic violence in Greece. The analysis of interviews uncovers many such experiences and feelings, highlighting the effects on the lives of individual migrants. In their own words:

Jamshad 30 years old Bangladeshi who arrived in Greece in 2012 was injured when he was walking with two friends; were attacked on a pedestrian street near Attica Square on the night of March 25, 2013. He said they were just walking down the street suddenly a group of roughly 7-8 people appeared from inside the park, in Attica Square, and started hitting them. *It was around 10 p.m. We were on the street... It was dark and we did not understand what happened. We didn't see them. They were saying something but we didn't understand. But they had in their hand's woods and irons. They have hit me everywhere, and in my body also. It is not only my nose and my head... I started running but there was a lot of blood flowing. Suddenly, I felt dizzy and then I stopped and my friends caught me. They were chasing us for a long time. After that, we managed to escape and I was admitted to the hospital.*

25 Amnesty International 2012, *Amnesty International Annual Report 2012 Greece*

35 years old Hakim was explained how racist people attack to his house and his roommates in 2011 in Athens: *I was living with six roommates, they were also from Bangladesh, at midnight when we were sleeping, a group of people about six or seven-person, age between 30-35, they came, broke the door, and entered the house. They were shouting, and scolding me. They broke everything and beat my roommates and me... They beat me on the head and chest and I was bleeding. I still have a hole in my head. They beat me with iron. The attack lasted 20 minutes. The house had three rooms and two persons were sleeping in each room. All five were taken to a hospital. Doctor stitches in my head; one of my roommates needed nine stitches and they have broken one of my friend ribs and head injuries. I called the police numerous times after the attack, but they didn't come.*

Sohagh 27 years old giving statement xenophobic violence to him in 2012 in Athens: *I was talking over the phone with my family in Bangladesh and walking beside the rail line in Attica railway station, suddenly 5 people came at me from the front wearing black cloths, without saying anything, they started to beat me. I ran and they beat me and they kick me also. I fell unconscious. The police came and called an ambulance. They told me to come back after the hospital with the papers. I don't want to stay anymore in this racist country, want to go back to my country.*

Noyon 25 years old, came to Greece in 2009, he was attacked beside the port area in Patra in 2012. Telling how the racist incidence happens to him: *When I was walking at the afternoon beside the port road suddenly 4-5 motorcycle stop in front of me with a group of 8-12 men, age will be under 30 years old, wearing helmets, asked me where I am from, and then one of them hit in the right eye. I felt down to the ground and then the group began to beat me with sticks. They took my mobile and cigarettes, and wallet. My body was paining and I couldn't walk. I was unconscious; some of the witnesses calls to police. After some time police came and I told them what happened. At that moment I was in a really bad situation because I couldn't see well and they asked for my papers. I told them I have papers but please take to me to the hospital first. The most terrible thing was that police did not ask me about the assailant they asked me about my documents.*

News media and governmental reports also indicate that racist attacks against migrant groups in Greece have escalated in recent years, including two serious attacks on

Bangladeshis. We have presented xenophobic violence towards the Bangladeshi migrants reported in the daily newspaper. The following reports were found in the sources consulted regarding recent attacks on Bangladeshis in Greece:

- ❖ On 17 April 2013, The World Post reported that “Greece Migrant Workers Shot by Foremen on Strawberry Farm After Demanding Back Pay.” The report states that “The supervisors were believed to have opened fire on Wednesday at a crowd of about 200 mostly Bangladeshi immigrants who were demanding wages that had not been paid”²⁶.
- ❖ On 29 March 2010, Times Online reported that in February 2010 “a gang of mostly teenagers set fire to a house in Sparta, southern Greece, as a group of Bangladeshi migrants slept inside.” The report states that “Muslim migrants in Greece have faced increasing hostility from far-right militants, and the Pakistani community has frequently denounced attacks on its members by Greek youths”²⁷.
- ❖ An article dated 22 July 2010, published by Agency France Press, reports on another violent incident against Muslim migrants in the Sparta region. The report states that a gang of approximately 10 men “beat four Bangladeshi migrants with clubs after breaking into their homes” (RRT 2010). The report states that:

The police said racism was a possible motive but that they were also investigating whether the attack was carried out by other migrants over local labour contracts, a police source said. Attacks on immigrants have increased in frequency in Greece in recent years amid a surge in the number of illegal migrant arrivals²⁸.

- ❖ Times Online has reported that in May 2009 “five Bangladeshi migrants were injured after unknown assailants tried to burn down a makeshift mosque in Athens.”²⁹

New media reports published by Athens News Agency indicate that Bangladeshis have been subject to crime-related violence in Greece. The following recent reports were found in the sources consulted:

26 “Greece Migrant Workers Shot By Foremen On Strawberry Farm After Demanding Back Pay”, *The world post* 17 April 2013

27 “Bomb kills teenager in Athens”, *Times Online*, 29 March 2010

28 “Afghan immigrants beaten in Greece: police”, *Agence France Presse*, 22 July 2010

29 “Bomb kills teenager in Athens”, *Times Online*, 29 March 2010

- ❖ On 7 October 2010, The Athens News Agency reported that in “downtown Athens, unknown individuals stabbed in the back a Bangladeshi and took his cash.” The report states the same evening in Athens city a Pakistani man was stabbed by muggers and an employee was injured during an armed robbery³⁰.
- ❖ A report published by The Athens News Agency on 24 November 2009 states that two Bangladeshi men were stabbed in Athens while resisting two Iraqi nationals attempting to mug them. One Bangladeshi man died as a result of the attack³¹.

Athens News Agency reports also indicate some violent incidents within the Bangladeshi community in Greece which appears to be crime-related:

- ❖ On 25 February 2010, Athens News Agency reported that police had charged four Bangladeshi men with the murder of a 22-year-old Bangladeshi man. The body was found on 25 January 2010. The arrested men are reported to have stated that “they had financial differences with the victim”³².
- ❖ On 20 January 2010, Athens News Agency reported that police charged a Bangladeshi man with the robbery and abduction of another Bangladeshi man in Athens. The victim was reportedly attacked and held against his will by four Bangladeshi men seeking ransom money³³.

According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, a series of criminal attacks has been directed against foreigners based on criteria such as the color of skin, the geo-cultural and geopolitical origin, and religion (Yousef 2013) More specifically, the image presented in the press is as follows: A plethora of attacks that evolve after sunset or in the early morning hours and are organized actions by groups of Greeks, members of extremist groups, including the Golden Dawn, usually 20-30 years old motorcyclists or pedestrians dressed in black, holding knives and bats in main squares or public transportation stops, to immigrants who usually wait to move to their workplace (Triandafyllidou 2014). During the last year, the attacks continued into buses and in subway stations frightening other passengers too (Aformi, September 16, 2011).

30 “Daily News Bulletin in English”, *Athens News Agency*, 8 October 2010

31 “Mugging ends in stabbing death, injury”, *Athens News Agency*, 24 November 2009

32 “Police solve murder of Bangladeshi in Ilion”, *Athens News Agency*, 25 February 2010

33 “Man arrested for robbery-kidnapping of Bangladeshi national”, *Athens News Agency*, 20 January 2010

In a general climate of fear, 90 percent of victims of racist attacks seeking help for their injuries, choose not to report the case to the authorities, because of lack of legal documents and of fear that they will be arrested, then detained and possibly deported (UNHCR Greece, *Against Racism 2012*, ANTIGONE, Annual Report 2012)³⁴. In some cases, it was reported that policemen adducted the injured victim to the police station to check the legality of residence documents, instead of carrying it to the hospital or even discouraged the victim from filing a claim, or failed to make a formal complaint as a racially motivated attack (Amnesty International, 2012: 23). The general climate of impunity for the perpetrators of the racist attacks discourages also the victims from filing a case. The culprits of violent attacks against foreigners remain overwhelmingly unpunished, and when they get arrested, in most cases they are set free again (UNHCR, 2012:23-24). The Bangladeshi Community reacts to the general climate of racism and xenophobia in several ways, including various marches and protests of antiracist initiatives such as the "United Movement against racism and the fascist threat" (KEERFA) taking place for general awareness of the public. (*Against Racism*, 16 September 2012)

Over the last few years, non-governmental organizations have attempted to raise awareness of the racist attacks perpetrated by members of and sympathizers with Golden Dawn across Greece. Confronting resistance from authorities over the extent of the problem, investigations led by Human Rights Watch, Doctors of the World, and the Greek Council for Refugees found sustained attacks against immigrants and refugees. Similarly, the Racist Violence Recording Network, a project by the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Greece, documented 151 hate crimes against refugees and migrants in 2012 and 143 similar incidents in 2013 (Aljazeera 2014)³⁵.

The Greek authorities are failing to tackle a rising wave of xenophobic violence that has left migrants afraid to walk the streets. Most attacks take place at night, on or near town squares. Attackers work in groups and are often dressed in dark clothing with their faces obscured by cloth or helmets. Some of them arrive and flee on motorcycles (HRW 2012). Bare-fisted attacks are not uncommon, but attackers also often wield clubs or beer bottles as weapons. Most attacks are accompanied by insults and exhortations to leave Greece, and in some cases, the attackers also rob the victims. "Attacks on migrants and asylum seekers are

34 UNHCR, (2012). Συμβολή στο διάλογο για το μεταναστευτικό και το άσυλο, Γραφείο Ελλάδας, βλ

35 "Greece, a front line for state-sponsored racism in Europe", *Aljazeera America* 29 September 2014

intended to send a message: you are not wanted here, go away,” Sunderland said. “To stop this violence, the state needs to send an equally powerful message: xenophobic violence has no place in a democratic society, and you will be punished” (HRW 2012)

8.4.3 Bangladeshi migrants’ health care facility: the pathway to social integration

Flexible health care system one of the most important indicators of social integration into the host society. Formal access to the free services of the National Health System (NHS) has been dependent on registered employment and regular status, which was not the case for the majority of Greece’s migrants throughout the 1990s (Mighealthnet 2009). Although (documented) migrants have been entitled to equal access to health care as Greek citizens, the issue of migrants’ health only entered the policy agenda in the 2000s. The immigration Bill (Law 2910/2001) has granted officially equal rights regarding National Insurance and social protection for foreign nationals legally resident in Greece, as they apply to Greek citizens (Mighealthnet 2009). However, in 2002 that the government launched for the first time a set of measures aiming specifically at integration: the ‘Action Plan for the Social Integration of Immigrants 2002-2005’ includes provisions on the health care of migrants (Mighealthnet 2009).

Accordingly, regular migrants may have access to the national health system as long as they possess a health book issued by the insurance Fund they are registered with. In any other case, only emergency cases are accepted, and the same applies to ‘aliens’. The state of the art regarding health issues of migrants in Greece remains poor and under-researched, reflecting the novelty of the phenomenon and the recent development of academic literature on the field (Ingleby et al. 2007). Recently, in 2020 the government has changed the health care system for the asylum seekers, before whenever a person of concern applied for asylum when the PoC registered in the system s/he was getting a medical insurance number called AMKA which was valid till the PoC stay in Greece and will have access in the health care like the locals. From the beginning of 2020, the government has stopped giving AMKA number to the Asylum seekers, now they are giving PAAYPA number for the health care service. This is one kind of social security number which is valid until the asylum card is valid. It means if the asylum case is accepted by the government so that this number will be valid till the person of concern will stay in Greece. If the asylum case is rejected then there is the value of the PAAYPA number.

On the other hand, Bangladeshi asylum seekers in Greece are at high risk because most of the asylum are been rejected nowadays. Additionally, because of ‘socio-economic, cultural, and language skills, Bangladeshi asylum seekers are approached negative attitude in access to health care service in Greece. The research findings in table 8.2 provide the actual scenario in access to the health facilities of Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants’ in Greece.

Table 8.2 the actual scenario Bangladeshi migrants in access to health care (%)

Access to health care service to Bangladeshi migrants					
Social security number		Heath insurance book		For medical treatment	
Yes	44.9	Yes	49.5	Public hospital	80.5
No	55.1	No	50.5	Private hospital	6.7
				Visit private GP	1.3
				Other	11.4

Research findings illustrate in bar chart 6.1 that the majority percentage of the participants of 55.1 percent did not have social security and less than half 44.9 percent had health insurance at the time of the fieldwork. But this percentage is different for the undocumented migrants. Near almost all the undocumented migrants did not have social security at the time of fieldwork. On the other hand, those who are working in the agriculture sector only 14.5 percent having social security but the percentage are opposite those who are working at the hotel; the majority of them 87.5 are insured. The reason behind, Government officials are coming for inquiry at the hotel if anyone working without insurance. Additionally, the majority of the participants 50.5 percent do not have health insurance, less than half of the 49.5 percent are having health insurance book. However, those who are having health insurance, most of the 80.5 percent go to the public hospital whenever they are sick or any kind of physical problem. Those who are not having social security numbers, whenever they are sick try to buy medicine from the pharmacy very few of them visit a private hospital.

Another factor, generally common amongst migrants those who are working in the garments sector and on a freelance basis, such as (self-employed shop owner, travel agency owner, construction workers, electricians, and domestic servants) more than 50 percent are not having social insurance. On the other hand, social security stamps are a requirement for applying for regularisation or renewal of stay permits. Lack of insurance meant that migrants had to pay fully for their medical treatment; this applied to many Bangladeshi, and it proved

too costly for most of them. Nevertheless, there are many examples that migrants get unofficial assist from both doctors and clerks in public hospitals or the private sectors. Here I have given some respondents stated that how they get informal help by doctor and hospital staffs:

When was living in Ioannina, in 2010 (the date I did not remember now); I was feeling pain inside my belly, then I went to the hospital, after check-up they told, there is a big tumor inside the belly, its need to operate immediately....on the spot they admitted me and one day later they made operation... I stayed 4 days... before releasing from the hospital, the authority told me to pay 250 euro, but I did not have money even health insurance; then I call one of my Greek friend, who is a doctor as well...he managed everything ...then I didn't pay anything. (Shahajan)

One day in the morning when I got up I could not manage to walk even take a breath; it's happen in 2007 but I can't remember the exact date. My friend (Rashid) calls an ambulance and took me to the hospital near Ioannina University; I got admitted to the hospital and the doctor made an operation in my neck. I stayed five days in Hospital, but when the doctor releases me, the Hospital authority told me to pay; I didn't have money to pay neither social security. One of my friends had social security and I told him to consult with a doctor if they can accept his health insurance book. Therefore, he talked and request the doctor, the doctor convinces the hospital authority that finally I left the hospital. (Karim)

However, Lack of relevant information or access to information, due to language difficulties, for example, limits migrants' knowledge of procedures and excludes them from the use of certain benefits and rights to which they might be entitled (Ingleby et al. 2007). Communication barriers seem to be important, not only regarding access to health as such but mostly concerning information, negotiation, and communication with health care administrators and providers (Mighealthnet 2009). Some interviewees how language difficulties and lack of migrants knowledge reluctant them from health service.

Since 2007 I was having a tumor beside my back. At that time it was smaller, after that day by day it's becoming big. In 2010, I was thinking to go to the doctor for treatment but I was afraid to go because I can't speak Greek, How I will explain what problem do I have also I did not have money. After that, I did not go. In 2011 when I saw it's becoming huge then I request one of my friends to go with me to the doctor

but I told him I don't much money. He asked me if I have asylum paper...I told them yes I have... so he told me you don't have to pay anything. I was too happy to listen. ... I did not know it before. Then we went together and made an operation without money. (Shajahan)

Additionally, there are problems of extending health services to newcomers at a period of welfare transition, with persistent national identity considerations by health care officers and practitioners who see migrants as a 'threat' to the existing structures. More important than barriers to access, however, appear to be bureaucracy, overcrowding, inadequate infrastructure, and other chronic problems of the Greek health system, which negatively affect the quality of services provided (Ingleby et al. 2007). Some respondents describe the bureaucratic and discriminating attitude towards them:

Well, I had an operation in my leg. I was admitted to the hospital for three days. When the doctor told me to go home, the authority asks me to pay the stay and operation cost. I gave them my asylum paper...they refused to accept it cause it's going to expire within 15 days. I told them I am leaving today and my card still has 15 days validity. They did not listen to anything ...told me to go IKA office to renew ... with the broken leg I went to the IKA office but they told me we can't renew it ... you have still 15 days ... I request the IKA office to call to the hospital... She called the hospital...after that they accept ...but I suffer lots. (Nannu)

When I went to the hospital for treatment, I was waiting outside the doctor chamber, one of the nurses came out and asked me with very loud what I want there...I told I have this problem and I have an appointment with this doctor, she sought me this is not a doctor for your problem and told me to leave and so on...I was waiting outside...she came again and sought then the doctor came out ... told what happen... I explain my problem and the doctor took me inside his chamber. (Saiful)

On the other hand, the charity and volunteer sectors have offered an alternative path to migrants in need of medical treatment. Well-established branches of international NGOs such as Doctors Without Borders (Médecins Sans Frontières), Doctors of the World, Hellenic Red Cross, and others are active in providing health care services, as well as counseling and information on health issues and psychological support (Ingleby et al. 2007). The three former NGOs run health units in the main cities aimed at providing free medical treatment to low-income people, including migrants and refugees irrespective of their legal

status. One of the respondents explaining how he got free medical treatment from the Red Cross in Athens:

Well, I came to Greece in December 2010; I came through the Turkish border ... climbed the mountain at night... It was too difficult because the mountain was covered with snow, when I arrived in Athens I was too sick. I did not have money, no legal paper, so one of my relatives took me to Red Cross hospital, after seeing my sickness they admitted me to the hospital, I stayed 7 days there but I did not pay any amount of money. It was free of charge. (Rabbani)

In the end, an interesting finding lacking social security in Greece, and obviously not being able to afford the cost of treatment otherwise, many Bangladeshi migrants prefer to go to a hospital or doctor when they are going to Bangladesh because treatment cost and doctor charge are cheaper and some of them buy medicine by themselves if they are sick. In the words of interviews regarding the health system:

Well, I am living in Greece since 2003, at the beginning, I was having a good job... salary was good...had social security... but at this moment I am unemployed though having a legal stay permit...I don't have much money...I just lead my life in a depressed condition and hoping that the situation will be better and I will get a job... well, when I am sick I don't go to the hospital because I do not have social security and enough money to pay, I, therefore, buy medicine from medical store to reduce my sickness beside this I thought when I will go back to Bangladesh to visit my family I will take treatment from there because the medical cast is less compare to Greece. (Saddam)

Rana was explaining his health problem and cost of treatment: *I was having a problem in my teeth, one day I feel too much pain and my face became to change. I went to the doctor, he told me I have to pay 500 euros to fix my teeth but I was not able to pay that much money... I told him to write me some medicine so that I can relieve the pain. He wrote to me... I bought medicine and get better...after a few months, I went to Bangladesh and fix my teeth problem within 100 euro.*

Based on findings, we can conclude that access to the Greek national health system for migrants, primarily have to have legal documents and registered employment. In the last decades, very few migrants were facing problems in access to the Greek health system but it

has gradually become a reality for more and more migrants at present. Most of the problems reported by the participants concerned the malfunctions of the Greek public health structure, bureaucracy along with discriminatory attitudes by hospital staff towards them. On the other hand, effective health care for migrants should be considered as an important component of social integration. Describing the state of the art in this aspect of migrants' integration demands an understanding of the relationship between health and migration/integration policies. Therefore, Cairde (2014) said "A successful integration in the field of health could be measured in terms of equality of access to health care, health information, etc., and the same incidence of health risk factors within migrant and autochthonous groups after a certain length of stay in the host country".

8.5 Role of NGOs and welfare associations concerning migrants' rights

When governmental policies are unable to fulfil basic needs, rights, and xenophobic attitudes towards migrants, then Non-Governmental Organizations and welfare associations play a significant role for migrants' rights and basic needs. On the other hand, the welfare associations for migrants are identified by Non-Government organizations, social welfare associations, left-wing political parties, anti-racist organizations, trade union bodies, etc. However, there are rising positive reactions from such initiatives, whether state-funded institutions or grassroots organizations, mission to assist migrants, and to protect their rights since the early 1990s. Their activities vary as much as the types and nature of the organisation themselves³⁶: institutions offering welfare services straight (medical cure, giving food and protection, and psychological help), vocational training (language and other courses) as well as institutes researching migration, racism and related issues. Furthermore, organisations also advocating migrants' rights; many times, launching campaigns against racist violence to the migrants.

In addition, by the moral and realistic support from these non-state actors of the host society; encouraged migrant groups to get organised in associations to raise their own 'voice'. The number of respondents who had benefited from, or simply were aware of, from these organizations, the percentage is rather low. At the of fieldwork research, background

36 Apart from long established institutions (mainstream parties, trade unions, the Church) and a few branches of international organisations, the emergence of civil-society groups in Greece not only came at a quite late stage, but its presence, influence and capacity to mobilise was and still is marginal. Thus, the development of organised civil society coincided with the transformation of Greece into a host society; it is connected to factors ranging from the decline of the welfare state or the decentralisation of public services, to the expansion of the role of international NGOs globally, the availability of resources and funding (e.g. from the EU), and the decline of traditional forms of political participation, mobilisation and protest (traditional left-wing and working-class politics).

information was collected on the principal initiatives of this kind that were active at the time, and this was kept updated until late 2012, with material appearing in the daily press or on the Internet. Therefore, we can divide these initiatives into two groups according to the kind of support these institutions offer: (i) social and welfare need of migrants; and (ii) Greek language teaching and occupational training for migrants.

Social and welfare services: In Greece, there are many well-established international NGOs local branches such as Doctors without Borders (*Médecins Sans Frontières*), Doctors of the World, Hellenic Red Cross, ActionAid Hellas, Hellenic National Committee for UNICEF, Klimaka, Greek Council for Refugees, Caritas Hellas, Amnesty International, International Organization for Migration are active in providing health services, as well as counseling and psychological support. On the other hand, there are some local organizations such as, Klimaka, RETO Hellas, and Kivotos which provide food, free medical treatment to poor individuals, also migrants and refugees, without considering legal status. On the other hand, some church parishes also provide food for a certain time and assist them in searching jobs, or support migrants according to their capacity, by collecting and distributing used clothes or household equipment. Furthermore, the Refugee Reception Centre has provided food, temporary accommodation, counseling, and other forms of support for asylum seekers, since the early 2000s. Besides, Greek Council for Refugees, Caritas Hellas, Amnesty International, International Organization for Migration, organizations focus specifically on counseling, giving information on employment and assist of social insurance issues, and help to get legal documents. Except for NGOs, organisations working in this field include community associations like Boishak, EU-funded projects such as the Centre for Reception and Support of migrants and Refugees; trade-union organizations established an office for migrant workers, left-wing associations and networks, support migrants to get social and political rights. Some of the participants elaborate their perceptions regarding Non-state actors, how this organization helps them to survive in Greece:

To be honest, in December 2009, I came to Greece illegally, crossing the border. When I came to Athens, It was too cold, I got sick, had fever and pain in the stomach. I passed 5 days with sickness, my condition was going down day by day, and No one took me to the hospital because I did not have any documents. One Bangladeshi knows free treatment provides Red Cross and he took me there and save my life. (Rasel)

Although I had a legal stay permit police caught me and sent me jail without asking anything. I called my friend, told him to talk with lower; he told me he does not have enough money to pay lower, therefore, he went to the Amnesty International office to discuss my problem. He gave me all documents, after two days with the help of this organization I released from the prison. (Liton)

Greek language and vocational training programme: Non-Government organizations (Metadrasi, Generation 2.0, Praksis, ARSIS, provide language course for migrants also the Greek government established finance assist for welfare programmes which offer vocational training to migrants and other target groups by the support of EU programmes (e.g. INTEGRA, EQUAL). However, Bangladeshi school doel Academy provides a Greek Bengali Language course for Bangladeshi migrants. Recently, the Embassy of Bangladeshi, Athens provides an online Greek language course for the Bangladeshi migrants twice a week. The Ministry of Labour also funds special Greek language educational programmes for legal and undocumented migrants and ‘returning’ ethnic Greeks; these courses are taught by Centres of Vocational Training (KEK) institutions. Many of the interviews highlighted how language and vocational training courses help them to integrate into host society:

Before coming to Greece I was in Qatar, I was working as a chef in a restaurant there. I was speaking English, Hindi, and Arabic languages. When I came to Greece I could not find a job based on my experience, because I could not speak and read Greek; even the alphabets are different. One of my friends told me there are some language teaching centers, run by the government, teaches free for asylums and refugees, you can learn from there. Therefore, I admitted there and learned; now I can speak, read, and write and working as a chef. (Imam)

Well, the beginning was difficult for me. I could not understand the language and did not get a job. I was working in garments, the owner was a Bangladeshi. But I wanted to learn the language; I went to Athens University language center to know regarding language courses. The course fee was a bit high for me, I request to the authority to do something for me, one of the office staffs gave me one school address in Attica and told me I can learn from there with free of charge. So I learned the language from there. (Suman)

However, the majority of Bangladeshi migrants are not necessarily aware of all the programs aimed at supporting them. Research findings illustrate, a significant percentage of

respondents approximately 87.0 percent had benefited from Greek language programs; about 13 percent had participated in vocational training courses/seminars (see pie chart 6.2). On the other hand, five interviewees mentioned that they got medical support from the *Médecins Sans Frontières*; a remarkable percentage 15.3 percent said at the initial stage, they got assistance from the Masque authority, and an important 18.7 percent get assistance from SolidarityNow, Metadrasi, Greek Council for Refugee, ARSIS, Amnesty International and International Organization for Migration at the time of fieldwork. Based on findings, the impression one gets from the civil-society organisations does indeed play a significant role at the local level. Nevertheless, the services provided are not of the same: medical support, migrants legal assists what they need, and provide information concerning stay permit and asylum application and vocational training and language courses also. According to findings, it is reasonable to imagine that almost all Non-government organizations and social welfare associations supply similar assist to migrants to accomplish their basic needs. One of the respondents elaborating now IOM helps him:

Police caught me in June 2012 for not having legal documents with me and sentence to the jail for six months. A few days ago, I release from prison, although I have a red card now I don't want to stay anymore in this county and I want to back to Bangladesh but I don't have money. Therefore, I went to the International Organisation for Migration to help me to go back. I gave my all information and now waiting for my ticket. (Arif)

Many Non-Government Organisations have been growing, that advocates for migrants' rights, campaign on behalf of individual cases, and try to extend a spirit of tolerance among the local inhabitants. In the beginning, they took the form of solidarity with migrants, focusing on anti-racist and pro-migrant propaganda, through the institution of public debates, publishing related to issues (human rights, xenophobia) of migration in the press or international journals. Besides these, they are supporting to achieve migrants' rights through demonstrations and other forms of activism. In the recent past such conducts were rather marginal, often trapped in the political isolationism of traditional essential left activism. On the other hand, through networking and the organizational activities, there is an emerging anti-racist, pro-migrant social movement, characterized by organizational, political, and moral considerations. However, most of the Bangladeshi migrants benefit from non-state actors and solve unexpected behaviour towards them from the locals in their stay in Greece.

8.6 Migrant's integration strategy and social change policy berries

Integration has become an explicit goal of cardinal importance in the policy agenda of the European Union and its member states since 2000. Integrating immigrants and their children into the complex fabric of society has been recognized as crucial for social cohesion and economic growth in the host countries (Anagnostou, 2016). Especially, in Greece many asylum seekers, refugees migrate during the last decade, and particularly since 2008, some of them using Greece as transit and some of them as their destination country from Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. According to the Ministry to Interior data 2017, 579,736 third-country nationals (TCNs) were legally residing in Greece which is approximately 5% of the total population. In addition to this foreign population, the country also counted over 140,000 nationals with a third-country migrant background, 25,686 of who was naturalized in 2016. However, Greece introduces its integration and assimilation policies “National Strategy for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals” in 2013, for migrant populations. This strategy included specific measures and actions to be implemented in areas as diverse as service provision, introductory courses, employment, health, housing, political participation, anti-discrimination, and intercultural dialogue, but the most emphasis was put on training and skills development for both TCNs and public employees dealing with migrant issues.

Additionally, in January 2019, the government presented for public consultation a proposal for a new strategy, resulting in the July 2019 National Integration Strategy. The new strategy contains provisions regarding education, labour market integration, racism, and xenophobia, among others. Though Local municipal and national authorities (Ministry of Education, Research & Religious Affairs), as well as NGOs, initiated integration strategy by providing language courses, civil education, and vocation training for the newcomers to assimilation but Greece does not have a standard integration program for newcomer third-country nationals. Though the Ministry of Education, Research, and Religious Affairs conducted a study in 2016-2017 to know the actual situation on integration for Refugee Children in Education but the research suggests more policies should be considered to reach social assimilation for the migrant children.

Furthermore, asylum applicants do not have access to social security insurance because the authorities failed to provide them with a ΠΑΑΥΡΑ/ΠΑΑΥΠΙΑ (Temporary Number of Insurance and Healthcare for Foreigners) as foreseen by Law 4636/2019. On the other hand, the abusive application of the new Law's provisions on the implicit withdrawal of

asylum applications, the violation of the right to an effective remedy, the systematic and illegal practice of fictitious notification of negative decisions, the violation of procedural guarantees in readmission procedures, the arbitrary detention of asylum seekers and, excessive procedural obstacles in terms of access to legal representation.

However, the lengthy process of the asylum application is one of the most significant barriers to integrate into Greek society. Moreover, the asylum application procedure for Bangladeshi newcomers considers the most difficult compare with other nationalities. If one of the Bangladeshi newcomers wants to apply his/her asylum in Greece, first of all, need to call through skype within 12:00 to 13:00 (only one hour) once in a week to get an appointment to claim his/her asylum application: the skype ID given by the asylum authority. Most of the newcomers complain at the time of fieldwork that they are calling for months but no one responding, if someone is lucky enough to get an appointment after long waiting. For this reason, many Bangladeshi migrating are different European countries through human traffickers putting their lives in danger. On the other hand, rejected applicants are not provided with “specialised information regarding the reasoning of the decision” that rejects their application for international protection (Article 71, para. 2 of the new Law). This prevents them from providing “grounds of appeal” on their own, without legal aid.

The government evacuated thousands of migrants from state camps or accommodation and transfer from the island to the mainland without providing shelter; for this reason, thousands of refugees are sleeping under the open sky also living without sanitary facilities in the central squares in Athens, and Victoria in particular facilities (The Kathimerini, 2020).

Since September 2020, the Government reduces monthly financial assistant to the asylum seekers and refugees by Ministerial decision Article 2 (i) of L. 4636/2019, previously, one person of concern was receiving 150 euro for the self-accommodated, if the family till six and above was getting 550 euro per month, now one person will receive 90 euro and the family size six and above will receive less money than previous. However, from December 2020 the government is planning Cash withdrawals that are allowed up to 20% of the monthly cash assistance. It will create a gigantic problem for asylum seekers.

However, sometimes the asylum seekers and refugees are reluctant to integrate into Greek society because some of them are not interested to stay in Greece. Whatever the course

offered to them they are not interested to participate and practice these procedures. On the other hand, according to the research findings, many asylum seekers and refugee are illiterate and even does not know how to write their name. Because of their educational background, they consider themselves as retrograde persons, they lose their hope and reluctant to assimilate with the host society.

However, whenever the government trying to implement any kind of integration measure for the asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants under the pressure of the European Union but locals demonstrating not to implement such measures. For example, In November 2019 a nationalist group protested against the presence of Muslim refugees by drinking alcohol and eating pork outside the Diavata camp. At Vrasna, a village in northern Greece, locals blocked buses carrying refugees and migrants from the islands, who were meant to be transferred to the area (Stamatoukou, 2019).

Though in 2019, IOM starts promoting the integration of beneficiaries of international protection currently residing in temporary accommodation schemes into the Greek society close collaboration with national authorities and experienced Partners, through the Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection (HELIOS) project by supporting accommodation, providing language course, cultural orientation, job readiness, and life skills to the beneficiaries but still some other measures need to take for proper integration.

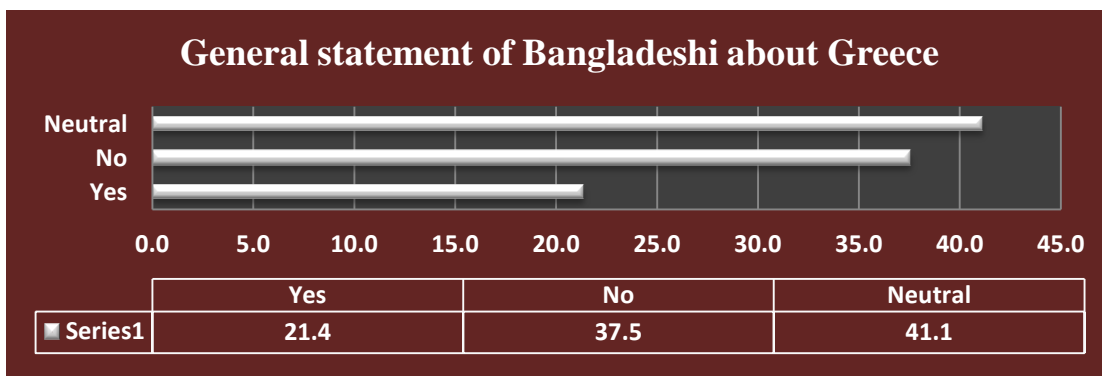
Furthermore, lack of monitoring and evaluation of all the integration policies implementing by the government agencies, non-government organizations, and the local authority is one of the effective challenges to assimilation into the host society.

8.7 Migrants perception about Greece, future employment and residence plan

In the final section of this chapter, we will address Bangladeshi migrants' impression of Greece and their future employment and stay plans. Planning for the future includes making mindful decisions now according to the need. Living in the present involves living with a future-consciousness condition and being more informed than humans have ever been able to benefit from in the past. Planning is the process of thinking about and organizing the activities required to achieve the desired goal. It involves the creation and maintenance of a plan, such as psychological aspects that require conceptual skills to predict; what the future will look like. The migrants make their plans in terms of these questions, which are "where

are we today? What is the social status for us in the host society for being human? Where are we going? Where do we want to go? How will be the future over there? Therefore, on basis of research findings, we are going to analyze in the bar chart 8.2 Bangladeshi migrants' feeling and perception about Greece which lead them to make future employment and stay plan. Research findings summarized key data in bar chart 8.1 of the respondents' satisfactory status in their stay period in Greece which prime their future employment and residence plans.

Bar Chart 8.2 General impression of Bangladeshi migrants about Greece (%)



At the time of fieldwork, a significant percentage of migrants 37.5 percent said they are not satisfied in their current status in Greece, on the other, the majority of the respondents 41.1 percent mentioned neutral, means they are either in a vacillation situation either good or bad situation, however, 21.4 percent expressed they are happy with their present status in Greece and they don't want to move from Greece and want to integrate into the host society. Some of the respondents elaborating their feeling about Greece current situation which enforce them to think about the future:

I came to Greece in February 2019, since then I am living in Lesbos, I cannot go outside of Lesbos because of close trifold status. I don't have anyone in Bangladesh, if I return to Bangladesh, I might be killed by other political party leaders who killed my whole family. Recently my case has been rejected, I am broken now...where I will go now...I came here to survive but...I am having trouble in Bangladesh and I have submitted all the documents which were file against me in Bangladesh...who Greece reject my case. (Munir)

What to say, the regularisation program for immigrants in Greece is very taught compare to other European countries. For instance, If you stay in Portugal 5 years without documents, you will get permission to stay legally and they will give you a

passport as well, in the same way in Italy after 3 years, Spain 4 years, and France 5 years, they give you chance to apply for residence. They have contemporary rules for immigrants but here in Greece, I am living 8 years without documents, even I can't apply for a stay permit until now. In my eyes, Greece does not care much about migrants' rights and very reluctant to form new laws for migrants. Therefore, I decided to go to other European country, at least to have a residence permit, so that I can visit my family over Bangladesh. (Khairul)

In Bangladesh, I am the member of an ethnic group, our tribe called "BEDE", we don't have any social status, we always been treated in a depraved way, I had a relationship with my one Bengali Muslim girl, but her parents did not accept our relationship...so we scape from home to get married but their family found us and about to kill me...and threat me to leave the country...they burn our house...I left Bangladesh to save my life...I am living in Lesvos and I can't move from here since I came and recently my asylum has been rejected...I am in problem now...Greece should accept my asylum application. It is better to die here rather than deport (Nasik)

On the other hand, some Bangladeshi migrants highlight the return as negative feelings and deep frustrations, but more importantly, they expose perspectives of strategic action in the national place; their business plan, children's future, and finding oneself surrounded by the community of friends and neighbors. Some of the respondent showing their logic to stay in Greece:

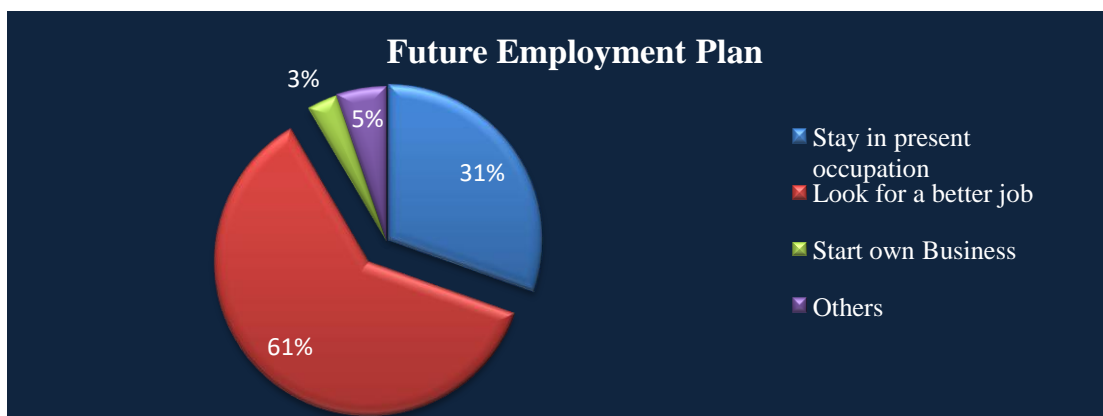
Well, the last 22 years I am living in Greece, I have my business here, my children are going to school, they can speak Greek very well and I am living with my family. Although facing some problems but we adjust our daily life in this society. On the other hand, I am afraid to return to Bangladesh, if you see in the News of Bangladesh, things are worst, life is insecure, you can't walk alone in the street even in the day time and political instability is an extreme level. Here, I know almost all my neighbours, my children play with neighbor children; so many times we shear our feelings with them, I feel like my home country. But I prefer only to visit Bangladesh to meet with my relatives once in five years. (Mahmud)

I was involved in politics when I was in Bangladesh. The opponent party files a fake allegation in the police station against me for harassment; therefore, I was bound to leave the country. Last 15 years I am living in Greece with my family, I have opened my business here, I got the legal documents. I bought a house, car, and all modern equipment to lead a standard life. My wife helping me in business, my daughter going to high school; I would like to say, I am very much comfortable with my life here right now. (Rajon)

8.7.1 Bangladeshi migrant’s imminent employment strategy

Research findings in pie chart 8.1 provide information about Bangladeshi migrant's future employment approach at the time of the interview conducted. The empirical data on the Pie Chart 8.1 illustrates the majority percentage of the respondents about 61 percent looking for a new job (as we have seen in section 7.2), 30.8 percent are unemployed and some were not satisfied in their employment position), the second-largest percentage approximately 31 percent are satisfied in their work and want to perform the same occupation, very few of the participants around 3 percent expressed to start their own business at the time of fieldwork. On the other, a shear of 5 percent does not know about their future employment plan.

Pie chart 8.1 Bangladeshi migrant’s future employment plan (%)



Based on the study findings sometimes Bangladeshi migrants force to decide to resign present jobs and search for another because of the job circumstance and environment or xenophobic attitude towards them. On the other hand, family bonding plays an important role in alteration the current employment and change the work location as well. Many of the migrants change their work more than three times (chapter 7) because they are living a long time in Greece and having experience in the same job, their experience insists to search new

job in a higher position with a lucrative salary. Some of the respondents expressing reasons to alteration their current employment:

When I came to Greece I start working as a shop assistant, after that I start my own business, in 2010 because of economic emergencies in Greece, I have closed my business and started working as a kitchen assistant now I am working as chef of the same restaurant but I want to start again my business. (Rafiq)

Since I came to Greece, I have changed more than ten jobs, first of all, I was working in a chicken farm, than start working as a kitchen assistant, after that, I start working as an assistant plumber than I again start working as kitchen assistant...over time I have improved my experience in cooking...and currently I am working as assistant chef...also looking better position and salary, if I find some I will move to new one...the reason to change so many jobs...I don't want to be unemployed even for one day...whenever I found anything just started working...I came to Greece in 2004 (Kamal)

I am working 4 years in the agriculture sector and have to move one place to another, I choose this profession, because I did not have any choice...I don't have any documents to legally stay in Greece...so I move to the village...whenever I will get a residence permit or stay permit I will change my job (Khurshid)

Currently, I am working as an interpreter with an International organization in Greece, and I am very happy with my current position and I don't want to change until the project finished. (Mohsin)

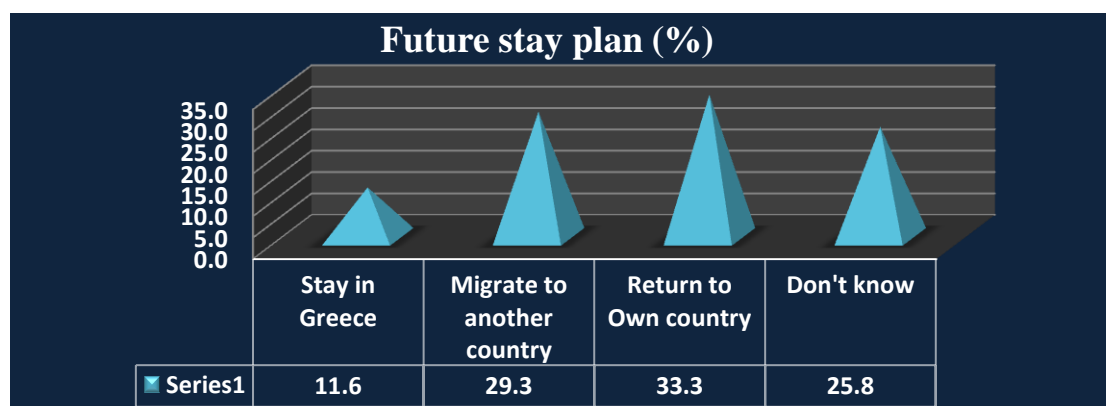
I am running a small-medium garments factor, at present around 40 employees working in my factory though at the time of economic crises I closed my factory...now I am doing good and want to do the same business till I stay in Greece (Mukter)

8.7.2 Forthcoming settlement manoeuvre of Bangladeshi migrants

The study findings in bar chart 8.3 illustrate information about Bangladeshi migrant's future residence and settlement strategy. Research findings in the bar chart 8.3 present majority percentage 33.3 percent respondents want to return to Bangladesh at the time of fieldwork, while the second-largest percentage 29.3 percent expressed they want to migrate another European country because they wanted to use Greece as a corridor but because of

some other issue they stay at Greece whenever they will get the change they will move to other European countries, most of them are newcomers. However, A shear of 25.8 percent of participants looking for better opportunities in Greece and suffering to make a tangible decision, on the other hand only 11.6 percent migrants want to stay in Greece. They don't want to go back to Bangladesh because they adopted this culture and society. Based on the findings, it is clear that more than half of the Bangladeshi migrants do what to live in Greece forever they either return in the country of origin or other European countries because of Greek complex asylum procedures and integration policies.

Bar Chart 8.3 future residence plan of Bangladeshi migrants (%)



Furthermore, many of the respondents highlighted their future settlement plans in their own words at the time of the interview conducted. Therefore, we present some of the interviewees' statements in detail in order to understand their residence plans. Cultural conditions play an important role to take migrants such a crucial decision like a return to the home country. Many of the migrants overemphasize the positive aspects of Bangladesh, especially a carefree lifestyle, entertainment, access to natural beauty, family, cultural heritage, relatives, and social relations. On the other hand, vulnerable positions in the job market and the host country influence migrants to make decisions to return to the home country. However, return decision not just in terms of a return to a home that helps to slow the speed of life and reduce stress but also as cultural aspects that cultivates feelings of familiarity and society. Some of the respondents' statement in favor of their decision:

Well, home is sweet home always. If you start comparing Bangladesh with Greece it is wrong. Here, the lifestyle is dissimilar from Bangladesh. You will not find the same culture as your home country all over the world. If you are going to stay in other countries, you have to adjust to that society culturally and socially. If you can't you have to leave the county. In the beginning, I was planning to stay in Greece forever

but as time passed situation has been changing and condition are becoming difficult for us, and since I arrived (in 2005), I could not adjust to this society. I don't have a job right now, very hard for me to survive. Therefore, I am planning to return to Bangladesh, where I was born, and lots of my friends and relatives which I still keep in contact with. (Masud)

If you have a job with standard wages, working in Greece is enjoyable. You work, go home, go to sleep, and look forward to the weekend. But in Bangladesh, it is different; first, the priority goes to their family and after that their job. I came here looking for a better life but I find a broken family structure. In Bangladesh, family bonds are very tight; they will be always with you even the neighbors, they will ask, How are you, your physical condition, and so on; a familiarity that community feeling, it is very hard to find in Greece; I am living Greece for 10 years but not know my neighbors. On the other, I want my children to be higher educated, the education structure is a bit different from Bangladesh. I want my children to study in Bangladesh. So that they will grow up and adjust with Bangali culture. This entire phenomenon, influence me to decide for the future. (Nabi)

The Greek educational system also plays an important role for most of the Bangladeshi migrants in their future plan. Some of them explained how because the school curriculum is not an international standard and the teaching methods are only in the Greek language, it will be difficult for their children to find a job in Bangladesh if they study in Greece. One of the respondents makes his future plan (return to Bangladesh) only for his children education:

Last 13 years I am living in Greece with my family. I have one daughter 7 years old and one son 4 years old. Both of them are going Doel Academy (Bangla curriculum-based school in Athens) to study, but the academy teaches until class five. On the other hand, I don't want to send my children to Greek school, because they teach in the Greek language. If they graduate from a Greek university, it will be very difficult for them to find a job in Bangladesh. Today or tomorrow I have to return Bangladesh so why not little early to make better education and future for my children. I can do everything to make happy my family. (Saddam)

Research findings show, deciding to return to the home county; sometimes on the basis of emotion which has deeply affected their life and personality; feelings for the children, family,

homeland, culture, and belongingness, remembers childhood, etc. some of the migrants' narratives as follows:

I came to Greece within one year of my marriage ceremony, my wife was pregnant for five months, I thought I will get a legal stay permit soon and I will come back to see my family but in 8 years of my stay, I could not manage my stay permit. On the other, my daughter going to school, she is crying all the time to see, we just talk on Skype, my wife, and my mother always forcing me to come back. Sometimes I feel like I am in hell at this moment. Therefore, I decide to return to my family, my country to have a beautiful time with the family rest of my life. (Hafiz)

I came to Greece to stay a certain period to earn some money; therefore, I can lead the rest of my life peacefully. Last 15 years I am living here but never had plans to stay permanently. Actually, that is one of the main reasons why I did not buy a house here. It's not that logical, I guess, but with that type of thinking, I did not buy a house. On the other hand, when you live somewhere for more than ten years, you get used to it, and you learn how things work, and, you know, it is a routine that everybody falls into. In Greece, I see a lot of bad things happening every day, people are having negative expressions about immigrants, they are afraid to move freely, facing xenophobic and racist attitudes towards them. The society has been a change in front of my eyes. Now I think I am making the right decision even though I know a lot of things have been changed in Bangladesh also. I am feeling excited that I will live with my children, family, relatives again and move freely with safety. (Rabbani)

Based on empirical data and respondents' narratives, we can say that (home is always sweet home) most of the migrants want to return their home county or other European countries for their better future. Some of them want to return back home for emotional ties to meet their children, family, relatives, and neighbors; some of them for cultural ties, like practice religion in a proper way; some of them for their children future; and some of them want to return for recently arise xenophobic and racist violence towards them and some of them want to migrate other European countries to get the legal residence permit and better employment.

8.7 Concluding remarks

To conclude, however, on the basis of research findings, we can observe, through migration and integration policies change over time but still, some of the Bangladeshi migrants seem to

be moving towards assimilation, gradually adopted by the host society's leading culture. They maintain a minimum contact with their family in Bangladesh and making a plan to stay in Greece for forever and try to integrate by establishing a relationship with Greeks and by communicating Greek with family at home. Some others are partially integrated: their social lives are based on community contacts and they plan to stay for a set period, whether this might be determined by the success of projects or by their children's graduation from school. On the one hand, structural, political, and institutional processes have been pushing migrants towards the social margin; rejects their rights, confining them to exploitation, generating xenophobia. On the other, factors ranging from government and non-government organization to socialization and dealings with locals have helped them to overcome difficulties and facilitate their trajectories within the host society. As the final lines of this work are being written, a new migration law introduces (L. 4636/2019), which, for the first time, explicitly refers to the issue of integration in its title. This law may help Bangladeshi migrants to lead their life a normal way, to walk freely and consider them as a human not as alien in future.

Chapter Nine:

Conclusion and recommendations

The last three decades of immigration have significantly and irreversibly changed the social, cultural, economic, ethnic, racial, and religious fiber of the population residing within Greece. Since 1989, Greece has become host to a large number of migrants that currently account for approximately 10% of the total resident population (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2007). Migrants have come to Greece from various parts of the world some of them come from developing countries; some of them from industrialised parts of the globe. Mainly from the Balkans (Albania and Bulgaria), central and eastern Europe (Romania, Ukraine, and Russia) but also increasingly from Asia (Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and China) diversity has become a fact within Greece's demography (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2007). Migrants from Bangladesh start coming to Greece in the earlier 1990s, the massive flow started in 2000 after the declaration of regularization from the Greek Government in 1998 from various countries all over the world. Some of the Bangladeshi migrants have come through legal ways; some of them came through illegal ways. Some of the migrants arrive with professional and technical skills; some of them arrived with a family reunification visa.

The rising number of Bangladeshis making the journey signals an alarming new trend in the migrant labor industry: the blurring of the line between recruitment and smuggling (Qayum, 2017). Young men and sometimes women pursue foreign jobs through recruiters, and in the process, get caught up in smuggling networks. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Bangladeshis are the highest in number among the people crossing the Mediterranean Sea in small dinghies. According to UNHCR data, about 8000 Bangladeshi died while attempting to enter Europe through the human trafficking channel in the land area, and about 13000 died in the Mediterranean Sea and an uncountable number is missing in the Mediterranean Sea. Recently 26 Bangladeshi were shot dead by human traffickers in Libya who were trafficked to Europe illegally via Libya.

Human Trafficking continues to be a global issue, affecting millions of people on an annual basis. Human trafficking is a form of modern-day slavery and involves the use of force, fraud, or coercion to exploit human beings for some type of labor or commercial sex purpose. Every year, millions of men, women, and children worldwide are victims of human trafficking. Human trafficking continues to be one of the most lucrative forms of business in

the world. However, more non-government, grassroots efforts, not-for-profits, governments, and advocacy agencies are taking stronger stances against the international business of human trafficking. Even though this market spreads far and wide, many are taking a stand and increasing efforts to assist victims and their loved ones who find themselves involved in this serious and oftentimes life-threatening situation. Furthermore, Bangladesh considers as a heaven for human traffickers, every year many individuals entangled by human traffickers, day by day number of victims are increasing. The Bangladeshi government should take some initiative and awareness to discontinue the deadly journey towards Europe illegally.

To stop human trafficking Government should generate employment opportunities and ensure to get a job without backhander to prevent illegally migrate any other countries through human traffickers channel. The media plays an enormous role in shaping perceptions and guiding the public conversation about human trafficking. The electronic media (TV, Radio) should best practices on how to effectively and responsibly report stories on human trafficking and create public awareness. The government must stronger legislation, the more difficult it is for the traffickers to find loopholes and avoid punishment they are caught. The problem will not end unless everyone knows it there in the first place. Raising awareness of the issue on a local, regional, and national level is the first step towards ending the trafficking. Work with a local religious community or congregation to help stop trafficking by supporting a victim service provider or spreading awareness of human trafficking.

According to the Embassy of Bangladesh, Athens data, there are about 35000 documents and undocumented Bangladeshi migrants are living in Greece since the 1990s. Currently, there are approximately 400 families and 200 Bangladeshi migrants children are living all around Greece. Though Bangladeshi migrants show their visible presence in Greek society no research has been conducted yet to identify their social-economic, educational, and cultural integration. In the context of Greece regarding Bangladeshi asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants Educational, social-economical and cultural integration are still under development. However, the Greek migration experience discussed throughout the thesis, expose that mobility along with many factors that make Bangladeshi migrants different from the host populations. The research finding shows obvious differences structures, patterns, and time; the condition of the migrants has much in common with that of the working class in earlier times. Bangladeshi migrants experience xenophobic, discrimination, survival, but also a success, or the trajectories of internal and international migrants. Such forms and practices

seem to be reproduced in the processes of immigrants' integration, bringing them even closer to civil society. However, the problematic relationship between Bangladeshi migrants and the state (public services, regularisation procedures, Media, etc.) might have to deal with their specific situation, on the other hand, they are also connected to the weaknesses of the Greek administration and bureaucracy, which affect migrants and locals as well.

The research findings show, the integration tendencies of the Greek national education system is not surprising; therefore, according to my findings, I present to suggestions to policymakers to improve the education policies for Bangladeshi migrants' children. The first suggestion is that the negative stereotyping and marginalisation in Greek schools against minority and migrant children needs to be addressed. Thus, appropriate measures should not only target issues of learning (improving the school attendance and educational accomplishment levels of migrant and minority children) but also and more immediately civic education. There is a need for a renewed emphasis on citizenship and civics education that introduces the notion of identity, diversity, citizenship, tolerance, acceptance, and religious diversity, cultural prejudice, and racism (Triandafyllidou 2011). On the other hand, children should be better equipped to deal with an increasingly diverse classroom and society at large. The second importance for policymakers that is closely associated with the one above is that Greek citizens and residents are ready to consider small changes in the education curricula that would acknowledge the increasing cultural and religious diversity of Greek society. Therefore, appropriate measures could embrace the introduction of substitute options for the religion course so that children of other Christian denominations or Muslim or other religious backgrounds can have the option of being taught their religious tradition. Also, parents should be able to justify their children's absence on the days of major religious or ethnic festivities in which the children are absent from school. The general sentiment is that schools should teach respect and that all peoples should be treated equally, something that can be accomplished by setting up situations of cultural interaction.

Bangladeshi migrants, in particular, have been seen as one of the most disadvantaged groups, experiencing exclusion and discrimination at several levels and they are considered criminals by the locals. Although they are facing all these difficulties, still they are trying to overcome and adjust to all these troubles to lead their life in Greece, therefore, Bangladeshi migrants gradually become an organic element of the host society within a short period. However, the lengthy process of the asylum application is one of the most significant barriers

to integrating into Greek society. Moreover, the asylum application procedure for Bangladeshi newcomers considers the most difficult compare with other nationalities. Furthermore, asylum applicants do not have access to social security insurance because the authorities failed to provide them with a ΠΑΥΠΑ/ΠΑΑΥΠΙΑ (Temporary Number of Insurance and Healthcare for Foreigners) as foreseen by Law 4636/2019.

However, sometimes Bangladeshi asylum seekers and refugees are reluctant to integrate into Greek society because some of them are not interested to stay in Greece. On the other hand, whenever the government trying to implement any kind of integration measure for the asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants under the pressure of the European Union but locals demonstrating not to implement such measures. Though in 2019, IOM starts promoting the integration of beneficiaries of international protection currently residing in temporary accommodation schemes into the Greek society close collaboration with national authorities and experienced Partners, through the Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection (HELIOS) project by supporting accommodation, providing language course, cultural orientation, job readiness, and life skills to the beneficiaries but still some other measures need to take for proper integration. Furthermore, lack of monitoring and evaluation of all the integration policies implementing by the government agencies, non-government organizations, and the local authority is one of the effective challenges to assimilation into the host society.

On the basic research finding and the analysis, four key points that have been highlighted in the thesis, to understand the educational, social, economical, and cultural integration situation of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece today. The first dimension is the concern on the Educational integration of Bangladeshi migrants' children at the school. Greek education policy and discourse adopted so far concerning the integration of non-Greek mother tongue students have been one of implicit assimilation, which is often termed as integration, although does not recognize the nature of the integration process. There is no reflection that Greek society is de facto changing and that structure, institutions, and norms need to respond to new needs, claims, and actors. The challenge of cultural diversity with special reference to schools is seen as a problem for migrants' children that need to learn Greek and adapt to the Greek school environment. Besides, there is no deliberation that especially the second generation will ask to be included, in other words, they will expect that their cultural sensitivities or needs are addressed by the education system as well as by other sectors of the society. However, political and popular discourse through educational policy

about the school curricula, particularly concerning the history and the teaching of religion; through restrictive requirements as regards naturalization which is based on a strong and clear sense of nationhood. On the other hand, integration at the school; while segregation and discrimination against migrant or minority children are illegal and anti-Constitutional in Greece but there is a certain level of informal segregation taking place in some schools. Research findings confirm the existence of this problem, in schools with Bangladeshi migrant children. They are discriminated against because of their religious background, color, race, and place of origin. There is no freedom to choose one's religious class among a range of classes offered or to select a secular, philosophy class instead of a class on religion.

The second point identifies the dynamics of discrimination. Discrimination involves segregation, distinction, restriction, or preference. Discrimination may be expressed directly and/ or indirectly based on race, color, gender, descent, or national or religion, age as well as physical condition, other socio-cultural factors. It's also may refuse equal access and enjoyment of basic human rights and freedoms in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres of human life. On the other hand, Racist discrimination in the workplace refers to the concept of dominance and inadequacy and may be expressed through refusal to employ an individual based on his or her natural traits, or maybe expressed through verbal or physical harassment. According to Wrench (2007: 120-1), Opportunist discrimination involves differential treatment (or even exploitation) of a particular group for instance through inferior working conditions, lower pay, non-payment of social security contributions or overtime, etc. because this group is in a weaker position both in society and in the labor market (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2008). Migrants, and especially migrants who have an irregular or undocumented status, are particularly vulnerable to this kind of discrimination. Bangladeshi migrants are a specific group in Greece, who are specially facing racist and opportunist discrimination in their workplace and society because of their race, color, descent or national or religious background, irregular and undocumented status. They are not getting equal opportunity although, they are working in the same position as another Greek workforce; they are getting paid lower, many of them working without social security and long hours, etc; these are the common feature of the labor force in Greece at present. Therefore, Greece can be considered a case where the principle of equality of opportunity is still rather restricted in its application. Anti-discrimination laws to promote equality and opportunity do of course exist, but are rarely applied in practice; and there is no public agency that is charged with publicity, coordination, and enforcement on these issues. Government policymakers should

take initiatives to implement equivalent opportunity laws for immigrants to well integrated into the workplace and society.

The third dimension addresses, cultural practice, and religious freedom. Greece is home to around 500,000 Muslims, many of them are undocumented migrants including a community of over 140,000 Greek citizens of Turkish origin in the country's northeast (Al Arabia 2013). According to findings, there are around 82 percent Muslim from Bangladeshi migrants group living in Greece. Although there is a visible number of Muslim communities living in Greece religious freedom has been identified in the narrow sense, as negative freedom and at the individual level only. Individuals who are part of minority religious groups may not participate in events or processes that they may feel like a violation of their religious identity. Unfortunately, racism and xenophobia are now more than before dominant features in Greek public life. Research finding shows, Bangladeshi migrants are one of the most vulnerable groups, who are facing xenophobic attitudes and racist assault towards them at the workplace and while they are practicing religion and many times while they are walking on the street with their traditional Muslim dress. On the other hand, there is no positive provision however to fulfill the condition of religious freedom. There are no institutional fora in which to engage in a dialogue and in which immigrants can raise claims that relate to their cultural and religious needs. State responses to such needs and claims are understood as generous concessions that the majority makes to disenfranchise minorities mainly for its interest (including the negatively defined interest not to be exposed to criticism by other countries). Thus, religious freedom is understood as tolerance in the narrow sense rather than as a condition of religious equality, much less so as a basis for religious pluralism. Therefore, the state should create such an atmosphere, where the majority and the minority group can practice their culture, custom, and religion with liberty; and to formulate Greece as a multicultural society.

Finally, interaction has been identified as a fourth dimension. On the basic research findings, we find, there is a 'low' degree of emphasis on the interaction between Bangladeshi immigrants and locals. The state does not pursue strategies to proactively engender 'social mixing' either nationally or locally. Therefore, Bangladeshi migrants still are considered alien, as a foreigner in Greece. This is mainly because it is yet not measured a policy priority to provoke concerted efforts at encouraging social interaction aimed at promoting community cohesion. What efforts do exist are mainly initiated by civil society actors in the fields of promoting human rights, equality, non-discrimination, and combating racism and

xenophobia. On the other hand, family reunification is a necessary way of making family life possible. It helps to create sociocultural stability facilitating the integration of third-country nationals in the Member State, which also serves to promote economic and social cohesion. But this task is not always easily accomplished, because a host of challenges often obstructs the reunification process, not only in the host country but in the country of origin as well. Therefore, we are suggesting, to the state to compose a simple family reunion law by which third-country nationals can come close to their family. Besides, the lack of migrant integration measures and a clear path to citizenship for the long term settled in Greece remains conspicuous and eloquent features of the Greek migration policy that seeks to manage the phenomenon temporarily rather than present a new interdependent and unpredictable vision for Greek society.

On the other hand, Greece, along with other European Union countries is facing challenges concerning the integration of migration-related cultural diversity and mainly by responding to the needs and claims of its migrant population. Based on our empirical research, we have suggested that integration has to be treated as a significant issue. Migration has to be accepted as a permanent process, not as a momentary phenomenon, and one with long-term consequences that very often lead to a settlement. However, integration policies are the key to neutralizing the discrimination, marginalization, and social exclusion of newcomers, as well as weak social cohesion and cultural tensions, and the irregular employment of migrants. To implement integration policies more effectively, a solid understanding of migrants' situations is required, along with facilitated communication between institutions and migrants. Therefore, the encouragement and support of self-organizing processes, as well as the wide assist of migrants' organizations, should also be one of the priorities of integration policy.

Although, having more than thirty years of experience as a host, Greece still needs to design and implement possible legal integration policies for third-country nationals. Having said this, I must accept some limitations of the research presented in the thesis and the limits of the explanations and conclusions to which the analysis has led me. Furthermore, limitation identifies as insufficient literature regarding Southeast Asian; Bangladeshi migrants in particular; therefore, I have depended on the range of empirical studies that lay within my capabilities. The problem is that everyone concerning and focuses only on a large number of migrants groups in Greece; thus generalizations of the conclusions to other migrant groups; lack empirical evidence and might be based on assumptions. Thus, research and literature

would be impossible reading the integration situation of Bangladeshi migrants; however, the effort made in the thesis is a starting point for future interpretation. Finally, the empirical findings as such concern the current situation, and they are analyzed in the light of the fieldwork experience. They offer an account of the particular migratory experience of a specific Bangladeshi migrants group, which seems to be regaining its old multicultural character in a new context; and, of the lives and conditions of a group of migrants to whom I have obliged this work. Having outlined various limitations; I will present a discussion on the strengths regarding Bangladeshi migrants. Through the research's in-depth interviews, migrants have been given their 'voice', which has been important for me to take their opinion into account, by involving them as participants in research about them. Though the research questionnaires have been created in English to collect quantitative and qualitative data at the time of fieldwork have been explaining in Bengali languages which are which is my first language.

I hope that some of the findings and suggestions presented in this study will be subject to further research in the field of integration of Bangladeshi migrants' children. In a future study, I will concentrate on education and schooling, given their importance in the lives of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, and Indian immigrant children in Greece. Many variables can be used as indicators of a migrant descendant's integration success. Future research in this area could include a larger sample; embrace a comparative perspective and include more diversity within the participant group. Diversity could include the number of migrant children, a range of ages, and a variety of socio-economic, educational, and professional backgrounds. Further studies could also include first-generation migrants as well as second-generation migrants' children. In this respect, children are viewed as both objects of cultural adaptation and as active subjects who change the culture; they were born into while simultaneously adapting Greek culture.

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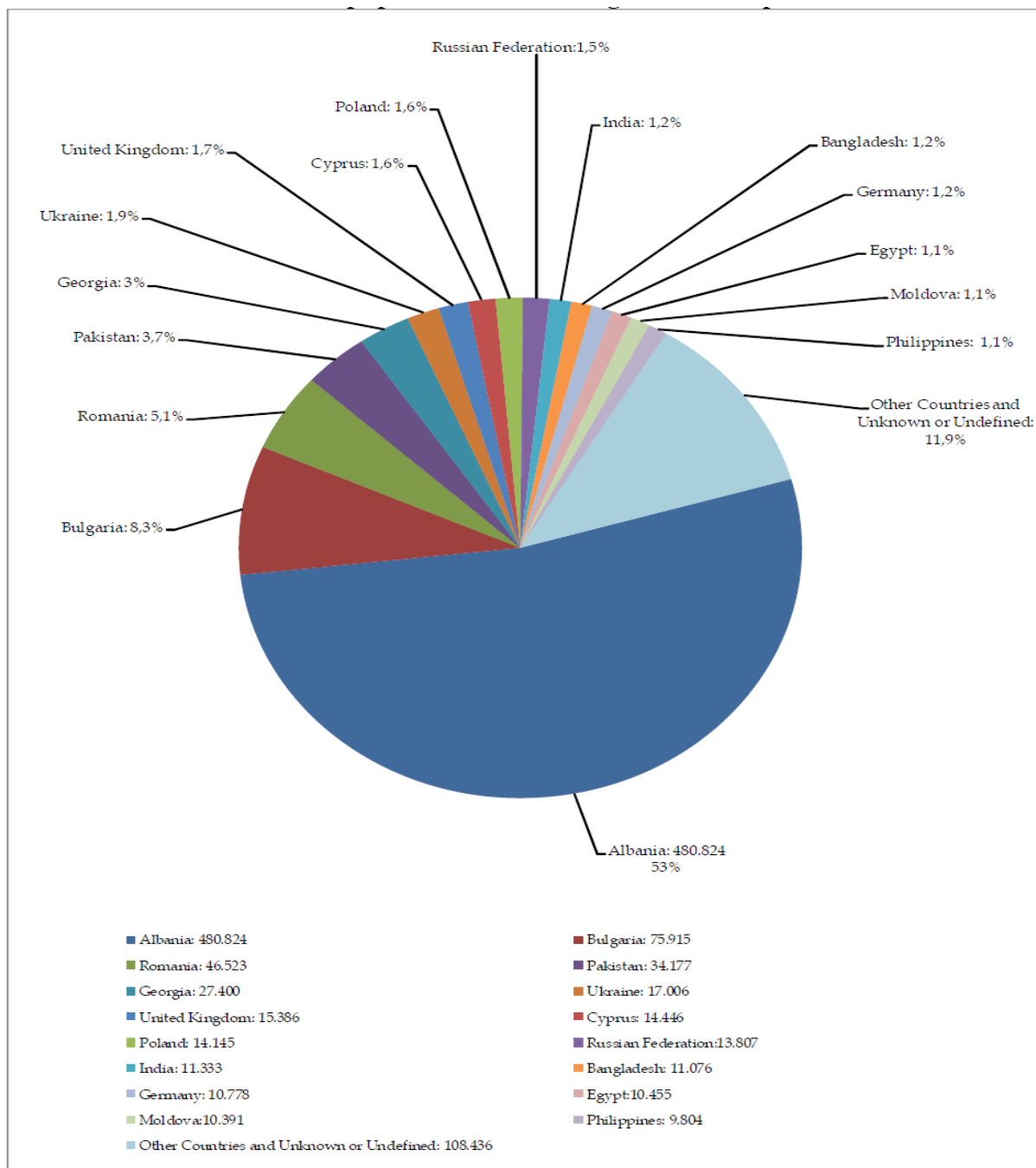
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Appendixes

Appendix A: Bangladeshi cuisine in Greece

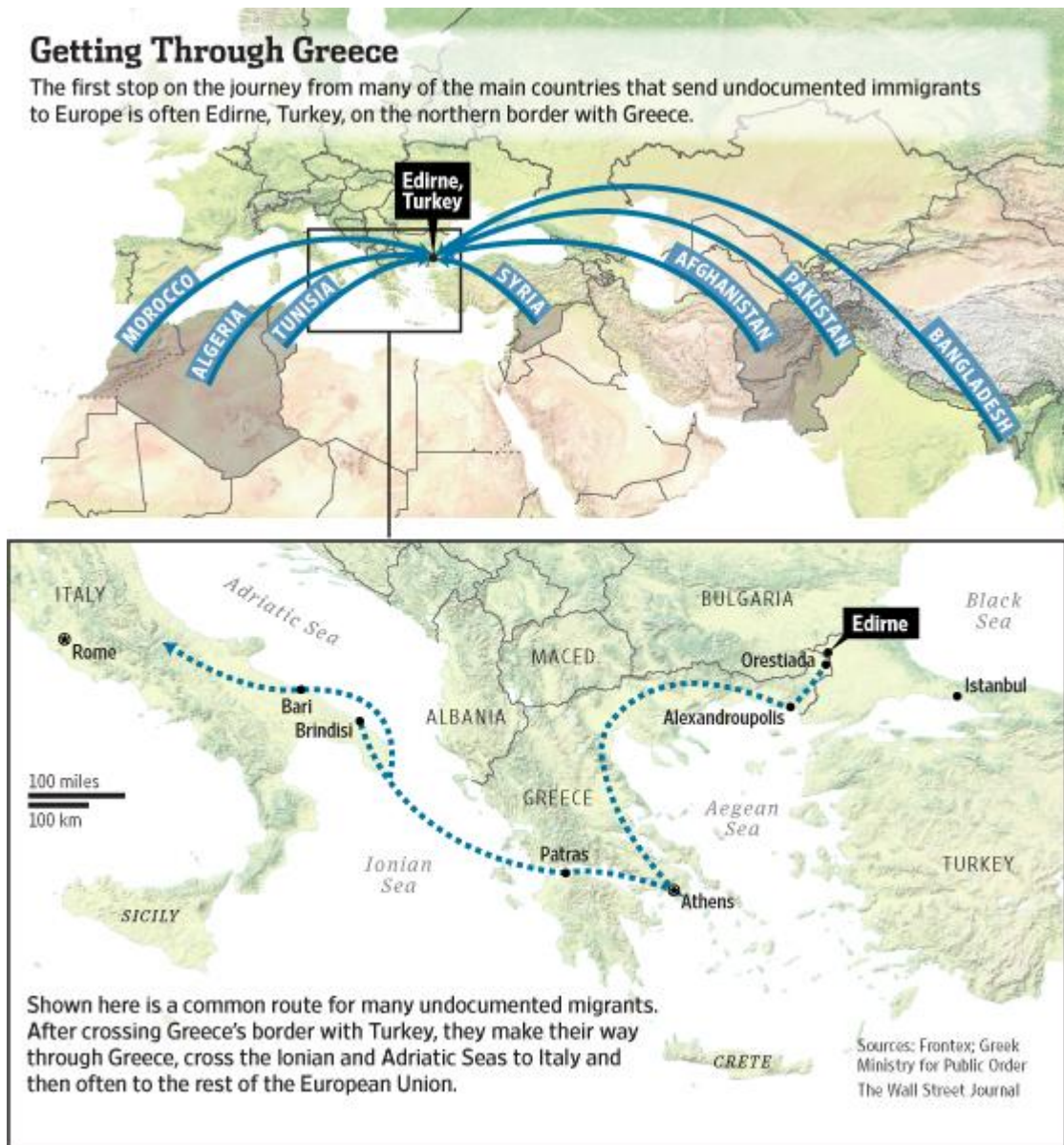


Appendix B: Residents population with foreign citizenship in Greece



Source: The Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) 2011.
<https://www.statistics.gr/en/statistics/-/publication/SAM03/->

Appendix C: Map of Illegal migrants route to Greece



Sources: Frontex; Greek Ministry of Public Order, The wall street Journal

Appendix D: National Composition of the Migrant Population in Greece till 2014

	Population		TCN valid permits	
	Census 2011		December 2011	June 2014
Country of Origin	Number	Percentage		
Albania	480,851	52.72	388,666	302,148
Bulgaria	75,917	8.32		
Romania	46,524	5.10		
Pakistan	34,178	3.75	16,974	15,129
Georgia	27,407	3.01	16,577	15,549
Ukraine	17,008	1.86	20,264	17,203
UK	15,388	1.69		
Cyprus	14,448	1.58		
Poland	14,145	1.55		
Russia	13,809	1.51	13,454	12,605
India	11,333	1.24	13,639	11,995
Bangladesh	11,076	1.21	6,100	5,598
Germany	10,782	1.18		
Egypt	10,455	1.15	13,629	10,747
Moldova	10,391	1.14	11,480	8,488
Philippines	9,807	1.08	9,633	8,612
Armenia	8,113	0.89	5,910	5,536
Syria	7,628	0.84	7,394	5,739
Afghanistan	6,911	0.76	216	147
USA	5,773	0.63	2,194	2,033
OTHER	80,056	8.78		28,360
TOTAL	912,000	100.00		449,889

Sources: Hellenic Statistical Authority (EL.STAT.), National Census data 2011; Ministry of Interior, Valid Stay Permits on 31 December 2011 and on 30 June 2014.

Appendix E: Research Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

MIGRANTS FROM BANGLADESH IN GREECE

Issues of Social Exclusion and Social Integration

Information on migration
Housing and working conditions,
Educational and Living condition of Greece

Questionnaire N: _____ Place: _____ Date: __/__/____

Researcher

Md. Al Amin

PhD Candidate

Department of Philosophy, Education and Psychology

University of Ioannina

Greece

Title of PhD Thesis

<< Educational, Social, and Cultural Integration of Bangladeshi migrants in Greece >>

A. PERSONAL DATA

Q1. Name:

Q2. Age in between: 1. 20-30 2. 31-40 3. 41-50 4. 51-60

Q3. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

Q4. Nationality:

Q5. Place of residence before emigration:

Q7. Family Status: 1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Others:

Q8. If married Number of children:

Q9. Household Members:	1. In Bangladesh	2. In Greece
1. Parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Spouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Brother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Sister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Other (who; Please specify):		

B. MIGRATION DATA: ENTRY AND LIGAL STATUS IN GREECE

Q10. When did you first come to Greece?

Year:

Q11. How did you come first time to Greece?

1. By plane
2. By car
3. On foot
4. By boat
5. Other (Please Specify):

Q12. Mode of entry into Greece the first time you came (Legal status):

1. Stay permit
2. Tourist visa

- 3. Seasonal worker
- 4. Illegal entry (Please specify):

Q13. Reason for leaving your country of origin:

- 1. Economic reason*
- 2. Political refugee
- 3. Other (Please specify):.....

* Unemployment, lower living standards, worse employment condition, lower wages, etc

Q14. Reason for coming to Greece:

- 1. Economic reason
- 2. Easy to enter the country
- 3. Transit station but destination is somewhere else
- 4. Other (Please specify):.....

Q15. Initial contacts that helped you initially to settle, or influenced you in respect to your decision to come to Greece?

- 1. Relatives
- 2. Friends and acquaintances (Compatriots)
- 3. Greek acquaintances employers
- 4. Other (Please specify):

Q16: Do you have currently legal documentations?

- 1. Yes 2. No

Q17: If YES, what do you have?

- 1. White card
- 2. Green card
- 3. Registration card
- 4. visa
- 5. Applied but it has not been issued yet
- 6. Others (Please specify):.....

Q18. If NO, What is the reason you have not been able to obtain legal documents? (Please specify):.....

Q19. Since you came in Greece, have you been back to your country for a period longer than 3 months?

- 1. Yes 2. No

Q20. If YES, for how long:.....

Q21. What was the reason?.....

Q22. Have you ever immigrated to a country other than Greece?

1. Yes 2. No

Q23. If YES, which country:.....

Q24. Period (dates):.....

Q25. Why you went there?:.....

Q26. How did you find their?.....

C. HOUSING CONDITIONS IN GREECE

Q27. Where do you live?

1. In a house
2. In a flat
3. In a room
4. Other (Please specify):.....

Q28. How long have you lived in your present accommodation?
.....

Q29. Is your accommodation:

1. Rented
2. Owned
3. Offer free of charge
4. Offer in exchange for work
5. Other (Please specify):.....

Q30. If your accommodation is rented how much is your rent?
.....

Q31. How many rooms does your accommodation have?
.....

Q32. Do you share your accommodation?

1. Yes 2. No

Q33. If yes, how many people living in the same accommodation?
.....

Q34. Please, specify your relationship with them?
.....

Q35. How many places of residence have you change while living in Greece?
.....

Q36. Were you a victim of discrimination while looking for accommodation?

1. Yes 2. No

Q37. Did your landlord discriminate against you?

1. Yes 2. No

Q38. If yes, in which way?

Q39. How would you describe your relation with your neighbors?

1. Friendly 2. Hostile 3. Neuter

Q40. In general, are you satisfied from your current accommodation?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Neutral

Q41. How would you compare your current accommodation with your previous accommodations in Greece?

1. More satisfactory 2. Similar 3. Less satisfactory

Q42. How would you compare your present accommodation with your accommodation back in your home country?

1. More satisfactory 2. Similar 3. Less satisfactory

D. EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS IN GREECE

Q43. Current occupation (profession, main duties, employers, description, type & size of company, sector):

Q44. Type of employment: 1. Seasonal 2. Part time 3. Full time

Q45. Type of contract: 1. Permanent 2. Temporary

Q46. Location of work place (area- neighborhood):

Q47. How long have you been in your present employment?.....

Q48. 1. Wage (Please Specify): 2. Daily hours of work:.....

Q49. How do you find your present job?

1. Alone
2. Friends-relatives
3. Vacancy add
4. Job centre
5. Other (Please specify):

Q50. How many jobs have you changed since you first came to Greece?
.....

Q51. In which area:.....

Q52. What was the most important one?:

Q53. Have you ever been unemployed for a period longer than one month?

1. Yes 2. No

Q54. If yes, for how long?:

Q55. Do you have a job at present?

1. Yes 2. No

Q56. If No, How do you manage your living cost?

Q67. Use of Greek language:

	1. Poor	2. Fair	3. Good	4. Very good	5. Excellent
67.1 Reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
67.2 Writing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
67.3 Speaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
67.4 Listening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q68. Do you speak any language other than your mother tongue and Greek?

1. Yes 2. No

Q69. Which language?

Q70. At what level?

Q71. Do you have children in Greece? 1. Yes 2. No

Q72. If yes, how old are they?
.....

Q73. Do they go to school (in Greece)? 1. Yes 2. No

Q74. If yes, in which class do they study?

Q75. In which school, (school name and location)?.....

Q76. Do they feel any difficulty in the school curriculum?

1. Yes 2. No

Q77. If yes, what type of difficulties do they feel?
.....

Q78. Do they feel any religious complexity at the school?

1. Yes 2. No

Q79. If yes, what type of complexity do they feel? (Please explain)
.....

Q80. Do you suggest Islamic religion book should be included at the school curriculum?

1. Yes 2. No

Q81. Have your children complained about being treated in a different way at the school?

1. YES 2. NO

Q82. Who was involved in the incident?

1. Teachers 2. Children 3. Children Parents 3. Other:

Q83. What was the reason of discrimination?

1. Origin 2. Religion 3. Other:

F. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS IN GREECE

Q84. How many household members are working?

Q85. Average monthly household income during the current period (Please specify if this concerns your personal or household income):

Q86. In general, how do you spend your income? Could you give an average amount or percentage that you spend on?

1. Bills
2. Household equipment
3. Bank account
4. Investment in Greece
5. Leisure entertainment
6. Remittance at home
7. Other (Please specify):

Q87. If you send remittances to your home country, why do you do that?

1. To support your family
2. To buy /improve house
3. To invest
4. Please specify the sort of investment?.....
5. Other (Please specify).....

Q88. Do you have social security in Greece?

1. Yes
2. No

Q89. Do you have health insurance book in Greece?

1. Yes
2. No

Q90. If you need medical treatment, what do you usually do?

1. I go to a public hospital
2. I go to a private clinic
3. I visit a private GP
4. Other (please specify)

Q91. Contacts and relationships with others (compatriots, migrants of the nationalities, Greeks). Please specify the type of the relationship (relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues etc):

Q92. Do you consider yourself a religious person?

1. Yes
2. No

Q93. If YES, which religion do you practice?

1. Islam
2. Christianity
3. Hinduism
4. Other:

Q94. Do you feel that your religious needs are met in Greece?

1. Yes
2. No

Q95. Have you ever had any experience of discrimination/ differential treatment because of your religion?

1. Yes
2. No

Q96. Do you participate in any collective organization here in Greece?

1. Yes
2. No

Q97. If yes, which collective organization do you practice in (Please specify)?

1. Migrant Association:.....
2. Cultural organization:.....
3. Trade union body:
4. Political organization:

1. Stay in present occupation
2. Look for a better job
3. Start my own business
4. Others:

Q107. Would you like to give some additional information or to comments on a particular issue that you think is essential but it has not touched elsewhere in the questionnaire?