

**“Europeanization and Migration in Greece During the Periods of
Economic and Migration crisis (2009-2015)”**

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Abstract

This thesis' main focus is Europeanization of Migration Policy in Greece during the economic crisis in 2009 and the migration crisis in 2015. I chose to focus on this specific time period since it was an interesting period for Greece that was trying to manage migration flows and strategies while still recovering from the economic crisis. My paper aims to fill the gap by analyzing the impact of Europeanization on Greece's migration policies, with a focus on refugee protection. To provide insights into the dimensions and forms of Europeanization, I used mostly qualitative methodology. Specifically, this paper includes fundamental theories of scholars such as Radaelli, Cowles, Knill and others who give important insights on the various forms of Europeanization and its strategies and it examines the dimensions and the forms of Europeanization as well as its impact on Greece's migration policies. Greece's position on the frontier of the Eastern Mediterranean migration route makes it a major entry point not only for persons seeking international protection but also for migrants attempting to enter Europe irregularly. Also, the economic crisis had a severe impact on Greece's financial position and shortly after, the country was also facing problems with managing migration flows due to its migration crisis. After the migration crisis was at its peak in 2015, the EU implemented measures to control external borders and migration flows efficiently. The results of these two crises were evident in the low performance of the country regarding the integration of asylum seekers, the inefficiency in managing migration flows, the low quality of government. Although, Greece's attempts through new legislations, policies and strategies were visible, there is room for improvement.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

CEAS: Common European Asylum System

EASO: European Asylum Support Office

ECHR: European Court of Human Rights

ECJ: European Court of Justice

ECRE: European Council on Refugees and Exiles

EIF: European Integration Fund

EMU: European Monetary Union

EU: European Union

EUAA: European Union Agency for Asylum

EURODAC: European Dactyloscopy fingerprint database

FRONTEX: European Border and Coast Guard Agency

JHA: Justice and Home Affairs

QOG: Quality of Government

TFEU: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

UN: United Nations

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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Introduction

This paper is concerned with developing an understanding of the term Europeanization and then using it to further analyze Europeanization of Migration Policies, specifically the case of Greece. The EU's impact is commonly referred to as Europeanization. The word initially appeared in the 1990s to define a process that is separate from European integration and harmonisation, both of which focus on the domestic adjustment of member states to EU obligations. (Ladrech 1994) The term Europeanization may carry several meanings depending on the criterion used for. (Olsen 2002) There are numerous mechanisms and forms of Europeanization that could be used to evaluate its influence. (Radaelli 2003)

This paper analyses the forms and dimensions of Europeanization of migration policies, the current EU legislation about migration as well as the impact of Europeanization, focusing on Greece's migration policies. This paper includes reports to mark Greece's progress in the integration of migrants and the effectiveness of the process of Europeanization and generally in migration management. The purpose of this thesis is to study Europeanization of migration policies during the times of the two crises; the economic and the migratory. Greece is an intriguing case to investigate because it was experiencing a severe economic crisis while also serving as a first entry country for significant migrant flows. (Paligiannis 2016)

Throughout the years, Greece has been a migrant sending country. (Triandafyllidou 2013) The onset of the Greek economic crisis in 2009, and the subsequent measures of severe austerity, drastically altered the country's conditions

and had an unavoidable impact on the migration landscape. The migration crisis that developed during 2015 quickly converted the country into a host of mainly undocumented immigrants from Southeast Europe, Central-Eastern Europe, from South Asia, the Middle East and Africa. (Triandafyllidou 2013) The sudden influx of immigrants was an unexpected event for both the government and the Greek population. Administrative and political confusion and the associated reluctance to deal with an over-representation of unauthorized immigrants working in the unofficial market throughout the Greek economy mostly characterized migration policy. (Triandafyllidou 2013)

Chapter 1 contains the literature review where the bibliography selection will be discussed as well as the theoretical framework introducing the main theories of many scholars who were associated with the notion of Europeanization as well as the reasons that Greece is a critical case study. Chapter 2 contains a brief analysis on the Europeanization on EU level and specifically on the legislations that were applied in Europe and their effectiveness. Chapter 3 includes the paper's methodology. In chapter 4, there is a more detailed analysis of the situation in Greece before the crisis while in chapter 5 the situation during the crisis period is explained. Chapter 5 also focuses on the impact of Europeanization on Greece's Migration Policy. The final part is the conclusion which summarizes the main points of the dissertation and provides a question for future research.

1. Theoretical Framework

The Europeanization of Migration Policy has been extensively studied by scholars that have used the term "Europeanization" in a variety of settings. (Triandafyllidou 2013; Gemenis 2013; Ladi 2007; Radaelli 2002 and others) In a 2001 study, Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse created a three-step framework to describe how EU policy affects domestic change. The first step of European integration includes several EU legislative initiatives. The second step, known as goodness of fit, evaluates how well national and EU policies coordinate. Cowles et al. (2001) argue that there must be a certain degree of misfit in order to apply pressure on the government to change its policies. (Borzel 2000) Misfit is necessary for domestic transformation, yet misfit is insufficient on its own. The existence of domestic mediating elements is the third phase. The degree of misfit and mediating domestic factors simultaneously impact whether and how much a member state implements a policy at the national level. (Borzel 2000)

Depending on the criterion used, the term Europeanization has multiple meanings (Olsen 2002). Although it has numerous definitions, its meaning remains unclear. (Kassim 2000) According to Spanou K. (2001) it is a "multidimensional phenomenon". The idea of Europeanization is closely related to theories of European integration and more general theories of international relations. In general, the word is used to denote the impact of European institutions and procedures in particular sectors or even the entire national political system. (Feronas A. 2013) Beginning in 1990, the concept of Europeanization diverges from the classical theories of European integration, initially adopting a more top-down approach to the process. (Ladrech

2002) From the beginning of 2000 onwards, a gradual shift from the focus of the top-down approach to that of the bottom-up dimension of Europeanization is observed, as seen in the definition of Hix and Goetz (2000) which speak of the changes in national institutions and political practices due to European integration.

According to Christoph Knill (1999), there are three types of European policy-making: positive integration, negative integration, and what is often called "framing" integration, all of which have been defined by distinct mechanisms of Europeanization and entail distinct approaches to explain their domestic impact. (Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999) When assessing the domestic impact of various European policies, he suggests that the specific mechanism, rather than the nominal category of the policy area, is the most important factor to evaluate. (Knill 1999) In addition, according to Radaelli (2000), who reviewed the literature on Europeanization, there are three main mechanisms of Europeanization: presence of a European model, 'negative' integration, and 'framing'. (Radaelli 2000)

Europeanization is a concept that recognizes the two-way process of policy change between the EU and domestic environments, as opposed to terms like European integration, which describe the EU's one-way impact on member-states (Featherstone, 2003a). It is defined by Radaelli (2003) as 'the processes of (a) constructing, (b) disseminating, and (c) institutionalizing formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, and shared beliefs and norms that are defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated into the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies'. Radaelli's definition of Europeanization is helpful for three reasons that are listed below. (Radaelli 2003) First, it views Europeanization as a process of institutional and policy change that occurs at both the European and national levels,

though it can be criticized for failing to recognize the significance of the two-way process of Europeanization. Second, it emphasizes the significance of policy transfer and diffusion, and finally, it leads to a broad definition of policy change. Domestic discourses, identities, political structures, and public policies are all affected by policy change, which is the result of the institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, and shared beliefs and norms. In order to study the impact of Europeanization on member-states, Risse, Green Cowles, and Caporaso (2001) take a three-step top-down approach, beginning with changes at the European level, then moving on to adaptational pressures for change, and finally addressing domestic mediating factors. In order to be more analytical about what occurs at the European level, Schmidt (2002) and Knill (2001) begin by examining the mechanisms of Europeanization. Ladi (2005) takes a different three-step approach, distinguishing between 'soft' and 'hard' Europeanization mechanisms, continuing with an examination of the mediating factors of change, and concluding with the potential outcomes of Europeanization.

This section provides an analysis of the Europeanization framework in comparison to the policy transfer framework. Taking into consideration the first step, the literature on Europeanization includes a plethora of mechanisms ranging from 'hard' to 'soft'. According to Knill (2001), three mechanisms of Europeanization exist: institutional compliance, changing domestic opportunity structure, and framing domestic beliefs and expectations. Institutional compliance refers to explicit European policies that mandate the implementation of a specific institutional model in the domestic environment. According to Knill, institutional compliance is considered the hardest mechanism because member-states have only limited power over how to implement institutional change. (Knill 2001)

The second mechanism presented is changing domestic opportunity structures, which would fall somewhere in the middle of a scale descending from 'hard' to 'soft' mechanisms. (Ladi 2007) It describes instances in which European policies alter the distribution of power and resources among domestic actors, resulting in institutional change. Finally, the third mechanism, framing domestic beliefs and expectations is the 'softest' one. (Knill 2001) The EU's goal here is to change the cognitive input of domestic actors in order to lay the groundwork for institutional change. (Ladi 2007)

There are four mechanisms that blur the distinction between what Radaelli (2003) describes as Europeanization processes and what Knill (2001) refers to as Europeanization mechanisms. (Page 2003) Coercion, imitation, adjustment, and polydiffusion are examples of these mechanisms. (Page 2003) Coercion of a policy or institution through European legislation is the 'hardest' mechanism. Specifically, the term is problematic since member states consent to and participate in the creation of the EU- imposed change. (Page 2003) The second mechanism is imitation, which refers to EU or domestic efforts that grow prominent and become replicated across the EU in the lack of legal force. Adjustment is a softer (or less hard) mechanism that captures situations in which member states react similarly to EU-imposed conditions. (Page 2003)

Lastly, one of the 'softest' mechanisms is polydiffusion. This mechanism is related to framing domestic ideas and expectations. (Page 2003) According to Page (2003), this is a minor mechanism because he claims that policy change requires choice and deliberation, as well as the generation and maintenance of public support. (Page 2003) His classification of Europeanization mechanisms is less useful due to a lack of rigorous distinctions between mechanisms and processes, as well as methodological tools for in-depth empirical research. (Page 2003)

Schmidt (2002) proposes a third useful classification of Europeanization mechanisms. She distinguishes between high-level coercion, low-level coercion, mimesis, and regulatory competition. Coercion at a high level refers to instances of fundamental change at the European level that translate into very strict rules that domestic actors must follow. Schmidt (2002) The EMU and its convergence criteria remain a good example. The next mechanism proposed by Schmidt is coercion at a lower level. Schmidt (2002) Mimesis is a less 'hard' mechanism in which member states can choose whether or not to follow EU recommendations. (Schmidt 2002) Finally, Schmidt proposes regulatory competition as the 'softest' mechanism; where there is no institutional framework proposed by the EU but competition is created as a result of an EU decision and member-states are forced to change institutional or policy. (Schmidt 2002)

Table 1: Mechanisms of Europeanization

	Knill (2001)	Page (2003)	Schmidt (2002)
Hard	Institutional compliance	Coercion	Coercion at high level Coercion at less high level
	Changing domestic opportunity structures	Imitation Adjustment	Mimesis Regulatory competition
Soft	Framing domestic beliefs and expectations	Polydiffusion	

Source: Ladi, 2007

The final step in our framework is to examine the potential effects of Europeanization. Most researchers classify Europeanization into four outcomes: inertia, absorption, transformation, and retrenchment (Knill, 2001, Schmidt, 2002, Radaelli, 2003). Inertia is a state where there is no change. (Knill 2001) It can take the form of delay in incorporating directives and strong resistance to changes coming from the EU. Absorption (also known as convergence) refers to change as adaptation. (Schmidt 2002; Radaelli 2003) It is, essentially, about the attachment of European values to national systems, without a real change in the basic structures and political behavior. Transformation is the most positive outcome of Europeanization. In other words, the change is not limited only to the official institutions and the national political-administrative structures, but also affects the unofficial institutions, the beliefs and preferences of the actors, transmitting a new logic and completely changing the political behavior. (Radaelli 2003) On the other side of the transformation, there is retrenchment, where national policies become less 'Europeanized' than it was before (Radaelli 2003).

The impact of Europeanization is greatest when sectors are under more pressure to adapt, for instance when there is a greater misfit between institutional demands imposed by the EU and sectoral regimes. (Mendez, 2007) Three factors can contribute to the measuring of Europeanization and adaptational pressures: adopting an EU-wide viewpoint to enable a comparative assessment of impacts and results; providing a clear example of a new European level policy initiative that impacts all Member States concurrently; and having a thorough understanding of the ex ante and ex post situation in each Member State. (Mendez 2007) According to Héritier (2001), Radaelli (2003), Borzel (1999), Risse (2001), Schmidt, (2002) Member State responses are divided into three categories based on the literature on Europeanization

according to H ritier (2001), Radaelli (2003), Borzel (1999), Risse (2001), Schmidt, (2002): resistance, transformation, and absorption. Responses fall under the resistance category when submissions do not follow the guidelines. In this case, Member States are retaining their original approach to policy or else adopting a revised approach which nevertheless does not follow the guidelines. (Mendez 2007) Member States respond to the adjustments requested by the guidelines in their submissions with regard to Transformation. (Mendez 2007) Lastly, absorption occurs when guideline demands are accommodated without any significant change of approach. (H ritier 2001; Radaelli 2003)

As shown below, Greece has low expected adaptational pressures and a low expected adaptational response which denotes that there is not significant change of approach.

Expected adaptational pressures		Expected adaptational responses (policy change)
High	Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, UK	Resistance (Low)
Medium	Sweden, Netherlands, Spain	Transformation (High)
Low	Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Portugal,	Absorption (Low)

Source: Mendez 2007. European Policy Research Paper, No. 61

According to Ladi (2007), the research on Europeanization and Greece reveals a tendency to convergence (or absorption), but there are also many cases of inertia (Kazakos 2004; Featherstone 2005). For example, Featherstone (2003b) argues that while Greece met the Maastricht requirements and joined the EMU, there is no indication of long-term economic convergence, particularly in areas such as pension

system reform. In other policy sectors, such as administrative reform or environmental policy change, inertia might be observed. (Spanou 2001; Ladi 2007) According to Featherstone (2005), Greece resembles ‘une société bloqué’ in some policy areas meaning that there are systemic weaknesses deriving from the institutional capacity of the state. (Featherstone 2005)

The Europeanization process involves importing European decision-making practices and content. Given that the primary analytical focus of this study has been on the relations and interactions of the EU and its member states (Börzel 1999), it is crucial to take into account the value of this research in defining these relationships, particularly as it relates to the case of Greece.

2. Europeanization of Migration Policy on EU level

In the framework of national systems of government, the process of Europeanization entails the transfer of European decision-making patterns and content. Given that the interactions between the EU and its member states have been the primary analytical focus of this study, it is important to consider the usefulness of this research in clarifying these connections. (Börzel 1999) Europeanization is helpful in describing how the EU affects its members and how they affect the EU, but it is less helpful in describing how the power dynamic between the EU and its members or how the relationship between the Community and its members changes as a result of non-EU factors. (Börzel 1999)

According to scholars such as Hang (2011), Europeanization should be understood as a two-way process that involves the transfer of norms, values, and institutions between the EU and its member states. This means that the process of European integration is not simply a one-sided affair where the EU imposes its policies and standards on member states. (Hang 2011) Instead, it is a more complex process where member states also play an active role in shaping the direction and outcome of European integration. (Hang 2011) In other words, Europeanization is not just about adapting to EU norms and standards, but it is also about influencing EU policies and shaping the European project as a whole. By emphasizing the two-way nature of Europeanization, he highlights the agency of domestic actors and the importance of taking into account their perspectives, interests, and preferences in the process of European integration. (Hang 2011)

The literature on Europeanization is primarily concerned with how Member States with different political preferences sought to influence EU-level policy-making but not how much power the key stakeholders involved had or how that power was balanced, influenced the political decision-making process. (Bache, George, and Bulmer 2011) Integrated theory addresses these issues, with liberal intergovernmentalism emphasizing continued control of member states through unanimous decision-making in areas such as taxation and energy consumption, and neofunctionalism emphasizing the commission's entrepreneurial role in expanding its capacity in this field. (Bache, George, and Bulmer 2011) This demonstrates that, when compared to integration theory, Europeanization does not do much to explain the power relations between the EU and its member states. (Bache, George, and Bulmer 2011)

The Legislation in Europe

Following a top-down mode, the EU, for almost three decades, was striving to establish a Common European Asylum System and policy, whose legal basis is the articles 67(2), 78 and 80 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), and Article 18 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (EP 2020). Asylum policy is an initiative in progress that provides an appropriate status to third-country nationals seeking international protection in EU member states while adhering to the principle of non-refoulement (Nugent 2017). Since the 1990s, policies dealing with third-country nationals have been referred to as the Union's immigration and asylum

policies, and with the formation of the Maastricht Treaty, both policies became a part of European authority and competence (Caviedes 2018).

The treaty established the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) task force (today's Directorate General (DG) on Migration and Home Affairs), which empowered EU authorities to intervene in the asylum legislative domains of the states (Nugent 2017). Policies and legislative changes were allowed to be developed in a continuous and strategic sequence within its Strategic Committee on Immigration, Frontiers, and Asylum. Furthermore, the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 established specific provisions on asylum and incorporated the 1985 Schengen Agreement into EU law.

Furthermore, the basic legislative elements for a common asylum policy were outlined in Tampere in 1999 (Ette 2007). The importance of both Amsterdam and Tampere is that they provided a common legal basis and a political direction to asylum, and they framed asylum issues as security concerns for Europe (Caviedes 2018). From 2003 to 2005, a set of Directives established common minimum standards for Reception Conditions and Qualifications, as well as promoted Asylum Procedures. The European Council introduced a European "burden-sharing" mechanism between member states through the Asylum Procedures Directive in 2004, and pushed for the further implementation of common asylum procedures (EP 2020).

The Tampere Programme's initial set of instructions has been modified to address modern challenges. (EP 2020) The Reception Conditions Directive, which came into force in July 2015, ensures uniform and enhanced living conditions for asylum seekers across the EU. (European Commission 2015) The Asylum Procedures Directive, which came into force in July 2015, establishes a more structured and precise procedure that guarantees better decision for asylum. (European Commission 2015) The procedures are moving faster, there are fewer restrictions on how to apply

for asylum, and member states are no longer allowed to keep their own regulations as provided under the previous directive. (EP 2020) The Qualification Directive establishes standards to provide protection on a global level. Finally the EURODAC regulation, set into force in July 2015, establishes an EU asylum fingerprint database. This revised regulation facilitates law enforcement by detecting and investigating applicants who are related with crimes or terrorist activities. (EP 2021)

The Tampere Programme was an important milestone in the development of European migration policy. (EP 1999) It aimed to create a common EU asylum and migration policy by bringing together the policies of different countries. This helped to promote a more unified approach to migration and asylum, making it easier for people to move between countries. (EP 1999) The programme also aimed to harmonize and coordinate national policies within the EU, which helped to create a more consistent and fair system for everyone involved. (EP 1999)

The Lisbon Treaty, adopted in 2009, incorporated asylum policy into the Community Method mode, designated asylum as a subject of co-decision, and allowed national courts to request preliminary rulings from the ECJ on asylum issues (EP 2020). The Treaty partially transformed the European asylum process from a minimum standards establishment to a common system of temporary protection and partnership with third countries, comprised of a uniform status and asylum legislative procedures (EP 2020).

The European Asylum Support Office (EASO) was established in 2010, under the auspices of the Stockholm Program, and due to the 2016 migration crisis, it transitioned from a supporting agency to the current EU Agency for Asylum (EUAA) (EP 2020). The Commission also presented the European Agenda on Migration, which included multiple proposals for changes to the Dublin Regulation and its

System (Dublin I, II, and III), as well as the announcement of a New Pact on Migration and Asylum. (Bendel 2007; France 24 2019). From a top-down perspective, it appears that the EU is reinforcing its legislative "umbrella" and, from a prescriptive Europeanization perspective, providing its asylum institutional and legislative models in order to be domestically complied. (EASO 2016)

A number of agencies have also been established that are involved in monitoring CEAS and assisting EU states. (EASO 2016) The European Office for Refugees, established in 2010 and fully operational since 2011, develops cooperation among EU Member States on refugee issues, assisting EU States subject to pressure through the coordination of asylum application management groups and contribute to the implementation of CEAS by exchanging information on best practices. (EASO 2016) Through its function, EASO helps Member States fulfill their European obligations in the area of asylum. FRONTEX, the EU's external border agency, was established in 2004 and its mission is to facilitate and improve the application of EU measures related to external border management. In this way, it contributes to effective monitoring of the external borders of the EU. (Europa 2023)

In addition, the Schengen area is an important part of the European refugee framework. (Europa 2019) This is one of the greatest achievements of European integration, as it creates a region without internal borders in which citizens, businesses and services can move without border controls. (Europa 2019) The Schengen area is not covered by migration policies but it is linked to Dublin regulation.

Lastly, the Dublin III Regulation, which was established in 2013, is crucial to the CEAS. (Europa 2013) The Dublin System specifies that member states must agree on a plan that holds the country of first entry accountable for the asylum seeker.

(Europa 2013) If the applicants obtain refugee status, the refugee, who benefits from the Schengen area, can freely move to any other EU member state. In this sense, the Schengen area is part of CEAS. (ECRE 2016) With an early warning crisis management system, a set of protections for asylum seekers, the ability to appeal decisions, and greater legal transparency between member states, the new Dublin increases the effectiveness of the process. (ECRE 2016) However, the Dublin system disproportionately puts the responsibility and the costs of securing the external borders of the EU upon the shoulders of the EU's external border countries. (Europa 2013)

3. Methodology

This paper uses mostly qualitative methodology. The theoretical framework provided in Chapter 1 gives a general overview of the main theories that were associated with the notion of Europeanization, as well as the reason that Greece is this paper's case study. Based on the theories of scholars, mostly though the typology of Radaelli (2003) who differentiates between four types of change, it is shown that Greece during the 1990s was categorized in the "absorption" type. During 2010-2015, Greece's Europeanization process was marked by a combination of absorption and resistance, which will be further analyzed in Chapter 5. Apart from the theoretical aspect, the paper includes reports, secondary literature, legislation and scholar's research on the Europeanization of migration policies and its impact which give an insight into the overall situation in Greece during this time. I also use data of migration, to assess the impact of EU policies on migration patterns and outcomes. In addition, the quality of government is crucial for Greece to measure the sufficiency and rate the country's progress throughout the years 2010-2015 which will be thoroughly examined in Chapter 5. By using QoG, there is a clearer picture on the overall situation in Greece during this period in regards to a strong and reliable legal framework, effective law enforcement, a transparent government that fosters trust, good decision-making, a good healthcare and education system, impartial judiciary and many more. (European Commission 2021)

Greece is a critical case study for several reasons. Firstly, its geographical location as a gateway to Europe makes it particularly vulnerable to migration flows

and external pressures. (Dimitriadi; Sarantaki 2019) Being situated on the external border of the European Union and the Schengen Area, Greece has faced significant challenges in managing irregular migration and refugee influxes. (Dimitriadi; Sarantaki 2019) Secondly, the country's experience of both an economic crisis in 2010 and a migration crisis in 2015 has exposed the complexities and interplay between economic and migration policies. These dual crises have put immense strain on Greece's institutional capabilities and highlighted the need for effective policy responses. Lastly, the process of Europeanization of migration policy in Greece, where domestic policies adapt to comply with EU regulations and directives, provides valuable insights into the dynamics of policy convergence and the impact of supranational influence on national decision-making processes. (Papageorgiou 2013)

Between 2012 and 2014, significant adjustments were made to the legal framework for regulating irregular migration and immigrant integration in Greece through European conventions and directives. (EP 2015) These modifications emerged immediately as a result of Europeanization influencing Greece. Discourses and policies in Greek society were influenced by the Europeanization process. (EP 2015) Moreover, the migration crisis increased the flow of immigrants and asylum seekers and placed the nation in a difficult situation with regard to managing and integrating them. The EU implemented measures to more effectively regulate external borders and migratory flows after the crisis in migration reached its climax in 2015. (EP 2015)

4. Europeanization of migration policy in Greece before the crisis

Before the migration crisis in 2015, Greece was one of the countries that received a large number of irregular migrants and refugees mostly for geographical reasons. Due to this, Greece had to adapt its migration policies to comply with the EU regulations and directives. Many scholars have shared their opinions on the matter. In this chapter, I will examine the theories, legislations and research on Europeanization of Migration Policy that occurred before the crises period.

Greece, that period of time had adopted and implemented many laws in regards to migration management. Based on the bibliography, the most important laws and developments include the following:

‘Law 2910/2001’ was a significant law related to immigration and asylum in Greece. (Papageorgiou 2013) It aimed to create a long-term migration policy that would address the conditions for legal entry, stay, employment, and integration into Greek society. (MPI 2004) The law was inspired by the European migration experience and reflected contemporary opinions and tendencies shaped in the EU that required treatment of migrants on the basis of fundamental human rights and principles guiding a modern democratic rule-of-law state. (Apostolatou 2004) However, despite its ambitious goals, ‘Law 2910/2001’ faced significant challenges when it came to implementation due to limited administrative capacity and inadequate infrastructure. (Anagnostou 2016) As a result, it was not fully implemented until several years later. Even then, it faced ongoing challenges related to administrative capacity and political resistance. Nonetheless, Law 2910/2001 remains an important

milestone in Greece's efforts to develop a comprehensive approach to immigration and asylum policy-making.

In the late 2000s, the problem of migration became more challenging when irregular migration flows began to affect the Greece-Turkey land and sea border. (Paligiannis 2016) Under the new circumstances, migration policy has been reoriented from a "Greece-centered" to a "Europe-centered" perspective, in which Greece is seen as a key player in the defense of Europe from migration-related threats. (Paligiannis 2016) In addition, the Greek government has begun to cooperate more actively with EU member states, adopting policies promoting the Tampere program in 2009 and placing greater emphasis on readmission agreements with countries of origin. This new course marks a clear shift in Greece's migration strategy toward Europeanization of migration policies. However, this change was visible only in theory and in official statements, as the political elites and political balances in the Greek Parliament delayed any legislative initiative. (Paligiannis 2016)

It was not until 2009, when the Socialist Party won the election, that two very important migration policy reforms were proposed and passed; Citizenship Law Reform (2010) and Asylum Law Reform (2011). More specifically, according to the Citizenship Law Reform (2010), immigrants who had been residing legally in Greece for ten years were eligible to apply for citizenship. The situation changed in March 2010 when the newly elected socialist government accelerated the processes for changing the citizenship law to speed up the naturalization of foreign nationals. (MIPEX 2020) The citizenship and naturalization law, 3838/2010, was passed by the Greek Parliament. (Triandafyllidou 2015) This law simplified citizenship requirements by reducing the age requirement for legal residence in Greece from 10 to 7 years. A new requirement that forced immigrants to first get the long-term EU

migrant status was implemented at the same time as a stepping stone to naturalization. The services in charge of reviewing citizenship applications are now obligated to respond within a specific time frame and to provide a justification for any negative outcomes. (Triandafyllidou 2013) In terms of second generation immigrants, the law stipulates that children born in Greece can obtain Greek citizenship through a simple declaration from their parents, provided that they have lived there legally for 5 years. Along with reforming processes, the law allows immigrants who have legally resided in Greece for five years full local political rights. (Triandafyllidou 2013)

Although Europeanization had no direct impact on the Citizenship Law Reform, it did influence Greek immigration policies in a different way. (Papageorgiou 2013) The previous legislation, according to political elites, parties in support of the reform and Greek society, was insufficient to address the issues posed by modern migration and did not fit with a contemporary European nation or an EU member state. (Triandafyllidou 2014) The need to show that Greece is a modern state with efficiency and good governance led to the political shift in migration policy and the adoption of the Citizenship Law Reform. These factors combined with the presence of European influences, such as references to what other EU member states do, as well as the obligation of Europe to protect human rights all played a role in these developments. (European Commission 2021)

According to the Asylum Law Reform (2011), it was adopted by the Greek Parliament in January 2011(law 3907/2011) and it includes the establishment of the Asylum Agency and the Agency for First Reception. (European Commission 2011) The most significant change achieved by this reform is the transfer of the Greek Police's responsibility in reviewing asylum applications to the newly established agencies. In addition, the new law distinguishes between asylum seekers and irregular

migrants and establishes new standards for the initial reception of irregular migrants. It also simplifies the application process for asylum. (Council of Europe 2021)

The Asylum Agency is responsible of evaluating every application for asylum. In locations where there are considerable migratory flows, there are Reception Centers. (European Commission 2011) These facilities are in charge of receiving immigrants, separating them from asylum seekers, and directing the latter to the local asylum agency. The local agencies receive the application, process it, interview the applicants, and then provide a decision within 30 days. This law transfers EU regulations into domestic law and strengthens Greece's capacity to control immigration. (European Commission 2011)

The Citizenship Law Reform was the outcome of a soft Europeanization approach, since European directives had a greater impact on the sense of being European than on the shifting movement in immigration policy. On the other hand, the Asylum Law Reform is directly impacted by European law and the necessity for Greece to incorporate European law into its own laws. (Paligiannis 2016)

Based on these laws, scholars from the existing bibliography weighted in their opinions and associated them with the phenomenon of Europeanization and its impact on migration policies. Scholars find Europeanization to be an interesting topic because it involves the process of European integration and the spread of European norms, values, and policies across different countries. They want to understand how this process affects national policies and institutions, as well as how it shapes the political and social landscape of Europe. Additionally, scholars are interested in exploring the different forms and dimensions of Europeanization, formal or informal mechanisms, or strategies. By studying Europeanization, scholars can gain insights

into the dynamics of European integration and its impact on national politics and societies.

Anna Triandafyllidou (2013) argues that the Europeanization of migration policy has had a significant impact on Greece. In her research, she explores how the EU has shaped Greek migration policy, and she notes that Greece's membership in the EU has resulted in a strong influence on its migration policy. Triandafyllidou's research suggests that the Greek government's adoption of laws related to migration management, asylum reform, and migrant integration during 2010 and 2011 was a positive step forward for Greek migration policy. (Triandafyllidou 2013) However, this progress was later reversed when the Council of State annulled the 2010 citizenship law in 2012. Triandafyllidou's analysis focuses on two key legislative measures, the citizenship law reform and the reform of the asylum and irregular migration management system, and examines how these laws were discussed in the Greek parliament. Her work highlights both positive developments and ongoing challenges in Greek migration policy. (Triandafyllidou 2013)

Triandafyllidou points out that prior to joining the EU, Greece's migration policy was largely reactive and uncoordinated. However, as Greece became more integrated into the EU, it was required to adopt more standardized migration policies that were in line with EU regulations. (Triandafyllidou 2013) This resulted in a significant transformation of the Greek migration system, as Greece began to adopt EU policies and regulations, such as the Common European Asylum System. (Triandafyllidou 2013) However, she also notes that this process of Europeanization has not been without its challenges. Despite the efforts made to align Greece's migration policies with those of the EU, the country still faces significant challenges,

such as a lack of resources and institutional capacity, which have hindered its ability to implement EU policies effectively. (Triandafyllidou 2013)

Papageorgiou's paper (2013) highlights how Greece's efforts to align its policies with EU standards have been influenced by a range of factors, including domestic politics, administrative capacity, and external pressures from the EU. He argues that while Greece has made significant progress in aligning its policies with EU standards, there are still significant challenges that need to be addressed. (Papageorgiou 2013) One of the key challenges highlighted by Papageorgiou is related to administrative capacity. He notes that Greece has struggled with implementing its migration management laws due to limited administrative capacity and inadequate infrastructure. This has led to delays in processing asylum applications and other issues related to managing migration flows. (Papageorgiou 2013) Another challenge highlighted by Papageorgiou is related to political will. He notes that there have been instances where political considerations have taken precedence over the need for effective migration management policies. This has led to situations where migrants and asylum-seekers have been subjected to poor treatment or denied access to basic services. Despite these challenges, Papageorgiou takes a constructive approach in his analysis of Greece's migration management laws and policies. He recognizes the progress that has been made in aligning policies with EU standards but also highlights areas where further improvements are needed. (Papageorgiou 2013) Overall, his analysis suggests that there is still much work to be done in order for Greece's migration management policies to effectively address the needs of migrants and asylum-seekers while also meeting EU standards.

Another important aspect of Europeanization is intergovernmentalism. According to Tsardanidis and Stavridis' theory (2005), intergovernmental bargaining

among EU member states is an important factor in Europeanization. This means that the different national interests of EU member states can influence how Europeanization is implemented in practice. In simpler terms, this means that when countries come together to make decisions about foreign policy, they often have different priorities and goals. These differences can affect how policies are created and implemented, which can impact the success of Europeanization efforts. (Tsardanidis; Stavridis 2005), The authors argue that understanding these dynamics is important for studying foreign policy and its domestic sources, as it helps to shed light on how power politics and bargaining between states can shape foreign policy decisions. (Tsardanidis; Stavridis 2005)

On the contrary, Tsardanidis (2021) referred to another notion, that of De-Europeanization. According to Tsardanidis, De-Europeanization refers to a shift away from EU policies and values by member states. In his analysis of Greece's migration policies during the migration crisis, he argues that Greece experienced De-Europeanization due to a growing sense of alienation from traditional Greek and Orthodox values, as well as a questioning of EU policies during the economic crisis. (Tsardanidis 2021) This resulted in a shift away from EU policies and values regarding immigration policy. Greece implemented stricter border controls and detention policies for migrants, which were criticized for violating human rights and undermining EU values. (Tsardanidis 2021) He notes that this De-Europeanization had significant implications for Greece's relationship with the EU and its immigration policy as well. It undermined the legitimacy of Europeanization as a means to establish a consistent immigration policy and led to criticism from human rights organizations for violating international law and putting migrants at risk. (Tsardanidis 2021)

Despite the EU's efforts to help Greece manage migration, there were still concerns about the country's compliance with EU regulations. The European Court of Human Rights found in 2014 that Greece had infringed the rights of Afghan migrants who had been collectively expelled by Italian authorities and denied entry to the Greek asylum procedure. (ECHR 2014) Several articles of the European Convention on Human Rights have been found to be violated by the Court. The Greek asylum procedure was found to have weaknesses such as a shortage of interpreters and legal aid, which the country's economic crisis was held accountable for. (ECHR 2014) The Court highlighted that the Dublin system must be used in a way that is consistent with the Convention, and that collective and indiscriminate returns are not justified under this system. (ECHR 2014) The State carrying out the return must ensure that the destination country provides sufficient guarantees in the application of its asylum policy to prevent the person from being removed to their country of origin without a proper assessment of the risks they face. (ECHR 2014)

Overall, the Europeanization of migration policy in Greece before the migration crisis involved efforts to align its migration policies with EU regulations and directives. However, Greece struggled to cope with the influx of asylum seekers and irregular migrants due to its geographical location and inadequate implementation of migration laws. The EU provided support to Greece through FRONTEX, but there were still concerns about Greece's compliance with EU regulations. (ECRE 2022)

5. Europeanization of migration policy in Greece during the crisis period and its impact

As mentioned in previous chapters, for many years, Greece has been receiving a large influx of migrants, which has resulted in the failure to correspond with and integrate the majority of them. Apart from the influx of refugees, the economic crisis intensified the situation and exposed chronic institutional deficiencies. For a long time, Greek legislative authorities struggled to implement and adapt to EU regulations, but authorities in Greece were hesitant to adopt EU norms and legislation (Mavrodi, 2007). Many legislative changes resulted from European Conventions and Directives. Furthermore, the migration crisis that followed some years later increased the influx of migrants and asylum seekers, putting the country in a difficult position in terms of migration management and integration, rising the adaptational pressures. Following this peak, the EU implemented measures to better control external borders and migration flows. According to statistics (macrotrends.net), Greece had 1,242,514.00 immigrants in 2015, a 2.14% decrease from 2010 (1,269,749.00).

To my best knowledge, after the crises not a lot of scholars have shared their opinions, the bibliography is limited in comparison to the situation before the crises. However, there are some scholars who wanted to give an insight on the situation in Greece during the crises periods in regards to Europeanization and migration policies. Limited bibliography on Europeanization after the migration crisis exists since it was a recent event that had a significant impact on European policies and institutions. The complexity of the phenomenon requires interdisciplinary and comparative approaches that are still in development. Additionally, Europeanization is an ongoing process that

evolves over time, making it challenging to draw definitive conclusions or generalizations about its effects on migration policies in Greece or other European countries.

During this crisis period time, the Greek government has implemented several laws and policies aimed at addressing migration control challenges such as Law 3907/2011, Law 4251/2014, the EU-Turkey Agreement in 2016, Law 4375/2016, Law 4540/2018, that will be analyzed below.

One of these laws that are frequently mentioned in the bibliography is Law 3907/2011, which established a new legal framework for asylum seekers in Greece. (European Commission 2011) This law aimed to streamline the asylum application process and ensure that asylum seekers receive adequate protection and support while their applications are being processed. (European Commission 2011)

Law 4251/2014 is another important piece of legislation that has impacted migration policies in Greece. This law provides for the establishment of reception facilities for migrants and refugees, as well as measures to ensure their integration into Greek society. (IOM 2017) Law 4251/2014, which established the Greek Immigration Code, introduced a set of policies that address some specific vulnerable groups (i.e. victims of trafficking, domestic violence and exploitation, addicted migrants, and unaccompanied minors) and provide ad hoc assistance for the first time. (IOM 2017)

EU-Turkey Agreement in March 2016, when Greece and Turkey signed an agreement with the European Union to manage the flow of migrants and refugees into Europe, is also very crucial part of the legislations that were implemented then. (Triandafyllidou 2016) Under the agreement, migrants and refugees who arrived in

Greece irregularly from Turkey would be returned to Turkey, and for each Syrian returned, the EU would resettle one Syrian from Turkey. (Triandafyllidou 2016)

In addition, another crucial law is Law 4375/2016 on the EU directives related to asylum procedures and reception conditions: This law established the Greek Asylum Service and the Appeals Authority for Asylum, which were responsible for processing asylum applications and appeals. (European Commission 2016) It also introduced new procedures for the examination of asylum claims and set out the criteria for the recognition of refugee status and subsidiary protection. (Dimitriadi 2017)

Lastly, Law 4540/2018 on the transposition of EU Directives related to reception conditions, detention and return procedures: The Reception Conditions Directive is an EU directive that establishes minimum standards for asylum seekers' reception in EU member states. (ECRE 2023) The purpose of Law 4540/2018 was to establish a legal framework for the reception and integration of asylum seekers in Greece. The law included provisions related to housing, healthcare, education, and employment opportunities for asylum seekers. (ECRE 2023)

One of the key developments was the establishment of the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) in 2010 which was mentioned in Chapter 2 along with the adoption of the EU's Common European Asylum System (CEAS) in 2013, which aimed to provide technical and operational assistance to EU member states in the field of asylum and aimed to harmonize the asylum procedures and standards across the EU member states respectively. The impact of these developments and laws on migration policies in Greece has been significant. (Triandafyllidou 2013) While they have helped to streamline the asylum application process and provide support for

migrants and refugees, they have also faced criticism from for not doing enough to address underlying issues such as poverty, unemployment, and social exclusion. (Triandafyllidou 2013)

According to Angeliki Dimitriadi (2017), Greece has made significant progress in developing a more effective and rights-based asylum system. Her main idea is that despite the significant challenges faced by Greece in implementing EU asylum policies, the country has made significant progress in developing a more effective and rights-based asylum system that can serve as a positive example for other EU member states. (Dimitriadi 2017) She identifies key policy and institutional changes that have led to this transformation, such as the establishment of the Asylum Service and the introduction of new legislation (such as the adoption of Law 4375/2016, which aimed to align Greece's asylum system with EU law and to create a more efficient and fair process for asylum seekers). Dimitriadi suggests that Greece's asylum regime can serve as an "inspirational model" for other EU member states, especially those facing similar challenges in implementing EU asylum policies. She emphasizes the importance of a comprehensive and coordinated approach to asylum that includes both reception and asylum procedures, and highlights the role of civil society actors in promoting a more rights-based and humane approach to asylum. (Dimitriadi 2017)

The increasing number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers during the crises period put a significant strain on its migration system. (Dimitriadi 2017) This led to increased pressure from the EU to strengthen its migration policies and align them with EU standards. As a result, there were several developments related to the Europeanization of migration policy in Greece during this period. (Dimitriadi 2017)

Greece faced challenges in implementing the CEAS and the EU directives, particularly in light of the ongoing economic crisis and political instability. (ECRE 2021) There were reports of widespread deficiencies in the Greek asylum system, including long waiting times for asylum interviews, inadequate reception conditions, and lack of legal aid for asylum seekers. (ECRE 2021) The European Commission initiated infringement procedures against Greece in 2011, and in 2015, the European Court of Justice ruled that Greece had failed to fulfill its obligations under the EU asylum directives. (European Commission 2015)

Overall, while there were some efforts towards the Europeanization of migration policy in Greece during the period between 2010 and 2015, the country faced significant challenges in implementing the necessary reforms, and the EU criticized Greece for its inadequate asylum system. (Triandafyllidou 2013)

One of the main areas of pressure on Greece was in relation to its treatment of asylum seekers. (Amnesty 2015) EU law requires that asylum seekers are provided with access to fair and efficient procedures for assessing their claims, and those they are not subjected to inhumane or degrading treatment. However, reports by EU actors suggested that Greece was failing to meet these standards, with asylum seekers being held in detention for long periods of time and subject to poor living conditions. (Leivaditi, Papatzani et al. 2020)

In response to these concerns, the EU provided significant financial and technical support to Greece to help it improve its migration system. (Europa 2022) This included funding for new reception centers and the deployment of experts to provide training and support to Greek authorities. The EU also provided support to the Greek asylum system, including the establishment of a new asylum service and the

provision of technical assistance to improve the efficiency of the asylum process. (Europa 2022)

According to Europa's Annual Policy Report in 2014, Greece was still dealing with a severe economic crisis and had been implementing Memorandum politics for four years. This had a direct impact on migration, integration, employment, and security, as well as the reception of asylum seekers and refugees. The country was experiencing a significant increase in refugee flows, mainly from Syria, particularly through the sea borders. (Europa 2014) Shipwrecks were common, and international organizations were calling for the enforcement of rescue and protection of human lives at sea. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees recommended European action in the area, including a European Search and Rescue operation in the Mediterranean to ensure adequate support. (Europa 2014) The commissioner also recommended supporting countries like Italy and Greece in receiving asylum seekers and processing their applications, as well as in the relocation of refugees rescued in Greece and Italy to different countries across Europe. (Europa 2014)

In 2015, the new left-wing government brought a change of political direction in Greek immigration and citizenship policy. (Europa 2015) The government passed a citizenship reform and facilitated the return to legality of migrant families that had lost their legal status due to unemployment. The public debate had changed, with emphasis on solidarity and humanitarianism as the main principles. (Europa 2015) Greece continued to face challenges in terms of asylum seeking and irregular migration flows, but the government promoted a different political and policy agenda in migration, citizenship, and asylum. Numerous refugee flows arrived in Greece, especially during the summer months, mostly from Syria. (Europa 2015) In terms of the legal framework, a key achievement for 2015 was the passing of Law 4332/2015,

which modified the provisions of the Code of Migration and Social Integration 4251/2014, adapting Greek legislation to Directives of the European Parliament and of the Council concerning joint permits of residence and work, and rights for workers from third countries legally residing in a Member-State. (Europa 2015)

During 2015, a series of Joint Ministerial Decisions were made with issues related to the entry and integration of third country nationals into the Greek territory. (Europa 2015) The activation of the civil protection mechanism of the European Union, the reinforcement of the presence of FRONTEX at the Greek borders, the planning of the operation of hotspots, and the procedures of return of individuals who are not recognized with a legal status were important developments concerning the management of refugee flows. (Europa 2015) The systematic detention of irregular migrants and asylum seekers was stopped, and there was an increase in naturalization of settled migrants through the provisions of the 2015 reformed citizenship law. (Europa 2015) The country still faced challenges in handling the huge flows of the last few months and setting up a viable first reception, registration, and asylum processing and irregular migrant return system, but there was progress in converting short-term permits to long-term permits, helping migrants to feel secure and settled in Greece. (Europa 2015)

In a 2016 report conducted by Triandafyllidou, she provides an overview of recent developments in Greece's migration policies, including the impact of laws such as Law 3907/2011, Law 4375/2016, and Law 4251/2014 Article 19. In 2016, there were two significant developments that had a significant impact on the asylum and migration policy in the EU. (Triandafyllidou 2016) The first was the closing down of the Balkan route, which was a popular path for migrants and refugees to enter Europe. The second was the EU-Turkey deal, which aimed to reduce the number of migrants

and refugees entering Europe by returning those who arrived in Greece back to Turkey. (Triandafyllidou 2016) These developments led to a sharp increase in asylum, family reunification, and relocation applications during 2016. For many migrants and refugees stranded in Greece, these initiatives appeared to be their only alternative. (Triandafyllidou 2016) Despite an increase in recognition rates in 2015, these rates did not continue to climb in 2016. (Triandafyllidou 2016) The first-instance acceptance percentage for asylum applications declined from 11.8% in 2015 to 3.8% in 2016. Subsidiary protection also decreased from 0.9% to 0.6%. These numbers indicate that obtaining asylum or subsidiary protection for migrants and refugees got increasingly difficult over this time period. (Triandafyllidou 2016)

Furthermore, a 2020 Greece Report conducted by an EU program, discusses the main integration policies implemented in Greece, their effectiveness, the challenges the country has faced. (Leivaditi, Papatzani et al. 2020) Greece has implemented several integration policies to support the integration of refugees and migrants into Greek society. These policies include measures to provide access to education, healthcare, housing, and employment opportunities. However, the effectiveness of these policies is arguable. (Leivaditi, Papatzani et al. 2020) One of the main challenges facing Greece is the lack of resources available to support integration efforts. The country has been struggling with a severe economic crisis for many years, which has limited its ability to invest in integration programs. (Leivaditi, Papatzani et al. 2020) Additionally, there have been reports of discrimination and xenophobia towards refugees and migrants in Greece, which can hinder their ability to integrate into society. Despite these difficulties, there have been certain positive advances in recent years. For example, Greece has implemented a program that provides free Greek language classes to refugees and migrants which aims to help

them better integrate into Greek society by improving their language skills. (Leivaditi, Papatzani et al. 2020)

Another positive development was the establishment of a national action plan for integration in 2019. (Leivaditi, Papatzani et al. 2020) This plan aims to improve access to education, healthcare, housing, and employment opportunities for refugees and migrants in Greece. While there have been some positive steps taken towards integrating refugees and migrants into Greek society, there is still much work that needs to be done. Addressing issues such as discrimination and lack of resources will be crucial in ensuring that these policies are effective in practice. (Leivaditi, Papatzani et al. 2020)

Apart from Greece, many other European countries have also struggled with integrating refugees and migrants. One of the main differences between Greece and other European countries is the number of refugees and migrants that have arrived in each country. (EP 2017) Greece has been one of the main entry points for refugees and migrants arriving in Europe, which has put a significant strain on the country's resources. Other countries, such as Germany and Sweden, have also received large numbers of refugees and migrants but have more resources available to support integration efforts. (EP 2017)

Another difference between Greece and other European countries is the approach to integration policies. Some countries, such as Germany, have implemented policies that focus on providing refugees and migrants with access to education and employment opportunities. Other countries, such as Sweden, have implemented policies that focus on promoting social cohesion between refugees and migrants and the wider community. (European Commission 2021) Despite these differences, there

are some common challenges that all European countries face when it comes to integrating refugees and migrants. These challenges include addressing discrimination towards refugees and migrants, providing access to education and employment opportunities, promoting social cohesion between different groups, and ensuring that there are adequate resources available to support integration efforts. (European Commission 2021)

The impact of Europeanization on Greek migration policy

The impact of Europeanization on migration policies in Greece has been shaped by Greece's membership in the European Union, which has resulted in a range of policies and regulations that aim to manage migration and asylum at the European level. The assessment of Europeanization in Greece has been a topic of debate. While Greece has undoubtedly benefited from its interaction with the European Union (EU), there are lingering challenges in establishing an efficient system of European policy-making and coordination. As Ioakimidis (2001) suggests, this raises questions about the existence of such a system across Europe, whether at the EU institutions or national member states. The notion of measuring successful Europeanization remains complex, as it often focuses on embracing "best practices" while neglecting potential negative consequences. (Ioakimidis 2001) It is crucial to recognize that Europeanization encompasses both positive and negative aspects. While Greece has experienced positive effects, such as economic and social integration, there are also

concerns about the spread of negative practices, including the failure to comply with EU norms or integrate migrants or even discrimination against migrants. The impact of Europeanization on Greece, therefore, necessitates an open and nuanced discussion that considers both the beneficial and challenging aspects of the process. (Ioakimidis 2001)

Based on the theory of Héritier (2001), Radaelli (2003), Borzel (1999), Risse (2001) and Schmidt, (2002) that was discussed in Chapter 1, the period of 2010-2015 witnessed a complex interplay of absorption and resistance in Greece's Europeanization process. The expected adaptational pressures for Greece were high while the expected adaptational responses were expected to be low. In the aftermath of the economic crisis, Greece became heavily reliant on financial assistance from the EU and international creditors, leading to the absorption of a wide array of EU-mandated reforms and policies. These measures aimed to address fiscal imbalances, enhance financial stability, and improve governance, necessitating significant adjustments in Greece's economic and administrative practices to align with EU standards. (Council of Europe 2013) However, alongside these absorption efforts, Greece faced significant resistance from various societal and political actors. The implementation of austerity measures and structural reforms led to widespread public protests, strikes, and social unrest. Many Greeks, already burdened by economic hardships, perceived these policies as exacerbating inequalities and undermining their living standards and social welfare. (Council of Europe 2013) The resistance to Europeanization stemmed from the belief that the imposed reforms were dictated by external actors and prioritized fiscal discipline over social well-being. Political resistance also emerged, with changes in government and contentious negotiations reflecting the struggle between Greece's domestic interests and the demands of the EU

and international creditors. Furthermore, Greece encountered challenges in fully absorbing EU policies due to institutional weaknesses, bureaucratic inefficiencies, and limited resources. (Council of Europe 2013) These obstacles hindered the effective implementation of EU regulations and impeded Greece's ability to achieve the desired Europeanization goals. Therefore, the combination of absorption and resistance during 2010-2015 showcased the intricate nature of Greece's Europeanization process, highlighting the tension between external pressures and domestic realities as Greece navigated the path towards economic stability and integration within the EU framework.

Triandafyllidou (2014) suggests that Greek migration policies have been significantly influenced by Europeanization. The implementation of various legislative measures pertaining to migration management, asylum reform, and migrant integration in Greece can be attributed to the adoption of EU directives. It is important to note that these developments were not solely driven by the Greek government's intentions, but rather a direct consequence of Europeanization. (Triandafyllidou 2014) However, the author also highlights a growing resistance to Europeanization since 2011, both in terms of discourse and policy. This resistance indicates the influential role of domestic elites in navigating the complexities of Europeanization and its impact on Greek migration policies. (Triandafyllidou 2014)

In response to the crisis, the EU established a range of policies and initiatives aimed at managing the flow of migrants and refugees into Europe, including the establishment of "hotspot" centers in Greece and other frontline states. (European Commission 2015) The implementation of these policies was a challenge for Greece, as the country struggled to cope with the influx of asylum seekers and refugees. However, the process of Europeanization also led to the development of new

legislation and institutions aimed at managing the refugee crisis and improving Greece's capacity to receive and integrate asylum seekers and refugees. (European Commission 2015)

Despite these efforts, the process of Europeanization has also highlighted the challenges and limitations of managing migration and asylum at the European level. (European Commission 2015) The uneven distribution of asylum seekers and refugees across the EU, as well as the ongoing political tensions and conflicts over migration policies among member states, have created significant challenges for Greece and other frontline states in managing the refugee crisis. (European Commission 2015)

Gemenis (2013) argues that Greece was not fully Europeanized due to a combination of factors. The superficial Europeanization at the policy, institutional and party level in the country was a result of the country's political culture, weak state institutions and the lack of political will. (Gemenis 2013) He suggests that if Greece has been more Europeanised, it would have been better prepared to deal with the economic crisis making the country more credible, therefore its EU partners would have been more willing to support it during the crisis period. (Gemenis 2013) To come to this conclusion, he conducted a comprehensive analysis of various factors and indicators related to Europeanization in Greece. He examined the implementation of EU policies, the alignment of Greek institutions with EU standards and the behavior of Greek political elites in relation to European integration. (Gemenis 2013)

Lastly, we can use the quality of government as an indicator and a mediating factor to measure Europeanization's success and impact on Greece's migration policies. When it comes to the Europeanization of migration policy and the quality of government in Greece during the migration crisis, a limited number of scholars have

weighed in with their perspectives. The low quality of government of a country, such as Greece due to the economic and migration crisis, made it more difficult for it to be Europeanized in terms of its migration policy.

After the implementation of the EU- Turkey Statement and the closing of the Balkan borders in 2016, many unaccompanied children remained in Greece instead of going to other member states in order to have family reunification. This challenged again the migration mechanism in Greece due to the fact that there were not sufficient solutions and provisions in order to provide them the necessary accommodation in the centers. (Governance of Migrant Integration in Greece 2022). This crisis as a result had the extended stay (from what the regulation requires, over 1.5 year) of refugees in the reception and identification centers (hotspots) while the readmissions to Turkey were operating from the FRONTEX organization. (Efstathiou 2019). In that case, the issue of detention was emerged as a result of the extended bureaucracy and the very slow processes from the side of the Greek authorities of examining the migrants' papers. The extended procedures of examining the papers and the fact that the reception facilities were not adequate to properly receive and accommodate the number of migrants arriving and the unaccompanied minors, led Greece's management of the refugees and asylum seekers to be characterized as insufficient from the international community. (Skiadas 2019)

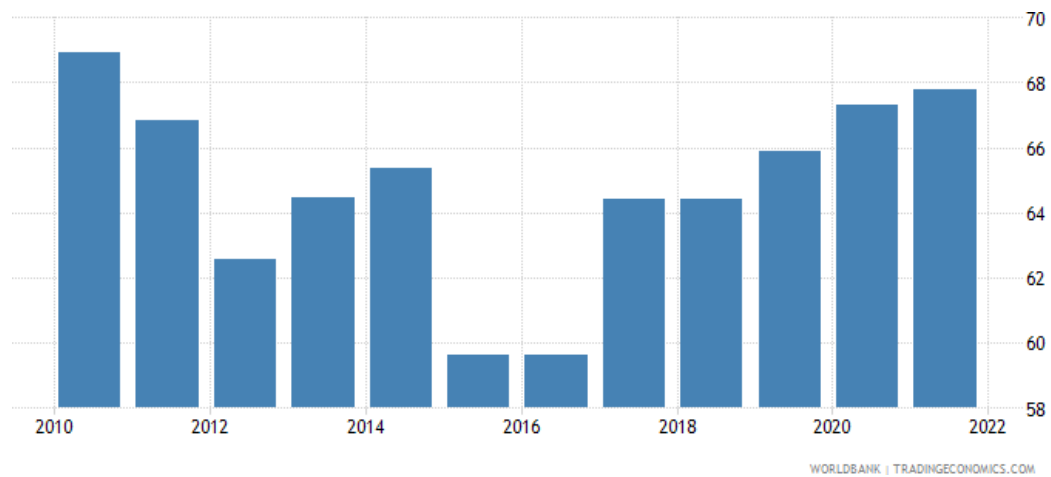
To evaluate the implemented policies that Greece has adopted so far, we may say that there is not an official assessment of the integration strategy yet. However, all the actions and the projects under the European Integration Fund (EIF) for the years of 2007-2013 which were implemented until June 2015 were evaluated with specific quantitative and qualitative indicators which were included in every annual program during that period. (MIPEX 2020) The effectiveness of the implemented policies for

the equal opportunities for migrants show that Greece's actions are not as effective as they should be. According to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) for 2020, the government still does not provide migrants with fully equal opportunities: "Greece barely goes halfway when it comes to ensuring basic rights and long-term protection for immigrants, and support for equal opportunities is limited, especially when compared to nations that take a more complete approach". (MIPEX 2020)

The Greek government's response to these challenges was characterized by a mixture of both successes and failures. (Skleparis 2017) On the one hand, the government took steps to improve the country's financial management and reduce corruption, including the adoption of a series of legislative reforms and the establishment of anti-corruption bodies. These efforts helped to address some of the systemic issues that had plagued Greece's governance structures for many years. (Skleparis 2017)

However, on the other hand, the government's response to the migration crisis was widely criticized as being inadequate and poorly managed. (Skleparis 2017) Greece's border management systems were overwhelmed by the sheer number of migrants arriving on its shores, leading to overcrowded refugee camps and poor living conditions for those affected. The government's response was criticized for being slow and ineffective, with reports of corruption and mismanagement within the system. (Skleparis 2017)

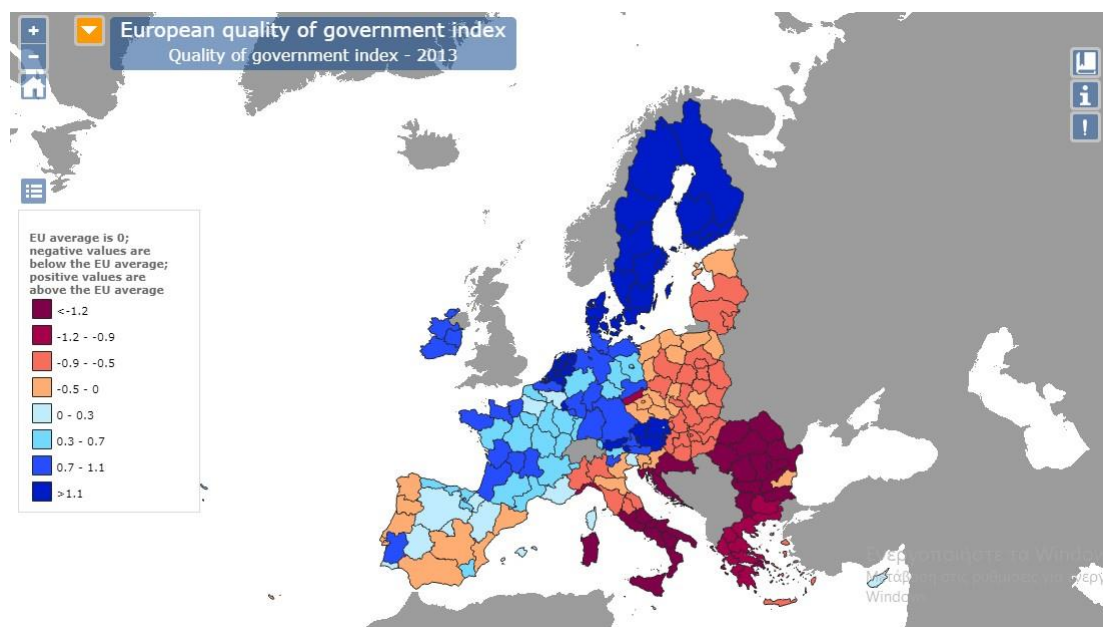
As shown below, according to WorldBank, the quality of government in Greece dropped significantly during the period of 2012-2016.



According to Papageorgiou (2013), the degree of Europeanization of Greek migration policies is difficult to measure. It is not sufficient to look at Europeanization solely as an assessment of the implementation of European legislation, but also as the incorporation of EU modes and practices by Greek authorities (both political and administrative). From the very beginning, Europeanization clashed with Greek administrative tradition and exposed the State's deficiencies. (Papageorgiou 2013)

In comparison to other European countries such as Germany, Sweden, Netherlands and Finland, Greece had a lower QoG. Let's take for instance the case of Germany. According to the World Bank's collection of development indicators derived from officially recognized sources, Germany's government effectiveness during 2015 was over 99%. (tradingeconomics.net) German integration systems responded quickly to urgent requests and improved in the process. This is partly due to the fact that authorities are given significant discretion in the interpretation and implementation of integrated policies set by the central government. (European Commission 2021)

On an EU level, the quality of government seems to be in a normal rate. Most of the European countries are shown to have a better quality of government. The quality of government index shows that Greece, in comparison to other EU countries such as Switzerland, Finland, Norway, Netherlands, Germany, France, has a low rate. But it is not the lowest. As it is depicted below, in 2013, a few years after the appearance of the economic crisis, Greece has been struggling to keep up with the other EU countries.



Source: European Commission (2021), European Quality of Government Index 2013

Overall, the quality of government in Greece during the migration crisis had important implications for the Europeanization of migration policy. The crisis highlighted the need for a more coordinated and effective EU-level response to the influx of refugees and migrants, with Greece being one of the main entry points for those seeking asylum in Europe. However, the weak governance structures and

practices in Greece made it difficult for the country to effectively manage the crisis on its own, and this placed additional pressure on the EU to step in and provide support.

Conclusion and Future Research

Looking at Greek policy, institutions, and politics, we could say that the evidence for EU impact is partially visible. The strongest evidence for change in Greece is emanating from the EU and concerns immigration policies, although the statistics show that Greece has a lot more room for progress. The impact of Europeanization on Greek migration policy was complex and multifaceted. On the one hand, it helped to standardize migration policies across the EU, which could benefit migrants seeking to move between member states. However, Europeanization also created tensions between national interests and EU regulations. Some aspects of EU directives did not align with Greece's specific context or needs, which made it difficult for the country to comply with them. Additionally, the financial crisis that hit Greece during this period made it even more challenging for the country to implement migration policies required by EU regulations. While Europeanization has played an important role in shaping Greece's migration policies, there are still significant gaps in implementation that need to be addressed.

Based on the reports and the scholars' papers, it is evident that Greece throughout the years has passed laws that allow the immigrants to have better integration processes and have access to the education, employment and facilities. Although, progress has been marked, Greece has succeeded in the "theoretical" part, which means adopting laws that protect the rights of migrants and reinforce migration management, but not so much in practice according to the statistics and results. Despite the fact that immigration laws are in force, the country faces difficulty in

actually managing the asylum seekers and refugee flows. According to data, the rates of irregular migration fell. However, this does not mean that the performance increased. The quality of government index shows that Greece has a low rate. But it is not the lowest. Greece follows a slow and steady path that has a lot of potential for improvement.

As the EU continues to harmonize migration policies across member states, it raises the question for further research of how to ensure that the Europeanization process does not compromise the fundamental principles of human rights and refugee protection. While the harmonization of policies aims to create a unified approach to migration management, it is crucial to ensure that the rights and dignity of migrants and refugees are upheld throughout the process. Striking a balance between effective migration management and the protection of human rights is essential for the European Union. It prompts us to reflect on how the EU can ensure that the Europeanization of migration policies is guided by a strong commitment to human rights and refugee protection, ensuring that the rights and well-being of migrants and refugees are at the forefront of policy decisions. This is a complex issue that requires careful consideration and a commitment to upholding the principles of human rights and refugee protection.

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