

FINAL REPORT
MIGREUROP/ECHANGES ET PARTENARIATS' MISSION
ON MIGRANTS' DETENTION CENTERS IN ATTICA, GREECE
May-September 2014
Myrsini



The interior corridor of the collective cell in a Police Station

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ALL THE PHOTOS HAVE BEEN TAKEN AND TRANSMITTED BY DETAINEES

GENERAL INFORMATION

During '90s, the normal detention system (detention sites in police stations in conjunction with expulsions and "cleaning" operations) seemed sufficient for the regulation of migration in Greece. In addition, the strengthening of the repressive mechanisms : the border guard service created in 1998, the special police guards' body created in 1999¹ and the Group of Prevention and Repression of Criminality (OPKE)² created in 2001 consisted as a global strategy of transferring borders to the interior ("internalization of the borders", if we may say).

At the end of the '90s, additionally to the immigrant fugitives from Balkan countries, Kurds from Turkey and Iraq arrive and created the first undocumented immigrant camps in Patras, trying to pass in Italy.

At the beginning of 2000, immigration detention facilities in Greece were improvised. After the migrants' escapes during summer 2002 from the detention facilities in Evros (Vena, Elafochori, Sapes), organized detention centres which responded to the requirements of EU, begin to be constructed. Official detention centres were installed in Pagani, Lesvos in 2003, in Chios in 2006, in Evros and in Samos in 2007. In parallel, informal centres continued to operate and to multiply : such as in a former night club inside a building's floor in Patmos, a former wheat deposit in Evros, former camping in Kozani, a former prison in Mytilini until 2003 and afterwards, a former gaz station and police car parking in Chania, a former military camps, commercial containers in Chios' port, abandoned hotels and infertile fields.³

Stigmatizing the migrants as "human garbage", detention centres have been kept away from the Greek society. The same happens with the deaths at the borders and in the Aegean Sea, while various reports are being published and denounce the inhuman treatment and conditions ; as Doctors without Borders said with a feeling of bitterness, "there is no response, we feel as we do all these efforts in vain".⁴

Migration management has always been an extremely lucrative industry. The access of private companies as well as small local businesses inside the detention facilities shows the dimensions of the exploitation. For example, in Samos's new detention center, locals were allowed to choose every morning migrants detainees to work on olives with the obligation to return them back to the camp by the end of the day. A practice which was presented as "humanitarian" and profitable - the migrants were paid 15 euros per day instead of taking Albanians for 50-60 euros).⁵

¹ http://www.astynomia.gr/index.php?option=ozo_content&perform=view&id=55&Itemid=46&lang=EN

² <http://www.policenet.gr/portal/arthra-dimosieymata/nomiki-enhmerosi/30012014-12433.html>

³ <http://www.antifascipta.net/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=LnCcEz3BHks%3D&tabid=146>

⁴ Interview in MsFs' office, on September 2014.

⁵ Νίκος Βαφειάδης, Η "μπίζνα των λαθρομεταναστών : Αποστολή στο Αγαθονήσι, Περιοδικό "Κ" της Καθημερινής, 31/5/2009 : <https://nikosvafiadis.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/t313-agathonhisi-apostolhi-hi-bizna-twn->

This exploitation circuit continues with full dependence of migrants from the trafficking networks promising the passage to other European countries for large amounts (between 1500 and 3000 euros per person according to the migrants' testimonies).

On 8th March 2012, Michalis Chrysochoidis, Public Order and Citizen Protection Minister, announces the construction of detention camps for 30,000 immigrants and on 29th March, Samaras, Prime Minister, adopts a "war" declaration, according to which "we shall reappropriate our cities from the migrants"⁶. At 4th August 2012, day of the military dictatorship's anniversary of 1936 - and traditional feast day for the far right- Dendias, Public Order and Citizen Protection Minister, who announces the launch of, «Xenios Zeus» police operation using, under a sick sense of humor, ancient Greek God's name protecting incoming foreigners. In a few months, among 77.526 migrants transferred to the police for questioning in Athens, 4,435 undocumented, were arrested and imprisoned.

The number of migrants held in these concentration camps reaches officially 7,000 persons in 2013, while the number of those who are incarcerated in police stations all over the country is unknown. According to the recent written answer No 7017/4/17746 on August 9th 2014 responding to the question 1060/11/07/2014 posed by parliamentary members relative to detention period of migrants, the total number of detainees only for the first semester of 2014 is approximately 5.393 and the number of imprisoned migrants in police stations is unknown.⁷

A secondary parameter to the creation of the camps is their economic perspective : funds from the EU, local economies' stimulation, catering companies and supportive staff recruiting, quarrel about whether the prison will be run by police or by private security companies.



As far as it concerns migrants' arrivals by sea, there is a enormous explosion in number from June to September 2014. According to UNHCR's representant, 1653 arrivals have been registered in one week in August 2014 and NGO Q estimates that the average number of arrivals by sea during summer period is at least 300 persons per day.⁸

Residence card's control in Monastiraki square

[lathrometanastwn.pdf](#) and Στρατής Μπαλάσκας, "Μεροκάματα πεινας για ανήλικους μετανάστες", Ελευθεροτυπία 4/6/2009 : <http://www.enet.gr/?i=news.el.ellada&id=51006>

⁶ <http://www.topontiki.gr/article/32961/>

⁷ <http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/67715b2c-ec81-4f0c-ad6a-476a34d732bd/8499557.pdf>

⁸ K. Stefanaki's intervention, Protection Officer-UNHCR/Athens Office, during the Conference of 15th September 2014.

LEGISLATION, A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The irregular entry is a criminal offense, punishable with a prison sentence of at least 3 months and a fine according to art. 83 of Law 3386/2005. In most of the cases, prosecutor opts for administrative deportation. In order to make the deportation effective, the person may be detained up to 6 months⁹, with the possibility of an extension for an additional period of 12 months, if the migrant refuses to cooperate with the deportation process. The detention must be reviewed every 3 months¹⁰. Finally, persons may be detained up to 18 months in order to accept to cooperate with the deportation process.¹¹

Not recognized asylum applicants may be detained according to the Presidential Decree 114/2010 for up to 3 months which may be extended by 3 months more. The reasons of detention are based on absence of elements for the person's identity and a threat to public order or national security¹². One more reason is added : "a threat to public health" according to the Art. 19, Law 4075/2012 based on suspicion of carrying an infectious disease due to the country of origin and/or living conditions.

Legal texts in chronological order until September 2014¹³ :

- Law 3386/2005 : Main legislation provisions on detention and deportation of immigrants. Entry, residence and social integration of third country nationals
- Presidential Decree 220/2007, Instruction 2/2012
- EU Return Directive 2008/115/EC
- Presidential Decree 96/2008
- Presidential Decree 90/2008
- Law 3772/2009
- Presidential Decree 114/2010
- Law 3907/2011 transposes provisions of EU Return Directive 2008/115/EC
- Law 4075/2012
- Presidential Decree 116/2012
- Presidential Decree 104/2012

⁹ Article 76.1 of the Aliens' Law 3386/2005 and art. 30.1 of Law 3907/2011 provide as reasons of detention : risk of absconding, public order/national security and hampering the removal process.

¹⁰ Art. 30.1 Law 3907/2011.

¹¹ Art. 76 Aliens Law 3386/2005, amended by Law 3772/2009 on 10 July 2009.

¹² Art. 13.

¹³ For a more detailed list of legal texts and weblinks, see Country National Report of Greece : <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece> p. 8-10.

- Presidential Decree 102/2012
- Presidential Decree 113/2013
- Presidential Decree 141/2013
- Decision n.3966/2014
- Legal Opinion 44/2014 of the Legal Council of the State, after the 18 month detention, a new *illimited* period of detention can be issued, if the person doesn't agree for his/her repatriation.

More recently, at the end of September 2014, the European Commission observed that Greece has not taken sufficient action to implement Directive 2011/98/EU¹⁴. The Directive introduces a single application procedure for single permits for non-EU nationals to reside and work in the territory of an EU Member State, and a common set of rights for non-EU workers legally residing in a Member State. The so-called "Single Permit Directive" had to be implemented by 25 December 2013. Despite a letter of formal notice sent in January 2014 (the first step of an infringement procedure), the Greek authorities have not yet notified any measure of transposition. That is why the Commission decided to address a 'reasoned opinion' to Greece. Greece has two months to notify the Commission of measures taken to bring national legislation into line with EU law. Otherwise, the Commission may decide to refer Greece to the EU's Court of Justice.¹⁵

PUSH-BACKS IN THE GREEK-TURKISH BORDER

Although, Law 3907/2011 transposing the Returns Directive 2008/115/EC expressly provides that return measures need be compatible with the principle of non-*refoulement*, it seems this practice was never abandoned by the Greek police. According to the UNHCR¹⁶, more than 100 incidents have been registered denouncing violent push-backs from the Greek state to the Turkish border for the period of August 2013 to May 2014. There are numerous testimonies from migrants who had entered in Greece and pushed-back to Turkey by sea or by Evros river but also from local people of the region who had helped the migrants. Greek Council for Refugees reports various incidents in its updated 2013 report¹⁷. Moreover, during the mission I have witnessed a certain number of calls at , mostly by people from Syria, lost in Evros region. During the visit to the Fylakio Detention center which took place from 17th to 19th June 2014, a detainee attested that after he had entered the Greek sole, he had been transfered to Turkey by two persons : "the one had a Greek police uniform and the other was in civil. Afterwards, a group with black fullface put them with violence into a

¹⁴ <http://old.eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:343:0001:0009:EN:PDF>

¹⁵ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-537_en.htm?locale=en

¹⁶ http://www.unhcr.gr/fileadmin/Greece/Extras/WRD_2014/2014_PROTECTION_POSITIONS_GR.pdf

¹⁷ <http://www.gr/index.php/en/publications-media/-publications/item/342-ekthesi-gia-tin-ellada-sxetika-me-tin-prosvasi-sti-diadikasia-asylou-sta-diethni-ydata-sta-synora-kai-se-trites-xores>

boat and pushed them to the Turkish side". Most of the recits of push backs that I have witnessed follow a quite similar schema and they take place in the region of Evros. During the same mission, we visited Feres Border Station with the information that 50 Syrians were captured. Nevertheless, the Police confirmed that there were no detainees at that moment. Some hours later, the refugees called saying that they had been deported to Turkey with a Greek police's truck. Another Syrian, after his arrest and the screening process, he had been put in a truck with a bandage around his mouth and had been moved to Turkey " by men wearing green uniforms" (military uniform). It is his third time in Greece, after he experienced two push-backs, "*the worst dream is to get back to Syria*", he said.

DETENTION

Every migrant detention space has the same smell : oppressed human dignity¹⁸



The administrative detention in Greece according to the law is potential and not obligatory neither systematic. Officially, it concerns only the migrants who are considered as dangerous for the public order and have to be deported from the country. Practically, pregnant women¹⁹, minors and unaccompanied minors, people with health problems, refugees, non recognized asylum seekers are systematically detained in Greece.

Among the detainees, we can distinguish three main categories : *third countries citizens* referring to citizens from a country outside the U.E, in research of a better quality of life, *refugees and asylum seekers*, third countries citizens who left their country under urgent circumstances and

¹⁸ A phrase which cristallizes the feeling I had after the visits inside the detention sites.

¹⁹ As the Syrian woman i met in Fylakio Detention Center, who lost her baby because she was not transfered to hospital on time. June 2014.

undocumented (sans papiers) migrants, a category composed by aliens who have entered illegally in Greece without a residence document and those whom residence document had been expired without being able to renew it.²⁰

As far as it concerns the detention capacity, there is no data by the competent authorities. Last data available is the written answer No 7017/4/16901 on 28th September 2013, to a question posed by parliamentary members, concerning the capacity in 2013 which was 10.357.²¹

‘The taste of the smell of these spaces was following me for a long time’



Police station's cell, capacity 4 detainees. This is the one side's view, a concrete bench for 2 detainees

Detainees face conditions which could be compared to those in political prisoners' detention camps in the past in Greece or even prisons like Guantanamo. This is a situation in which the person has lost his/her legal identity, a situation requiring from them to submit their own lives in negotiation, not only in risk during the long journey but also confronting U.E. « saviour » authorities, as the recent case of fatal push-back in Farmakonisi has shown²². As lawyer Y, there is not even one detention facility which respects to provide 3m² of space for every detainee²³. Inside those structures, the non-management of the body exists as a daily practice, knowing the extremely limited contact with the outside world, with the information on his/her situation and rights, movement, with the visits, with a constant negotiation even to the access to his/her basic needs (detainees in certain Police stations are forced to beg the police to go to the WC)²⁴. The creation of

²⁰ Vassilis Papastergiou, Eleni Takou, *Immigration in Greece, ten myths and more truths*, Rosa Luxembourg Foundation, February 2014, February 2014, p. 8-11.

²¹ <https://wcd.coe.int/com.intranet.InstraServletcommand=com.intranet.CmdBlobGet&IntranetImage=2521234&Se cMode=1&DocId=2138030&Usage=2>

²² <http://omadadikigorwnenglish.blogspot.fr/2014/08/briefing-on-farmakonisi-boat-wreck.html>

²³ Intervention during the Conference : Administrative Detention of third-country nationals : International Legislation and National practice, organized by the and the International Commission of Jurists, on 15th and 16th September 2014.

²⁴ Incident happening constantly, transmitted by translator working with NGOs and wants to remain anonym.

these spaces of anomie refers to a tactic often used by the nazis, when the legal dimension of the prisoner is removed by assigning a number before entering the camp. On the legal level, the imposition of new Legal Opinions and Presidential Decrees amending the existing law is a proof of the margin in which detention centres are located, this "off-the-law" that characterizes the scene of the imprisonment. Arbitrary detention in Greece is cristallized as a space of *anomie* (lack of laws) destined for the social category of irregular migrants, where legal context is fluid, imprecise, consequently often transgressed ; where migrant find his/her self in a no-status, no existence, a no man's land.²⁵



Flooded shower



The toilets

A second dimension of detention centers is the mobile zone between inside and outside, a strategy potentially capable of integrating not only migrants but also other categories of the population. For instance, the case of Thetis operation in March 2013, a police operation against drug users of Athens presented under humanitarian pretexts, who were imprisoned in the center of Amygdaleza. This tactic is able to a constant expansion incorporating new social groups. That is why, we must see the application of anti-terrorism as well as those related to the management of immigration as a global strategy politics. The purpose of the system is to deter and punish those who try to immigrate.

²⁵ Human Rights Council, Report of the *Working Group on Arbitrary Detention*, 30th June 2014 : <http://www.refworld.org/docid/53eb29a04.html> and Leonidas K. Cheliotis, *Immigration Detention and State Denial in Greece*, 29 August 2013 : <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/leonidas-kcheliotis/immigration-detention-and-state-denial-in-greece>

- Migrants' detention trajectory

When a migrant is capted by police, coast guard or Frontex, he/she is registered in screening centers, Police Border Guard Stations or First Reception Centres (KEPY) where he/she may be detained up to 25 days. Secondly, the migrant is transferred to a detention center or a Police station. A usual tactic used by the Greek authorities during detention is the frequent transfer of detainees in detention centres and police stations all over the country. This phenomenon could maybe explained by the effort to control detention statistical numbers, to reduce the detainees' numbers in some overcrowded facilities but also, to decompress tensions and to avoid the creation of solidarity bonds among the detainees. For instance, it is a standard strategy in case of hunger strikes in order to split the union of the strikers and their force, as in the case of Amygdaleza's hunger strike on August 2013 and in more recent hunger strike of Korinthos centre on June 2014, when many detainees were dispersed in Police stations across Attica.



Amygdaleza camp 2014. View of control point and containers surrounded by barbed wire

- Typology of centers

The main types of detention that we observed during this mission takes two forms : the pre-removal centres, organized structures very alike to classical prisons and the police stations, the worst form of imprisonment, as they have not been created for long detention but are used so. The pre-removal centre is composed by either big buildings or containers with a round yard, collective cells from 2 up to 10 persons in each cell, strict rules on visits, limited access to the courtyard, limited access to telephone, various prohibitions (no mobile phones with camera or no mobile phones at all, fruits/vegetables permitted depend on the detention site or director, no electronic device such as

MP3 etc), limited contact with the outside world,²⁶ no hygiene or basic products.²⁷

‘Ca va merci rien de speciale toujours la routin. Le vide me tue essaye de passer mon temp a lire des histoire et a faire du sport mais il reste toujours temp vide ...’

Sms by Mohammad B., Tunisia, 17 months in Police Station



The ‘sports room’, an empty cell, an improvised weight lifting bar with plastic bottles full of water

On the other hand, the police stations, designed to detain persons only up to 48 hours, according to the law²⁸ (small structures, no courtyard, etc) are used as detention "facilities", an extremely traumatic experience for migrants as they offer no access to the exterior, inhuman hygiene conditions with toilets and showers out of order, often no hot water, no ventilation, while people have been forgotten for months in these conditions, without a direct access to a doctor.²⁹ During the 's visit in Athens Aliens' Directorate pre-removal centre, I witnessed a detainee who was begging the police officer to give him a skin cream and the police officer was keeping saying "*later ... maybe, stop screaming !*"³⁰. For instance, detainees from Drapetsona's police station with whom i was in contact, didn't know if it was daytime or evening.

Furthermore, I witnessed that the migrants' detention rules³¹ concerning the visits as well as other

²⁶ The access of NGOs is typically permitted according to article 18 : <http://www.policenet.gr/portal/arthradimosieymata/nomiki-enhmerosi/31072013-11464.html> but practically is more prohibited than it seems.

²⁷ European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) 2013 report : <http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr/index.php?sec=192&cid=3858>

²⁸ <http://www.efsyn.gr/?p=80370>, publication date : 25/7/2013

²⁹ As the paraplegic Palestinian of 54 years old, I met in a Police Station, begging to see a doctor for months.

³⁰ According to all the reports denouncing detention condition and as M from MsF affirms, the big majority of the detainees suffers from scabies and other skin diseases. <http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/news-stories/press-release/greece-msf-denounces-indefinite-detention-migrants>

³¹ The relative reglement published by the Government Journal on 29th July 2013 : <https://diavgeia.gov.gr/doc/BABOI-A04>

matters, are not respected by officers who often follow their own will.³² For instance in Amygdaleza, one day the guards have prohibited to pass vegetables and fruits to a detainee, although it was permitted previous days. Moreover, when a visitor tried to pass some apples and they permitted only the half quantity. Besides, when in the Drapetsona's Police Station, they prohibited a MP3 player while other detainees were in possession. Ioanna Kotsioni confirmed these observations adding that *'there is no specific procedure as far it concerns the rules. For example in some centres, mobile phones are permitted in others not. Very different approaches which depend on the responsibility and the will of the director of the center. For example, in centres where mobiles were forbidden, people have not spoken with their families for months, since they had no money for calling cards'*.

- Access to the asylum for the detainees

There are two main asylum structures in Attica. The New Asylum Service in Katechaki and an

³² The following is the "Internal Regulation about Guard Services in detention Aliens' facilities' number 6634/1-355613 published by the Greek Police on its site : <http://www.policenet.gr/portal/arthra-dimosieymata/nomiki-enhmerosi/31072013-11464.html>

Independent Asylum Step inside the Amygdaleza Detention Center. Officially, the police is obliged to transfer the detainees who want to deposit an asylum application to the New Asylum Service. In practice, according to numerous detainees' testimonies, especially in police stations, the police officers remain indifferent to their demands and if they respond, it takes months to receive the invitation for the application. Concerning the Asylum Step of Amygdaleza, the average period until someone deposits his/her asylum application is 4-5 months.³³

The "Campaign for the Access to Asylum" ³⁴ delegation in which i participated, observed numerous violations of human rights. People who had tried repeatedly to deposit an asylum application to the Athens Aliens' Directorate or to the New Asylum Service, but since they did not had physical access in order to deposit the application, they had been arrested and remained in custody. In terms of access to the asylum procedure for detainees, recording their asylum claims is a long delay (waiting more than 3 months). Many are unaware of their legal status or their rights, some did not know they could apply for asylum and generally all wanted to know the maximum length of detention.

New Asylum Service



Waiting to take a number for the application



Waiting place to deposit the application

³³ lawyer W's intervention during the Conference of 15th September 2014.

³⁴ Campaign for the access to the asylum in Greece is a collective action in which numerous organizations of the civil society participate. Main objective is to denounce governments' violations of human rights of migrants through visits in detention centers (autopsies), press releases, publication of reports, public denouncements, articles, etc. : <http://asylum-campaign.blogspot.gr/>



Tent and waiting place

- Forms of detainees' reactions

Participating in 4 visits inside the centers/police station, unveils the reactions from the side of the migrants detainees against the detention mechanism, strategies remaining generally hidden as there is no access to these structures. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the detainees express their anger and they protest for their rights in various ways : direct or indirect, as hunger strike, automutilation, suicide, transmission of intern news through solidarity local groups. The main revendications actually concern the duration of detention and also the quality of detention conditions. For instance, in Athens Aliens' Directorate during 's visit on 26/8/2014, a group of 25 Irakians attested (in front of police guards) they had already done two hunger strikes asking to be liberated or to be returned to their country with no result, so they were about to start a third one. Somalian women in the same centre also had done a hunger strike during a week, "*after, we were too exhausted ...*". In Evros and elsewhere same situation. They start a hunger strike being away from the outside world and the police says "*i don't care, die if you want to*". They realize that it is in vain because the matter never becomes public and they stop.³⁵

Other forms of reaction take a more or less violent dimension. As it was the case of a young man

³⁵ Testimony transmitted by detainees during 's visit on 26th August 2014 in Athens Aliens Directorate.

from Morocco who swallowed razors during the hunger strike in Korinthos' centre, in a moment of desperation³⁶. He was transferred for two days in a hospital, taken violently with handcuffs from there by policemen who forced him to sign the discharge note and imprisoned again in a police station.³⁷

« Is too much time 18 months . We losed many things from our life ».

Sadok, Tunisia, detained for 14 months

- A "big business"³⁸

After the construction of the centres, a large number of catering, private security, cleaning companies have been implicated. According to various testimonies such as Yanna Kourtovik's, lawyer at the Network for the Political and Social Rights³⁹ and also to detainees' testimonies, Greek state pays to catering companies 5,87 euros per person per day and there is a private security company inside the centre, which is against the Constitution violating fundamental provisions of Articles 1, paragraph 3 and Art.26 paragraph 2 of the Constitution according to which, the police power, as the standard public power and expression of the hard core of sovereignty is exercised only by the State and not by individuals.⁴⁰

The European Refugee Fund, handled by the Ministry of Interior and the Police, is financing the construction of hospitality facilities for vulnerable groups. The General Programme "Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows" (SOLID) 2007-2013 has financed Greece with 374 million euros⁴¹ was allocated to Greece for the management of the Union's external borders and for the implementation of common asylum and immigration policies⁴². No report has been published by the Greek Government about the management of this fund.⁴³

Furthermore, many detainees from Amygdaleza have attested that certain lawyers in cooperation

³⁶ Korinthos' hunger strike against illimited detention took place from 9/6 to 13/6/2014 by imprisoned migrants for over 18 months : <http://infomobile.w2eu.net/2014/06/09/hunger-strike-against-18-detention-in-corinth-detention-centre/>

³⁷ This information comes from a direct source. The Moroccan migrant was in contact by telephone with political activists supporting him together with activist lawyers. The only mention of this incident was diffused by the collectivity No lager on Indymedia Athens' site : <https://athens.indymedia.org/post/1526468/>

³⁸ A phrase that we heard by different detainees during this mission.

³⁹ <http://www.diktio.org/>

⁴⁰ <http://www.epohi.gr/portal/online-ekdosi/15548-oxi-sta-kentra-kratisis-ton-metanaston>. As far it concerns the specific articles of the Constitution, see : <http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/8c3e9046-78fb-48f4-bd82-bbba28ca1ef5/SYNTAGMA.pdf>

⁴¹ Amnesty International report, *The human cost of fortress Europe*, 2014 : <http://www.enetenglish.gr/resources/article-files/eur050012014en1.pdf>

⁴² <http://www.ekriti.gr/article/ekatommyria-eyro-hanei-i-ellada-apo-kondylia-gia-toys-metanastes>

⁴³ The problematic aspects of the Fund's absorption may be observed in various reports such as : <http://www.antigone.gr/files/en/library/selected-publications-on-migration-and-asylum/greece/GreekActionPlanProgressReportMarch2012.pdf>

with police officers have set down a business network promising to release detainees asking big amounts (2000 euros). Naturally, quite a few migrants have the possibility to pay these amounts. In other cases, as a Somali woman attested during 's visit in Athens Aliens' Directorate, other lawyers ask for moderate amounts, around 500 euros, in order to release them and they disappear after taking the money.⁴⁴

More recently, a lawyer who wanted to stay anonymous said that in Asylum Service, employees make arrangements with asylum seekers asking from them large amounts (200-500 euros) and to be dressed in a certain way the day of the appointment at the Service in order to be recognized and deposit their asylum application in priority order.

⁴⁴ See also : Angela Y. Davis, *Are prisons obsolete ?* , New York, Seven Stories Press, 2003.

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