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### Gender and international migration: conceptual, substantive and methodological issues

*Evangelia Tastsoglou, Laura Maratou-Alipranti*

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*Evangelia Tastsoglou, Laura Maratou-Alipranti*

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GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION:  
CONCEPTUAL, SUBSTANTIVE AND  
METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

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1. GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Broadly speaking, from the 1970s to the 1990s, gender and international migration research has shifted significantly from the «add-women-and-stir» approach to a greater theoretical emphasis on gender as a set of social relations and a central organizing category of the entire migration process affecting the decisions, circumstances and outcomes of migration for both women and men (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Kofman, 2000; Willis and Yeoh, 2000). Although gender is no synonym for women, the latter must be given specific attention since it is their contributions to migration processes that are still largely ignored (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000) and since women provide a unique entry point in the analysis of issues that might have been left unexplored otherwise. In addition, the idea of women's agency into migration theory in the context of structural and institutional influences has become necessary to avoid seeing women as victims of circumstance (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000).

As a result of these broad changes in direction, a number of important methodological changes have taken place such as: (a) The unit of research has shifted, from a dominant macro-level focus to a micro - level one, primarily communities and households. (b) Research methods have shifted from quantitative to qualitative (interviews, life histories, participant observation), although the former continue to be recognized as useful and necessary as well. Finally, (c) identification of the researcher's «positionality» has become very important (Willis and Yeoh, 2000).

The focus on the household represents not only a significant methodological departure, but also a new, substantive issue. The household as a unit of analysis has become of primary concern, as: (a) Migration decisions are made at the household level and express power inequalities within the

household and gender relations at the micro-level. (b) Reunification and marriage are important determinants of migration. (c) Women's labour migration may be bound to household or family responsibilities (e.g., care of children or elderly). (d) Access to reproductive services (e.g., family support network) may be a factor in migration, instead of employment (Willis and Yeoh, 2000; Pessar, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; Kofman et al., 2000; and Panagakos in this volume).

Under the influence of post-modernism, awareness of diversity within categories of men and women has increased. This awareness is linked to looking at the impact of migration on gender, ethnic, racial and national identities (Willis and Yeoh, 2000; Bush, 1994; Nagar, 1998; Karpathakis in this volume; Chryssanthopoulou also in this volume). Furthermore, the need to better research men, and to understand the social construction of masculinities in relation to migration and gender identities in established ethnic communities have been identified (Willis and Yeoh, 2000).

Gender has been identified as a critical issue in circular migration movements (Ellis, Conway and Bailey, 1996) and in the study of professional and managerial migration (Yeoh and Khoo, 1998). The migration process itself involves work, including networking, that is strictly organized along gender and class lines (Salaff, 1997; Kofman et al., 2000). The feminization of labour migration has become a common phenomenon, especially due to changing global economic trends (Willis and Yeoh, 2000; Maratou-Alipranti and Fakiolas, Cavounidis, and Karakatsanis and Swarts, in this volume). Women commonly migrate for work in factories, in domestic service and in the sex trade (Willis and Yeoh, 2000; Emke-Pouloupoulos in this volume), i.e. they are both actors in the migration process (Kofman et al., 2000) and they can have economic motives for migrating too.

Since the early 1980s Southern Europe has been transformed to an area which began to receive migrants. Women are making up an increasingly important part of migration movements in Southern Europe, as they are more and more affected by transnational global processes (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000). Recent work on migration tends to focus more on its transnational nature (e.g., Alicea, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; Goldring, 2001). We consider the recent and ongoing migration to Greece, for the most part, a transnational migration movement due to its temporary and circular, to - and - fro character (attributed partly to the illegal status of large numbers of migrants and partly to their own perceptions), involving regular contact and interaction with countries of origin and transnational networks.

There is a significant conceptual difference between transnational and international migration. Transnational migration refers to the circular pattern of mobility between two or more nation-states, involving activities of an economic, political and cultural sort by migrants on a regular basis as part of their life-occupation. The single individual migrant who buys a house back home or travels home yearly bearing gifts for his family and friends is not a transnational migrant (Portes, 1998 and 2000). There is a continuing debate in the literature between those who argue that transnational activities and connections have historically been the normal state of affairs, or at least, that they have been the case in post-WWII migration, and those who argue that transnational communities are a very recent product of satellite television, travel, to Internet and other forms of modern communications that make it possible for significant numbers of contemporary migrants to sustain links and involvements that cross geographic, political and cultural borders (Kennedy and Roudometof, 2002; Portes, 1998 and 2000).

If we leave aside however the question of timing and origins for transnational communities, and focus our attention instead on the regularity and sustainability of transnational links, it is clear that the modern age of communication technologies has made a vast qualitative difference in the experience of modern transnational communities, migrant or not, and, on this basis, we reserve the term transnational migration for this latter type, more likely to occur in the modern electronic era. At the same time, it is important to note that neither all immigrants are involved in transnational activities, nor everyone in the countries of origin is affected by them. Contemporary migration is simply more likely to be of a transnational nature, while earlier migrations were more often, though never always, of a more permanent nature. In the light of the above, we retain in this volume the term international migration as a broader, more inclusive one, to refer to permanent migration, which used to occur more frequently in the past and consisted of Greek outmigration, as well as to the regular, circular movements, which are more likely to involve «new» types of migration to Greece.

In bringing gender and transnational migration together, Patricia Pessar and Sarah Mahler (2001) have developed a conceptual model they call «gendered geographies of power». The term «geographies» refers to spatial and social scales (e.g., the body, the family, the state) across transnational terrains. It is within and between these scales that gender ideologies and relations are reaffirmed and/or reconfigured. Gender hierarchies, on the

other hand, together with class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality operate at various levels that affect an individual's or group's social location. People in distinct locations have differential access to and power over flows and interconnections between places, as they are affected by them. Human agency in initiating flows or turning them to one's advantage however, is not only affected by extra-personal factors but also by quintessentially individual characteristics such as initiative and imagination. Nevertheless, in this volume, not unlike the general picture in research outside (Pessar and Mahler, 2001), it is a more limited number of papers (Tsolidis and Panagakos) that deal with gender and the transnational optic thus described.

## 2. GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FROM GREECE

**Emigration from Greece.** The Greeks have historically been a diaspora people. While in the modern era the most significant migration movements had been toward large urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, the South-Eastern Mediterranean in general and the Caucasus (Our East or the East According to Us, η καθ' ημάς Ανατολή), the three broad waves of the 20th century followed totally different routes. In the 1890s, as a result of economic crisis in the kingdom of Greece, a great wave of emigration to the US started that was to last until the beginning of WWI. In the 1920s and 1930s, with the introduction of the quota system there, Greek migration to the US virtually ended, but limited migration to South America, Africa and Australia picked up during that period. The third migratory wave took place in the 1950s and 1960s, mostly to Australia and Canada, but also the US after the lifting of quota restrictions in the mid 1960s (Clogg, 1999).

The Greek Diaspora today consists of 3-4 million people globally. Australia, Canada and the US account for half of these communities; while the US alone is home to around 30% of the Greeks abroad (Roudometof and Karpathakis, 2002). In the 20th century alone it is estimated that approximately 1.5 million Greeks were compelled to leave Greece. About 1 million settled in North and South America and 300,000 in Australia and New Zealand (Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 21). Between 1945-74 almost one in six of the Greek population departed (Fakiolas and King, 1996: 172). It was only in the early 1970s that a switch to a positive migratory balance took place as a result of return migration, especially from the Federal Republic of Germany where the highest exodus of Greek workers had taken place in the 1960s (Fakiolas and King, 1996: 174). But return migration also involved some migration from overseas as well as political refugees who had fled to

the former socialist countries during and after the 1946-49 Greek Civil War (Fakiolas and King, 1996: 174). We will sketch next the most important Greek migratory movements that mark the contemporary period.

**Immigration to the USA.** There were about one million Greek immigrants to the USA from 1890 to 1990. According to the 1990 Census only 900,000 Americans identified themselves as having some Greek ancestry, while 200,000 of the respondents were Greek-born. Two very different figures are being reported: around 1 million according to census and embassy data and 1.2-2.6 million according to the immigrant associations estimates (Hasiotis cited in Roudometof and Karpathakis, 2002: 54). Georgakas (1999) demonstrates that there is a pattern of reduced ethnic identification among the Greeks, not unlike that of other immigrant groups. The majority of those who identify themselves as having Greek ethnicity are post-war immigrants and their children. What happened to the earlier immigrants (an estimated 600,000-700,000 till 1946)? Georgakas claims that these «disappeared» consisted of: 25% returnees (one of the five highest rates for European groups). These people practically rejected America, sometimes they went back and forth, like more contemporary transnational migrants, having left wives and children in Greece. Among the disappeared, a high number of people were those who died young. These are young boys who went to the US literally as indentured labourers and worked under highly dangerous conditions with a very high death rate. Others were the bachelors, while some others outmarried and disappeared from the Greek community (in the South West often to Mexican women and went on producing Mexican families). Finally, a small proportion remained and established Greek American families (Georgakas, 1999: 21-23).

Roudometof and Karpathakis (2002) argue that the Greek American community is divided between the descendants of the pre-War II immigrants who are more Americanized, as a result of having spent more time acculturating in the US and also as a result of having achieved upward socio-economic mobility, and the post-World War II wave (primarily of 1951-1975) who have been more oriented toward Greece, with closer and more complex ties to Greece and a lower socio-economic status. This split has implications for the attitude, vision and politics of the two groups toward the Greek Orthodox church in the US, toward maintaining a Greek ethnic identity, and toward political support of Greece's national issues. Roudometof and Karpathakis demonstrate through their research in New York City that the post-1965 Greek American community especially is a «transnational national community» because of a sustained, ongoing interest

and involvement in issues relating to their original homeland and a strong component of «identity workers» who forge an identity that is sensitive to American issues but with a frame of reference that is rooted in Greek national politics (2002: 42-45).

**Immigration to Canada.** Greek immigration to Canada started in the 1870s and continued at a slow but gradually picking up pace till WWII. Two factors increased the flow of Greek immigrants in Canada during the early 20th century: The Canadian government instituted a policy of importing cheap labour from Europe for economic development and the US imposed quotas on aliens. It was in the 1950s that the pace started significantly picking up by tens of thousands. A most important reason was that the Canadian government adopted a more liberal immigration policy as a result of the need to populate and develop Canada, pressures by ethnic groups and individuals to rescue relatives from the socio-economic catastrophes of post-war Europe and large numbers of displaced persons and orphans who had failed to meet admission requirements of other countries (Chimbos, 1980: 29). While the biggest waves of Greek immigration to the US took place before 1920, the biggest immigration wave in Canada took place from the 1950s to the mid-1970s with immigration gradually coming to a standstill after that. Most of those who came during the 1970s were second-time Greek migrant workers from the industrial capitals of Europe.

The 1967 Canadian Immigration Act which used the points system was more selective of the incoming immigrants.<sup>1</sup> Thus, those Hellenes who came in the 1970s were more educated, more skilled, more literate and more used to urban living than their predecessors. According to the 1991 Canadian Census there were 191,480 Greek immigrant and descendants in Canada, with the largest concentrations in Ontario and Quebec (Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 119). In the 1980s and 1990s Canada experienced a net loss in Greek population, as many Hellenes, having saved enough for a comfortable living in Greece, or retired and on pension, returned to live in their homeland. In addition, a lot of young Greek-Canadians returned, enticed by the opportunities in Greece and the EU countries (Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 117-119).

**Immigration to Australia.** The first migrants to Australia arrived in small numbers at the turn of the 20th century. During the period 1890-1940, 42% of Greeks in Australia were from Kythera, Ithaca or Castellorizo. The

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1. For the characteristics of successive generations of Greek immigrant women in Ontario, see E. Tastsoglou (1997a and 1997b).

main events that caused migration to Australia were the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the Asia Minor Disaster (1922). Between 1912-1947, chain migration was largely responsible for the rise in the Greek Australian population from 1798 to 12,291. Resentment against non-British nationalities manifested itself in various forms of institutional and everyday racism before WWII (Doumanis, 1999).

Significant numbers, and especially family entry, started occurring after WWII, when the Australian government started recruiting migrants from all over Europe. In the beginning the government assisted mass migration (1952-1974) and later the selective migration of political refugees, as well as traders and technocrats (1974-1999). The number of Greek migrants between 1945 and 1974 reached 270,000. This number included those who came in great numbers from the Middle East, Egypt, Romania and Cyprus (Dimitreas, 1998). After 1974, the number of Greek migrants was significantly reduced, with the only exception being the 6,000 Cypriot refugees who arrived after 1974 following the Turkish invasion, and some secondary migration of Greeks from South Africa, Brazil, Venezuela and the former Soviet Union (Tamis and Gavaki, 2002: 127-138). According to a more recent estimate, the Greek community in Australia has just over 350,000 people (Doumanis, 1999). In the period 1981-1991 new arrivals to Australia from Greece were relatively low (6,042) with annual figures frequently offset by those returning permanently to Greece (Doumanis, 1999).

**Immigration to Western Europe.** Political, economic and family reasons caused a large outflow of Greeks during the period 1946-1973 and nearly one million emigrated to western European (mostly to Germany) and overseas countries. The Greek immigration in the 1960s was classic labour migration structured by international wage and labour market imbalances. High unemployment, bare subsistence wages, personal insecurity and restricted political freedom in Greece combined with intensive labour demand, wage levels 3-5 times higher than those available in Greece and better welfare provisions attracted Greek workers, male in the beginning, to emigrate. Social networks at the village level further facilitated this migration. Between 1955 and 1973 603,300 Greeks migrated to West Germany, or more than half of the total number of emigrants from Greece (Fakiolas and King, 1996: 173; Ventoura, 1999).

The Greek state signed bilateral agreements covering equal employment rights and providing for the establishment of Greeks schools in the main destination countries. Although bilateral agreements sometimes supported and facilitated the return of Greek emigrants from Western Europe, the



migration outflow continued until the mid-1970s. After that period, the repatriation of Greek immigrants began. By 1986, about 600,000 emigrants had returned home (Petropoulos, 1994; Fakiolas, 2001).

**Immigration to Africa.** While Greeks emigrated to various regions of Africa, including Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, the Tanganyika territory, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, the two major countries of Greek migration to Africa have historically been Egypt and South Africa. While the Greek community presence in Egypt started during the reign of Mohammed Ali in the early 19th century, the Greek communities in Egypt flourished in the second half of the 19th and early part of the 20th century. As independent entrepreneurs, employees of large European firms, money-lenders, industrialists and professionals, the Greeks of Egypt, as well as other Europeans, enjoyed unique privileges under the Capitulations that lasted till 1937 (Karanasou, 1999). Their number reached its peak in the 1920s (about 99,793 people) with the addition of Greeks who came from Turkey in the aftermath of the Asia Minor Disaster. The rise of Egyptian nationalism in the 20th century, the riots and violence against foreign subjects, the disappearance of the British and French business communities from Egypt, and the nationalization of foreign and Egyptian businesses in the early 1960s, eventually led the Greeks of Egypt to a massive exodus as well. Between 1,000 to 3,000 Greeks live in Egypt today with their numbers waning, as their young, Greek-educated offspring eventually leave for Greece (Karanasou, 1999).

The presence of Greeks in South Africa dates back to the middle 19th century, though significant numbers did not start arriving before the turn of the 20th century. Large numbers of Greeks participated in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) on both sides. The foundation of the first Greek communities in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria took place between 1898 and 1908. At least until 1920, many of the Greek pioneer settlers were manual workers, while in the 1920-30s the composition of the community changed in favour of middle class merchants. With WWII many Greek soldiers found their way to South Africa where many stayed after the War. Between 1951 and 1970 another 19,000 Greeks migrated to South Africa giving rise to many new communities, schools, and churches. From 1971 to 1976 another 3,100 new Greek immigrants arrived. Their numbers however decreased dramatically after that, especially with the Soweto uprising, the instability and economic recession. About 70,000 Greek immigrants and locally born Greeks live in South Africa today, within 23 communities in various cities (Mantzaris, 1999).

**Emigration to Russia and the Caucasus and Repatriation.** One of the oldest and most familiar routes for Greek migrants has been that to Russia. In the 20th century following the turbulent history of Pontos, about 200,000 Greeks moved from the Trebizond area and Eastern Pontos to Southern Russia and the interior of Georgia after the Russian troops withdrew from Pontos to advancing Turks in 1918. There were about 550,000 Greeks living in Russia at the time of the Russian revolution, who were linguistically and culturally quite diverse. Several thousand Greeks left with the Russian revolution for Pontos or Piraeus. About 60,000 found asylum in Greece between 1919 and 1930 alone. Yet, the majority stayed on. During the early years of Bolshevik rule, the Greeks enjoyed a considerable degree of cultural autonomy, with their own schools, newspapers and books published in the Pontic dialect and even a Greek-language theatre in Sukhum, the capital of Abkhazia (Clogg, 1999). For a period of time there was even a demand for an autonomous Pontic Republic in Southern Russia but it was quickly suppressed (Karpozilos, 1999).

During the Stalin era, the entire Pontic population of the Caucasus was transported and exiled in Southern Kazakhstan, in Central Asia. The restrictions of their exile were gradually lifted and in 1957 first and then in 1965-7 around 13,500 were allowed to leave the USSR. In the period of perestroika and glasnost, many freedoms were introduced into the Greek and Pontic communities. However, tough economic times and political pressures especially on the Greeks of Central Asia, caught between rival ethnic groups and unable to return to their old homes in Georgia since they only spoke Russian, increased the migratory movement toward Greece. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimates that 160,000 Pontians have returned, of whom only about 60,000 have a repatriation visa. The remaining 100,000 have a tourist visa. It is expected that repatriation will continue in the years to come (Kassimati, 1992).

### 3. GENDER AND CONTEMPORARY TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION TO GREECE

Among the strongest motivating factors for EU immigrants to leave countries of origin are ethnic tension, low living standards, poverty and unemployment, economic restructuring, political repression and environmental problems. Women, especially, come to Southern Europe from mainly two sources: (1) the developing world or war-torn countries—these women usually come in search of access to economic improvement or for family reunification; (2) Eastern Europe (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000).

Migration to Southern Europe is usually explained in terms of: geographical location, leftover effects of African colonial influence, women being more vulnerable to «transnational global processes» inadequate surveillance methods and means to control flows of people, and the economic transformation of the area to post - Fordism involving an intensification of always existing informal economies and particular patterns of labour market segmentation by gender (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000; Baldwin-Edwards and Arango, 1999; King, Lazaridis and Tsardanidis, 2000). Migration flows into Southern Europe consist mostly of illegal, i.e. undocumented, migrants who are, for this reason, frequently involved in the informal economy. Women are most often concentrated in the lowest sectors of employment and are often involved in the sex industry (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000; Lazos, 2002). Legal status, ethnic, race and class positions create unique locations for different groups of migrant women.

While contemporary migration to Greece started in the early 1980s, it was only in the late 1980s and early 1990s that significant numbers started arriving. Given the inadequate infrastructure of the country for receiving mass numbers, lack of an appropriate legal framework that would allow for the migrants' protection and integration that would be respectful of their human rights, and belated regularization attempts, problems have persisted for years and, though not as central as before, they are still affecting migrants, their families and the Greek society. With respect to women in particular about 330,000 have entered and live in Greece since the mid-1990s, out of a total foreign population close to a million. The overwhelming majority of them are economic migrants who entered the country illegally or legally but work without permits (Maratou-Alipranti, 1996). After two legalization drives in 1998 and 2001 most of them have acquired a legal status. They show however a high propensity to lapse again into illegality by not renewing their permits, while new illegal migrants pour in. About two thirds of the women, the same as the male immigrants, come from Albania and a further 6% from Bulgaria, both bordering Greece. 80% of female migrants in total come from the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, including those of the former Soviet Union. The remaining come from dozens of other source countries in every continent. All religions are represented, with the Christians of various denominations and the Moslems topping the list.

The motivations of the migrant women range from supporting financially their families at home or in Greece to enhancing their careers, acquiring more work experiences and combining tourism with employment. Hardly

any are illiterate and about one in six or seven have tertiary education. A considerable proportion migrate alone and have an independent status, following a lonely path by striving on their own to settle and make a living in a foreign country. Although there are indications that an increasing number intend to remain in Greece for many years, the majority appear to be traveling migrants and not intending permanent settlement. Highly diverse is also the pattern of their living conditions (Maratou-Alipranti and Fakiolas, in this volume).

#### 4. THE THEMES OF THIS VOLUME

Overall, there are some shared broad similarities in the Greek gendered emigration and immigration experiences. First, the historical experience of Greek people coming into contact with multiple others in their country and outside has been replicated in recent times. The colonization of the ancient Mediterranean and the formation of a Greek «Diaspora» has been replaced by modern Greek emigration to every continent; the historical descent into Greece of tribes and peoples from the North has been replaced by contemporary «new» migration waves into Greece. Greek people, both on the mainland and in the Diaspora, have never been insular nor isolated. The specific multicultural mix of contemporary Athens may not be the same as that of Toronto, New York, Sydney, London or Berlin for that matter, yet it is ongoing, increasingly dynamic and significant.

Second, the intensity of the migratory phenomenon has been very high both in terms of mass emigration from Greece and immigration to Greece in the last four decades of the 20th century. For instance, during 1945-74, almost one in six of the Greek population emigrated. Proportional to its population, Greece is also the country most strongly affected of the four Mediterranean EU countries by recent immigration - despite the fact that it is by no means the richest among them (Fakiolas and King, 1996: 172).

Third, the immediate, even if temporary, downward mobility, de-skilling, racism and discrimination that Greek immigrants have experienced in the Diaspora (e.g., Chimbos, 1980; Tastsoglou, 1997b; National Archives of Canada; Doumanis, 1999) constitute the everyday reality of many contemporary immigrants to Greece. In both cases, race / ethnicity - based experiences and identities have been amplified by social class and gender.

Fourth, gender has played a major role in the migratory movements from Greece to other continents, as it does today to migrant movements toward Greece. Gender determines who migrates, when, under what conditions;

whether and how settlement takes place; the creation of diasporic or transnational networks, under specific economic conditions in sending and receiving societies. In terms of gender composition, the present predominantly female migration waves from specific countries have been by no means unique, though, admittedly, the ongoing feminization of migration has greatly boosted their numbers and visibility. In the past, there had been organized movements of Greek female domestic workers or nurses' aides, for example, toward specific destinations overseas in the context of bilateral agreements (Chimpos, 1980; National Archives of Canada).

At the same time, given the thematic, geographical and chronological range of the migratory phenomena in this volume, there is a great variety of topics addressed by the papers, though, obviously, not an exhaustive coverage of every conceivable migration theme and period. Thematically, we have included papers that deal with migration movements and settlement and integration experiences of Greek-born emigrants as well as contemporary, non Greek-born immigrants to Greece. The selection of papers geographically covers three continents and spans most of the twentieth century. Starting from the earlier types of predominantly international migration and ethnic community formation in the US, Canada and Australia, the order of paper presentation moves to the more recent types of mostly transnational migration, including trafficking, to Greece.

Thematically, we have grouped this volume's papers under four significant categories: (1) papers on the economic and social activities, multiple and intersecting roles, as well as identities of migrant women across Greek ethnic communities of the Diaspora. In «From Noikokyra to Lady: Greek Immigrant Women, Assimilation and Race» Anna Karpathakis explores the effects of upward mobility on Greek immigrant women's perceptions of their roles in the family and also the framing / social construction of their changing perceptions. While working-class women use the ideology of the «noikokyra» to frame their experiences and responsibilities in the home and the community, lower-middle and middle-class women select competing elements from the American, class and race-based ideology of the «lady». The paper illuminates the intersecting character of class, race, ethnicity and gender in the private and public spheres of life of Greek immigrant and ethnic families in New York.

In «Immigrant Women's Portraits: The Socio-Economic Profile of the Greek Canadian Women» Efrosini Gavaki offers us a comprehensive socio-

economic portrait of women of Hellenic ethnic origin in Canada based on income, education and occupation data reported in the 1991 Canadian Census. Greek immigrant women who arrived in Canada before WWII and in the 1950s-1970s heavy Greek migration waves did not really enter the labour force but worked mostly informally, in family businesses. However, these women were very active and visible in community and charity work, challenging pre-conceived notions about the absence of women from the «public» sphere. As the Greek immigrant women who arrived in Canada during the 1950s and 1970s dominate the portrait of the group, they have overshadowed whatever inroads the descendants of the early arrivals had achieved. This last wave entered the host society at the lowest socio-economic levels, as contract workers for factories, as domestics, and as hospital workers. Their progress has been slow and hard and they still ranked low at the social status indicators, according to the 1991 Canadian Census, though significant changes are expected to have occurred in the 1990s.

In «Gender, Work and Ethnic Ideology: Castellorizian Greeks in Perth, Australia» V. Chryssanthopoulou analyzes the social construction of the Castellorizian-Greek ethnic identity in Perth, Australia. Utilizing comparative gender analysis, she reveals that middle and upper-class Castellorizian men selectively deploy elements of the regional Castellorizian tradition and of Greek national ideology in order to emphasize their material success in Perth. At the same time, they draw upon and blend selectively values and practices of the surrounding Australian society to construct their ethnic ideology. Castellorizian women, on the other hand, stress the need to abstain from paid labour, while their children are young, so that they can socialize them into Greek culture, while at the same time they are flexible enough to accept deviations from that model. Their ethnic ideology and identity are based on selective, gender-based elements from the Greek and Australia societies. The values and practices of these men and women are not unlike those analyzed by Karpathakis in New York, while the identity of Castellorizian Greeks is similarly based on class, gender, and ethnicity.

(2) A second group of papers deals specifically with the re-constitution of families and gender relations after migration. Here belong «In Search of Adonis: Marriage Strategies and Gender Identity in Greek Transnational Migration» by Anastasia Panagakos, and «Mothers, Memories and Cultural Imaginings» by Georgina Tsolidis. Both papers involve circular move-

ments between two countries at least. Panagakos examines how transnational migration is used as a marriage strategy among young, educated, well-off, Greek Canadian women of Calgary, Alberta, and a means of reconstituting gender relations in the Diaspora that draw upon both traditional models as well as new, North-American cultural elements of choice and independence. In agreement with Karpathakis and Chryssanthopoulou, Panagakos also makes an argument about an eclectic mix of values and practices in the formation of ethnic and gender ideologies. With a wide geographical focus on Australia, Canada and Greece, Tsolidis explores mothers' and daughters' relationships and the construction and reconfiguration of the daughters' gendered cultural identities upon migration (from Greece and to Greece in the case of return migration) as a result of the mothers' cultural labour, performed, paradoxically, in the private sphere, yet straddling across the private-public divide. Mothers' labour in the diaspora is potentially transformative, Tsolidis concludes, because it results in the production of a cultural fluidity, necessary for successful citizenship in the era of globalization, rather than a fixed Greekness regardless of time and space.

(3) The last group of papers deals with contemporary migration to Greece and the legal, class, racialized and sexualized status of migrant women. Laura Maratou-Alipranti and Rossetos Fakiolas open this section with a critical overview paper on «The Lonely Path of Migrant Women in Greece» in which they explore first the «pull» factors for female migration to Greece, the size of the movement and structural features of migrants in terms of age, ethnicity and level of education, the employment and living conditions of female migrants and, finally, the effects of female migration, including demographic and socio-economic ones. Given the numbers of new migrants, their higher fertility rates compared with Greek women's and the 2001 aliens' law which facilitates the invitation of dependent family members, encouraging family life and permanent settlement, it is reasonable to anticipate an increasing pluralism in Greek society and considerable social change in that direction. Jennifer Cavounidis in her «Gendered Patterns of Migration to Greece» presents and analyzes new data on migration to Greece which underscore the salience of gender, intertwined with economic processes in sending and receiving societies, in understanding migration decisions, migration patterns and the migrant experience. Various dimensions of gender relations such as the division of labour between paid and unpaid work, the occupational division of labour, and power relations within the family are integral parts of the structural forces that lead to migration.

On the same theme of contemporary migration to Greece, three more papers focus on specific dimensions of contemporary migration and migrant experience. Evangelia Tastsoglou and Joanna Hadjicostandi focus specifically on migrant women's experiences in the Greek labour market, which they analyze in the context of the new «Mediterranean immigration model» unfolding in the midst of increasing migratory flows from «South» to «North», the legal and policy framework for migrants in Greece and in the framework of women's, and especially immigrant women's, ambiguous or deficient citizenship in modern Western societies. This qualitative study underscores the economic and social exclusion of female workers in informal labour markets and highlights the intersecting racialization and sexist practices shaping their experiences. Neovi Karakatsanis and Jonathan Swarts in their «Migrant Women, Domestic Work and the Sex Trade in Greece - A Snapshot of Migrant Policy in the Making» consider the problems faced by migrant women in Greece from the perspective of state structures and social norms, values and practices. They argue that long-run changes in Greek society –particularly women's increased workforce participation and ever-higher levels of education– as well as the lack of universally provided social assistance have, in a number of ways, served as pull factors, contributing to the feminization of migration in Greece. At the same time, the failure of the Greek legal system, police force and state authorities to adequately protect the rights of migrant women leave them extremely vulnerable. This is reinforced by cultural norms and public attitudes and practices, having their roots in Greece's historical experiences as well as in more proximate, contemporary geo-political causes. Finally, Ira Emke-Poulopoulos in her «Trafficking in Women and Girls for the Sex Trade: The Case of Greece» provides a thorough discussion of trafficking of women and girls for the sex trade with an emphasis on the Greek situation, attitudes, practices, policies and laws in Greece. Trafficking is analyzed as a violation of fundamental human rights of the victims, as a lucrative business, and as a crime committed by the traffickers and supported by the corruption of public officials, especially the police, with participation of clients and the mass media.

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