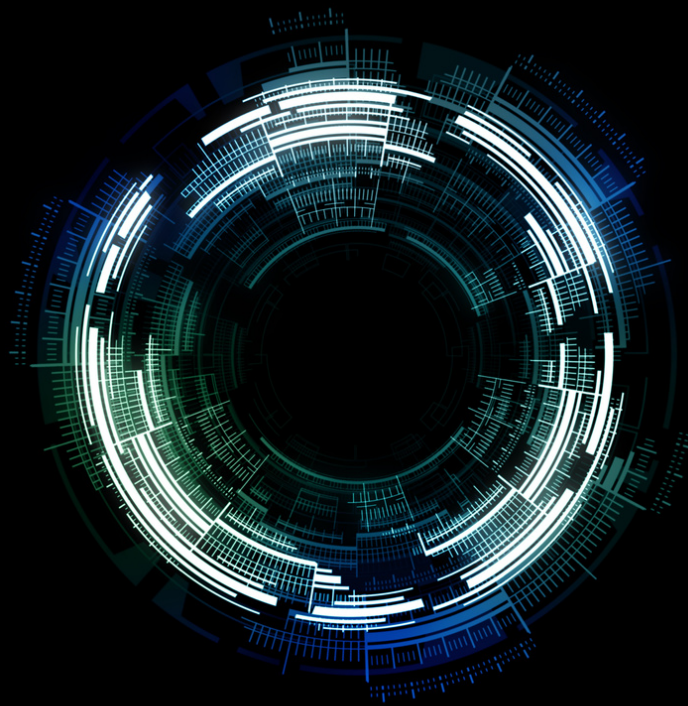


2023
—

OSINT Report 7

XENOPHOBIA IN GREECE: A MULTIFACETED HATRED



AN OPEN-SOURCE INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS

DEVELOPED BY:

Greek National Commission for Human Rights,
GNCHR

CO-FUNDED BY:

European Commission Directorate General for
Justice and Consumers

<https://nchr.gr/en/gnchr.html>
<https://www.agenformedia.com>



ABOUT THE REPORT

The report has been developed in the framework of the EU-funded project "STAND-UP: Standing up against hate in the EU". The project has received funding from the European Commission Directorate General for Justice and Consumers under Grant Agreement no. 101049532.

The OSINT Reports Series, of which this report constitutes the seventh release, has been developed with the aim of providing an overview of the potential applications, on a European scale, of open-source research and analysis methodologies in prevention and mitigation activities directed against a range of potential threats. Each report in the OSINT Reports Series will provide insights, gathered through open source intelligence, concerning a potential threat identified by Agenfor International Foundation with the support of public and private partners.

To conduct the research and analysis, the team involved in the project relied both on freely available tools and on an AI-powered OSINT software.

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INTRODUCTION

The results of the OSINT research align with the GNCHR's findings from monitoring and reporting activities and with the RVRN's and its members recording incidents of racist violence in Greece in recent years. The results show the racist motivation for hate speech and hate crimes against migrants and refugees. As identified by the research using social media, websites and blogs, incidents of verbal or even physical violence infused with racist motives against third-country nationals take place regularly. Recent incidents do not reflect actions of coordinated violence against refugees and migrants from far-right groups. At the same time, the trend that is observed depicts intense racist rhetoric as well as institutional targeting against refugees and migrants.

Hence, it is worth analysing in more detail the current prevailing trends detected from the online environment in an attempt to interpret hate speech and hate crime in Greece. In this regard, the use of the OSINT system allows an understanding and documentation of the phenomenon in Greece[1].

Taking into account that the OSINT platform reveals real-world insights about locations, individuals and entities that are of interest to law enforcement and intelligence agencies by i) taking advantage of the system's potential to find anonymous threat actors, ii) automatically analysing location-based information and iii) facilitating intelligence and investigative reports[2], the GNCHR aims with this report at extracting this vast data related to hate crime and hate speech and generating intelligent insights, by customizing the OSINT system.

Recent recordings in Greece feature an increase of incidents of racist violence, particularly against refugees, migrants and human rights defenders who were targeted due to their affiliation with the above-mentioned groups[3]. This increase is linked to the political polarisation at a European and global level regarding the reception of refugees and migrants, coupled with national and local factors shaping the situation in Greece. It is also inextricably linked to the institutional targeting of refugees and migrants through the official speech of political leadership representatives at a central and local level and through the media[4]. Portraying refugees and migrants as a threat to national sovereignty, although it does not seem to be a unique domestic trend, a broader European rhetoric with political implications, as strongly reflected in public discourse, especially in early 2020 has been instrumental in exonerating racist violence and intensifying the sense of impunity[5].

ANALYSIS

AGGRESSIVE RHETORIC ON ALLEGED BETTER TREATMENT RECEIVED BY MIGRANTS FROM NATIONAL WELFARE AND SOCIAL PROTECTION AUTHORITIES

The presence of hate speech in the media, on the Internet and social media platforms, has been recorded in Greece by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)[6] and in the past by the UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance during his mission to Greece[7]. It seems that hate speech, verbal harassment and inappropriate comments keep finding their way through websites and social media. The following examples extracted from Tangles provide insight into this flow.

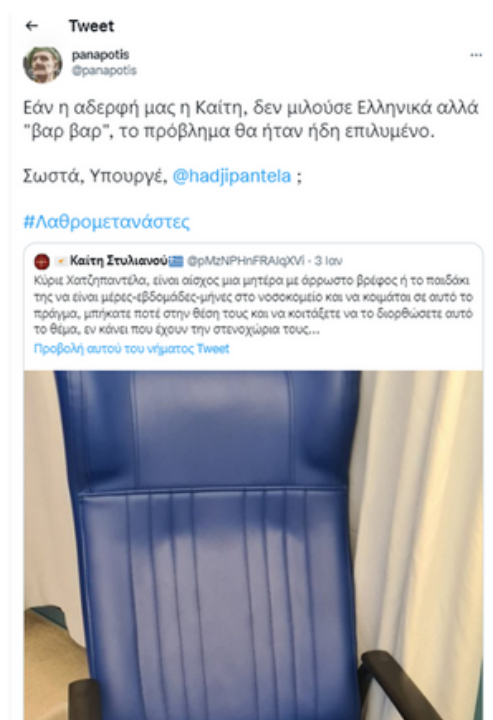


Fig. 1: comment on Twitter claiming that if the particular patient, namely a mother with a sick baby, was a foreigner ('Barbar'), her problems due to lack of proper public healthcare services and facilities would have been solved.

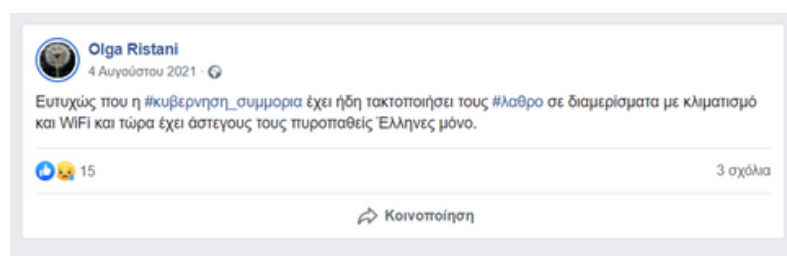


Fig. 2: comment on Facebook claiming that the government has provided accommodation with air-conditioning and WiFi to "illegal migrants' (lathro-metanastes)", while Greeks victims of the wildfires in Mati remain homeless.



Fig 3: Facebook post commenting on an article about a family (father and daughter) that was evicted, arguing that "illegal migrants' (lathro-metanastes)" live in houses confiscated from Greek citizens due to non-compliance with their heavy tax-related obligations.

These features of the online space breed prevailing hate sentiments about migrants supposedly receiving high-quality social services (health care, housing, allowances, etc.) in comparison with the Greek population that receives poor services. This online hostile environment and the relatively negative messages promote discriminatory and hate behaviours and might even be considered as an incitement to the commission of racist attacks against migrants and refugees living in Greece[8].

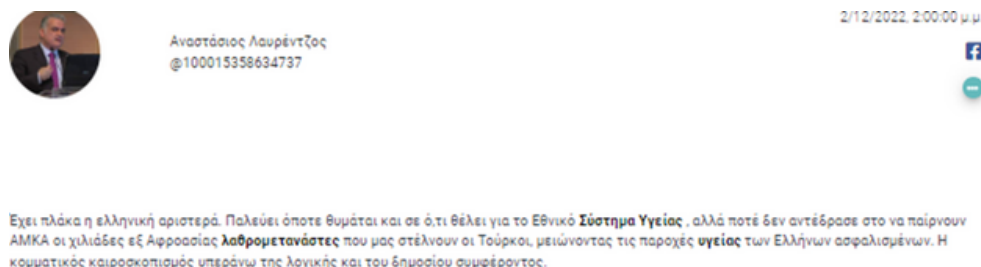


Fig 4: Facebook post blaming Greek left parties for not reacting towards the provision of Social Security Number (AMKA) to “illegal migrants” (lathro-metanastes)” from Asia and Africa, which resulted in the reduction in health services for Greek citizens.

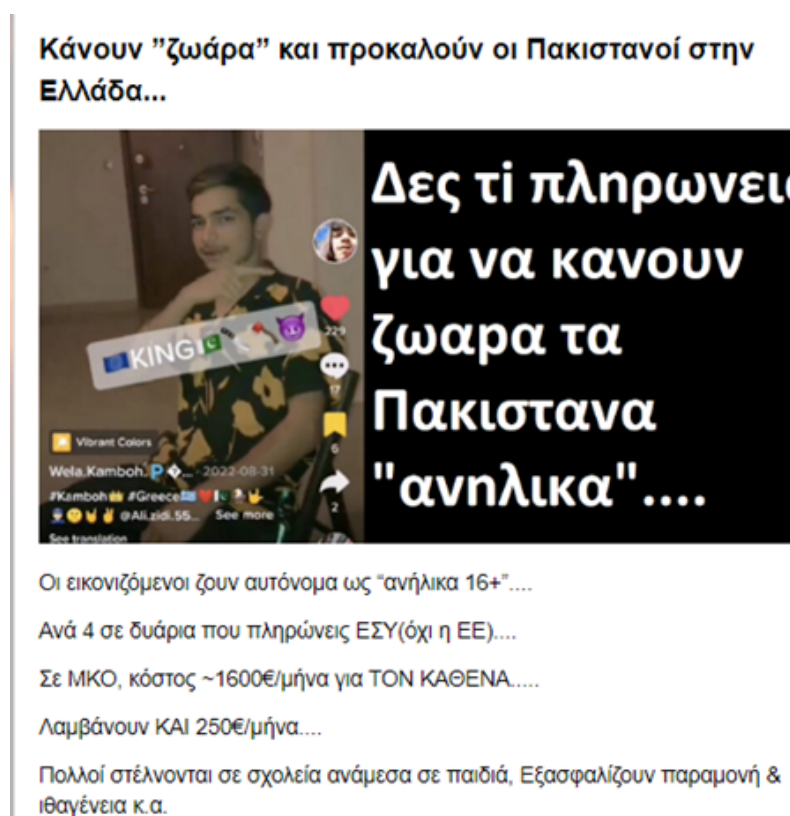


Fig 5: Blogspot publication about claiming minor migrants (16+) from Pakistan, who live a luxury life in apartments run by NGOs that cost 1600 Euros per month to Greeks and not to the EU” .

REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS AS A THREAT TO NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

The following examples extracted from Tangles reflect this trend.

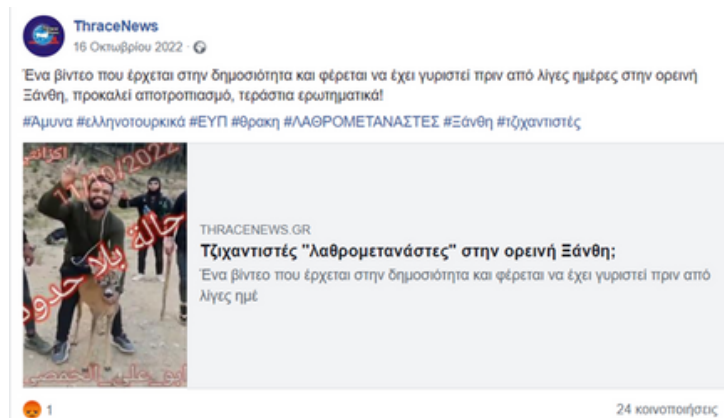


Fig. 6: comment on Facebook claiming the presence of Jihadists “illegal migrants” (lathro-metanastes) in mountainous Xanthi, indicating that there are Turkish agents in Western Thrace.



Fig. 7: post on website regarding three Pakistani flags raised on Greek mountains, an act, which is described by the author as anti-Hellenic act. The comment next to the photo comes from the Greek PM's twitter account. The PM attends a students' parade on a National Day and expresses pride about the transformation of the Greek society into a multicultural one.



Fig. 8: post of a conspiracy theory video on the website, which calls on football fans to wake up, since Europe uninterruptedly sends “illegal migrants” (lathro-metanastes)” to Greece in the framework of an organized plan to turn the national population into a minority.

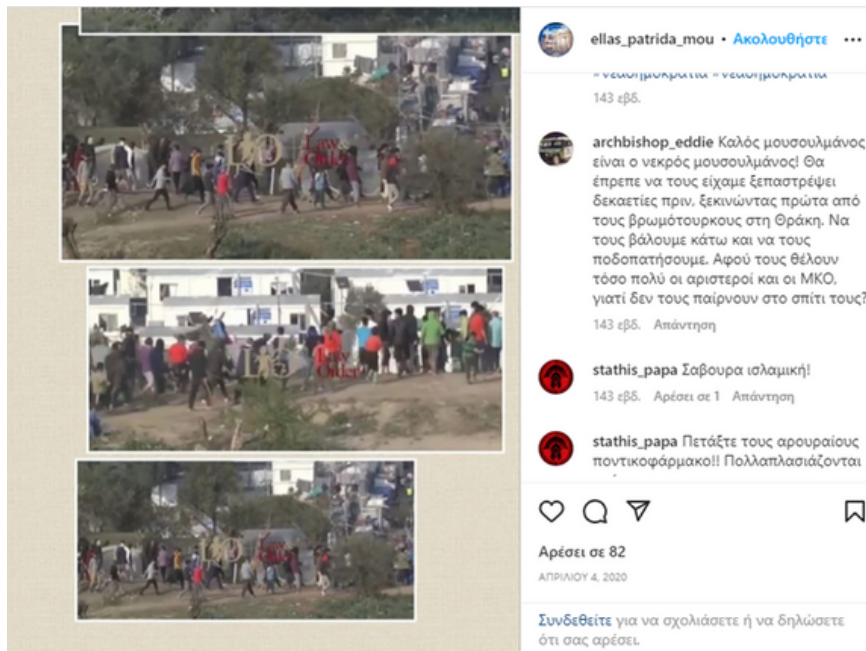


Fig. 9: post on Instagram with photos of immigrants. The comments next to the photos refer to the Muslim minority in Western Thrace explaining that “Good Muslim is the dead Muslim” and that “they should have been eliminated” etc.



Fig. 10: Tumblr website blog posting an article about an alleged Muslim plan to convert Greece into a Muslim country, which is organized by those who supported the genocide of the Christian population in Anatolia (Turkey), Iraq and Syria.

It is here worth mentioning that a popular hashtag among social media users which embraces conspiracy theories not directly identified as hate speech, is: #αντικατάσταση_πληθυσμών, literally translated as #population replacement, such as the following post:



Fig 11: Journalist presenting a video where a Somali woman who came 3 months ago from her home country received a Greek passport (i.e. travel documents from Greece) but does not speak a single word in Greek.



Fig 12: post on Tweeter with a journalist claiming that the fact that Pakistani mass media covered a march of Pakistani immigrants in Athens sends a welcome message to Pakistani people still living in Pakistan.

This online environment shapes a public narrative that “illegal migrants’ (lathro-metanastes)”[9] threaten the national identity and sovereignty. This is mostly related to migrants from Muslim states but not only, as seen also in the case of the Somali woman or the kindergarten pupils. Targeting migrants and refugees as the “enemy” of the Greek state adds to the far-right political agenda whereby migrants and refugees constitute threats against national security. This trend does not seem to leave out second and third-generation children.

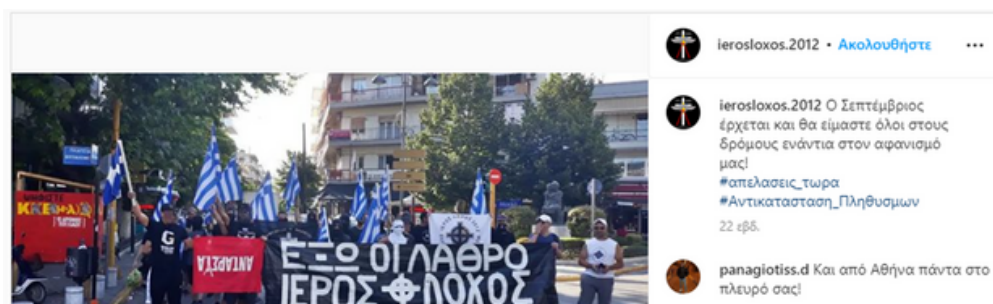


Fig 13: post on Instagram about an extreme-right group marching with a banner and demanding immediate deportation of migrants.



Fig 14: a blog post of a Greek politician and journalist reposting the actual names of kindergarten pupils and alleging that it is shocking that the majority of names in the catalogue are not Greek, a fact which proves that the capital of Greece is in a state of emergency.

BUILDING THE MYTH OF HIGHER RATES OF CRIMINALITY AMONG THE MIGRANT POPULATION

The belief that immigration leads to increased criminality is not a new phenomenon[10]. Unfortunately, such stereotypes about migrants being a priori of “criminal interest” support hate rhetoric and political agendas and campaigns.



Fig. 15: post on Instagram about the rape of a fourteen-year-old girl by her foreigner father. The comments next point out that such crimes happen every day by migrants.

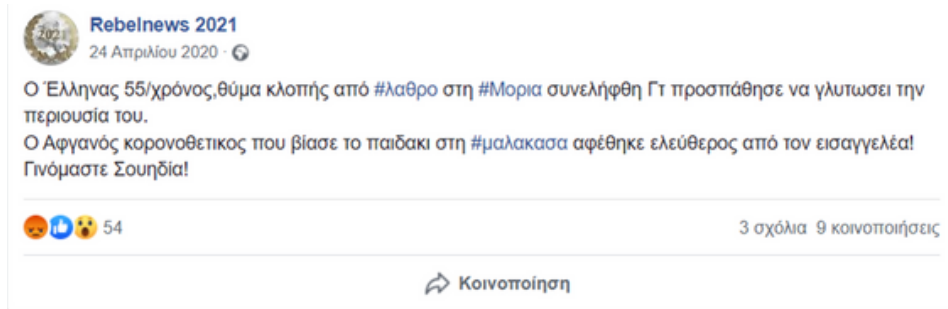


Fig. 16: post on Facebook claiming that migrants who commit crimes receive a soft treatment whereas nationals who commit crimes against migrants are being punished. It refers in particular to the arrest of a Greek citizen for defending himself during a robbery from a migrant in Moria and the release of an Afghan tested covid-19 positive who raped his daughter.

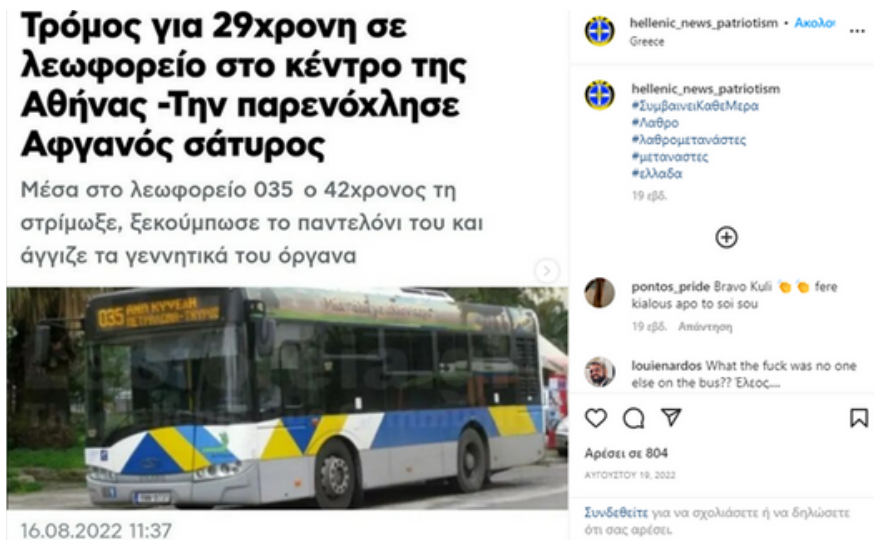


Fig. 17: post on Instagram about a sexual harassment incident in the bus involving an Afghan man.



Fig. 18: post on Instagram claiming that 57.4% of prisoners in Greece are foreigners and that the vast majority are illegal migrants, not refugees.

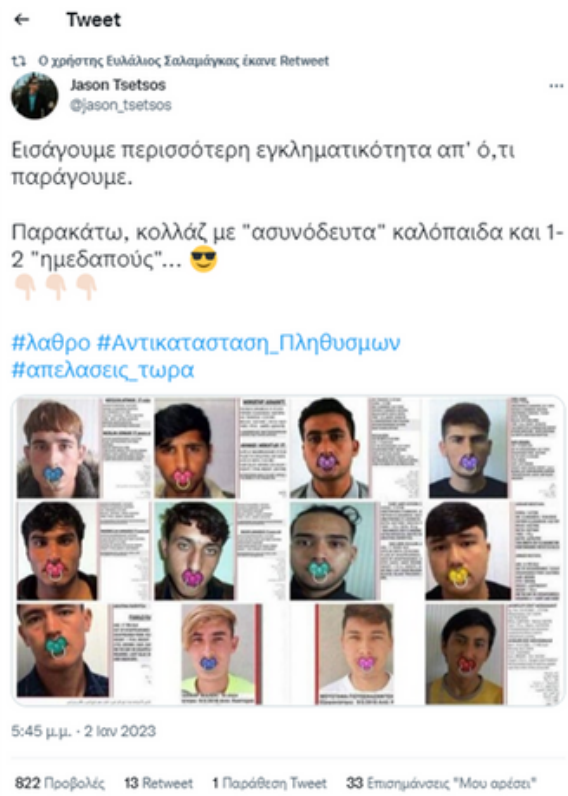


Fig. 19: post on Twitter with photos of unaccompanied minor migrants published by the Hellenic Police claiming that we (Greece) “import more criminality than we produce ourselves.” The photos were processed and pacifiers were added to the mouths of young migrants, thus focusing with such an ironic comment on the issue of –not so innocent= unaccompanied minors.

VIOLENT ACTS AND ATTACKS AGAINST REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS DUE TO THEIR ETHNIC ORIGIN

Migrants in Greece continue facing violent acts and attacks due to their ethnic origin. The general climate of impunity and the lack of effective implementation measures to combat racist phenomena, expose migrants to more violence with racist motives, as the GNCHR has repeatedly underlined[11].

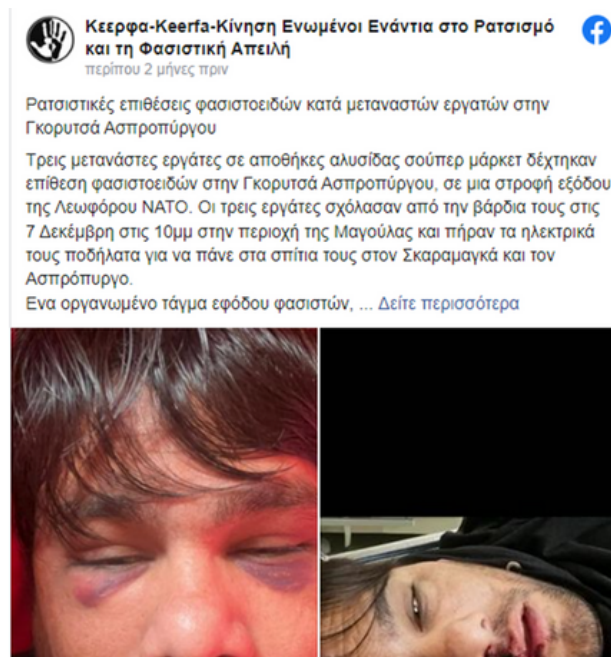


Fig. 20: post on Facebook of KEERFA, a Movement United Against Racism and the Fascist Threat, about beating 3 migrants in Aspropyrgos, Attica, on December 2022.



Fig. 21: post on a Blog protesting the beating of a migrant by his employer for asking him to pay his wages.

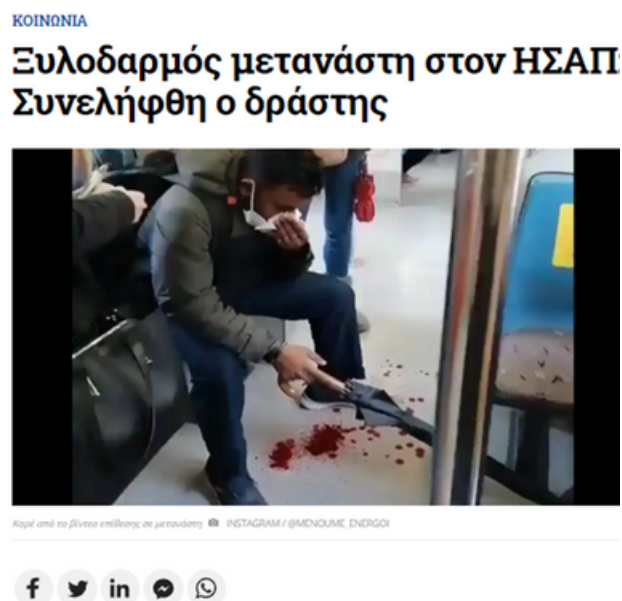


Fig. 22: post on Instagram about the arrest of the perpetrator of a racist attack against a migrant on a bus (Athens, January 2022).

Recordings by the RVRN in 2021 show national and regional tensions of racist action[12]. Worth mentioning is, as the RVRN highlights, that it is the first time since its establishment, namely 2011, that there were no recordings of incidents of organized violence against refugees and migrants by far-right groups. The ruling for the conviction of the Greek neo-Nazi political party, Golden Dawn by the Greek court, at the end of 2020, as a criminal organisation seems to have a definite impact on the reduction of organized racist violence. However, RVRN highlighted an incident that took place in January 2022, involving the explosion of an improvised device in another place of worship, particularly in a mosque in the centre of Athens. The manner in which this attack was carried out causes concern and reminds us of a pattern of attacks on places of worship that has been observed in other European countries (use of an explosive device). It is also recalled that similar attacks were recorded during the years of intense Golden Dawn activity. These incidents highlight the nature of racist crimes, which aim at sending a message of violence and intimidation to the entire targeted community[13]. Tangles' research detects recent individual violent attacks against persons who are defined by race characteristics, colour, national or ethnic origin or descent.

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AND XENOPHOBIC RHETORIC OF POLITICIANS AGAINST MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

The GNCHR reiterates with an emphasis its concern about the recent frequent use of xenophobic rhetoric against migrants in the official political discourse, including by persons who hold public office, encouraging or legitimising racist violence and, thereby, undermining the significant efforts by Greece to improve the Authorities' response to hate crimes[14]. In this regard, the RVRN in its 2021 Report notes that in a period of intense racist rhetoric, a recent more complete picture of the aspects of racism, in particular institutional racism and discrimination by the Authorities has been detected, which normalizes and encourages xenophobic reactions and affects social peace and cohesion. The Network has recorded an increase in harassment and violent treatment due to ethnic origin, colour or religion, which is committed by law enforcement officials since 2018.[15] Many of the recorded incidents have been identified in the context of police controls in which, the identification or selection of a person was based on racial profiling. Using Tangles, it was possible to detect those trends.



Fig. 23: posts on Twitter from members of the Parliament of the current governing party inviting mayors and voters belonging to the opposition party (and governing party back in 2015) to host migrants in their cities and homes – implicitly referring to the open borders policy of the former governing party in 2015.

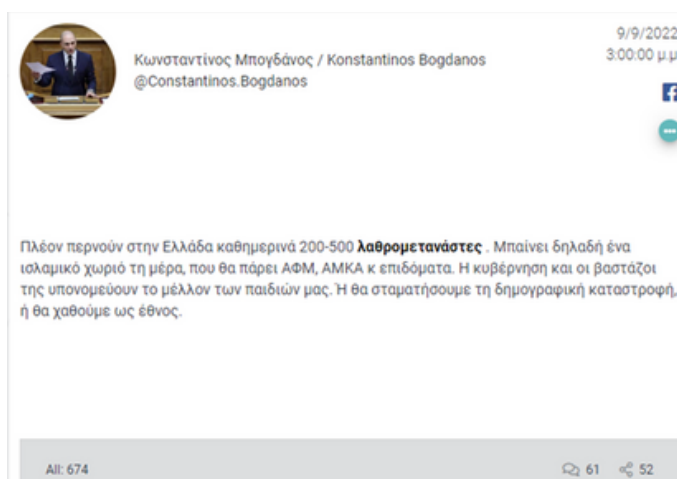


Fig. 24: post from a Politician and journalist claiming that 200-500 illegal migrants enter Greece every day, a number which is equal to the population of an Islamic village and that integration of those undermines the future of our children, “illegal migrants’ (lathro-metanastes)” constitutes a demographic catastrophe that will lead to the perishing of the nation.

Furthermore, a widespread phenomenon is the adoption of the term "invader", when referring to migrants by some far-right politicians, State officials and journalists. This is particularly worrying, as it draws on military combat terminology, encouraging the presumption that potential attacks against migrants may qualify as a legitimate defence.



Fig. 25: post on Facebook from a member of the Parliament of a far-right party and journalist arguing that “illegal invaders attempted to invade Alexandroupoli”.

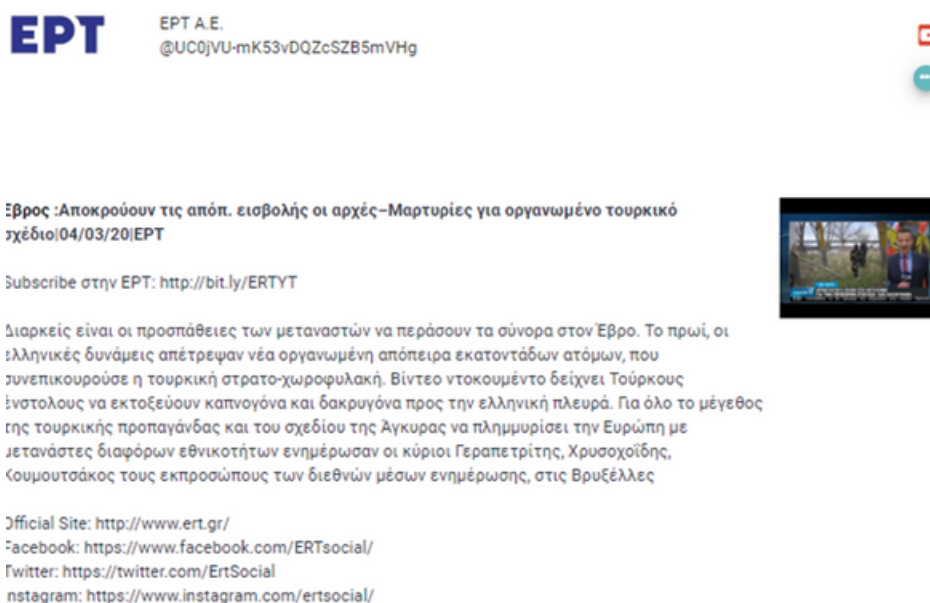


Fig. 26: post on the official youtube channel of ERT, Greek public television, titled “The authorities repel the invasion attempts”, referring to migrants’ organized attempts to cross the Greek borders.



Για 8η τετραετία στο Σύλλογο Πολυτέκνων «Οι Άγιοι Πάντες»

Επανεξελέγη για 8^η τετραετία πρόεδρος Συλλόγου Πολυτέκνων «Οι Άγιοι Πάντες» ο κ. Ερωτόκριτος Θεοτοκάτος στις εκλογές που έγιναν πρόσφατα.

Οι εκλογικές διαδικασίες στο Σύλλογο Πολυτέκνων «Οι Άγιοι Πάντες» που έχει περισσότερα από 10.750 οικογένειες-μέλη στο νομό Θεσσαλονίκης, άρχισαν στις 23.2.2019 με την Έκτακτη Γενική Συνέλευση.

Συνεδίστηκαν με την Τακτική Γενική Συνέλευση στις 2.3.2019, όπου ψηφίστηκαν ο Οικονομικός Απολογισμός του 2018 και η Εφορευτική Επιτροπή των εκλογών. Επίσης αποφασίστηκε η ημερομηνία της ψηφοφορίας που ορίστηκε για τις 16 Μαρτίου 2019 ημέρα Σάββατο.

«Η πολύτεκνη οικογένεια χρειάζεται την ειλικρινή και ανιδιοτελή στήριξη όλων μας»

Ο επανεκλεγείς πρόεδρος κ. Ερωτόκριτος Θεοτοκάτος μετά την ομόφωνη εκλογή του δήλωσε: «Σήμερα στις δύσκολες οικονομικές συνθήκες και την μεγάλη ανεργία η πολύτεκνη οικογένεια πλήττεται πρώτα και περισσότερο, γι' αυτό και χρειάζεται την ειλικρινή και ανιδιοτελή στήριξη όλων μας. Σήμερα που η πολιτεία έχει βάλει στο περιθώριο την ευαισθησία και ισοπέδωσε πρώτα την πολυμελή και πολύτεκνη οικογένεια, χωρίς να λαμβάνει υπόψη της ούτε την επιλογή του Συντάγματος (άρθρο 21 παρ. 2, αναθεώρηση 2001) για ιδιαίτερη μέριμνα για την πολύτεκνη οικογένεια, για λόγους Εθνικού συμφέροντος.

Σήμερα που όλοι θέλουμε την δημογραφική κατάρρευση της χώρας και καταλαβαίνουμε ότι ο Ελληνισμός οδηγείται στο τέλος της Ιστορίας του. Όλοι οι Έλληνες έχουμε υποχρέωση και εμείς που, οι συνδεδεμένοι πολύτεκνοι μας τοποθετούν σε αυτή τη θέση ευθύνης για τόσο χρόνια και τόσο μεγάλη αποδοχή, έχουμε ακόμη μεγαλύτερη. Γι' αυτό πρέπει όλοι όσοι έχουμε Εθνική συνείδηση και Κοινωνική ευαισθησία να συμπορευτούμε ηθικά στην Πολύτεκνη οικογένεια και η πολιτεία να βάλει σωστές προτεραιότητες. Επίσης, πρέπει, όλοι όσοι έχουμε την δυνατότητα να στηρίζουμε με κάθε τρόπο την πολύτεκνη οικογένεια. Η προοπτική «να λύσουμε το δημογραφικό με τους μετανάστες νόμιμους ή παράνομους» είναι εφιαλτική.

Γιατί έτσι θα χαθεί η Ορθόδοξη και ο Ελληνισμός. Πρόσθεσε ακόμη ο κ. Θεοτοκάτος: είναι πολλές και μεγάλες οι υποχρεώσεις που αναλαμβάνουμε στις δύσκολες αυτές συνθήκες απέναντι στις 10.750 οικογένειες μέλη του Συλλόγου μας που ιδρύθηκε το 1929. Υποσχόμαστε όμως ότι θα προσπαθήσουμε και θα κάνουμε ότι είναι δυνατόν καλύτερο, ως νέο διοικητικό συμβούλιο, για να πετύχουμε το θετικότερο

Fig. 27: post on online press about an event where Mr Erotokritos Theotokatos, President of Large Families Association and current Deputy Mayor of Thessaloniki explained that “The perspective of addressing our demographic issue with migrants regardless of whether they are legal or illegal is nightmarish. This is how Hellenism and Orthodoxy will die out.”

HATE SPEECH AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS (HUMANITARIAN PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN SEARCH AND RESCUE OPERATIONS AND JOURNALISTS)



Fig. 28: post from the well-known volunteer rescuer Iasonas Apostolopoulos making public direct threats against his life from the same accounts that previously have published his parents' home address.

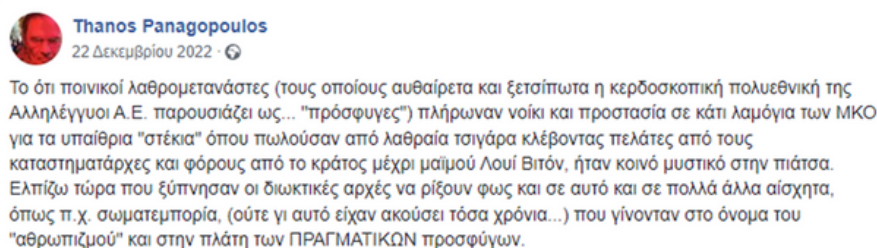


Fig. 29: post on Facebook post claiming that people involved in illegal merchandising and human trafficking were paying money from these activities in order to be protected by corrupted NGOs.



Fig 30: post on Tweeter about the Greek journalist of Spiegel, George Christidis, alleging that his reporting in Evros and the 38 "illegal migrants' (lathro-metanastes)" was against the Government, thus implying that he is a Turkish agent.



Όποιος παρακολουθεί από κοντά το θέμα της λαθρομετανάστευσης θα έχει αντιληφθεί ότι αυτό που επιχειρείται ποικιλοτρόπως είναι η νομιμοποίηση των αλλοδαπών που μπαίνουν παράνομα στη χώρα.

• Από τη Δρ. Ελένη Παπαδοπούλου*

Θα έχει παρατηρήσει επίσης ότι πολλοί από αυτούς δεν δικαιούνται άσυλο, καθώς δεν υπάρχει κανένας πόλεμος στις χώρες τους. Που και να υπήρχε, θα ήταν εντελώς ανόητο η Ελλάδα να φορτωθεί τα εκατομμύρια που φεύγουν λόγω πολέμου, όπως λένε τουλάχιστον. Μέσα σε αυτά τα εκατομμύρια, όμως περιέργως, είναι άντρες σε ηλικία στρατεύσεως, αλλά ακόμη πιο περιέργως αρνούνται να πολεμήσουν για τη χώρα τους και λιποτακτούν. Κοινώς, στις περιπτώσεις εμπόλεμων χωρών η Ελλάδα δέχεται λιποτάκτες, όχι πρόσφυγες. Να τα λέμε τα πράγματα με το όνομά τους και όχι όπως τα βαφτίζουν οι επιτήδριοι.

Βέβαια, η Ελλάδα όχι μόνο έχει φορτωθεί τα εκατομμύρια λαθρομεταναστών, όχι μόνο έχει δεχτεί να διοικείται από την Υπατη Αρμοστεία και τους κομισάριους της Ε.Ε., ενώ έχει κορόνα στο κεφάλι της το παρακράτος των ΜΚΟ -γιατί περί αυτού πρόκειται-, αλλά

Fig. 31: posted article by a journalist claiming that Greece's policy on illegal migration is managed by the UNCHR, the EU commissioners and the parastatal of NGOs, all aiming at the legalization of migrants and refugees.

The above threats are indicative of the generalized hate speech against civil society, volunteers, lawyers and journalists that offer humanitarian assistance to migrants and refugees arriving in Greece and in particular those involved in search and rescue operations, such as Iasonas Apostolopoulos. The GNCHR extensively reported in recent years on the generalized hostile environment against civil society, and shrinking civic space in Greece. Likewise, the RVRN has recorded racist attacks against humanitarian personnel. Particularly, based on the RVRN data for 2020, especially the first semester of 2020, human rights defenders were targeted, several times, in an organised manner, in areas close to the Greek-Turkish borders (Aegean islands in which

Reception Centers for migrants and refugees were established))[16].



Fig. 32: post on Facebook by a Greek journalist claiming to be receiving threats due to her "revealing" research on the role of Spiegel and several NGOs in the incident of 38 refugees in Evros.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE HATE TENSIONS TOWARDS MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN GREECE

Taking into account the results of Tangles research as above presented, these particular trends seem to be identified:

- here is aggressive rhetoric on alleged better treatment received by migrants from national welfare and social protection authorities.
- Refugees and migrants are presented as a threat to national sovereignty.
- The myth of higher rates of criminality among the migrant population is built through the use of social media.
- Violent acts and attacks against refugees and migrants due to their ethnic origin take place.
- Institutional racism and xenophobic rhetoric of politicians against migrants and refugees occur.
- Hate speech against Human Rights Defenders (humanitarian personnel involved in search and rescue operations and journalists) is also detected.

Such trends are also reflected in the GNCHR findings[17]. The GNCHR, actively involved through consultation and reporting in the field of combating racist hate speech and violence with racist motives, monitors the frequent use of xenophobic rhetoric against migrants that has recently also been identified in official political discourse, including by persons who hold public office, encouraging or legitimising racist violence and, thereby, undermining the significant efforts by Greece to improve the Authorities' response to hate crimes. The GNCHR highlights there is an urgent need for the effective implementation of the anti-racist legal framework, as well as, for the establishment of a comprehensive referral system for the support and protection of the victims. Additionally, the cases handled by RVRN Members, corroborate the racial bias of the findings of the recorded attacks against migrants, refugees or asylum-seekers. They were all targeted due to their national origin, religion or colour as well as human rights defenders due to their association with refugees and migrants[18].

The GNCHR focused on the recent phenomena of hate rhetoric and a crime against migrants and refugees in Greece and shares the RVRN's findings, according to which hate rhetoric was intensified during the February-March 2020 Greece-Turkey border crisis and gave rise to a



barrage of attacks against migrants and human rights defenders across Greece[19].

At the same time, the GNCHR expresses its satisfaction with the decline of organized racist violence since the conviction of the Golden Dawn political party as a criminal organization in 2020[20]. However, as the RVRN highlights, there is an urgent need for constant vigilance on the part of the competent authorities, to focus on policies to effectively prevent and combat any relevant trend of organized violence.

Moreover, the GNCHR remains deeply concerned not only with the rising number of incidents of alleged police violence but also, together with the impunity by the State competent authorities, pointing out the importance of timely intervention to protect victims, the effective judicial protection of victims' rights and the victims' access to fair justice through effective, transparent and confidential procedures. It should be here noted, that in practice, in most of the incidents recorded by the RVRN and involving refugees and migrants, the victims identify law enforcement officials among the perpetrators. According to the Network's recordings, racially motivated police violence sees a growing trend in recent years (2018-2021), especially during the pandemic[21].



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- [1] For the hate crime against migrants and refugees and the bias motives see: FRA. Unmasking bias motives in crimes: selected cases of the European Court of Human Rights, 27 November 2018, available at: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-unmasking-bias-motives-paper_en.pdf . For Greece see also: Pappas, T.S, and Sotirios A. Arvanitis (2010) Racism and Xenophobia in Greece: The emergence of a new culture of intolerance. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 28 (1), pp.1-20.
- [2] See above p. 7.
- [3] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), an initiative comprised of 52 Civil Society actors aiming to monitor hate crime in Greece, established by the Greek National Commission for Human Rights (GNCHR) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Greece (UNHCR) and its Annual Report 2021.
- [4] RVRN, Annual Report 2020, p. 5.
- [5] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), Annual Report 2021.
- [6] ECRI report on Greece (Sixth Monitoring Cycle), 28 July 2022, p. 13
- [7] Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance on his mission to Greece (A/HRC/32/50/Add.1) [EN/AR], par. 44 and 52.
- [8] See: Kanelli D. and Eleni Kavada (2016). "Hate speech in Greece: the role of media and politics. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*.
- [9] It should be here mentioned that in 2018, the Prosecutor of the Court of Cassation issued instructions to the local Prosecution Offices requesting the latter to cease the use of the term "lathro-metanastis" (i.e. illegal, clandestine immigrant) on the basis that it is not an appropriate term. It is insulting and nowhere to be found in Greek legislation, as well as, in order to "prevent phenomena of xenophobia and racist violence" (document with Prot. Nr. 81/9126.7.2018).
- [10] See: Karydis, B. (1996) *The criminality of the migrants in Greece. Issues of Criminal Policy*, Athens: Papazisis, Moschopoulou, A. (2005) *The criminality of the migrants in Greece. Depiction of the phenomenon at the afternoon press 1990-1999*, Athens-Komotini: Ant.N.Sakkoula, Tsiganou, I. (2010). *Migration and Criminality: Myth and reality*, Athens: National Centre for Social Research.
- [11] GNCHR Observations on Greece's combined 23rd and 24th periodic report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, July 2021, p. 11-12,

GNCHR Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Committee on the List of Issues Prior to Reporting for the Third periodic examination of Greece under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, September 2021, p. 8, 9, 16, 17.

[12] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), Annual Report 2021.

[13] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), Annual Report 2021.

[14] GNCHR Observations on Greece's combined 23rd and 24th periodic report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, July 2021, p. 19.

[15] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), Annual Report 2021, p. 7, 22-23 and 47.

[16] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), Annual Report 2019, p. 6-7, Annual Report 2020, p. 12-17, 20-34 and Annual Report 2021, p. 16-23. GNCHR Statement: Reviewing asylum and immigration policies and safeguarding human rights at the EU borders, 5.3.2020. Racist Violence Recording Network: Serious concern over attacks against refugees and humanitarian workers, 5.3.2020.

[17] GNCHR Observations on Greece's combined 23rd and 24th periodic report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, July 2021, p. 11-12, GNCHR Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Committee on the List of Issues Prior to Reporting for the Third periodic examination of Greece under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, September 2021, p. 8, 9, 16, 17.

[18] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), Annual Report 2021, p. 16-23.

[19] RVRN, Universal Periodic Review Stakeholder Submission, Submission to the UN UPR, Thirty-Ninth Session of the Working Group on the UPR, Human Rights Council, 25 March 2021, par. 34.

[20] See above Footnote 20.

[21] See Racist Violence Recording Network (RVRN), Annual Report 2021.

2023

OSINT Report 7

