



# **Migrants, Crime and Criminal Justice in Cyprus**

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**DISSERTATION**

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## Abstract

The issue of migration and crime, which is both multifaceted and complex, is a global problem. Migration is a multidimensional phenomenon, which has legal, social and cultural as well as economic impacts. Questions on the subject of immigration and crime have been raised by early theorists such as Sellin (1938) and Sutherland (1929) (cited in Rattner, 1997:235).

The recent influx of migrants, legal and illegal, law-abiding and criminal, arriving in Cyprus in search of work and better living conditions is perceived to have caused a variety of social problems. Media attention on the escalating numbers of undocumented migrants arriving by sea and by air and their involvement in organized crime as well as the increase in crime rates, has provoked hostility among the population towards visible minorities who are perceived as competing for jobs, and the reason for the increase in crime. This widespread concern over crimes committed by immigrants can very easily be turned into hate crimes committed against them. There is a need to see if perceptions of immigrant criminality are consistent with official criminal statistics because if perceptions are more negative than the reality, this would suggest anti-immigrant feeling.

The main aim of the present thesis is to broaden public understanding of important issues in relation to migrants and the criminal justice system in the Republic of Cyprus. No previous research is available on the topic of migrants and crime in Cyprus.

The present thesis considers the advantages and disadvantages of having migrants, reasons for migrating, illegal migrants, asylum seekers and refugee status; introduces well-known theoretical approaches to prejudice, and examines its causes and effects; describes xenophobia, racism and stereotypes, as well as the role of the mass media; focuses on migrants in Cyprus, Cyprus law, international conventions and the European Union's legal framework relating to migrants; examines the definition of crime, migrant crime across the world and in Cyprus in relation to that of the native population; provides a literature review on ethnicity, migrants and crime; examines the criminal justice system in Cyprus: the police, courts and prisons; presents in two empirical studies undertaken by the author, including their methodology, findings, conclusions and policy implications.

The literature review, led to the formulation and testing of three hypotheses regarding race-related attitudes of both Greek-Cypriots and foreigners:

- a. Immigrants increase crime rates and cause additional problems to society.

- b. The crime rates of foreigners are higher than locals.
- c. Hypotheses (a) and (b) are closely associated with racism and xenophobia. In other words, the racist/xenophobic hypothesis is that the public's belief that immigrants commit crimes functions independently of the actuality involved and it expresses a degrading stereotype of migrants (William, 2003:8).

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected to test the above hypotheses and to address additional socio-legal issues. The survey included two structured questionnaires. The first was used to investigate the opinions of a representative sample of 500 Greek-Cypriots, their perceptions and attitudes towards foreigners and crime. The second questionnaire was used to survey 100 foreigners regarding their opinions, crime perceptions, and attitudes towards Greek-Cypriots. Data from the two surveys was then analyzed using the SPSS package. In addition, qualitative data was also systematically collected by means of 30 face-to-face interviews with foreigners carried out mainly in Nicosia, which were transcribed and analyzed.

This thesis documents that, on the basis of official criminal statistics, popular perceptions about a relationship between migrants and crime are not over-exaggerated. In other words, foreigners are found to commit proportionately more serious offences than Cypriots. The main points raised in relation to migrants suggest that people do feel unsafe in their communities. Most Greek-Cypriots are prejudiced against Russian-Pontiacs, but foreigners are also prejudiced against them, as well as against Cypriots. The majority of Greek-Cypriots recognize that there is racism in Cyprus, due to xenophobia and as a consequence of media misinformation. All the respondents in the face-to-face interviews declared that they do not tend to socialize with Cypriots and do not have close Cypriot friends. Some mentioned that there is an invisible barrier in the social interaction with Cypriots that makes it impossible for Cypriots to have close contacts with foreigners. Also, they are of the opinion that Cypriots for one reason or another are racists. This finding indicates that integration of immigrants into the body of the Cypriot society is proceeding slowly. Cypriot society has become multi-cultural and care should be taken to tackle social problems like crime, carefully avoiding further victimization of immigrants by investing more in race relations.

## Περίληψη

Η μετανάστευση και η εγκληματικότητα, που είναι ένα θέμα πολύπλευρο και σύνθετο, αποτελεί ένα παγκόσμιο πρόβλημα. Η μετανάστευση είναι ένα πολυδιάστατο φαινόμενο, το οποίο ασκεί νομικές, κοινωνικές, πολιτιστικές καθώς επίσης και οικονομικές επιδράσεις. Με το θέμα της μετανάστευσης και της εγκληματικότητας έχουν ασχοληθεί οι πρώτοι θεωρητικοί όπως Sellin (1938) και Sutherland (1929).

Η μεγάλη ροή των μεταναστών, νόμιμων και παράνομων, νομοταγών ή εγκληματικών στοιχείων, που φθάνουν στην Κύπρο ψάχνοντας για εργασία και καλύτερες συνθήκες διαβίωσης, έχει προκαλέσει συγκεκριμένα κοινωνικά προβλήματα. Τα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης που επισημαίνουν την ραγδαία αύξηση των παράνομων μεταναστών από θαλάσσης και αέρος, τη συμμετοχή τους στο οργανωμένο έγκλημα καθώς επίσης και τον ρυθμό αύξησης της εγκληματικότητας, έχουν προκαλέσει την εχθρότητα μεταξύ του πληθυσμού έναντι των μειονοτήτων που θεωρούν ότι ανταγωνίζονται για τις θέσεις εργασίας, κατηγορώντας τους για τα εγκλήματα που διαπράττονται. Αυτή η μεγάλη ανησυχία σχετικά με το έγκλημα που διαπράττεται από τους μετανάστες μπορεί να μετατραπεί σε εγκλήματα μίσους που διαπράττονται εναντίον τους. Υπάρχει ανάγκη διερεύνησης εάν οι αντιλήψεις για την εγκληματικότητα των μεταναστών ανταποκρίνονται με τα πραγματικά ποσοστά φυλάκισης, διότι εάν οι αντιλήψεις είναι αρνητικές, δεν συμπίπτουν με την πραγματικότητα, αυτό θα συνιστούσε την ύπαρξη αρνητικών αισθημάτων κατά των μεταναστών.

Ο κύριος στόχος της παρούσας διατριβής είναι να διευρυνθεί η δημόσια αντίληψη των σημαντικών θεμάτων που άπτονται των μεταναστών και το Κυπριακό ποινικό σύστημα. Δεν έχει διενεργηθεί καμία προηγούμενη έρευνα αναφορικά στο θέμα των μεταναστών και του εγκλήματος στην Κύπρο.

Η παρούσα διατριβή εξετάζει τα πλεονεκτήματα και τα μειονεκτήματα της παρουσίας των νόμιμων μεταναστών, των παράνομων μεταναστών, τους αιτητές ασύλου και το στάτους των προσφύγων. Εισάγει τις γνωστές θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις στην προκατάληψη, την ξеноφοβία, το ρατσισμό, τα στερεότυπα σε σχέση με τους μετανάστες, καθώς επίσης και το ρόλο των μέσων μαζικής επικοινωνίας. Ασχολείται με τους μετανάστες στην Κύπρο, τους σχετικούς νόμους, τις Διεθνείς Συνθήκες και το νομικό πλαίσιο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης αναφορικά με τους μετανάστες. Εξετάζει την εγκληματικότητα ανά τον κόσμο και την εγκληματικότητα των μεταναστών στην Κύπρο. Παρέχει μια βιβλιογραφική επισκόπηση για το μετανάστη και το έγκλημα. Εξετάζει το ποινικό σύστημα της Κύπρου: την αστυνομία, τα

δικαστήρια και την φυλακή. Περιγράφει τη μεθοδολογία που χρησιμοποιήθηκε στις δύο εμπειρικές μελέτες που πραγματοποιήθηκαν, εκθέτει τα συμπεράσματα των εμπειρικών μελετών, και τέλος αναλύει τα συμπεράσματα που συνάγονται βάσει των δεδομένων που εξευρέθηκαν καθώς επίσης και τις πολιτικές επιπτώσεις τους.

Βάσει της βιβλιογραφικής επισκόπησης, οι ακόλουθες τρεις υποθέσεις έχουν εξεταστεί σχετικά με τις τοποθετήσεις των Ελληνοκυπρίων και των αλλοδαπών:

α. Οι μετανάστες αυξάνουν τα ποσοστά εγκλήματος και προκαλούν επιπρόσθετα προβλήματα στην κοινωνία.

β. Τα ποσοστά εγκλήματος των αλλοδαπών είναι υψηλότερα από τους Κύπριους.

γ. Οι υποθέσεις (α) και (β) συνδέονται με το ρατσισμό και την ξενοφοβία. Με άλλα λόγια, η ρατσιστική/ξενόφοβη υπόθεση είναι ότι η πεποίθηση του κοινού ότι οι μετανάστες διαπράττουν εγκλήματα λειτουργεί ανεξάρτητα από την πραγματικότητα και εκφράζει στερεότυπα των μεταναστών (William, 2003:8).

Έχουν συλλεχθεί τόσο ποσοτικά όσο και ποιοτικά στοιχεία σε μία προσπάθεια να απαντηθούν οι ερωτήσεις που τίθενται και για να αντιμετωπισθούν τα πρόσθετα κοινωνικο-οικονομικά ζητήματα. Η έρευνα περιέλαβε δύο ερωτηματολόγια. Το πρώτο χρησιμοποιήθηκε για να ερευνηθεί 500 Κύπριους αναφορικά για τις αντιλήψεις και τη στάση τους απέναντι στους αλλοδαπούς και το έγκλημα. Το δεύτερο ερωτηματολόγιο χρησιμοποιήθηκε για να διερευνηθούν 100 αλλοδαποί για να εξετάσει τις αντιλήψεις σχετικά για το έγκλημα, και τη στάση τους απέναντι στους Ελληνοκυπρίους. Για την ανάλυση των στοιχείων που συλλέχθηκαν από δύο ποσοτικές έρευνες χρησιμοποιήθηκε το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα SPSS. Επιπλέον για να ληφθούν τα ποιοτικά στοιχεία, έχουν διενεργηθεί 30 συνεντεύξεις με αλλοδαπούς (πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο) που πραγματοποιήθηκαν κυρίως στη Λευκωσία.

Αυτή η διατριβή τεκμηριώνει ότι η κοινή αντίληψη για την ύπαρξη σχέσης μεταξύ των μεταναστών και του εγκλήματος, δεν είναι υπερβολή. Με άλλα λόγια, οι αλλοδαποί διαπράττουν αναλογικά περισσότερο σοβαρά αδικήματα σε σχέση με τους Κύπριους. Τα κύρια σημεία που τίγονται σε σχέση με τους μετανάστες υποδηλώνουν ότι οι άνθρωποι αισθάνονται ανασφαλείς στις κοινότητές τους. Οι περισσότεροι από αυτούς είναι προκατειλημμένοι ενάντια στους Ρωσο-Πόντιους, καθώς επίσης και οι αλλοδαποί είναι προκατειλημμένοι προς αυτούς, όπως και προς τους Κυπρίους. Η πλειοψηφία των Ελληνοκυπρίων αναγνωρίζει ότι υπάρχει ρατσισμός στην Κύπρο, λόγω της ξενοφοβίας και παραπληροφόρησης των Μέσων Ενημέρωσης. Όλοι οι ερωτηθέντες στις συνεντεύξεις (πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο), δήλωσαν ότι

δεν τείνουν να κοινωνικοποιούνται με Κυπρίους και δεν έχουν στενούς Κύπριους φίλους. Μερικοί από αυτούς ανέφεραν ότι υπάρχει ένα αόρατο εμπόδιο στην κοινωνική αλληλεπίδραση με τους Κυπρίους που τους καθιστά αδύνατο να έχουν στενές επαφές με τους αλλοδαπούς. Επίσης, είναι της άποψης ότι οι Κύπριοι, για τον ένα ή τον άλλο λόγο, είναι ρατσιστές. Αυτή η εύρεση δείχνει ότι η ένταξη των μεταναστών στο σώμα της Κυπριακής κοινωνίας προχωρά αργά. Η Κυπριακή κοινωνία έχει γίνει πολυπολιτισμική και θα πρέπει να ληφθούν τα κατάλληλα μέτρα, με προσοχή, για να αντιμετωπιστούν τα κοινωνικά προβλήματα, όπως το έγκλημα, αποφεύγοντας την περαιτέρω θυματοποίηση των μεταναστών, με την επένδυση περισσότερο στις φυλετικές σχέσεις.

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## **Chapter 1. Important issues in migration today**

### **1.1. The “Migration”/ “Immigration”/ “Emigration” phenomenon**

The three terms, migration, immigration and emigration all indicate a move from one country to another a move that involves at least three major actors: the migrant, the area or country of origin and the area or country of destination. According to the *Columbia Encyclopaedia*, “emigration” means to leave one’s native place and to go to a new one; “immigration” stresses going to the new place as a settler, and, finally, “migration” (in the case of humans) means moving from one place to another to live.<sup>1</sup> The three terms are thus synonymous, and for the purposes of this thesis, the three terms will be used interchangeably to refer to the phenomenon concerned. The people who migrate are called migrants, or, more specifically, emigrants or immigrants, depending on the historical setting, circumstance and perspective.

There are two distinct categories of migration: “international migration”, which is the movement of people from a country to another; and “internal migration”, which is the movement of people from one area of their country of origin, to another area of their nation state (Hebding and Glick, 1996:444). While internal migration, in principle, implies movement of people within a geographically defined territory unrestricted by legal constraints, an international migrant is invariably confronted with a series of sometimes complex regulations relating, at first, to exit from the country of origin and, later, entry into, residence within, and exit from, the receiving country (Stahl, 1988:34).

Migration has always been part of the human condition. Migrations have occurred throughout history and have played an important role in all areas of human habitation. The main early migrations were the result of invasions: the Gothic, Arab and Ottoman Turk invasions.<sup>2</sup> Later migrations were due to religious or economic pressures, invasions, wars, the search for food and work. As an example, we can cite the 19<sup>th</sup> century migration of the Irish to many parts of the world.

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<sup>1</sup> *Columbia Encyclopedia*, [www.bartleby.com/65/mi/migratn.html](http://www.bartleby.com/65/mi/migratn.html)

<sup>2</sup> *Columbia Encyclopedia*, [www.bartleby.com/65/mi/migratn.html](http://www.bartleby.com/65/mi/migratn.html)

Although emigration from Britain and Ireland was well established in the seventeenth century it was not a uniquely European phenomenon. Migration from Russia into Siberia is considered to have involved 10 million people between 1815 and 1914 (Hoerder, 1985:10)<sup>3</sup>. India, China, and Japan were also important sources of emigrants in this period. Moreover, the emigration of Africans to the Americas was numerically more important than European emigration until the third decade of the nineteenth century, as about 8,000,000 Africans had entered the Americas before 1820 compared with fewer than 2,500,000 Europeans (Eltis, 1983:28) ).<sup>4</sup>

Inflows to Europe increased in the mid-1980's when, due to political instability, ethnic conflict, economic difficulties and the opening of the borders of the former eastern bloc countries, people emigrated both within the affected countries as well as to the West. Ethnic Germans repatriated to Germany, Greek-Pontians to Greece and Jews to Israel. Many people from the former states of the Soviet Union migrated to the Russian Federation. During 1992-1998, 3.7 million migrants in Russia were from other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the Baltic states. In Russia, 939,409 people arrived in 2004, while in 2005 the number totaled 912,873 (*Migration World 2005*:386). The estimated number of international migrants in the middle of 2005 was 12,079,626 (*2005 Revision Population Database of the U.N.*).<sup>5</sup> The admission to the EU of ten new members on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004 (i.e., Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Malta, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) meant that workers from the ex-eastern bloc countries could now travel and settle in other countries within the EU. Andrienko and Guriev (2005:2) claim that "international immigration seems to be the only solution to Russia's impending demographic crisis: if current trends continue, Russia's population will shrink by 20% to 112-119 million people in 2050; moreover, the share of the working age population will decline substantially. Internal immigration can help overcome huge interregional imbalances and reallocate millions of workers from regions with low wages and high unemployment to the regions with zero unemployment."

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<sup>3</sup> Cited in Dudley, 1995, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*, p.5.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in Dudley, 1995, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*, p.5.

<sup>5</sup> <http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=1>



Starting in the early 1990's, aliens of Greek origin, mostly from Russia (Pontiac Greeks), began to enter Greece, which then had a population of 10,964,080 million. Their presence in Greece numbered 146,102 in 1999 with 797,093 of these registered as non-Greeks (Sitaropoulos, 2003: 15). Of course, the official statistics on registered foreigners ignores the large number of illegal aliens in Greece. Regarding the enormous numbers of non-EU aliens coming to Greece, the native Greeks, as well as the Greek authorities, consider this a problem.

Research carried out in Athens in 2002 surveying 491 Greek-speaking alien immigrants showed that 53% did not wish to change country for employment reasons, whereas 35.9% said that they regarded Greece as a country of permanent residence (*MRB Hellas SA*, 2002:34, 9). Their main occupations were: builders 16.3%, workers 15%, housewives 8.4%, domestic workers/babysitters 7.1%, pedlars 4.6%, traders 4.5%, sales persons in shops 4.3%, technicians 4% and waiters 4% (Sitaropoulos, 2003: 14). In mid-2005, the estimated number of international migrants was 973,677 (8.8% of the population), of whom 541,225 were female migrants and 432,452, male migrants (*2005 Revision Population Database of the United Nations*).

Worldwide the countries that have been admitting migrants for permanent residence are Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Australia by mid-2005 was hosting 4,097,204 (20.3% of the population) international migrants, where 2,113,586 were women and 1,983,618 men (*2005 Revision Population Database of the United Nations*). In the last three months of 2006, Canada welcomed 58,300 immigrants, the largest fourth-quarter total since 1992 (64,900). While Ontario remains immigrants' preferred destination, the proportion of those who settle there is shrinking. In the last three months of 2006, the province accounted for 50.5% of national immigration. The last time Ontario had such a small fourth-quarter percentage was in 1993. Every province except Ontario and British Columbia received more immigrants in the fourth quarter of 2006 than in the same period of 2005. In particular, Prince Edward Island had a record number of immigrants in the final quarter, and Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan posted their highest levels of immigration since the 1970s (*Quarterly Demographic Estimates*, October to December 2006). While in New Zealand the estimated number of international migrants at mid-year (2006) was 642,164; 337,362 were women and 304,802 were men.

According to the *National Statistics* news release, the estimated number of people arriving to live in the UK for at least a year was 565,000 in 2005, an average of over 1,500 a day. While lower than the estimate in 2004, this still continued the overall trend of high immigration into the UK that began in the late 1990s. But the figure for the out-migration is also high: in 2005, 380,000 people left the UK, corroborating the high level of out-migration seen in recent years. This is equivalent, on average, to over 1,000 people a day leaving the UK to live abroad, over half of whom were British citizens.

According to the *2005 Revision Population Database of the United Nations*, the estimated number of international migrants at mid-year in France, was 6,471,029 (10.7% of the population), where the female migrants were 3,337,593 and 3,133,436 were men. In Germany the international migrants' number reached 10,143,626 (12.3% of the population), of whom 4,902,594 were women and 5,241,032 men. In Cyprus, the total number of international migrants was 116,137 (13.9% of the population) of whom 68,160 were women and 47,977 were men.

Asia, has recorded a very small flow of migrants (*2005 Revision Population Database of the United Nations*). Countries like Bangladesh (where international migrants comprised 0.7% of the total population), India (with 0.5% of international migrants), Pakistan (with 2.1%), the Philippines (with 0.5%) and Sri-Lanka (with 1.8%) encourage labor emigration, due to unemployment problems existing in those countries. This fact may serve as a temporary safety method against mass discontent resulting from mass unemployment.

According to the *World Migration Report 2005* (ch.23, p.379), released by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), migrants represent only 2.9% of the global population. The report also notes that for a wide variety of jobs in Western Europe, there is rarely direct competition between immigrants and local workers. Migrants occupy jobs at all skill levels, with particular concentration at the higher and lower ends of the market, often in work that nationals are either unable or unwilling to take.

There has been a significant increase in the number of migrants coming into the EU-25 in recent years. According to the latest calculations of Eurostat, the Statistical Office of the European Communities (*Eurostat, news release, 64/2006-19 May 2006*), the total number of

non-nationals who reside in the 25 member countries of the EU in 2004 was around 25 million. Net migration to the EU-25 increased from 590,000 persons in 1994 to 1.85 million by 2004, but these figures may have been miscalculated as they do not include clandestine migration, such as illegal immigrants or human trafficking (*Eurostat Yearbook 2006-07:29*).

There is no continent, nor any place in the world, that does not have migrants. Despite the claims of ethnic purity, almost every nation state is the result of numerous overlapping generations of immigrants.

## **1.2 Advantages and disadvantages in having migrants**

For many countries and regions, migration is an influential component affecting population growth, social and economic efforts. Net migration continues to be one of the main components of demographic growth in the countries of the European Union. According to the U.N. report *World Economic and Social Survey 2004* (without migration) “Europe would have experienced a population decline between 1995 and 2000,” since even though the migrant inflows were about 5 million, the population grew only by 600,000 (p.ix.). Migration is the principal component of population change within the EU, redressing such imbalances as labor shortages, populations with a high proportion of pensioners, and low birth rate (*Eurostat Yearbook 2006-07:29*).

Taking as an example the United States, Borjas (1999:12) shows what the natives both gain and lose from migration. His view is quite interesting and focuses on the economy and labor of a country. He argues that on the one hand, because of migrant workers the wage of the local workers falls. On the other hand, local firms gain because they can hire workers at lower wages. Also, local consumers gain because the lower labor costs lead to cheap goods and services (Borjas, 1999:12). In addition, immigration may increase the productivity of local workers and thereby give them more leisure time. Furthermore, migrant businessmen open up firms, creating jobs and contributing to economic growth (Borjas, 1999:88).

As Bernstein and Weiner (1999: xvi) point out, an important consequence of the international immigration is that more employers want to recruit manpower from other countries. The same authors refer to the increasing number of individuals in medium and low-income countries who would like to improve their lives and the lives of their families by

finding a job in a high-income country. Many are eligible for a visa or work permit, while others apply for a tourist visa and then illegally enter the labor market.

There is evidence that the demand for foreign workers is increasing due to a shortage of manpower for specific jobs, namely those that are regarded as “socially unacceptable.” These jobs are at the bottom of the social scale, are poorly paid and are associated with irregular working hours, shift work or unpleasant working conditions due to extreme temperatures, monotony, and so forth. Socially unacceptable jobs fall into the secondary segment of the labor market (Thomas, 1982:15). The categories of jobs filled by immigrants are those jobs that are dirty, difficult and dangerous, as well as jobs in farming, construction, road repairs, hotel, restaurant, and a number of service jobs such as childcare, house cleaning, pizza delivery, etc.

There is a belief that migrants depress local wages. But research in the US found that those most affected by the new immigrants who had arrived in 2000, were resident immigrants and young, less-educated American workers (*World Migration Report 2005*:169).

Foreign labor, then, becomes a structural component of labor supply, with immigrants taking over specific categories of low-paying, low-skill jobs in manufacturing, construction and the service sector. The need for a new labor force to perform the tasks required by the reconstruction industry takes precedence over all other economic considerations. Since it is impossible to satisfy this demand, foreign workers are seen as indispensable to economic prosperity.

As Borjas (1999:90) states, “without the pain suffered by the workers who compete with immigrants, no gains would accrue to the employers who do the hiring or to the consumers who do the buying. Ironically, even though the immigration debate views the possibility that immigrants lower the wage of native workers as a very harmful consequence, the economic benefits from immigration might not exist otherwise.” In other words, migration creates both benefits for both sending and receiving countries, but these are shared and used differently by workers and employers, skilled and unskilled workers and groups of consumers in the respective countries.

### **1.3. Reasons for migrating**

Most of the departure areas are poor, rural, over-populated relative to their resources and have high rates of population growth and unemployment. Of course, no single cause is ever sufficient to explain why people decide to leave their country and settle in another. Labor migrants, permanent settlers, and refugees have different motivations and move under different conditions. There are many reasons why people might choose to emigrate including political or economic ones. Some might have found a spouse while visiting another country and emigrate to be with them. Many older people living in rich nations with cold climates will choose to move to warmer climates when they retire.

Motives for migrating can be either incentives attracting one away, known as "pull factors," or circumstances encouraging a person to leave, known as "push factors." Some "pull factors" could be higher incomes, better weather, better behavior between people, less criminality, family reasons, political stability, better education, better living conditions. "Push factors" could be war, famine or drought, disease, poverty, political corruption, natural disasters, lack of employment opportunities. In other words, migration is influenced by a combination of economic, political and social factors.

Economic considerations are of primary importance in the decision to migrate, so that migrants can improve their well being. However, the reasons associated with international migration are not solely economic. Whilst it has been customary to regard the most important reasons for mass migration as economic, we should also remember the considerable flows of political refugees over the years, coupled with other movements where familial factors have proved the catalysts, with economic considerations playing only a secondary role (King, 1993:46).

Speare (1974) suggested that, "in international migration, political factors are often more important than economic factors" (cited in Stahl, 1988:36). Demands for the adjustment of boundaries arbitrarily drawn by colonial administrators that cut across economic and homogeneous ethnic groups, "to accommodate the socio-cultural realities of the countries

concerned and to regroup the populations of ethnic groups arbitrarily assigned to different countries", have led to war (Adepoju, cited in Stahl,1988:36).

Crimes committed during war are by far the strongest push factor for involuntary migration. Other push factors that lead to more or less voluntary migration are bad governance, absence of the rule of law, lack of freedom and prosperity in other countries. These make many people decide to leave their country and look for a better life abroad.

As Layard et al. (1992:81) have argued, the desire to migrate depends on such factors as comparative wage levels, unemployment rates and unemployment benefits, housing problems, the travel costs to migrate as well as “ the psychological cost of leaving one’s culture, friends and relations” (Layard et al., 1992:21). Potential migrants will have to consider all those specific circumstances and their impact on their lives.

Another factor that makes migrants leave their countries is the idea that the industrial countries offer easy, unlimited wealth. Anyone who watches TV could get this impression, especially from films that show the positive images of a country, the luxury houses that people live in with big gardens, stables, Jacuzzi baths. It makes one believe that life in those countries is much better and, of course, who does not want to live like that?

On the basis of what has been outlined thus far we can identify the following categories of migrants:

- a. *Guest workers*: Those who migrate for a short time in order to be employed and send money home.
- b. *Highly skilled migrants*: Those who seek employment through international labor markets for scarce skills.
- c. *Illegal migrants*: Those who enter without proper documents in order to find work.
- d. *Forced migrants*: Those who have been forced to leave from their country as refugees and asylum-seekers, or due to external factors such as environmental catastrophes.
- e. *Family reunification migrants*: Those people who want to be reunited with their families.

- f. *Repatriating migrants*: Those who after a period in another country, decide to return to their country of origin.<sup>6</sup>

One could say that migration occurs because of the demand-pull factors that draw migrants into industrial countries, supply-push factors that push them out of their own countries, and networks of friends and relatives already in industrial societies who serve as anchor communities for newcomers. As Layard et al. (1992) stated, it is “the comparison of conditions at home and abroad that determines behavior” (21).

Stalker (2001:21) has outlined two approaches in conceptualizing why people migrate. The first is the “individual approach,” where it is the migrant as a rational human being who decides, sees the available options, and considers the destinations which can offer him the best prospects of finding work. The second one is the “structuralism approach” whereby the migrant is surrounded by forces that push him out of a country and pull him to travel to another. These forces could be population pressure, gender discrimination, economic or political reasons (22).

Consequently, we expect migrants to travel to rich countries in order to earn more money and enjoy better living conditions. Migrants, however, do not get the best jobs, in view of the fact that local workers enjoy first choice. They are employed in jobs that are unpleasant, hard and low paying. Furthermore, the possibility of being exploited is even greater if one is in the country illegally. Therefore, let us next address the issue of illegal migrants.

#### **1.4. Illegal migrants**

Illegal migration exists and is growing all over the world. It is a matter of major concern for most European Union member states. Daily we hear about migrants dying at land borders or drowning at sea. But instead of understanding the causes of these deaths, the host countries are responding with even stricter immigration policies and border control measures that can lead to more deaths and dangers to illegal migrants. Interestingly, some countries (e.g., Australia in 2000) have been warning about the risks that immigrants will meet arriving

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<sup>6</sup> //portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-

illegally by boat, such as poisonous snakes, spiders and crocodiles. Illegal immigrants are not registered in official records, and therefore reliable numbers are almost impossible to obtain.

Illegal migrants break laws and rules. An example would be the situation when they do not pay taxes but use the public goods and services, like medical treatment. They compete with legal migrants for jobs and avoid certain obligations, thus enjoying more advantages than those who are law-abiding. It is the immigration law of a country that identifies whether foreigners are able to stay or work legally or illegally. As Jahn and Straubhaar (1998:2) remind us citing a 1992 study by Andreas and Thomas, “if we had no legal barriers for the entrance, stay or work of persons -like within nation states or within the European Union - illegal migration would be non-issue.”

Some states have created highly effective border controls, but usually because of the perception of acute threat from unauthorized entry. “Within the European Union, for example, Schengen II provided for the harmonization of visa regulations and the introduction of a uniform, largely counterfeit-proof visa stamp. A number of countries also have instituted computerized checks. The Netherlands, for example, has a central system containing information about identity documents, including foreign passports, residence permit and visas, which have been reported stolen or missing” (Bernstein & Weiner, 1999:23). Technology to scan passports and travel documents has facilitated controls but document fraud has become more sophisticated.

Illegal migrants are those who enter a country illegally, by illegal border crossing or by using forged documents. However, many illegal migrants may enter legally and then "extend" their stay. The most common transportation is by air, some arriving with false documents. Sometimes, though, the smugglers who provide transport, temporary shelter, travel documents, and other supportive services organize the illegal entries. Many illegal migrants are not able to pay the high prices of smuggling services and they become victims of traffickers. Trafficking in immigrants is a profitable and growing industry. Traffickers use violence and deception to buy and sell workers, treating them as “goods.” They recruit their victims with phony offers of employment as waitresses, dancers or domestic workers. The female victims are abused or raped by the traffickers and then prostituted in sex clubs where they are held in isolated conditions. As an example, we can cite the story of a Moldavian



woman, who was sold as sex worker by her boyfriend (Esembe, 2005:38). She met a British Cypriot man and she thought they were in love with each other. He suggested to her that they move to England, but they stopped in Cyprus to see some friends. They were going to different pubs and talking to his “friends.” One morning she found out that her “friend” sold her to two men, taking a big amount of money. She could get her freedom by paying back their money and she could manage that only if she worked for them in a cabaret. This is only one shocking example of how women get trapped and cannot escape from such a way of life. A proper discussion of the issue of trafficking in women, however, is beyond the scope of the thesis.

A journalist, Fabrizio Gatti, pretended to be an undocumented migrant in order to investigate the treatment given to illegal migrants and conditions in the CPT (Centro di Permanenza Temporaneo -temporary detention centre for migrants) in Milan, which was later closed because the conditions within it were deemed inhuman. The article he wrote was described how, when he was posing as a Romanian beggar, he had his fingerprints taken and was photographed in the police station.

According the *Cyprus Mail* 27/8/2006, Yassine, a Moroccan asylum seeker living in the Ivory Coast, arrived in Cyprus in November 2005 after a journey "to safety that included a sea route and a 10-day journey through the desert. In times of crisis, people who are originally from the north of the country but are residing in the south – the massive majority of them are Muslims – are in huge danger. Somebody can kill them merely because of their Muslim name," he said. He travelled illegally from Morocco to Egypt, hiding inside different vehicles paying 300 euros for his journey. First he crossed the Morocco-Algerian border and from there he took a car to Tunisia, and then moved to Libya. From there he crossed the border to Egypt. "From Egypt to Cyprus, I was hiding in a big ship which was carrying some "goods." I was told that I was going to Italy. It was after spending some time in the island that I realised I was in Cyprus," he said. Christopher, another Moroccan, only realised he was in Cyprus a few days after his arrival. He paid \$3,000 to go to France and he was told that the trip would last two weeks.

Trafficking is distinct from smuggling. Trafficking involves the exploitation of the migrant, often for purposes of forced labor or prostitution. Cyprus is a destination country for

women trafficked from eastern and central Europe, and then put to work as dancers in cabarets and nightclubs. In 2004, the Cyprus government increased its anti-trafficking efforts, mainly in the area of investigations and arrests. The police made 194 arrests in 91 trafficking-related cases and closed ten cabarets for operating without a license (U.S. State Dept., *Trafficking in Persons Report*, June 2005).

Even though the law in Cyprus prohibits trafficking in persons, there have been widespread reports that persons are being trafficked into the country. The Attorney General's Office prepared a National Action Plan for the Combating of Human Trafficking, which was presented and approved by the Council of Ministers in April 2005. According to the Action Plan, women involved in cases of sexual exploitation or procuring are not to be arrested or charged with any offence, but are considered as victims and are under the care of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. According to *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2006* (released by the U.S. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour, March 6, 2007), Cyprus was a destination for women trafficked from eastern Europe, primarily Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, Russia, Belarus, and Bulgaria, as well as the Philippines and the Dominican Republic. Traffickers fraudulently recruited victims using the artiste employment permit category and often rotated victims between different cabarets. By the end of 2006, police had identified 90 victims of trafficking, 81 of whom testified or pressed charges against their traffickers. As of October 31, 2006, government welfare services had provided financial aid, counselling, and temporary shelter to 84 victims.

An Office for the Prevention and Combating of Human Trafficking was set up by the Cyprus Police Department in April 2004, to collect and evaluate intelligence regarding trafficking in human beings, to co-ordinate operations of all police divisions and departments, to organize and participate in operations, and to follow up on cases that are under investigation, pending trial or presented to the courts. The Office also prepares reports on trafficking and investigates child pornography on the internet. In addition, the Office organizes educational seminars at the Cyprus Police Academy. Preventive and suppressive measures are also undertaken by the police, such as raids in cabarets, inspections, interviews with women, co-operation with mass media, and control of advertisements found in different newspapers. The police provide an anonymous toll-free hotline where anybody can call to seek help or give information. Cabarets which are under investigation are put on a blacklist and are unable to

apply for new visas. Trafficking in human beings is one of the most pressing and complex human rights issues.

The European Commission, in its 2001 "Communication to the Council and the European Parliament on a Common Policy on Illegal Immigration," identified six possible actions for preventing illegal immigration:

- a. "Visa Policy.
- b. Infrastructure for information exchange, co-operation and co-ordination.
- c. Border Management.
- d. Police co-operation.
- e. Aliens law and criminal law.
- f. Return and readmission policy" (COM (2001)672).

The creation of an ILO (Immigration Liaison Officers') network was referred to in the initial Communication of November 2001, and an "Immigration Liaison Officer" is defined as "a representative of one of the Member States posted abroad by the immigration service or other competent authorities to one or more third countries in order to establish and maintain contacts with the authorities of those countries with a view to contributing to the prevention and combating of illegal immigration, the return of illegal immigrants and the management of legal migration"(2003/C 140/10).

The non-immigrant alien workers can be classified into:

- a. Foreign students who are willing to take low-wage jobs and
- b. The others who comprise the temporary contract labor.

Farmers in need of seasonal workers, owners of restaurants and small business, all those that are in need of cheap labor, may oppose control over illegal immigration (Bernstein and Weiner, 1999:5). The governments of some receiving countries have resorted to expulsions of undocumented migrants in various circumstances. Some countries resort to expulsion only for certain categories of offences while other countries deport all persons who contravene immigration laws. The conditions under which deportation occurs may vary widely. In some countries, undocumented migrants have the right to a hearing before an immigration judge or other public official, although this right is often waived. In other

countries, migrants are forcibly expelled.<sup>7</sup> Of course, some are deported, although deportation is often very expensive, because it requires detention facilities, personnel and the co-operation of outside authorities.

In July 2006 the Commission adopted a wide-ranging communication on illegal immigration which takes stock of the progress made in fighting illegal immigration (COM (2006) 402) and addresses measures at all stages of the illegal immigration process, in particular:

- Dialogue and cooperation on migration between the EU and countries of origin and transit is crucial.
- Further strengthening the external borders with the help of biometric technology. Fingerprints and digital photographs will have a significant impact on border control systems and should be exploited to enhance the effectiveness of border control operations. The Communication considers the creation of a generalized and automated entry-exit system for registration of third-country nationals entering into or leaving EU territory. This would serve two purposes: first it would enable member states to verify if a third-country national was "overstaying," for example after expiry of a visa, or had done so in the past. Second, such a system could be used to facilitate legal migration management as a register of especially seasonal workers from third countries.
- Fight against human trafficking. The Action Plan adopted by the Council on 1 December 2005 on the basis of a Commission proposal, covers a range of issues such as measures: to improve the understanding of the crime and its dimensions, prevent trafficking, reduce demand, enable more efficient investigation and prosecution, provide protection and support of victims, their safe return and reintegration, and also issues linked to anti-trafficking in third countries.
- Tackling illegal employment. Member states are called upon to introduce sanctions for employers who keep immigrants illegally, mostly in construction, catering and textile industries and very often under exploitative conditions.
- Action needs to be taken towards those illegal third-country nationals in the EU who are unlikely, for whatever reason, to be returned to their countries of origin.

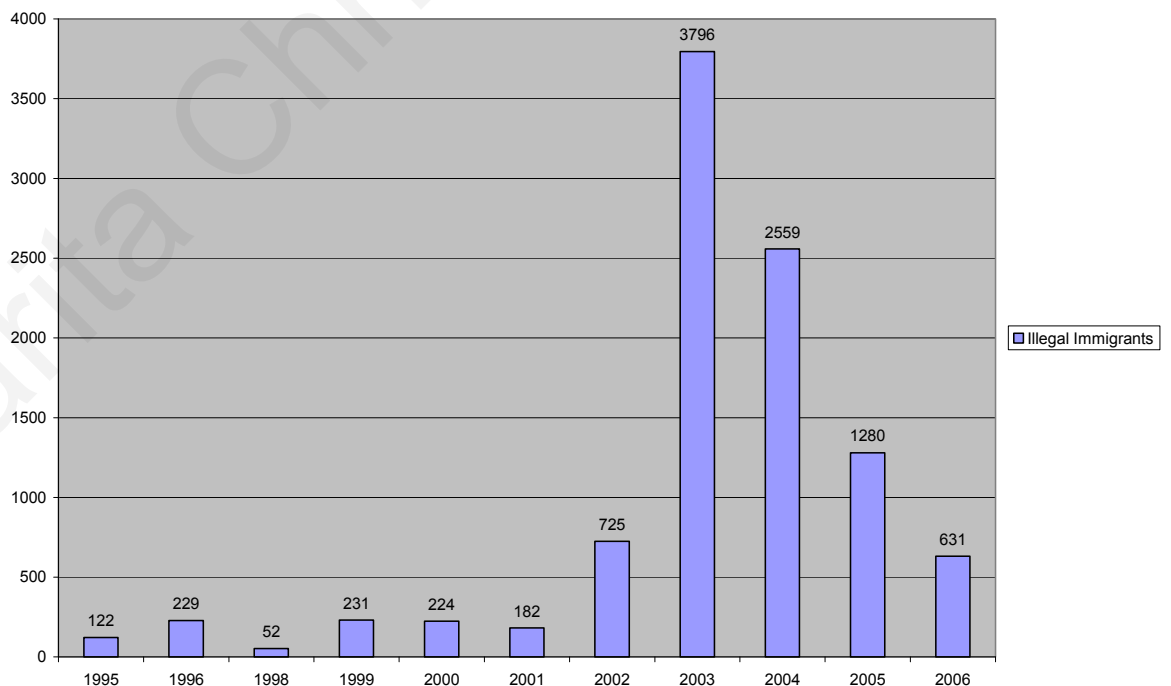
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<sup>7</sup>"International Migration and Development," United Nations, New York, 1997, p.37.

- Return policy. Improving possibilities for the documentation for return of third-country nationals who do not have travel documents; the establishment of common training standards for officers involved in return, etc.
- Improved information exchange of a technical and strategic nature between member states.
- Policy evaluation (implementation of measures addressed on illegal immigration) will be carried out in close cooperation with both member states and relevant stakeholders (transport industry, humanitarian organizations).

Irregular immigration to Cyprus has increased the last few years. Cyprus, being at the crossroads of Europe with the Middle East and North Africa, and because of her recent accession to the EU, has attracted irregular migration, in particular with the relaxation of the restriction on freedom of movement in 2003. The Aliens and Immigration Unit of the Cyprus Police has created the Operations Department at Police Headquarters which, with the cooperation of the District Immigration Department, arrests illegal immigrants.

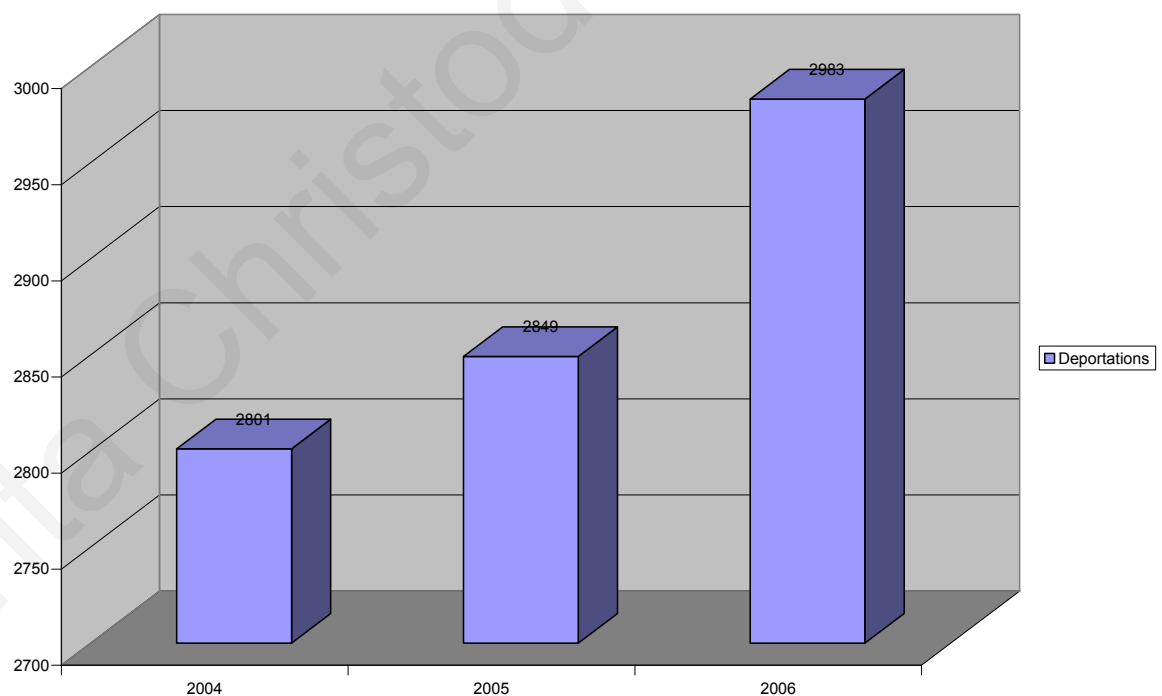
Chart 1- Illegal immigrants 1995-2006



Police statistics for illegal immigrants arrested for a twelve-year period is shown in Chart 1. In 1995 there were 122, rose to 3,796 in 2003, declining to 631 in 2006. Most of the irregular immigrants have entered the Republic of Cyprus through the northern part of the island and across the "Green Line" dividing the occupied and the free areas of the Republic, occupied by the Turkish army since July 1974. We notice that the numbers of arrested illegal migrants has been increasing steadily until 2003. From 2004 until 2006 the figures began to decrease.

When a person enters Cyprus illegally and does not seek asylum, the Migration Department issues a deportation order<sup>8</sup>. Chart 2 shows illegal immigrants deported during 2004-2006.

Chart 2- Deportations in 2004-2006.



Migrant populations that are tolerated and considered legally resident one day sometimes find themselves considered illegal and branded as undesirable the next. It seems reasonable to assume that many more would move to another country if there were no barriers

<sup>8</sup> The statistical data were collected from the Immigration Police Department of Cyprus.

to doing so. Sometimes, too restrictive visa requirements themselves become a determinant of illegality. The truth is that little can be done to reduce the immigrant flow.

### **1.5. Asylum seekers and refugee status**

Since World War II, an "international refugee" regime has taken form and developed a differentiated capacity to respond to refugee problems on a global scale. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established on December 14, 1950 by the UN General Assembly and began its work on January 1 of the following year. It helps the world's uprooted peoples by providing them with basic necessities such as shelter, food, water and medicine in emergencies and help them with long-term solutions, including voluntary return to their homes or beginning afresh in new countries. It has two basic aims: to protect refugees and to seek ways to help them restart their lives in a normal environment. Also, it ensures that no person will be returned involuntarily to a country where he or she has reason to fear persecution. UNHCR's main role in pursuing international protection is to ensure that States are aware of, and act on, their obligations to protect refugees and persons seeking asylum.

This organization works with the World Food Program (WFP), which supplies food and basic commodities to refugees, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the UN Development Program (UNDP), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights as well as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and other non-governmental organizations(NGO's). It should be noted in this context that Palestinian refugees from 1948 and their descendants do not come under the 1951 convention or UNHCR, but under the earlier UNRWA agency.

UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, was established by United Nations General Assembly resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949 to carry out direct relief and works programs for Palestine refugees. UNRWA is mandated to provide Palestinian refugees with humanitarian assistance, whereas UNHCR

has the mandate to provide international protection to refugees who fall within the scope of its Statute and to seek permanent solutions for the problem of refugees by assisting governments.

The UNHCR helps the following groups of people:

- a. Refugees: By 2006 they constituted 40% of the total population 'of concern' to UNHCR. By the start of 2006, the global refugee population had dropped from 9.5 million to 8.4 million. According to UNHCR *Basic Facts*,<sup>9</sup> by 1 January 2006 the ten largest groups of refugees are persons from Afghanistan (1,908,100), Sudan (693,300), Burundi (438,700), Democratic Republic of Congo (430,600), Somalia (394,800), Palestinians (349,700)<sup>10</sup>, Viet Nam (358,200), Liberia (231,100), Iraq (262,100), and Azerbaijan (233,700). In 2004, the same countries were represented but some of them with lower or higher numbers (Afghanistan (2,084,900), Sudan (730,600), Burundi (485,800), Democratic Republic of Congo (462,200), Somalia (389,300), Palestinians (350,600), Viet Nam (349,800), Liberia (335,500), Iraq (311,800), and Azerbaijan (250,500). There is a decrease in numbers due to the continuing return of people coming from the above-mentioned countries. According to UNHCR estimation the top five refugee-hosting countries are Pakistan: 1,085,000; Iran: 716,000; Germany: 700,000; Tanzania: 549,000; and the United States: 380,000.
- b. Asylum Seekers: According UNHCR *Basic Facts*, at the beginning of 2006, there were some 773,500 asylum seekers, including some of the 668,400 people who made asylum applications during 2005. The largest numbers of claims were filed by nationals of Myanmar, Somalia and Serbia and Montenegro. More than half of the new applications were lodged in Europe (France, United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland and the remaining in the U.S. and Canada). In 2004, around 676,400 people applied for asylum, where the largest numbers of claims came from nationals of the Russian Federation, Serbia, Montenegro and China.

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<sup>9</sup> Basic Facts of UNHCR, Refugees by numbers 2006 edition, <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/basics>

<sup>10</sup> This figure does not include some 4.3 million Palestinian refugees who come under the separate mandate of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).



- c. Internally Displaced Persons: These persons are in a similar situation as refugees but they have remained in their country. At the start of 2006, there were an estimated 23.7 million internally displaced people worldwide (the number of IDPs represents those who are protected or assisted by UNHCR). Compared to the previous year, Iraq (1.2 million), and Somalia (400,000), as well as the Darfur region of Sudan regarded an increase of 22%. The majority of internally displaced persons are from Colombia (2,000,000), Iraq (1,200,000), Sudan (841,900), Azerbaijan (578,500), Somalia (400,000), Sri-Lanka (324,700), Serbia and Montenegro (246,400), Liberia (237,800), Georgia (234,200), Bosnia and Herzegovina (182,700), Russian Federation (170,500) and Afghanistan (142,500).
- d. Stateless and others “of concern”: It is difficult to obtain the numbers of stateless persons across the world. Estimated, at 1,455,900 in 2005 their number rose to 2,381,900 in 2006. However, UNHCR believes the actual number of people without a country may be at least 11 million, as it is difficult to estimate the precise numbers.
- e. Returnees: As soon as circumstances allow it, the majority of refugees prefer to return to their country. UNHCR helps in different ways: it may provide transportation, and/or a start-up package; it rebuilds houses, schools, clinics and roads. The level of return in 2005 was estimated to be 1,105,500 persons which included 752,000 Afghans, 70,000 to Liberia, 68,000 to Burundi, 56,000 to Iraq, 54,000 to Angola, 39,000 to Democratic Republic of Congo, 19,000 to Sudan, 12,000 to Somalia, 10,000 to Rwanda and 7,000 to Nigeria.
- f. Resettlement: UNHCR helps those persons who do not want to return to their country because they fear persecution, by finding them homes in the asylum country or in another country where they can be permanently resettled. The first four main receiver countries in 2005 were the United States (53,813), Australia (11,654), Canada (10,400) and Sweden (1,263).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.unhcr.org/basics/BASICS/4523b0bb2.pdf>

According to "2006 Global Trends", by the end of 2006, there were an estimated 9.9 million refugees globally. A total of 12,900,000 Internally displaced persons (IDPs) were receiving humanitarian assistance; the number of stateless persons reached 5,800,000 a figure that more than doubled compared with the 2.4 million in 2005 (p.14). As compared with the figure of 8.7 million at the beginning of the year 2006, there had been a net increase of some 1,200,000 refugees (14%). The remaining groups or persons of concern increased from 960,000 at the beginning of 2006 to slightly more than 1, 000,000, or some 9%, by the end of this year (p.14).<sup>12</sup>

As indicated by Federal State Statistical Service of Russia,<sup>13</sup> the total number of refugees and forced resettles, since the start of registration in January, 2006, was 168,711, of which total resettles since July 1, 1992, accounted for persons, 168,253 and refugees since March 20, 1993, accounted for 458. In 2005 the total of refugees and resettles was 238,612, of which 237,998 were resettles since July 1, 1992, and 614 refugees since March 20, 1993.

People sometimes confuse the meaning of the word refugee and asylum seeker, but it is important to clarify the difference between the two terms.

Those who seek refugee status are sometimes known as asylum seekers and the practice of accepting such refugees is that of offering political asylum. The most common asylum claims are based on political and religious grounds. Asylum seekers are people who move across borders in search of protection, but who may not fulfill the strict criteria laid down by the 1951 Convention. The term "asylum seeker" describes someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of his or her status. "Refugee" is the term used to describe a person who has already been granted protection. Asylum seekers can become refugees if the local immigration or refugee authority deems that they fit the international definition of refugee.

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<sup>12</sup> "Other groups or persons of concern" refer to groups or individuals who may actually fall into one or another of the categories of persons of concern reported on in this report, but whose membership thereof has not yet been formally or definitively determined, or agreed with the State concerned.

<sup>13</sup>[www.gks.ru/free\\_doc/2006/Statob/01-03.htm](http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/2006/Statob/01-03.htm)

The definition of asylum seeker may vary from country to country, depending on the laws of each country. However, in most countries, the terms asylum seeker/asylee and refugee differ only in regard to the place where an individual asks for protection. Whereas an asylum seeker asks for protection after arriving in the host country, a refugee asks for protection and is granted this protected status outside of the host country. The decision as to whether a person is a refugee or not is often left to certain government agencies within the host country, a factor that can lead to abuse in a country with a very restrictive official immigration policy. That is, the country will not recognize the refugee status of the asylum seekers nor, for that matter, see them as legitimate migrants and, consequently, will treat them as illegal aliens.

Under the 1951 Convention on Refugees and the 1967 Protocol, a nation must grant asylum to refugees and cannot forcibly return a refugee to their nation of origin. In the 1951 Geneva Convention, the term refugee applies to any person who, due to "a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Convention of 1951, Article 1A (2)). A refugee has the right to receive at least the same rights and basic help as any other foreigner who is a legal resident. On the other hand, refugees are required to respect the laws and regulations of their country of Asylum (Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951, Art. 12, p.22).

Refugee policy is clearly distinguished from immigration policy. Immigration policy is designed to serve the interests of the receiving country by allowing only certain categories of people to enter the country. On the other hand, refugee policy arises from a society's legal and human rights obligations within the international community. An economic migrant normally leaves a country voluntarily to seek a better life while refugees flee because of the threat of persecution and cannot return safely to their homes.

For some countries, refugees are arriving at a time when many governments are seeking to limit the level and type of migration. Many receiving states have taken steps to accelerate their procedures for examining claims to refugee status. Countries try to enable

refugees to return home once strife and violence have ended. "Aid is principally needed for two reasons: to provide refugees with transportation and supplies to go home and to help in the task of reconstruction. Assistance can range from mine-clearing operations to measures to restore transportation and irrigation facilities so that returning refugees can resume agricultural production. Refugees may need seeds, agricultural implements and financial assistance to enable them to plant crops as well as supplies or food and clothing to get them through until the harvest" (Bernstein and Weiner, 1999: 14).

In accordance with the "2006 *Global Trends*" (p.10), an estimated 503,000 applications for asylum or refugee status were lodged in 2006. This number decreased by 11% compared to 2005 when 674,000 claims were lodged globally. According to UNHCR,<sup>14</sup> based on the real number of asylum applications submitted, France received the most asylum applications in 2004 (58,600) and in 2005 (50,000) with a decrease of 15%. The United States followed with 48,800 claims, and then the United Kingdom with 30,500 applications, followed by Germany (28,900), Austria (22,500), Canada (19,700), Sweden (17,500) and Belgium (16,000). But during 2001-2005, the United States received the most applications, with 379,500, next was the United Kingdom with 325,800; then France with 281,600, followed by Germany with 274,500 and Canada with 161,000 claims for asylum. With 53,400 new asylum claims lodged in 2006, South Africa became the main destination for new asylum-seekers. With a cumulative total of 205,000 individual asylum applications since 2002, it is the single largest recipient in the world. The United States of America was in the second position in terms of new asylum claims (50,800) during 2006, followed by Kenya (37,300), France (30,800), the United Kingdom (27,800), Sweden (24,300) and Canada (22,900). By nationality, the greatest number of new individual asylum claims was filed by Somalis (45,600), Iraqis (34,200), Zimbabweans (22,200), Eritreans (19,400), Chinese (19,300), and Rwandans (19,200). These figures should, however, be considered as indicative because the asylum-seekers' country of origin is often not known.

In Cyprus the institution of asylum started to function in April 2002. The current legislative framework for asylum seekers is the Refugee Law 6(I) 2000, which was amended twice in 2004 and 2005. The law provides that an asylum seeker who has entered Cyprus

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<sup>14</sup> Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries, 2005, 17 March 2006, pp.4-5, [www.UNHCR.ORG/statistics](http://www.UNHCR.ORG/statistics)

irregularly is not subject to punishment on account of his irregular entry if he presents himself to the appropriate authorities and requests asylum.

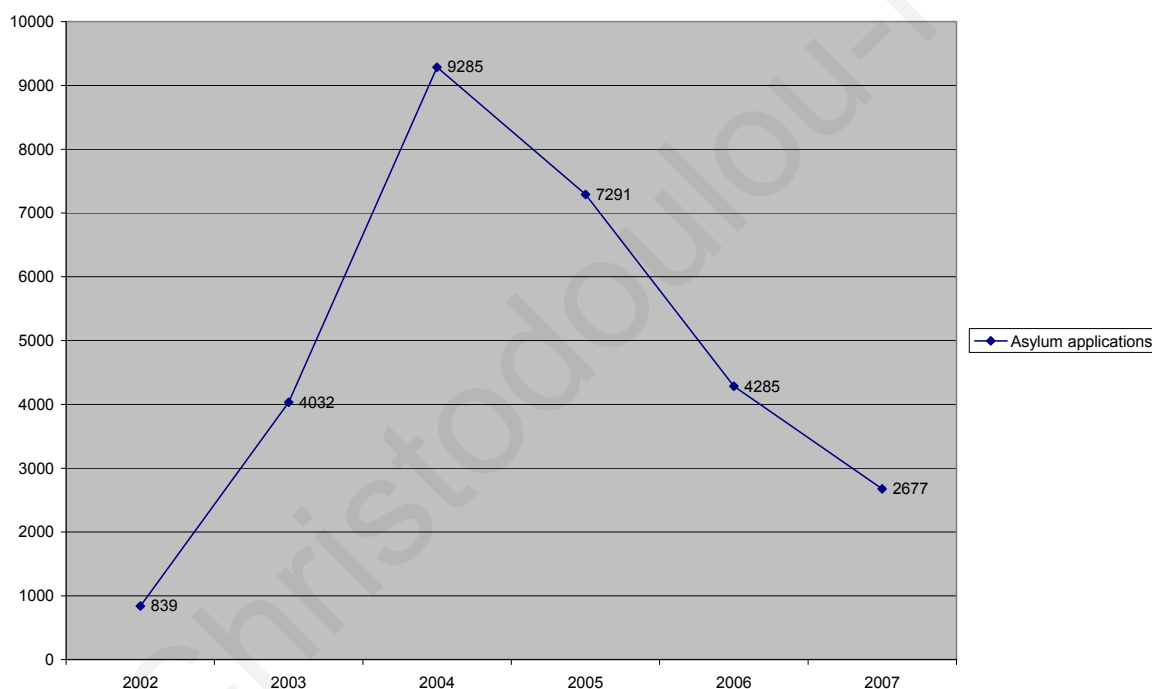
Additionally, the law expressly prohibits detaining an asylum seeker, and provides that detention is only permitted after a court order and only on specific grounds. Asylum applications can be made at *any* police station or detention centre. If the asylum seeker's application is rejected by the Asylum Service, there is a possibility of review by a Reviewing Authority. Rejected asylum seekers are given 15 days' notice for departure. Most rejected asylum seekers, and also some who are still awaiting a final decision, are held in the Police Detention Centre at the Central Prison (Ward 10). The Aliens and Immigration Unit, with the help of the Embassy or Consulate in question, will issue tickets and other documents for the deportation process.

The Kofinou Reception Centre began operating in January 2004. There was a problem with the detention of women and children with single men in the centre. In May 2005, the Ministry of Interior solved this problem by allowing families and single women to stay at the Centre, and leaving single men to find accommodation elsewhere. Transportation difficulties from the Centre to major towns prohibited access to work and recreation, hindered integration and contributed to the feeling of isolation. The UNHCR recommended finding a completely new location for the reception centre. The appointment of a social worker at the Centre as well as recreational activities for the residents is included in the European Refugee Fund programme for 2005-2007. This together with the building of en-suite bedrooms for families with small children has improved the Centre somewhat.

According to Statistical Data for the Period 2002-2007 (until 31/5/2007) (Asylum Service Ministry of Interior), the total number of asylum applications was 28,410. More specifically, there were 839 applications in 2002; 4,032 in 2003; 9285 in 2004; 7,291 in 2005; 4,285 in 2006 and 2677 in 2007 (until 31/5/2007). It can be seen that in three years (2002-2004) the number of such applications increased by 110%. From 2005-2007 (see Chart 3) there was a significant decrease in asylum claims. In 2002, 126 decisions were taken concerning asylum seekers and all involved rejections; in 2003 there were 404 (10 of which were under the category of humanitarian) and 266 were rejected; and in 2004, 5000 claims were examined (14 of which were 26 humanitarian and 2504 were rejected). A total of 130

persons (57 applications) were granted refugee status during 2002-2007. In 2002 and 2003 nobody was awarded refugee status. In 2003, 41 persons (16 applications) were approved as refugees; in 2005, 37 persons (19 applications); and in 2007, 22 persons (7 applications).

Chart 3-Asylum applications the years 2002-2007 (until 31.5.2007).



According to the authorities, most irregular immigrants immediately ask for asylum upon arrest and their status changes from irregular immigrant to asylum seeker. It should also be noted in this context that asylum seekers in Cyprus are paid a social security allowance once they file their application and they can seek employment in agriculture or animal husbandry. Also, when an asylum application is rejected it does not mean the applicant is deported because in most cases, he/she has changed address and remains in Cyprus illegally.

The Asylum Service of Cyprus has published statistics on the ten main countries of origin of asylum-seekers in 2004-2007 (until 31/5/2007) (see Table 1 below).

Table 1- Origin of asylum applicants in Cyprus.

2004		2005		2006		2007	
Country	No. of applicants	Country	No. of applicants	Country	No. of applicants	Country	No. of applicants
Bangladesh	2,410	Syrian Arab Republic	1,205	Syrian Arab Republic	1224	Syrian Arab Republic	943
Pakistan	1,327	Georgia	886	Sri-Lanka	379	Sri-Lanka	312
Ukraine	868	Sri-Lanka	806	Bangladesh	310	Pakistan	173
Georgia	759	Pakistan	596	Georgia	305	Iran	165
Iran	668	Ukraine	587	Pakistan	266	Bangladesh	137
Russian Federation	618	Iran	569	Iran	255	West Bank and Gaza Strip	136
Syrian Arab Republic	547	Bangladesh	498	India	252	India	133
India	538	Russian Federation	357	China	174	Georgia	129
Sri-Lanka	497	India	332	Ukraine	132	China	84
China	339	China	259	Russian Federation	93	Egypt	61

For the years 2004-2007 the top ten nationalities applying for asylum have remained the same (as it is shown on the table above), although in 2007 there was a small decline. Also in 2007 the West Bank, Gaza strip and Egypt replaced Ukraine and the Russian Federation in terms of numbers of asylum applications.

Relating the number of asylum-seekers to the size of the national population, we find that during the period 2002-2006, Cyprus had the highest rate of all 50 asylum countries,

having received 32 asylum-seekers per 1,000 inhabitants, followed by Austria (16), Sweden (14), Luxembourg (12), Norway (11), and Switzerland (11).<sup>15</sup> According to the UNHCR Operation Plan on Cyprus for the year 2006 (p.2), “Cyprus became the country with the highest number of asylum seekers per capita amongst EU countries.”

The entrance of large numbers of foreigners in countries especially small countries, brings many social problems and even anti-foreigner violence. The next chapter considers prejudice and exclusionary feelings towards immigrants.

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<sup>15</sup> Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries, 2006.



## Chapter 2. Racism and Prejudice

### 2. 1. Theoretical approaches to prejudice

It is necessary to explain the term “prejudice” in order to understand the difference between “discrimination” and “racism.” Today, many would say that they are not prejudiced, but is it really like this? It can be argued that everybody has a degree of prejudice whether it is against an ethnic group or against certain kinds of foods, against homosexuals, etc.

Gordon Allport, in his classic 1954 text, *The Nature of Prejudice*, defined prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (cited in Pettigrew, 1999:6). Prejudice may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole or toward an individual, because he or she is a member of a certain group. It involves attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs that lead to categorical rejections. Prejudice makes people lose their self-esteem and it affects all oppressed groups. An interesting experiment carried out by Kenneth and Clark in 1940 (cited in Aronson: 1999:304) found that three year-old black children were convinced that “being a black was not a good thing.”

The well-known sociologist Anthony Giddens (1997) defines prejudice as referring to "opinions or attitudes held by members of one group towards another" (p.212), while the well-known social psychologist Aronson (1999) defines prejudice as “a hostile or negative attitude toward a distinguishable group based on generalizations derived from faulty or incomplete information” (pp.305-306).

Prejudice is based on biases in information-processing and perception that lead to individuals and groups being perceived and pre-judged on the basis of group membership, along with typically unfavorable assumptions and beliefs about those groups. It is thus characterized by the automatic attribution of certain characteristics to a person regardless of whether or not he/she actually possesses them (Sanson et al., 1997:13).

Views of a prejudiced person are often based on hearsay rather than on direct evidence and are resistant to change even in the face of new information. Someone who is prejudiced against a particular group will refuse to give it a fair hearing. Prejudice operates mainly

through the use of stereotypical thinking, which means thinking in terms of fixed and inflexible categories. Stereotyping is often closely linked to the psychological mechanism of displacement, in which feelings of hostility or anger are directed against objects that are not the real origin of those feelings (Giddens, 1997:213).

A classic study by Hartley (1946) investigated attitudes towards thirty-five ethnic minorities and found that those prejudiced against one ethnic group were likely to express negative feelings against others. Jews and African Americans were disliked just as much as Wallonians, Pireneans and Danireans. The three latter groups are non-existent; the names were coined by Hartley in order to see whether people would be prejudiced against groups they could not have even heard of.

Foreigners face constant stress when they attempt to socialize their children and protect them from the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination. Parents have to try to teach their children how to cope with the demands of a society that devalues their heritage, race and culture, while ensuring that they maintain a positive view of their ethnic and racial group.

In relation to children, rather than having legal barriers such as lack of access to educational institutions, minority children now face more subtle forms of racism such as low teacher expectations and attitudes, and being socialized into lower educational and occupational expectations. Through contact, however, one's prejudice may well be significantly reduced. McLaren (2003:909) found that "intimate contact with members of minority groups in the form of friendships can reduce levels of willingness to expel legal immigrants from the country."

## **2.2. The causes and the effects of prejudice**

As Aronson (1999) concludes, prejudice is a result of learning some attitudes from parents, the community or through the media, as well as through imitating the behavior of the others. People try to convince themselves that a certain group or an individual is stupid or unworthy, and that the correct response is to treat them badly. Furthermore, they do not feel immoral about such behavior, because they are convinced that it is right. The need for self-justification exists (p. 332).

According to Aronson, (1999:336 ) there are four basic causes of prejudice. First, he distinguishes the “economic and political competition.” As people want to obtain more material advantages and secure better living conditions or status in the society, they have to compete with each other on everyday basis. More people nowadays have the opportunity to study but not all of them can find jobs indicative of their professional status. Many immigrant workers are occupied in jobs that an educated person will not do. But when they see that immigrants are working and they are not, naturally, feelings of discrimination and prejudice may well appear. As a result, this will lead to conflicts between those groups of people, as well as to negative stereotyping.

Muzafer’s Sherif’s experiment with his colleagues documented how the above mentioned phenomenon can occur (see Aronson, 1999:336). In a Boy Scout camp, 12 year old boys were separated in two groups, the “Eagles” and the “Rattlers.” At first they were cooperating in preparing group meals and other activities. Later on, the researchers offered competitive activities such as playing football, baseball, tug-of war and, in order to increase the tension, there were prizes for the winning group. Consequently, hostility between the two groups increased. Afterwards, the examiners organized a party where half of the food was fresh and the other half was squashed. Also, the “Eagles” were allowed to come earlier than the ‘Rattlers.’ Therefore, the Eagles ate the fresh food and the “Rattlers” were so annoyed, they began to call the “Eagles” by uncomplimentary names. The “Eagles” acted the same way and the whole thing resulted in food throwing and eventually a full-scale riot was in progress. This indicates the hostility that may arise in situations of tough competition (e.g., for employment) and discrimination.

The second cause is the scapegoat factor. When we are humiliated by someone who has more power than us, we may well become aggressive towards a group or person having less power than we have. In other words, we blame others for our troubles. A simple example is when a director at work reprimands someone for something. That person will then feel frustrated and blame his/her subordinates.

The third factor Aronson associated with prejudice is the “prejudiced personality.” Research carried out by Theodor Adorno and his associates in the 1940's diagnosed a character type, the authoritarian personality (see Giddens, 1997:214). They developed several measurement scales for assessing levels of prejudice. On one scale, for instance, people were asked to agree or disagree with a series of statements expressing strongly anti-Semitic views. Those who were diagnosed as prejudiced against Jews also tended to express negative attitudes towards other minorities. The investigators concluded that people with an authoritarian personality tend to be rigidly conformists, submissive to their superiors and dismissive towards inferiors. Such people are also highly intolerant in their religious and sexual attitudes and they tend to think in a stereotypical way. Adorno's study has been criticized. Aronson (1999:342) states that Adorno's theory is based “on the child's unconscious hostility to and repressed fear of his parents and is of the opinion that a child identifies with his parents and has the same beliefs as they have.”

The last reason for being prejudiced (Aronson 1999) is “conformity”. Pettigrew (1959: 28-36) argued that prejudiced behavior is caused through conformity to social norms. A group of coal miners consisting of black miners and white miners were completely integrated while they were working underground. But when they were above ground they were completely segregated. Hence, it is the society's beliefs that make us more or less prejudiced. For a large number of people, prejudice is embedded in their belief system, and this is difficult to change. If someone is prejudiced towards minorities and his friends are also prejudiced, it is very hard to develop an open, accepting attitude concerning minorities.

### **2.3. Stereotyping**

The concept of stereotype in the social sciences was introduced by Walter Lippmann (1922). According to him, people create pictures in their minds that do not correspond to reality but to a character they have created in their minds. Stereotypes shape our perceptions of different social groups or people. In other words, a stereotype is a generalization of a person or a group of persons. These generalizations are a result of our experiences, or something we read in books, magazines or saw on television.

Without claiming that all people have rigid stereotypes about members of other groups, it should be noted that stereotyping takes place automatically. Our stereotyping system is activated without realizing it at a conscious level. It reduces and excludes information and exaggerates or simplifies persons or groups. For example, we often say "Blacks are athletic," or "Russian girls are immoral." Also, if we are walking in a park and we see two men with a briefcase we might stereotype them as businessmen.

"Stereotype" is not the same as "prejudice." While prejudice is restricted to negative and discriminatory predispositions towards certain ethnic groups (Aboud, 1988), stereotyping includes negative and positive thoughts. Stereotyping can destroy the lives of those who are conceptualized in a negative way.

Negative stereotypes of different minority groups are widespread in various European countries leading to various forms of discrimination, disadvantage, and oppression of these groups. People from stereotyped groups can find this very disturbing as they experience a fear of being treated unfairly. Jessika ter Wal (2003) reminded her readers that throughout Europe some groups such as Muslims, Roma and asylum seekers are systematically portrayed more negatively than others. When gender is factored in we find a double discrimination through stereotypical portrayal, for example, of Muslim women.

Migrants tend to be associated in particular with illegality. Moreover, problems of migrants tend to be described from the perspective of the majority group: "they" are creating problems for "us". The "us-them" reasoning is very widespread. Additionally, the role of language is very important, for example, in the categorization and labeling of migrants, which may underline the exclusionary character of labels and the boundary marking of identities that is involved.

## **2.4 Racism, discrimination and xenophobia**

Every country is experiencing increasing manifestations of hostility and violence towards migrants, refugees, even sometimes foreign students and tourists. Prejudice and discrimination against migrants and minority ethnic groups is predominantly expressed in the form of racism and xenophobia. In particular, the manifestations of racism and xenophobia in the form of violence and harassment should receive special attention. Castles and Miller

(1994:30) stated that racism means “making predictions about people’s character, abilities or behavior on the basis of socially constructed markers of difference.” According to Vorster (2002:296), the “immense amount of migration over the whole world today” is responsible for the racial conflicts as well as for the increase of racism and xenophobia. Prejudice and discrimination against migrants and minority ethnic groups is deeply and widely entrenched across Europe.

Racism is a universal phenomenon. Racism is the idea that, on the basis of cultural markers, one racial or ethnic group is inferior to another. An example would be Hitler, who believed that the “Aryan” race was superior to others and should be the ones to rule the whole world. Racism implies a distinction based on differences in physical characteristics, such as skin coloration, hair type, etc. In many cases, biological differences are not the only indications, but also culture, religion and language are factors of phenotypical differences; for example, anti-Muslim racism in Europe is based on cultural features (Castles and Miller, 2003:36). Racism is oppressive because it involves the use of power to treat others unjustly. One major reason for the recent increase of racism lies in economic and social changes. Since these changes have coincided with the arrival of foreigners, people consider the newcomers as the cause of the threatening changes.

In International Law, Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination defines "racial discrimination" as “any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effects of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.”

Xenophobia can be defined as “the attitudes, prejudices and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity”.<sup>16</sup> “Xenophobia” refers to attitudes and

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<sup>16</sup> *Declaration on Racism, Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance against Migrants and Trafficked Persons*. Asia-Pacific NGO Meeting for the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Teheran, Iran. 18 February 2001.

behavior of those persons who reject foreigners. Xenophobia is the fear or hatred of anything that is strange or foreign. It is the bases of racist actions against foreigners. Both racism and xenophobia cause violations of human rights in many parts of the world.

People across the world have been showing their antipathy towards foreign-looking persons for a long time now. In November 2004 a British citizen, with dark skin and hair, was stopped by an immigration official outside a north London tube station and was questioned about his journey. Later the same day, he was again approached but this time he revealed he was a journalist and almost immediately the official hurried away. (*New Statesman*, 2004 v133, i4715 p12).

The *Cyprus Mail* newspaper on 6 August 2006 reported a situation that shows how people react on foreigners. "POPOLOPO 7" is bicycle rental business run by two enterprising Polish students of international relations, Piotr Kudelski and Michal Gawin, and consists of 13 tricycles. It started to operate in Ayia Napa's main pedestrian zone, Ayia Mavri Street, in the middle of June. It has been particularly attractive among the young foreign crowd attending night clubs in the area. One of POPOLOPO's employees David, also a student, says : "I had some passengers with me and was cycling on one of the main roads when a taxi driver blocked my way, got out of his taxi, came up to me and started hitting me with an open hand. I was in shock. I got off the rickshaw, the girls who were on it got off as well. The taxi driver lifted my bicycle up and threw it into the middle of the street where it got damaged. He also hit me several times more. I called Michal and Piotr. We went to the police. I wrote down the number of the taxi driver and gave it to the police but now they claim they never had them. And the problem is because I registered them on my mobile I don't have them any more either." On the night of Monday to Tuesday, the company lost seven bicycles and had two of its employees physically abused by organised groups of taxi drivers. The Poles stopped working for a few days to focus on interviews with the police, interventions at the Polish Embassy in Nicosia and coming to terms with the initial shock. Then, in spite of having only six rickshaws available since the rest were being kept by police as evidence, they decided to return to work on Friday night. "We have to keep on working," says Kudelski. "It is not only because of us. We have a duty towards our employees. They can't go on without work and wages. Besides, we have a right to be in these streets. We have all the documents, licences, and insurance necessary for

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this job. Why should we give up?” However, the taxi drivers think differently: “These bicycles are not safe on the roads,” several of them told the *Sunday Mail* on Friday night. “They block the road. They are slow. Traffic is already bad in Ayia Napa and they make it worse. It would be OK if there were four or five of these in Ayia Mavri but 20 and everywhere? No way. Besides we don’t believe they have insurance and permits. They must be illegal. Nobody would give them permission or insurance for using bicycles like that. It is too dangerous. Also, they are taking our business away,” the taxi drivers went on. “Do you know how much we have to spend on our cars and insurance every year? And they come here with their bicycles and spend nothing and make a lot of money. Why should we have Polish people making money here while we don’t? Business is not good anyway. We can’t lose money to some Polish people. We have to wait for customers for two-three hours. And they charge more than we do – for a ride to Nissi Avenue they charge three people six pounds but a taxi costs £3.50. No, we don’t want to kill them but they have to go.”<sup>17</sup>

The stratification of people in every part of the world is not only socio-economic, but is defined by ethnic origin, colour, and religion. Esembe (2005:16) illustrates with an example the prejudice and the stereotyping of people. An Indian professor had been invited to Cyprus by her Cypriot friend and they went out to a restaurant the Cypriot woman frequented. The waitress approached their table and asked the Cypriot if she was dining with her gardener! Racism is present in Cyprus and in every country in the world because it is not possible to structure a clear antiracist policy.

Kuhne (cited in Freilich et al., 2002:94) indicates that in Europe xenophobia is expressed in two forms. First, foreigners are suspected of being a threat to the national population of a country and, secondly, as a result of the first form, foreigners become victims of hate crimes. We are afraid of anything unusual or anything we do not know, even if it is a person or an object. We feel threatened and this feeling influences people to create hostile reactions against foreigners.

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<sup>17</sup> Rakoczy, *Cyprus Mail - Sunday, August 6, 2006.*



Migration changes societies so that now many countries have become culturally diverse and it is time for the majority to accept the reality of pluralism. However, incidents of racism and xenophobia appear as a regular feature in the media and are of growing concern.

## **2.5. The role of the mass media**

The mass media, especially the electronic media, play an important role in the construction of social realities and communication between groups and across cultures. We cannot ignore the media because they are an important element of everyday life. The mass media include newspapers, radio, television and the internet. The media play a significant role in forming people's perceptions of crime and justice. Thus, they affect public policies and general social attitudes towards violence. It is important to mention that the media can be used by racist elements to promote their ideas, as when internet websites are used to promote racist and xenophobic material. The question that interests the present thesis is how the media contribute to the negative stereotypical representation of foreigners vis-à-vis the criminal justice system.

In order to present an event, the media must be sure that it has a certain level of drama, so that it will be considered newsworthy. If a story does not have some of the characteristics of newsworthiness, it will not appear on the news agenda. Jewkes (2004:41) provides an example that happened in the UK. After the entrance of political refugees and illegal migrants in the UK, the *Daily Star* (21 August 2003) ran as its front-page headline, "Asylum seekers eat our donkeys."

When describing group conflicts, the media often tend to highlight and exaggerate, as well as oversimplify and caricature such differences. The media draw attention to the increasing number of illegal migrants arriving by sea or air, and their involvement in crime. Those crimes are presented in a purposely disgraceful way, by dramatizing the events with shock headlines and suggesting that the legal order is threatened by crime and chaos. "Unhesitating the robbers hit the victim" (*Phileleftheros*, 8 July 2006), "One china man under arrest. Four Chinese suspects for the murder of their fellow countryman" (*Phileleftheros*, 12 July 2006).

Criminalized stereotypes are likely to be given publicity in the popular press and other media. In the press we often see that for foreigners who have committed crimes there is always reference to their ethnic origin. The mass media develops the stereotype of the “dangerous migrants” by exaggerating their criminal activity. Of course, inaccurate reporting and stereotyping by the media has a harmful effect on community relations. Giliam and Lyengar (1996) analyzed the broadcast content of a local television station in Los Angeles and found that television viewers were so accustomed to seeing the African-American as crime suspects in the news that even when the race of a suspect was not identified, the viewers tended to remember seeing a black suspect ( *Durban*, Issue 2, Feb 2001, p.10). Thus, specific care must be taken by those people having interactions with the media, to avoid perpetuating stereotypes when describing minority ethnic communities. There is no need for the press to focus on the crime rate in minority ethnic communities, because there is the risk of stigmatization of the whole ethnic community.

Media representation of foreign cultures and minority groups are used to ‘manage’ public opinion and public understandings of events. The media are also used to construct and reinvent cultures and cultural identities. Nevertheless, there are times that the media create a false picture of crime which promotes stereotyping, bias, prejudice as well as fueling public fears. The British criminologist Steven Box (cited in Jewkes, 2004:142) demonstrated that crime is manipulated by those in power. For example, there is an over-concentration on the crimes of young, foreigners, working class and there is an under-awareness of the crime of the upper and middle classes.

To some extent the media reinforce negative images and stereotypes unthinkingly or unintentionally, simply by following standard routines of news gathering or reporting. Jessika ter Wal (2003) found in her research that in many instances migrants were not quoted or were less frequently quoted in the news. Even in coverage of issues that concern migrants directly, there would be a discussion about migrants, but not with them. Instead, others (e.g., experts) such as aid organizations or majority officials were often asked to speak on migrants' behalf. The same author gives the example of what happened in the coverage about the "head scarf issue" in France and Denmark in the 1990s. Research also found that when migrants were quoted, this was often in less prominent positions in the news (e.g., not front page, not headline, not the first actor in the talk-show to speak; i.e., not setting the agenda for

discussion). In other words, less importance was attributed to the position of migrants. Research has found that migrants do not participate as news actors in all media genres.

Descriptions of the majority group members are often accompanied by words that meet the criteria of being positive, even when their actions are negative. For example, a report about someone (majority group) suspected of racial harassment specified that he comes "from a good and decent family background" while the victim (minority) is not described with such positive qualities. Instead, when minority ethnic groups are found to have acted negatively, this will often be emphasized by adding other irrelevant details, such as their appearance. Therefore, in a report about a foreign rape, descriptions of the suspect's dress and appearance indicating poverty, negligence and other negative features may be used; or, for example, in a headline describing negative police actions against migrants, the phrasing is such that the responsibility of the police is understated, by using passive sentences, as in "2000 migrants evicted from illegal settlement," instead of "police uses force to evict migrants." These and other mechanisms may contribute to reinforcing an image of a positive "self" and a negative "other."

Migrants tend to be under-represented in the general news but overrepresented in negative news such as crime news. In her report on Germany, Jessika ter Wal (2003) noticed a difference in press reporting about crime among the majority population, on the one hand, and among minorities, on the other. In the latter, there was more dramatization and sensationalism; they were more often associated with organized crime or with abuse of the welfare system, or forms of illegal entry by "deception" such as through arranged marriages. Motives of crime and other details were not mentioned for suspects of foreign origin. In the Danish media it was found that crime among migrant youth was treated as a generalized phenomenon. The focus was on group identity and not on the individual or on personal characteristics. Causes for the existence of crime or violence among minority youth were seldom investigated. The Danish example also showed that negative events became more newsworthy when suspects had a different ethnic or social/cultural background.

In commenting on the arrival of new migrants or asylum seekers, the media across Europe tend to use metaphors (armies, floods of refugees) which represent them as an uncountable mass. These images contribute to the construction of "threat scenarios" and the

justification of solutions to "keep them out"; they create the belief and perception that migrants are threatening.

Across Europe, the crucial question thus remains: how can we improve the representation and participation of minorities in the media? There are many positive examples of non-governmental and lobby organizations that are promoting access to media and organizing training for minority and majority journalists. These initiatives also support a dialogue between minorities and their organizations on the one hand, and the media and journalists on the other. A survey by "On-Line More Color in the Media", a European network of NGOs working in this area, shows the importance of training for minority organizations in contacts with the media.<sup>18</sup>

Jessika ter Wal (2003:12) recommends giving migrants more: visibility and access to media; more space for background reporting and investigation; introducing more positive frames, checking official sources more thoroughly, involving migrants in all social issues; support training and empowerment initiatives; improving representation through hiring and training of minority journalists/producers; improving information exchange between migrant organizations and media; support networks; make organizations more visible and accessible for media as sources; train them in communication with media to improve; adapt curricula in schools of journalism to multicultural society; diversity training for managers in the media, programming in better time slots; avoid segregation of migrant and minority groups in special programming, integrate minorities in general programming and provide active participation of minorities in the program; and, finally, convince journalists with audience considerations, that minority and migrant population are or will be in the future a consistent part of the media's users and audiences.

In examining the role of the media, it is important to mention the difficulties that journalists face in their work. Their independence can be threatened and the media are at risk of becoming a propaganda tool of a government. In different places in the world journalists are harassed, detained, tortured, or even murdered.

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<sup>18</sup> ([www.eumc.eu.int](http://www.eumc.eu.int) > Equal Voices > Issue April 2002).

The independence of the media is essential, so it is necessary that governments endeavor to create a climate for good professional journalism in their countries. The media have responsibilities towards the public, with regard to the content, objectivity and reliability of information. They can help in building a culture of human rights by covering issues of various racial, ethnic, religious groups and human rights violations. The educative and informative role of the media is vital to the fight against stereotyping, racism, and xenophobia. The law pertaining to migrants in Cyprus is the subject-matter of the next chapter.

### **Chapter 3. Migrants in Cyprus and the Law**

Cyprus has always been a multi-ethnic, multi-religious country. Up to the 1970s, Cyprus was a country of emigration. Cyprus suffered massive population shifts following the Turkish military invasion and occupation of the northern third of the island in July 1974. The Greek Cypriot refugees fled from the occupied area to the south while the Turkish Cypriots relocated to the north. Since then, Cyprus has seen extensive development which created a labour shortage and in 1990's there was the first attempt to bring foreign workers was made. This change in the immigration policy transformed Cyprus from a country of exporting migrants to a country that received migrants.

Nowadays, Cyprus has become a country of destination for several peoples across the world, and faces many problems related to this new phenomenon for this small island. Cypriot people are known for their kindness and hospitality towards foreigners. In recent years, however, this tendency has changed. Greek Cypriots blame the migrants who have come to Cyprus to work or live permanently for the continuously increasing crime rates, unemployment and for “all the problems” that they have to face.

It is important to clarify the ethnic composition of Cyprus's population. Using the 2001 population census and the *Demographic Report of 2003-2005*, we can estimate the ethnic composition of the population (see Table 2 below). If we exclude the Turkish-Cypriots, the total population of the Republic of Cyprus was 723,400, in 2002, 730,400 in 2003, 749,200 in 2004 and in 2005 is was estimated to be 766,400. There are significant numbers of foreign residents who are officially recorded. These foreign residents, come from E.U. countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, etc.) and other European countries, (Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, etc.) as well as from Africa, America, Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East.

Table 2-Ethnic composition of Cyprus population, 2002-2005.

Ethnic composition of Cyprus population	2002	2003	2004	2005
Greek Cypriots	642,600 80.1%	646,900 79.1%	651,100 77,8%	656,200 76,8%
Turkish Cypriots*	87,400 10.8%	87,800 10.7%	88,100 10,5%	87,900 10,3%
Foreign residents	72,500 9.1%	83,500 10.2%	98,100 11,7%	110,200 12,9%
Maronites**	4,800 0.7%	4,800 0.7%	4,800 0,7%	4,800 0,7%
Armenians**	2,600 0.4%	2,600 0.4%	2,600 0,4%	2,600 0,4%
Latin**	900 0.1%	900 0.1%	900 0,1%	900 0,1%
Total	802,500	818,200	837,300	854,300

\*They live in the occupied areas. These are estimates based on the *Demographic reports 2003-2005*.

\*\* Maronites, Armenians and Latins are the christian religious groups which belong to the Greek Cypriot Community. The percentages do not represent the total population but only those living in the South.

In official statistics, immigrants are separated in two categories: short-term immigrants and long-term immigrants. Drawing on the annual *Demographic Report*, the total number of long-term immigrants<sup>19</sup> in 2000 was 12,764 and rose to 24,419 in 2005.<sup>20</sup> The number of short-term emigrants was estimated at 6,924 in 2006,<sup>21</sup> compared to 10,003 in 2005 and 6,279 in 2004.

<sup>19</sup> A long term immigrant means Cypriot and foreigners arriving for settlement or for temporary employment for 1 year or more.

<sup>20</sup> No new data regarding long-term immigrants were available at the time of writing this thesis.

<sup>21</sup> Statistical Service of Cyprus (personal communication).

Consistent with the *Demographic Report of 2005*, the examination of the migration movements between 1981 and 2005 (see Appendix 1, Table 3, p.167) shows:

- a. Until the late 1980's there was no significant increase in number of long term or short-term immigrants.
- b. Starting in 1989, the number of short-term immigrants almost doubled.
- c. From 1998 until 2005 the number of long-term immigrants increased from 8,801 to 24,419.

Between 2003 and 2004 there was an increase of 5,224 immigrants. In 2004 only 10,502 were men while women were 11,501 (*Demographic Report 2004*). Also in 2005, there were more women immigrants than men, 13,815 women to 10,604 men. Net migration in 2003 was estimated to be 12,342; in 2004 it was 15,724, in 2005 was 14,416 and in 2006 the provisional number was 15,385.

Drawing on the *2005 Demographic Report*,<sup>22</sup> Table 4 shows the total number of long-term immigrants according to their purpose of arrival, for the years 2003-2005:

Table 4-Purpose of arrival of the long-term immigrants, 2003-2005.

Purpose of arrival	2003	2004	2005
Visiting friends and relatives	275 (2%)	269 (1%)	450 (2%)
Study/Training	1,698 (10%)	1,747 (8%)	2,029 (8%)
Employment	9,185 (55%)	12,801 (58%)	12,463 (51%)
Settlement	3,626 (22%)	5,564 (25%)	6,860 (28%)
Permanent settlement (Cypriots)	1,594 (9%)	1,237 (6%)	2,048 (9%)
Returning home from work abroad	401 (2%)	385 (2%)	569 (2%)
Not stated	0	0	0
Total	16,779	22,003	24,419

<sup>22</sup> The most recent data at the time of writing.



Table 4 shows that about half of the foreigners come to Cyprus to work. Foreign workers are employed in private households as domestic servants; in hotels and restaurants; as artists, dancers; in trade, in manufacturing, in agriculture, in construction and other sectors of the economy.

The first six sectors of the Cyprus economy where foreigners worked in 2004 were (*Demographic Report 2004*)<sup>23</sup>:

- Private households(14,291)
- Hotels and restaurants (9,253)
- Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles (4,886)
- Construction (4, 612)
- Manufacturing (3,963)
- Agriculture (3,803) (see Appendix 2, Table 5, p.168-169).

According to the *Demographic Report 2004*, most of the foreign workers are aged 20-39 (see Appendix3, Table 6).

In 2005 there were a total of 47,952 foreign workers in Cyprus, of whom 19,713 were EU nationals and 28,239 were non-EU nationals. In 2006 where the total number of foreigner workers was 48,376, of whom 20,672 were European nationals and 27,704 had non-European nationality. In 2006 there were 8,476 non-EU national men and 19,228 women in comparison to the EU nationals where 11,910 were men and 8,762 were women. It is interesting to note that of the non-EU nationals in 2005 and 2006, women comprised 64% and 69%, respectively. Most such women work as domestic aids.

According to the *Demographic Report 2005* (pp.164-167), in 2005 most long-term immigrants from EU member states came from the United Kingdom<sup>24</sup> with 4,792 people, followed by Greece (4,331), Cyprus (2,540) Poland (1,647) and the Slovak Republic (1,115). From the “other European Countries,” most are Russian citizens (1,233). From Africa, the majority is from South Africa (67). From the Americas, the United States ranks first with 228 migrants. From Asia, most migrants are from Sri-Lanka (1,278) and the Philippines (918).

<sup>23</sup> No new data is available for the 2005 and 2006 regarding foreigners working in the 6 sectors of the economy.

<sup>24</sup> UK citizens in Cyprus include many Greek-Cypriots who hold British citizenship.

There are also migrants from Australia (192). Of course, many of the migrants from the UK and Australia are Greek-Cypriots who have repatriated.

It is important to note that in recent years there has been an increase in the total number of migrant workers in Cyprus, both legal and illegal. This phenomenon probably is associated with the economic development and the subsequent labor demand in the economy and in service sectors. In April 2003, the restrictions on movement between the Turkish-occupied northern part of Cyprus and the free areas of the Republic, imposed by the Turkish military in 1974, were partially lifted, which resulted in several thousands of Turkish-Cypriots crossing the dividing line every day to work in the free areas of the Republic, where manual jobs are more readily available and the pay is better. It should be noted in this context that since 1974 thousands of Turkish-Cypriots have been employed in the South, crossing daily through the British bases area in Dhekelia. But the sudden increase in their numbers has led to increased insecurity on the part of migrant workers as well as Greek-Cypriots, who feel that they will no longer be able to secure jobs as easily as before, because both menial and skilled jobs are gradually being taken up by Turkish-Cypriots. Undoubtedly, the migration flow has been beneficial to the economy of Cyprus. That is why it is important to consider the laws applicable to migrants and what rights they provide for them.

### **3.2. Cyprus law and international conventions regarding foreigners**

Migration is regulated by the Aliens and Immigration Law 1952, including its amendments. Under the provisions of the 1952 Aliens and Immigration Law and as subsequently amended, the government has the power to enact legislation either generally with respect to all foreigners, or more specifically to a prescribed class or description of foreigners; it may also prohibit, regulate or restrict the entry, departure or presence or continued presence of foreigners in Cyprus.

Article 28 of the Constitution provides that: "Every person shall enjoy all the rights and liberties provided for in this Constitution, without any direct or indirect discrimination against any person on the ground of his community, race, religion, language, sex, political or other convictions, national or social descent, birth, color, wealth, social class or any other ground whatsoever." Article 11(2) of the Constitution of the Cyprus Republic (1960) allows

for the detention of aliens with a view to deportation or extradition. In part II of the Constitution, Article 32 states that “nothing in this Part shall preclude the Republic from regulating by law any matter relating to aliens in accordance with International Law.”

The Cyprus Republic has tried to harmonize the existing Aliens and Immigration Law with European Union directives. The EU resolutions and directives shown in Appendix 4 (pp.171-178) have been integrated into the Aliens and Immigration (Amending) Law, 1/2/2007, transposed the following Directives of the European Union:

- “Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 according to the right of family reunification.”
- “Council Directive 2003/109/EC of 25 November 2003 according the status of third-country nationals.”
- “Council Directive 2003/90/EC of 28 November 2002 for the definition of abetting the illegal entrance, transit and residence.”
- “Council Directive 2003/110/EC of 25 November 2003, related to the contribution during the transit in the case of expulsion through the airway and with the act of EU with title.”
- “Council Framework Decision of 28 November 2002 for the enforcement of the criminal framework for the prevention of the abetting the illegal entrance, transit and residence.”

The definition of the term “Alien” in Article 2 of the basic law has been amended as follows: “Alien shall mean the person who is not a Cypriot national.” Before the Immigration Law 1/2/2007, “Alien” meant any person who was not a British subject or a citizen of the Irish Republic or a native of the Republic (Art.2.1). “Immigrant” means an alien who, not being a permanent resident lawfully enters the Republic of Cyprus for the purpose of permanent residence. A “permanent resident” means a person who is a native of the Republic of Cyprus or has a valid certificate of permanent residence (But see below).

Entrance to Cyprus is not allowed to the following persons:

- Any destitute person
- Any person who is mentally ill or for any other reason cannot take care of himself.

- A person who has a contagious or infectious disease.
- A person who has been convicted for a murder or other serious offence and is deemed by the immigration officer to be an undesirable immigrant.
- A person who is considered an undesirable immigrant by the Council of Ministers.
- Any prostitute or person who lives on the proceeds of prostitution.
- A person of an unlawful association
- A person who has been deported from the Republic.
- A person who does not have an immigration permit granted by the Chief Immigration Officer.(Art. 6)

Concerning the expulsion from the Republic of a third-country national, this is affected via a direct flight or and via another Schengen Member State, if the return of the third-country national is not possible with a direct flight to the state of destination. But Article 7 provides that the Republic is obliged immediately to accept the third-country national if:

- (a) The central authority of the State to which the application is addressed has rejected the application or has revoked the transit permit;
- (b) During the transit, the third-country national entered the State to which the application is addressed without the required permit;
- (c) The expulsion of the third-country national to another State of transit or to the State of destination or the boarding to the transit flight failed; or
- (d) The transit through the airway was not possible due to other reasons.

The expenses resulting during the expulsion/reentrance of a third-country national shall be borne by the Republic.

In the case of approval of the application of a transit through the airway by a notification, the transit operation shall be realizing as soon as possible and in any case no later than within twenty-four hours. In the case that the transit operation cannot be completed, the above deadline may be extended for other 48 hours maximum (Art. 9).

The Immigration Control Committee provides long-term resident status to third-country nationals who reside legally and uninterruptedly for a period of five years. At the same time, the Minister may decide on the expulsion of a long-term resident third-country national, if he

is deemed a threat to the public order or public security (Art.18JF. (1)). To acquire long-term resident status, the third-country national must satisfy the following conditions (Art.18H – (1)):

- (a) To have fixed and regular economic resources, sufficient for his subsistence and that of the dependent members of his family, without recourse to the social welfare system of the Republic. It shall be taken into consideration the income obtained by full-time employment; the income obtained from other sources of fixed and legal nature; the cost of living, including housing costs; contract of employment valid for at least 18 months or with an open duration; the disposal of the general security and health conditions and he must be able to ensure an acceptable standard of living for himself and his family.
- (b) To have a medical insurance.
- (c) Not pose a threat to the public order or the public security.
- (d) His residence in the regions controlled by the government of the Republic must not be obtained by fraud or under false pretenses.

Long-term residents will receive equal treatment as the citizens of the Republic, in regard to:

- (a) Access to paid employment and to an independent professional activity, provided that these activities do not concern, not even for a period of time, the exercise of public power and the working and the employment conditions, including the terms of payment and termination of employment, except in the case that the Law of the Republic specify that these activities can be exercised exclusively by the citizens of the Republic or other European citizens.
- (b) Education and vocational training, including the scholarships for studies.
- (c) Recognition of vocational diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications.
- (d) Basic benefits derived from social insurance and social security.
- (e) Tax concessions.
- (f) Access to the goods and services and the rendering of goods and services which are available to the public.

- (g) Right of association, registration and participation in employees' or employers' organizations or in any other organization whose members exercise a specific activity, including the benefits provided by such organizations.
- (h) Free access to the entire territory of the Republic, except the regions not controlled by the government of the Republic for habitation and employment purposes (Art.18JG. (1)).

A third-country national to whom long-term resident status has been granted by an EU first-member state other than the Republic, shall have the right to reside in the regions controlled by the government of the Republic for a period which exceeds the three months (Art.18JI (1). Family members shall be allowed to accompany or to join the long-term resident except in the case when the family member poses a threat to the public health (Art.18KB (1), or a threat to the public order or the public security (Art. 18KC (1)). The only diseases which may justify the Republic's refusal of entrance to the long-term resident in a first-member state are the diseases specified by the relevant regulations in force of the World Health Organization and also other contagious or infectious parasitic diseases (Art.18KB (2)).

Entrance to the Republic and residence in the regions controlled by the government of the Republic for purposes of family reunification, subject to the observance of the conditions defined in articles 18LB, 18LC and 18LG of the present Law, is allowed to the following family members:

- a) The spouse (not under the age of 21, (Art.18L(5)) of the supporter, on condition that the couple was married at least one year before the submission of application for the family reunification. According to the relevant Article (18L (4)), in the case of a polygamic marriage, if the supporter already lives with spouse or/and children in the Republic, the entrance and residence of other spouse and her and the supporter's minor children will not be authorized.
- b) The minor children of the supporter and his/ her spouse provided these are under the age of 18, single and will not live separately from the supporter. The conditions for the exercise of the right of family reunification, are the same as those for long-term resident status as well as for residing legally in

the regions controlled by the government of the Republic for a period of at least two years (Art.18LB).

The basic Law is amended with addition of articles 19A through 19D, which states that a person who purposefully assists a third-country national to enter or pass through (Art.19A (1)) the Republic's territory or through any other Member State, as well as a person who assists the foreigner to reside in the Republic to gain a profit (Art.19A (2)), is guilty of a criminal offense and is subject to imprisonment for a period not exceeding eight years or a pecuniary penalty not exceeding the amount of CYP20,000, or both.

In case of "false marriage" the foreigner is forbidden to stay in the Republic of Cyprus if his passport is void or his permit is not renewed (7A-(1) (a) (b)). A foreigner or citizen of the Republic, who took part in a false marriage, is committing a crime and he may be punished with three years' imprisonment, or pay a penalty of 3,000 CY pounds or both (7D).

According to Article 592 of the Law on Citizenship of 1967, as subsequently amended,<sup>25</sup> an alien spouse, provided that he/she lives together for a period of 3 years and has been a permanent resident of Cyprus for at least 2 years, is eligible to acquire citizenship. As far as permanent residence for third-country nationals is concerned, it is worth noting that:

- a) Work permits are usually issued for up to four years meaning that it is impossible to fulfill 5-year residency requirement.
- b) Permanent residence is granted much more frequently to people employed by off-shore companies. The preference of the authorities is more than obvious!

The right to move freely within the European Union and to enter and reside in any EU Member State is guaranteed under Article 18 of the Treaty establishing the European Community (EC Treaty). The principle of the free movement of workers within Europe covers the citizens of all member states of the E.U. It also covers the citizens of Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein, which belong to the European Economic Area, as well as the citizens of

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<sup>25</sup> Law 43/67, as amended 1/72, 74/83, 19(I)/96, 79(I)/96, 50(I)/97, 102(I)/98, 105(I)/98, 65(I)/99, 128(I)/99, 168(I)/2001.

Switzerland. In addition to the Laws and Regulations enforced, there are international conventions that protect foreigners in Europe. Cyprus has ratified and signed Conventions and other legal instruments of the European Union (Appendix 4, p.).

Other very relevant legislation concerning foreigners is Law 7(1) of 2007 "Concerning the Right of EU citizens and their Family Members to Move and Reside Freely in the Territory of the Republic of Cyprus." This Law provides that the EU nationals may enter the territory of Cyprus by showing a valid passport or an identity card, as may their family members irrespective of their nationality (Art. 5(1)). EU citizens have the right to stay in Cyprus for three months without any restrictions (Art. 8(1)). If they stay for more than three months, then they have to register with the Population Archive Office before the end of the fourth month (Art. 10(1)). In addition, the right to freedom of movement also includes the right to be employed or self-employed, to provide services, etc. This right can be restricted only on the grounds of reasonable threat to public order, safety or health. EU citizens residing for five consecutive years in Cyprus, have the right to reside permanently (Art.14(1)). In case of the death of an EU citizen, the family members do not lose the right to reside in the Republic if they had been resident in Cyprus for one year (Art.25(2)).

As mentioned above, the right to freedom of movement may be restricted only on the grounds of reasonable threat to public order, safety or health. Prior convictions are not grounds for refusing residence in Cyprus (Art. 29(3b)). If it is considered necessary, the relevant authority can request that the country of origin of the EU national provide his/her criminal record (Art. 29(4)). Before the Authority takes any decisions regarding expulsion, the age of the EU citizen, the state of health, family and financial situation, social and cultural integration into the Republic and the strength of their bond with their own country of origin must be considered (Art. 30(1)). Someone may be expelled if he/she constitutes a serious threat to public health (Art.31(1)) but if a disease cease to apply three months after entering the Republic, the EU citizen may be asked to undergo a medical examination by the medical services of the Republic(Art. 31(3)). EU citizens who are subject to an expulsion order can appeal to the Supreme Court, as provided by Article 146 of the Constitution of Cyprus (Art. 33(1)).



### 3.3. European Union's legal framework on migrants

Since Cyprus is now a full member of the EU (since 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004), it is important to consider the legal provisions for migrants within the EU.

- Art.13 of the European Convention on Human Rights (1948) declares that everyone has the right to move freely and choose the place of his residence, and that everyone has the right to leave his country and return to it.
- Convention No. 143 (Art. 1), concerning "Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers," provides that a signatory to the Convention, "undertakes to respect the basic rights of all migrant workers." Art.11 states that a "migrant worker" means "a person who migrates or who has migrated from one country to another with a view to being employed otherwise than on his own account and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant worker." Since accession 1 May 2004, Cyprus has been a member of the European Union and has adjusted to the trends in migration within the wider European and international context. All members for whom this Convention is in force must collaborate with other Members to assist in the reunification of the families of all migrant workers legally residing in its territory (Art.13).
- Art. 8 of the Convention no. 97, concerning "Migration for Employment" (Revised 1949), states that if a migrant has been admitted on a permanent basis, neither he nor the members of his family may not be returned to their territory of origin, "because the migrant is unable to follow his occupation by reason of illness contracted or injury sustained to entry, unless the person concerned so desires or an international agreement to which the Member is a party so provides."
- Art. 19 of The European Social Charter (Revised) of May 5<sup>th</sup> 1999 provides for the right of migrant workers and their families to enjoy protection and assistance. The Parties accepting this Social Charter must adopt measures to facilitate the departure, journey and reception of such workers and their families and to provide services for health, medical attention, good hygienic conditions during the journey, and ensure that they are treated the same as their nationals with regard to employment taxes, dues or contributions payable to employed persons, and with respect to legal proceedings relating to matters referred to in this article.

All member states of the European Union are affected by the flow of international migration. The European Council, at its meeting in Tampere in October 1999, agreed that “The separate but closely related issues of asylum and migration call for the development of a common EU policy” and set out the elements which it should include, namely partnership with countries of origin, a common European asylum system, fair treatment of third countries of origin, and management of migration flows.<sup>26</sup> In July 2001 the Commission adopted a further Communication, which set out its proposals for an open method of co-ordination for the Community Immigration Policy as a complement ant to the legislative framework.<sup>27</sup> Action Plans on illegal migration have also been adopted,<sup>28</sup> as well as border control measures,<sup>29</sup> and a return policy,<sup>30</sup> all of which will contribute to the reduction of illegal migrant flow.<sup>31</sup>

On 10<sup>th</sup> May 2005, the European Commission launched its 5-year Action Plan for Freedom, Justice and Security. The Action Plan identifies ten key areas for priority action:

- a. Fundamental rights and citizenship.
- b. The fight against terrorism.
- c. Migration management.
- d. Internal borders and visas.
- e. A common asylum area.
- f. Integration of migrants.
- g. Privacy and security in sharing information among law enforcement and judicial authorities, in order to be able to track and crack down on criminals.
- h. To fight against organized crime by implementing and developing a comprehensive EU anti-corruption policy.
- i. Civil and criminal justice: an effective European area of justice for all the citizens.

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<sup>26</sup> Brussels, 22.11.2000, COM(2000) 757 final, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on a Community Immigration Policy.

<sup>27</sup> Brussels, 11.7.2001, COM(2001)387 final, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on an open method of coordination for the Community Immigration Policy.

<sup>28</sup> (Comprehensive plan to combat illegal immigration and trafficking of human beings in the European Union, 28 February 2002, OJ C 142 of 14 June 2002, p23

<sup>29</sup> Plan for the Management of External borders of the Member States of the European Union of 13 June 2002, Council Doc. 10019/02, FRONT 58

<sup>30</sup> Return Action Programme of 28 November 2002, Council Doc. 14673, MIGR 125

<sup>31</sup> Brussels, 3.6.2003, COM (2003) 336 final. P.26

- j. Freedom, Security and Justice: sharing responsibility and solidarity between member states.<sup>32</sup>

Directive 38/2004 allows a worker to enter an EC member state and search for a job for up to three months without restriction. If he/she finds a job, his family has the right to join him. Local authorities must issue any necessary work or resident permits valid for at least five years. Also, the European Act of 1985 was adopted, which called for implementation of the four economic freedoms by the end of 1992: the free movement of services, goods, capital and people within the twelve-nation European Union.

Immigration is regulated mainly by a system controlling entry and residence on the one hand and employment on the other. This has led to the establishment of a system of residence and work cards for migrant workers, and employment permits for employers. The system does not apply to all migrant workers in the same way. One category enjoys favorable treatment - it is the category of migrant workers who are nationals of a member state of the European Union (EU). The council of Ministers approved Regulation No. 1612/68, on 15 October 1968, concerning the free movement of workers within the community. This regulation entered into force on 8 November 1968. In Cyprus, Laws 92(1)/2003 and 126 (1)/2004 on the free movement and residence of nationals from EU member states were introduced so that relevant legislation in Cyprus would be consistent with relevant EEC Directives and Regulation.<sup>33</sup> These two Laws have been replaced by the 7 (I) of 2007 Law, "Concerning the Right of EU citizens and their Family Members to move and Reside Freely in the Territory of the Republic of Cyprus."

As a general rule, an employer wishing to hire migrant workers must first obtain authorization to do so; an employment permit is then issued by the Ministry of Labor and Employment. When an employment permit is applied for the authorities take into account the state of the national labor market. Consequently, an employment permit can be issued only when it is impossible to find a local or migrant worker who meets the requirements of the job offered by the employer. It is important to distinguish between two types of employment

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<sup>32</sup>[www.delcyp.cec.eu.int/en/news/050515e.htm](http://www.delcyp.cec.eu.int/en/news/050515e.htm)

<sup>33</sup> See Kapardis, A. (2005). Cyprus. In, Report on 2004: Report for the European Commission on the Implementation of EU free movement law in 25 Member States (Volume 1, p.129), Network on Free Movement of Workers within the European Union, Centre of Migration Law, Nijmegen, Netherlands.

permits that may be applied for- one concerns the hiring of individuals, the other, the hiring of a group of migrant workers.

In Europe an employer is not required to apply for an employment permit if he intends to hire:

- a) a worker who is a national of an EU member state;
- b) a migrant worker who is in possession of any one of the following documents: a work card of unlimited duration (Card A); a work card valid for all employers engaged in the same branch of activity as the prospective employer (Card B); a work card valid for all trades in which the services of a worker are customarily used by several employers (Card C).

Because of their status, as non-nationals, migrants are automatically excluded from certain rights and privileges accorded to nationals of the state. Finally, after 13 years of campaigning by civil society organizations, on 1 July 2003, the United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families entered into force as an instrument of international law that will ensure protection and respect for the human rights of all migrants.

According to Article 2 of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families, 1990, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations:

- a. The term “migrant worker” refers to a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national.
  - I) The term “frontier worker” refers to a migrant worker who retains his or her habitual residence in a neighboring State to which he or she normally returns every day or at least once a week;
  - II) The term “seasonal worker” refers to a migrant worker whose work by its character is dependent on seasonal conditions and is performed only during part of the year;
  - III) The term “seafarer” which includes a fisherman, refers to a migrant worker employed on board a vessel registered in a State of which he or she is not a national;

- IV) The term “worker on an offshore installation” refers to a migrant worker on an offshore installation that is under the jurisdiction of a State of which he or she is not a national;
  - V) The term “itinerant worker” refers to a migrant worker who, having his or her habitual residence in one State, has to travel to another State or States for short periods, owing to the nature of his or her occupation;
  - VI) The term “project-tied worker” refers to a migrant worker admitted to a State of employment for a defined period to work solely on a specific project being carried out in that State by his or her employer;
- b. The term “specified-employment worker” refers to a migrant worker:
- i) Who has been sent by his or her employer for a restricted and defined period of time to a State of employment to undertake a specific assignment or duty; or
  - ii) Who engages for a restricted and defined period of time in work that requires professional, commercial, technical or other highly specialized skill; or
  - iii) Who upon the request of his or her employer in the State of employment, engages for a restricted and defined period of time in work whose nature is transitory or brief;
- A “specified-employment worker” is required to depart from the State of employment either at the expiration of his or her authorized period of time of stay, or earlier if he or she no longer undertakes that specific assignment or duty or engages in that work;
- c. The term “self-employed worker” refers to a migrant worker who is engaged in a remunerated activity otherwise than under a contract of employment and who earns his or her living through this activity normally working alone or together with members of his or her family, and to any other migrant worker recognized as self-employed by applicable legislation of the State of employment or bilateral or multilateral agreements.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, edited by Ian Brownlie, Oxford University press, 1971,1981,1992,p.205

Parts iii and iv of this convention define the rights of all migrant workers and members of the family,<sup>35</sup> some of which are:

- The right to life (Article 9).
- The right of freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Article 12.1).
- The right to hold opinions without interference (Article 13).
- The right to freedom of expression (Article 13.2).
- The right to liberty and security of person (Article 16.1).
- The right to equality with nationals of the State concerned before the courts and tribunals.
- If someone is charged with a criminal offense shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law (Article 18. 2).
- The right to have resource to the protection and assistance of the consular or diplomatic authorities of their State of origin or of a State representing the interests of that State whenever the rights recognized in the present Convention are impaired (Article 23).
- The right to receive medical care (Article 28).
- The right of access to education (Article 30).
- Upon the termination of the employment, the right to transfer their earnings and savings, as well as their personal effects and belongings (Article 32).

Also, it is necessary to mention that no migrant worker or member of his family shall be held in slavery or servitude (Art.11.1), made to perform forced or compulsory labour (Article 11.2); be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 10); be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home, correspondence, or to unlawful attacks on their honour and reputation (Article 14); be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission that did not constitute a criminal offence under national or international law at the time the criminal offence was committed (Article 19.1). Regarding employment rights, migrant workers have the same rights as the nationals of the State, that is to say overtime, hours of work, weekly rest, holidays with pay, safety, health (Article 25.1(a)), the right to take part in meetings and activities of trade unions (Article 26.1(a)), to join freely any trade union (Article 26. 1(b)).

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<sup>35</sup> In Article 4 of the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families,1990, the term “members of the family” refers to persons married to migrant workers or having with them a relationship that, according to applicable law, produces effects equivalent to marriage, as well as their dependent children and other dependent persons who are recognized as members of the family by applicable legislation or applicable bilateral or multilateral agreements between the States concerned, p.207, *Basic Documents*.

In order to combat discrimination, the Council of the EU adopted the following Directives:

- Directive No. 2000/43/EC, prohibiting racial and ethnic discrimination in employment, education, social security and health care, access to goods and services and housing. This Directive provides that there “shall be no direct or indirect discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin” (Article 2.1). Direct discrimination means, “when one person is treated less favorably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation on grounds of racial or ethnic origin” (Article 2.2 a). Indirect discrimination is “when an apparent provision, criterion or practice would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons” (Article 2. 2b).
- Directive No. 2000/78/EC, prohibiting discrimination in employment on grounds of religion and belief, disability, age and sexual orientation. This directive was to “put into effect in the Member states the principle of equal treatment” (Article 1).
- The Community Action Programme to combat Discrimination (2001-2006), to promote the study of discrimination and exchanges of experience and good practice between the Member States.

The Commission of the European Union has put forward a legal framework on the status of third-country nationals (see *ibid*) and have proposed a Directive:

- Which “recognises the right to family reunification for third-country nationals holding a residence permit of one year or more who have reasonable prospects of obtaining permanent residence.”<sup>36</sup>
- Concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents, where a period of continuous legal residence of five years will be the fundamental requirement.
- On the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purpose of paid employment and self-employed economic activities.
- On the admission of students and volunteers.
- On minimum standards for the qualification and status of third-country nationals and stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection.

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<sup>36</sup> Brussels, 3.6. 2003, COM (2003) 336 Final

The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union proposed a Directive on common standards and procedures in member states for returning illegally staying third-country nationals, presented by the Commission {SEC(2005)1057}.

As Ennals (cited in Davies, P., 1988, 1991:118) reminds us, human rights are affected by all conflicts and violence. People, are threatened by discrimination, and other grievances which lead to the conflict in the first place, they suffer from the torture, disappearances, imprisonment and fear which are an integral part of internal wars. Governments, or the opposition, or terrorist, or guerrilla groups can violate human rights. As already argued earlier in this thesis, a perception by locals that foreigners are posing a threat to law and order in their country can reinforce negative stereotypes, add to prejudice and discrimination and even result in violence against them. The next chapter considers the alleged relationship between migrants and crime.



## **Chapter 4. Migrants and Crime**

### **4.1. Migrant crime in the world**

As international migration has increased around the globe, the belief that immigrants cause crime has become the focal point of much concern. The connections between migration and crime are very complex and the topic is also very sensitive politically. Indeed, the connection between crime and immigration is too often made for political purposes even to exploit a community's xenophobic fears. Both crime and immigration tend to be perceived as threats, and immigrants make easy scapegoats for a society undergoing any sort of "moral panic" over its crime waves. The idea that immigrants are criminals is a recurring theme that press often presents "sensational" pieces that play on this stereotype. On the other hand, there are such people who we could call "migrant criminals," who come to a country for the sole purpose of continuing their criminal activities.

Although there are numerous reasons to expect that migrants would be prone to criminal activity, a number of empirical studies conducted in different countries have found that first-generation immigrants are actually under-represented in criminal statistics. In most cases, the research findings suggest a stronger link between crime and how the criminal justice system and other institutions respond to minorities, rather than between individual or even group characteristics of immigrants and officially known involvement in crime.

Tsoukala (2001:20) points out that the penalization of immigrants is expressed everywhere more or less with the same intensity but differs from state to state, in terms of the object and its content. These differences can be found at the level of public speeches of politicians as well as in the relevant institutions on issues of public order and safety and the media. In northern Europe penalization of immigrants is related to illegal migrants, asylum seekers and second-generation immigrants, while in southern Europe it is restricted to illegal immigrants. Regarding the content of the penalization of immigrants in northern Europe the image of "immigrant-criminal" has to do with different kinds of organized crime, social welfare, fraud, disturbances in city centres and sometimes with terrorism. On the other hand, in southern Europe the image of "immigrant-criminal" has to do with crimes against the person, minor offences and sometimes organised crime concerning drugs and illegal migrants (p.21).

Those who support the "immigrant-criminal" idea rely on official crime statistics that show an increase of immigrant participation in crimes as well as their overrepresentation in prisons in most of the European states. Hiatt (2007:9) points out that "good data on immigration and crime are hard to come by. Some countries forbid the recording of race in arrest records and official statistics, in an effort to combat racism. Others record race differently, or define crimes differently, making cross-national comparison difficult. In addition, the disparity in immigration policies across Europe results in wide variation in the legal status of immigrants, even between similarly situated countries. Thus, some countries will jail, detain, or imprison more immigrants than other countries, for reasons that have little or nothing to do with violent crime or homicide".

Tables 7 and 8 below show the number of foreign prisoners in some countries, including Cyprus<sup>37</sup>.

Table 7: The top twenty countries worldwide with the highest percentages of foreign prisoners, expressed as a percentage of the total prison population.

N.	Country	% foreign prisoners	Based on estimations until	N.	Country	% foreign prisoners	Based on estimations until
1	San Marino	100%	1.9.2005	11	Gibraltar (United Kingdom)	52.6%	26.1.2006
2	Monaco	88.2%	1.9.2005	12	Aruba (Netherlands)	48.1%	21.1.2005
3	United Arab Emirates	87.3%	2004	13	Cyprus	47.1%	11.4.2006
4	Andorra	83.6%	1.9.2002	14	Saudi Arabia	46.9%	2002
5	Luxembourg	75.0%	1.6.2006	15	Austria	45.1%	1.11.2005
6	Liechtenstein	70.0%	1.9.2005	16	Lebanon	42.1%	22.12.2005
7	Switzerland	69.0%	6.9.2006	17	Belgium	42.0%	3.5.2006
8	Gambia	66.7%	2002	18	Greece	41.6%	1.9.2005
9	American Samoa (USA)	66.0%	2004	19	Macau (China)	40.5%	
10	Qatar	59.7%	31.12.2004	20	Hong Kong (China)	36.5%	

<sup>37</sup> International Centre for Prison Studies,

[http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/rel/icps/worldbrief/highest\\_to\\_lowest\\_rates.php](http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/rel/icps/worldbrief/highest_to_lowest_rates.php)

The original data for the tables pertained to 155 countries and 55 countries respectively, but table 6 and 7 present only the 20 countries with the highest percentages of foreign prisoners.

It can be seen that Cyprus ranks 13<sup>th</sup> out of 155 countries, as far as the percentage of the foreign prisoners is concerned. San Marino has the first position, Monaco the second and United Arab Emirates, the third. In considering the proportion of foreign prisoners one should, of course, bear in mind the proportion of foreigners in the general population. In addition it is not clear whether such percentages of foreign prisoners refer only to sentenced prisoners or also include people in prison avoiding trial or illegal immigrants held in prison before deportation.

Table 8: The top twenty European countries with the highest percentages of foreign prisoners, expressed as a percentage of the total prison population.

N.	Countries	Percentage of foreigner prisoners	Based on estimations until	N.	Countries	Percentage of foreigner prisoners	Based on estimations until
1	San Marino	100%	1.9.2005	11	Greece	41.6%	1.9.2005
2	Monaco	88.2%	1.9.2005	12	Estonia	36.4%	31.10.2005
3	Andorra	83.6%	1.9.2002	13	Malta	35.0%	1.9.2002
4	Luxembourg	75.0%	1.6.2006	14	Italy	33.9%	31.12.2006
5	Liechtenstein	70.0%	1.9.2005	15	Spain	32.0%	Feb. 2007
6	Switzerland	69.0%	6.9.2006	16	Netherlands	31.7%	1.7.2006
7	Gibraltar (United Kingdom)	52.6%	26.10.2006	17	Germany	28.2%	31.3.2004
8	Cyprus	47.1%	11.4.2006	18	Sweden	26.2%	1.10.2005
9	Austria	45.1%	1.11.2005	19	France	21.4%	1.4.2003
10	Belgium	42.0%	3.5.2006	20	Portugal	18.5%	31.12.2005

Table 8 below shows that, of the top 20 European countries with the highest percentages of foreign prisoners, San Marino holds the first place, Monaco the second and Andorra the third. Cyprus holds the 8<sup>th</sup> place with its prison population comprising 47.1% foreign prisoners. They comprise almost half the prison population, undoubtedly a big number and a cause for concern. Indeed, the percentage of foreigners is higher for some other European countries and so Cyprus is not the only country with such a significant representation of foreigner prisoners. The proportion of foreigners committing crime in a

country can be gleaned from self-reported crime surveys, police statistics (for offences reported), court convictions, and prison statistics.

As Collins (2003:33) points out, "Immigrant crime is a reality in Europe and Australia, though data does not as yet allow a sufficiently precise image of this relationship. But the important issue here is how to respond to immigrant crime in a way that is sensitive to broader social cohesion of our towns, cities and neighborhoods." Let us next consider migrant crime in Cyprus.

## **4.2 Migrant Crime in Cyprus**

Crime levels may increase or decrease over time in particular societies. The most common index used to calculate the approximate level of crime in society has been formed from statistics with reference to crimes reported to the police, persons arrested and other information of this sort. Recorded crime statistics are generally used as a measure of crime in Cyprus. Before illustrating with statistical data, it is necessary to note that official crime statistics cannot generally be considered a reliable index of the types and volume of crime committed in society because:

- a) Not all crimes are reported to the police.
- b) Not all crimes are solved.
- c) Not all of those arrested are charged and, finally,
- d) Not all of those charged are convicted (Panousis, 1991:127).

As a result, official criminal statistics cannot tell us about the "dark figure" of crime and calculations based on official figures need to be treated with caution. In addition to the above, no exact figures exist for the size of the foreign population. Thus, the comparison between migrants as a percentage of the total population of Cyprus regarding criminality are likely not accurate but may be more indicative of people's greater willingness to report crimes committed by migrants.

For one reason or another, many people fail to report to the police offences committed against them. The majority of these victims do not report the crimes committed because of fear

of being deported or for fear they will not get justice. To illustrate, an illegal immigrant would most likely not report an assault against him/her for fear of his illegal status being found out.

Any discussion on crime almost always contains caveats and caution concerning the quality and validity of statistics. Depending upon the purpose of the discussion, the caveats take different forms. For example, it is generally agreed that the quality of statistics on prisoners in many ways is better than crime or arrest data but there are serious questions as to whether imprisonment statistics can be used to estimate the level of crime. Similarly, questions are also raised when attempts are made to estimate crime rates from arrest data.

Regarding the interpretation of criminological statistics as far as foreigners are concerned, Kranidioti (2003:151) distinguishes two versions:

- a. The statistics paint the real criminality or
- b. Criminality has increased because of the big representation of alien perpetrators.

The second version is related to the behavior or the activities of agents of criminal justice. Here the high presence of foreigners among offenders and detainees is explained by the fact that foreigners are more vulnerable at the hands of the criminal justice system and are subject to stricter treatment than that the locals.

Given the fact that many crimes remain unreported, that many of those reported remain unsolved, and that not all of those solved result in the arrest of perpetrators, it is inappropriate to talk about the 'crime' rate of specific segments of the population from arrest data. Estimates of an ethnic, immigrant, or nationality group's participation in criminal activity also suffers from similar limitations. Aside from the usual limitations of criminal statistics, there is the additional problem created by the "undefined" variable of "ethnicity." For example, some studies have been concerned with first-generation migrants and crime while others have merged together first and second generation. Also, is someone "ethnic" if either of their parents was born overseas? Ethnicity and crime statistics should be collected at every stage of the criminal justice system, namely for persons suspected of, cautioned or arrested for crime, for persons prosecuted for crimes, for persons charged, brought before, or tried at various levels of courts; persons found guilty/not guilty, persons convicted/acquitted, persons sentenced, for persons serving under different corrective orders, probation, community service orders, and for imprisonment.

Considering police criminal statistics, Table 9 shows the percentages of offences reported to the police committed by foreigners in Cyprus between the years 2002-2005. It can be seen that their involvement in serious offences has remained close to one-fifth (with the exception of 2005) but their involvement in minor crime has been increasing. The most common serious offences committed by foreigners were burglary, drug and theft offences.

Table 9-Offences reported to the police by ethnicity, 2002-2005.

Offences	2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Foreigners	Cypriots	Foreigners	Cypriots	Foreigners	Cypriots	Foreigners	Cypriots
Serious offences	920 (19%)	3,854 (81%)	1,316 (18%)	5,965 (82%)	1,538 (20%)	6,083 (80%)	1,045 (14%)	6,196 (86%)
Minor offences	920 (11%)	3,475 (89%)	1,123 (11%)	9,335 (89%)	1,450 (12%)	9,886 (88%)	1,371 (12%)	9,701 (88%)

The most common minor offences committed by foreigners are offences against persons and against property. Table 9 shows a higher involvement of foreigners in serious crime than would be expected given their size in the general population. In 2005, there were 110,200 foreign residents in Cyprus, representing 12.9% of the total population. However, police statistics on "foreigners" includes illegal immigrants and asylum seekers categories that are not included in "foreign residents." In 2005 there were an estimated 7,291 asylum seekers and 19,713 EU workers. Given that such foreigners committing crimes may very well have a lesser chance of being apprehended, the police statistics under-estimate their involvement in crime.

Tables 10 and 11, show that during the five-year period, the involvement of foreigners is characterized by significant fluctuations for which there are no readily available explanations.

Table 10 shows that foreigners are disproportionately represented in murder and attempted murder, rape, robbery and, especially in drug offences (31%). However, Table 11 shows that for foreigners are not over-represented in minor offences.

Table 10: Foreigners involved in serious offences reported to and investigated by the police by offence type, 2002-2006.

Type of offence	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Murder		3 (21%)	1 (7%)	7 (44%)	3 (21%)
Attempted murder		2 (15%)	2 (14%)	4 (29%)	3 (25%)
Rape	2 (15%)	6 (19%)	12 (29%)	14 (36%)	7 (24%)
Attempted rape			1 (100%)		
Arson	2 (2%)	34 (18%)	27 (21%)	5 (3%)	9 (7%)
Robbery	7 (18%)	13 (19%)	25 (24%)	5 (23%)	16 (20%)
Drugs	133 (31%)	123(26%)	145 (28%)	59 (10%)	201 (31%)
Destruction of property with explosives		7 (21%)	1 (2%)		
Burglary	132 (11%)	408(13%)	439 (13%)	268 (9%)	333 (11%)
Theft	161 (17%)	294(20%)	242 (21%)	131(11%)	138 (9%)
Other serious offences	483 (24%)	427(24%)	641 (28%)	538(24%)	792 (35%)

Table 11 -Minor offences reported to the police by offence group of foreign offenders involved, 2002-2006.

Offences	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Offences against public order	37 (10%)	45 (11%)	63 (16%)	60 (15%)	58 (14%)
Offences against lawful authority	16 (9%)	21 (11%)	25 (16%)	46 (23%)	20 (15%)
Offences injurious to the general public	24 (2%)	37 (3%)	103 (7%)	100 (8%)	77 (8%)
Offences against the person	110 (10%)	102 (8%)	155 (12%)	188 (14%)	159 (13%)
Offences against property	86 (8%)	185 (7%)	405 (12%)	206 (7%)	231 (8%)
Malicious injury to property	12 (6%)	22 (4%)	74 (8%)	35 (5%)	44 (4%)
Attempt and attempted conspiracies	6 (14%)	1 (4%)	6 (26%)	3 (8%)	8 (11%)
Miscellaneous offences	629 (15%)	710 (18%)	619 (17%)	733 (19%)	1,124 (28%)

Table 12 shows persons convicted by ethnicity. During the years 2002-2004 there was a significant decline in the number of Cypriots defendants convicted, falling from 77% in 2002 to 64% in 2005. Consequently, during the same period there was a significant increase in the proportion of foreigners convicted by the courts, rising from 23% in 2002 to 36% in 2005. Of course, differences in conviction rates alone do not constitute convincing evidence for differential involvement in crime but may also reflect the fact that foreigners tend to commit such offences as those related to drugs that have a higher conviction rate because they are often arrested in undercover police operations or they tend to commit offences against persons such as assault where the victim reports them to the police and testifies in court. It should be noted, however that the ethnic groups that feature most highly in court convictions are Greek nationals, British and Syrians.

Table 12 -Defendants convicted during 2002-2005 by ethnicity

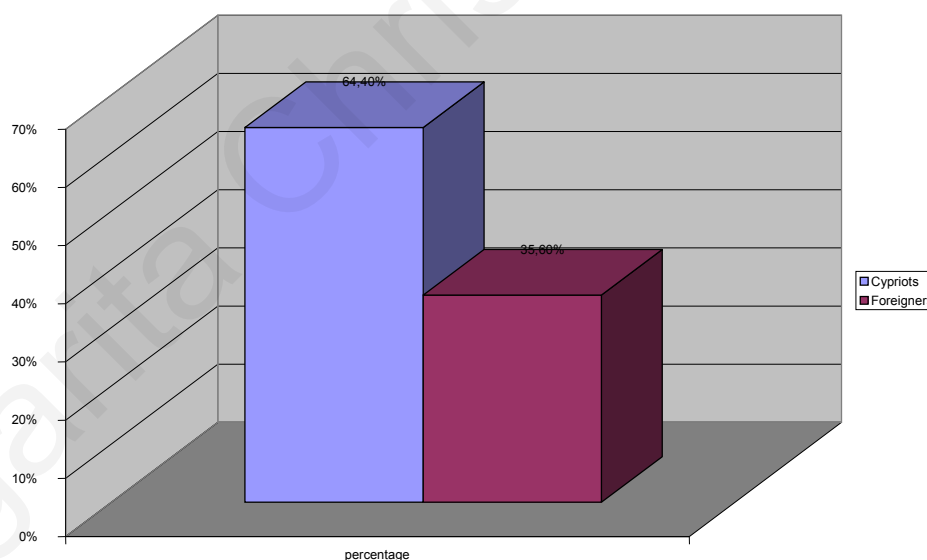
	2002	2003	2004	2005
Cypriots	745 (77.2%)	599 (73%)	981 (69.8%)	1,012 (64.3%)
Greek	45 (5%)	39 (4.7%)	62 (4.4%)	74 (4.7%)
British	59 (6%)	48 (5.8%)	63 (4.5%)	73 (4.6%)
Lebanese	6 (0.6%)			
Syrian	9 (0.9%)	5 (0.6%)	18 (1.3%)	45 (2.9%)
Russian	18 (1.8%)	12 (1.5%)	25 (1.8%)	23 (1.5%)
Yugoslavian	10 (1%)			
Bulgarian	6 (0.6%)			
Sri-Lankan	11 (1.1%)	5 (0.6%)	15 (1.1%)	
Georgian	13 (1.4%)		13 (0.9%)	24 (1.5%)
Turkish		9 (1.1%)	21 (1.5%)	31 (2%)
Ukranian		5 (0.6%)	18 (1.3%)	
Pakistani		16 (2%)	27 (2%)	22 (1.4%)
Irish		8 (0.9%)		
Iranian				24 (1.5%)
Polish				26 (1.7%)
other	42 (4.4%)	76 (9.2%)	163 (11.6%)	221 (14%)



Using the latest court statistics available at the time of writing, in 2005 foreigners accounted for 35.7% of total convictions for serious offences, 30.7% of males and 5% of females. Foreigners in Cyprus form a significant proportion of adult offenders and of women in particular. Offenders of foreign nationality committed mainly offences against property, offences against the narcotic drugs law and against persons.

Chart 4 (below) shows the percentages of adults tried and convicted by nationality in 2005.<sup>38</sup> The total number of the adults was 2,392 of whom 2,177 (91%) were men and 215 (9%) women. From the total number of men, 1,437 (60.1%) were Cypriots and 740 (30.9%) were foreigners. Of the women, 102 (4.3%) were Cypriots and 113 (4.7%) were foreigners. It can be seen that foreigners, who comprise 12% of the total population, are 2.5 times more highly represented in the court statistics cited. Foreigners are disproportionately represented among adults convicted by the courts. This difference, however, may reflect the fact that they are more likely to commit drug-related crimes and offences against persons such as assault that are more likely to lead to conviction.

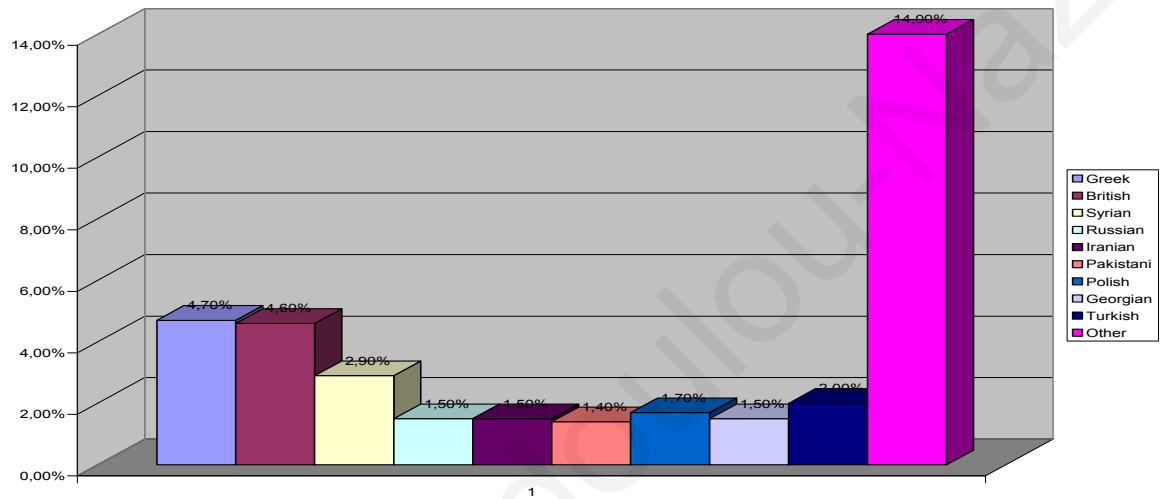
Chart 4-Adults tried and convicted in 2005



<sup>38</sup> There is no recent data regarding nationality of adult foreigners tried by offence group and sex.

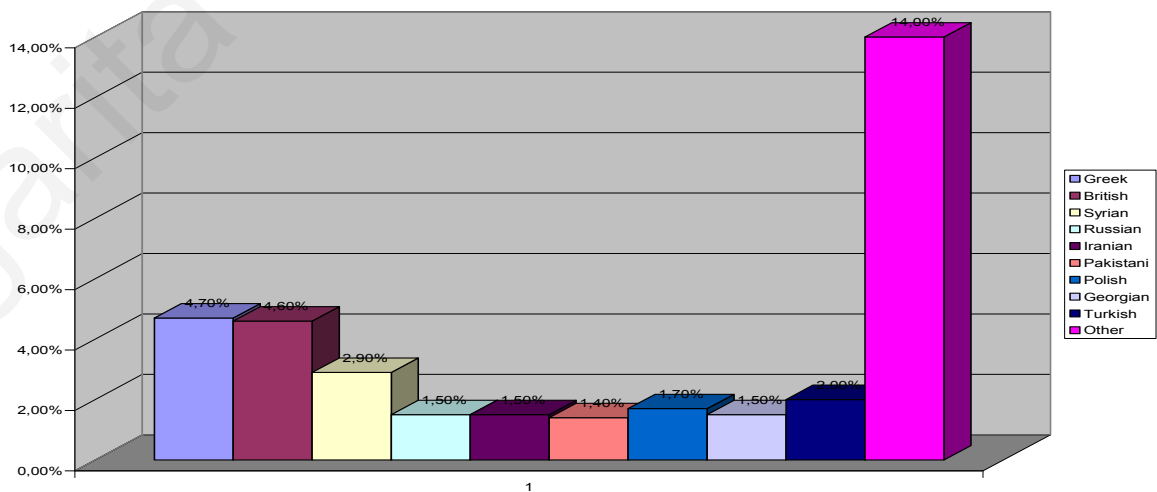
Most of the foreigners tried in the courts (2005) were from Greece, Britain, Syria and Georgia. It must be noted that "Greeks" include Russian Pontiacs originally from Georgia who afterwards obtained Greek passports as well as nationals of Greece (see Chart 5).

Chart 5-Foreign adults proceeded against by ethnic group in 2005.



The total number of adults convicted in 2005 was 1,575 of whom 1,012 (64.3%) were Cypriots. Of the Cypriots, there were 949 (60.3%) men and 63 (4.0%) women, while among the foreign adults convicted (563 or 35.7%), 484 (30.7%) were men and 79 (5.0%) women.

Chart 6-Foreigners convicted in 2005



The foreign adults convicted in 2005 (see Chart 6) came mainly from Greece (4.7%), Britain (4.6%), Syria (2.9%) and Poland (1.7%), while in 2004 they came mainly from Britain (4.5%), Greece (4.4), Pakistan (1.9%) and Russia (1.8%).

As shown in Chart 7 below, Greeks were convicted more frequently for crimes against property, while British were convicted of offences injurious to the general public. Syrians were convicted for miscellaneous offences and Poles for offences against property. It is interesting to note that the biggest percentage of adults convicted (both foreigners and Cypriots), had committed crimes against property, forgery, coining, counterfeiting and personating as well as offences injurious to the general public.

Chart 7- Adults convicted in 2005 by nationality and offence group.

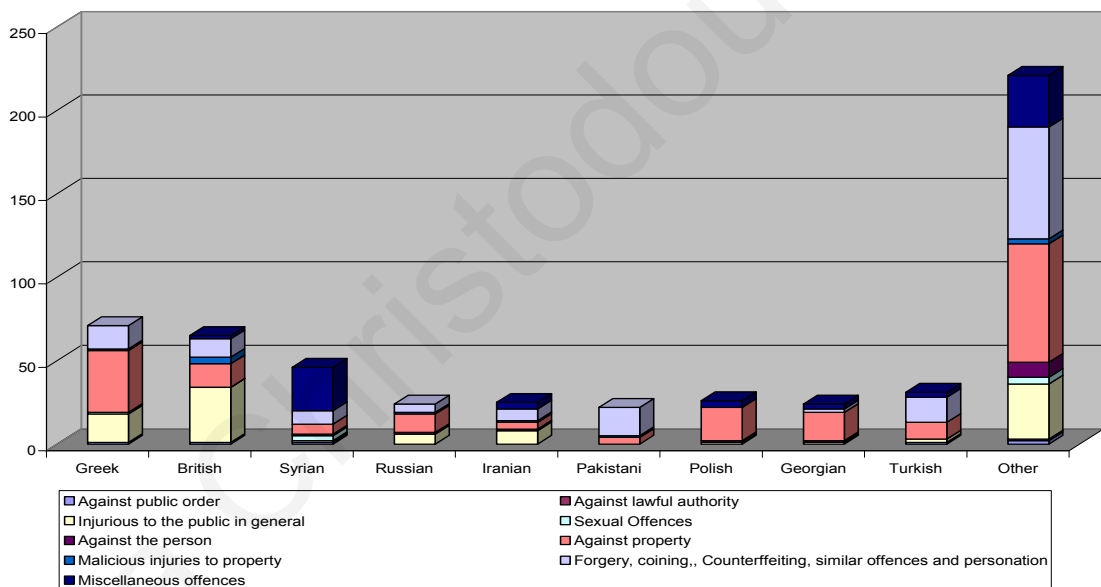
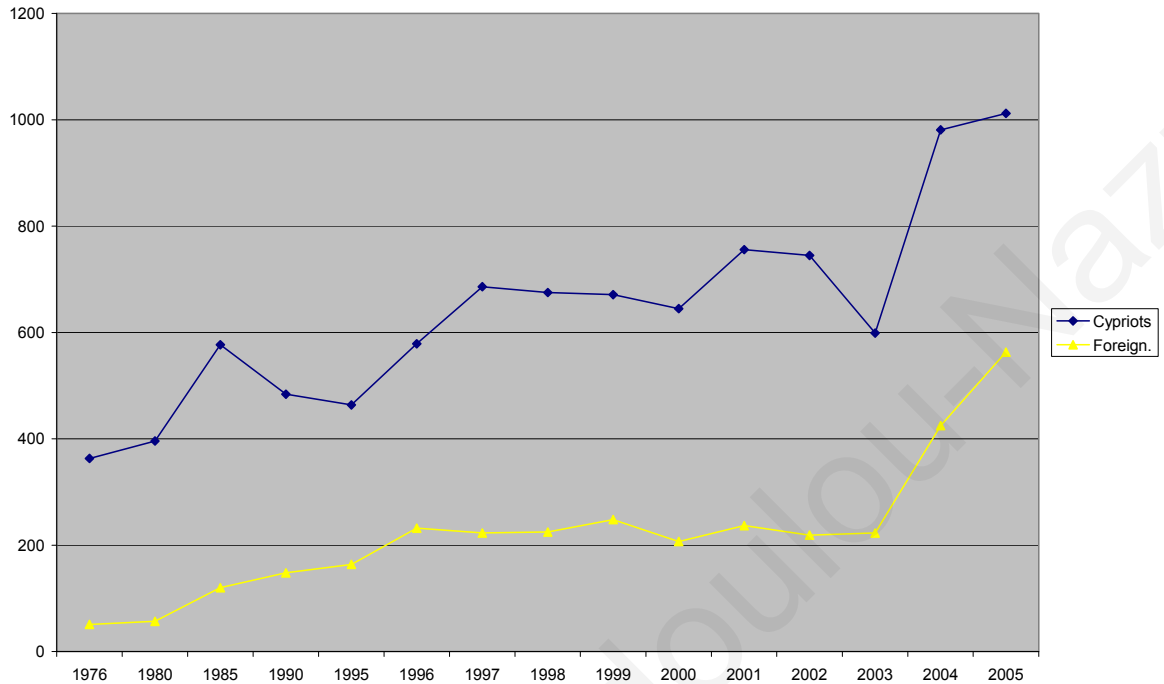


Table 13 and Chart 8 show adult Cypriots and foreigners convicted for serious offences between the years 1976-2005.

Table 13 - Adults convicted for serious offences, 1976-2005:

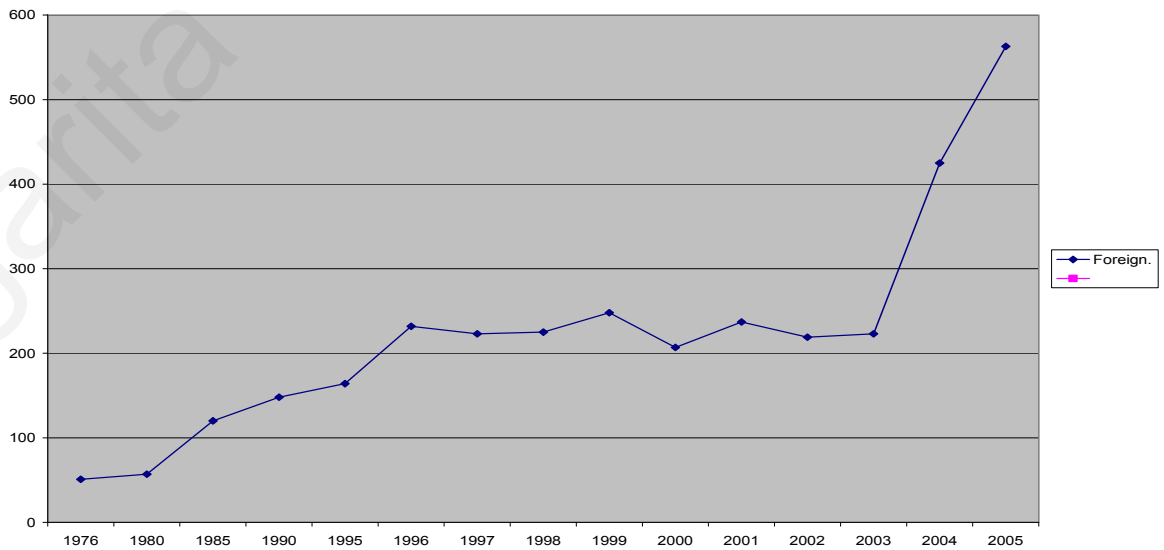
	1976	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Cypriots	363 (88%)	396 (87%)	577 (83%)	484 (77%)	464 (74%)	579 (71%)	686 (75%)	675 (75%)	671 (73%)	645 (76%)	756 (76%)	745 (77%)	599 (73%)	981 (70%)	1012 (64.2%)
Foreigners	51 (12%)	57 (13%)	120 (17%)	148 (23%)	164 (26%)	232 (29%)	223 (25%)	225 (25%)	248 (27%)	207 (24%)	237 (24%)	219 (23%)	223 (27%)	425 (30%)	563 (35.7%)

Chart 8-Adults convicted of serious offences, 1976-2005.



The increasing number of adults convicted during the period depicted in Table 13 and Chart 8 reflects the steady increase in serious offences during the same period. Table 13 and Chart 9 show that the involvement of foreigners as offenders in serious offences increased steadily during the period 1976-2005, rising from 12% in 1976, 29% in 1996 to 36% in 2005.

Chart 9-Foreign adults convicted for serious offences, 1976-2005.



Statistics for juvenile delinquency during 1976-2004<sup>39</sup>, are illustrated on Chart 10 and Table 14 below. The involvement of foreigners among officially known delinquents has fluctuated significantly and it is not clear what explains the fluctuation concerned (see Charts 10 and 11).

Chart 10-Cypriot and foreign juvenile delinquency, 1976-2004.

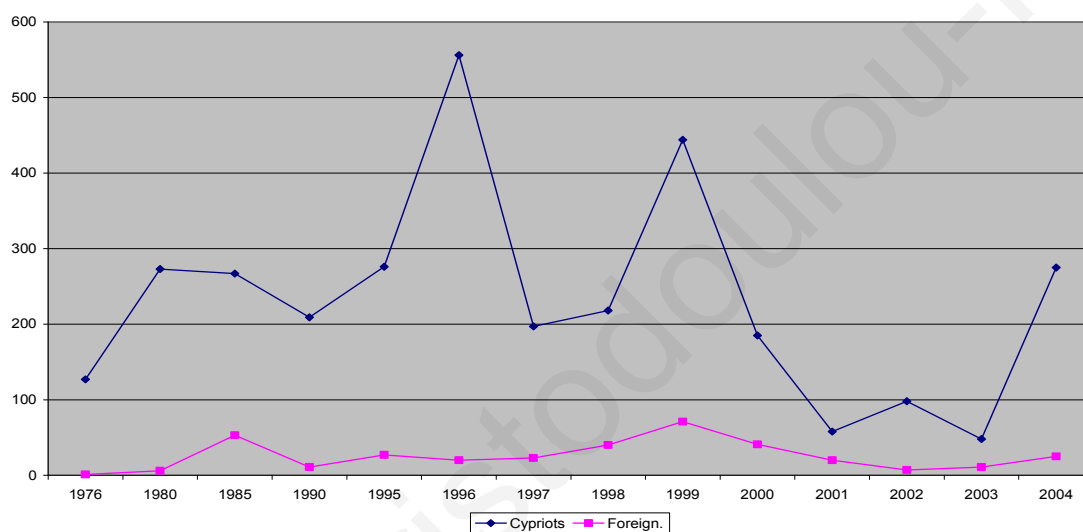


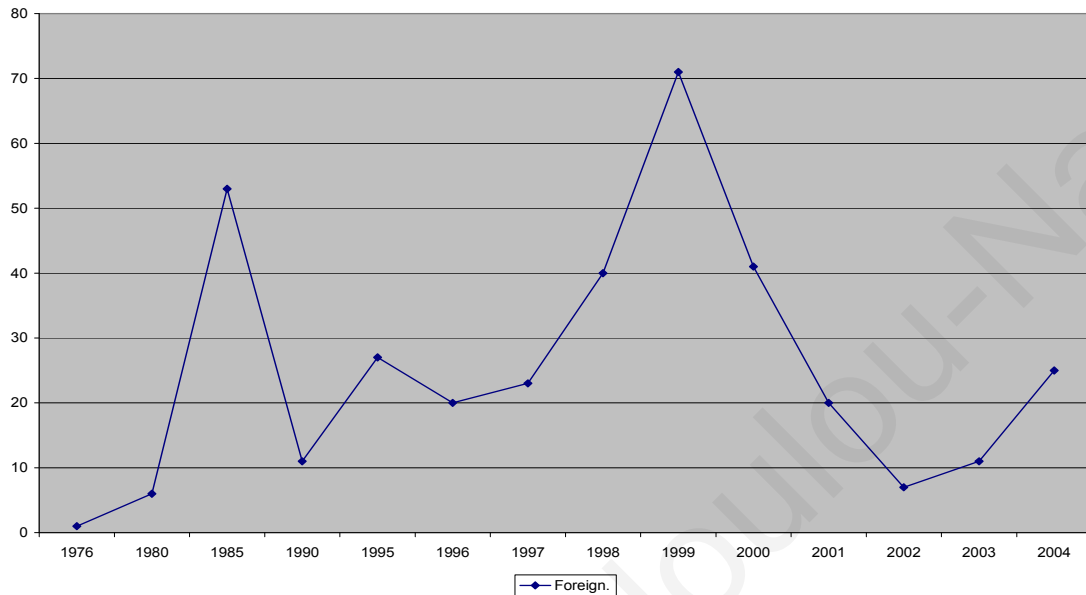
Table 14 - Juvenile Delinquency (serious and minor offences), 1976-2004:

	1976	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Cypriot	127 (99%)	273 (98%)	267 (83%)	209 (95%)	276 (91%)	556 (97%)	197 (90%)	218 (84%)	444 (86%)	185 (89%)	58 (74%)	98 (93%)	48 (81%)	275 (92%)
Foreign	1 (1%)	6 (2%)	53 (17%)	11 (5%)	27 (9%)	20 (3%)	23 (10%)	40 (16%)	71 (14%)	41 (11%)	20 (26%)	7 (7%)	11 (19%)	25 (8%)

Notes: Juveniles involved in the commission of serious offences only, aged 7-15. For 1976, the figures refer to convicted juveniles. But as from 1999 onwards the age limit changed to 10-15 instead of 7-15 years (Amendment Law 15(I)/99). In 2006, the age of criminal responsibility was set by law to 14 years.

<sup>39</sup> There are no available data for 2005 regarding juvenile delinquency.

Chart 11-Juvenile delinquency among foreigners 1976-2004.



Regarding foreign prison inmates, Table 15 shows that they comprise a very high proportion (period average of a 47%) of the population of the Central Prison, undoubtedly a cause for major concern for the Central Prison authorities.

Table 15-.Local vs. foreign prisoners serving sentences 2002-2005.

Nationality	2002	2003	2004	2005
Greek-Cypriots	182 (57%)	168 (55%)	231 (52%)	247 (57%)
Foreigners	138 (43%)	140 (45%)	212 (48%)	188 (43%)

In conclusion, as far as migrants and crime in Cyprus are concerned, the official criminal statistics considered above show that foreigners have a higher involvement than would have been expected given their representation in the general population in serious offences reported to the police, among convictions and, finally, among prisoners serving sentences. However, more research is needed to probe this finding further and to enable definitive conclusions to be drawn.

A plausible explanation for some immigrant groups featuring more among certain offences (e.g. assault) is provided by Martens who observes that " persons who come from countries at war have been found be relatively prone to react violently in conflict situations, particularly when these persons themselves have taken an active part in the war as soldiers, Furthermore people from such counties may suffer physical or philological trauma a s a result of their experiences in their native countries, and those traumas may be exacerbated by the immigration experience, Additionally, cultures in conflict at home may bring their conflicts with them to their host nation, resulting in inter-immigrant crime (cited by Hiatt, 1995:245).

The number of foreigners among offenders and detainees could also be explained by the fact that foreigners are treated differently by the mechanisms of the criminal justice system.

It is important to mention in this context that in April 2004 restrictions of movement across some of the checkpoints on the "green line" (dividing the free from the occupied areas of the Republic) were lifted. This factor may have influenced offending recorded by police. Turkish-Cypriots are Cypriots by citizenship and are classified by the police as such, thus lowering, perhaps, the percentage of foreigners. This should be borne in mind when interpreting criminal statistics on Cypriots and foreigners.

But foreigners are not only considered to be "criminals". They are also victims of crime. More and more people are traveling, living or studying abroad and are therefore potential victims of crimes committed in a country other than their own.

### **4.3 Migrants and Crime Victimization**

Victimization surveys are useful for assessing the extent of crime that is not reported to the police. Such surveys show that many victims do not report crimes committed, due to beliefs such as there is nothing the police could do about it, or the incident was not serious enough to involve the police, or it was a personal matter or there was fear of reprisal from the offender (Australian Crime Facts and Figures, 2004:4). Unfortunately, there have been no crime victimization surveys carried out in Cyprus. The need for such research cannot be overemphasized.

As far as the link between ethnicity and crime is concerned, the primary interest has been in offenses committed by members of ethnic groups. Racial disparagement and hate crimes (see below for definition) against ethnic and minority groups are only gradually being addressed following years of discrimination in Europe and elsewhere. Laws have now been adopted in a number of countries, and various bodies have been established to deal with complaints. Apart from hate crime, there has been little interest in the criminal victimization of immigrants. Are immigrants more or less likely to become crime victims than native-born citizens? Are some racial-ethnic groups more likely to be victimized than others? Measuring the extent of criminal victimization of immigrants is a difficult matter, especially where a particular ethnic group constitutes a small proportion of the population or is very insular.

Considering racially motivated crime in the U.S., figures collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation<sup>40</sup> show that 4,691 hate crimes reported by law enforcement agencies in 2005 were racially motivated. Of those:

- 68.2 % were triggered by anti-black bias.
- 19.9 % were motivated by anti-white bias.
- 4.9 % resulted from anti-Asian/Pacific Islander bias.
- 4.9 % were driven by bias against groups of individuals in which more than one race was reported (anti-multiple races, group).
- 2.0 % were motivated by anti-American Indian/Alaskan Native bias.

Hate crimes motivated by religious bias totaled 1,314 offenses, of which:

- 68.5 % were anti-Jewish.
- 11.1 % were anti-Islamic.
- 7.8 % were anti-other (unspecified) religion.
- 4.6 % were anti-Catholic.
- 4.4 % were anti-Protestant.
- 3.2 % were anti-multiple religions, (i.e., groups of individuals of varying religions).

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<sup>40</sup> FBI, 2005; at the time of writing this thesis these were the most recent statistics available.



- 0.4 % were anti-Atheism/Agnosticism.

The total number of hate crimes, based on the perceived ethnicity or national origin of the victim, was 1,144, of which:

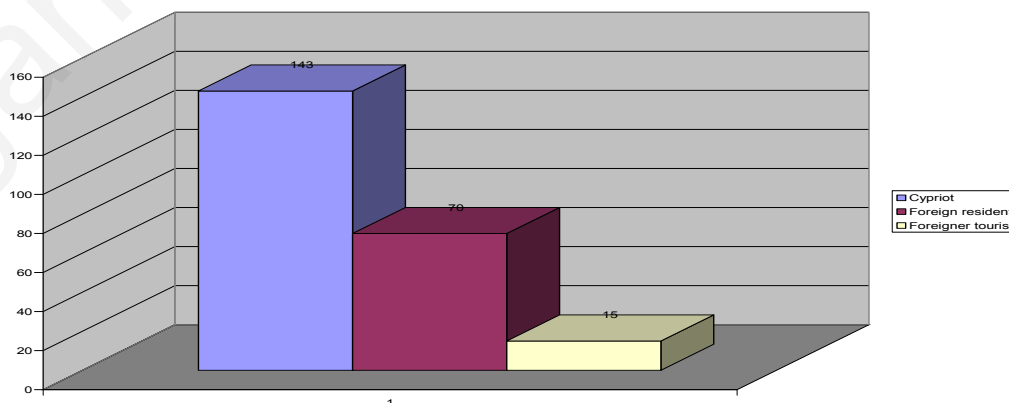
- 57.7% were anti-Hispanic.
- 2.3% were anti-other ethnicity/national origin.

No such detailed statistics are available in Cyprus.

Generally hate crimes are more violent than other crimes. Attacks are often preceded by a series of confrontations and incidents that escalate in severity. Hate crimes are more likely than other criminal activity to be committed by groups of perpetrators. Perry (2001:10) defines hate crime as “a mechanism of power and oppression involving acts of violence and intimidation against already stigmatized groups and intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterize the given social order.” Most crimes against persons are committed by someone the victim knows; hate crimes, however, are more likely to be committed by strangers (FBI, 2003:2).

As far as Cyprus is concerned, according to Criminal Statistics 2005 (Chart 12), Cypriot victims involved in criminal offences cleared up by the police was 143 (62.7%) while 70 (30.7%) were foreign residents and 15 (6.6%) foreign tourists. The proportion of foreign residents is 2.5 times higher than their proportion in their general population (12%).

Chart 12-Victims of solved cases by ethnicity, 2005.



Most foreign victims had been wounded, raped, or had suffered grievous bodily harm (see Charts 12 and 13). In 2005, the number of Cypriot victims of sexual offences comprised 62.9%, while foreign residents and tourists comprised 32.8% and 4.3% respectively. Thus, at 33% foreign residents are grossly over-represented among victims of sexual offences. Such differences however, may be attributable to greater reportability of sexual offences. Finally, foreigners are over-represented among victims of serious assault (see Chart 14).

Chart 13-Victims of crime by nationality for sexual offences and offences against the person, 2005.

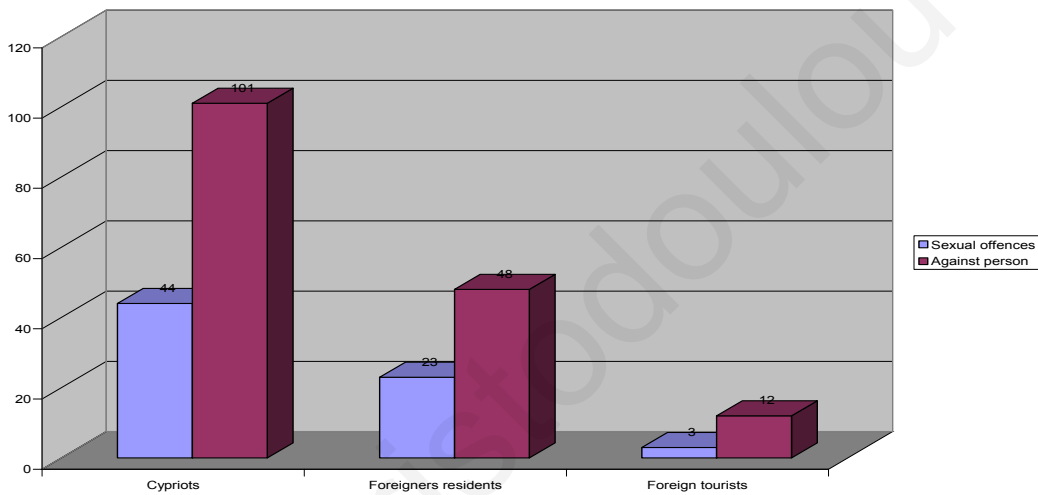
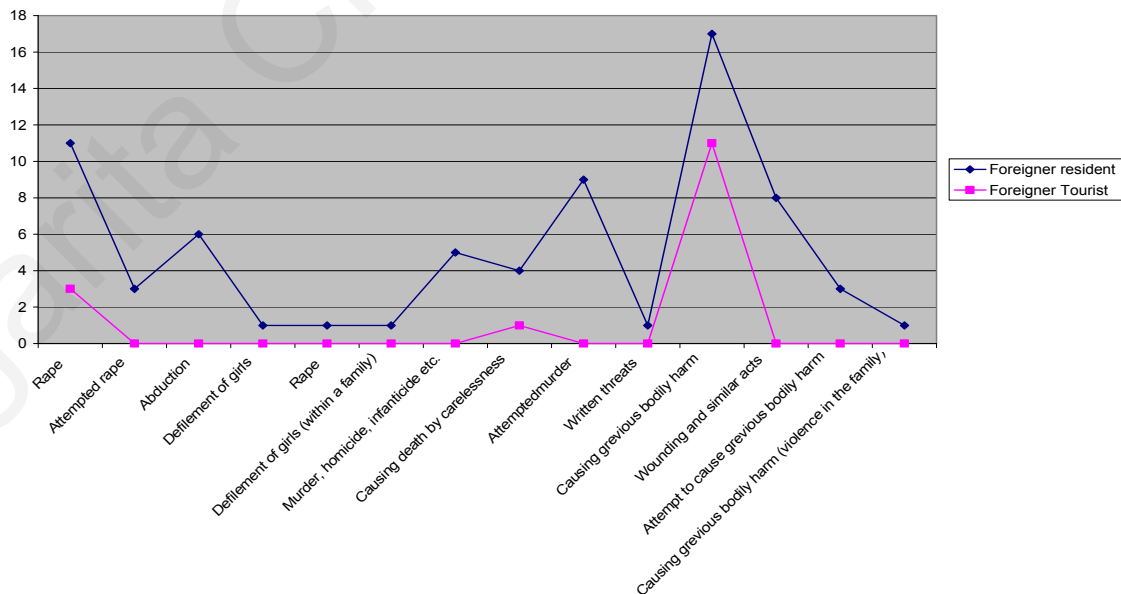
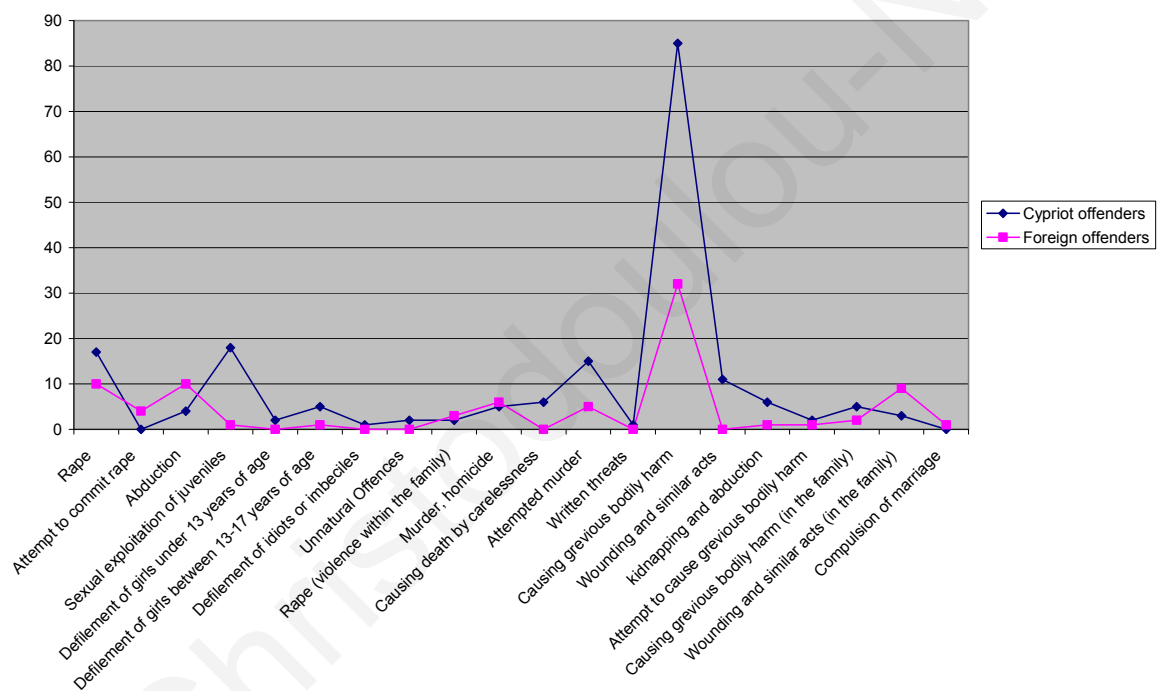


Chart 14-Number of foreigner victims and type of offence, 2005



According to Criminal Statistics 2005, Chart 15 shows that the most frequent offence for Cypriots and foreigners alike is causing grievous bodily harm, followed by sexual offences with Cypriots featuring highly in "sexual exploitation of juveniles" and foreigners in rape and abduction.

Chart 15-Offenders by nationality and type of offence, 2005



The next chapter provides a literature review of the issue of foreigners and their alleged relationship with crime in society and identifies a number of hypotheses that were subsequently tested in the research reported in chapters 7 and 8.

## **Chapter 5. Ethnicity, Immigration and Crime: A Literature Review**

This chapter reviews studies since the early part of the twentieth century that have been reported by criminologists on migrant crime in various countries. The relationship, if any, between migration and crime is a classical topic addressed by sociologists and criminologists such as Sellin (1938) and Sutherland (1929) (cited in Rattner 1997:235). The research literature generally examines statistics on arrests and imprisonment to establish relationships.

### **5.1. Earlier Studies**

A number of American and European scholars, particularly in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, have attempted to explain the relationship between immigration and crime. Two approaches to explaining crime by immigrants in the early part of this century are the "culture conflict" and "social disorganization" theories. Among the proponents of the former are Sutherland and Sellin. According to Sutherland, mobility generally motivates a group to adapt to the crime rate in the area to which it moves (Sutherland, 1947:123). Sutherland acknowledged that immigrant groups vary widely in their arrest and imprisonment rates and cited abundant statistics to substantiate his theory.

#### **United States**

A study by the United States Immigration Commission (1911) found that the rate of crime among native-born Americans exceeded that of first-generation immigrants (Yeager, 1996:1) but the second generation of immigrants usually recorded higher crime rates than their parents (higher for property crimes). This finding did not always hold for all offenses, however. For example, among the Irish in New York, in 1908-1909, the second generation tended to commit fewer crimes of personal violence than those born overseas (Yeager, 1996: 14). Taft (1933) argued that it was misleading to compare the crime rates of immigrants and native-born persons, because this comparison often included the native-born children of immigrants in the "native" category (cited in Yeager, 1996:11).

An examination of arrest statistics in Buffalo, New York, from 1854 to 1956, concluded that immigrant status was not a significant factor. Instead, native-born "white

Americans committed over 90 percent of the offenses in the 110 years covered by the present study" (Powell, 1966:166).

Two well-known University of Chicago sociologists, Clifford R. Shaw (Shaw, 1929), and Henry McKay (Shaw and McKay, 1942), explained variation in the rates of crime and delinquency, utilizing the concept of "social disorganization." They observed similarities not only in the rates among the foreign-born but also between the foreign-born and the groups among the blacks. Their analysis of Chicago data indicates that the whites as well as Blacks, the natives as well as the foreign-born, and the older immigrant nationalities as well as the recent arrivals ranged in their rates of delinquency from the very highest to the lowest.

In an earlier study of delinquency for the Wickersham Commission, Shaw and McKay (1931) found that the rate of delinquency in Chicago among children of foreign-born parents was almost twice as high as that for children of native-born parents. Shaw and McKay also showed that at the end of the last century, Germans, English, Irish, and Scandinavians constituted over three-quarters of the foreign-born population of eight inner-city areas of Chicago and that boys whose fathers were born in those countries accounted for 44 per cent of delinquent boys. However, Italians, Poles, and Slavs made up only 15 per cent of foreign-born population but boys whose fathers were born in those countries accounted for 25 per cent of delinquent boys. By 1930 this pattern had totally reversed. Twelve per cent of the foreign-born population in the same areas came from Germany, England, Ireland and Scandinavia and only 6.3 per cent of delinquent boys' fathers were born in these countries. Italians, Poles, and Slavs accounted for over 75% of the foreign-born population but 41 per cent of delinquent boys' fathers were born in these countries. Shaw and McKay conclude that following the shift out of the areas of first settlement on the part of each older immigrant nationality, the proportion of their children among the boys of foreign parentage appearing in the Juvenile Court underwent a notable decline. Just as they were being replaced in their old areas of residence by more recent immigrants, so their sons were replaced in the dockets of the court by the sons of new arrivals. Further, no evidence exists which would indicate that the children of nationalities disappearing from the court records are reappearing as children of the native-born children of the native-born descendants of these newcomers. The rates of delinquents in areas populated by these descendants remain low. The classic work of Shaw and McKay (1969) found officially known urban crime in America to be concentrated in certain depressed areas, largely

populated by immigrants and southern Blacks. However, in interpreting this phenomenon, Shaw and McKay concluded that within "the same type of social area, the foreign born and the natives, recent immigrant nationalities, and older immigrants produce very similar rates of delinquents" (1969: 160-cited in Yeager, 1996:26). Using 1938 prison statistics, Van Vechten (1941) concluded that the foreign-born were under-represented in U.S. prisons by a ratio of 1:2. Nevertheless, there were slightly more foreign-born prisoners than native-born in the 15-29 age category, a finding largely biased by there being few foreign-born men under age 30 in the total population (cited in Yeager, 1996:9).

Harold Ross (1937) was led to the conclusion that because the European immigrant was forced, due to poverty, to live in disorganized ghetto areas, their children suffered from the cultural diversity of this environment. In spite of that, some immigrant colonies operated to shield their members from delinquency (Zorbaugh, 1929). Beynon (1935) found that the percentage of adjudicated juvenile delinquents was considerably higher among youngsters who lived outside the Hungarian colony in Detroit (1927-1932). A similar conclusion was reached by Lind (1930) in his study of a Japanese colony in the city of Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1927-1928 (Yeager, 1996:10). Wood (1947) found a very low crime rate among a Slavic colony in Wisconsin, which he attributed to their cultural protectiveness and more favorable social integration. In contrast, he found that American Indians displayed very high rates of criminal behavior.

Sutherland and Cressey (1960), in their *Principles of Criminology* concluded that rates of arrest and imprisonment for immigrants were approximately half as high as those of the native-born (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960:145, cited in Yeager, 1996:10). During the early 20's and 30's, in the United States, Italian immigrants had an extraordinarily high rate of conviction for homicide, but low rates of arrest for drunkenness. Analyzing such differences, they argued that various ethnic groups brought with them cultural predispositions toward certain types of criminality.

In the early 1970s a number of scholars in North America and Europe have focused on crime in relation to race and ethnicity. The 1960s saw a resurgence of crime in the United States as well as race riots, violence, and violent protests particularly by young people against the Vietnam War. The period also witnessed at least three major enquiries on civil disorder,

administration of justice, and causes of violence. Crimes by Afro-Americans routinely made headlines in the media. Wolfgang and Cohen's (1970) work was written in the aftermath of those turbulent years. Their book did not examine crimes by migrants/foreigners or ethnic groups - it primarily dealt with the issue of race and crime. However, Wolfgang and Cohen concur with Shaw and McKay's findings that crime and delinquency are associated with urban disorganization. In this respect the experience of the urban Black was different from migrants of early years. While immigrants from Germany, Ireland, and Italy, however, moved outward to better areas as they improved their lifestyle, Blacks who moved into the inner city area could not move outward even when they improved their life style. Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) describe differences in crime rates across cultures in their well-known book *Crime and Human Nature*, but their discussion in the main deals with Black and White crime rates in the United States.

### **Germany**

Focusing on continental Europe, Zimmerman (1966-cited in Francis, 1981:28) studied four first-generation migrant groups in West Germany: Italians, Greeks, Spaniards and Turks. He discovered that criminality among foreign workers' (in terms of gross official figures), was lower than that of native Germans'. The least criminal groups were Spaniards and Italians, whereas the most criminal were Turks and Greeks. This finding, however, may be attributable to different offences being committed by the different ethnic groups that had different clear-up rates and reportability.

Also, as Ferracutti (1968:206) noted, many of these studies did not utilize statistical controls for comparison purposes. When such controls are introduced by Zimmerman (1966, see Table 10), they suggest many of the same patterns by crime and ethnic group. In Table 10 the population figures are adjusted such that crime committed by Germans is designated as 100 for 1965. The rates for the various migrant groups for property offences are lower than for native-born German. There is considerable variation within groups, especially for assault and murder (or attempted murder) and, apparently, high rates may be a function of a small number of offences in the total number of violent crimes.

Table 16: Ethnicity by type of crime in West Germany.

<b>CRIME</b>	<b>Germans</b>	<b>Italians</b>	<b>Greeks</b>	<b>Spaniards</b>	<b>Turks</b>
<b>All Crimes</b>	100	50	72	32	88
<b>Murder</b>	100	133	66	66	366
<b>Att. Murder</b>	100	133	183	83	517
<b>Sex. Assault</b>	100	250	150	50	100
<b>Assault</b>	100	112	139	75	287
<b>Rape</b>	100	123	150	63	323
<b>Child Mol.</b>	100	163	115	63	160
<b>Robbery</b>	100	69	77	46	163
<b>Thefts</b>	100	69	86	54	59
<b>Qualified Theft</b>	100	31	28	23	18
<b>Fraud</b>	100	23	38	11	50

Albrecht (1987) in his study of 1982 German crime statistics, found wide inequalities between Germans and foreign-born immigrants. The foreign-born were twice as likely to be convicted of serious offenses, including drug crimes, and almost three times as likely to be considered suspects as native Germans. In contrast, a 1992 study of self-reported delinquency in the German city of Mannheim came to opposite conclusions, finding that German youths aged 14-21 were more likely to be involved in crimes against property, violent crimes, and drug offenses than non-Germans (Sutterer & Karger, 1994, cited in Yeager, 1996:18).

### **Switzerland**

An early study of Italian migrant workers on temporary visas in Zurich found that the overall crime rate for Italians was lower than for Swiss nationals, and that the crimes were less serious, despite considerable hostility towards these migrants and much scrutiny by the police



(Ferracutti, 1968:205). This finding was remarkable in light of the relatively young age of these Italian workers and their occupations as service workers (hotels, restaurants, maids, etc.). Similar studies were conducted in Liege (Belgium), and Dusseldorf (West Germany) which concluded that on the basis of official crime statistics, the migrant groups do not commit more crimes than the native-born.

A further study summarized by Ferracutti (1968:208) found that, overall, foreign workers had a higher rate of crimes per 100,000 than the general Swiss population (441 vs. 315). However, when broken down by nationality, Austrians and Germans had higher rates than the other ethnic groups. The data, however, were not corrected for sex and age differences. Such was not the case in a study of Italians in Geneva, which concluded that they had low crime rates compared with other ethnic groups (Ferracutti, 1968:209). Killias's (1989) study on European juvenile delinquency found that second-generation immigrant teenagers (only boys) were involved more in crime than the native-born, controlling for sex and age distributions. This finding is not applied to Asians, who generally seem to have lower offense rates.

### **Belgium**

Tas Junger (1977) showed that in a small Belgian town the foreign-born children of migrant workers reported less delinquency than their Belgian-born comparison group, with the exception of assault. Born & Gavray (1994) came to a similar conclusion in their sample, taken in the metropolitan area of Liege, Belgium, in 1992. Those between the ages of 14 and 21 with Belgium-born fathers were more likely to self-report acts of theft and violence. Minor offenses and drug-use was more prevalent among those with a foreign-born father.

### **Australia**

In Australia, in a series of reports by the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council (1952, 1955, and 1957), immigrants were under-represented in conviction rates by a ratio of 5.7 per 1,000 adult Australians versus 3.9 for immigrants in 1952 (Borowski & Thomas, 1994:638). The immigrants' recidivism rate was about half that of the Australian-born. This finding was surprising because in Australia about half a million immigrants arrived following World War II. Of special interest in the later reports (1955, 1957) was the finding that the rate of immigrant crime had further decreased in comparison with that of natives

(Francis, 1981:56-58). Francis' (1981:183) study of High Court convictions in New South Wales indicated that most immigrant groups had the same (or lower conviction) rates than native Australians, with the exception of those born in New Zealand and Yugoslavia (both of which were higher). A 1974 census of all prisoners throughout Australia found that Australian-born offenders were more likely to be incarcerated than those born overseas (138 per 100,000 populations versus 87 per 100,000) (1981:97). Data on juvenile offenders and juvenile incarceration rates are also consistent with this trend (p.99).

Finally, Francis examined the differences between first (immigrant) and second-generation immigrants (i.e., the Australian-born children of immigrants). Here, too, he found that first-generation immigrants had a rate of imprisonment half that of native Australians (1981:138). The rate for children of immigrant parents was considerably less than that for native-Australians, but higher than the rate for their foreign-born parents. This, Francis concluded, was consistent with the theory of "culture conflict" propounded by Sellin (1938). Kapardis (1988) compared crime among Greek-born migrants and native-born in Australia using official data on prison, youth training centres, reception centers, residence centers, and police statistics for persons from six ethnic groups brought to trial. He took into account age, gender and type of offence and concluded that the official data yielded conflicting findings as far as the "criminality" of foreigners is concerned (p.221).

Statistics reported by Hazlehurst (1987) support the findings of Francis (1981), with the rate of imprisonment for Australian-born inmates exceeding that of immigrants and offending rates tending to increase with length of stay in Australia. Among those specific immigrant groups that were over-represented in prison statistics, for instance, from New Zealand, Yugoslavia, and the Middle East, there was a positive correlation with unemployment and age differentiation. Consequently, those high offending groups suffered from higher unemployment, while others with low offending rates (Greek and Italians) showed the lowest unemployment rates. Moreover, New Zealand, Yugoslav, and Middle-Eastern prisoners were younger than other immigrant groups in prison, with the youngest being Australian-born.

## **Canada**

In Canada, Giffen (1976-cited in Yeager, 1996:3) analyzed 1969 conviction statistics from the Province of Ontario and came to the conclusion that the foreign-born were less likely to be convicted of an offence than the native-born. Ribordy (1967) examined arrest statistics for those aged 18 or older and found that the arrest rate of Italians living in Montreal was about seven times lower than that for the general population (1.17 per 10,000 populations versus 9.97). Italians had lower arrest rates for all offenses (including crimes of violence), except for gambling -- where their rate was more than three times higher than that of the general population. About 70 percent of the arrests were for gambling, traffic offenses, and disorderly conduct. Ribordy came to the conclusion that these crimes represented "cultural" violations for the Italians. They were undergoing a process of "deculturation." In other words, their assimilation into Canadian society had led to a decline in traditional Italian values. Interestingly, he also found that the arrest rate was lowest at the center of the Italian colony in Montreal, and increased proportionally as one approached its periphery (Yeager, 1996:7)

## **Britain**

A few studies of Irish involvement in London robberies found that young Irishmen were over-represented by "about three and a half times in 1950 and six and a half times in 1957" (Bottoms, 1967: 360). But, this general finding did not consider that most Irish men in London were young and single, and therefore in the crime-prone age group. A further finding which undermined this conclusion was the low involvement of the Irish in London robberies. Thus, in 1950, only 12 of some 166 persons convicted of robbery were born in Ireland (p.358). Notwithstanding the above, available evidence surveyed by Bottoms (1967) did confirm that the Irish were over-represented as recidivists and as detainees in prisons. In relation to immigrants from other Commonwealth countries, Bottoms (1967) found that their crime rates tended to be low, with the exception of the violent crime category where domestic disputes prevailed (p.381).

During the late sixties, Lambert (1970) examined crime statistics in the city of Birmingham in England. Particularly, he focused on one police division within the city of Birmingham, where most immigrants reside and found that immigrants, mainly persons of color, lived in those parts of central Birmingham characterized by high rates of crime and

disorder (122-123). However, "colored immigrants are very much less involved in the crime and disorder that surround them than their white neighbors" (124).

Easteal (1989) in her study of Vietnamese refugees in New South Wales found that the delinquency rate for Vietnamese minors of age 10-17 was lower by about half than that of non-Vietnamese youth. The delinquency rate for unaccompanied Vietnamese minors was even lower than for those arriving with their parents. For young adults aged 18-24, offense rates had increased from 1985 to 1987. But still she concluded that Vietnamese youth are clearly a "lower crime risk group."

### **Scandinavia and Holland**

Sveri's (1966) study of crime rates among different nationality groups in Sweden found a wide variation (with Hungarians and Yugoslavs at the top, and Italians and Austrians at the bottom). Brand-Koolen (1985, 1987) found immigrants to be vastly over-represented in Dutch criminal statistics where immigrants made up about 19 percent of all court cases, and about one-third of all inmates in prisons. On the other hand, immigrants represented only about four percent of the total population in the Netherlands. Around 1985, Junger and Polder (1992) found that Moroccan, Turk, and Surinamese youth aged 12-17, were more likely to be arrested by the police than native-born Dutch teenagers. However, Terlouw & Bruinsma (1994) found that ethnicity was largely unrelated to criminal offenses. Without a doubt, for drug offenses, the Dutch-born were the most frequent offenders (Yeager, 1996:17).

### **5.2. More recent studies**

The mid-1990s produced a few significant volumes on crime and immigrants/foreigners in a number of countries. Hawkins' 1995 volume on *Ethnicity, Race, and Crime*, although in the main deals with race and crime, includes a few chapters that provide information on Hispanics or Latinos and the situation in Germany with regard to the criminality of foreigners. On the basis of data on race and crime trends in the United States, Gary LaFree (cited in Hawkins, 1995:36) concludes that, "While criminologists have largely ignored connections between race and crime during the past three decades, the involvement of African Americans in the legal system has reached crisis proportions." He suggests that only through objective analysis and open discussion can the race crime issue be settled.

## **Germany**

In Germany, data on the involvement of ethnic minorities in crime can be obtained from police and justice information systems. Although German national crime statistics published by the Bundeskriminalamt provide information on German and non-German suspects, Albrecht has been able to present a large amount of disaggregated crime data by country of birth for North Rhine – Westphalia (Albrecht, 1997:31-99). The German data presenting the number of suspects by offence in 1996 indicate that about 9% of the population of Germany in 1995 was overseas-born and the non-German population is over-represented among suspects in every offence category listed. Indeed, their over-representation is greater in serious offences like homicide, rape, robbery, and grievous bodily harm than in others. The German data also show that the involvement of foreigners in crime varies from region to region. Data from North Rhine-Westphalia for 1993 show that the suspect rate of Romanians was 73,961 per 100,000 of the population (Albrecht, 1997:31-99). This appears to suggest that about 3 in four Romanians engaged in crime, requiring careful scrutiny. Based on his research and extensive knowledge, Albrecht concludes that “Ethnic and foreign minorities do not create exceptional crime problems or pose special dangers for safety in society. Crime among ethnic minorities reflects social and economic marginalization and structural problem in societies.” Albrecht also observed that the offender rate for second-or third-generation immigrants or raised in Germany was considerably higher than the first-generation immigrants.

It has often been asserted that first generation immigrants are more law-abiding than their children and the native population. There are various theories to explain why the second generation's crimes were higher than the first generation is including alienation, blocked opportunities, lack of role models, deviant subcultural values of youth gangs (Tonry 1997:22). While the immigrants try to adjust their life in the host country, their children are trying to forge an identity and reconcile familial traditions with new values. In the case of second-and third-generation immigrants, it is not difficult to imagine that these youth become so disenchanted with their host country, and so embittered by their observations of the gap between their social status and the status of their native-born peers, that they become hostile to the host country's regime of control. Albrecht reported that, between 1984 and 1993, the crime rate among guest workers (the “foreign labor force”) was relatively stable, whereas “the crime rate among young foreigners more than doubled” (Albrecht, 1997:55).

In Germany 33.6% of persons suspected of crime in 1993 were foreigners (Tonry, M. 1997:50). Indian, Pakistani, Afghan and Ceylonese citizens were found to commit immigration offenses, fraud and forgery. These crimes relate to trying to enter the country without appropriate permission. Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian and Russian suspects were more likely to commit property and immigration offenses. Guest workers (represented by Turkish people) , on the other hand were more likely to commit immigration offenses at low levels, and more property offenses and violent offences.

German crime statistics for a 30-year period (1960 to 1990) were analyzed by Chilton et. al (1995). Unlike the United States, "crime suspects" in Germany are identified by nationality. Using detailed population figures for 1978, 1984, and 1990 Chilton and colleagues were able to adjust crime suspect rates by sex and age. To quote their findings (1995:330), in 1963, the total suspect rate for non- Germans was over twice that of Germans. By 1990, it was more than four times as high. With respect to incarceration rates, the rate for German-born men went from 113 to 116 per 100,000 during 1978-1990. The imprisonment rate for non-Germans has increased sharply -- from 9 to 95 per 100,000. However, it was still less than the rate for German males (338 per 100,000). In trying to explain this finding, Chilton found that non-German migrants have lower incomes than Germans and appear to be stigmatized, much like Afro-Americans in the United States. They often live in the poorest sections of urban Germany, and are perceived as threats during times of economic instability.

From 1995, Crime Statistics of the Organization of German Police suggested that the increase in the crime rate among the German population was due to the immigration of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe (Suddeutse Zeitung 1995:6 cited by Albrecht, in Tonry, 1997:34). German Police Statistics subdivide foreign suspects into such subcategories as illegal, guest workers and tourists. Their official data do not allow for separate analyses of different age, citizenship, and differences in status, but refer to a general category "foreign citizens"(Albrecht cited in Tonry, 1997:36,37). Foreign offenders are handled differently compared to German offenders.

Savona and Goglio (1996:4) illustrate three forms of crime regarding foreigners. First, is the illegal migration for the migrants, smuggling of aliens and crime committed by native citizens against foreigners. They found that foreigners in many European countries are

responsible for certain crimes where they are over-represented in relation to the total population. For example, it was discovered by the Dutch Police that 40% of the groups responsible for serious criminal offences were composed of foreigners. Also, foreigners are more often involved in organized crime –for example, as in Germany, after the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, with many persons from former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union as the main new players.

### **Australia**

Dick Crane<sup>41</sup> examined statistics of the Australian Institute of Criminology and the Australian Bureau of Statistics, and found that in 1991-1998 settlers from Vietnam, Lebanon, Turkey, New Zealand and Oceania/ Papua New Guinea were disproportionately convicted of crimes than Australian residents by a factor of up to 2.6. It is Important to note that immigrants from Vietnam, Lebanon and Turkey were involved in drug trafficking, twenty times more than people born in Australia. It should be noted in this context that issues related to immigrants as criminals resonate strongly in Australia because of its large and rather diverse immigrant population from mainly western countries. Focusing on Sydney, Collins (2007) has documented that there has been a disproportionate focus on, and fear of, immigrant or "ethnic" crime in the media, ignoring issues of inequality, unemployment and education!

### **Canada**

Thomas (1993), examined statistics from the Canadian federal prison system for the year 1991 and he found that the rate of federal imprisonment for the foreign-born was 5.5 per 10,000 populations, contrasted with 10.6 for native-born Canadians. However, the rates for Latin American and Caribbean inmates were higher (14 and 18 per 10,000, respectively). With respect to offense patterns, the foreign-born were over-represented in narcotics offenses. They were also somewhat over-represented for extortion, conspiracy to murder, and prostitution - though relatively few were committed to the penitentiary for these offenses. Thus, based on federal prison data, there is no evidence that immigrants contribute disproportionately to rates of violence in Canada. Of some interest, the majority (60 percent) of foreign-born inmates had become Canadian citizens. Another 18 percent are landed immigrants. The remainder (22 percent) consisted of illegal aliens, refugee claimants, temporary visa holders, or visitors.

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<sup>41</sup> [www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=991](http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=991))

Consequently, this residual category only represents 1 out of 5 foreign-born inmates in the federal system.

Around 1993, Gordon and Nelson (1996:237) studied the inmate population in the Province of British Columbia, and they found that immigrants were significantly under-represented in the provincial jail population (11% vs 22% in the general population). They concluded that only one percent of the inmate population could be described as "newly arrived" immigrants (i.e., those in Canada for one year or less).

Anthropologist Frances Henry (1994) provides some additional context for the finding that men of Caribbean origin are over-represented in the federal penitentiaries in Canada. In her ethnographic study of the Caribbean community in Toronto, Ontario, Henry (1994:191) found a significant criminal subculture consisting largely of young Caribbean immigrants, the products of single mothers and absent fathers, living in subsidized housing, and experiencing school difficulties and failures leading to dropping out of school.

### **Britain**

Smith (1997 cited in Tonry,1997:126), in his research on ethnic origins, crime, and criminal justice in England, examined the prison population and noted the overrepresentation of "black people" (of West Indian, Guyanese and African origin) in the prison. Most of them (male and female) were sentenced for drug offences. Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi form a slightly smaller proportion of the prison population. Other groups like Chinese, Arab and "mixed origin" also seemed to be overrepresented but it is difficult to interpret it because of their heterogeneity.

### **France**

Regions in France with a high proportion of foreigners appear to have high level of crime. Foreigners account for approximately 6 per cent of the population. In the 20-year period from 1973 to 1993 there were notable shifts in the unlawful activities of the foreign suspects. In 1973 foreigners accounted for slightly over 11 per cent of the suspect population, while in 1993 this proportion increased to over 20 per cent. However, while only 7 per cent of the foreign suspects were accused of violation of immigration law in 1973, in 1993 almost one-third (32 per cent) of foreign suspects were charged with this violation. Once the



immigration law violation is taken out, foreigners as a proportion of total suspects increased from under 11 per cent in 1973 to over 14 per cent in 1993. As indicated earlier, foreign suspects dominate offences like forgery, pick-pocketing, and trafficking in narcotics (Tournier, 1997:523-551).

An analysis of immigrant crime in France by Jackson (1995:348) found that, while immigrants accounted for about 8% of the country's population in 1990 they made up 30% of the French penal population and represented about "15 % of those charged with theft, about 13% of those charged with violent crime, and 29% of those charged with violating drug laws and disturbing the peace." None of these statistics, however, have corrected for age and sex distributions in the population. Jackson noted that this immigrant-native dichotomy is especially high in large, urban centers where immigrants live in depressed housing and social conditions. In addition, Tournier & Robert (1989) showed that a sizable portion of this figure represented foreigners who had been imprisoned for illegal immigration only, rather than for domestic crime (Yeager, 1996:15).

### **Greece**

In Greece, early studies on immigrant criminality showed that there is "a real tendency towards increased prevalence among national groups of immigrants in certain categories of crimes, without, however, the extent of their criminality constituting a serious social problem" (Karydis, 1996:201). Actually, as Karydis (1996) points out, the "indices of migrants"-recorded criminalities are surprisingly low, considering their living conditions and the negative interaction with Greek society. Indeed, he shows that "the immigrants commit thefts in percentage which roughly correspond to their proportion in the economically active population; where most of them belong" (p.185). In a 2003 study, Lianos and Benos (in Lianos et. al 2004) examined the statistical data for a longer period considering only eight serious categories of crimes (thefts, rapes, narcotics, guns, murders, etc) and adjusting the two populations for age (namely for children under 15 and older people above 65 since these groups are underrepresented in the immigrant population). They found that foreigners have indeed a much higher rate of crime than Greeks (cited by Lianos, 2004:17). Kranidioti (2003, in Kourakis 2003) in her study of foreign criminality in Greece found that foreign offenders are represented in the offender population to a lesser degree than their proportion in the general population (1.8%) (p.152). She goes on to add that the legal evidence shows a gradual

increase. Kranidioti also points out that a more worrying picture comes from the percentage of foreigners charged with offences such as homicide, rape and robbery. Also, foreigners are usually arrested for insignificant reasons and for reasons completely different from those for Greeks (p.155). Kranidioti (2003:167) maintains that the phenomenon of foreign criminality can be understood from three perspectives: The first one falls within the broader cultural explanation and she mentions the colonial model. This is a social-psychological approach which focuses on the effect of social environment on the individual, resulting in the psychological state of alienation. It examines the relation between oppression caused by socio-cultural structures, alienation itself, and three types of adaptive behaviour (in response to oppression and alienation) namely:

1. Assimilation
2. Crime and generally deviant behaviour
3. Protest

The second falls under a general theory that explains deviant behaviour equally for foreigners and locals (e.g., Merton's theory of anomie or theory of self-control). The last perspective is based on the results of research carried out in different historical periods and countries.

### **United States**

In recent decades race-crime research in the United States has grown exponentially. Several theories have been suggested to explain the differences in criminality levels according to race and ethnic groups. In a detailed exposition, Sampson and Lauritsen contend that most research on the racial and ethnic disparities in crime in the United States has relied on the consensus and conflict perspectives of society. In contrast, recent efforts have turned to “the symbolic and contextual aspects of minority group threat. In this viewpoint, “the poor,” “the underclass,” and “the rabble” (i.e., poor minorities) are perceived as threatening not only to political elites, but to “mainstream America” – middle-class and working-class citizens who represent the dominant majority in American society. This perspective suggests that one needs to take into account the joint effects of race and poverty” (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1997:358 in Tonry, 1997).

### **Sweden**

In Sweden crime statistics are recorded by citizenship and persons born overseas who have obtained Swedish citizenship (including first-generation immigrants) and are registered

as Swedes. Their statistics also differentiate between foreign nationals residing in Sweden and those not residing in Sweden. Foreign nationals resident in Sweden constituted about 15 per cent of resident suspects in 1994. Within this group of suspects, those from other Nordic and European countries make up over 60 per cent of the total, and the remainder being from Africa, Latin America and Asia. The participation of foreign nationals not resident in Sweden increased sharply in the early 1990s, coinciding with the political changes in Europe, when the number of asylum seekers increased considerably. On average, about 80% of non-resident suspects come from other Nordic and European countries.

### **Switzerland**

Switzerland has a long tradition of immigration and in proportion to its population has the largest number of foreign residents compared to most European countries. Killias concluded from his research in Switzerland that the disproportionate representation of foreign citizens in arrest, conviction, and imprisonment reflects deprivation, lack of integration, low school achievement and higher education, which together affect foreigners' life chances (Killias, 1997:380 in Tonry 1997). Killias notes that foreign residents hold a more positive view of the Swiss police than Swiss nationals (p.394), and that immigrants are overrepresented among prison inmates (p.395).

Statistics on arrests/suspects provide the first impression of the population involved in criminal activity. Although crime victim surveys in many countries collect details of perpetrators as described by victims, these relate to only a few violent crimes. For a large majority of crimes (e.g., burglaries) these surveys cannot offer any details. Hence, arrest statistics offer the best estimates currently possible. As has been shown, even at this stage most countries collect very little information on the ethnicity of arrestees. Records of contacts with the police and how suspects are processed are important because such encounters could influence decisions at subsequent stages of the criminal justice system. While national level data for courts are difficult to obtain, imprisonment statistics show that in general higher suspect rates among foreigners are reflected in higher imprisonment rates.

The literature survey highlights some bias against minority groups in their contacts with the criminal justice system. The application of neutral criteria or principles of equality often place minority group members at a disadvantage. Especially in decisions such as caution

or prosecution, social background factors, particularly family stability, play a very important role.

It is important, however, to point out that even though statistical information, which is essential for a rational debate on the subject, is in many cases lacking, public opinion appears to have built-in assumptions. It is often easier to develop adverse assumptions with regard to ethnic groups, particularly some nationality groups. Because members of certain ethnic groups can be easily differentiated on the basis of appearance, religion, language, and habits, such differentiation is impulsively extended when some of their members are found guilty of criminality. Indeed, the majority population may assume that criminality is a weakness that is characteristic of those ethnic groups. Yet, scholars have asserted for decades that no one ethnic, race, minority group is innately more criminal than any other.

### **5.3. General observations**

Sutherland and Cressy (1978), on the basis of a series of studies they made in the United States, Australia and Germany, reached the conclusion that crime rates for the native-born were twice as high as for immigrants. It was only under certain social conditions and for certain types of crime that immigrants exhibited crime rates comparable to those of the native-born.<sup>42</sup> Ferracutti (1967), in his study on European migration and crime, found that, “the crime rates of immigrant groups were lower than those of the native-born” (cited in Ratner 1997:235, v38, n3-4). In addition he points out that all available studies show that the picture of European migrants is not dangerous for the host countries. He also notes that most official statistics are uncorrected and limited to gross figures (cited in Francis, 1981:29). Bovenkerk (cited in Ratner, 1997:235, v38, n3-4), on the other hand, examined recent crime patterns in several European countries and concluded that there might be a substantial second-generation crime-problem.

In Canada in 1995 half of the population (45%) believed there was a link between ethnicity and criminal activity. Two-thirds identified blacks as the group more likely to be involved in crime. Roberts and Doob (in Tonry 1997:485) show that this finding may result

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<sup>42</sup> Sutherland, Edwin, H. and Donald R. Cressy, 1978 *Criminology*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.

from media reports of violent crimes in which the race of the suspect or accused is highlighted.

Tonry (1997) reviewed the information given by a group of authors who studied ethnic minorities, immigrants, crime and criminal justice in Germany, England, Sweden, Netherlands, United States, Switzerland, Australia, Canada and France and came to the conclusion that disproportionate crime involvement all too often fosters negative stereotypes of minority groups and both discrimination and xenophobia directed at them and conversely, provokes passionate arguments and accusations about racial, ethnic, or anti-immigrant bias as a or the primary cause of justice system disparities. It must be considered that the kinds of offences that different groups commit in different countries vary. In the state of Hessen in Germany, Romanians had the highest arrest rates, but their offences were mostly minor property and immigration offences. High crime rates in Sweden and Germany involve people from Eastern Europe where their crimes are theft and shoplifting. Tonry (1997:13) shows that these crimes are "arguably explicable in terms of exposure of materially deprived people moving into wealthy societies to consumer goods that are readily accessible by illicit means." Also, he illustrates that many offenders who share distinguishing characteristics such as type of dress and speech, places of residence, as well as social and economic backgrounds, are assumed by justice system officials and citizens to be offenders (p.18) because of those characteristics. Thus, stereotyping is one of the reasons why members of ethnic groups in many countries are stopped by the police. In England and Wales, as well as the United States, African-American citizens are seven to eight times more likely to be confined in prisons than whites. In the Canadian province of Ontario and in Australia, the ratio is even greater. In the Netherlands the greatest disparities affect people from Morocco and Surinam. In Sweden high crime rates characterize the Finns and the higher numbers in arrests are immigrants from Arab countries, South America and Eastern Europe (p.12). At any time, groups of people being considered as "lawbreakers" may differ from others in age, gender, wealth and social status, and other social and economic characteristics that are strongly correlated with criminality.

In Canada, the United States, and Australia, the criminality of first-generation immigrants has been less than that for the native-born. As can be seen, most of the researchers have concluded, or at least have lent support to the conclusion, that immigrants commit proportionately no more than and possibly even fewer crimes than native-born citizens.

However, in an International Social Survey (1995), when people were asked whether they agree with the statement: "Immigrants increase crime rates," it was found that people in countries with higher incarceration rates and more restrictive immigration policies are more likely to express strong agreement with the statement.<sup>43</sup> In his investigation into migrants in Israel, Shoham (1966-cited in Francis, 1981:31) utilized cultural conflict theory. He argued that the different cultural, economic and educational standards of migrants led to a clash between their norms and values, causing a relative increase in the crime rate of migrants. Socioeconomic disadvantage and disorganized communities as well as cultural conflict contribute to the crime problem of a country. Sellin contends that "Conflicts of cultures are inevitable when the norms of one cultural or sub cultural area migrate to or come in contact with those of another" (Sellin, 1938: 63 cited in Yeager, 1996).

Blau,<sup>44</sup> argued that there is a relationship between population diversity and crime where population diversity has two dimensions: heterogeneity and inequality. He suggested that high levels of both dimensions may produce high levels of conflict in society, one indicator of which he took to be violent crime.

Concerning the assumption that second-generation immigrants commit more crimes than their parents and grandfathers, the Industrial Commission of United States of 1901 in the "Special Report on General Statistics of Immigration and the Foreign Born" observed that foreign-born whites were less criminal than native-born whites, but also "the large proportion of native-born prisoners having foreign parents was just as strong an argument as to the injurious effect of immigration as would be a high proportion among the foreign born themselves" (in Tonry, 1997:21). In its 1911 Report the Commission carefully noted the limited evidence on which its 1901 Report conclusions were based. Nevertheless, in 1911 it reached the same conclusions. But as Tonry (1997:22) demonstrates, this belief does not take into account Asians, who have low crime rates in the first and subsequent generations.

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<sup>43</sup> Lynch J.P. and Simon R.J., "A comparative assessment of Criminal Involvement among immigrants and natives across seven nations", in editors: Freilich J.D., Newman G., Shoham G., Addad M., 2002, "Migration, Culture Conflict and Crime", Dartmouth Publishing Company, England, p.81.

<sup>44</sup>1977- cited by Howard et al. in Freilich et al. ed, 2002:43

Of course, part of the problem in drawing definite conclusions about the nexus between immigration and crime is also the question of measurement. It is important to adjust statistical comparisons for age and sex populations, or poverty indices. Indeed, at the societal level, factors such as urbanization, divorce rates, population density, and poverty seem to explain most of the variation in rates of both violent and property crime. The data presented here and the findings of a number of other studies show that, while most foreign-born groups do not come into contact with the law as frequently as the native-born, some have much higher rates than the latter. Let us next focus attention on migrants and the criminal justice system in Cyprus.

## **6. Migrants and the Criminal Justice System in Cyprus**

Until recently, systematic collection of data on the involvement of migrants in crime was rare. In the 1990s this changed somewhat. Although national-level statistics on arrest, trial, and imprisonment of migrants are still not available in most countries, fragmentary data tend to show a higher level of arrest and imprisonment of migrants and foreigners. Before going on to describe the criminal justice system in Cyprus, it needs to be pointed that for a number of reasons migrants, often at the margins of society, are discriminated against and do not enjoy the protection of the agents of criminal justice. Also, migrants often do not report domestic violence, for example, to the police. As Raj and Silverman (2007) found in the U.S., battered South Asian women living in Greater Boston did not receive criminal justice services, and did not contact a domestic violence program. In addition, the reality is that, as migrants acculturate into mainstream society, they are victimised (e.g., housing, schooling for children) in more complex ways that are more difficult to resolve (Miller, 2007) In fact, as they stretch beyond their culture, migrants are also more vulnerable to crime.

### **6.1 The Criminal Justice System in Cyprus**

Free access to justice, the right to a fair trial and the right to recourse to the courts against public authority measures are prescribed and ensured by constitutional provisions. The judiciary is established by the Constitution and the relevant laws as an independent, self-governing and self-administered body in the State.

It is organized on a two-level system:

1. First-Instance Courts (District Courts, Assize Courts, Family Courts, Industrial Disputes Courts, Rent Control Tribunals and Military Court).
2. The Supreme Court

Criminal jurisdiction is exercised at first instance by the District Courts (summary trial before a single judge) for offences punishable by a term of imprisonment not exceeding 5 years and/or a fine not exceeding CY 50,000 (86,206 Euros), and by the Assize Courts (trials on information before three judges) for offences punishable with imprisonment exceeding 5 years. Appeals apply to all cases.



All appeals are tried by the Supreme Court. On appeal a sentence may be reduced if considered either manifestly excessive or wrong in principle. It may also be increased if held that it is grossly inadequate. The jury system is not followed in Cyprus.

According to Cyprus 2005 Criminal Statistics, 95, 724 persons appeared before the courts (77,319 [81%] males and 18,405 [19%] females) and the number of persons convicted was 59,889, of which 48482 [81%] were men and 11,407 [19%] were women. In Table 17 it is shown that of adults charged/tried in 2005 were 35.6%, were foreigners, 30.9% were males and 4.7% females, while among convicted adults (Table 18) 30.7% were foreign men and 5% were foreign women.

Table 17 – Adults tried in 2005.

Year	Cypriot men	Cypriot women	Foreign men	Foreign women
2005	1,437 (60.1%)	102 (4.3%)	740 (30.9%)	113 (4.7%)

Table 18 – Adults convicted in 2005

Year	Cypriot men	Cypriot women	Foreign men	Foreign women
2005	949 (60.3%)	63 (4%)	484 (30.7%)	79 (5%)

In Cyprus, very little is known about the processing of members of ethnic groups by the criminal justice system. There is simply not enough empirical evidence to draw conclusions about the processing of members of various migrant groups. There is an urgent need for research into styles and strategies of policing and policing ethnic communities.

Research examining the types of crimes in which members of migrant groups appear to participate and whether these crimes are inter-racial or intra-racial may provide useful knowledge. Research into conditions of young people in some migrant communities may be useful in discovering reasons for high arrest rates and whether young people of some migrant groups are more vulnerable than others. Research into the existence or otherwise of “youth ethnic gangs” may help in verifying claims often made in the media.

Currently no statistical information is available on court appearances and trials of members of migrant groups.

## 6.2 Cyprus Police

The police force/department is the most visible institution of the criminal justice system; it is the visible presence of the State in civil society. The main objectives of the Cyprus Police<sup>45</sup> are the maintenance of law and order throughout the Republic, the preservation of peace, the prevention and detection of crime and the apprehension of offenders, the protection of the population and public installations, the improvement in the movement of road traffic and the reduction of road accidents.

The Cyprus Police force has the authority to act throughout the territory of the Republic based on the following legislation:

- Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus
- Police Law, Cap 285, as amended
- Police Regulations
- Police Standing Orders (issued by the Chief of Police)
- Criminal Code Cap 154
- Criminal procedure Law Cap 155
- Evidence Law Cap 9
- The Processing of Personal Data (protection of individuals) Law 138(1)/2001

The mission of the Police as outlined in Police Law (73(I)/2004) is the following:

- The maintenance of law and order
- The preservation of peace
- The prevention and detection of crime
- The apprehension and presentation of offenders before the court

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<sup>45</sup> The information regarding the Cyprus Police has been taken from the "Annual Report of the Ministry of Justice, 2006"; Iordanous, M. and Aleksandrou E., 2006, Cyprus Police, pp.108-123; <http://www.interpol.int/Public/Region/Europe/pjsystems/Cyprus.asp> ; <http://www.police.gov.cy/police>

As far as the administrative and functional setup is concerned, the Cyprus Police is constituted of the following (Police Annual Report 2006) (see Appendix 5, p.182 showing organizational structure of the Cyprus Police Dept.):

1. Five Departments of the Police Headquarters:

- The Administration Department is responsible for determining the policy and the strategy that will be applied to each area of Police responsibility, and which contributes to the smooth and effective functioning of the Police.
- The Traffic Department is responsible for the implementation and enforcement of Traffic Legislation and traffic control on a 24-hour basis on the motorways and in the cities.
- Crime Investigation Department undertakes the investigation of all serious crimes.
- The Scientific and Technical Support Department is responsible for drafting and carrying out plans for the technological upgrade of the Police as well as supervising and providing scientific and technical support for telecommunications and other technical appliances.
- The Research and Development Department is responsible for conducting research and developing plans for the improvement of the Police.

2. Four Police Units:

- Cyprus Police Academy offers academic and professional training to the members of the Police.
- The Mobile Immediate Action Unit is responsible for the immediate response and management of high-risk incidents, organized acts of violence, natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, etc) and terrorist activities.
- The Presidential Guard unit is responsible for the safety of the President of Cyprus Republic and his family, as well as the safety of the Presidential Palace, the Presidential Residence and the Summer Residence at Troodos.
- The Port and Marine Police unit is responsible for patrolling the territorial waters of the island and focuses on the prevention and combating of illegal immigration, smuggling of drugs, arms trafficking, and generally on maintaining the security of the ports, enforcing Maritime Law.

3. Four Police Services:

- The Aliens and Immigration Service is responsible for the application of Aliens and Immigration Law and Regulations, for passport control at the entry /exit points of the Republic, the registry and control of aliens, as well as consideration of aliens' applications for entry, permanent residence, employment, etc.
  - The Drug Law Enforcement Service is responsible for the protection of society from drugs and psychotropic substances, and undertakes the prevention and combating of local drug production, trafficking and consumption of these drugs.
  - Criminalistic Service is responsible for the scientific examination of exhibits and crime scenes.
  - Police Inspection Service ensures that police duties are carried out properly.
4. Seven District Police Divisions (Nicosia, Limassol, Larnaca, Paphos, Ammochostos; also Morfou and Kyrenia, which have not been functioning since 1974).
  5. A Directorate, which is responsible for monitoring the application of the relevant acquis communication by the Cyprus Police, and
  6. The Fire Service which is responsible for the prevention and extinguishing of fires.

Most people's interaction with the criminal justice system begins with the police, because it has direct impact on people's lives. The police have a lot of responsibility in terms of equal treatment of migrants. The police have to deal with racist incidents when these contravene with the criminal law and help to prevent them. They must ensure that migrants are treated fairly according to human rights, without prejudice.

Unfortunately, there are reports that the police in Cyprus have engaged in degrading treatment of suspects, even though the law prohibits such practices. As is stated by "*The Country Reports on Human Rights Practices of 2005*", released by the (US) Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (March 8 2006), in January the court acquitted a police officer charged with raping a Moldavian woman in her prison cell in February 2004. In July 2006, a police disciplinary committee called for the officer's resignation, but the officer appealed the decision. The committee ordered a new investigation, which concluded that the officer should be demoted rather than relieved of duty. The assistant chief of police appealed this decision, and the officer remained on suspension at year's end.

In April 2005 a naturalized citizen reported that police beat him and locked him in a cell for 15 hours following a car accident in Limassol; police headquarters however, maintained that the claimant had attacked the policemen and had hit an officer who had intervened in the altercation. So, the police pressed charges against him, while the alleged victim filed a complaint with the ombudsman.

In July of the same year, an Afghani man claimed that in 2004 police detained him and a Polish female friend and strip-searched them. After the interrogation, the officers forcefully took him to his apartment and forced them to pose with two women in sexually suggestive photographs, which were later carried in a major newspaper. The police reported that the officers were off duty at the time of the incident and that a disciplinary committee investigation was completed in August.

In July the Criminal Court found a Nicosia police officer guilty of common assault after beating a teenage ethnic suspect in custody in 2004 while off duty. He was fined \$300 (150 CYP).

In September the press reported that a Polish laborer died after being held in police custody. These reports alleged that the man was taken to a police station after a confrontation with his neighbors, where he experienced spasms and fainting spells. The police confirmed that an ambulance took the man unconscious to the hospital where he later died. The ombudsman was investigating the case, and police have stated that the government doctor who conducted the post-mortem examination concluded that the cause of death was likely a pre-existing condition. At year's end the case was still under investigation pending toxicological and other medical results. According to the police, the man's roommates reported that the man regularly suffered from seizures, but they were unaware whether he suffered from a particular illness.

In 2001 the Attorney General was given the power to appoint criminal investigators to investigate complaints of misconduct brought against the police. Out of 71 complaints made in 2004, there were 49 criminal investigations brought, resulting in 3 criminal prosecutions. According to the Attorney General's Office, however, this system is not working very

efficiently due to the fact that the criminal investigators, who are private lawyers, are taking too long to carry out their investigations.

A law entitled “The Independent Authority for the Investigation of Complaints and Allegations (Concerning the Police) Law 2006” entered into force on 17 February 2006. This new law confers the responsibility of investigating offences related to police misbehavior to a new independent agency. The Authority is made up of a board of 5 members of recognized prestige and moral standing, of whom at least two must be knowledgeable of the law and one may be a senior former police officer. The work of this Authority has not yet been evaluated.

Concerning the procedural safeguards mentioned by the EU Commissioner in his visit report, a new law on “the Rights of Persons under Arrest and Detention Law 2005” was approved by Parliament and entered into force on 30 December 2005. The law addresses the issues of compulsory medical examinations, the mandatory presence of a lawyer and the right to inform family members or friends of arrest.

All persons arrested are now informed of their rights and are given a “Notice to Persons in Custody.” This notice has been translated into English, Arabic, Russian, Chinese and Turkish. The notice is also posted in all police detention centers. It provides information to detainees as to their rights to inform a relative, access to a lawyer and access to a doctor.

In order to say that policemen are violent or take advantage, or are racists towards foreigners, we must consider their different and complex responsibilities as well as the external pressures on their everyday life plus their psychological/emotional situation and the real facts of a case.

### **6.3 Prison Conditions**

The central prison<sup>46</sup> in Nicosia, the only prison in Cyprus, holds all categories of convicted and non-convicted prisoners of both sexes and of all age groups from 16 years and over. Its basic mission is as follows:

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<sup>46</sup> The information regarding the Cyprus Prison has been taken from the "Annual Report of the Ministry of Justice, 2006"; <http://www.interpol.int/Public/Region/Europe/pjsystems/Cyprus.asp>

- (a) To ensure the security of individuals.
- (b) To provide holding conditions that guarantees the respect for human dignity.
- (c) To treat all detainees equally without discrimination of race, color, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, political or other convictions of detainees.
- (d) To promote detainees' self-esteem and enhance their sense of responsibility. To provide opportunities such as further education, professional training, and to provide creative outlets that can lead to self-knowledge.
- (e) To guide and prepare detainees for a new start in life.

All prisoners are given the opportunity to work, as far as possible, in a type of work of their choosing. Fully equipped workshops are operated in the prison, where prisoners are encouraged, under the supervision and instructions of trainers, to improve the level of their vocational training by working as cooks, tailors, carpenters, electricians, bookbinders, barbers, gardeners, mechanics, and in agricultural work at the prison farm. Psychological and psychiatric services and support are offered to all prisoners who need such care on a regular basis, with personal meetings, group discussions and meetings in the presence of the prisoner's family. Welfare service and support is also given to all prisoners, with regular visits/contacts with their families and home leave, in order to facilitate their social integration with free society. Recreational activities include sports, theatre, musical performances and chess games, among others. The prisons are equipped with a theatre hall and grounds for football, volleyball and basketball.

The Prisons are divided into three areas<sup>47</sup>:

- I) The Closed Prison, which includes the areas inside the walls, where prisoners work and are held under conditions of highest security.
- II) The Open Prison, which includes a wider area within the walls where prisoners work, are held, etc, under conditions of reduced security.
- III) The Guidance Centre for out-of-prison employment and rehabilitation of prisoners, which includes 79 spaces of stay for prisoners who work during the day outside the prison, in the free society. After work they return in the prison for overnight stay.

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<sup>47</sup> Annual Report 2006 of Ministry of justice, p.90

According to the Prison Regulations, with the exception of those prisoners serving life sentences, all other prisoners who have served part of their sentence, ranging from 1/4 of the term for sentences up to 2 years, to 1/2 of the terms for sentences over 12 years, are sent to the Open Prison if they have shown excellent conduct and proved trustworthy. The last step towards reintegration into the social environment is the transfer of inmates from the Open Prison, where conditions of reduced security exist, to the Guidance Centre for out-of-prison-employment and rehabilitation, where prisoners serve the rest of their sentence in conditions of controlled freedom.

Overcrowding remains Nicosia central prison's greatest problem despite renovation and expansion. The prison's new capacity is 340 although at times during the year it may hold more than the above-mentioned number. Juveniles were usually held separately from adults, although there were isolated exceptions due to overcrowding.

Because the government provides very limited assistance for the rehabilitation of drug-addicts and limited support for inmates reintegrating into society following incarceration, judges began to hand down sentences that included community service as a means of reintegrating inmates into society. In addition, one NGO (Ayios Onissimos) assisted inmates upon their release. In March the nongovernmental organization (NGO) ETHNOPAD (the National Organization for the Protection of Human Rights) made an impromptu visit to police holding cells (attached to the prison) where many illegal immigrants and/or asylum seekers were held, and called on the government to institute reforms. ETHNOPAD also asked the government to address problems in the prison system and to stop imprisoning debtors, drug addicts, and mental patients.<sup>48</sup>

A temporary solution to alleviate the overcrowding was to ensure that the prisoners spent a considerable part of their day outdoors and as actively as possible. The prisoners were locked in their wings from 5 p.m. to 6 a.m. and locked in their cells at 11 p.m. The authorities are currently considering ways of enlarging the existing buildings to add new accommodation, but space within the prison compound is at a premium. The authorities recognized that one

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<sup>48</sup> Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - 2005, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, March 8, 2006.



way of decreasing the inflow of prisoners was through the increased use of community service. While legislation, allowing community service as an alternative to custodial sentences, was passed in 1996, it does not appear to have made much impact on the prison population.

Every year there are approximately 20 female prisoners held in a separate wing isolated from the rest of the prison. While male prisoners, are provided with a wide variety and number of vocational, educational and sporting activities, female prisoners, are offered few such opportunities or activities.

A staff academy, which opened in November 2003, provides professional training for the prison staff. According to the Ministry of Justice, the training of the officers is focused on changing attitudes and improving human relation skills.

Within the framework of a general upgrade of Prison facilities, the following work, which concerns renovation, upgrade, restoration and construction of buildings, is scheduled to finish by 2009:<sup>49</sup>

- Renovation/upgrade of western part of first floor in the Closed Prison.
- Construction of additional cells.
- Construction of additional spaces for medical personnel and the provisional accommodation for detainees with psychiatric disturbances and narcotic addictions, until completion of the General Medical Centre, which is expected in the first half of 2009.
- Creation of two rooms for lawyers' visits as well as other "work" that will result in the better operation of Prisons and the improved living conditions of prisoners.

According to the Cyprus Police, all police detention centers have been recently renovated, in order to meet the standards of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT). This includes the police detention centre at the Central Prison (Ward 10), where illegal immigrants and rejected asylum seekers awaiting deportation are detained. Members of the delegation also visited the women's

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<sup>49</sup> Annual report of Ministry of Justice 2006, p.87.

police detention centre at Lakatamia. This police detention centre consists of a handful of cells and a very small courtyard. Again, the conditions were acceptable for short stays only.

In 2005 foreign prisoners made up 55% of the total population of the prison, while Greek-Cypriots accounted for 43% and Turkish Cypriots 2%. In 2006 foreign prisoners comprised 67%, whereas Greek-Cypriots accounted for 32% and Turkish Cypriots 1%. It is obvious that the number of prisoners, both Greek-Cypriots and foreigners, is increasing every year. But the most worrying fact is that although there are more foreign prisoners than Cypriots they include many illegal immigrants held in custody.

Table 19 shows that from 2005-2006, there was little change in the nationalities represented among the foreign prisoners likewise there was little change in the crime rates for the various nationalities. They came from Syria, Georgia, Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Poland, Turkey, Sri-Lanka, Russian, Greece and China. The rest 30% of the foreign prisoners, were from Iraq, Ukraine, Moldavia, Jordan, Bulgaria, Sudan, Palestine, Armenia, Nigeria, Slovak republic, Romania, Egypt, Lebanon, India, Philippines, Afghanistan, Turkish-Cypriots, Brazil, France, Serbia, Germany, Sweden, Albania, Uzbekistan, Belgium, Portugal, Israel, Angola, Morocco, Senegal, Saudi Arabia, Liberia, Tunisia, Cameroon, Algeria, Kazakhstan, Dominican Republic, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania.

Table 19–Foreign prisoners' nationality, 2005-2006.

Nationality	2005	Nationality	2006
Syrians	128 20%	Syrians	163 18%
Pakistanis	41 6%	Georgia	88 10%
Iranians	36 6%	Iranians	53 6%
Turkish	35 5%	Pakistanis	52 6%
Georgia	31 5%	Bangladeshi	52 6%
Bangladeshi	28 4%	Poles	46 5%
Turkish-Cypriots	28 4%	Turkish	42 5%
Greeks	26 4%	Sri-Lankan	36 4%
Poles	26 4%	Russians	33 4%
Indians	26 4%	Greeks	28 3%
Russians	20 3%	Chinese	27 3%

The next chapter describes empirical research into Greek-Cypriot perceptions of and attitudes towards foreigners in Cyprus and a qualitative study of foreigners living in Cyprus regarding their experiences vis-à-vis the criminal justice system and their attitudes towards Greek-Cypriots.

Margarita Christodoulou-Nazza

## Chapter 7. Empirical Study: Methodology

### 7.1. Social Surveys generally

Social research is about measuring, describing, explaining and predicting social and economic phenomena. It searches to find out about *the social attitudes, values and behaviors*, the factors which motivate and constrain individuals and groups in society. The basic goal of social research is to understand the social world. As Ragin (1994: 31), points out social researchers try “to make sense” of social life. They try to see “social life through the eyes of the people they study” (155).

May (1993:65) defines "survey" as "a method of gathering information from a number of individuals, a sample, in order to learn something about the larger population from which the sample is drawn." It is important that we view social research as something more than simply asking people a few questions, getting their opinions and then trying to make some sort of sense out of the whole process. Social research is planned and organised and involves such things as:

- Putting forward ideas that can be tested.
- Collecting data to test these ideas in a systematic way.
- Analysing the collected data.
- Drawing conclusions based on sociological evidence.

We need to “do research” in order to “produce knowledge” but not this everyday knowledge that people produce in their everyday life. Sociological knowledge is superior to common sense knowledge because it is *based on evidence* that comes from the systematic testing of ideas through research. So it is important to note that social research plays a crucial role in the development process as it provides the tools to bring about social change. In order to explain and understand the social world, the development and application of a social theory is required. May (1993; 20) points out that theory helps us in making research decisions and understanding the world around us.

Ragin (1994) illustrates seven goals of social research. The first one is to identify the general patterns and relationships. The knowledge of this general pattern concerns everyone,

so the more one knows, the more the scientific knowledge increases and social scientists may systemize the knowledge and make connections. The second goal is to test and refine theories that come out of an on-going conversation of ideas among social scientists and other thinkers. Hypotheses are derived from theories and then are tested with data collected or data that already exist (e.g., official statistics). The third aim is to make predictions with the help of knowledge of history and general patterns about future events. It is important to accumulate knowledge so that we can anticipate things to come. The fourth goal seeks to interpret culturally and historically significant phenomena because of the relevance of these events to understand how we got to where we are. The fifth goal is exploring diversity. The researcher focuses on the variety of the circumstances that exist. For example how is living in a poor country with a high level of literacy different from living in other poor countries? (p.41). Research on diversity offers useful knowledge that contributes to the understanding of social life in general. The sixth goal of social research is to “give voice.” This means to tell the story of a specific group (the knowledge received) in a way that enhances its visibility in society. “By giving voice, researchers often are able to show that groups that are considered deviant or different in some way do not deviate as much as most people think” (p.44). It is important that the researcher can see the world of these groups with their own eyes, in order to understand their social worlds. All social research gives voice in one way or another to some aspect of society. The last goal is to advance new theories. This means to develop new ideas and new concepts. By testing theories (goal two) one can assess and refine existing ideas. Hypotheses are derived from a social theory and tested with the relevant data. This is a deductive process. On the other hand, research that advances theory is described as encompassing an inductive quality.

Without doubt, there are some common criticisms of social research. One criticism is that “a person” or “a situation” is unique and should be understood in terms of its uniqueness, while social research focuses on understandings beyond the singular, focuses on broad rather than particular understandings (Ragin, 1994:159). This helps to make future predictions on the accumulated knowledge. For example, what we know about crime and racial conflict allows us to make useful predictions about them. Ragin points out that “social research connects the individual to society and societies to each other” (p.161). Social research is also criticized for failing to address important differences in an encompassing way. Due to the fact that social

research represents the same subject in various ways, “casts doubts on the claim that social scientific representations derive from their grounding in evidence” (Ragin, 1994:162).

As mentioned above, social research helps people to understand the meaning of our world as well as historical processes and events. To collect all this evidence sociologists often use two types of methods: Quantitative and Qualitative methods. There was considerable debate about the relative merits of quantitative and qualitative methods in the 1960s (Bryman, 1988:vii), where quantitative research was seen as the orthodoxy and qualitative researchers the troublesome but largely irrelevant sect (Blaikie, 2000:244). An examination of the quantitative and qualitative paradigms will help us identify their strengths and weaknesses and how their divergent approaches can complement each other. In most cases, researchers fall into one of two camps, either relying exclusively upon "objective" survey questionnaires and statistical analyses or using only qualitative methodologies, rejecting the quantitative approach as decontextualizing human behavior. While studies may be classified as either quantitative or qualitative, some use both kinds of data.

### **7.2.1. The Quantitative Method**

Quantitative researchers believe that examining phenomena across many cases makes it possible to find out the peculiarities of individual cases and to construct a picture of social life. They try to achieve an understanding “of broad patterns of co-variation across many cases” (Ragin, 1994:132), while qualitative researchers believe that in order to uncover nuances, one must study the subjects in depth.

According to Punch (1998:242), the quantitative method “conceptualizes reality in terms of variables and relationships between them” and samples are larger than in the qualitative method. In addition, “quantitative data enable standardized, objective comparisons to be made and the measurements of quantitative research permit overall descriptions of situations or phenomena in a systematic and comparable way” (p. 243).

Quantitative research tries to identify general patterns and relationships because they offer important clues about causation. It also tests theoretical ideas, as well as makes predictions based on many cases, and the more data the researchers have, the more accurate are predictions they make.

Quantitative research uses methods adopted from the physical sciences that are designed to ensure objectivity, generality and reliability. These techniques cover the ways research participants are selected randomly from the study population in an unbiased manner, the standardized questionnaire or intervention they receive and the statistical methods used to test predetermined hypotheses regarding the relationships between specific variables. Quantitative research is deductive and before research begins, a hypothesis is required.

The researchers have no contact with the people being studied or, even if they have, it is very limited such as in structured interviewing and experiments. In quantitative research, the researcher is ideally an objective observer who neither participates in nor influences what is being studied. This distance from the people being studied ensures that objectivity will be achieved (Blaikie, 2000:242).

A scientifically calculated sample of people from a population is asked a set of questions on a survey to determine the frequency and percentage of their responses. The data are expressed as a rate or as a percentage, because this allows comparing differences between and within the societies. The researchers must be very careful about how they go about collecting the data that allows answering questions about the social world. We must collect data as accurately and systematically as possible since, if our data is faulty or inaccurate, the conclusions we draw about something, based on that data, will not be realistic or accurate. Let us next consider qualitative research.

### **7.2.2. The Qualitative Method**

Qualitative research is much more subjective than quantitative research and uses very different methods of collecting information, mainly individual, in-depth interviews and focus groups. The nature of this type of research is exploratory and open-ended. Qualitative research is inductive and a hypothesis is not needed to begin the research. Small numbers of people are interviewed in-depth and/or a relatively small number of focus groups are conducted. Punch illustrates that qualitative method is “sensitive to context and process” and “it aims for in-depth and holistic understanding, in order to do justice to the complexity of social life” (1998: 243).

This type of research is extremely effective in acquiring information about peoples' needs and their responses to and views about specific relations, but is more time-consuming since the researcher needs in-depth information. The quantitative method deals with numbers, like frequencies and percentages, while qualitative deals with things that can be represented or described best with words and not numbers (Ragin, 1994:xii). Qualitative data take the form of descriptive writing about something, and this makes it difficult to categorize people's responses to various questions. Qualitative methods emphasize personal experiences and interpretation over quantification, are more concerned with understanding the meaning of social phenomena and focus on links among a larger number of attributes across relatively few cases. For their part, qualitative researchers usually seek to use some categories of cases to develop ideas (Ragin, 1994: 85).

Qualitative research seeks to give voice, to interpret historical or cultural significance and to advance theory. Often the views of marginalized groups like poor, racial and ethnic minorities, immigrant groups, are rarely heard. So, the techniques to uncover the main features of these groups are found in the qualitative approach, which tries to construct new understandings. It is very important to realize that qualitative researchers, even if they study many instances of the same thing, focus on the similarities that the instances share, so they can describe it as a singular case. Ragin emphasizes that "the difference between ten and fifty" interviews is not important. "What matters is the soundness of the portrayal of this case" (p.87).

Qualitative researchers often work with a small number of cases, so they are concerned about the representativeness of the cases they study. If the cases selected are not sufficiently representative of the category selected, the point of saturation may be reached. But if the study is based on a sufficient number of interviews it can be used for comparison with other cases. The research begins with sensitizing concepts, which may be altered significantly or even discarded in the course of the study. When encountering contradictory evidence the researcher tries to develop new concepts or to narrow the category of phenomena connected to its concept and makes an effort to get a better fit with the concept.

The choice of which approach to use may reflect the interests of those conducting or benefiting from the research and the purposes for which the findings will be applied.



Decisions about which kind of research method to use may also be based on the researcher's own experience and preference, the population being researched, the proposed audience for findings, time, money, and other resources available.

### **7.2.3. The Combined Method**

As we can see from the discussion above, the debate over quantitative/qualitative methods has divided the researchers. Quantitative researchers believe that only quantitative methods should be used to study human behaviour. On the other hand, qualitative researchers believe that their approach is the most appropriate one. Nevertheless, there has been an increased interest in the combination of two approaches (Bryman, 1988).

Some researchers believe that qualitative and quantitative methodologies cannot be combined because the assumptions underlying each tradition are so vastly different. Other researchers think they can be used in combination only by alternating between methods: qualitative research is appropriate to answer certain kinds of questions under certain conditions and quantitative is right for others. And some researchers think that both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used simultaneously to answer a research question.

Bryman (1988) illustrates eleven approaches of combining the two methods:

1. Logic of triangulation- Quantitative and qualitative research may examine the same problem with different ways. "By combining the two, the researcher's claims for the validity of his or her conclusions are enhanced if they can be shown to provide mutual confirmation" (Bryman, 1988: 131).
2. Qualitative research facilitates quantitative research- Qualitative research may act as a source of hypotheses; to construct scales and indices as well as to assist the analysis of quantitative data (pp.134-135).
3. Quantitative research facilitates qualitative research- Quantitative research helps in selection of cases for further study, for in-depth qualitative interviewing (pp.136-137).
4. Both types of research combine to create a general picture- Both methods are used to fill each ones gaps, what may occur for a variety of reasons such as inaccessibility either of particular people or of particular situations (p.137).

5. Structure and process- Quantitative research provides patterns of structure which are a feature of social life, while qualitative presents a procession view of social life (Bryman, 1988: 140; Punch, 1998: 247).
6. Researchers' and subjects' perspectives- Quantitative research is orientated to the specific concerns of the investigator, while qualitative is focused on subjects' perspectives (pp.142-143).
7. Problem of generality- Qualitative research faces the problem of providing generality of the events described, so quantitative information is used to establish this generality (143-145).
8. Qualitative research may facilitate the interpretation of relationships between variables- When in quantitative research there is the problem of interpreting the relationship between two variables, qualitative research provides an understanding of the processes and mechanisms which are established (p.145).
9. The relationship between macro and micro levels- The macro-micro gap may be bridged by using quantitative and qualitative methods (p.149).
10. Stages in the research process-Quantitative and qualitative research may be used in various stages of a longitudinal case study (p.151).
11. Hybrids-The researcher uses qualitative data within a research design associated with quantitative research (p.152).

An example of the mixed method is the study of Light and Bonacich (1988) which traced how changes in Korean society led to the Korean migration to the United States. It explored how small business owned by immigrants fit into U.S. economy. The researchers used survey research, existing statistics, field research, government documents, international records and historical records (cited in Punch, 1998:249). It is important for researchers to realize that qualitative and quantitative methods can be used in conjunction with each other.

Each approach has its strengths and weaknesses and both are needed in social research. By analyzing the specific research situation in terms of their strengths and weaknesses, one may use one of those approaches or combine both. Punch makes it clear that researchers may not find out everything they want to know by using one of the two methods and they “can

often increase the scope, depth and power of research by combining the two approaches” (Punch, 1998: 243).

#### **7.2.4. Methodology used for the present study**

The present study has been conducted to ascertain whether people from ethnic minorities are more likely to commit crimes than those of the majority population. No previous research is available on the topic of migrants and crime in Cyprus. By analyzing criminal statistics which ignore the "dark figure" of crime in society, the central question of the thesis can be answered to some extent. However, the goal is also to identify the reasons why people may believe that migrants are committing more crimes or why they like or dislike migrants. Are there perhaps other reasons that encourage them to believe this, such as fear of crime, a factor linked to immigration (Jock, 2005:2)? In other words, this study addresses the view that "migrants cause crime," and also examines the factors associated with this belief.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to collect data. There are numerous differences between qualitative research and quantitative measurement. Though both are valuable research methods, each has a specific application in assessing and improving organizational communications effectiveness. In practice, some sociologists combine different research methods and approaches, since different methods produce different types of findings that correspond to different aspects of societies. For example, quantitative methods may help describe social patterns, while qualitative approaches could help to clarifying how individuals understand those patterns.

The use of multiple methods improves the quality of the results of each of the components and makes the study of greater use. While the quantitative method is used to draw empirical conclusions about an entire population based on a sample, the qualitative method draws logical or analytical inference. It has often been emphasised that qualitative and quantitative methods should be combined to use their “complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses” ( Johnson and Turner, 2003:299).

On the basis of the literature review, the following *hypotheses* (for both questionnaires) have been tested regarding attitudes held by Greek-Cypriots and foreigners alike:

1. Immigrants increase crime rates and cause other problems to society.
2. Crime rates of foreigners are higher than locals.
3. Hypotheses (1) and (2) are closely associated with racism and xenophobia. In other words, the racist/xenophobic hypothesis is that the public's belief that immigrants commit crimes functions independently of the actuality involved and it expresses a degrading stereotype of migrants (McDonald, 2003:8).

A structured interview method was used to ensure that answers can be reliably aggregated and that comparisons can be made with confidence between sample subgroups or between different survey periods. The survey included two questionnaires:

1. Questionnaire No.1 was used to survey 500 Cypriots' opinions, perceptions and attitudes towards foreigners and crime. The structured self-administered questionnaire comprising 31 questions was used to survey a sample of the general public (see Appendix 6 and 7). The sampling type used for the first questionnaire was *random stratified sampling* and, in particular, *proportional stratified sampling*, where the sub-samples must be proportional to their sizes in population.<sup>50</sup>
2. Questionnaire No.2 was used to survey foreigners' opinions, crime perceptions, and attitudes towards Greek-Cypriots (see Appendix 8). The questionnaire consisted of 19 questions. The sample of foreigners (N=100) was obtained by using a *purposive or judgment sampling* because it was impossible to do probability sampling, due to the unknown number of migrants living in Cyprus, including illegal migrants. As Russell (2000:175) states, "...it is often impossible to do probability sampling under real research conditions." Consequently, 100 foreigners of different ethnic origin were questioned, as "...there is no overall sampling design that tells you how many of each type of informant you need for a study." By using such techniques, the researcher is able to ascertain that the sample interviewed is representative of the wider population.

Additionally, 30 face-to-face interviews (with foreigners, mainly from Nicosia) were carried out by the present author to obtain qualitative data. Let us next consider the methods used in more detail.

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<sup>50</sup> <http://www.southalabama.edu/coe/bset/johnson/lectures/lec7.pdf>, p.3).

## **7.3 Instruments used and samples-The questionnaires**

### **7.3.1. Questionnaire to survey Cypriots**

The purpose of the questionnaires has been to measure the opinions of its respondents. They reveal the characteristics and the beliefs of the population. May (1993:81) draws attention to ten points that must be considered when formulating the questions, namely:

1. They should not be too general.
2. Use simple language.
3. There should not be any ambiguity: the question must not be able to be interpreted in a different way.
4. Avoid vague words.
5. Avoid leading questions.
6. Avoid presuming that people have the information the researcher wish to know about.
7. Hypothetical questions bring hypothetical answers.
8. Be careful when asking personal questions because of ethical reasons.
9. Stay away from embarrassing questions.
10. When asking questions that rely on memory, consider the fact that people may not remember the required information.

Quantitative information is gathered by asking the same set of questions to a specific sample of a reference population with answers recorded in numeric codes or actual numbers. A structured questionnaire comprising 31 questions was constructed and piloted in order to ensure that questions were understandable. The questionnaire was administered to 500 Cypriot individuals face-to-face. Both men (N=242) and women (N=258) have been surveyed. The survey was carried out in all free cities of Cyprus. The people questioned were visited by the researcher and a group of students in their homes and at work. The interviewers introduced themselves and they explained briefly the purpose of the interview, avoiding giving information that could bias the respondent. Before being interviewed, people were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. With anonymity, the respondent answers the questions with more truthfulness. This ensures the validity and reliability of the interviews conducted questionnaires.

In structuring a questionnaire the researcher may choose one of two broad types of question, “closed” questions and “open-ended” questions. When using closed questions the researcher provides the respondent with a set of answers from which to choose. One of the main advantages of closed-type questionnaires is that they are relatively quick and easy to complete as well as easier to code. Of course, it also has disadvantages: for example, the respondents may get annoyed if they do not find any of the alternative answers suitable (Burns, 2000:572). Open-ended questions are flexible and the respondent is given the scope to answer a question "in his own words." Open-ended questionnaires take more time to answer and the major problem is “coding or content analysing the responses” (p.572). Questionnaires may contain a mixture of open and closed questions, which allows the researcher to collect different kinds of information. A well-planned and carefully constructed questionnaire will increase the response rate and will make it easier to summarise and analyze the collected data.

The questionnaire used in the present study (See Appendix 6 for details) included close-ended and open-ended questions; in other words, it is a semi-open-ended questionnaire. If open-ended questions were used only, it would be difficult to analyze the data collected. Using closed questions allows us to compare the responses. Open questions give more freedom to the respondents, there is no limitation on the choice of answer given and the interviewee records as much as possible of the answer. While closed questions must be pre-coded, so that each answer is given a number in order to analyze them (May, 1993:78).

Classification or “demographic” or “face sheet” questions were used (May, 1993:77) as well as a five-point Likert scale, namely: “agree strongly,” “agree,” “neither agree nor disagree,” “disagree,” or “disagree strongly.”

The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part included the demographic questions: gender, age, and place of work, place of residence, profession and education (Part A, q1-q6).

The second part included the following:

- The meaning of the word "foreigner" and the relationship of Cypriots with foreigners (q1-q2).

- Characterization/stereotyping foreigners (q3-q4).
- Migrant criminality (q5-q8).
- Victimization (q9-q10, q12-q14).
- Factors making foreigners commit crimes (q11).
- Prejudice and the Cyprus Criminal Justice System (q15-q16).
- Public opinion about foreigners (q17).
- Media and their role in showing the "crime problem" (q18-q20).
- Solutions in confronting foreign criminality (q21).
- Racism and other problems that Cyprus is facing (q22-q24).

The statistical analysis of the questionnaire data was carried out by the present author with the use of SPSS (Statistical Package and Social Science), version 11.0. SPSS is used for conducting statistical analyses, manipulating data and generating tables and graphs that summarize data.

### **7.3.1.2. Sample surveyed: The stratified random sampling method**

In the first questionnaire *the population of interest* was the population of Cyprus in the government-controlled area of Cyprus. The *target population or sampling frame* were male and females *15 years of age and older*.

As mentioned above, the sample was taken by *stratified proportional random sampling, meaning that* population is divided into sub-populations. For example, the population was divided into men and women, into rural and urban sub-frames and into key age groups. This type of sampling is representative of gender, residence structure as well as the age of the sample collected. According to the *2002 Demographic Report* the Greek-Cypriot population was 565,900 people. By using the formula  $N_1, N_2, N_3$  the non-overlapping groups (i.e., strata),  $N_1 + N_2 + N_3 + \dots + N_j = N$ , then a sample fraction on each strata was made.

$$F = n/N$$

Where N is the number of cases in the sampling frame and

n is the number of cases in the sample and, finally,  $f=n/N$  is the sampling fraction (<http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/samprob.htm>).

$N= 565,900$

$N_1=291,900$  Cypriot women

$N_2=274,000$  Cypriot men

$\frac{F}{N} = \frac{500}{565,900}$

$\frac{M}{N} = \frac{500}{565,900}$

291,900 565,900

274,000 565,900

F=Female, Women, 258

M=Male, Men=242

The sample size of this survey was 500 people and the sample value of a variable is likely to be less than 2% of the true population value. Table 20 shows the composition of the sample classified by district and urban vs. rural.

Table 20 - Sample by district

District	Frequency	Percent
Nicosia	146	29.2
Limassol	115	23.0
Famagusta	27	5.4
Larnaca	51	10.2
Pafos	34	6.8
Nicosia rural area	52	10.4
Limassol rural area	29	5.8
Larnaca rural area	32	6.4
Pafos rural area	14	2.8
Total	500	100.0

Concerning "age," this factor was divided into 6 categories: 15-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60+.



Tables 21 and 22 show the age composition, classified by urban and rural areas.

Table 21-Sample size from urban areas: 346 persons.

Age	Nicosia		Limassol		Larnaca		Paphos	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
15-19	7	7	6	5	3	2	2	1
20-29	14	14	11	11	5	5	3	4
30-39	12	14	10	11	4	5	3	3
40-49	13	14	10	11	4	5	3	3
50-59	10	11	8	8	4	4	2	3
60+	14	16	11	13	5	5	3	4

M=Men

W=Women

Table 22- Sample size from rural areas: 154 persons

Age	Nicosia		Limassol		Larnaca		Paphos		Ammochostos	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
15-19	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	2
20-29	5	5	3	2	3	3	1	1	3	2
30-39	5	4	2	3	3	3	2	1	2	3
40-49	5	5	3	2	2	4	1	2	2	3
50-59	2	5	2	3	3	2	1	1	2	2
60+	5	6	2	4	3	3	1	2	3	2

M=Men

W=Women

The above sample values were obtained by applying the sampling fraction.

### 7.3.2 Questionnaire to survey foreigners

#### 7.3.2.1. Purposive or judgment sampling and the questionnaire design.

In the second survey, the *population of interest* were foreigners living and working in Cyprus (government-controlled area of Cyprus), male and females 18 years of age and older. A non probability sampling (*purposive or judgment sampling*) was used for the reason given

above. One-hundred foreigners were questioned (as it is indicated above) by the researcher in their homes, in parks and at their place of work. Foreigners were interviewed in English and they were assured of anonymity and confidentiality.

The questionnaire included closed and open-ended questions and consisted of two parts with 19 questions. The first part included demographic questions, as in the first questionnaire, except that there was a question on "nationality" (q1-q7). The second part of the questionnaire examined the following:

- Social aspects: relationships of Cypriots and foreigners (q1-q2).
- Characterization of Cypriots (q3).
- Reasons for migrating (q4).
- Crime and criminal justice in Cyprus (q5-q11).
- Racism and its causes (q12, q17-q18).
- Greek-Cypriot attitudes towards foreigners (q13-q14).
- Media's role (q15-q16).

The statistical analysis of the results of questionnaire 2 was carried out with the use of SPSS, as in the case of questionnaire 1.

#### **7.4. Qualitative research method**

Ragin says "it is only through in-depth study that immigrants' use of interpersonal networks could be thoroughly documented" (1994:86). Rubin and Rubin (1995:1) pointed out that using qualitative interviewing one may find what others feel and think, and how they understand their experiences. It is appropriate when the goal of the research is to sort out "complicated relationships" (p.51). But the same authors demonstrate the problem of understanding between interviewer and interviewee. Even if it seems they talk the same language, the words may have different meaning (p.18); therefore, it is important to make things very clear and ask what the interviewee means.

The in-depth interviews give the researcher the opportunity to repeat a question in case it is not understood by the respondent, as well as to ask for additional information in case of an incomplete answer. Also, the interviewer can observe the respondent and his environment

(Burns, 2000:583). In addition to the advantages of an interview, there are also disadvantages. For example, they are more expensive and time-consuming, only a limited number of respondents can be interviewed due to time and financial considerations, and flexibility may generate difficulties in the categorization and evaluation of the responses (p.583).

The survey aimed at finding out foreigners' perception of crime in Cyprus and the involvement of foreigners in committing crimes to identify their views regarding Cypriots, racism and xenophobia. *Snowball sampling* was used in the qualitative research. In snowball sampling, one begins by identifying someone who meets the criteria for inclusion in his study. The researcher then asks this person to recommend others who they may know who also meet the criteria. Snowball sampling is especially useful when trying to reach populations that are inaccessible or hard to find. Thus, thirty semi-structured interviews of foreigners (mainly from Nicosia) were carried out after they gave their permission to record the interview. They belonged to the following nationalities : 6 Russian Pontiacs (2 women and 4 men), 3 Russian women, 5 Bulgarians (4 women and 1 man), 8 Syrians, (5 women and 3 men), 1 Bangladeshi man, 1 Philipino woman, 1 Belarusian woman, 1 Russian-Bulgarian woman, 2 Jordanian women and 2 women from South Africa. The researcher conducted thirty interviews until the point of saturation was reached. As Ragin demonstrates, the researcher stops to see when there on the evidence collected becomes repetitive (1994:86).

Structured interviewing is time-consuming when the sample group is large and, also, the interviewer cannot add or subtract questions and there is a limit to the amount of detail in the respondent's answers. Consequently, both structured and unstructured questions were used in the face-to-face interviews. There is also the possibility that the presence of the interviewer may influence the way a respondent answers; in other words, "the interview effect" will be present. In the study, it was observed that foreigners were answering very carefully and watching the researcher's moves. It is important to mention that simple and non-technical vocabulary was used to compensate for varying levels of education and literacy. Because of the illegal status of many immigrants in Cyprus and occasional "sweeps" by the police, the respondents were initially suspicious and resistant.

The interviews were conducted by the present author in English or Greek or Russian, using almost the same interview schedule (to ensure that the data generated would be

comparable) and they lasted approximately 45 minutes. It is important to mention that when Russian Pontiacs were asked to be interviewed, at first they were unwilling to talk to the researcher, but as soon as the present author spoke to them in Russian (their mother tongue) they agreed and were willing to answer questions. The interviews were tape-recorded and great effort was made to ensure that each respondent understood that total anonymity was guaranteed. Survey respondents and participants in in-depth interviews and focus groups are often asked to give open, honest personal responses about sensitive issues, concerns, perceptions and opinions on a variety of topics. To obtain the truth from people, researchers must be able to not only assure, but to absolutely guarantee, that a participant's identity will be kept confidential and fully protected.

The data were transcribed (i.e., the text was typed into word-processing documents) and divided into analytical units (inductive codes). Interviewing people face-to-face is a difficult method but it gives us in-depth information about people's perceptions and feelings and affords the interviewer an opportunity to probe further.

## **Chapter 8. Hypotheses Tested**

### **8.1. Findings and analysis of the quantitative research**

#### **8.1.1. Major findings of two questionnaire surveys**

Some of the major findings from both questionnaires are:

1. Foreigners left their country of origin for the following reasons: unemployment (29%), to improve earnings and standard of living (20%) as well as to escape from poverty (14%).
2. The majority (77%) of the Cypriot sample had come into contact with foreigners and believed that the word "foreigner"= "worker." Also, 60% of foreigners have Greek-Cypriot friends.
3. Cypriots are most sympathetic to the Greeks and "dislike" most the Russian-Pontiacs.
4. The hypothesis that the public's belief that crime is increasing because of foreigners was borne out by the 91% of those questioned, even though only 4% were victims of "foreign criminals" (Russian Pontiacs), and 10% of the sample population had relatives or friends who had been victims of crime. On the other hand, 61% of the foreigners surveyed were of the opinion that the crime rate in Cyprus is not high, but they agreed that it is increasing.
5. Each nationality has its own stereotype. There is wide variation regarding the stereotyping of different nationalities. Foreigners consider Cypriots as noisy/loud, sociable and hard-working people.
6. The largest part of the Greek-Cypriot sample believes that Russian Pontiacs are the most involved in crime and that violence increases in the areas where they live.
7. According to the Cypriot sample, the most common crimes in Cyprus are theft, drugs and burglary, followed by rape, forgery and murder. The foreigners surveyed, however, put drugs in the first place and theft second.
8. The factors believed by Cypriots to contribute to foreigners committing crime were the economic situation, unemployment and family situation.
9. The majority of the Cypriot respondents are of the opinion that the Cypriot police and the Cypriot judicial system do not have the same attitude towards foreigners as toward locals. Foreigners, too, have the same opinion.
10. A large part of the Cypriot sample (65%) believe that public's attitudes towards foreigners are negative. Also, 51% of foreigners believe that Greek Cypriots' attitudes

towards them are negative and are caused by xenophobia, pride and the economic situation.

11. Most of the Greek-Cypriots are of the opinion that the solution for foreign criminality is to make the laws stricter, give priority to Cypriot citizens in employment and more police surveillance.
12. Racism exists in Cypriot society and its causes are: xenophobia, foreigners' attitudes and media presentation of foreigners. Half of the foreigners believe that Cypriots are racists and the other half that they are not. Almost half of foreigners (46%) think that racism is caused because of xenophobia.
13. Crime is considered the second most serious problem after the national problem.
14. Foreigners are ignorant of the judicial system in Cyprus.

A more detailed analysis of the first questionnaire is shown below.

## **8.2. Findings of the questionnaire survey of "Cypriots' opinions, perceptions and attitudes towards foreigners and crime"**

### **8.2.1. General information**

The 500 respondents consisted of 48% males and 52% females; occupations were 56% workers, 16% students, 9% housewives, 8% pensioners, 7% others, 3% soldiers, 1% unemployed. Most had college or university education, while 36% had only secondary education level (Table 23 below).

Table 23-Education

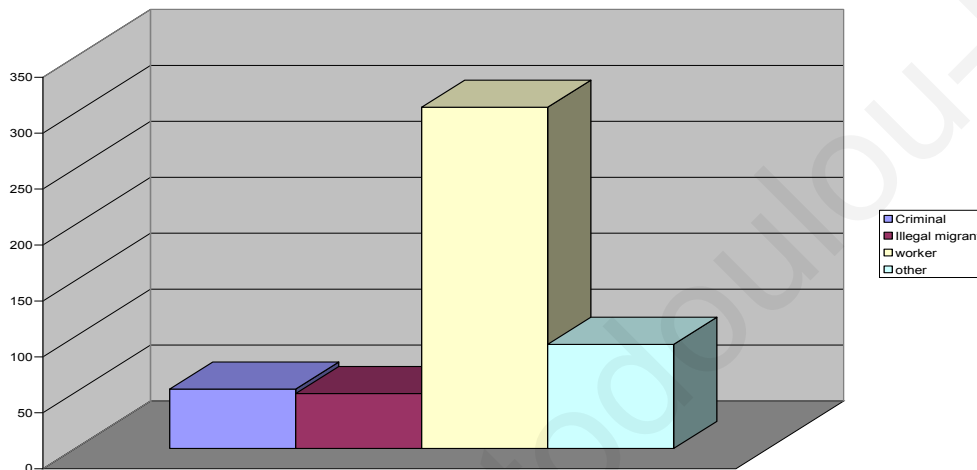
Education	Frequency	Percent
No schooling	6	1.2%
Elementary/primary	83	16.6%
Secondary	178	35.6%
College/university	181	36.2%
Postgraduate	52	10.4%

Three-quarters (77%) of the Greek-Cypriot respondents had come into contact with foreigners. Cypriots understand the word "foreigner" (qb2) to mean:

- A worker (61%),

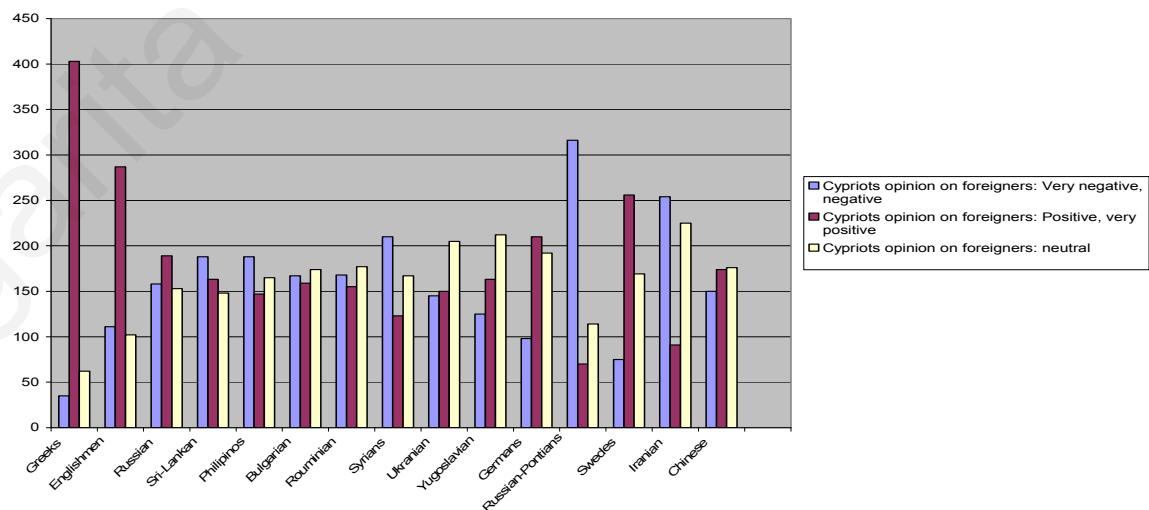
- A criminal (11%),
- An illegal immigrant (10%), and
- For the category of “other,” respondents suggested that a foreigner was a person from another country, a human being, a person with a foreign passport, a worker-tourist or a poor person who is looking for a better future (19%) (See Chart 16).

Chart 16- What the word "foreigner" means.



Cypriots think positively towards the Greeks, British, Swedes, and Germans (Chart 17). This is in contrast to the Russian–Pontiacs, Iranians, Syrians, Sri-Lankans, Philipinos, and Rumanians who are perceived in a negative light (qb3.1-3.15).

Chart 17-Cypriots' opinion regarding foreigners.



Question qb4 (“what characterization could you give for the foreigners in Cyprus”), yielded the following results (%):

Table 24-Characterizations by country.

Characteristic	Country of foreigners														
	Gr	Br.	R.	Sr	Ph.	Bg	Rm	Sy.	Ukr.	Yug.	G.	R.P	Swe	Ir.	Ch.
Quiet	32	26	12	27	28	19	16	12	16	16	19	6	34	12	30
Troublemakers	3	17	17	8	6	9	10	18	9	10	8	48	5	17	13
Anoth. religion		3	2	20	18	5	3	15	6	3	3		3	19	12
Immoral	3	6	23	4	6	12	20	4	19	10	4	6	4	3	4
Trustworthy	11	3	5	3	2	2	1	2	2	5	6	2	9	1	5
Family man	18	17	3	1	2	3	3	3	2	7	12	2	7	1	2
Workers	1	1	1			1					1				
Quiet, family man	10	4		1		1	1			1	3		3		
Troublemakers, immoral	1	1	4	1		1	1	1			1	14		1	
Another religion, family man, quiet				2	1			1			1				2
All first 6 points															
Troublemakers, another religion			1	7			1	6		1		1		2	1
Liars															
Self-interested															
Don't know	21	22	32	26	36	46	44	38	44	46	42	19	33	43	30

Gr=Greek, Br=British, R=Russian, Sr.=Sri-Lankan, Ph=Philippines, Bg=Bulgarian, Rm=Rumanian, Sy=Syrian, Ukr=Ukranian, Yug=Yugoslavian, G.=Germans, R.P.=Russian Pontiacs, Swe=Sweden, Ir=Iranian, Ch.=Chinese.

Table 24 shows that Swedes are considered to be quiet people, followed by Greeks and Chinese. Russian-Pontiacs are thought to be troublemakers and immoral, while Russians are



perceived as being immoral. Greeks are assumed to be trustworthy, quiet and family-oriented. Sri-Lankans, on the other hand, are deemed to be quiet and "people of another religion". The British, like Greeks, are thought of as quiet and family-oriented but to a lesser degree. Philipinos are assumed to be quiet and also "people having a different religion from us". Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians and Yugoslavs are quiet but immoral. Chinese also are considered quiet and Germans quiet and family oriented. In contrast, Syrians and Iranians are troublemakers and people of another religion.

We see that *Greek-Cypriot stereotypes of foreigners are both positive and negative*. They perceive Greeks favourably but consider Russian-Pontiacs to be troublemakers and Russians to be immoral. Of course, it must be said that there are those (a small percentage) who believe differently from the majority; for example, 3% believed that Greeks are troublemakers or that Russians are quiet (12%). Additionally, Table 24 shows that for Cypriots "religion" is used as a major distinguishing factor.

### 8.2. 2. Crime and foreigners

Chart 18 shows that Cypriots believe that crime in Cyprus is growing as the presence of foreigners grows. Chart 19 shows which types of crime local people believe exist in Cyprus, namely: theft, drugs and burglaries are the most common crimes, while rape, forgery, murder and prostitution are perceived to exist at lower rates.

Chart 18-Is criminality growing because of foreigners?

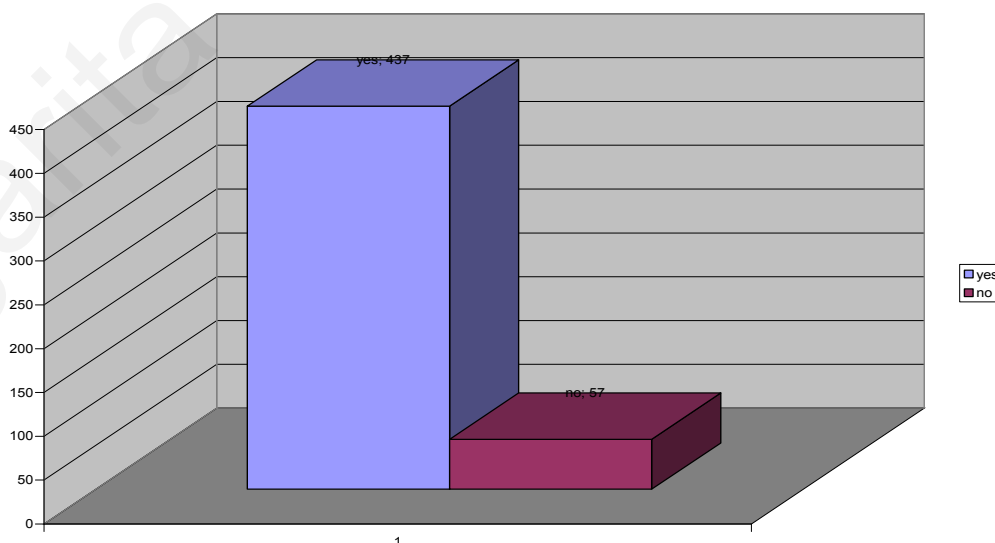
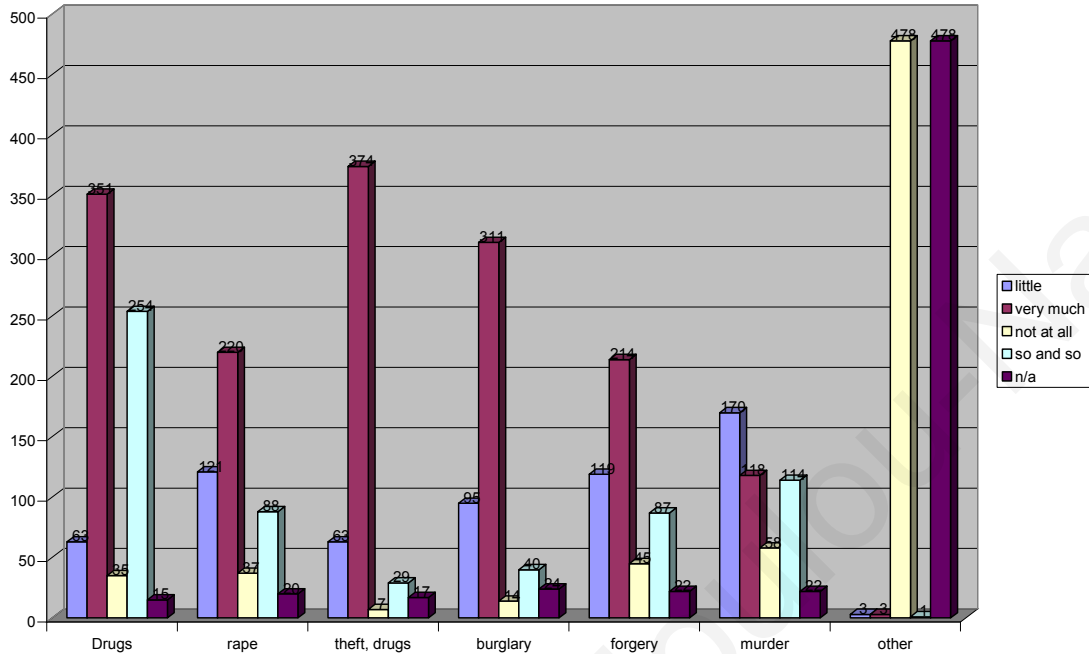


Chart 19-Most Common Crimes in Cyprus



Respondents believed that the foreigners most responsible for committing crimes are Russian-Pontiacs, Russians, Ukrainians and Chinese (Chart 20). It is also believed that crime increases in areas where Russian-Pontiacs, Russians, Sri-Lankan, Syrians and Chinese live (see Chart 21).

Chart 20: Foreigners responsible for committing most crimes

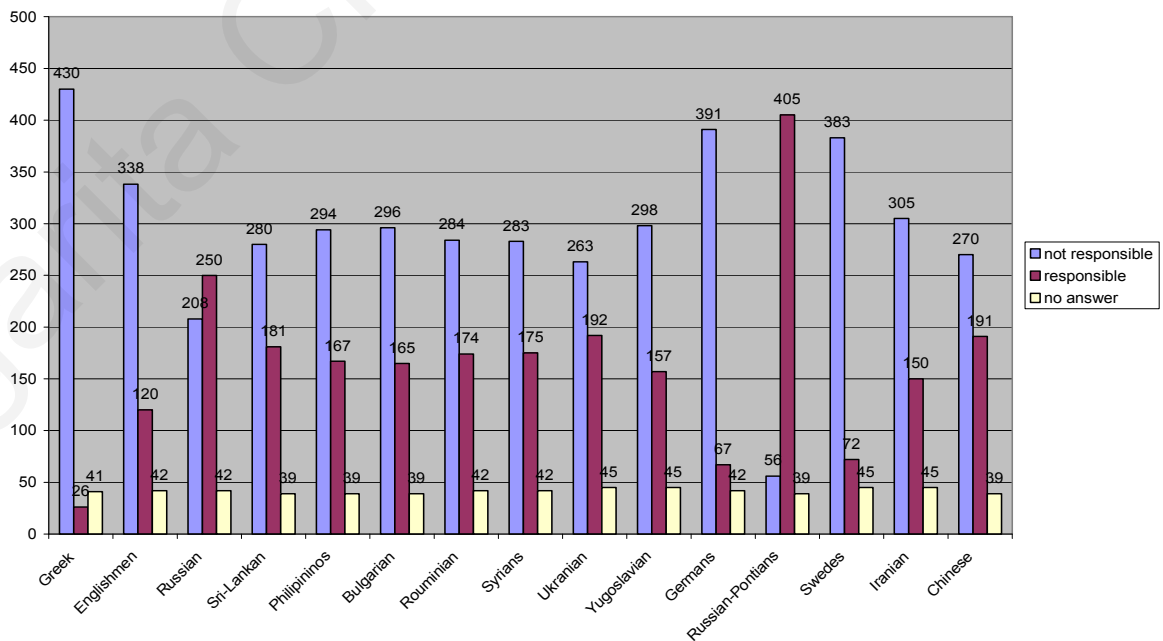
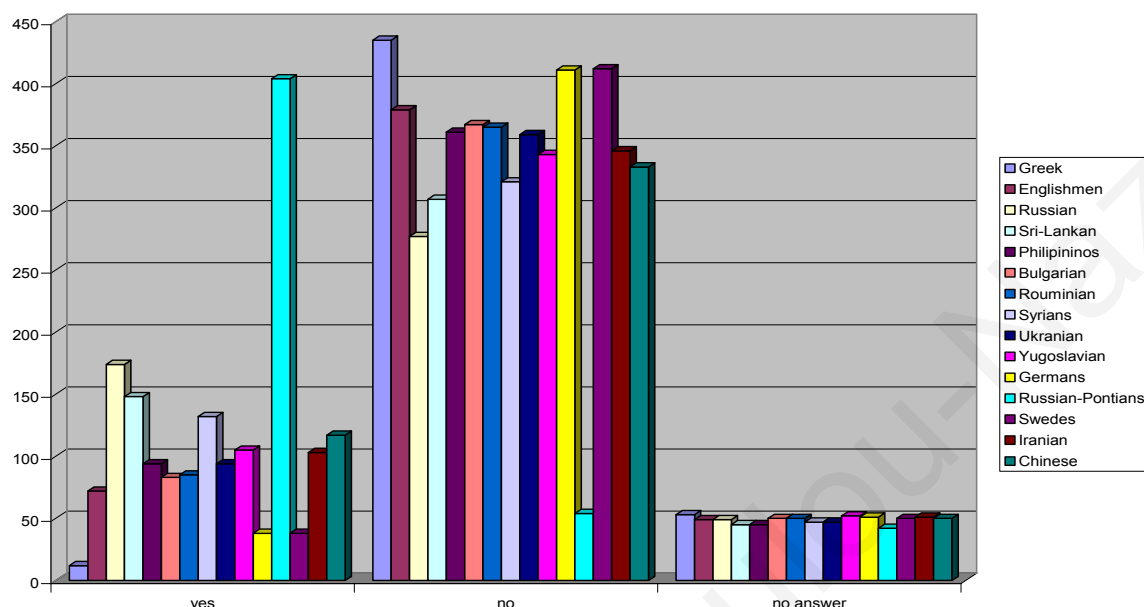


Chart 21: Violence increases where foreigners live



Only 4% of the Cypriot respondents had been victims of crime by foreigners and the crime committed was robbery and theft. It should be noted in this context that members of the public wrongly refer to "burglary" as "robbery." Also, 10% said that their friends or relatives had been victims of crime by Russian Pontians, Chinese and other foreigners. Almost half of the respondents (47%) believed that foreigners are victims of Cypriot criminal elements while more (80%) believed that foreigners are victims of foreign criminal elements. More than half (56%) of the sample felt that there are hate crimes towards foreigners. Also, 58% were of the opinion that the police behavior is not the same towards Cypriots and foreigners, and 55% were of the opinion that the judicial system does not treat Cypriots and foreigners equally (see Table 25).

Table 25-Cypriots' opinion regarding foreigners

	Yes %	No %	I do not know %
Foreigners are victims of Cypriot criminal elements	47	50	4
There are hate crimes towards foreigners	56	41	4
Foreigners are victims of foreign criminal elements	80	17	3
The police behaviour is the same for Cypriots and foreigners	39	58	2
The judicial system in Cyprus treats foreigners and Cypriots the same	44	55	2

Regarding factors believed to contribute to foreigners' committing crime, respondents listed in order of importance: the economic situation, unemployment, and the family situation. Other such factors are “xenophobia,” “their low educational level,” “culture and religion,” “illiteracy,” “different kind of life,” “inherited,” “societal exclusion of foreigners,” “money,” “racism” and finally “poor living conditions” (see Table 26).

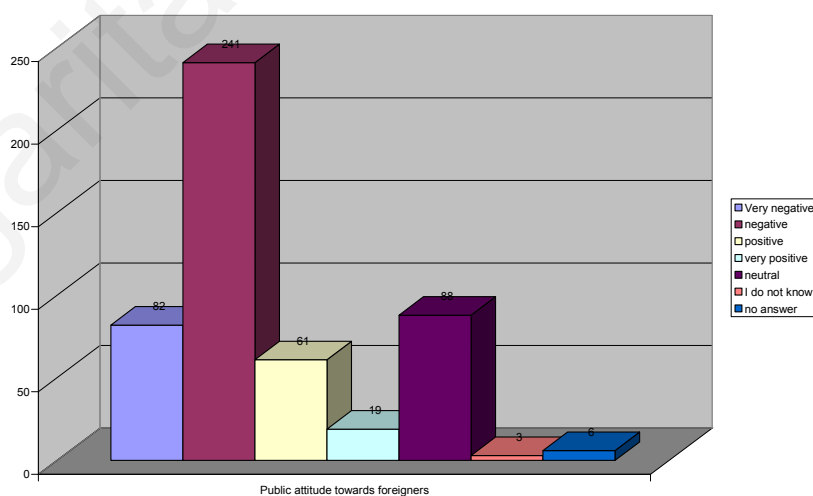
Table 26-Factors believed to contribute to foreigners' committing crimes.

Factors	Yes	%	No	%	No answer	%
Economical situation	417	83.4	75	15	8	1.6
Unemployment	280	56	212	42.4	8	1.6
Family situation	150	30	342	68.4	8	1.6
Xenophobia	81	16.2	411	82.2	8	1.6
Low educational level	27	5.4	465	93	8	1.6
Education level, culture, religion	6	1.2	486	97.2	8	1.6
Illiterate	3	0.6	11	97.8	8	1.6
Different kind of life	6	1.2	14	97.2	8	1.6
Inherited	2	0.4	490	98	8	1.6
Societal exclusion of foreigners	4	0.8	488	97.6	8	1.6
Money	1	0.2	491	98.2	8	1.6
Racism	2	0.4	490	98	8	1.6
Poor living conditions	2	0.4	490	98	8	1.6

### 8.2. 3. Public’s and media’s attitude towards foreigners

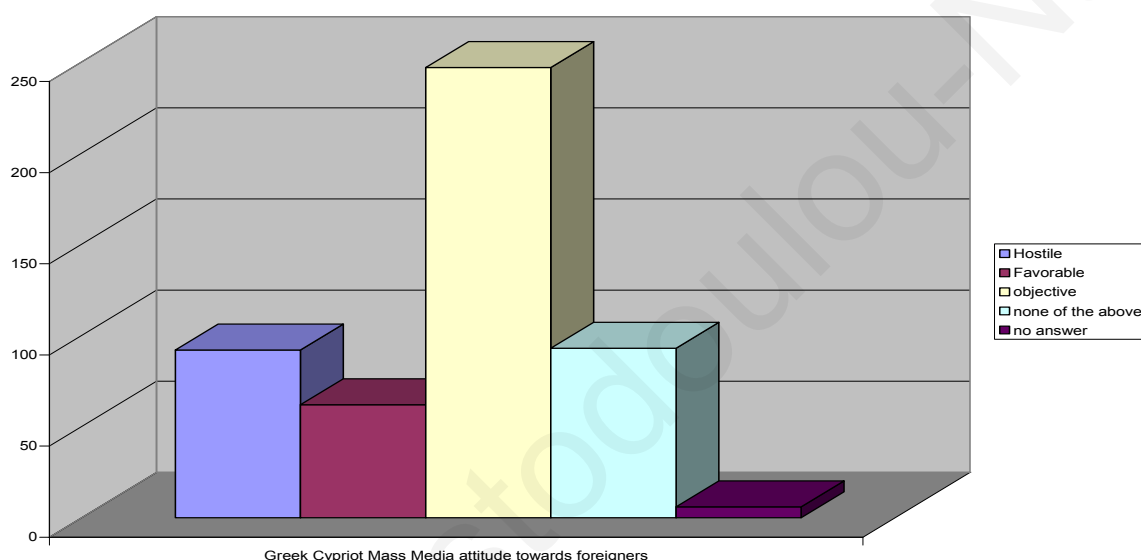
The majority (65%) believed that public's attitude towards foreigners is negative, with only 16% considering it to be positive (Chart 22).

Chart 22-Public attitude towards foreigners.



In addition, 49% believe that the Cypriot mass media's attitude towards foreigners is objective, 18% hostile, 12% favourable and 18.6% said "none of the above" (Chart 23). This finding and others below should be borne in mind in any effort to reduce stereotypes, prejudice and xenophobia in Cyprus by impacting on how the mass media portray foreigners.

Chart 23-Mass Media's attitude towards foreigners.



Most (88%) think that the media play an important role in society (qb19). Additionally, 59% assume that the media exaggerates the problem of criminality, 29% think they present it in real dimensions and 10% think they underestimate it (qb20).

Regarding measures to reduce foreign criminality in Cyprus (Table 27), half (55%) consider that the law has to be stricter on foreigners; 45% want more police surveillance; 42% want to give resident permits to those who do not cause problems; and 49% want to give priority to Cypriot citizens to work.

Table 27-Measures to reduce foreign criminality in Cyprus.

Solutions	Yes	No	No answer
Stricter law regarding foreigners	276, 55%	214, 43%	10, 2%
More police observation	225, 45%	265, 53%	10, 2%
Offering resident permission to those that not cause problems	209, 42%	281, 56%	10, 2%
Priority to Cypriot citizens to work	243, 49%	245, 49%	12, 2.4%

Very few also suggested: “raising foreigners’ salaries” (1.6%); “giving work permits to all illegal foreigners” (0.2%); “equal remuneration with Cypriots” (0.6%); “to bring back death penalty” (0.2%); “to send foreign criminals back to their country” (0.6%); “to tackle local criminality and immorality” (0.6%); “inform people about the implementation of law” (0.4%); and finally, others suggested “to forbid entry to foreigners” (0.2%) (Table 28).

Table 28-Suggested measures to reduce foreign criminality

Foreigner's salary	8, 1.6%
give work permit to all illegal foreigners	1, 0.2%
Equal payment as Cypriots	3, 0.6%
bring back death penalty	1, 0.2%
to send foreign criminals back to their country	3, 0.6%
we must face local criminality and immorality first	3, 0.6%
Inform people about the implementation of law	2, 0.4%
Forbid the entrance to the foreigners	1, 0.2%

#### 8.2.4. Racism

Regarding the question whether the respondents believed there is racism in Cypriot society, 68% replied affirmatively and gave the following causes of racism (qb23):

- Xenophobia (42%).
- Foreigners' attitude (39%).
- As a consequence of media portrayal (21%).
- As a result of Cypriot "nature" (3%).
- Nationalism (1%).
- Ignorance of a country's history and its people (1.2%).
- Illiteracy (0.4%).
- Foreigners prefer to live in ghettos (0.4%).
- People are biased to foreigners (0.2%).
- Illnesses, drugs and crimes (0.2%).
- Due to employing foreigners (0.4%).

It is interesting that people acknowledge the importance of xenophobia but, at the same time, a large minority (39%) blame racism on foreigners' own attitude.

Respondents were invited at the end of the questionnaire to provide any additional comments on foreigners in Cyprus. They wrote:

#### **A. Positive comments**

1. "We must learn to live with people from other cultures. Training and education must be a priority to our society. Future problems must be handled due to unemployment and terrorism."
2. "All the foreigners are blamed because some of them behave inappropriately. They have come to work."
3. "In every country there are good and bad people."
4. "We have to behave better towards foreigners, they are people with principles and feelings."
5. "People's behaviour is not formed according to ethnicity but the character and conduct of each person."
6. "I believe in human rights for all the people. Migrants are people with needs."
7. "We must behave as the other European countries do and respect all people."
8. "They are poor people that came to work. In 1974, Cypriots, also, went abroad to work. That is why there is sympathy towards them."
9. "Foreigners are employed because they are paid less than Cypriots. This is exploitation of foreigners."
10. "Foreigners are considered as second class citizens."
11. "Measures must be taken to fight xenophobia."
12. "Cypriots exploit them and foreigners are driven to commit crimes."

#### **B. Negative comments**

1. "Expel the troublemakers and introduce stricter control on work permits and residence permits."
2. "I am racist. Stop mixed weddings. Cyprus should remain without non-Cypriots."
3. "They smell awful, they are shifty and not trustworthy. They create problems."

4. "The government must realize that employers prefer foreigners and unemployment is growing in the Cypriot population."
5. "Everyone should return to their country of origin."
6. "The presence of migrants has had a negative impact on Cypriot society. Drugs and prostitution have increased because of the presence of foreigners."
7. "In a few years they will demand to have a representative in parliament."
8. "They are not subject to control."
9. "The percentage of foreigners is growing rapidly relative to the Cypriot population, which is a small country with restricted job vacancies."
10. "Most of the Russian Pontiacs are nice people, but there are those who do not work and steal. Their behaviour ruins the whole picture."
11. "They cause deterioration of our culture and economy."
12. "No implementation of laws breeds racism. The number of foreigners is out of control."
13. "Muslims are the only foreigners who should not be allowed in Cyprus, because they are fanatical and they hate Orthodox Christians."
14. "They must not live all in one place like in Kato-Pafos."
15. "There is a high crime rate because of foreigners."

It can be seen that opinions differ. There are those who understand the problem in relation to foreigners and try to find solutions. On the other hand, there are those who believe that foreigners must leave Cyprus, because, for example, they are the "root" of the "crime problem." The latter category of beliefs is, of course, unacceptable, socially dangerous, and every effort should be made to minimise such prejudice and xenophobia.

### **8.3 Findings of the questionnaire survey of foreigners' opinions, crime perceptions and attitudes towards Greek Cypriots**

#### **8.3. 1. Composition of the sample surveyed**

The sample of foreigners surveyed comprised 50 women and 50 men; 16% were aged 15-19, 40% 20-29, 40% 30-39, 13% 40-49 and 1% aged 50-59. Most (83%) of the foreigners lived and worked in Nicosia, 10% in Larnaca, 4% in Famagusta and 2% in Limassol. 71% were workers, 13% were students, 10% housewives, 5% were housemaids and 1% self-employed. The majority (65%) had a college/or university education, 15% did



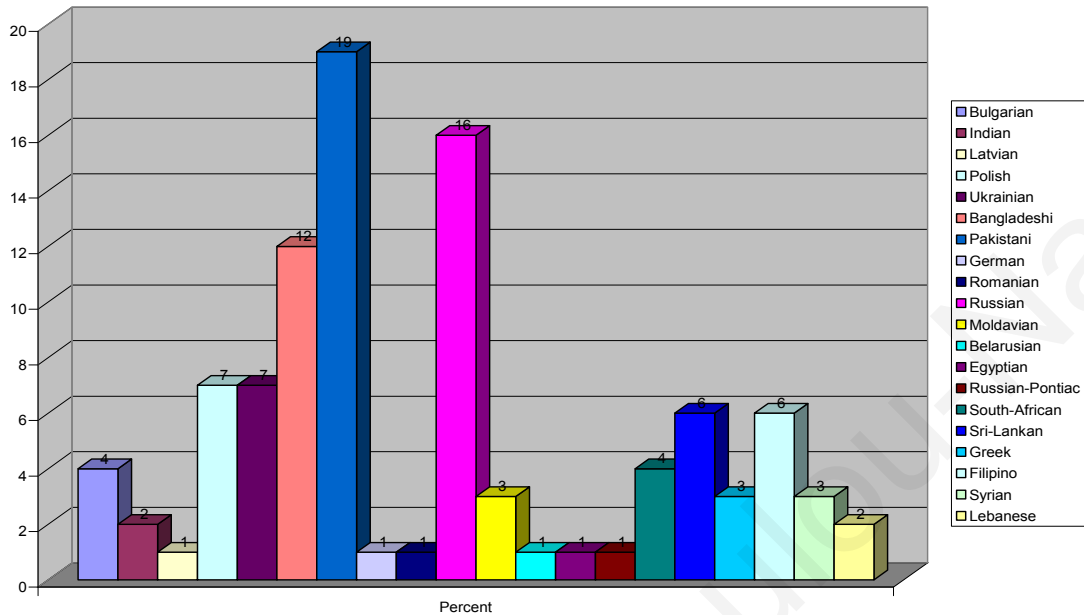
not go to school, 13% have finished secondary education and 7% had postgraduate education. Whether the high educational standard of the sample surveyed is typical of the foreigners who come to work in Cyprus is not possible to ascertain because, unfortunately, no official or other systematic data exists on such demographic characteristics of foreigners. It should also be noted that it was impossible to include proportionately more Russian-Pontiacs due to their reluctance to participate, largely due to an apparent belief that the researcher "might well be working for the police." The very small number of Russian-Pontiacs interviewed is a limitation of the sample.

Table 29 shows the composition of the sample of foreigners by nationality. It comprised: Bulgarians, Indians, Latvians, Poles, Ukrainian, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Germans, Romanians, Russians, Moldavian, Belarusian, Egyptians, Russian Pontiacs, South-African, Sri-Lankan, Greeks, Filipinos, Syrian and Lebanese (See also chart 24).

Table 29-Nationality composition of sample surveyed.

	Nationality	Percent		Nationality	Percent
1.	Pakistani	19.0	11	Greek	3.0
2	Russian	16.0	12	Syrian	3.0
3	Bangladeshi	12.0	13	Indian	2.0
4	Polish	7.0	14	Lebanese	2.0
5	Ukrainian	7.0	15	Latvian	1.0
6	Sri-Lankan	6.0	16	German	1.0
7	Filipino	6.0	17	Romanian	1.0
8	Bulgarian	4.0	18	Belarusian	1.0
9	South-African	4.0	19	Egyptian	1.0
10	Moldavian	3.0	20	Russian-Pontiac	1.0
				Total	100.0

Chart 24-Nationality of sample surveyed.



Using the purposive method, the above-mentioned nationalities were interviewed rather than British or Yugoslavians, because they were more accessible than the others. Within the constraints of the thesis it was not possible to interview a representative sample living and working in Cyprus. Also this method was preferred because it is known that there are legal and illegal migrants and due to this fact taking interviews from both categories the data received represent more this target population. Due to the unknown number of illegal migrants in relation to legal migrants, it was considered sufficient to interview only 100 foreigners whom the author approached in parks, at their work place, or at their homes.

### 8.3.2. Foreigners: their perception of Greek Cypriot attitudes towards foreigners; their reasons for immigrating; their perceptions about criminality

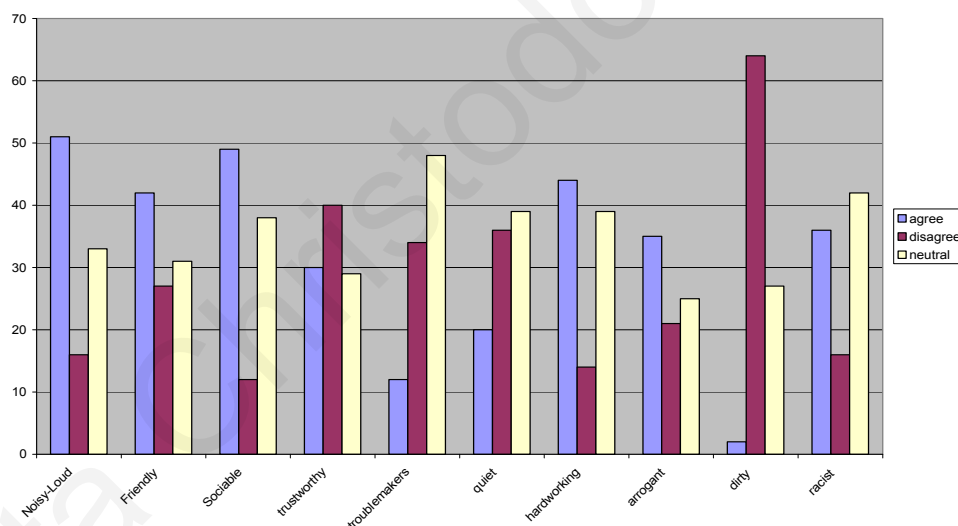
In response to the question “I have Greek Cypriot friends,” 47% replied they have few Cypriot friends, 40% do not have any, and 13% had many friends.

It is very interesting that half of the foreigners (51%) consider Cypriots to be noisy/loud, (49%) sociable, and (44%) hardworking, while others believe Cypriots are friendly (42%), racist (36%), arrogant (35%), and trustworthy (30%) (Table 30 and Chart 25). It can be seen that foreigners appear to have a mixed view of Cypriots.

Table 30-How foreigners consider Cypriots.

Cypriots	agree	Disagree	Neutral
Noisy-Loud	51	16	33
Friendly	42	27	31
Sociable	49	12	38
Trustworthy	30	40	29
troublemakers	12	34	48
Quiet	20	36	39
Hardworking	44	14	39
Arrogant	35	21	25
Dirty	2	64	27
Racist	36	16	42

Chart 25-Foreigners opinion of Cypriots.



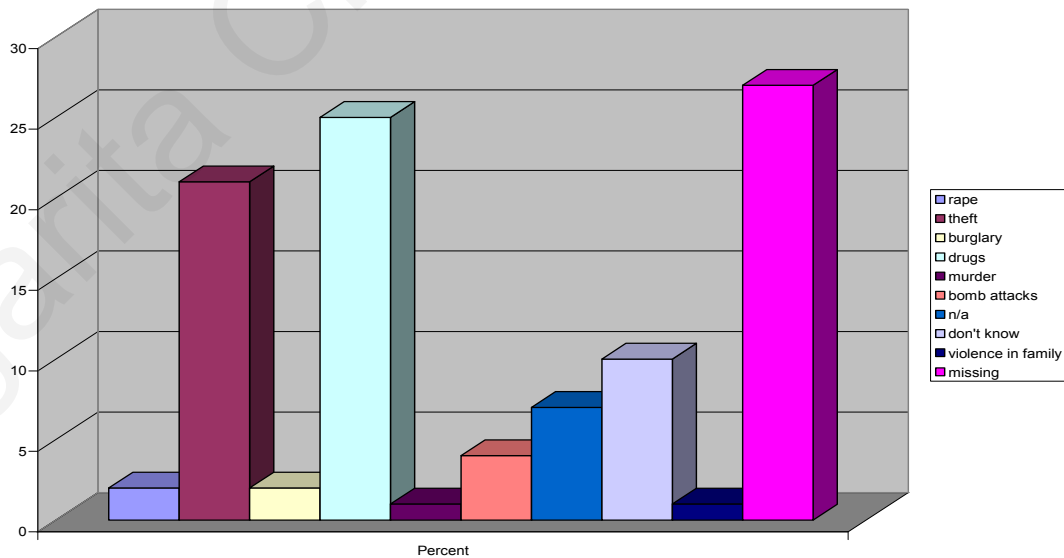
Most of the foreign respondents had decided to leave their country of origin because of unemployment (29%), to improve earnings and standard of living (20%) and to escape from poverty (14%). Also, there are those who had to move to Cyprus because they were married to a Cypriot citizen (12%), others because they were bored, others for further education, to escape from war, crime, for family reasons, to study, to feel security and those that wanted to have a permanent residence in Cyprus. Cross-tabulating nationality by the reasons of leaving one's country, the following results were revealed:

- Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Moldavian, Belarusian and Russian Pontiac left to escape from poverty.

- Pakistani, Russians, Moldavian, Sri-Lankan, Filipino left because of unemployment.
- Indian, Latvian, Bangladeshi, Russian, Egyptian, South African, Filipino, Syrian left to improve their earnings and standard of living.
- Lebanese to escape from war.
- South Africans, because of conflict and crime in their country.
- Indians, Pakistani left for security.
- Poles left because they were bored.
- Pakistani for further education.
- German, Romanian because they wanted to marry and live in Cyprus.
- Russian, Moldavian, Greek because their husbands are Cypriots.
- Ukrainians, Russians, for family reasons.
- Greeks left for studies.

Foreigners consider the most common crimes in Cyprus to be drugs and theft (see Chart 26). Also, they are of the opinion that there is no high crime rate yet in Cyprus but crime is increasing. In addition, 41% do not consider that foreigners are responsible for increasing crimes and 52% believe that Cypriots are not justified in being suspicious of foreigners.

Chart 26-The most common crimes in Cyprus as perceived by foreigners.

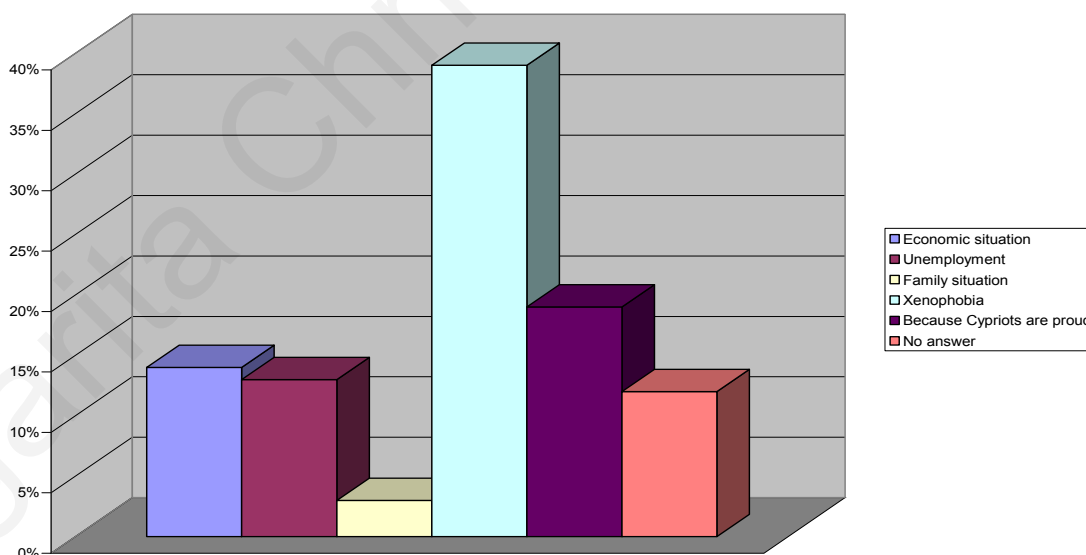


Regarding foreigners' treatment by the criminal justice system, foreigners believe that it is not the same as for Cypriots (47%), 21% were neutral and only 27% agreed that foreign persons have the same treatment as Cypriots. Moreover, 44% believed that police behavior towards aliens is objective, 33% considered it hostile and 20% as "favorable." Additionally, there are those who believe policemen are good towards women but not towards men (1%), and how police treat foreigners may depend on the situation (1%).

A small minority (6%) indicated they had been arrested by mistake, because the employer had not done the proper "paper-work" or because the motorcycle he had bought from a Cypriot had problems with its documents. 14% of the foreigners had been brought to Court and 1% had been in prison. Only 31% knew about the judicial system in Cyprus.

It is important to mention that 51% of the foreigners believed that Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards them are negative, 6% positive and 43% were neutral (qb13). Factors affecting Cypriots' attitudes towards foreigners (Chart 27) were thought to be xenophobia (39%), Cypriots' pride (19%), the economic situation (14%), unemployment (13%), family situation, and 12% "did not know."

Chart 27-Factors affecting Cypriot attitudes towards foreigners.



### 8.3.3. Media and racism

It is very interesting that 55% of foreigners did not believe that the media play a significant role in society, 38% were neutral and only 8% believed they play an important role in society (qb16). Also, 33% believe the Greek-Cypriot mass media's attitude towards foreigners is objective, 16% hostile, 13% neutral, 1% favorable and 37% "none of the above."

When asked if they believed that Cypriots are racists (see Table 31), 50% said "yes" and 50% said "no." Regarding the factors that cause such racism, 28% pointed to foreigners' attitudes, 46% blamed xenophobia and 34% think that media information may cause it. Also, 24% chose "other," which includes the fact that racism is caused because people do not know about foreigners, because of ignorance and because of poor education and mentality (Chart 28). In addition, 5% of the respondents had been victims of racist acts (qb12).

Chart 28-Factors that may cause racism.

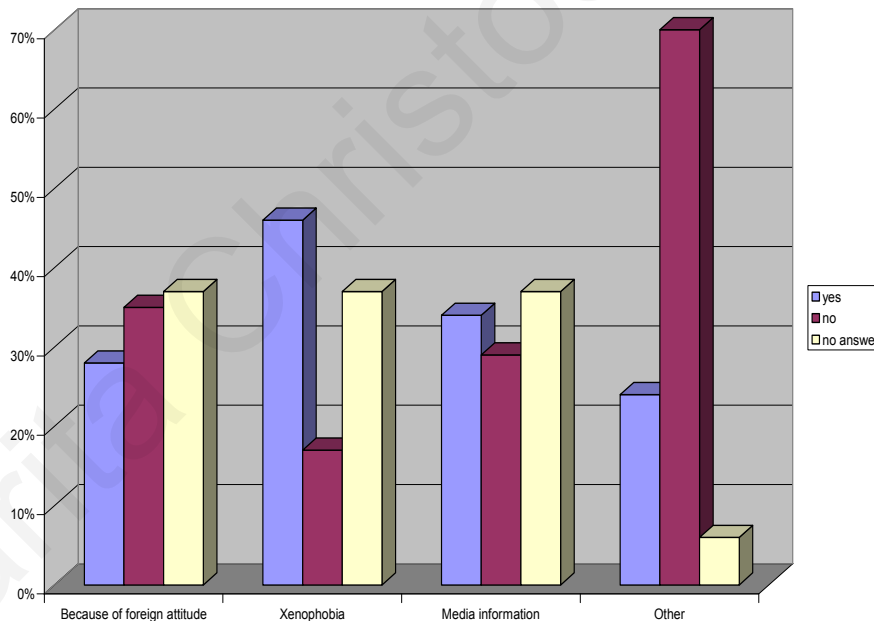


Table 31 shows that "non-white" nationalities are more likely to say that Cypriots are racists.

Table 31- “Do you believe Cypriots are racists?”

Nationality	Yes	No	Nationality	Yes	No
Bulgarian	100%		Moldavian	33%	67%
Indian	100%		Belarusian		100%
Latvian		100%	Egyptian		100%
Polish	100%		Russian-Pontiac		100%
Ukrainian	86%	14%	South-African	75%	25%
Bangladeshi	100%		Sri-Lankan	50%	50%
Pakistani	5%	95%	Greek	100%	
German	100%		Filipino	16%	84%
Romanian	100%		Syrian	100%	
Russian		100%	Lebanese	100%	

Respondents also offered their own comments for clarification:

- “In Cyprus there is nothing. Cypriots behave badly to foreigners. The police are beating without reason. I don’t like Cyprus.”
- “Cypriots are negative towards Asians and positive to whites.”
- “Favorable to Europeans.”
- “Some of the foreigners are good, some others not.”
- “Cypriot people almost don’t know what they want.”
- “The sudden invasion by foreigners is frightening to Cypriots (losing jobs, housing, and identity).”
- “There are two separation lines in the perception of foreigners in Cyprus. The color line, if you are white or non-white, and economical line, poor or rich nationalities. Foreigners' perceptions change across these lines and are stigmatized by stereotypes and prejudices that are very often propagated through mass media manipulation and propaganda.”
- “Generally speaking Greek-Cypriots are good people, just sometimes foreigners make problems.”
- “As foreigners, we have to be willing to change to fit into the country, the society we decided to come to.”

- “Foreign population increases to a point, which will cause many problems in the society in the future.”
- “There is a lot of discrimination towards foreigners.”

It is evident from the above-mentioned comments that there are those who consider that Cypriots are hostile towards foreigners and those that try to explain Cypriots' behavior towards foreigners and those who blame the foreigners for the hostility.

#### **8.4. Summing up the two survey questionnaire findings**

As the number of foreigners in Cyprus increases, the police, the courts, and the prison face increasing demands to provide services and reach out to them. Often, of course, foreigners are reluctant to become involved with the authorities. Regarding native-born and foreign-born attitudes towards the police, Davis and Hendricks (2007) reported that in Seattle (Washington, USA) immigrants rated the police more positively than native-born Americans in terms of asking for assistance but not when it came to reporting crime. People claim that because of migrants, criminality is growing in Cyprus. Due to economic, social and political instability migrants may be used as scapegoats and prejudged as contributing to the high crime rate. Crime, fear of crime, safety, ethnicity and justice have become central topics in the debate on relations between native people and foreigners, as it has been linked to immigration and immigrants. As Collins (2005:2) states, after the attacks on the twin towers in New York in 2001, as well as the bombings on London's public transport system on 7th July 2005, the extreme form of crime has made "...the image of immigrants as perpetrators of crime..."

In Cyprus, too, there is a growing belief that migration has been responsible for increasing crime rates. Ninety-one percent of the Greek-Cypriot respondents seem to have a negative perception of the effects of migration on criminality. This perception, however, is not without some basis since, according to Criminal Statistics for 2002-2005, foreign adults reported to the police for serious offences comprised 20%, more than would have been expected given their representation (12%) in the general population. This anomaly can be attributed to a number of factors including committing offences like drugs-related crime, for which the perpetrators are more likely to be detected, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.



The statistical data cited show that certain groups of immigrants, like Greeks, British, Poles, Russian-Pontiacs<sup>51</sup> and Syrians, are over-represented in the criminal justice system while others are under-represented. Those surveyed equate Russian-Pontiacs with "criminals" while nobody considered the British to be "criminals." Instead, they were characterized as "quiet and family men." Even though they are responsible for a large number of crimes (as mentioned in the previous chapters), people stereotyped them positively. Russian-Pontiacs are considered to be "troublemakers" and "immoral," and criminality is growing in the areas where Russian-Pontiacs live. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) has received reports according to which the members of this community are the subject of negative stereotypes and generalizations concerning their involvement in criminal activities. The criminality of individuals becomes the criminality of cultures (Collins, 2005:5) and, consequently, improving social inclusion in Cyprus will require improving the social inclusion of migrants in the Cypriot society, a task that becomes very difficult with time. ECRI recommends showing awareness and trying to solve problems of racism and racial discrimination facing Pontiac Greeks.<sup>52</sup> A simple - but unacceptable - solution for some of the Cypriot respondents is to deport foreigners and to stop further immigration to the country.

The belief that "migrants cause crime" is related to a general fear that migrants represent competition for jobs, or that they are harmful to the economy. The international literature on the criminalizing of immigrant minorities in many western countries (e.g., Tonry 1997; Hawkins 1995) shows that the social construction of ethnic criminality is linked to the fear of the stranger "other" (Collins, 2005:5). This thesis documents that popular perceptions about crime are not over-exaggerated and that the fear of crime is disproportionate to the reality of crime. It is predicted that in future, if measures are not taken, fear of foreigners will become a serious social problem. Also, one must not forget that official criminal statistics need to be treated with caution. Thus, the figures for migrants committing crimes as a percentage of the total population of Cyprus cannot be accurate, but it may show that people are more likely to report crimes committed by migrants. William Mc Donald (2003:4)

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<sup>51</sup> The first members of this community moved to Cyprus from the Northern Black Sea region in the years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, after obtaining Greek passports. According to ECRI third report on Cyprus (2006, point 85) there are about 15 000 Pontiac Greeks in Cyprus today, mostly settled in the Pafos and Nicosia areas.

<sup>52</sup> ECRI Third Report on Cyprus, (2006)17, Adopted on 16 December 2005, made public on 16 May 2006.

emphasizes that "the fear of crime might be regarded as an expression of xenophobia, that is, a fear of strangers. Or, putting it the other way around, one strain of xenophobia might be conceptualized as a general fear of strangers because of their unpredictability as distinct from the powerful damage of xenophobia which is based on an irrational hatred of the stranger because of his/her cultural differences. The belief that immigrants cause crime could reflect either or both of these general social attitudes."

The main points raised in relation to migrants suggest that people do feel unsafe in their communities. This is associated with a number of factors including being victimized and/or media coverage. Then there is the racist/xenophobic hypothesis. It does not necessarily contradict the reality hypothesis. It says nothing about the actual crime rates of immigrants. In fact, there have been no such self-reported crime surveys in Cyprus or victimisation studies. Rather, the hypothesis asserts that the public's belief that immigrants commit crime operates independently of the realities involved. It expresses a demeaning stereotype of immigrants, as culturally and morally, if not biologically, inferior to the native population.

The media may play a role in these perceptions of and attitudes towards foreigners and in the criminal labeling process. It appears from the findings of the present study that the mass media exaggerate crime in Cyprus and distort it by over-portraying the involvement of foreigners. Unfortunately, stereotypes are often perpetuated by the media. Stereotypical images are used repeatedly as shorthand to evoke a particular reaction. They are attempts to claim that each individual human being in a certain group shares a set of common qualities. Stereotyping is a natural function of the human mind. Stereotypes are expressions of beliefs and values. People like to think they are unprejudiced, but stereotypical thinking plays a more powerful role in their contact with people of other cultures than most care to admit.

The majority of the sample of the Cypriot population surveyed and half of the foreign respondents believed that racism exists among Cypriots and that a significant reason for this is xenophobia. Many of the foreign respondents felt that Cypriots are more negative towards "coloured people" than to Europeans. It has been reported to ECRI<sup>53</sup> that xenophobic attitudes

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<sup>53</sup>ECRI= European Commission against Racism and Intolerance.

have not decreased among the general public since ECRI's second report and that the climate of opinion towards immigrants is still predominantly negative.

Concerning police behaviour towards foreigners, a significant proportion Cypriots and foreigners are of the opinion that they do not behave the same towards foreigners as towards Cypriots. The Ombudsman's Office and NGOs have received complaints that police and prison officials subjected Turkish-Cypriots and foreigners imprisoned in Nicosia's Central Prison to discriminatory treatment. Some inmates alleged that the police, prison wardens, and Greek-Cypriot inmates regularly beat and abused them. They claimed that the authorities did not answer their calls for protection and prevented some inmates from reporting mistreatment without prison officials present.<sup>54</sup> Of course, not all police personnel behave the same way. One should not condemn the whole police department for the behavior of some of its members. Every effort should be made to eradicate xenophobia and discrimination against foreigners because they are an integral part of the society and have the same rights as everybody else.

Let us next explore further foreigners' experience of Cypriots and their attitudes towards them, focusing on the qualitative data collected in face-to-face interviews by the present author.

### **8.5. Qualitative analysis of the interviews of non-Cypriots**

Face-to-face interviews were carried out with 30 individuals of different nationalities. They comprised 21 women and 9 men, namely: 6 Russian Pontiacs (2 women and 4 men), 3 Russian women, 5 Bulgarians (4 women and 1 man), 8 Syrians, (5 women and 3 men), 1 Bangladeshi man, 1 Philippino woman, 1 Belarusian woman, 1 Russian-Bulgarian woman, 2 Jordanian women and 2 women from South Africa. The following conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the interviews.

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<sup>54</sup> US Embassy, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices -2005*, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, March 8, 2006

### **Reasons for departure from country of origin**

Regarding the pull factors for leaving one's country irrespective of age, race and gender, most prevalent were the economic situation existing in their country, war, reunification with their family as well as the factor of being married on a Cypriot man. Because of the economic instability in their countries, foreigners were brought to Cyprus by Cypriot employment agencies or registered under the refugee status.

Characteristically, a 35-year-old Russian Pontiac woman said: "We left our country because there were no jobs and the war started." Another Russian Pontiac, a 31-year-old man, emphasized the fact that he "came in Cyprus to earn more money."

A 56-year-old Russian woman residing in Grouzia was forced to move to Russia when the war started. Because of losing everything and also being a pensioner (at 45 years old because of her profession as a chemist), she could not work and the end result was to live in terrible conditions. Due to this situation she immigrated to Cyprus with the help of her sister who was already residing in Cyprus.

One Bulgarian woman (32 years old) remarked that she came to Cyprus to work, and to earn money, because of the difficult economic situation in her country. First, she was employed by an elderly woman; then she found another job in a store.

A 32-year-old Belarusian woman (Ina) declares: "I left my country because of the difficult economic situation there. During the day I was working in a meat factory (for 6-7 years) and studying in the evenings. My remuneration package was 60 dollars a month. You know... if it was 100 dollars I would not have left. I am divorced and I have one child. We were living with my mother. I spent my entire salary on school fees and clothing for my son. Because the rent was between 30 and 40 dollars it was impossible for me to have my own accommodation. My situation was so desperate that when I arrived to Cyprus I had only two jeans in my suitcase. I needed to earn and save money for my university tuition so that I can return to Belarussia and continue my studies." Also, another 41-year-old woman came to Cyprus to earn money in order that her daughter could have the opportunity to study at University.

For their part, a 39-year-old Bulgarian woman as well as 2 women from Russia came to Cyprus because married Cypriot citizens. Other women from Syria came to Cyprus to join their husbands who are working here.

It can be seen that two important reasons for migrating are the economic situation of a country and family-reunification, including coming to Cyprus to save money in order to study afterwards in one's country, or to send money to one's children to pay for their studies. In addition, wars or conflicts are "decision-making factors" to leave one's country. The reason of reunification with their families in Cyprus is again connected with the problem of money, because their husbands or sisters came to Cyprus to work, to earn money. So everything revolves around the economic situation of a country. An exception is the case of a woman from the Philippines who left her country because she was pregnant out of wedlock and this is considered a disgrace in her country.

### **Life in Cyprus**

There are foreigners who like and appreciate being in Cyprus but also there are those who do not like Cyprus life at all, but still they are here.

A Russian Pontian man (49 years old) commented that the prices to rent a house are getting higher. Another woman (Russian Pontiac) pointed out that the salary she earns per month is around 200 pounds. "Only the rent of the house costs so much money. On what money are we going to live? Also now, there is a tendency to get Sri-Lankans at work instead of us because they take less money." We saw earlier that some *Cypriots blame foreigners* for taking their jobs and now we have *foreigners blaming each other*.

For a 26-year-old Russian woman the Cyprus climate has negative effects on her health: "In Cyprus you can live, but I do not like it. The climate is not good for my health. I have strong allergy because of humidity."

In addition to negative views on Cyprus, there are positives ones. A 30-year-old Russian Pontiac man (trained as a teacher of Psychology and Philosophy, but now works in a spa) stresses the fact that people in Cyprus are kind: "What I like more here in Cyprus is when I go to a store or kiosk and everybody smiles to me."

Ina from Belarussia (32 years old), had the following to say about Cyprus: "If I lived only in Aglantzia I could think that Cyprus is a big village, but when I saw the other cities my opinion changed. I can say it is a big country of cities. I was surprised when I did not see anybody walking on the street. Nobody walks outside. It looks like a dead city. First, I did not like it here. I thought Cypriots were proud. Or maybe is the change from socialism to capitalism... Cyprus is paradise. I can walk at 3 o'clock in the morning and I am not afraid. It is very good for a family to live in Cyprus... Here I feel free. I can wear anything I want. The clothing style is simple... Although I like a lot Cyprus, I want to return home. However nice you live in a foreign country, you cannot do the things you could do in your country."

As always, people may like or dislike other social groups, but among the reasons given for the dislike are the growing cost of living and unemployment.

#### **Cypriots' behaviour/mentality**

All the respondents declared that they do not socialize with Cypriots and do not have real Cypriot friends. Some mentioned that there is an invisible barrier in the social interaction with Cypriots that makes it impossible to have close contacts with foreigners. This has not stopped some of the respondents forming a positive view about Cypriots.

Ina expressed the following opinion: "I like their family culture. In Cyprus a husband with his wife goes together to the shop; they go together with their kids to a restaurant. In my country they go to the restaurants with their girlfriends only, not with their wives. Even if a Cypriot man goes with other woman, he will not abandon his wife. He thinks about his kids, he loves and respects his wife. Also, I never saw an orphanage. I do not know if there are any, but I never saw one!"

A 56-year old Russian woman (Nina) expressed the following: "When I was in sixth grade, the school was collecting money for Cyprus and I gave 10 cents. I do not remember exactly for what reason but I think it was in 1974. When I came to Cyprus I did not have anything. A good lady gave me a pot, a kettle, bed, curtains, everything I needed. This summer I sent my grand-daughter to summer school, and the lady I work for was driving her to school and also was making her sandwich. My neighbours always smile to me and say hello. When I

need something they try to help me. Sometimes I am thinking that all these people are good to me because I gave those ten cents at school when I was small... Some other people showed us the historic places of Cyprus. I am not a proud person. May be that is why I found it easy here. I am living here very comfortable and I do not want to leave Cyprus... People here are very good with us. If you are good with them they are good also." The 30-year-old Russian Pontiac Psychologist had the same opinion, giving the following example: "A cat goes near to another cat and the other begins to get angry; a fight begins. But if the cat is nice the other one also will get nice. The same happens with people." Whether people function instinctively, of course, is debatable but the analogy helps to illustrate the point.

Stefani, a 32-year-old Bulgarian woman married to a Cypriot man, noticed that "Cypriots like it when foreigners know the Greek language." A 45-year-old Russian Pontiac man believes that "Cypriots are good people; in general they are normal people." But at the same time he also considers them, greedy; "They know very well how to count money". A 31-year-old man from Bulgaria says that Cypriots are good. He has friends that he meets with and has some beers together.

Ina from Belarusia is of the opinion that Cypriots are eager to learn; more specifically, "Cypriots are good, they want to learn. *They like to work as well as to talk.* They work day and night. They know how to work and how to relax. If you are good with them, they are good with you... The first days of my staying in Cyprus I thought they were too proud. I was thinking that I am so poor and unhappy and they have everything. They are rich, happy and lucky. But when I talked to them, I understood that they are the same people as we are; have the same psychology, the same problems. Then I started to see them differently."

In contrast, Dimi from Bulgaria (39 years old) thinks Cypriots "are too proud, and they show themselves that *they know everything.* They believe that when you have money you are the strongest and powerful. They do not like to read books, as well as they do not know about their history... The villagers behave in the worst way towards foreign educated workers... Of course, every country has good or bad people." The same belief is shared by a 20-year-old Syrian woman.

A Russian-Bulgarian woman (Anastasia) remarks: "First, when I came I was positive, then very negative. I could not get used to or accept their type of life. But now I am ok. They are stress-free people... Cypriots are those people who take life easily. *They are not in a hurry.* They leave everything for tomorrow and do everything slowly-slowly". Also she adds: "They say hello first to the man, and secondly to the woman. In my country you have to shake hands first with the woman and secondly with the man. When you go to a restaurant they give the menu to the man. In Bulgaria is different. You must give it to the woman to choose. I am trying to convince myself to find positive points of a nation."

Another Russian woman married to a Cypriot commented as follows regarding Cypriots: "They promise but they do not do anything. They do not show you straight that they dislike you. Everywhere there are good and bad people. But they look on us as we are nothing, because we are foreigners. They consider that all foreign women work in a cabaret. They do not know how to have fun. They eat and drink. They are not like us. We do not care so much about food, but we like to dance."

A 53- year-old woman from Jordan, living for 32 years in Cyprus considers Cypriots good people but their behaviour now is changed. "Before, they were better. I think they are afraid of foreigners".

A 42-year-old woman from South Africa did not like it that Cypriots "want to know the most intimate things of your life. The women are very reluctant to communicate. It is like there is a wall unless you begin to talk first."

Fatma from Syria noted that "if Cypriots were not good people they could throw us away." Another woman from Syria living here with her 6 children and her husband has good relations with Cypriots: "The teacher of the English language offered her help by giving my children lessons. The woman where we were living before gave to us this house without any payment. We just repaired it. My kids call her grandma and my husband when she needs something he goes to the shops to bring it for her." A 33-year-old Syrian man also says that Cypriots are good people.



Katerina, a Russian woman (dentist) married to Cypriot man, believes that "Cypriots are at the same time open and closed people. Open because they often meet with each other to drink coffee or tea and closed because they have their work, their families and they go out somewhere all together. I noticed they do not want to develop themselves. They came to a point and they stopped. They do not read books. Everything they do is slowly-slowly. They do not like to have conflicts with other people and *they are all patriots* regarding their Turkish-Cypriot problem. I noticed there are a small percentage of educated persons with high qualifications. Most of them inherit the work from their parents." But Katerina adds something else that shocked her: "A medical representative comes and says:-Hello Doctor (to my husband). It should have been referred to me like that because I am his Doctor! But instead he said: "Hello Katerina". Why is this behaviour towards me? Is it because I am a foreigner or because I am a woman? Also, yesterday we were sitting in a café. We were three, me, my husband and an old man. We were talking altogether. When he had to leave, he stood up and turned his back to me. He said goodnight to my husband and left."

Summarizing briefly, foreigners consider Cypriots to have narrow education, they do not like to read books, they promise to do something but nothing is done, are untrustworthy, and are people interested in acquiring money and property. However, some of those interviewed consider Cypriots very friendly, ready to help, curious. Immigrants from Arab countries are more favourable towards Cypriots. It is important to mention that the Cypriot family is perceived as a very powerful control agent.

### **How foreigners believe they are perceived by Cypriots**

Because of a general lower economic standing, the East-European and the Asian nationalities believe that Cypriots perceive them as foreigners with an unequal/inferior status in comparison to the West-European nationalities. In addition, Asians believe they are considered inferior because of their dark colour.

A 31-year-old Russian Pontiac complained of the following: "I bought a car and the Cypriots do not accept to make insurance. They told me that they cannot do it because I am Pontios. Why? If I am going to drive my car without insurance that means that I commit crime. If I am going to disobey the rules of this government, because I have to go at work by car, then this makes me a criminal. The last few years Cypriots have become a little bit racists.

They consider the others lower than them, because they have a cent more despite the fact they are getting married to foreigners of different nationalities."

A 43-year-old Russian-Pontiac woman believes that "Cypriots do not consider us as human beings... They are not good with us lately. Even at work. They scream to us. They say that we are foreigners and that we came here to take their job from their hands. I am cleaning houses for 2 pounds. Is a Cypriot going to clean a house for 2 pounds? They say this is not our country."

A 45-year-old Russian Pontiac man living for 13 years in Cyprus shares his thoughts:" In Russia and everywhere people say we are `black-ass`. Even here in Cyprus".

The 32-year-old Bulgarian woman considers Cypriots a little racist. "They do not want to do any job. They think that those jobs are for black or foreign people. Also, because many Cypriot men divorced their Cypriot wife to marry a foreigner, the Cypriot women are aggressive towards foreign women. Personally, I do not have problems with them. I want to stay here."

A 20-year-old Syrian woman also thinks that Cypriots are racists:" When I was going to school they were saying: "ah! The black came. I am here 11 years and I have only one Cypriot friend."

Anastasia, a Russian Bulgarian woman considers Cypriots as racists. "Those that are educated and left the country are not racists. But people that never left Cyprus behave very badly to African-Americans and Pakistanis. They are also people."

Very interesting was the answer of a 26-year-old Jordanian woman: " I cannot say anything about Cypriots, because I am also racist. Not towards Cypriots but to other nations."

A 30-year-old Syrian woman living in Cyprus for 11 years also believes Cypriots are racists. She gives an example:" I had a driving test. The examiner asked me from where I was. I said to him that I am from Syria. He asked me: `Are you Muslim or Christian?` I replied that I am Muslim. I did not make any mistake, except the fact that in the main road instead of driving 80km/h I drove 65. I did not pass the exam. I said to him that there are Cypriots who

made 4 mistakes and he passed them. His answer was that in Syria women do not drive. My cousin also went for a driving test with the same examiner. My cousin from the beginning told him that he does not know how to drive but he already bought a car. The examiner asked the same question as to me and my cousin told him he is a Christian. He passed the exam!"

The 37-year-old woman from the Philippines is convinced that Cypriots are racists even though she is married to a Cypriot man:" They say that I am black. I have three children and when they see me speaking with them they think I am the housemaid." A 36-year-old South African woman says the following:" Towards me they are not racists but that's because I fit their criteria. From what I observe and heard from others, I believe there is racism. It is a minority that are truly racists. If they have negative experiences they will be racists. Cypriot police are very aggressive. Have a disregard for their people, of Cypriots also. Even the brother of a friend of mine who has a mixed nationality, half-Cypriot half-German was beaten by the police the other day."

Another woman from South Africa (42 years old), had herself experienced racism: "Cypriots are racists. When I went to interviews to look for work, the body language could tell me they did not want me. I heard them whispering: `We cannot deal with a black person`. I was sitting in a field. Peace around me and 4 youths of the age of 10-12, 3 boys and a girl came to me and wanted to be sure that I will move from that place. They throw sticks; actually two stones and 16 sticks. They did not reach me to harm me but I was hurt in my feelings that this behaviour came from innocent children. I became a target and I had to move quickly. I did not harm them; I just gave them a glance saying `I am not afraid of you but if you insist I will take action.` And it did not do anything to them; they still wanted to make their point. One boy weaved his hand and they walked away. I stayed alone. People do pay attention to colour. It can come from any children who have not been told about differences".

A Russian woman (26 years old) married to a Cypriot, declares:" If you are not one of them or at least from Greece, then straight away they consider you as a different category."

Most of the foreigners interviewed are of the opinion that Cypriots are racists for one reason or another. Only two of them said that Cypriots are not racists. Nina from Russia, feels the opposite, saying that "Cypriots are not racists. I never heard somebody to say that Cypriots

are not good with them. *If it was so bad here, I do not believe there would be so many foreigners staying in Cyprus.* There are a lot of foreigners living in such a small island. Everybody comes here to work. Maybe the foreigners work more hours or they are paid less, but if they do not like it, they can go to another country." Moreover, the 30-year-old Psychologist (Russian-Pontiac) has no problems with Cypriots. He has a lot of friends.

### **Crime in Cyprus**

There are foreigners who believe that there is crime in Cyprus but also believe it is Russian-Pontiacs who commit the crimes. Others are happy being in Cyprus because it is very quiet and there is no danger in walking the streets at nights.

A 32-year-old Bulgarian woman believes that "Bulgarians and Russian Pontiacs commit more crimes than Cypriots." Ina from Belarussia has a different opinion. She thinks that "Limassol is regarded the criminal city, but I do not believe that foreigners contribute to the high crime rate. They come here to work. At least most of them want to work and if they do criminal actions they will be obliged to leave the country and I do not think foreigners want this. For me, criminality does not exist here. I am not afraid to walk out at 3 o'clock in the morning. But I noticed that from the moment Russian-Pontiacs arrived in Cyprus, serious crime began. We say that if you want any type of telephone you can order from Russian-Pontiacs and they will bring it to you. In comparison to our countries, in Cyprus there is no crime. I believe *it has to do with culture.* I never saw young Cypriots to fight." Regarding Russian-Pontiacs she also adds: "Russian Pontiacs are very aggressive because they feel that somebody has to give them something. They should respect the people and the country that they came to live."

Dimi from Bulgaria is of the opinion that Russian-Pontiacs commit crimes and that criminality is growing. "I believe it was a mistake for them to come to Cyprus. They do not have any relation with Cyprus. The Cypriot government made agreement with Greece to accept them. I do not understand why. They come here and create a lot of problems. I am even scared to walk in Ledra Street. They are sitting there, watching you and I am afraid. They are known as `people with the knife`. I do not like them. They make big loans, but how can they pay them? They are working day and night but still the money is not enough to buy a house or a car."

A 26-year-old Russian woman expresses her dislike towards Russian-Pontiacs: "Russian-Pontiacs are considered as criminal elements. I do not like them. They do not have good reputation." The 53 year old Jordanian woman refers to Cypriots as quiet people, not capable of committing crimes: " Before, I was leaving the door open. There were no crimes. I think Cypriots learned a lot from Russian-Pontiacs, because Cypriots were quiet people."

The 30-year-old Syrian woman also remembers how differently things were a few years before: " Before 2 years I left the windows open as well as the door. Now I cannot do this. When Cypriot government opened the borders, I started to be afraid. All kind of nationalities pass through the borders, not only Turkish Cypriots. There are Syrians, Russian-Pontiacs as well as Cypriots that commit crimes."

Regarding crime, the 26-year-old Russian woman had the following to say: "What I hear from the news and the people, crimes are committed by foreigners, because Cypriots are too quiet people. Most of the problems Russian-Pontiacs create. I am from Russia and we have lots of them there. They are considered as noisy, emotional persons and when they drink they become uncontrolled. Also, they are irresponsible. Of course, not all of them are like this."

Interestingly, Russian Pontiacs have their own point of view on this subject. A 45-year-old Russian Pontiac man believes that there is a lot of crime in Cyprus, like thefts, drugs, but he thinks most of the crimes are committed by Cypriots. A 31-year-old Russian-Pontiac said the following: " What happens here is terrible. A woman kills her husband. The teacher at school rapes a child and a father rapes his daughter. And they say we are criminals. Did you ever hear that a Russian Pontiac raped his daughter? They say we are thefts. It is them that commit the crimes and they say we did them. The same happened in Greece. I think they say we are committing the crimes because we do not have a country. Today we are here, tomorrow in another place. Nowadays it sells more if you say that Russian Pontiacs committed crimes. Cypriots watch Russian Pontiacs sitting, drinking and afterwards having a fight. *Which man would not fight?* I do not tell that he has to fight but *what a man he will be if he is not fighting when it is needed.*" Here he betrays an undue emphasis on aggressive masculinity.

Nina from Russia feels secure living in Cyprus and is not worried about her children: " I live here in quiet. I leave my kids to go anywhere they want until 2, 3 or 4 o'clock. For me,

there is no serious crime in Cyprus." The 30-year-old Psychologist considers that criminality exists everywhere." But in Cyprus the Police is very strict and the people when they see a problem they call the Police and they immediately go to the place of incident." He also makes a wish: "I hope that Cyprus will stay in the European Union and to continue to be such a quiet country." Of the same opinion is Anastasia, a Russian-Bulgarian woman.

Foreigners believe that Cypriots are quiet people who do not commit many crimes, while Russian-Pontiacs are very temperamental, and are considered as persons who always fight and drink.

The next chapter discusses the conclusions that can be reached on the basis of the empirical findings and considers their policy implications and makes a number of suggestions for the authorities in order to reduce both crime fears generally, as well as prejudice and xenophobia towards the foreign ethnic communities living in Cyprus.

## Chapter 9. Conclusions

The link between immigration and crime becomes the focus of public attention, politicians, and researchers when the number of migrants in a country increases. Migration issues are becoming more and more important. So long as there are large disparities in income and in employment opportunities between countries and so long as some countries are torn by civil conflict and violence, and deny human rights, then large numbers of people will seek opportunities and safety outside their own country. Warfare, conquest, formation of nations and the emergence of states and empires have all led to migrations whether voluntary or forced. The more successful some countries are in achieving and maintaining high economic growth, democratic rights, generous social services, and stable government, the more likely they will become a magnet for illegal migrants and refugees (Bernstein and Weiner, 1999:19). Human migrations, like all social phenomena, are social processes, which are historically conditioned and, of course, there are variations in migration flows across time and space. "International migration is part of a transnational revolution that is reshaping societies and politics around the globe" (Castles and Miller, 2003:5).

People migrate from one country to another for various reasons, but most (as it is observed in this thesis) leave their country of origin because of a poor economic situation (unemployment, to improve their standard of living, to escape from poverty) and for family reunification reasons. When leaving their country, migrants leave everything familiar: their family, friends, and culture. They also need to liquidate their assets, often at a large cost, and incur the expense of moving. When they arrive in a new country this is often with many uncertainties including finding work, where to live, new laws, new cultural norms, language or accent issues, possible racism and other exclusionary behavior towards them and their family.

In Cyprus, people have been traditionally known for their hospitality; they have a welcoming attitude towards foreigners. But based on the empirical research reported in this thesis, it was revealed that Greek-Cypriots categorize foreigners as "workers," "criminals" and "illegal immigrants."

It is a fact that there are a lot of migrants arriving in Cyprus illegally. Being at the crossroad of Europe with the Middle East and North Africa, as well as being a member of the

EU, Cyprus attracts irregular migration. Many put their lives in danger to find better living conditions. Traffickers and smugglers take advantage of them. There is a need to punish traffickers and raise public awareness regarding trafficking in Cyprus. The U.S. State Department in its "Trafficking in Persons: Interim Assessment," released January 19, 2007 by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons illustrates that "The Government of Cyprus increased prosecutions and convictions under anti-trafficking statutes. Police statistics show that 40 cases were being prosecuted as of mid-December 2006, with an additional 17 cases being investigated for possible prosecution. Of the 40 prosecutions, three resulted in acquittals, two resulted in suspended sentences, and four concluded in convictions with prison sentences ranging from four to nine months. Thirty-one are still being tried. Additionally, Cypriot police have assisted 12 Interpol and 10 Europol international trafficking investigations." Illegal immigration has become a cause for concern in Cyprus because of the increased influx of illegal immigrants (1,280 in 2005)<sup>55</sup> and asylum seekers (7,746 in 2006) from the Turkish-occupied north of Cyprus entering the Republic through the ceasefire line.

According to the Republic of Cyprus Immigration Department, there was a 5% increase in deportations of aliens: 2801, 2849 and 2983 deportations in 2004, 2005 and 2006 respectively.<sup>56</sup> Figures for employers who illegally employ aliens and aliens employed without a work permit in 2004, 2005 and 2006 are shown in Table 32 below.

Table 32-Employers reported to the police for illegally employing aliens, and foreigners working without permit.

	2004	2005	2006
Employers who illegally employ aliens	234	362	592
Aliens without working permit	389	626	1004

<sup>55</sup> The data were provided by the Asylum Service of Cyprus Republic.

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.police.gov.cy>



Table 32 shows that there was an increase in officially recorded employers who employed illegal foreigners as well as foreigners who are working without a permit. These are only the numbers that are registered by the police and the real number of aliens residing in Cyprus is difficult to know. The number of registered aliens in Cyprus in 2004, 2005 and 2006 (according to the statistics of the Immigration Office of the Police) were 78,075, 81,550 and 77,820, respectively. As mentioned earlier, little can be done to reduce the immigrant flow. Perhaps a *comprehensive immigration policy in Cyprus*- one that regulated the entry and stay of immigrants with full respect of their human rights- would establish the necessary legal and institutional framework for their support and for promoting the mutual integration of immigrants and the rest of Cypriot society.

Concerning crime by migrants, in view of the dark figure of crime, it is not possible to quantify it accurately, due to its nature; it is difficult to define exactly who the perpetrators and victims are. The relationship between race and crime is not the same for all offences. There are certain offences for which each subgroup is over-represented. A large majority of offences remain unsolved and nothing is known about who is responsible. It is important to point out that, even though statistical information is essential for a rational debate on the subject, such information is in many cases lacking and consequently, public opinion appears to have built up assumptions. It is not possible to say who among the overseas-born, i.e., immigrants, temporary residents, tourists, asylum seekers, or illegal immigrants, are arrested for crimes. Because members of certain ethnic groups can be easily differentiated on the basis of appearance, religion, language and habits, such differentiation is impulsively extended when some of their members are found guilty of crime. Indeed, the majority population may come to assume that criminality is a weakness of those certain ethnic groups.

According to police criminal statistics, in 2006 there was an increase in the number of foreigners committing crimes, both serious (5%) and minor offences (4%) in comparison with the previous year. Despite its limitations, the survey of a sample of Greek-Cypriots revealed that Russian-Pontiacs and Syrians are considered to be over-represented in the criminal justice system. Most emphasis is given to the Russian-Pontiacs who are considered to be "troublemakers" and "immoral," and the fact that crime is growing in areas where they live. The British also have high crime rates, but nobody believes they are "criminals." This shows that local people are prejudiced against Russian-Pontiacs. But not only Greek-Cypriots are

prejudiced against them, but other foreigners as well, as documented by the qualitative interviews reported earlier in the thesis. Thus, people perceived Russian-Pontiacs stereotypically as criminals and once a stereotype is formed it is difficult to change it. Stereotypical beliefs may result in discriminating against a group.

Aronson et al. (2002) illustrate that nationality is "one of a number of aspects of your identity that can cause you to be labelled and discriminated against. Racial and ethnic identity is a major focal point for prejudiced attitudes" (p.457). In addition, they point out that prejudice, "is increasing when times are tense and conflict exists over mutual exclusive goals" (p.486). The quantitative and qualitative survey results reported in this thesis add support to the view that when people are worried about their work, about crime, and their lives, it is easier to blame foreigners despite the official crime data. But migrants, on the other hand, must also respect the country they live in and the local people and behave according to the laws of their new country. By breaking the laws and committing crimes they give Cypriots grounds for believing that foreigners are criminals. News coverage of migrant crime creates concern, and tends to disadvantage groups that show higher than average involvement in crime. These concerns can often lead to claims that some migrant groups are criminal by nature, or that criminals are "flooding" Cyprus. A small number of individuals of a certain nationality accounts for the high incidence of foreigners in certain serious crimes. As Kranidioti (2003:117) points out, the explanation of foreign criminality should be sought in small groups of criminogenic individuals found among immigrant groups. Also, the correlation of foreigners with criminality can mean a lot of things. It can mean an increased xenophobia that results in an intensified prosecution and punishment of the crime or it can mean a real increase in criminality for which the alien perpetrators are accountable, or even both scenarios may occur. There is also a third possibility, that the internationalization of crime or even the import from abroad of a new criminal "know-how" can explain migrant criminality (p. 148).

The majority of Greek-Cypriots recognize that there is racism in Cyprus, due to xenophobia and as a consequence of media misinformation. As Walter Lippmann mentions (cited by Moschopoulou, 2005:134, 135), the news are not just a simple announcement of facts, but they constitute a cultural product, a construction of social reality, which appears in the public as the only reality. Article 35 of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus imposes

on the legislative, executive and judiciary branches of government, a duty to secure, within the limits of their respective competence, the efficient application of the provisions of the Constitution setting out fundamental rights and liberties. Article 179.2 obliges the legislative, administrative and executive authorities of the Republic, not to enact laws, or issue acts or decisions, which are in any way repugnant to, or inconsistent with, any of the provisions of the Constitution, including the human rights provisions thereof. Following the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, by Ratification Law 13/67, Cyprus amended the said Ratification Law in 1992 (by Law 11(III)/92) so as to create a number of criminal offences relating to racism. The said Law was further amended in 1999 (by Law 28(III)/99), so that the element of intention is no longer an ingredient of the offence of incitement to acts of discrimination (see Section 2A of the Law for the definition of the offence).

However, introducing legislation is one thing, ensuring its enforcement is another. Also, introducing legislation does not mean that public attitudes based on prejudice and/or police culture and practices will change for the better overnight. Cypriot society must admit the problem of her transformation from a homogenous society to heterogeneous one, with resulting consequences such as criminalization and strengthening of official forms of social control of crime.

As documented in this thesis, there is xenophobia in Cyprus. It cannot be ignored and solutions must be found to eliminate it or, at least, to reduce it. Fear leads to various forms of aggression on the part of the citizens. Foreigners are seen as criminals and as people taking away jobs from Cypriots. In the future, if this problem is not solved, the problem will get bigger. The rate of unemployment will be higher and the issue will become very emotional. Migrants are certain to become targets of violence. The absence of an official (governmental) integration policy leaves migrants vulnerable to xenophobic outbreaks. Tsoukala (2001:83,84) shows that the general mistrustful towards foreigners, imposes serious obstacles for their future social integration, as well as this may provoke attacks towards them. A special police office for combating discrimination has been set up in Cyprus, which is responsible for coordinating and advising on all aspects of policing in the areas of ethnic and cultural diversity, racism, discrimination, and xenophobia. At every divisional police headquarter, an ethnic liaison police officer has been appointed in order to liaise with the local leaders or

members of ethnic communities and to improve dialogue with these groups. A reporting system has been established for incidences or offences which are racially motivated. Under an internal recording system any offence reported as racially motivated shall be defined and registered as such. This new mechanism and procedure need to be evaluated.

The sample surveyed believes that police behaviour towards foreigners is not the same as towards Greek-Cypriots, and that the judicial system does not treat them the same. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that foreigners are represented more highly than would be expected in serious offences reported to the police, among convictions and, finally, among prisoners serving their sentence.

The Police are responsible for the protection of life and property, the prevention and detection of crimes and the apprehension of offenders and their persecution. Furthermore, in order to take positive action to protect human rights, the police must respect human rights when carrying out their duties. Without the public's willingness to report crime and cooperate with the police, police-led intelligence gathering cannot identify and effectively respond to the bulk of 'everyday' crime. In this regard, racially motivated crime is no different from other crimes because the police rely on the public's willingness to report incidents. If the public doubts the police's ability to effectively respond to racist crime, then these crimes will go unreported and will not be brought to justice. Without the public's willingness to report and the police's ability to record racially motivated incidents, and without coordination of international policing efforts against racist crime, little progress will be made towards effectively combating racist crime and violence.

As documented in this thesis, in Cyprus there is a problem of integration of migrants as well as their acceptance by the local population. The absence of a government policy on how to best integrate migrants cannot be over-emphasized. Vermeulen (2004: 27-8) identifies three major dimensions of integration that can be utilised by the authorities in formulating an immigrant-integration programme.

1. *Structural*, which has as its central goal equality of opportunity, namely equal access to education, housing, employment and the political system.

2. *Socio-cultural*, which he considers to be more controversial, addresses the choice of homogeneity versus heterogeneity. This policy choice can lead to pluralist toleration or multicultural social order, as compared with assimilation or non-tolerance of cultural and ethnic difference.
3. *Identity*, which is linked with the second, but focused on inclusion versus exclusion. A good example is given by religion: acceptance of Islam as a religion of the country concerned would be clear inclusion, whereas mere toleration of it would not be.

Vermeulen's model of integration would be an appropriate one in the case of Cyprus. The legal status of migrants is important for the future course of integration. For example, is he/she an illegal immigrant or an asylum-seeker? The legal position and related rights allocated to migrants may have significant positive or negative consequences on their behavior and the host country's efforts to integrate them. Long periods of uncertainty, such as waiting for their application for a residence permit to be decided or even with the permit having no access to local and national political systems and decision making, obviously have negative implications for the migrant's preparedness and efforts to integrate. Employment is another important indicator of immigrant integration. Migrants should have access to unemployment benefits on equal terms with nationals, be allowed to make social insurance contributions, participate as members of trade unions and be eligible for self-employment. Concerning accommodation, migrants should have the same legal rights as nationals. If there is no discrimination in the rental housing market, urban segregation and ethnic ghettos can easily be avoided. All accommodation should offer basic facilities such as access to hot water, inside toilet, etc. Regarding education special Greek language classes are needed for most immigrant children, as well as for adults.

Regarding socio-cultural integration and identity, one measure that would enhance mutual integration is to support immigrants' cultural activities, which can help immigrants feel at home in a new country. Religion is a key aspect of cultural identity. To promote cultural integration, a municipality must negotiate with immigrant groups regarding the location of places of worship and special religious practices. A further contribution that a municipality or a local authority can make towards integration is in the field of sports. They could help immigrants, and particularly their sports clubs, gain access to sports facilities such as sports

fields and halls. That kind of policy can influence the conditions and opportunities for people of different ethnic groups to meet and form relationships.

Below, a number of further suggestions are made based on the findings to reduce racism and xenophobia:

1. Educational reconstruction- From early on in life people must learn to be tolerant of others and to respect the basic rules of good behavior. This is learned in schools, through the media, the Church, the legal system, trade unions, and is necessary for a stable society.
2. Social integration and community relations- People must come closer to each other in order to reduce their fears. Foreigners must not to feel excluded from mainstream society. It is essential to promote and improve the integration of migrants. Programs must be implemented with the support of foreigners to focus on such problems as stereotypes, prejudice and perceived criminality of different social groups. What should be obvious here, is that the integration of immigrants is a complex phenomenon and it will occur over an extended period of time because it has multiple actors and variables as well as is a multi-faceted process, requiring serious and detailed analysis.
3. Economic stability – A growing economic system must be developed. When people experience growth and their living conditions are good, fear is reduced and there is no need for conflicts.
4. Policing- Greater emphasis has to be given to training police officers on issues pertaining to human rights protection and combating discrimination in an attempt to bring ethnic communities and the police closer and to build mutual understanding and respect. Increased police training on issues of racism and xenophobia will enhance the culture of respect for human rights and diversity. Clear procedural and practical guidance should be issued to police about how to effectively respond to crime with a suspected racist element. Emphasis should be given to prioritizing victims' needs.
5. In-depth research is needed that will explore the precise nature of police responses to racist crime and violence, and its victims.
6. There is a pressing need for a comparative victim survey that would provide an alternative measurement of the extent and nature of racist crime, in addition to official police statistics.
7. A series of international conferences and seminars are needed, with the remit to exchange experiences and identify good practices in policing responses to racist crime.

8. Finally, joint actions or project coordination should be sought with relevant international governmental organizations, such as the Council of Europe, that have relevant experience in this area.

This study can serve as a stepping stone to further research into the causes of migrant crime and Cypriots' attitudes and behavior in relation to foreigners. In Cyprus, very little is known about the processing of members of ethnic groups by the criminal justice system. There is simply not enough empirical evidence to draw conclusions about the processing of members of various migrant groups through the different stages of the criminal justice system. Currently no statistical information is available on court appearances and trials of members of migrant groups at various levels of courts. There is an urgent need for research into the methods and strategies of policing and policing ethnic communities. Research examining the types of crimes in which members of migrant groups appear to participate and whether these crimes are inter-racial or intra-racial will provide useful knowledge. Research into conditions of young people in some migrant communities may be useful in discovering reasons for high arrest rates and whether young people of some migrant groups are more vulnerable than others. Undoubtedly, research is urgently required to examine the precise nature and dynamics of institutional racism within the police services.

Indeed, there are many questions and concerns that this study is unable to respond to. This study has not been able to examine the involvement of members of migrant groups in organized criminal activities. Recent literature from many parts of the world raises concerns about victimization of members of migrant groups, hate crimes and system biases against these groups. This is an area that requires detailed investigation. A question that often emerges in any discussion of ethnicity and crime is the involvement of second and subsequent generations of migrants. Debates on the involvement of members of ethnic/migrant groups in crime are not uncommon, but often are based on inadequate information and prejudice.

The Cypriot government must make it a priority to tackle racism in one's early years through education if it is to encourage young people to appreciate ethnic diversity. Cyprus needs to send the message that prejudice and hostility towards migrants is not acceptable. Of course, the government's first duty is to the citizens of the country it governs, to protect and advance their security, well-being, rights, freedoms and economic prosperity. Such goals,

however, are not incompatible with and must be achieved with respect for human rights. States have a right to defend their borders and protect their citizens against undesirable elements. But foreigners who are legally resident in Cyprus have also become citizens of the Cyprus Republic and they have the same rights as anyone else. No-one should be deprived of their rights. However, how often do we treat them as equals? In general, migration should be not be seen as a threat to the Cypriot people, or a destabilizing factor to the economy of the country, but there is a need to regulate this phenomenon with the right immigration policy in place. Both countries of origin and the receiving countries have to deal with issues such as brain-drain, protection of migrants' rights, religion, xenophobia, criminality, human smuggling and trafficking as well as the national security.

The present thesis has considered the global phenomenon of migration and the social phenomena of racism and prejudice before focusing on migrants, crime and criminal justice in Cyprus. The literature review identified some key issues and provided hypotheses to be tested in the empirical studies carried out. The two surveys reported have their methodological limitations but can be said to have yielded, for the first time, some interesting findings about perceptions of and attitudes towards migrants, crime and criminal justice by both Greek-Cypriots and migrants. A number of policy implications that arise from the findings obtained are listed and concrete suggestions made. No single doctoral thesis can address all the pertinent questions, let alone answer them. It is hoped the work reported in this thesis has filled a gap in knowledge about migrants, crime and criminal justice in Cyprus and provides a basis for further research. For the author herself, it has been a tremendous learning experience.



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Appendix 1, Table 3-Migration movement, 1981-2005.

Year	Long term Immigrants	Net Migration	Short Term Immigrants
1981	246	196	
1982	390	-31	
1983	597	518	
1984	251	155	
1985	329	238	
1986	354	175	9.195
1987	454	272	9.457
1988	383	257	10.156
1989		4.526	16.556
1990		8.707	20.673
1991		10.559	
1992		9.999	
1993		8.000	
1994		7.000	
1995		6.000	
1996		5.300	
1997		4.800	
1998	8.801	4.200	21.206
1999	8.524	4.200	15.812
2000	12.764	3.960	22.187
2001	17.485	4.650	8.641
2002	14.370	6.885	8.364
2003	16.779	12.342	10.353
2004	22.003	15.724	17.791
2005	24.419	14.416	19.243

The figures are based on the declaration of travellers on the arrival cards (1981-1988), on the declaration on the departure cards (1983-1988).

Appendix 2, Table 5: Economic sectors employing foreigners:

<b>Economic activity</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	1.925	2.069	2.487	2.970	3.474	3.803
Fishing	39	38	41	45	40	44
Mining and quarrying	28	23	24	35	46	55
Manufacturing	2.307	2.220	2.385	2.842	3.413	3.963
Electricity, gas and water supply	7	18	13	10	11	11
Construction	1.653	1.516	1.842	2.506	3.458	4.612
Wholesale and Retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	3.345	3.735	3.106	3.721	4.401	4.886
Hotels and restaurants	4.117	4.395	5.874	6.982	7.720	9.253
Transport, storage and communication	1.021	1.204	1.365	1.358	1.388	1.535
Financial intermediation	416	506	498	490	507	534
Real estate, renting and business activities	970	1.182	1.504	1.574	1.691	1.824
Public administration and defence; Compulsory social security	36	37	44	47	51	33
Education	393	398	419	464	524	614
Health and social work	453	461	490	566	685	782
Other community, social and personal service activities	736	859	824	930	1.008	1.070
Private households with	6.613	7.737	9.278	10.581	12.236	14.291

employed persons						
Not stated activities	-	-	2	1	3	-
Total	24.059	26.398	30.196	35.122	40.656	47.310

Appendix 3, Table 6  
Long-Term Immigrants by Age

Age of immigrants	Number
0-4	0
5-9	40
10-14	67
15-19	1,138
20-24	4,026
25-29	4,431
30-34	3,215
35-39	2,509
40-44	2,035
45-49	1,432
50-54	1,219
55-59	751
60-64	535
65-69	214
70-74	119
75-79	40
80+	13
N/s	219
Total	22,003

#### Appendix 4

#### Resolutions of European Union related to Migrants, Refugee Asylum Seekers.

- a. The *Resolution* of Council of 4 December 1997 *with regard to the measures that should be established with regard to the fighting of false marriages*. (Official Newspaper No C 382 16/12/1997 p.1-2.) (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Law of 2001, N. 22(I)/2001).
- b. Recommendation of Council of 30 November SN 4678/92 1992 in regard to the practices that they apply the member states at the deportations of foreigners, SN 4678/92 WGI 1266; (Foreigners and immigration (modified) (no.2) Law of 2001, N.164 (I)/2001).
- c. Recommendation of Council of 30 November 1994 with regard to the establishment of single press of travelling document on the removal/deportation of nationals of third countries. Official Newspaper No C 274 19/09/1996 p. 18 -19 (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Law 2002, N. 88(I)/2002).
- d. Regulation (EC) No 539/2001 of Council of 15 March 2001, the list of third countries the nationals of which being in the obligation of regard for the passage of exterior borders of member states, and list of third countries the nationals of which are exempted from this obligation (Official Newspaper No L 81 of 21/03/2001 of p. 1-7), as was modified by the Regulation (EU) No. 2414/2001 of Council of 7 December 2001. (Official Newspaper No L of 327 the 12/12/2001 of p. 1-2) (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) (No 2) Law 2002, N. 220(I)/2002).
- e. Common Consular Circular as she was ratified from the Adhesion Treaty of Czech Democracy, the Republic of Estonia, the Cypriot Democracy, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and Slovak Democracy in the European Union (Ratifying) Law 2003, N. 35(III)/2003. (Foreigners and Immigration (Modification) Law 2004, N. 178(I)/2004).
- f. Regulation (EC) No. 415/2003 of Council of 27 February 2003 with regard to the issuing of visa in the borders included the issuing of visa to the in going through, seamen. (Official Newspaper No L 64 07/03/2003 p.1-8). (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Law 2004, N. 178(I)/2004).
- g. Directive 2001/51/EC of Council of 28 June 2001 on the completion of provisions of article of 26 Convention of application of Agreement of Shengen of 14 June

1985. (Official Newspaper No L 187 of 10/07/2001 p. 45-46) (Foreigners and Immigration (Modification) Law 2004, N. 178(I)/2004).
- h. Resolution of Council of 3 June 1993 on the harmonisation of national policies with regard to the reunification of families, SN of 2828/1/93 WG1 1497, REV 1. (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Regulations of 2000, 216/2000).
  - i. Common action 96/197/DEY of 4 March 1996 that establishes the Council based on the article K.3 of treaty for the European Union with regard to the arrangement of passage via airports. Official Newspaper No L of 63 the 13/03/1996 of p. 8-9. (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Regulations of 2001, 498/2001).
  - j. Resolution of Council of 30 November 1994 with regard to the restrictions of admission of nationals of third countries in the territory of member states for the exercise of independent professional activity. Official Newspaper No of C the 274 19/09/1996 p. 7-9. (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Regulations of 2001, 498/2001).
  - k. Resolution of Council of 30 November 1994 with regard to the admission of nationals of third countries in the territory of member states of European Union for reasons of study. Official Newspaper No of C the 274 19/09/1996 of p. 10 -12. (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Regulations of 2001, 498/2001).
  - l. Common Consular General to the diplomatic and paid consular beginnings as she was ratified from the Treaty Adhesion of Czech Democracy, the Republic of Estonia, the Cypriot Democracy, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and Slovak Democracy in the European Union (Ratifying) Law 2003, N. 35(JJJ)/2003 and as this each is modified. (Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Regulations of 2001, 498/2001).
  - m. Convention on the Legal Situation of Refugees that became in Geneva on 28 July 1951 and the Protocol of this.(Refugee Law of 2000, N. 6(I)/2000).
  - n. Common place 96/196/DEY of 4 March 1996 that determined the Council based to the article K.3 of treaty on the European Union with regard to the harmonised application of definition of "refugee" at the significance of article of 1 convention of Geneva of 28 July 1951 about the status of refugees. Official Newspaper No L of 63 the 13/03/1996 of p. 2-7. Refugees (Modification) Law 2002, N. 6(J)/2002.

- o. Conclusions of Council of 30 November 1992 with regard to the countries where, at general rule, does not exist serious danger of persecution, SN of 4821/92 WGI 1281 (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2002, N. 6(I)/2002).
- p. Orientations as for the content of common reports with regard to third countries that were approved by the Council on 20 June 1994. Official Newspaper No of C 274 19/09/1996 p. 52-54 (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2002, N. 6(I)/2002).
- q. Resolution of Council of 30 November 1992 on the obvious unfounded applications of asylum, SN 4822/1/92 WGI 1282. (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2003, N. 53(I)/2003).
- r. Resolution of Council of 30 November 1992 on a harmonised approach in subjects that concern third countries. (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2003, N. 53(I)/2003).
- s. Conclusions of Council of 30 November 1992 with regard to the countries in which does not exist generally serious danger of persecution, SN of 4821/92 of WGI 1281(Refugee (Modified) Law of 2003, N. 53(I)/2003).
- t. Resolution of Council of 20 June 1995 on the elementary guarantees of processes of examination of applications of asylum. Official Newspaper No. C 274 19/09/1996 p. 13-17(Refugee (Modified) Law of 2003, N. 53(I)/2003).
- u. Directive 2001/55/EC of Council of 20 July 2001 with regard to the minimal specifications of benefit of provisional protection in case of mass surge displaced and metres for the fair distribution of weights between the member states with regard to the reception and the confrontation of consequences of reception of these individuals. Official Newspaper No. L 212 07/08/2001 p. 12-23. (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2003, N. 53(I)/2003). (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 241(I)/2004).
- v. Directive 2003/9/EC of Council of 27 January 2003 with regard to the minimal requirements for the reception applicant asylum in the member states. Official Newspaper No L 31 06/02/2003 p. 18-25. (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9(I)/2004). (Refugee Regulations of 2005, 598/2005).
- w. Decision of Council 2000/596/EC of 28 September 2000 on the creation of European Fund for the Refugees. Official Newspaper No L 252 06/10/2000 p. 12-18 (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9(I)/2004).
- x. Regulation (EC) No of 343/2003 of Council of 18 February 2003 on the establishment of criteria and mechanisms for the determination of member state

- that is person in charge for the examination of application of asylum that is submitted in member state from national of third country. Official Newspaper No L 50 25/02/2003 p.1-10. (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9(I)/2004).
- y. Regulation (EC) No of 1560/2003 of Committee 2 September 2003 for the metres of application of Regulation (EC) No of 343/2003 of Council on the establishment of criteria and mechanisms for the determination of member state that is person in charge for the examination of application of asylum that is submitted in member state from national of third country. Official Newspaper No L 222 05/09/2003 p.3-23 (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9 (I)/2004).
  - z. Convention of determination of state that is person in charge for the examination of application of benefit of asylum that is submitted in one of the member states of the European Communities - Convention of Dublin. Official Newspaper No C 254 19/08/1997 of p. 1-12 (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9 (I)/2004).
  - aa. Decision of Council of 15 March 2001 on the contracting of agreement between the European Community, the Republic of Iceland and the Kingdom of Norway for the criteria and the mechanisms of determination of state that are responsible for the examination of application of benefit of asylum that is submitted in member state or in Iceland or Norway(Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9 (I)/2004).
  - bb. Regulation (EC) No of 2725/2000 of Council of 11 December 2000 with regard to the establishment of "Eurodac" for the collation of imprints for the effective application of Convention of Dublin. Official Newspaper No L 316 15/12/2000 of p. 1-10. (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9 (I)/2004).
  - cc. Regulation (EC) No of 407/2002 of Council of 28 February 2002 that establishes certain rules of application of Regulation (EK) No 2725/2000 with regard to the establishment of "Eurodac" for the collation of imprints for the effective application of Convention of Dublin. Official Newspaper No L 62 05/03/2002 p.1-5 (Refugee (Modified) Law of 2004, N. 9 (I)/2004).

Note that the Immigration Law of Cyprus was amended in 1/2/2007 according to the following Directives of the European Union:

- a. Directive 2003/86/EC of Council 22 September 2003 with regard to the right of familial reunification. Official Newspaper No L 251 03/10/2003 s.12-18. 3/10/2005.



Was deposited bill on 23 March 2006 ("Foreigners and Immigration (Modification) Law 2006".) The examination of bill from the Parliamentary Committee Internal began in June 2006.

- b. Directive 2003/110/EC of Council of 25 November 2003 with regard to the subscription at the passage in case of removal via the air road. Official Newspaper No L 321 06/12/2003 s.26-31. 6/12/2005. Was deposited bill on 23 March 2006 ("Foreigners and Immigration (Modified) Law 2006".)
- c. Directive 2004/81/EC of Council of 29 April 2004 with regard to the title of eve that is granted in the nationals of third countries victims of marketing of persons or synergy in the immigration, which collaborate with the responsible beginnings. Official Newspaper No L 261 06/08/2004 s.19-23. 06/08/2006
- d. Directive 2004/82/EC of Council of 29 April 2004 with regard to the obligation of carriers to communicate the elements of passengers. Official Newspaper No L 261 06/08/2004 s.24-27. 05/09/2006
- e. Directive 2004/114/EC of Council of 13 December 2004 with regard to the conditions of admission of nationals of third countries aiming at the study, the exchange of students, the unsalaried practical exercise or the voluntary service. Official Newspaper No L 375 23/12/2004 s.12-18. 12/01/2007
- f. Directive 2005/71/EC of Council of 12 October 2005 with regard to special process of admission of nationals of third countries for aims of scientific research. Official Newspaper No L 289 03/11/2005 s.15-22. 12/10/2007
- g. Directive 2005/85/EC of Council of 1 December 2005 with regard to the minimal specifications for the processes with which the member states grant and recall the status of refugee. Official Newspaper No L 326 13/12/2005 s.13-32. 01/12/2007 (Service of European Affairs 24-07-2006)

A series of Community Directives have been adopted by the European Union, which are separated in two categories: The Sectoral Directives and the three Directives of the General System. The former Directives cover one profession each, like:

1. Doctor, 93/16/EEC
2. Veterinarian, 78/1026/EEC, 78/1027/EEC
3. Midwife, 80/154/EEC, 80/155/EEC
4. Nurse, 77/452/EEC, 77/453/EEC

5. Dentist, 78/686/EEC, 78/687/EEC
6. Pharmacist, 85/432/EEC, 85/433/EEC
7. Architect, 85/384/EEC
8. Lawyer, 77/49/EEC, 98/5/EEC

For the harmonization with the European Directive 1999/42/EC of European Parliament and Council of 7 June 1999 on the establishment of system of recognition of qualifications with regard to the professional activities that are covered by the Directives of liberation, as well as transitional measures and supplementing of general system of recognition of qualifications” (ECL201, 31.7.1999, p77). This Law may be cited as the Third System for the recognition of Professional Qualifications Law of 2004 (10/11/2005).

While the other three Directives 89/48/EEC, which is amended by the Directive 2001/19/EE, 92/51/EEC, which is amended by the Directives, 2001/19/EE, 2000/5/EE, 97/38/EE, 95/43/EE cover all the other professions. This law is “The General System for the recognition of Professional Qualifications Law of 2002” and “The General System for the recognition of Professional Qualifications (amended) Law of 2003” (09/08/2004).

The professions that are covered by General System Directives are the following:  
92/51/EEC- Medical Representative, Chiropractor, Beautician, Tourist Guide, Engine Rating A of a ship.

89/48/EEC- Chemist, Optician, Physiotherapist, Psychologist, Dental Technician, Dietician, Speech Therapist, Accountant-Auditor, Director of a Home of the Elderly and the Disabled, Senior Electrical Technician, Chief Engineer Officer of a Ship, Second Engineer Officer of a Ship, Officer in charge of an Engineering Watch of a ship, GMDSS Radio Operator of a Ship, Civil Engineer, Electronic Engineer, Electrical Engineer, Computer Engineer, Chemical Engineer, Mining Engineer, Quantity Surveyor, Town and Urban Planner, Land Appraiser, Master of Ship, Chief Officer, Officer in Charge of a navigational watch, Skipper (Tourist Coastal Vessels), Sports Trainer, Agriculturist, Geologist, Rural and Surveying Engineer.

Conventions:

- The Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, adopted on 28 July 1951 by the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons convened under General Assembly resolution 429 (v) of 14 December 1950.
- Protocol relating to certain cases of statelessness (ratified by Law 64/77).
- Convention of the United Nations Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment adopted in 1984 (ratified by Law 235/90).
- Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality and Treatment of Migrant workers, came into force on 9 Dec. 1978 (convention n. 143).
- Convention concerning Migration for Employment (revised 1949), came into force on 22 Jan. 1952 (Convention N. 97).
- The refugee Law (Law no. 6(I) of 2000), sets out the basic principles for the treatment of a refugee, their rights and obligations, specifies the procedure for recognition of the status of a refugee, as well as,
- Article 19 of the European social map, “The right of migrant workers and their families to protection and assistance”.
- The Discrimination (Employment and occupation) Convention 1958, No. 111.
- The Universal Declaration of Human rights 1948 was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. From this Declaration have emerged international laws, codes of conduct, minimum rules, complaints procedures, and rights of petition. Of course these human rights continue to be violated by governments all over the world.
- The European Convention for the protection of Human rights and Fundamental Freedoms and all the Protocols thereof, 39/62, 118/68, 52/89, 11 (III)99, 35/86, 25 (III)/92, 41(III)/93, 8(III)/95, 18(III)/00, 13(III)/02 and 1(III)/03.
- The European Social Charter 64/67 as amended by Laws 5/75, 31/88 and 203/91 and the Protocol amending the European Social Charter, 10(III)/93.
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination, 12/67, as amended by Laws 11/92, 6 (III)/95, 28(III)/99.

- The UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 78/85, as well as the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of all the forms of Discrimination against Women, 1(III)/02.
- The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide, 59/80
- The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 28(III)/95
- The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 39(III)93

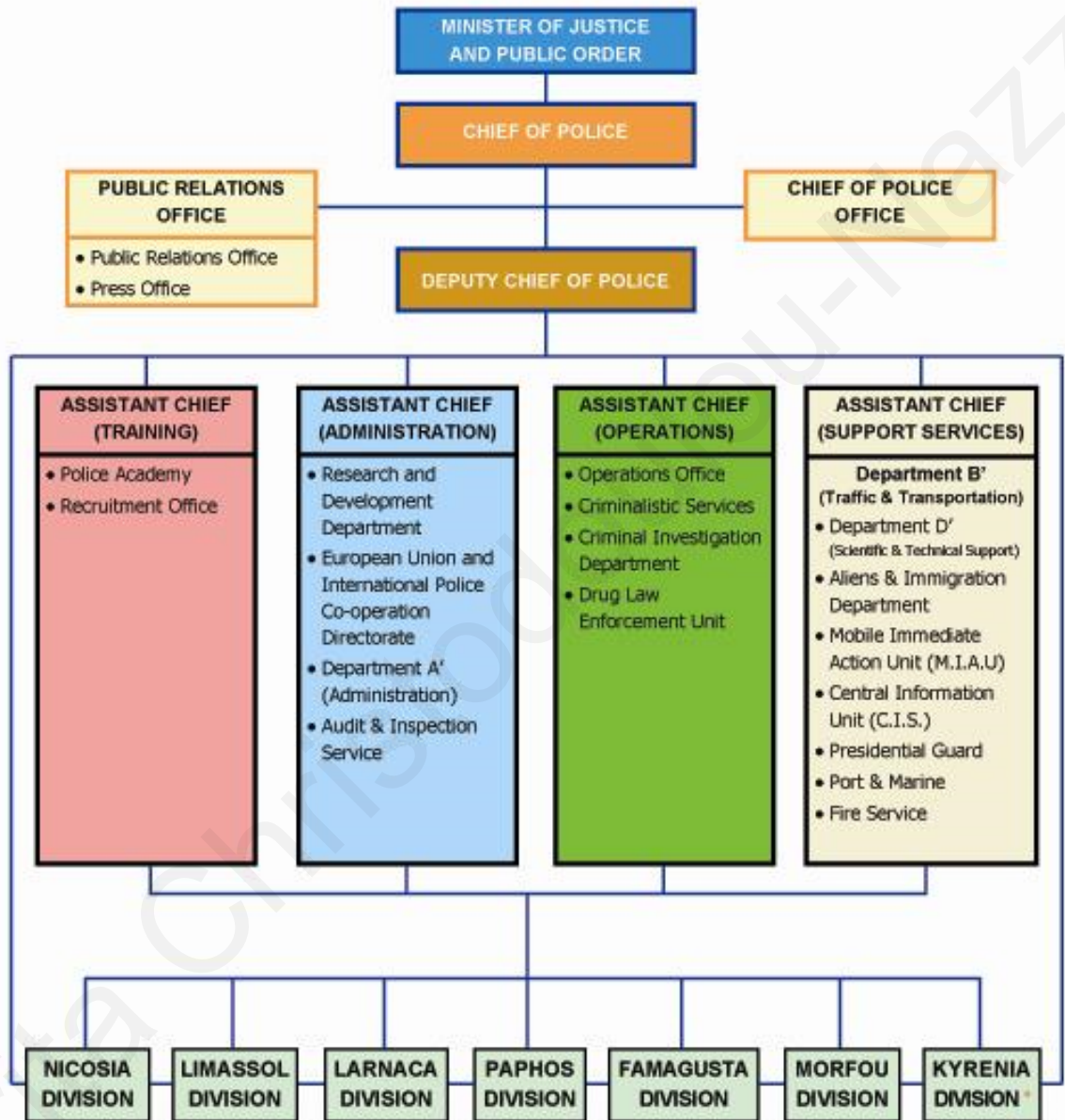
89/48/EEC-92/51/EEC- Director of a Day Care Centre for Pre School Age Children, Care Giver in a Day Care Center of Pre School Age Children, Director of a Day Care Centre for School Age Children,

99/42/EEC, Care Giver in a Home of the Elderly and the Disabled, Professional Staff of a Children's Home, Certifying Officer, Hairdresser, Electrical Installations Contractor, Electrical Appliances Repairer, Lorry Driver of Vehicles of gross weight over 7500kg, Bus Driver, Tourist Bus Driver Taxi Driver, Passengers Road Carrier, Cargo Road Carrier, Deck Rating A,

89/48/EEC-92/51/EEC-99/42/EEC Director of a Private Children's Home, Team Leader in a Day Care Centre for School Age Children, Hotel Manager, Catering Establishment Manager, Travel Agency Manager, Private Recruitment Agency Manager, Commercial Agent, Building Contractor,

89/48/EEC-99/42/EEC, Real Estate Agent.

### Organizational Structure of The Cyprus Police



\* The Kyrenia Division and a part of Famagusta Division are out of operation due to the Turkish Invasion / occupation.

Appendix 6-Survey questionnaire

Questionnaire

Kindly answer the following questions anonymously. Your co-operation and sincere answers are necessary.

Part A

1. Gender

Male

Female

2. Age

15-19

20-29

30-39

40-49

50-59

60+

3. Place of work

Nicosia

Limassol

Famagusta

Larnaca

Pafos

4. Are you?

Student

Soldier

worker

Unemployed

Pensionist

Housemaid

other

5. Place of residence.

Nicosia

Limassol

Famagusta

Larnaca

Pafos

6. Education

No schooling

elementary/primary

secondary

College/university

postgraduate

Part B.

Answer all the questions with tick except those questions where they ask something different.

1. Have you any contacts with foreigners? Yes  No

2. What do you understand when you hear the word "foreigner"?

a. Criminal

b. Illegal migrant

c. Worker

d. Other

3. What is your opinion regarding foreigners of the following nationalities. Answer the question on the base: 1. Very negative, 2. Negative, 3. Positive, 4. Very positive, 5. Neutral.

Greeks	1	2	3	4	5
British	1	2	3	4	5
Russians	1	2	3	4	5
Sri-Lankans	1	2	3	4	5
Philippines	1	2	3	4	5
Bulgarians	1	2	3	4	5
Rumanians	1	2	3	4	5
Syrians	1	2	3	4	5
Ukrainians	1	2	3	4	5
Yugoslavians	1	2	3	4	5
Germans	1	2	3	4	5
Russian-Pontiacs	1	2	3	4	5
Swedish	1	2	3	4	5
Iranians	1	2	3	4	5
Chinese	1	2	3	4	5

4. How could you characterize foreigners that are living in Cyprus.

	Greeks	British	Russians	Sri-Lankans	Philippines	Bulgarians
Quiet						
Troublemaker						
Of another religion						
Immoral						
Trustworthy						
Family oriented						
Other						

	Rumanians	Syrians	Ukrainians	Yugoslavians	Germans
Quiet					
Troublemaker					
Of another religion					
Immoral					
Trustworthy					
Family oriented					
Other					





8. Is the violence increasing in the regions where live (Answer 1"Yes" and 2"No"):

Greeks	1	2
British	1	2
Russians	1	2
Sri-Lankans	1	2
Philippines	1	2
Bulgarians	1	2
Rumanians	1	2
Syrians	1	2
Ukrainians	1	2
Yugoslavians	1	2
Germans	1	2
Russian-Pontiacs	1	2
Swedish	1	2
Iranians	1	2
Chinese	1	2

9. Have you been a victim of a crime by a foreigner? If yes, describe the type of crime and the nationality of the perpetrator.

Yes  No

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10. Has a relative/friend fallen victim of a foreign criminal? If yes, describe the type of crime and the nationality of the perpetrator.

Yes  No

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11. Which factors contribute in your opinion, to crimes by foreigner? You may choose more than one selections if you think necessary.

a. Economic situation ( )

b. Unemployment ( )

c. Familial situation ( )

d. Xenophobia ( )

e. Other (Give details) \_\_\_\_\_

12. Are foreigners, victims of Cypriot criminal elements?

Yes  No

13. Do you believe that do hate crimes towards foreigners exist in Cyprus?

Yes  No

14. Do foreigners fall victims of foreign criminal elements?

Yes  No

15. Do you believe that in case of arrest of a foreigner or a Cypriot, the behaviour of the police officers will be the same?

Yes  No

16. Do you believe that the penal justice system (that is to say police, courts, prisons) in Cyprus treats the foreigners and Cypriots the same?

Yes  No

Other (Give details) \_\_\_\_\_

17. Which is, in your opinion, the common attitude (opinion) in Cyprus towards foreigners?

1. Very negative

2. Negative

3. Positive

4. Very positive

5. Neutral

18. Which is the attitude of the mass media towards foreigners?

a. Hostile

b. Favourable

c. Objective

d. Nothing from the above

19. Do the mass media play an important role in society?

Strongly Agree  Agree  Neutral  Disagree  Strongly Disagree

20. Do you believe that the Media show the problem of criminality?

a) Show in its real dimensions

b) They exaggerate

c) They downgrade

21. What measures should be taken to confront the problem of foreign criminality? You can select more than one answer.

- a. Stricter legislation with regard to foreigners
- b. More policing
- c. Give resident permits to nationalities that do not create problems
- d. Priority to work to Cypriot nationals
- e. Other (give details)

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22. Do you think that racism exists in Cypriot society?

Yes  No

If yes, then answer the next question.

23. Do you consider that racism is caused by (you can choose more than one answer):

- a. Migrants' behaviour
- b. Xenophobia
- c. Information from the media
- d. Other (Give details) \_\_\_\_\_

24. Which are in your opinion, the three most serious problems that our country is facing today (at order of gravity): 1 for most serious, 2 for serious, 3 less serious?

- 1. National problem
- 2. Economy
- 3. Education
- 4. Criminality
- 5. Health
- 6. None
- 7. Other (Give details) \_\_\_\_\_

25. Write other comments regarding foreigners in Cyprus.

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### Ερωτηματολόγιο

**Παρακαλώ να συμπληρώσετε το ακόλουθο ερωτηματολόγιο το οποίο είναι ανώνυμο. Η συνεργασία και η ειλικρίνεια σας στις απαντήσεις σας είναι απαραίτητη.**

#### ΜΕΡΟΣ Α: Δημογραφικά στοιχεία.

1. Φύλο:  
Θήλυ  Άρρεν
2. Ηλικία:  
15-19  20-29  30-39  40-49  50-59  60+
3. Τόπος Εργασίας:  
Λευκωσία  Λεμεσός  Αμμόχωστος  Λάρνακα  Πάφος
4. Είστε:  
α. Φοιτητής/τρια  β. Στρατιώτης  γ. Εργαζόμενος/η  δ. Άνεργος/η  ε. Συνταξιούχος  στ. Οικοκυρά  ζ. Άλλο
5. Τόπος κατοικίας  
Λευκωσία  Λεμεσός  Αμμόχωστος  Λάρνακα  Πάφος
6. Μορφωτικό επίπεδο:  
Καμιά μόρφωση  Δημοτική  Μέση  Τριτοβάθμια   
Μεταπτυχιακή

#### ΜΕΡΟΣ Β: Ερωτήσεις

Απαντήστε με √ σε όλες τις ερωτήσεις εκτός εάν σας ζητηθεί κάτι διαφορετικό.

1. Έχετε έρθει σε επαφή με αλλοδαπούς; Ναι  Όχι
2. Τι αντιλαμβάνεσαι όταν ακούσεις τη λέξη «αλλοδαπός»;  
α. Εγκληματίας   
β. Λαθρομετανάστης   
γ. Εργάτης   
δ. Άλλο (Δώσε ερμηνεία) \_\_\_\_\_

3. Ποιά η εκτίμησή σας γενικά για τους αλλοδαπούς των εξής εθνικοτήτων. Απαντήστε την ερώτηση με βάση την πιο κάτω κλίμακα: 1. Πολύ αρνητική, 2. Αρνητική, 3. Θετική, 4. Πολύ θετική, 5. Ουδέτερη

1.Ελληνες	1	2	3	4	5
2.Άγγλοι	1	2	3	4	5
3.Ρώσοι,	1	2	3	4	5
4.Σρι-Λανκέζοι	1	2	3	4	5
5.Φιλιπινέζοι	1	2	3	4	5
6.Βούλγαροι,	1	2	3	4	5
7.Ρουμάνοι	1	2	3	4	5
8.Σύριοι	1	2	3	4	5
9.Ουκρανοί	1	2	3	4	5
10.Γιουγκοσλάβοι	1	2	3	4	5
11.Γερμανοί	1	2	3	4	5
12.Γεωργιανοί (Ρωσοπόντιοι)	1	2	3	4	5
13.Σουηδοί	1	2	3	4	5
14.Ιρανοί	1	2	3	4	5
15.Κινέζοι	1	2	3	4	5

4. Ποιες ιδιότητες πιστεύετε ότι χαρακτηρίζουν αλλοδαπούς που βρίσκονται στην χώρα μας. Απαντήστε βάζοντας ✓

	1. Ελληνες	2. Άγγλοι	3. Ρώσοι	4. Σρι- λανκέζοι	5. Φιλιπινέζοι	6. Βούλγαροι
Ήσυχος						
Ταραχοποιός						
Αλλόθρησκος						
Ανήθικος						
Έμπιστος						
Οικογενειάρχης						
Άλλο						

	7. Ρουμάνοι	8. Σύριοι	9. Ουκρανοί	10. Γιουγκοσλάβοι	11.Γερμανοί
Ήσυχος					
Ταραχοποιός					
Αλλόθρησκος					
Ανήθικος					
Έμπιστος					
Οικογενειάρχης					
Άλλο					

5. Πιστεύετε ότι η εγκληματικότητα στην Κύπρο οξύνεται με την παρουσία των αλλοδαπών;  
 Ναι  Όχι

Αν ναι:

Πάρα πολύ  Πολύ  Λίγο

6. Ποία μορφή εγκληματικότητας πιστεύετε πως επικρατεί περισσότερο στην Κύπρο, λόγω της παρουσίας των αλλοδαπών; Απαντήστε με την ακόλουθη κλίμακα: 1. Λίγο, 2. Πολύ, 3. Καθόλου, 4. Έτσι και Έτσι

Α) Ναρκωτικά	1	2	3	4
Β) Βιασμός	1	2	3	4
Γ) Κλοπή	1	2	3	4
Δ) Δηστεία	1	2	3	4
Ε) Πλαστογραφία	1	2	3	4
Ζ) Ανθρωποκτονία	1	2	3	4
ι) Άλλη (Δώστε λεπτομέρειες)	1	2	3	4

7. Ποιάς εθνικότητας αλλοδαποί, κατά τη γνώμη σας διαπράττουν πιο συχνά, εγκλήματα; Απαντήστε 1 για «δεν διαπράττουν» και 2 «διαπράττουν»

1. Έλληνες		12. Γεωργιανοί (Ρωσοπόντιοι)	
2. Άγγλοι		13. Σουηδοί	
3. Ρώσοι,		14. Ιρανοί	
4. Σρι-Λανκέζοι		15. Κινέζοι	
5. Φιλιπινέζοι			
9. Ουκρανοί			
10. Γιουγκοσλάβοι			
11. Γερμανοί			

8. Αυξάνεται η βία στις περιοχές όπου ζουν (Απαντήστε 1 για ναι και 2 για όχι):

1. Έλληνες			
2. Άγγλοι			
3. Ρώσοι,		11. Γερμανοί	
4. Σρι-Λανκέζοι		12. Γεωργιανοί (Ρωσοπόντιοι)	
5. Φιλιπινέζοι		13. Σουηδοί	
6. Βούλγαροι,		14. Ιρανοί	
7. Ρουμάνοι		15. Κινέζοι	
8. Σύριοι			
9. Ουκρανοί			
10. Γιουγκοσλάβοι			

9. Έχετε πέσει θύμα κάποιου εγκλήματος από αλλοδαπό; Αν ναι αναφέρετε το είδος του εγκλήματος και την εθνικότητα του δράστη.

Ναι  Όχι

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10. Έχει πέσει θύμα αλλοδαπού εγκληματία κάποιος συγγενής ή στενός σας φίλος; Αν ναι αναφέρετε το είδος του εγκλήματος και την εθνικότητα του δράστη.

Ναι  Όχι

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11. Ποιοί παράγοντες συντείνουν, κατά την άποψή σας, στην διενέργεια εγκλήματος από αλλοδαπό; Βάλτε σε περισσότερες από μια επιλογές εάν το κρίνετε αναγκαίο.

α. Οικονομική κατάσταση ( )

β. Ανεργία ( )

γ. Οικογενειακή κατάσταση ( )

δ. Ξενοφοβία ( )

ε. Άλλο (Δώσε ερμηνεία) \_\_\_\_\_

12. Οι αλλοδαποί είναι θύματα Κυπρίων εγκληματικών στοιχείων;

Ναι  Όχι

13. Πιστεύετε ότι υπάρχουν εγκλήματα μίσους στην Κύπρο προς τους αλλοδαπούς;

Ναι  Όχι

14. Οι αλλοδαποί πέφτουν θύματα αλλοδαπών εγκληματικών στοιχείων;

Ναι  Όχι

15. Πιστεύετε ότι σε περίπτωση κράτησης ενός αλλοδαπού ή Κυπρίου, η συμπεριφορά των αστυνομικών είναι η ίδια;

Ναι  Όχι

16. Πιστεύετε ότι η ποινική δικαιοσύνη (Δηλ. Αστυνομία, δικαστήρια, φυλακές) στην Κύπρο αντιμετωπίζει το ίδιο τους Κύπριους και τους αλλοδαπούς;

Ναι  Όχι

Άλλο(Δώσε ερμηνεία) \_\_\_\_\_

17. Ποια κατά τη γνώμη σας είναι η στάση της κοινής γνώμης στην Κύπρο προς τους αλλοδαπούς;

- 1. Πολύ αρνητική
- 2. Αρνητική
- 3. Θετική
- 4. Πολύ θετική
- 5. Ουδέτερη

18. Ποια η στάση των Μέσων Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης προς τους αλλοδαπούς;

- α. Εχθρική
- β. Ευνοική
- γ. Ανικειμενική
- δ. Τίποτα από αυτά.

19. Τα ΜΜΕ παίζουν κυρίαρχο ρόλο στη κοινωνία.

- Συμφωνώ πολύ  Συμφωνώ  Ουδέτερη/ος  Διαφωνώ   
Διαφωνώ πολύ

20. Πιστεύετε ότι τα ΜΜΕ προβάλλουν το πρόβλημα της εγκληματικότητας:

- α) στις πραγματικές του διαστάσεις
- β) ότι υπερβάλλουν
- γ) ότι υποβαθμίζουν

21. Τι μέτρα πιστεύετε πρέπει να παρθούν για την αντιμετώπιση του προβλήματος της εγκληματικότητας των αλλοδαπών; Μπορείτε να επιλέξετε περισσότερες από μια απάντηση.

- α. Αυστηρότερη νομοθεσία σχετικά με τους αλλοδαπούς
- β. Μεγαλύτερη αστυνόμευση
- γ. Παροχή αδειών παραμονής σε εθνικότητες που δεν δημιουργούν προβλήματα
- δ. Προτεραιότητα για εργασία στον Κύπριο υπήκοο
- ε. Άλλο (Δώσε ερμηνεία)

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22. Θεωρείτε ότι υπάρχει ρατσισμός στην Κυπριακή κοινωνία; Ναι  Όχι   
Αν ναι, απαντήστε στην επόμενη ερώτηση



23. Θεωρείτε ότι ο ρατσισμός οφείλεται στην (μπορείτε να επιλέξετε περισσότερες από μια απάντηση):

α. Συμπεριφορά των μεταναστών

β. Ξενοφοβία

γ. Ενημέρωση των ΜΜΕ

δ. Άλλο (Δώσε ερμηνεία) \_\_\_\_\_

24. Ποιό είναι κατά τη γνώμη σας τα τρία σοβαρότερα προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζει σήμερα η χώρα μας κατά σειρά σοβαρότητας; Δείξτε αριθμόντας από 1 (για το πιο σοβαρό), 2 (σοβαρό), 3 (λιγότερο σοβαρό).

1. Εθνικό θέμα

2. Οικονομία

3. Παιδεία

4. Εγκληματικότητα

5. Υγεία

6. Κανένα

7. Άλλα (Δώσε ερμηνεία) \_\_\_\_\_

25. Παρακαλώ γράψετε ότι άλλα σχόλια έχετε για το θέμα των αλλοδαπών στην Κύπρο.

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Appendix 8, Questionnaire for foreigners

Kindly answer the following questions anonymously. Your co-operation and sincere answers are necessary.

Part I

1. Gender

Male  Female

2. Age

15-19  20-29  30-39  40-49  50-59  60+

3. Nationality \_\_\_\_\_

4. Place of work

Nicosia  Limassol  Famagusta  Larnaca  Pafos

5. Place of residence.

Nicosia  Limassol  Famagusta  Larnaca  Pafos

6. Are you?

Student  worker  Housemaid  other

7. Education

No schooling  elementary/primary  secondary  College/university   
 postgraduate

Part II

1. I have Greek Cypriot friends. None  Few  Many

2. I spend time with many Greek Cypriots socially. Not applicable   
 Sometimes  Often

3. How would you describe the Greek Cypriots? Tick the appropriate response.

	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Neutral	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
Noisy/Loud					
Friendly					
Sociable					
Trustworthy					
Troublemakers					
Quiet					
Hardworking					
Arrogant					
Dirty					
Racist					
Other (Please specify)					

4. Why did you decide to leave your country of origin? (Tick more than one, if appropriate).

- a) Escape from poverty
- b) Unemployment
- c) Improve earnings and standard of living
- d) Escape from war
- e) Conflict
- f) Escape from ecological crisis
- g) Other \_\_\_\_\_

5. What kind of crimes are most common in Cyprus?

- i. Rape
- ii. Theft
- iii. Burglary
- iv. Drugs
- v. Murder
- vi. Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

6. Answer the statements with a tick  $\checkmark$  in the appropriate answer

	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Neutral	4. Agree	5. Strongly agree
There is a high crime rate in Cyprus					
The crime rate in Cyprus is increasing					
Immigrants are to blame for the rising crime rate in Cyprus					
The imprisoned immigrants are there because of their criminal activities.					
Immigrants receive the same treatment from the criminal justice system as Cypriots					
Cypriots are justified in being suspicious about foreigners					

7. Have you been arrested?

Yes  No

If "yes" what was the reason?

Reason \_\_\_\_\_

8. What do you think is the behavior of policemen generally towards foreigners?

- a. Hostile
- b. Favorable
- c. Objective
- d. Other \_\_\_\_\_

9. Have you been brought to Court? Yes  No
10. Have you been in prison? Yes  No
11. Do you know anything about the judicial system of Cyprus? Yes  No
12. Have you ever been the victim of a racist act? Yes  No
13. What do you believe is the average Greek Cypriot's attitude towards foreigners?
- a. Very Negative
  - b. Negative
  - c. Neutral
  - d. Positive
  - e. Very Positive
14. What factors might affect peoples, attitudes towards foreigners?
- a. Economic situation
  - b. Unemployment
  - c. Family situation
  - d. Xenophobia
  - e. Other \_\_\_\_\_
15. What do you believe is the Greek Cypriot mass media's attitude towards foreigners?
- a. Hostile
  - b. Favorable
  - c. Objective
  - d. None of the above
16. The media play a significant role in society.
- Strongly agree  Agree  Neutral  Disagree   
Strongly disagree
17. Do you believe Cypriots are racists? Yes  No   
If yes, answer the following question.
18. What do you believe is the cause of racism ?
- a. Foreigners attitude
  - b. Xenophobia
  - c. Media information
  - d. Other \_\_\_\_\_
19. Please add any other comments you may have regarding foreigners in Cyprus.
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 9, Interview

### Interview

1. Please introduce yourself, age, marital status (Never married, Married, Widowed, Divorced, Single mother), nationality, Level of education: Primary, Incomplete secondary, General secondary, Tertiary, Postgraduate, etc.

Your profession: no profession or teacher or driver...

2. How do you find Cyprus? Do you enjoy Cyprus?
3. How long have you been away from your country? Up to ...
4. When did you arrive in Cyprus, how and why?
5. Did you come to Cyprus with other members of your family?
6. Do you have any friends or relatives in Cyprus? Did they help you to immigrate?
7. What jobs did you have prior to coming to Cyprus?
8. What job are you doing now? Is this job your first one? Did you sign a labor agreement? How did you find your job?
9. For how long do you think you are going to stay in Cyprus?
10. Have you become used to your activities here, to the environment?
11. In case of any problems, who can you turn to for help? (Embassy, government of the destination country, friends, community, self)
12. Have you ever asked for help from your embassy or elsewhere?
13. Do you intend to return to your country? Or do you intend to get another country for permanent residence?

### Part B.

1. What is your opinion of Greek Cypriots? How would you describe them?
2. How would you describe the foreigners living in Cyprus?

3. What do you have to say about Cypriots' behavior? Do men and women, behave the same? Why do you think they behave in this way? (Reasons)
4. Are they afraid of something? What factors might affect Cypriots attitudes towards you?
5. Do you think Cypriots are racists? Do you think foreigners are racists towards Cypriots in general? What do you think contributes to this behavior (the reasons)?
6. What do you think about the Cypriot police and their behavior towards foreigners?
7. What can you say or you know about crime in Cyprus? (common crimes)
8. Do you think foreigners contribute to the crime committed in Cyprus? If yes, in what way?
9. Would you like to do something to improve the living conditions for newcomers in Cyprus? If yes, then what?
10. Would you like to add anything on this subject?

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