

**F. DILARA
DEMIR**

**ANDREAS
BLOOM**

ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG
OFFICE IN GREECE

ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΟΙ
ΕΡΓΑΤΕΣ ΕΝΩΜΕΝΟΙ
ΑΠΟΛΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΤΤΟ ΤΗΝ
ALEXANDER FASHION
KAS I HELLAS



WORKING AND RETIRING WITH DIGNITY

**A STUDY OF LABOUR, SOCIAL SECURITY AND
PENSIONS OF PILIPINA/O WORKERS IN GREECE**

**WORKING
AND
RETIRING
WITH DIGNITY**

F. DILARA DEMIR
ANDREAS BLOOM

WORKING AND RETIRING WITH DIGNITY

A Study of Labour, Social Security and Pensions
of Pilipina/o workers in Greece

Athens, October 2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures	→ 6
List of photos	→ 8
List of graphics	→ 8
List of terms and abbreviations	→ 9
Acknowledgments	→ 11
Who we are	→ 13
Executive summary	→ 16
Precarious social security and pensions	18
Next steps	22
Introduction	→ 24
Pilipina/os in Greece: A brief history	→ 30
Research methods and findings	→ 34
Demographics	38
Pension plans and retirement	44
The impact of COVID-19	55
Contracts and wages	64
Working conditions	73
Relations with employers	82
Migration, residence permits, and citizenship	86
Embassy services	95
Closing section: Daily life	102

Policy recommendations —→ 106

To Greece (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the Philippines (Department of Labour and Employment, Social Security System, and Department of Foreign Affairs) 107

To Greece 108

To the Philippines Department of Foreign Affairs 109

To the Greek Labour Inspectorate 110

To the General Confederation of Greek workers in Greece (GSEE) 111

Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW): The New Filipino Heroes —→ 112

Further reading —→ 118

Articles and book chapters 118

Reports and policy papers 122

About the authors —→ 125

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. With which gender do you identify?	39
FIGURE 2. What age are you?	40
FIGURE 3. What educational qualifications do you have or are in the process of obtaining?	40
FIGURE 4. What is your country of birth?	41
FIGURE 5. How many years have you been working in Greece?	41
FIGURE 6. What is your current legal status in Greece?	42
FIGURE 7. If you are employed, what is your current job?	43
FIGURE 8. Pension plans of Pilipina/os in Greece.	47
FIGURE 9. Do you know what the requirements are to be eligible for a public pension?	48
FIGURE 10. Does the lack of a pension system between Greece and the Philippines play a part in where you want to spend your retirement years?	49
FIGURE 11. Where would you like to retire?	50
FIGURE 12. Before the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, did you experience any of the following issues?	56
FIGURE 13. Since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, have you experienced any of the following issues?	57
FIGURE 14. If you are a care or domestic worker, have you experienced any of the following changes since the start of COVID-19 in March 2020?	60
FIGURE 15. Have you ever lost a job because of sickness?	62
FIGURE 16. Have you received any benefits from OWWA (Overseas Welfare Workers' Administration) related to the COVID-19 pandemic?	63
FIGURE 17. Do you have a written contract in your current job?	65
FIGURE 18. Is your work declared in the electronic database (Ergani) by your employer?	66
FIGURE 19. What is your current employment status?	66

FIGURE 20. Do you send money to any relatives abroad?	69
FIGURE 21. How many days off a week do you have?	73
FIGURE 22. Have you ever experienced any of the following in your past or current jobs?	75
FIGURE 23. Do you ever receive any of the following bonuses? Check whichever apply.	77
FIGURE 24. In your current job, did you ever receive the above from your employer? Check all that apply.	78
FIGURE 25. Do you have any kind of social security in your current job?	78
FIGURE 26. Have you ever worked in Greece without any social insurance?	79
FIGURE 27. Which one of the following subsidies have you received from the Greek state?	80
FIGURE 28. Are you a member of any formal or informal worker association or organization or union?	82
FIGURE 29. What makes it difficult for you to negotiate with your employer about your job?	85
FIGURE 30. How did you enter Greece?	86
FIGURE 31. In what year did you first apply for a residence permit in Greece?	89
FIGURE 32. For how long is your current residence permit valid?	90
FIGURE 33. Have you ever considered applying for Greek citizenship?	92
FIGURE 34. Have you applied for Greek citizenship?	92
FIGURE 35. How satisfied are you with the services for Greek citizenship applications?	94
FIGURE 36. How important is it for you to have the right to vote and stand for elections at the local, national, or EU level?	94
FIGURE 37. Which embassy services have you used? Please check all that apply.	96
FIGURE 38. How satisfied are you with the Philippine embassy's services for its citizens in Greece?	97
FIGURE 39. Could you rate the following aspects of the Philippine embassy's services, based on your experience?	99

FIGURE 40. Have you had any problems getting access to any documents you need from the Philippine embassy?	100
FIGURE 41. From your house or work, how much time do you spend to go to the Philippine embassy?	102
FIGURE 42. What are the most important obstacles that affect the quality of your daily life in Greece?	103

LIST OF PHOTOS

PHOTO 1. A list of subjects to be covered by this research project, as drawn up at our first meeting in KASAPI at Melissa: Network of Migrant Women in Greece, 2019	26
PHOTO 2. Workers from Kos organizing in 1995	28
PHOTO 3. KASAPI meeting at Melissa: Network of Migrant Women in Greece, February 2020	33
PHOTO 4. Research team meeting (in-person) at Melissa: Network of Migrant Women in Greece building, October 2021	36
PHOTO 5. Testing survey questions as a research team, March 2021	37
PHOTO 6. KASAPI meeting to discuss our research, February 2020	38
PHOTO 7. A protest by Pilipina/os in front of the Philippines embassy for Bilateral social security agreements and the murders of Pilipinas in Cyprus, June 2019	45
PHOTO 8. Pilipina women in traditional dress, photographer and precise date unknown	117

LIST OF GRAPHICS

GRAPHIC 1. The end screen of the Pilipina/o migrant workers' online survey	35
GRAPHIC 2. Loss of jobs by women migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic	62
GRAPHIC 3. Poster on wage theft by Arby Hamiya Saquilabon	72

LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

TERMS

Ensima

Social security stamps

Ergani

Greek Labour Ministry employment database

KASAPI Hellas – Unity of Filipino Migrants in Greece

Association representing Pilipina/o workers in Greece

Munting Nayon Cultural School

A cultural education center and daycare facility in Athens, providing early education to pre-school children, set up by KASAPI Hellas

Naftiko Fylladio

Seamen's Book, a document required for seamen based in the Philippines and elsewhere to be hired by Greek shipping companies

ABBREVIATIONS

BLA	Bilateral Labour Agreement
BSSA	Bilateral Social Security Agreement
C189	ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)
CMA	Center for Migrant Advocacy, Philippines
DIWATA	Determined Independent Women in Action for Total Advancement (DIWATA), Philippine Women's Network in Europe
EC	European Commission
EFKA	National Social Security Fund (Greece)
EKA	Center of Athens Labour Unions
IKA	Greek Social Security Fund (now part of EFKA, National Social Security Fund)
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE/GSEE	Labor Institute of the General Confederation of Greek Workers
OAED	Manpower Employment Organization (Greece)
OFWs	Overseas Filipino Workers
OWWA	Overseas Welfare Workers' Administration (attached to the Department of Labour and Employment in the Philippines)
POLO	Philippine Overseas Labour Office
SSA	Social Security Agreement
SSS	Social Security System (Philippines)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was generously funded by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation–Office in Greece. We are grateful to Jose Valencia, who conceived, initiated, and ensured the implementation of the project, while restlessly organizing and attending the meetings that made it possible. We would like to thank Antonina Melody Casiño, Aurora Roy, Cassie Lorilla, Cesar Reburiano, Elmanuel Recla, Estella Labiang, Fely Rose Mendoza, Grace Jane, Imelda Garcia, Avelino Mendoza Jr, Maria Theresa Rivera Pastor, Nina Casiño, Rowena Diaspues, and Yolanda Oliha, for joining our survey trainings and administering the surveys as community researchers, and for sharing our online survey with participants. The research team is indebted to Dr Apostolos Kapsalis (INE/GSEE, postdoctoral researcher at Panteion University), Marina Angelaki (Assistant Professor, University of the Peloponnese), Theano Kakoulidou (postdoctoral research fellow) and Professor Iordanis Psimmenos (Professor of Sociology in the Department of Social Policy, Panteion University), for their insights into migrants, labour and pensions in Greece. We would like to thank Ellene Sana and Irynn Abano (from the Center for Migrant Advocacy in Manila), Yiorgos Kakouris, Melina Koumpou, Nassos Theodoridis, Panos Parthenis, Vicky Samara, Spyridonas Bovgiatzis, Anastasia Sikiaridi, Maria Isabel Espinoza, Dr Kelly Kato, Aretousa Bloom and Fernando Brucelo, who sadly passed before this project was completed. We would like to thank Efi Panagopoulou, Electra Alexandropoulou, and Maria Oshana from the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Office in Greece for their constant guidance and support. Finally, we would also like to

thank Melissa: Network of Migrant Women in Greece for providing space and constant support in this project; DIWATA Women' Network, and Munting Nayan for their constant involvement in this project, and finally, Danilo Bontigao, vice-president of KASAPI, for his support.

WHO WE ARE

KASAPI HELLAS

KASAPI Hellas–Unity of Filipino Migrants is a grassroots organization founded in the late 1980s by migrant domestic workers from the Philippines, mostly women, whose aim is to promote the rights and welfare of migrant workers, migrants' empowerment and their integration in society. A founding member of the Migrants and Refugees Integration Council of the City of Athens, KASAPI Hellas is a co-founder of RESPECT, a Europe-wide network whose main advocacy goal is to promote the rights of domestic workers. It is also a founding member of the Amsterdam-based Transnational Migrant Platform (TMP), a coalition of migrant organizations in the EU. Its advocacy for women's rights led to the founding of DIWATA Women's Network, which started as a women's committee within KASAPI. It emphasizes education as a central component in achieving empowerment. Its commitment to early childhood education led to the founding of the intercultural daycare center Munting Nayan, where migrant and refugee children learn core values of respect and acceptance of cultural diversity.



reCOLLECTIVE

reCollective is an Athens-based group of independent researchers and educators in the academic and non-profit sectors. Their aim is to produce research and educational tools and events that are useful, socially and politically relevant, and easy to share. Central to their practice is a desire to promote more collaborative ways of creating and sharing knowledge, and as individuals involved in wider struggles, to re-configure long-standing relationships between researcher and teacher and researched and learner.

ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG

OFFICE IN GREECE

The Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung in Greece seeks to analyse the dramatic impact on Greek society of neoliberal policies in the context of the financial crisis as well as current changes such as pandemics, climate change, the right-wing shift, the war in Ukraine and the militarisation of the EU's external borders against migration. We want to contribute to a broad, open and critical public sphere and to support a progressive and rights-based civil society in Greece in the struggle and intervention against these policies.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

01

This report documents the labour and social security conditions of Pilipina/o¹ migrant workers in Greece near retirement age. Our findings show that they face severe obstacles to a fair pension and living their retirement years in the Philippines. They also face discrimination (along with other migrants) in that they are subject to pension cuts. And since many are employed in domestic work, a sector with very little oversight from the Greek state, they are frequently overworked, underpaid and are at times excluded from basic labour legislation. They are thus more vulnerable to delays in payments, wage theft and job loss.

We carried out three focus groups with Pilipina/o workers and eight in-depth interviews with experts and Pilipina/o workers, and we surveyed 110 migrant Pilipina/o migrant workers, of which over 85% are women, mostly aged over 51, mostly employed in domestic work. In this executive summary, we lay out some of the main findings (elaborated in the chapter 'Research Methods & Findings'), followed by policy recommendations primarily addressed to the Greek and Philippine states (expanded in the chapter 'Policy Recommendations').

1. Pilipino is how the locals from the Philippines refer to themselves, or to their national language. Pilipino members of the research team pointed out that Pilipino is preferable to the Spanish Filipino, which has colonial connotations.

PRECARIOUS SOCIAL SECURITY AND PENSIONS

Greek state policies and legislation affect worker eligibility for a pension, as do employer practices. The lack of a bilateral social security agreement (BSSA) affects the ability to access pensions for those who wish to return to the Philippines. This combination of legislation and poor practices create circumstances that do not allow workers to fully benefit from their social security rights.

Social security is not transferable to the Philippines

Today's legal and administrative framework between Greece and the Philippines does not allow for the transfer of social security benefits between the two countries. Right now, Filipina/o workers travel between Greece and the Philippines for bureaucratic reasons, including banking and renewal of residence permits during their retirement years, in order to continue getting regular payments. **70.59% of respondents believe that the lack of a bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines stops them from receiving their pension in the Philippines.**

The social security system currently penalizes foreign workers (Law 4387/2016)

Law 4387/2016 works at the expense of foreign nationals: beneficiaries of a full national pension (384 euros)² must show 40 years of residence in Greece (from the age of 15 onwards), and 20 years of social security contributions (or 6,000 days of insurance). Every missing year of residence translates into a penalty of 1/40th of the pension. This requirement

2. Old age pensions are measured as a combination of both the contributory pension and national pension. Any references to Law 4387/2016 concern only national pensions.

is patently unjust and discriminatory, in that it ignores a broadly acknowledged historical reality, which is that until 1997 there was virtually no mechanism in existence for obtaining a residence permit for most workers in Greece. Our own findings show that the first time respondents applied for a residence permit was for many in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. Meanwhile, the farthest back one of our respondents applied for a residence permit was in 1986. The law also fails to account for the fact that most types of residence permit renewals require employers to formally hire their workers and pay social security contributions, which they often fail to do. The Greek Ombudsman meanwhile – though it does not have the power to change legislation – believes that the law’s provisions are in contradiction to the general philosophy of a pension, which accounts for social security contributions, and not the number of years of residence in Greece.³ In sum, many of our respondents are likely to face penalties for which they bear no responsibility.

Many employers do not cover social security for Pilipina/o workers in Greece

Our findings show that employers frequently fail to declare the work of Pilipina/os, thus failing to cover their social security needs (especially for domestic workers), for instance through paying only social security for a half day’s work instead of a full day’s work. Such practices lead to problems later on in the lives of Pilipina/o workers, who may not be able to demonstrate the full extent of their labour to the Greek National Social Security Fund (EFKA) when it is time for them to claim their pension, or when renewing a residence permit. Our findings show that while most respondents receive some form of social security, many do not, and

3. Generation 2.0. (2020, February 27), It’s time to talk about the national pension, <https://tinyurl.com/yxhkqvxx>

many more have spent several years without social security coverage (which would make them less likely to receive a full pension).

- 64% of respondents are concerned that it is difficult to collect enough *ensima* (work stamps) for retirement because of the way their work is registered.⁴
- Over 43% of respondents said that they did not have a pension plan either in Greece or in the Philippines, despite the average age of respondents being over 51 years of age and working over 24 years.
- Only 22.64% have a pension plan in Greece.

Issues of migration, citizenship and political representation

The most problematic areas on migration status are indefinite residence permits (abolished in Greece in 2014) in Greece, burdensome procedures, frequent changes in law (that are difficult for non-experts to follow), a lack of political will for the processing of residence permits in a reasonable manner, exclusionary naturalization policies, and the issuing of temporary documents (instead of full permits) for prolonged periods. Our findings show that despite the exclusion they face, respondents continue to feel strongly about the need for political representation.

- Most respondents have a residence permit that is less than 10 years in duration, and 24.5% have had to renew their residence permit over 6 times.
- Our participants overwhelmingly have only Pilipino citizenship: only 2.9% have Greek citizenship. Even among those who were born in Greece, only a few have been naturalized.

4. For the requirements of a pension, see Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, *Κύρια σύνταξη* [Main pension], <https://tinyurl.com/y3jw4vlg>

Labor standards

Respondents frequently experience labor-related problems, including wage theft (non-payment, delayed payment or unjustified salary deductions), non-payment of overtime, long working hours, health and safety issues, non-payment of bonuses, work without a contract, no paid leave, sudden loss of a job, abuse in the workplace, and exclusion from key provisions of labour law (See Law 3850/2010, which upholds health and safety standards for workers but explicitly excludes domestic workers and home workers⁵). A lack of clear and practical information about labour rights and entitlements exacerbates these problems.

- Respondents suffer from a great degree of informal labor, while only 30.67% have a contract, and 65.33% do not (the rest do not know).
- Around a third of respondents saw a drop in salaries and work hours during the pandemic (38% and 33%, respectively). 31.25% of respondents said that they experienced problems being paid on time.
- The average number of hours worked is at 8.3 hours per day. 37% work more than 8 hours a day, whereas 8% work between 14 and 15 hours a day.
- Regarding abuse in the workplace, significant numbers of participants reported some form of abuse, including verbal abuse and racist behavior. Only women workers reported physical abuse (3.9%).

Issues with embassy services

Overseas Pilipina/o workers expect support from their diplomatic representatives in Greece. Yet our findings show that most are dissatisfied with some of the embassy's key functions: advocacy for the rights of Pilipina/os in Greece, the be-

5. International Labour Organization (2015), LEGOSH: Occupational Safety and Health (OSH). Greece (2015), <https://tinyurl.com/y6yzdedt>

havior of personnel and accessibility in terms of transportation (and during the pandemic by telephone or email).

Impact of COVID-19 on the community

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a severe impact on Pilipina/o workers: many experienced sudden loss of jobs or income, mostly due to the reduction in working hours and severe difficulties in covering their basic needs. Domestic workers are disproportionately affected by the pandemic, often being obligated to stay in their employers' homes (live in) and were asked not to see their friends and families. While racism and discrimination was a problem for more than 22.5% of respondents before the pandemic, after the pandemic such experiences of racism and discrimination rose sharply (37%).

NEXT STEPS

The most pressing issue for Pilipina/o workers who are nearing retirement is a **fair and workable bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines. This would allow Pilipina/os to have access to their pension from Greece in the Philippines.** Such mechanisms are routine between European Union countries, but also between Greece and countries such as the United States and Canada, where there are large communities of Greeks.

Access to pensions must be fair and reasonable, thus legislation such as Law 4387/2016 (which essentially penalizes foreign nationals for failing to follow procedures which did not exist until the late 1990s, and which continue to be highly complex and inaccessible), must be revised to properly reflect the contribution of workers.

ILO Convention 189 should be adopted in Greece to protect domestic workers' rights, and policymakers should take

bold steps in ensuring meaningful oversight: migrants will otherwise continue to be at risk of abuse, job loss, and agonizingly long working hours, far beyond what is considered safe, healthy or legal. The Greek state must ensure that labour legislation applies to *all* sectors, including domestic work, so that all workers in Greece, regardless of origin or occupation, may work in decent conditions. This would require detailed contracts, wage statements, full social security and overtime pay, and all other related benefits.

The **Greek National Social Security Fund (EFKA) must also be more vigilant** to ensure strict compliance with social security law, so that working hours are reflected in social security payments.

Trade unions at all levels must seek to integrate more non-Greek nationals in their ranks, as they are not reflective of the current demographic of the workforce.

Finally, **the Philippine embassy in Athens must be more extroverted, open and accommodating** to its overseas citizens, and more suitably located in Athens.

All agencies, Greek or Pilipino, must work together to ensure that Pilipina/os in Greece are equipped with up-to-date and practical knowledge about labor, social security, and pensions, before they come to Greece and throughout their stay there.

INTRODUCTION

02

This project started when members of the Pilipina/o community who were anxious about their future reached out to an international group of friends to share an idea that had been brewing for a few years:

Why not ask Pilipina/os themselves, in a manner as broad and systematic as possible, to share their concerns on work, legal documents, citizenship, and pensions? The project's first meetings took place in downtown Athens in early 2020, in the building of Melissa–Network of Migrant Women in Greece, an organization for migrant and refugee women in Greece, mostly on Sunday afternoons. The research team set up focus groups to identify questions that would yield meaningful findings. Members of the community worked in English and Pilipino to find the proper wording that would make members of the community feel most comfortable about giving their time to this project.

One of the first sentiments that participants shared in that meeting was this: despite working hard in Greece for several decades, often since the 1980s, and calling Greece their home, Pilipina/os in Greece felt far from equal with Greeks. This inequality is especially prevalent when it comes to social security and labor. Looking at the history of this community of workers in Greece, the obstacles to such rights appear not only unreasonable, but also entirely unnecessary. Our study has two aims: to document the labour and social security conditions of Pilipina/o workers in Greece and to advocate for better work and social security reforms.

What the participants want is to work and retire in dignity, with the help of both the Greek and Philippine states and so-

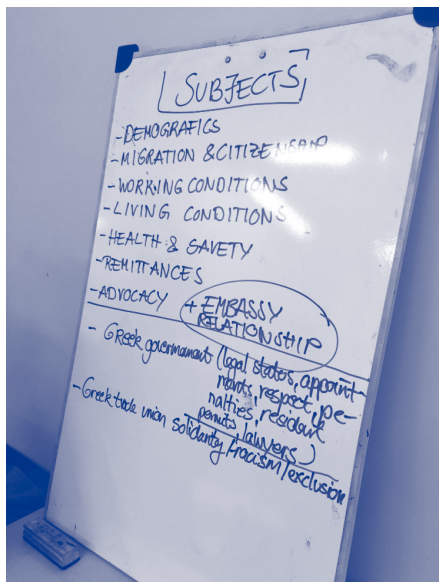


PHOTO 1.

A list of subjects to be covered by this research project, as drawn up at our first meeting in KASAPI at Melissa–Network of Migrant Women in Greece, 2019

cities. Even if workers managed to secure formal work, and gathered enough work stamps (or *ensima*) to benefit from a pension, they are frequently unable to access them in practice. Several issues might arise: it may not be possible to renew a Greek cash card in the Philippines, and it may not be possible to visit Greece for any banking or social-security related transaction without a residence permit. Such issues could be solved through a **bilateral social security agreement (BSSA)** between Greece and the Philippines, one that would protect labour and social security rights, regardless of whether one wished to retire in Greece or the Philippines.

Indeed, EU countries routinely use bilateral labour and social security mechanisms, and Greece has been doing so with non-EU countries with large Greek communities for several decades (for example, with the United States and Canada).⁶ Likewise, the Philippines enjoy such agreements with

6. For a list of the 14 bilateral social security agreement that Greece has with non-EU states, see Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Bilateral

countries like Germany, Spain, and Saudi Arabia. In fact, 10 European Union countries have signed and implemented bilateral social security agreements with the Philippines, in some cases back in the late 1980s. Thus, to implement the same between Greece and the Philippines, which enjoy strong and positive diplomatic relations, would not only be fair and easy; it would also be routine.

This study was also an opportunity to explore some of the other difficulties that this community experiences. Working conditions, access to residence permits and citizenship in Greece, as well as access to Philippine embassy services, are some of the prominent concerns covered by this study. We also probed into the COVID-19 pandemic and its impact on this community. Indeed, the true consequences of the pandemic on the physical and mental well-being and on the social life and finances of people in Greece, the Philippines and across the world, is something that we are only beginning to engage with. For economically deprived migrant workers close to retirement, it was at times devastating: the particularities of domestic work, with its already downgraded labour standards and poor state oversight, made workers in this sector particularly vulnerable to job loss, salary cuts, delays in payment and increased working hours. Many were made to give up their privacy in order to move in with their employers throughout lockdowns.

Income poverty among older people (aged 65 and above) has become 'deeper' in EU countries since 2013, with the highest increases being in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Greece.⁷ The old-age dependency ratio, which is the ratio of

issues with third countries, <https://tinyurl.com/y6swrpkk>. For information on how social security transfers work between EU countries, see Your Europe, Social security cover abroad, <https://tinyurl.com/yyuj7m2d>

⁷ European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (2018), Pension Adequacy Report 2018, <https://tinyurl.com/2eeonsqd>



PHOTO 2.

Workers from Kos organizing in 1995 (Courtesy of Rhey Sta Maria)

older dependents (people older than 64) to the working-age population (those aged 15–64), is 34.1% in Greece, one of the highest percentages in the EU.⁸ According to the Pension Adequacy Report 2018,⁹ which covers all member states of the EU, the greatest issues in pensions and retirement are gender inequality in old age, a lack of pension rights of self-employed individuals and non-standard workers, and challenges to maintaining adequate pensions in the future. Moreover, pension cuts due to the economic crisis in Greece made income poverty for the elderly even worse.¹⁰ Salaries, earnings, and pensions are largely inadequate for most people in Greece, and recent hikes in energy prices and other basic commodities are an additional blow. Meanwhile, infor-

⁸. Eurostat (2019), Aging Europe: Looking at the lives of older people in the EU. 2019 edition, <https://tinyurl.com/y6533zcf>

⁹. European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (2018), Pension Adequacy Report 2018, <https://tinyurl.com/yy4ujhk3>

¹⁰. European Trade Union Institute (2007, April 5), Pension reform in Greece, <https://tinyurl.com/y44fnyql>

mal labor¹¹ and poor oversight of workers' rights are also impacting society as a whole.

Migrant workers share all of these burdens, but they also take on a lot more: Domestic work, largely staffed by migrant workers, is excluded from some of the basic provisions of labour and social security rights; labyrinthine residence permit and citizenship procedures unfairly translate into great expenses, restrictions, anxiety, and ultimately uncertain lives, lived without political representation and in social exclusion.

The Pilipina/os who came to Greece in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s are aging, with many nearing retirement. It's fundamental to have an agreement that honours this, and we hope that this report helps to reinitiate this discussion.

Being a study by and for the Pilipina/o community in Greece, we hope it will be remembered as a refreshing example of how an immigrant community may voice its own concerns and demands. We believe that the conclusions we reach are alarming, but we also believe that our recommendations would make life better not only for retiring migrant workers, but for everyone in both Greece and the Philippines.

Readers may or may not find fault in the recommendations contained herein. We welcome disagreement and criticism. But we do ask that (even for a moment) you put yourself in the shoes of these workers.

11. Kapsalis, A. (2015), Η αδήλωτη εργασία στην Ελλάδα: Αξιολόγηση των σύγχρονων μέτρων καταπολέμησης του φαινομένου [Undeclared work in Greece: Evaluation of modern measures to combat the phenomenon], Labour Institute of the General Confederation of Greek Workers, <https://tinyurl.com/y4psjkak>

PILIPINA/OS IN GREECE: A BRIEF HISTORY

By Debbie Valencia, co-founder
of KASAPI and DIWATA

03

We founded **KASAPI** in 1986. Initially, we were just visiting Pilipino homes in small groups. Later, we felt it was important to get organized, to tackle together the issues we were facing. At the time, most Pilipinos did not have documents, so it was difficult to establish the association officially: we had to get signatures from Greek citizens to do this, and we finally succeeded in 1987.

A year later we held a conference at Panteion University to highlight the issues that Pilipinos were facing. We invited lawyers, union representatives, political parties, and IKA, the social security fund; This was the first time that migrant worker issues were made public in Greece. It was also the first such event covered by the press. We were able to establish links with the Center of Athens Labour Unions (EKA). Nikos Gavras, then general secretary, was very attentive to our issues, and in 1988 decided to give us a space in which to hold our meetings and gatherings. I remember him saying: "You will keep your office here forever; they will never kick you out." And we are still there. It's just that on Sundays, they are open until only 2 in the afternoon, and Pilipino working times (many of us work on Sundays too) mean that we have our meetings after those hours!

During that first conference in the Panteion, one of the issues that came up was that many were undocumented and without IKA coverage. That was the reason we started campaigning to regularize all migrant workers. Thus we worked with the anti-racist network, commonly known as Diktio, but also trade unions. Wherever we were invited to speak, we

would raise these issues. I believe that some years after that IKA started to ensure that Pilipinos working legally could have their social security covered.

But 40 years on, many of the same problems persist, in one way or another: long hours, low salaries, partial or no social security coverage, overwork, and workplace accidents. We have made little progress in the rights of domestic workers. For example, I am not entirely sure that the government knows that ILO Convention 189 on domestic workers (C189) actually exists.¹²

Once again, we are forced to come out and call on the Greek and Philippine states to protect the rights of Pilipino workers. Both governments should settle these issues. Otherwise, pensioners risk losing the fruit of their labor.

12. Psimmenos, I., Poulou, E., & Istikopoulos, O. (2021), Gaps and barriers of ILO Convention No. 189: Profiling migrant domestic workers' employment conditions in Greece, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, <https://tinyurl.com/y2w-prdyq>



PHOTO 3.

KASAPI meeting at Melissa: Network of Migrant Women in Greece

RESEARCH METHODS AND FINDINGS

04

This **community-based participatory** research was initiated, designed and implemented by Pilipina/o workers in Greece. We used mixed methods in this research: focus groups, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and a survey. For each method, we considered those who self-identify as Pilipina/o in Greece to be eligible for participation, regardless of migration status or country of birth. This includes first- and second-generation Pilipina/os – some are Greek citizens – in Greece. We held three focus groups to map some common issues among different occupational groups in the community: first with 18 domestic workers in September 2020, then with six yacht or ship workers in January 2021, and finally with three restaurant and catering workers in the same month. Focus groups were used as data and to design our own survey from scratch. Our research also included eight in-depth, semi-structured interviews with social security and migration experts and Pilipina/o workers.

We identified the major issues from the focus groups: retirement



FILIPINA/O MIGRANT WORKERS SURVEY

Thank you for
completing our survey!



GRAPHIC 1.

The end screen of the Pilipina/o migrant workers' online survey



PHOTO 4.

Research team meeting (in-person) at Melissa: Network of Migrant Women in Greece building, October 2021

and pension rights, labour rights and working conditions, the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the services of the Philippine embassy in Athens. We designed a comprehensive survey on these various issues. The survey includes 100 questions, some of which are open-ended, so that respondents could express their experiences in a more relevant or accurate manner. While we were initially uncertain whether people would take the time to comment on their experiences or qualify their responses in the survey, many more participants used the comment boxes (anonymously) than expected. These are worth reporting. We used SurveyMonkey as an online tool to collect responses. The research team organized three in-person, and two online training sessions for Pilipina/o community members to find interviewees and administer the survey. These trainings took 2–3 hours (depending on group size) and were attended by 14 Pilipina/o community members (five men, nine women) from various occupations. Training consisted of research ethics, survey design,

communication skills when doing surveys, and an explanation of the various types of survey questions; it also involved basic technical skills for collecting responses using a digital or paper version of survey. The surveyors collected responses from their friends and colleagues (a total of 110 responses: 49 online, 61 on paper) from January to March 2022. In order to have a common, digital database of responses, the research team subsequently entered paper surveys into SurveyMonkey as online responses. All surveys were anonymous. The average completion rate of the survey was 65%.



PHOTO 5. Testing survey questions as the research team, March 2021

Domestic migrant women workers are by far the most represented group (over 48%) in the survey. Over 70% of respondents are domestic workers, and over 85% are women. This is nevertheless consistent with the fact that most domestic workers in Greece and in the world are women, and that domestic work is a common occupation among many migrants including Pilipina/os.¹³ We recognize the limitations of the survey: Our respondents were overwhelmingly from the first,

and not the second generation of Pilipina/os. Our sample could have included more men and individuals identifying as

¹³. Topali, P. (2009), Constructions of care in modern Greece: Gendered relationships between Filipina domestic workers and Greek employers, *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 15(1), 94-124.



PHOTO 6.
KASAPI meeting to discuss our research, February 2020

non-binary, more occupational sectors, and locations beyond Athens. Although we originally planned to include Kos and Patras, the pandemic seriously restricted our ability to organize a visit to these locations. For all the reasons above, a future survey could and ought to be more representative. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

DEMOGRAPHICS

According to the Philippine Statistics Authority, overseas Pilipina/o workers are estimated at 1.77 million, of which 6.7% are in Europe.¹⁴ According to the Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum, there are currently 12,817 Pilipina/os in Greece, making up 1.91% of all migrants in the country.¹⁵ This would

¹⁴. Philippine Statistics Authority (2022, March 7), 2020 overseas Filipino workers (final results), <https://tinyurl.com/y3uyrha6>

¹⁵. Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum: <https://tinyurl.com/y3uf36gl>. Demographic data on occupations are published by the Greek Unified Social Security Fund: <https://tinyurl.com/yys5kw7y>

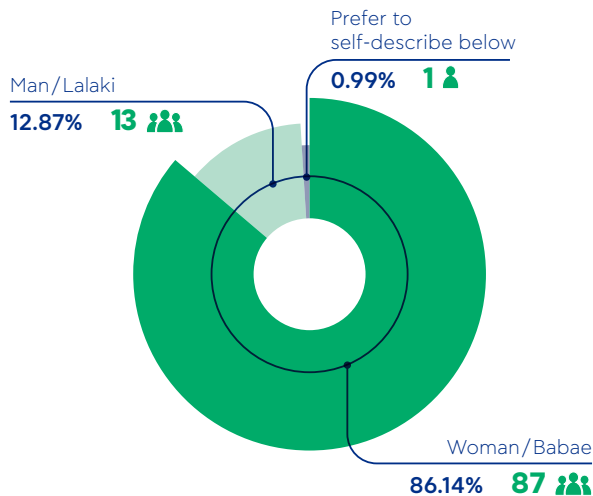
make Pilipina/os the ninth largest group of non-EU nationals in Greece after Egyptians.¹⁶

Some 110 individuals took part in our survey. If the ministry's figures are accurate, this means that we have surveyed just under 1% of the population of Pilipina/os in Greece. All self-identified as Pilipina/o. Of our respondents, **86%** are **women**, **13%** are men and 1% "prefer to self-describe".

FIGURE 1.

With which gender do you identify?

Answered: 101 | Skipped: 9



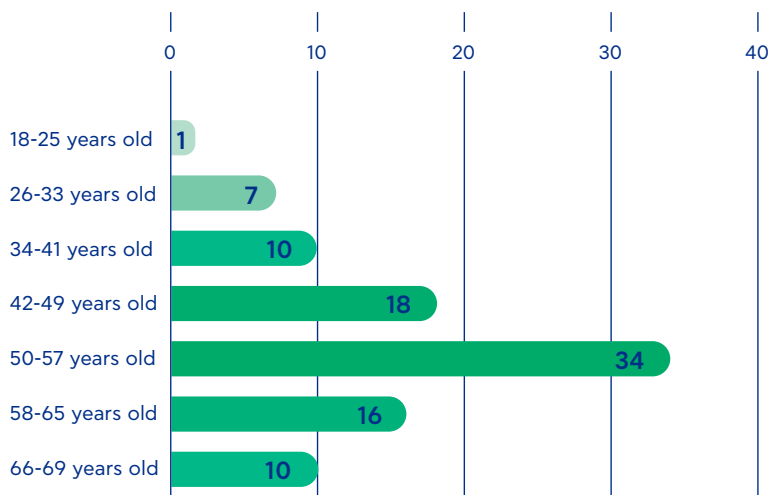
¹⁶. Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum (2022, March), Νόμιμη μετανάστευση Μάρτιος 2022: Παράρτημα Β [Legal immigration, March 2022: Annex II], <https://tinyurl.com/2awnxnd2>

The average age of respondents is 51. Some 59% of respondents are over 51, and 16% of respondents are over 60.

FIGURE 2.

What age are you?

Answered: 96 | Skipped: 14

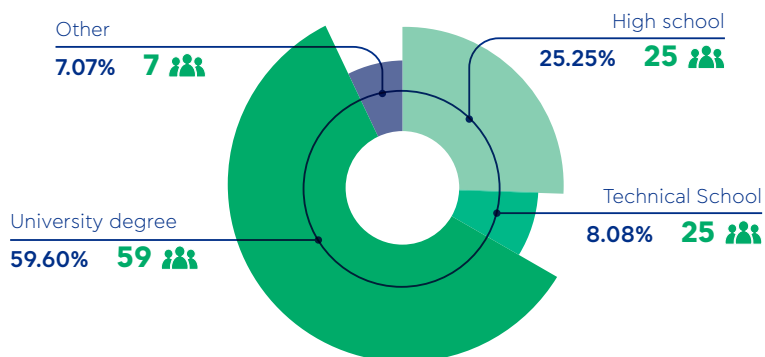


More than **59%** of respondents have a university degree, while a quarter have a high school diploma.

FIGURE 3.

What educational qualifications do you have or are in the process of obtaining?

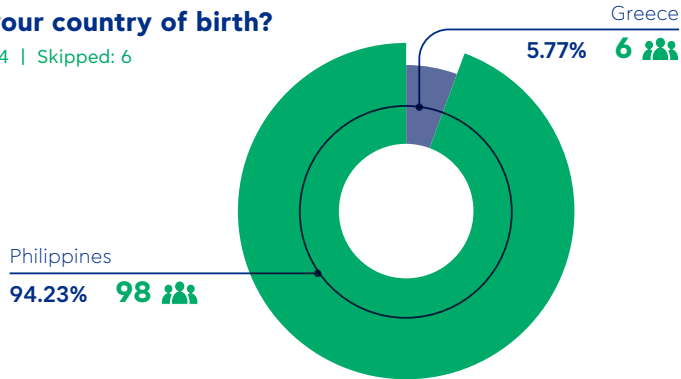
Answered: 99 | Skipped: 11



Only **6%** were born in Greece (also known as second-generation migrants and citizens). **More than 94%** of respondents were born in the Philippines.

FIGURE 4.**What is your country of birth?**

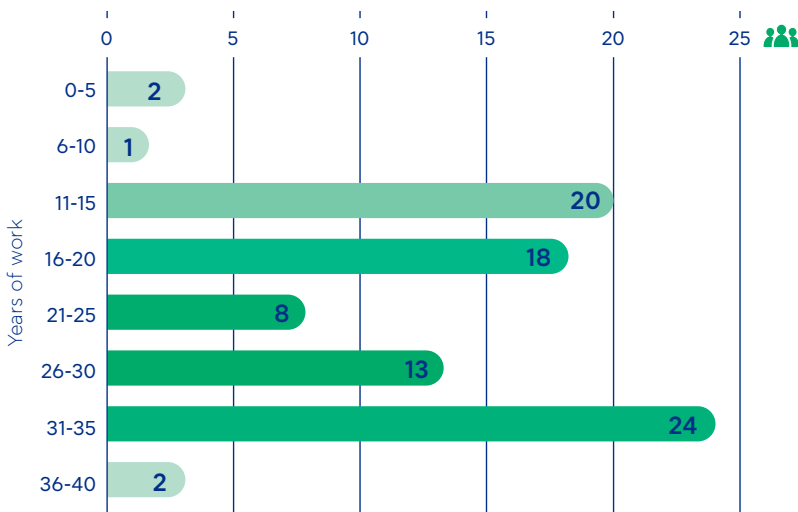
Answered: 104 | Skipped: 6



Our respondents have worked in Greece for over **23 years on average**. As you can see in the figure below, more than 44% of respondents have worked more than 25 years.

FIGURE 5.**How many years have you been working in Greece?**

Answered: 88 | Skipped: 22

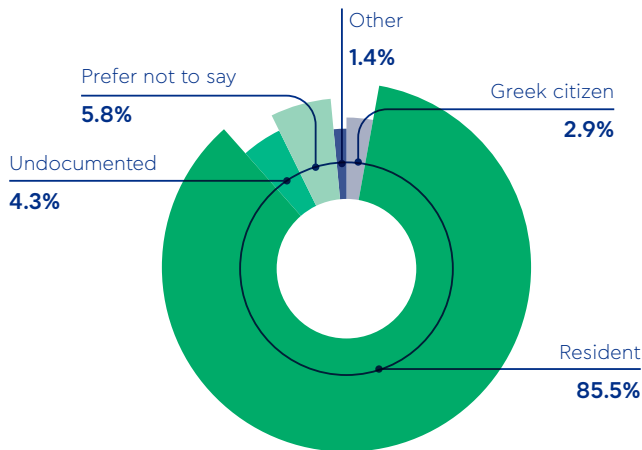


Despite having lived in Greece for an average of 24.85 years and having worked in Greece for an average of 23, **only 2.9%** have **citizenship**, whereas **85.5%**, which includes some of our respondents who were born in Greece, **still do not have citizenship**: they have residence permits. Other categories included “undocumented”, “prefer not to say”, and “other”.

FIGURE 6.

What is your current legal status in Greece?

Answered: 69 | Skipped: 41



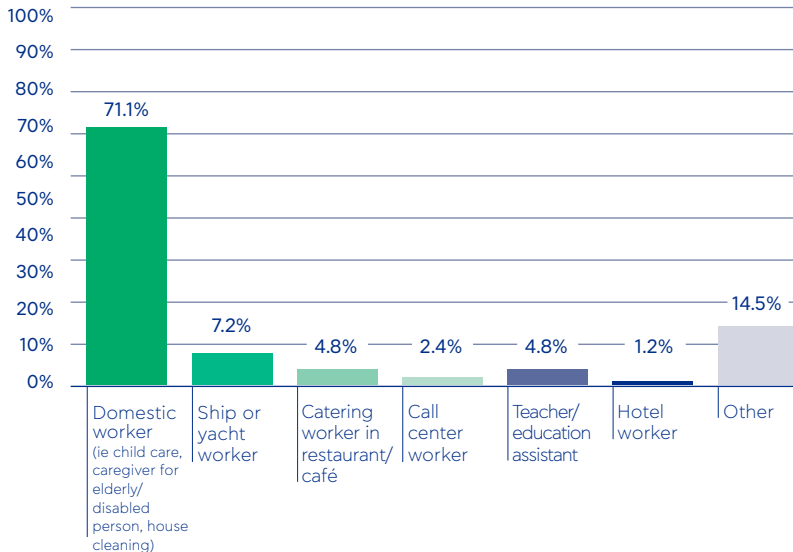
Many Pilipina/os have diverse employment backgrounds, and many have simultaneously worked more than one job. Among those who came in the 1980s, many worked in farms, factories, ships, yachts, and homes (often informally, as mentioned by focus group participants). More than **71%** of respondents are **domestic workers**; 7.2% are ship or yacht workers; 4.8% work in catering or restaurants; and 4.8% are teachers or education assistants.

Most (approximately 70%) work full-time, and 71% work as domestic workers (67% live in and 23% live out). Some 68% said that their work does reflect their skills and qualifications, the rest that it does not.

FIGURE 7.

**If you are employed, what is your current job?
(Check all that apply)**

Answered: 83 | Skipped: 27



Of those who said it didn't, one in two (50%) said that their current work is in a different sector from the one they are trained for or experienced in, and 41.67% that the work they do is below their skill/qualification level.

PENSION PLANS AND RETIREMENT

Today, Pilipina/os who wish to be able to withdraw their pensions can only do this through a Greek bank account. Bank cards regularly expire and need renewal. Other banking transactions frequently require in-person services, and all of the above would typically require individuals to be in Greece. A BSSA would allow pensioners in the Philippines to deal directly with a local payment system, without traveling to Greece. Travel to Greece, meanwhile, requires the burdensome and complex procedure of renewing a residence permit. For an elderly and retired pensioner (who is likely to receive only a minimum Greek pension), having to travel in one's retirement and pay for administrative costs is excessively burdensome and unrealistic.

There is then the question of how one obtains a national pension in the first place. Law 4387/2016 penalizes foreign nationals, as beneficiaries of a full national pension (384 Euros)¹⁷ require 40 years of residence in Greece (from the age of 15 onwards) and 20 years of social security contributions (or 6,000 days of insurance). For every missing year, there is a deduction of 1/40th of the pension. This requirement is patently unjust, in that it fails to reflect a well-known historical reality, which is that, until the late 1990s, there were extremely limited or no opportunities at all for opportunities for obtaining a residence permit. Indeed, the first concerted policy for accessing residence permits in Greece began only 25 years ago, in 1997. Thus there are very few foreign nationals in Greece (or naturalized individuals, for that matter) who will be able to fully access this pension. It also fails to account for the fact that obtaining a residence permit was predicated on the

¹⁷. Old age pensions are measured as a combination of the contributory pension and national pension. This law concerns the national pension.

PHOTO 7

A protest by Pilipina/os in front of the Philippines embassy for Bilateral social security agreements and the murders of Pilipinas in Cyprus, June 2019

actions of the employer, not the worker. Our own findings show that the first time respondents applied for a residence permit was for many in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. Meanwhile, nobody applied for a residence permit before 1986.

It is worth noting that the Greek Ombudsman – though it does not have the power to change legislation – believes that the law’s provisions are in contradiction to the general philosophy of a pension, which says that what matters is the contribution to social security, and not the years of residence in Greece.¹⁸

How does this translate into practice? A worker who had contributed 20 years of social security, and resided in Greece for 40 years (with a residence permit), would receive 384 euros. But let us say that they had contributed 20 years of social security, and had lived in Greece for 22 years (with a residence permit), they would receive 211.20 euros. If they were insured for 20, and had lived in Greece for 20 (with a residence permit), they would receive only 192 euros. Naturally, this goes against the logic of pensions, which are meant to measure contributions either through work or social security, and not years of stay in Greece.¹⁹



¹⁸. Generation 2.0. (2020, February 27), It's time to talk about the national pension, <https://tinyurl.com/yxhkqvxv>

¹⁹. As a side note, OPEKA (Greek Agency for Welfare Subsidies and

The right to pension and retirement is a vital concern for Pilipina/o migrant workers in Greece, who have problems enjoying this right and accessing their pensions on time with its full amount.

“We will either go to the cemetery or to the hospital because of too much work before we retire. We just want to rest in the Philippines after work but we cannot, you have to come back and renew your residency permit in Greece to be able to get your retirement pension.”

–Pilipino worker, 62, catering industry

Our findings show that more than 43% of Pilipina/o workers do not have a pension plan either in Greece or in the Philippines, despite the fact that the average age of respondents is 51, and the average number of years worked is 23.

Some 9.43% of respondents have a pension plan in the Philippines (regulated by the social security system, or SSS, in the Philippines)²⁰ while 13% had a pension plan in both Greece and the Philippines. Just over one in five (22.64%) have a pension plan in Greece (IKA-EFKA), even if they worked 23 years on average.

They have to collect 6,000 work stamps (or *ensima*) at the age of 67 and they frequently have to engage in burdensome paperwork, which involves both their employees and the Greek social security system. One man’s story illustrates how employer practices and a complex insurance system can have very serious consequences for ordinary workers.

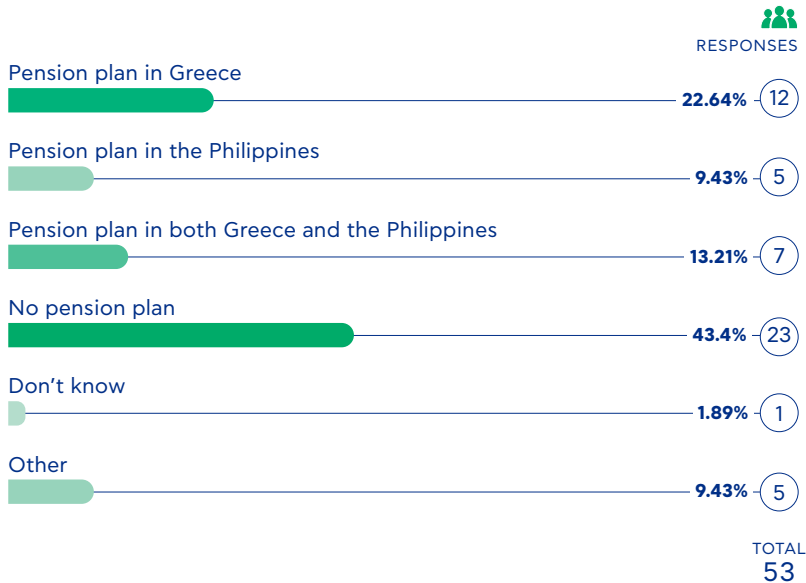
Social Solidarity) does provide a welfare pension, whose purpose is really to support the poorest pensioners, but it has similar requirements tied to legal, long-term and continuous stay in the country for several years, something which once again fails to account for the particular circumstances of migrant workers. See the full requirements on the OPEKA web page: <https://tinyurl.com/y59lagkd> For a general English-language overview of old-age pensions in Greece, see European Commission, Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, Greece: Old-age pensions, <https://tinyurl.com/y32fkdre>

20. SSS, or the Philippines Social Security System.

FIGURE 8.

Pension plans of Pilipina/os in Greece

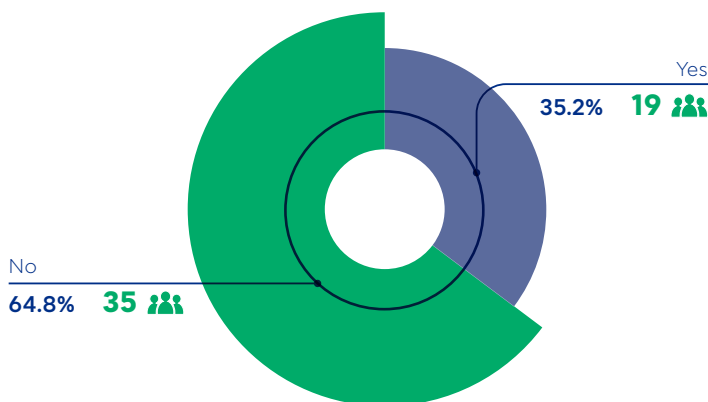
Answered: 53 | Skipped: 57



A man aged around 60 (seven years away from a pension), who was part of one of our focus groups, recently lost his job as a domestic worker. While he believed he collected enough work stamps and was nearing retirement, he suddenly lost his job due to COVID-19, without receiving any termination-related paperwork, which would allow him to apply for unemployment benefits. He had to track down previous employers to collect complex paperwork related to his previous social security contributions from the time that the system was not yet digitized. But it turned out that he was missing the equivalent of several years of formal work (many more than 7), and did not know how to make up for them.

Another issue is that employers frequently cover half a day of social security payments for an entire day's work, essentially doubling the time required to collect enough social security contributions to qualify for a pension (or other benefits) for workers.

Do you know what the requirements are to be eligible for a public pension?



Another key finding is that respondents believe a bilater-

Another key finding is that respondents believe a bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines is urgent. One focus group participant highlighted one of the many problems that may arise from the absence of such an agreement:

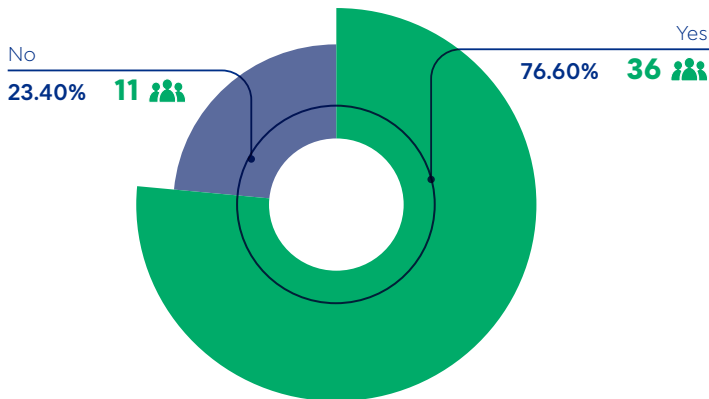
"We contribute to society, we pay taxes, we do services that many Greeks do not want to do and we are part of this society. We pay IKA and if we leave before retirement, we can't even get paid IKA back or continue paying the rest of our *ensima* to be retired."

–Domestic worker, Focus Group 1

FIGURE 10.

Does the lack of a pension system between Greece and the Philippines play a part in where you want to spend your retirement years?

Answered: 47 | Skipped: 63



We showed participants a list of statements related to retirement and pensions, asking them to rate them from very important to least important. The following were rated as "very important":

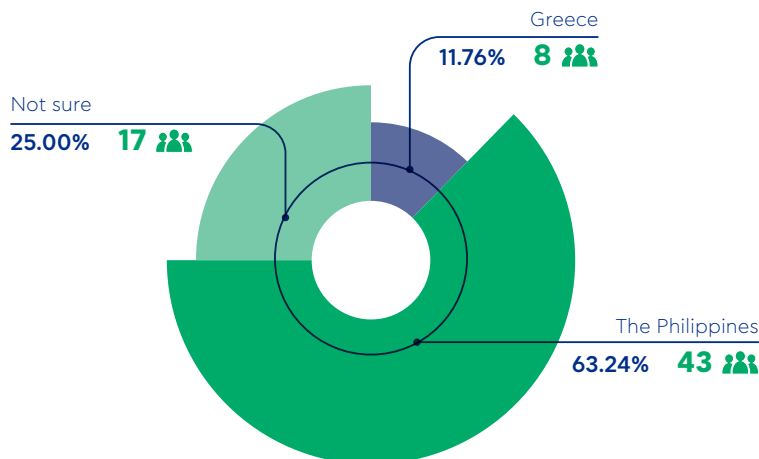
- **71.15% of respondents are concerned that "They have to renew their residence permit in Greece to be able to receive their pension."**
- 70.59% of respondents are concerned that "There is no bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines, so I can't receive my Greek pension in the Philippines."

- 65.31% of respondents are concerned that “There is no bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines, so I can’t decide where I spend my retirement years.”
- 64% of respondents are concerned that “It is difficult to collect enough *ensima* to retire because of the way my work is registered.”
- 63.83% of respondents are concerned that they “have to do a lot of administrative work between Greece and the Philippines to be able to receive my pension”.
- 61.70% of respondents are concerned that “There is no bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines so I can’t receive my Pilipino pension in Greece.”
- 76.6% of respondents stated that the lack of a pension system between both countries plays a significant part in determining where they will retire in the future (FIGURE 10). More than 63% actually want to retire in the Philippines (FIGURE 11).

FIGURE 11.

Where would you like to retire?

Answered: 47 | Skipped: 63



INFORMATION BOX 1

What is a bilateral social security agreement (BSSA)? What would it change for Pilipina/o migrant workers?

Bilateral labour and social security agreements are crucial international instruments that can serve to guarantee that populations living and working between states enjoy the benefits that they are entitled to, and that their social rights are protected without any discrimination.

The Center for Migrant Advocacy report on Bilateral Labour and Social Security agreements from 2012 defines such agreements as follows:

“Social security agreements, in working towards the provision of long-term benefits to migrant workers, should include the following features based on the ILO Convention 157²¹ on the Maintenance of Social Security Rights:

1. The equality of treatment, which allows migrants the same entitlement to benefits as nationals;
2. The provision of benefits abroad, which allows benefits to be paid to the worker’s country of residence;
3. The determination of the applicable legislation, which consists of rules to determine which country’s system will apply to the migrant worker;
4. The maintenance of rights in course of acquisition that allow periods of membership in both countries to be combined to determine eligibility for benefits; and
5. Administrative assistance, a provision which guarantees the co-ordination of liaison offices to extend assistance to covered workers and implement the provisions.”²²

21. For the full text of ILO Convention 157, see: <https://tinyurl.com/y4fvllly>

22. The full report may be accessed here: <https://tinyurl.com/y6hc8xwj>

BSSAs between the EU states and the Philippines²³

COUNTRY	ENTRY INTO FORCE
Austria	1982
Belgium	2005
Denmark	2015
France	1994
Germany	2018
Luxembourg	2020
Netherlands	2001
Portugal	2017
Spain	1989
Sweden	2019

BSSAs between Greece and non-EU countries²⁴

COUNTRY	ENTRY INTO FORCE
Argentina	1988
Australia	2008
Brazil	1988
Canada	1997
Egypt	2020
Libya*	1990
New Zealand	1994

²³. Philippine Social Security System, Bilateral social security agreements (landbased), <https://tinyurl.com/yfhqam6k>

²⁴. Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Bilateral issues with third countries, <https://tinyurl.com/y6swrpkk>

*For the special agreements that Greece has with Libya, Ontario, and Syria, see details from the link above.

Ontario*	1985
Quebec	1983 (a later revision entered into force in 2010)
Serbia	2020
Syria*	2001
Uruguay	1997
United States of America	1994

In practice, some sectors of labour are largely left outside of such benefits, especially domestic work. More than 8 million Pilipina/os are working outside of the Philippines, according to the Center for Migrant Advocacy in the Philippines. According to the Republic of the Philippines' SSS website, in total the Philippines has 13 bilateral SSAs with Austria, UK, Spain, France, Canada, Quebec, Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, Germany, and Japan. These cover over 1.34 million OFWs.²⁵ In addition, several bilateral labour and social security agreements were recently signed between the Philippines and the Gulf countries, such as the UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, Libya and Kuwait.²⁶ While some EU countries, such as Austria and Spain, have signed and implemented bilateral social security agreements with the Philippines as far back as the 1980s, Greece has yet to do so, though it has concluded 14 bilateral social security agreements with other states,²⁷ which demonstrates that the Min-

²⁵. Philippines Social Security System (2018, July 10), Philippines now has social security partnership with Germany, Japan: <https://tinyurl.com/y2wbyxfy>

²⁶. Philippine Social Security System, Bilateral social security agreements (landbased), <https://tinyurl.com/yfhqam6k>

²⁷. Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Bilateral issues with third countries, <https://tinyurl.com/y6swrpkk>

istry of Labour and Social Affairs has the necessary institutional capacity for these arrangements. While the two states initiated talks in 2004 and created a joint draft 2009,²⁸ no progress has been made since that time.²⁹ It is a lengthy process, yet it will take one last step to finalize the draft BSSA between Greece and the Philippines and work out the implementation afterwards. The involvement of Pilipina/o workers in Greece is vital in re-opening the discussions on the BSSA and on its implementation.

According to ILO Good practices and provisions in multilateral and bilateral labour agreements and the Memorandum of Understanding report published by the ILO Bangladesh office in 2018,³⁰ the agreement between Germany and the Philippines on nurse hiring from 2013 is a good practice for social protection and health care benefits because of compulsory social security benefits provided to Pilipina/os:

“This agreement states in its social security section: ‘Filipino health professionals are subject to compulsory insurance in the German social security system (health and long-term care insurance, pension, accident and unemployment insurance)’. This agreement features the following: equality of treatment; export of benefits; maintenance of rights; applicable legislation; and administrative assistance.”³¹

28. Center for Migrant Advocacy (2010), Bilateral labour agreements and social security agreements: Forging partnerships to protect Filipino migrant workers’ rights, <https://tinyurl.com/y6hc8xwj>

29. Ibid.

30. International Labour Organization Country Office for Bangladesh (2018), Good practices and provisions in multilateral and bilateral labour agreements and memoranda of understanding, <https://tinyurl.com/y46jgarc>

31. Ibid.

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19

COVID-19 has impacted most working people in the world with job and income losses, sudden layoffs, wage theft, and lack of personal protective equipment (PPE) for occupational health and safety for frontline workers. It is now beyond debate that the pandemic has disproportionately affected underprivileged communities, including migrant workers. In a recent report on the global impact of COVID-19 on migrant worker rights and recruitment, Jones et al. stated:

Migrant workers have been particularly structurally vulnerable to the economic shocks caused by the pandemic because they are predominantly employed in precarious low-wage sectors and were often the first to experience job losses.³²

Job and income losses, migration cost and recruitment, access to health care and social protection became more visible problems for migrant workers. Our research findings confirm all these problems for Pilipina/o workers in Greece. Moreover, no days off, increased wage theft and increased racism and discrimination are common outcomes of the pandemic.³³

Prior to the pandemic, **70%** of our respondents experienced or somehow experienced **difficulty in covering basic expenses, such as rent and bills**. This shows that one of the biggest problems for Pilipina/o workers regardless of the

³². Jones, K., Mudaliar, S., & Piper, N. (2021). Locked down and in limbo: The global impact of COVID-19 on migrant worker rights and recruitment. International Labour Office.

³³. We did not have a pre-post test for COVID-19 impacts but we believe that respondents' memories of their experiences before and after the pandemic are reliable enough to obtain a general picture on how the pandemic may or may not have impacted on some of their basic needs and expenses.

pandemic, is that salaries were not sufficient for living a decent life, without worrying about basic expenses and housing. **Reduction of salaries (38%) and working hours (33%)** exacerbated pre-existing financial hardship (FIGURE 12).

FIGURE 12.

Before the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, did you experience any of the following issues?

Answered: 87 | Skipped: 23

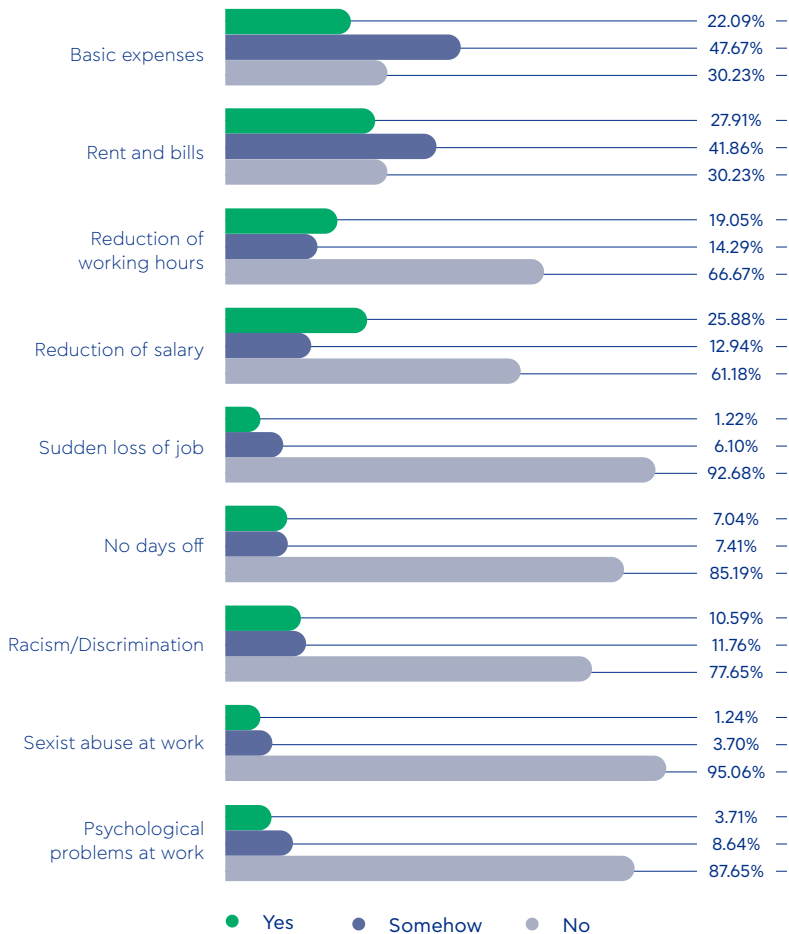
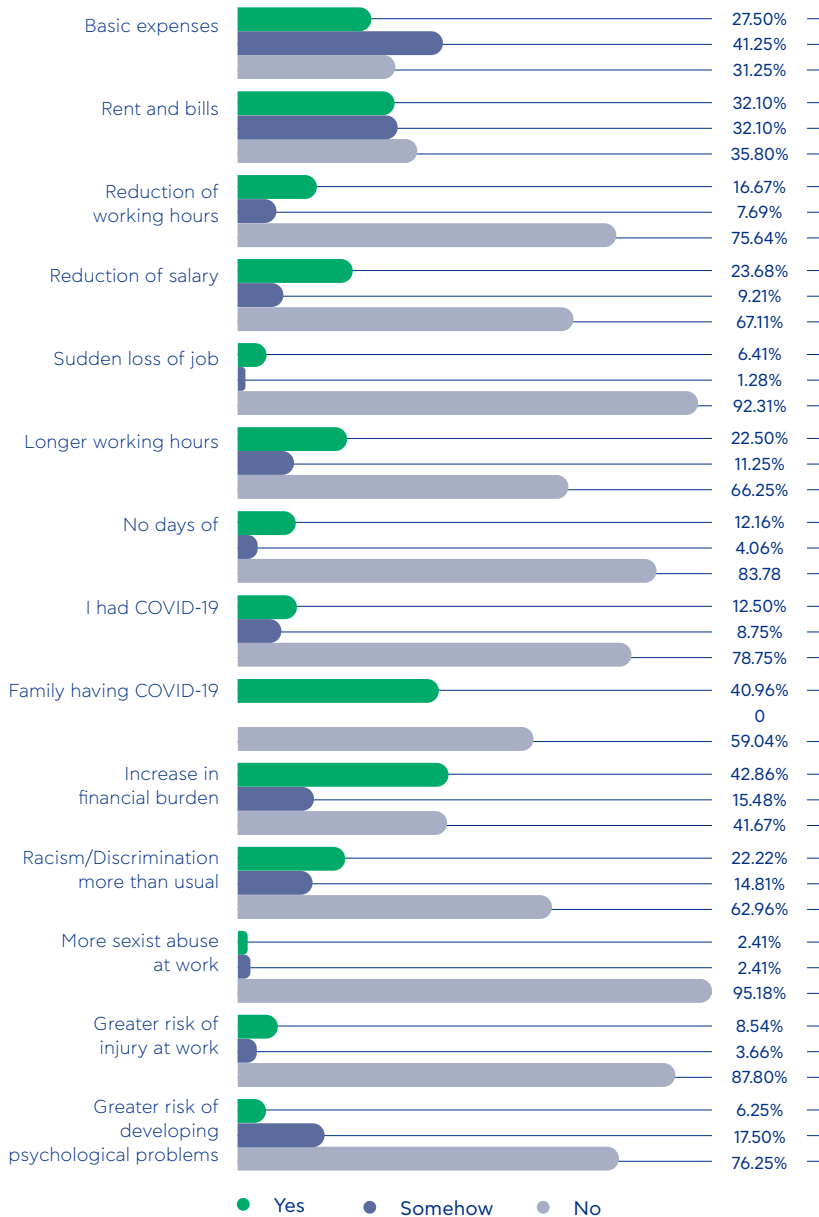


FIGURE 13.

Since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, have you experienced any of the following issues?

Answered: 86 | Skipped: 24



Our respondents reported that *after* the pandemic started, there was no significant change in these problems (FIGURE 13). They still face the same difficulties in covering basic needs and paying for bills and housing. However, some of our survey respondents and an interview participant emphasized that the pandemic resulted in reduced working hours and non-payment of wages:

“Work hours went down and the boss became strict.”

–Survey respondent

“With the lockdown, we have the problem of money, the employers are not paying us.”

–Survey respondent

“They [the employers] reduce the work hours. They say, ‘you have to work only two hours because of the pandemic’, they will cut the salary slowly because you will stay in the house. Then they also say you will be paid in a month; you will be delayed. They will tell you they will stop your work without any insurance, without any money you worked for. They will tell you **‘You will not receive any of your money because of the pandemic**, because I could not go to work, my company loses money’, they start with many questions, but they have money in the bank.”

–Interview with a Pilipina domestic worker, 48

Restaurant workers also experienced loss of income due to COVID-related suspension of catering activities:

“Our [waitering] work has been suspended because the restaurants were closed due to the lockdown. We were told that we would return to our jobs in a couple of months but we do not know when yet. We received 740 euros for the first government support in Greece and 534 euros for the second one since we are suspended from work. One of the concerns for us is **not receiving tips** and our daily check is 17.30 euros per day and without tips, it is not enough money. Tips can sometimes be as much as a salary depending on where you work.”

–Restaurant worker, Focus Group 3

"We are not equal. We are second class. **They think we are slaves to them.** The hotel I work tells me that we are a small business so **we can't pay your full salary anymore under COVID-19.** We have no contract, so they just reduce the salary without reducing hours. We got little income."

—Hotel worker, Focus Group 1

More than **half of respondents (58%)** reported that **their financial burden increased** because they were **infected with COVID-19** (21% of respondents) or had a family member who was infected with COVID-19 (41%) (FIGURE 13).

While **racism and discrimination** was a problem for more than **22.5%** of respondents before the pandemic, **experiences of racism and discrimination almost doubled (37%) after the start of the pandemic** (FIGURE 13). A survey participant explained their experience of COVID-19 as follows:

"There are those who will avoid you or who will not talk to you."

—Survey respondent

Respondents also felt more vulnerable and **psychologically at risk at work** during the pandemic. While **only 12%** reported that they were at risk of developing psychological problems at work **before the pandemic**, during the pandemic twice as many workers felt at risk of developing psychological problems at work (**23.75%**) (FIGURE 13).

When asked to comment on how they felt the impact of the pandemic, respondents gave some of the following responses: "Less time together with the other relatives and friends", "Anxiety", and "Paranoia".

For the ones who did not suffer from a reduction of hours and payment, another problem occurred during the pandemic, especially for domestic workers: **Working hours became much longer, with no change in salaries (33.75%)**. In addition, more than 12% of workers felt at a **greater risk of injury at work** due to long work hours. Among respondents

who were domestic workers, **25% stated that their employers obligated them to live in**, whereas they were previously living out in their own homes, with their own privacy, and with access to their own social networks. More than 45% of respondents were told by their employers that because of the pandemic, **they were not to see their friends if they had time off from work. This resulted in many losing touch with part of their social network.** Survey respondents explained some of the problems they faced with the pandemic:

“To keep my work, I become live-in from live-out.”

“My employer insisted I should have no days off.”

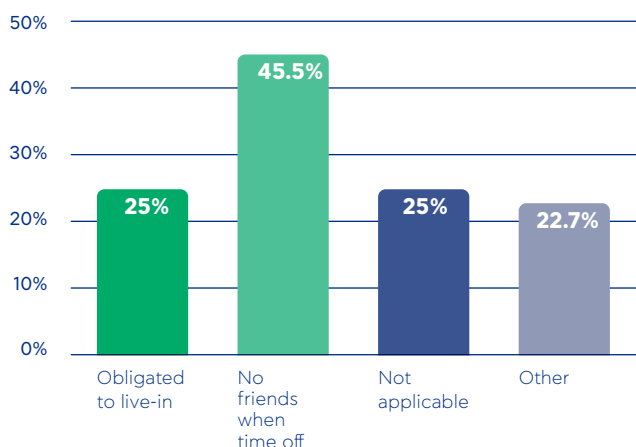
“Not seeing relatives and friends is really difficult. But still thankful for social media platforms for videocalls.”

—Survey respondents

FIGURE 14.

If you are a care or domestic worker, have you experienced any of the following changes since the start of COVID-19 in March 2020?

Answered: 44 | Skipped: 66



A domestic worker in our focus group described us the experience of her close friend who is obligated to live in:

“My housemate was a live-out before. But the employer told her to live in because they do not want her to have any contact with other people because of, you know, this pandemic. She was forced to work as a live-in. They told her **that you have to choose: if you want to keep your job, get inside the house, live in the house.** The salary is ok but the thing is that you should be the one who decides if you want to be a live-in or a live-out.”

–Domestic worker, Focus Group 1

Ellene Sana, a prominent activist with the Center for Migrant Advocacy in the Philippines, elaborated on this phenomenon while seeking to illustrate its global dimension:

“Pilipinos are everywhere, officially in more than 200 countries and territories. And when COVID-19 struck, I think a lot of us, a lot of migrants were exposed to the virus, and were displaced from their jobs. Because the majority of our workers are concentrated – more than 62% of women migrant workers from last year’s data – in domestic work. And the nature of the work would entail close contact, etc. So it’s not that OK, then you get the disease, that’s not what I’m saying. The main issue with the lockdown is that every member of the household is present in the house. **They are all very happy, but this of course would be at the expense of the domestic worker, so even on their day off, you know that one day off a week, would be denied to them,** they [the employers] can always use the pretext that ‘oh, this is not good for you’, because you would probably be more exposed to the virus if you were going to go out. So that’s one issue for our women, who are mostly in domestic work.”

More than 6% of respondents **lost their jobs suddenly** without any compensation and explanation due to the pandemic.

With loose implementation of labour legislation, migrant workers often consider illness to be a luxury, as they could suddenly lose their jobs as a result. This is understandably a source of anxiety. COVID-19 exacerbated this anxiety. More **than 20% of respondents** reported that they **lost their jobs** because of sickness (FIGURE 15). A focus group participant explained her husband's situation:

GRAPHIC 2.

Loss of jobs by women migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic
(UN Women, 'Explainer: How COVID-19 impacts women and girls,' 2021,
<https://tinyurl.com/y2r8mbvv>)

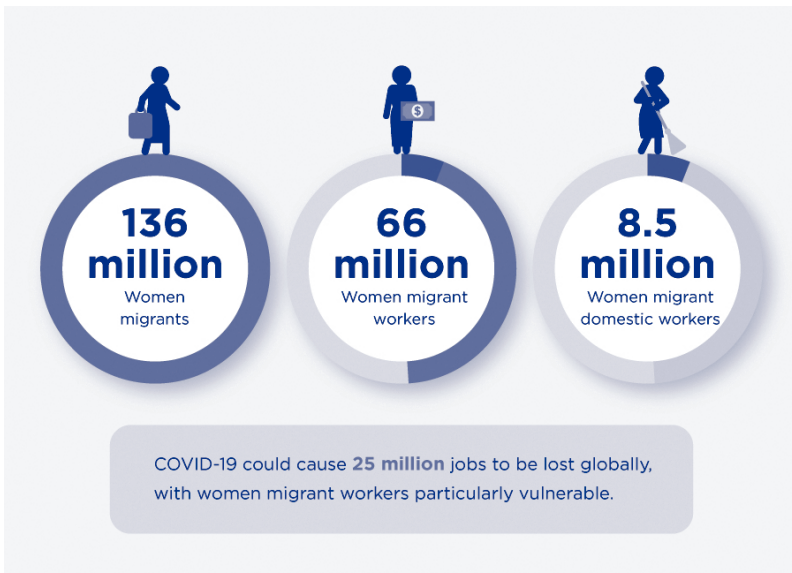


FIGURE 15.

Have you ever lost a job because of sickness?

Answered: 68 | Skipped: 42



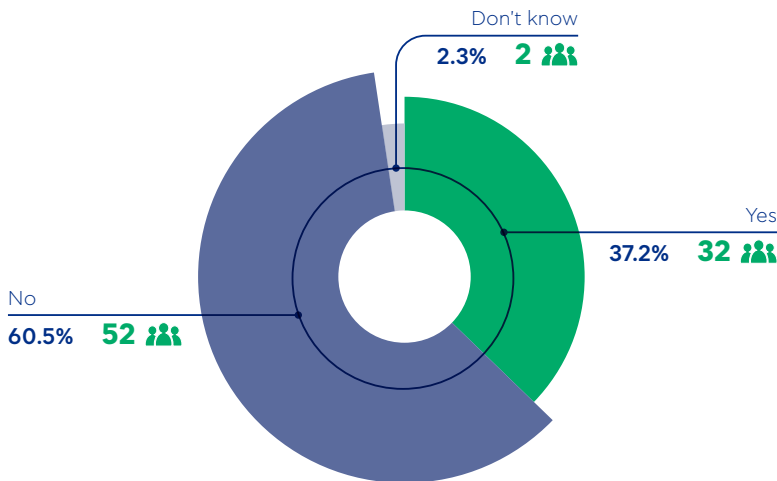
“My husband became sick due to stress from his job. He worked for years without a day off and he has hypertension now. Now he lost his job without any compensation because of his health condition. It is not fair.”

–Domestic worker, Focus Group 1

FIGURE 16.

Have you received any benefits from OWWA (Overseas Welfare Workers' Administration) related to the COVID-19 pandemic?

Answered: 86 | Skipped: 24



More than 60% of respondents did not receive any COVID-19-related benefits from the Overseas Welfare Workers' Administration, whereas around 37% did (FIGURE 16). Restaurant workers among the focus group participants also told us that they received some benefits from the Greek government due to being furloughed. However, they did not consider this a sufficient contribution to earning their living, for various reasons, including not receiving tips from customers. A focus group participant lost his job due to the pandemic, but since he was a freelancer on paper, he could not receive

aid from the Philippines; he could not prove that he lost his job to the Pilipino authorities:

“The Philippines gave aid for people who are not working so you need to prove that you are not working or you need a certificate from the employer that you left the job because of the COVID. If you have that, then you are qualified for 200 euros aid from the Pilipino government... The seamen are mostly qualified for this COVID aid but those who do not have IKA, you were not qualified for this aid at the beginning of the pandemic. I cannot provide IKA by my employer; I am self-employed according to the IKA because the employer refuses to pay IKA.”

–Yacht worker, Focus Group 2

CONTRACTS AND WAGES

Informal and hourly work arrangements are widespread in Greece, a situation exacerbated by the economic crisis³⁴. Contracts are rare among respondents, suggesting that informal labour rates are very high in this workforce.

When asked whether they had a contract in their current jobs, approximately two thirds of respondents (65.3%) said they did not, 30.7% said they did, and 2.7% said they did not know whether or not they had one (FIGURE 17). Of those who said they did not have contracts, only 26.7% attempted to obtain one.

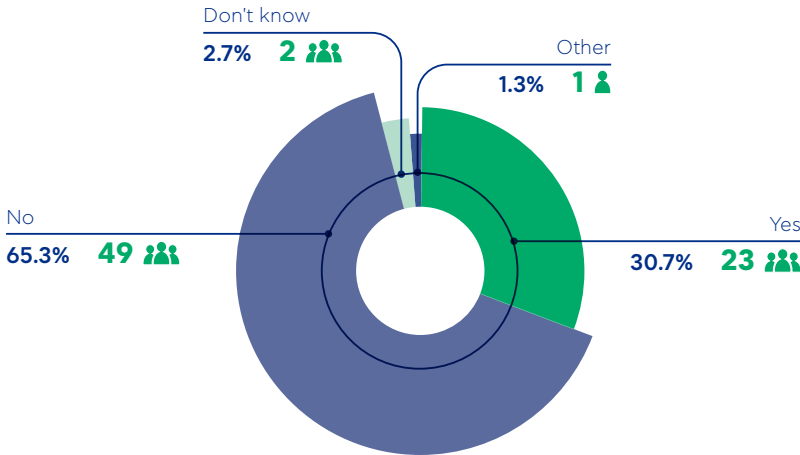
Meanwhile, nearly two thirds of respondents (61.64%) confirmed that their employers *had* declared their work in Er-

34. See Gialis, S., & Herod, A. (2014). Of steel and strawberries: Greek workers struggle against informal and flexible working arrangements during the crisis. *Geoforum*, 57, 138-149. Floros, K., & Jørgensen, M. B. (2020), and Tracing the future of migrants' labor relations: Experiences of institutionalized migrant precarity in Denmark and Greece. *Political Geography*, 77, 102-120

FIGURE 17.

Do you have a written contract in your current job?

Answered: 75 | Skipped: 35



gani, the Greek national employment database.³⁵ Almost a quarter (24.66%) said their employers *had not* declared their work in Ergani, and 13.7% don't know (FIGURE 18).

Here we must note that a salaried worker in Greece can have a contract but not be declared by their employer in Ergani, or vice versa. Yet having only one of the two makes workers more precarious (and in most cases, reflects a failure on the employers' side to do the legal paperwork). For a sal-

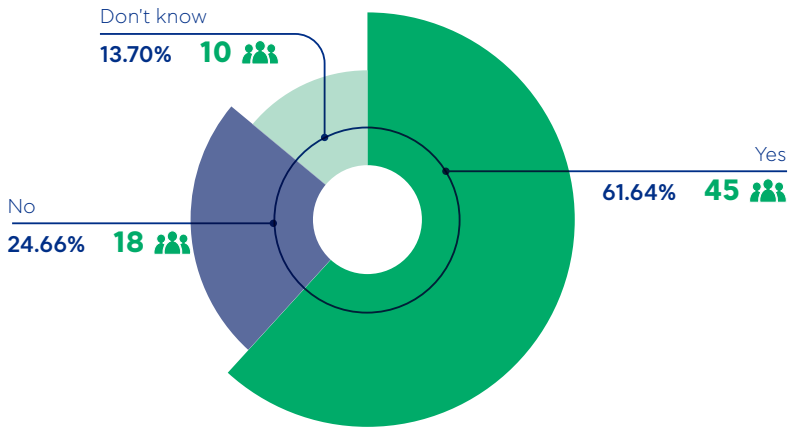
³⁵. Prior to conducting the survey, members of the research team believed that respondents may not be entirely clear about what a formal or contract would look like, or what Ergani (Greek national employment database) might be. It is possible that certain respondents have never seen their contract, as they may have never received a copy (a practice not uncommon among several employment sectors largely staffed by migrants), or that they may have been declared by their employers in the Ergani database, but without ever signing a contract, which is highly problematic, but technically sufficient for the employment to be at least formal in part, as far as the Greek state is concerned. Finally, there are also individuals who – because their employers never made them privy to any paperwork, if there was any – may have been told that they were formally hired, but were not.

aried worker in Greece to be fully protected by labour legislation, they need to *both* have a contract *and* to be registered in Ergani. **Only one in five (21.3%) respondents have both, and one in four (24%) have neither.**

FIGURE 18.

Is your work declared in the electronic database (Ergani) by your employer?

Answered: 73 | Skipped: 37

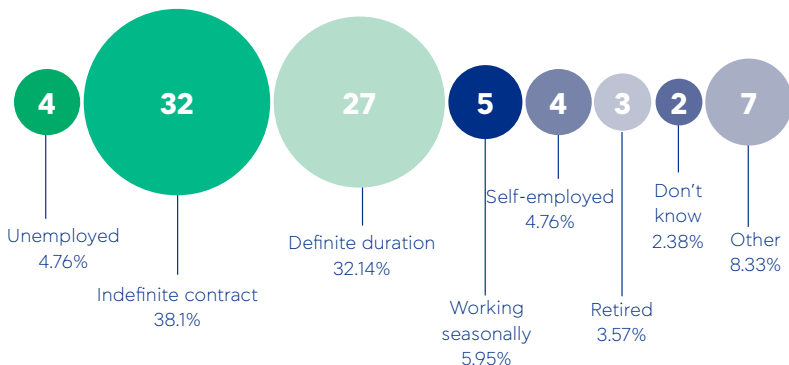


When asked what kind of contract they had, 38.1% said that they had an open contract or definite duration contract (FIGURE 19).

FIGURE 19.

What is your current employment status?

Answered: 84 | Skipped: 26



Most respondents said they received payment once a month (in some cases twice, and in others on a weekly basis), 31.25% said that they had experienced issues being paid on time. Some said that this was because the current crisis³⁶ put a strain on their employers, whereas others attributed it to the employer's lack of responsibility. Survey responses include the following:

"Lack of responsibility of employer"

"They always forgot"

"Because of the crisis"

"They say that their business is not working well"

"Irresponsible employer"

"Forgetting"

—Survey respondents

When asked whether they tried to be paid on time nonetheless, 55.10% said "no". This suggests that the majority feel either fear or reservation in asking for late salaries, unpaid salaries or overtime payments from their employers. Among those who did try to rectify payment issues, they either had to remind their employers or managers to pay them prior to or past the due date, or go to a lawyer or a non-profit organization to mediate or represent them (or at least to learn about different rights and possibilities tied to claiming their salaries).³⁷ One respondent quit their job after talking to their employers because the employer refused to pay their wages. Survey responses included the following comments about this issue:

36. Which crisis this referred to was not specified, but given the timing of the responses (the early weeks of 2022), we assume this was a reference to financial problems brought about chiefly by the pandemic.

37. Legal fees and expenses, sometimes only for consultation, neither guarantee neither a timely payment nor one that accounts for legal fees and expenses incurred.

"Reminding them by texting a day before the payment day"

"I consult lawyer and OAED"

"I messaged them I need money for my family"

"By asking for my salary every time there was a delay"

"I talked with my head chef regarding that matter"

"I talked to the boss for the sake of doing so, then I left the job"

"If you cannot be paid at the right time, it is better that I resign."

–Survey respondents

When asked who they would go to for help if they faced similar issues with their payments in the future, answers included a labour lawyer, an organization such as IKA, OWWA,³⁸ KASAPI or the embassy, after talking to their employers.

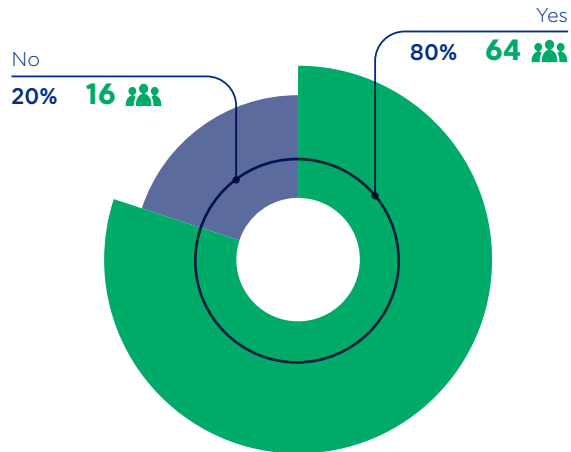
Meanwhile, 80% of respondents send money to their relatives abroad. This suggests that potential delays in payments or wage theft could be stressful not only to themselves and their families here, but also to (potentially vulnerable or dependent) relatives abroad, who may receive transfers late, or never.

38. Philippine Overseas Welfare Workers' Administration. On its website (<https://tinyurl.com/t3czk4w>), OWWA defines itself as follows: "The Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) is an attached agency of the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) and a membership institution. It protects and promotes the welfare of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) and their dependents."

FIGURE 20.

Do you send money to any relatives abroad?

Answered: 80 | Skipped: 30



INFORMATION BOX 2

What is wage theft?

Wage theft means not being paid for the work you've done; examples include when an employer pays less than the minimum wage or does not pay overtime or bonuses, when they deduct payment, or when they fail to pay altogether.

While wage theft is a widespread problem in Greece, especially during the economic crisis,³⁹ migrant workers are even more vulnerable due to a lack of contracts, documents, flexible labor, and limited worker knowledge regarding labour law.

In our interview with Ellene Sana from the Center for Migrant Advocacy (CMA) in the Philippines, she shared some insights on how Pilipina/os experience this across the world. She also gave some pointers on how best to address it:

Dilara Demir: Could you give us a brief overview of the most recurring complaints or problems that you receive?

Ellene Sana: Actually, facilitating assistance to distressed workers is part of a regular program at the CMA. And every year we receive more than 100 cases. Annually, more than 60% are from women migrant workers. So the top complaints of workers who approach us for assistance, are in the following order: non-payment of wages,

³⁹. Voskeritsian, H., Kapotas, P., Kornelakis, A., & Veliziotis, M. (2019), The dark side of the labour market: Institutional change, economic crisis and undeclared work in Greece during the crisis. In Pulignano, V. and Hendrickx, F. (eds), *Employment Relations in the 21st Century: Challenges for Theory and Research in a Changing World of Work*. Kluwer Law International.

underpayment of wages and overwork. You know you overwork and you are not paid for the services that you've rendered. And then verbal abuse, physical abuse. And then insufficient and poor living and working conditions. So these are year in, year out, the top complaints for both men and women workers. And in fact, of course, as we expected, for 2020, the number of cases have increased. So up to October, last year, 2019, and for 12 months, we received 192 cases. For 2020, by October, we had already received more than 200 cases. And again, the usual complaints would be in relation to wages. Of course this situation is not only experienced by Filipino migrant workers. Especially in the Gulf states, where you have a lot of other nationalities, and of course they are being repatriated in the tens of thousands as well, their main issue is unpaid wages. The CMA is part of this regional network, it's called Migrant Forum in Asia,⁴⁰ together with Solidarity Center and the Unions, they took this initiative to launch a campaign, which they called "Justice for Wage Theft".⁴¹ So the aim of the campaign is to highlight that during this pandemic, hundreds of thousands of migrant workers are being repatriated without being paid their wages, so by wages we mean that they already worked for it, but they are not paid by their employers. So for those who are qualified to receive gratuity pay, because they are with the same employer for over a year, they also didn't get their gratuity pay (or end-of-service benefits pay as it's known in the Gulf states). So that's why we're joining this campaign, which is a global campaign, to address the issue of wage theft being committed against migrant work-

40. Migrant Forum in Asia: <https://tinyurl.com/y5mxav9h>

41. Justice for Wage Theft, Call for an Urgent Justice Mechanism for Repatriated Migrant Workers, <https://tinyurl.com/yxea6cpr>

ers. So that's the top issue, but, then again, more than 60% of the cases that we attend to at CMA are from women migrant workers, that's economic violence, but also physical and verbal abuse, but gender-based violence as well is quite prevalent of course among our women migrant workers."



GRAPHIC 3.

Poster on wage theft by Arby Hamiya Saquilabon (Online gallery of the Justice for Wage Theft Campaign, <https://tinyurl.com/y6eh52yh>)

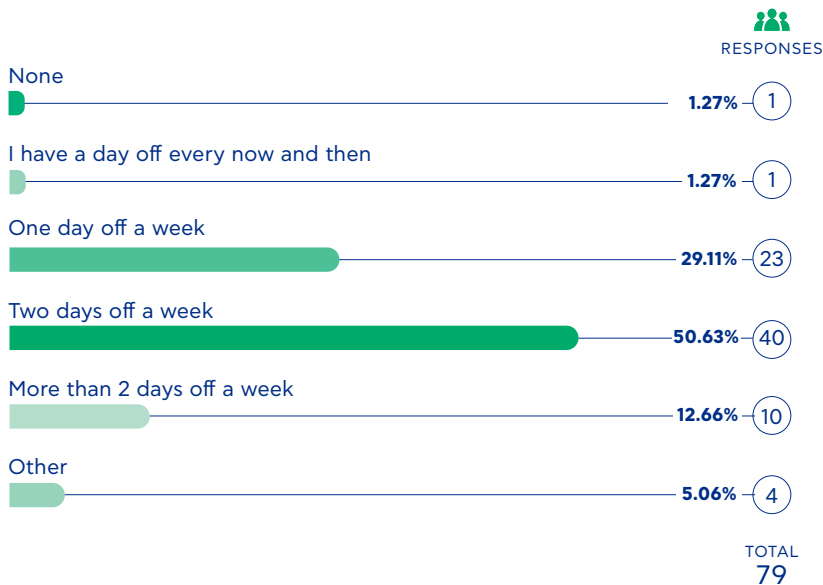
WORKING CONDITIONS

While wages and contracts are central issues, so are working conditions for migrant workers. Most of our respondents work five days a week, whereas 42.11% work on Saturdays and 17.11% on Sundays. The average number of days worked per week is 5.27 days. Some 5.2% of respondents typically work seven days per week. 50.6% of respondents are granted two days off per week at their workplace, while 29.1% have only one day off per week (FIGURE 21).

FIGURE 21.

How many days off a week do you have?

Answered: 79 | Skipped: 31



Most feel that their workplace is generally safe in terms of physical health and well-being (93.15%), but 6.85% said it is not. Of those who said it isn't, they provided the following reasons:

- they work such long hours that they get very tired, which increases their risk of getting hurt (30%)
- they are not provided with appropriate protective equipment (30%)
- they have experienced physical violence from their employer or co-workers (10%)

In a focus group with yacht/ship workers, one of our participants related their own story about health and safety issues at the workplace. The story aptly illustrates that migrant workers' health and safety is often at the discretion of the employer with no legal or institutional protection:

"After working in the farms and factories secretly without documents in the 80s, I started to work on a ship with this family. I have worked here for more than 28 years; when I lived in the big charter boat, every transfer we were looking for a good employer, sometimes we had bad, abusive captains. The captain was very abusive. They wanted me to stay every day; even when I looked around in the marina, they didn't like it. They always wanted me on the boat; they didn't want me to be in the marina. In terms of accidents, if something happens, like myself. When I had an accident on the boat, I cut my fingers with the rope. But I am blessed because my employer did everything, he picked me up with a helicopter, put me into the hospital. But if somebody has the same accident and his employer prefers not to help at all, it is very difficult for him. I know Pilipinos who died without any help, I know Pilipinos who cut their fingers and got no assistance, I know Pilipinos who fell down and until now, they fight for their rights in Greece. There is no obligation for the employer to take care of you legally in these circumstances. I will give you an example: One friend of ours fell down at workplace ten years ago and until now, he fights at the court for his rights. He spent a lot of money on his lawyer to fight for his rights. Until now, he did not receive any money [compensation] from the employer be-

cause of the law. There is no specific law to cover us, to help us that we need.”

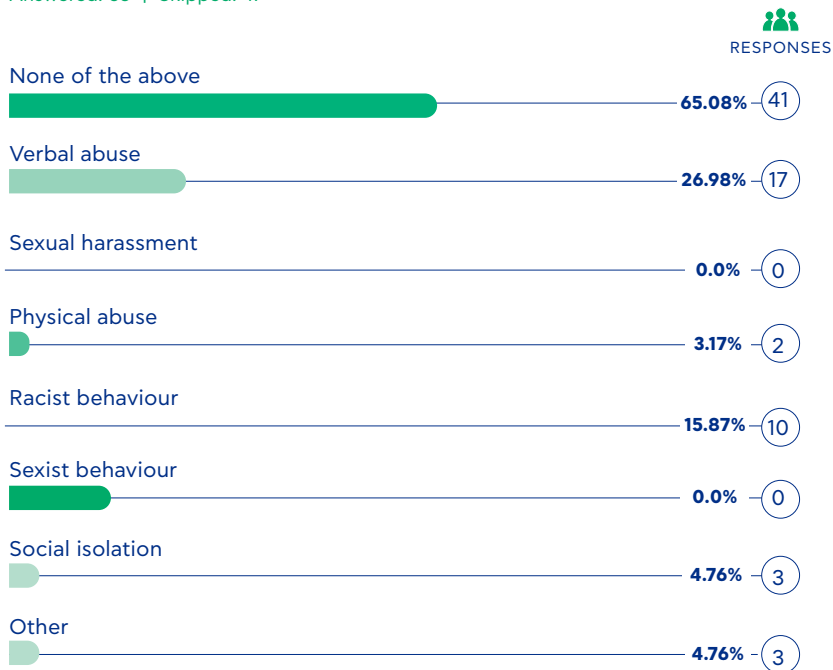
–Yacht worker, Focus Group 2

One in five respondents (19.7%) reported that they fell seriously ill or were injured while working, 70.6% that their employer did not provide some form of medical assistance for their illness or injury, and only 12.5% that they received some form of financial compensation for their illness or injury. One in five respondents (20.6%) reported that they lost a job because of sickness.

FIGURE 22.

Have you ever experienced any of the following in your past or current jobs?

Answered: 63 | Skipped: 47



In addition to lack of health and safety at work, abusive treatment by employers is a significant problem. Regarding abuse in the workplace, significant numbers of participants reported some form of abuse including verbal abuse (27%) and racist behaviour (15.9%). Only women workers reported physical abuse (3.2%). Around two thirds (65.1%) of respondents do not believe that they have been subjected to these experiences (FIGURE 22).

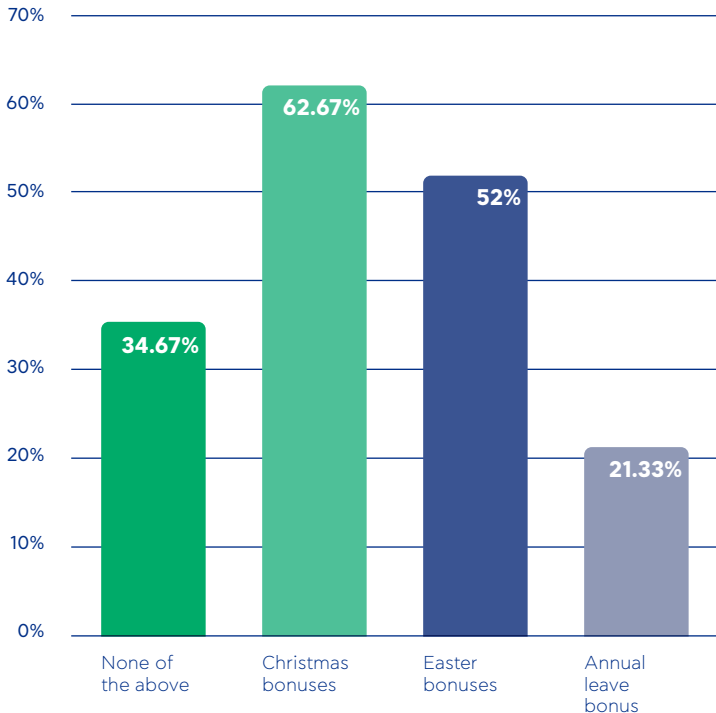
Our findings also show that Pilipina/o workers often work in excess of what is safe or legal, that they are frequently not paid bonuses or leave, and that they are missing out on social security coverage. The long-term impact of (frequently unpaid) overwork has alarming implications for the physical and mental well-being of our respondents.

- One in three (**35.21%**) work **overtime**, 60.56% do not, and 4.23% “don’t know”.
- On average, respondents work 8.3 hours per day, **37% work more than 8 hours a day**, and **8% work between 14 and 15 hours daily**.
- When asked whether their overtime was paid, 42.22% said “Yes”, 51.11% said “No”, and 6.67% said they “don’t know”.
- When asked how their overtime was paid, 53.33% said it was paid “formally”, 10% “informally”, 13.33% that it was paid neither formally nor informally, 13.33% that they “don’t know”, and 10% said “Other”. When asked to specify what they meant by “Other”, one said: “If I take overtime, I am not paid”, and another said: “I am given a day off instead of cash money.”
- When asked whether they received any of the bonuses that Greek law mandates for salaried work (chiefly Christmas, Easter and annual leave bonuses), two out of three respondents (62.67%) said they receive Christmas bonuses, half (52%) Easter bonuses, one in five (21.33%) annual leave bonuses, and **one in three (34.67%) that they receive none of the above**.

FIGURE 23.

Do you ever receive any of the following bonuses? Check whichever apply.

Answered: 75 | Skipped: 35



When asked whether they had received any other benefits that salaried workers are typically entitled to, half (50.7%) said they get paid vacation time, 22.5% said they get unpaid vacation time, and only 16.9% said they get paid sick leave; **23.94% get no such benefits** (FIGURE 24).

FIGURE 24.

In your current job, did you ever receive the above from your employer? Check all that apply.

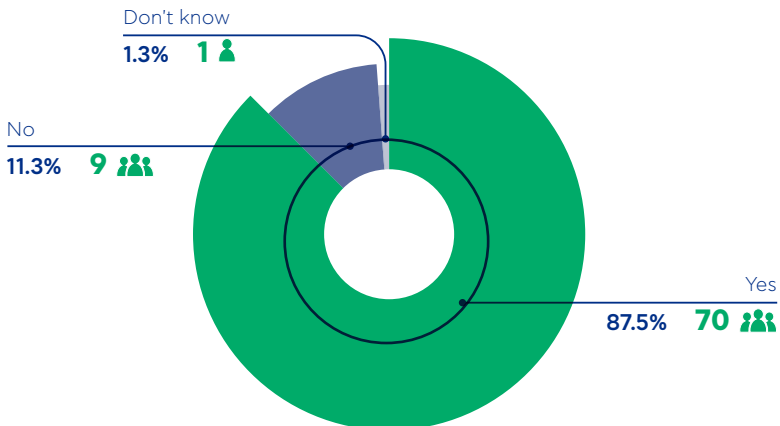
Answered: 71 | Skipped: 39



FIGURE 25.

Do you have any kind of social security in your current job?

Answered: 80 | Skipped: 30



Meanwhile, 87.5% said they receive social security as part of their current job, and 11.25% do not (1.25% “don’t know”) (FIGURE 25).

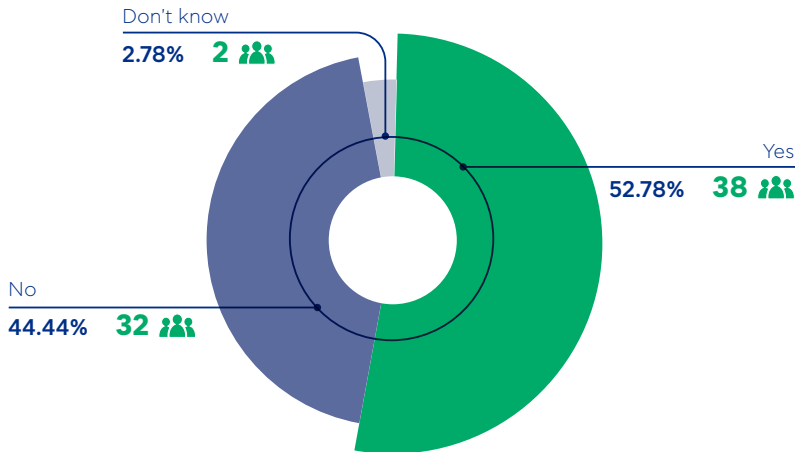
All but a few respondents, meanwhile, are insured with IKA-EFKA (96.15%).⁴²

Over 52% of respondents said they had worked in Greece without any form of social security (FIGURE 26).

FIGURE 26.

Have you ever worked in Greece without any social insurance?

Answered: 80 | Skipped: 30



Those who said they had worked without any form of social security, were asked for how long, and a large percentage (42.5%) said that this happened for over six years.

Some 87.5% of respondents have some kind of social security in their jobs, while 11.3% do not. Four-fifths (80.77%) are currently employed in a manner that includes *ensima* (social security stamps), 15.38% without and 3.8% “don’t know”. When

⁴². Very few individuals, meanwhile, have some form of private insurance plan.

asked how many *ensima* they collected throughout their working life, only one out of three respondents provided a precise figure, which averages at 4,847.5 (this meets one of the requirements for a reduced national pension, but is a considerable way away from the 6,000 needed for a full national pension).⁴³

When asked how many they typically collect in a year, there were not many accurate responses. Some respondents declared that they do not know how many work stamps they collect in a year.

FIGURE 27.

Which one of the following subsidies have you received from the Greek state? Check all that apply. If you haven't received any, leave all blank.

Answered: 39 | Skipped: 71



⁴³. For more detail, see a list of frequently asked questions by the Greek National Social Security Fund (EFKA), Σύμβαση λόγω γήρατος / Προϋποθέσεις απονομής [Retirement due to old age/Award conditions], <https://tinyurl.com/y3d75t9s>

When asked which benefits they received from the Greek state, 64% did not receive any from those listed below. From those who did receive benefits, 41% received housing subsidies, 20.5% received unemployment benefits, 20.5% received social dividends, 17.9% received a free transport card, and 12.8% received some compensation related to COVID-19 (FIGURE 27).

At this point it is worth noting that the manner in which Pili-pina/o migrants are employed does not necessarily reflect their real job. As a result, they may be occasionally losing out on key subsidies. One respondent, who was formally registered as a domestic worker, was under the impression that they were working as a yacht worker, and that they were entitled to some subsidies brought about as a result of COVID-19 relief policies in Greece when their employer sold their boat:

“Domestic workers cannot apply for OAED [unemployment benefits], I don’t know why. **Most yacht workers are registered as domestic workers at home by the employer**, that’s why it is a big problem. The people who work at hotels, offices or restaurants are the only ones who can get unemployment benefits or COVID compensation from the Greek state. I have experience with OAED. **My employers sold the boat and suddenly I lost my job. I went to OAED and found out that I was registered at their home, not in the yacht.** I asked for some paperwork from my employer and **they said you cannot get money from OAED.**”

–Yacht worker, Focus group 2

Meanwhile, one of our focus group members clearly demonstrated why poor social security practices with employers can cause problems in their daily lives:

“My current employers are good; they behave well with me. **But they do not pay IKA** [social security benefits], I do not have papers to show that I work on the yacht. If the police catch me, I can get a fine of 300 euros from the police if I go out. So I cannot go out from the boat at all.”

–Yacht worker, Focus Group 2

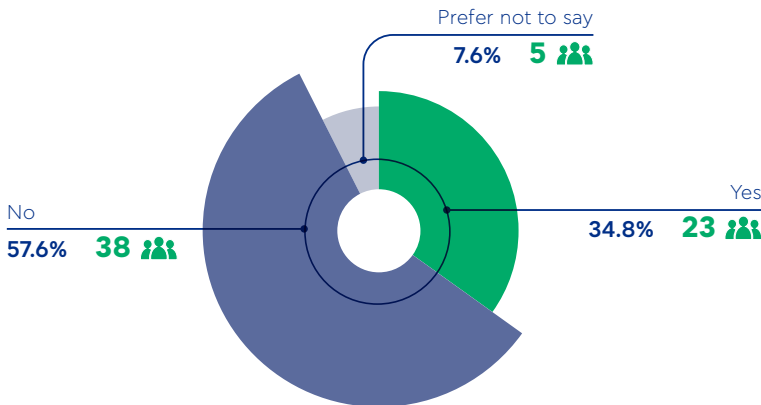
RELATIONS WITH EMPLOYERS

Migrant workers face frequent problems tied to their job: social security, paperwork for residence permits, retirement or unemployment benefits, and daily treatment from their employers. With this issue in mind, we asked who they would speak with if they had a problem at work (e.g. a problem with wages, shifts, working conditions, benefits, or sick pay), ranking their choices from 1 (most likely to speak with) to 6 (least likely). Most said they would speak with their employer first (73.3%), and do not prefer to go to a lawyer or to a trade union as their first choice (5.4%). For many (32.4%), going to a trade union or organization is their 4th choice. Social networks allow migrant workers to navigate their daily lives in

FIGURE 28.

Are you a member of any formal or informal worker association or organization or union?

Answered: 66 | Skipped: 44



any host country. When workers face problems, institutions, organizations and social networks are even more important. We asked research participants whether they were members of any formal or informal worker association, organization or union: 34.8% said “yes”, 57.6% said “no”, and 7.6% preferred not to answer (FIGURE 28).

We initially assumed that migrant workers who are more organized (members of formal or informal worker associations or unions), which represent 34.8% of respondents, would show a greater preference to go to trade unions or organizations as their first or second choice. Yet this doesn’t appear to be the case. On the contrary, *none* of the respondents who are organized said that they would prefer to go to a trade union or organization as their first choice if they had a problem. In other words, unionized workers would not go to a union as their first choice. Some 14.3% of organized migrant workers prefer going to a trade union as their second choice, a little more than the general population of our respondents (10.8%). On the other hand, more organized workers are more likely to go to a lawyer as their first choice (13.3%) than the general population of the survey (5.4%). We cannot be sure as to why this is the case, but future research could delve into some of the reasons that influence such choices.

We also looked at how different occupational groups might respond to this question: Yacht or ship workers prefer going to their lawyers (66.7%) as their first choice before talking to their employers (40%), while *no* domestic worker said they would go to a lawyer as their first choice. We can hypothesize that, given the degree of informality that is part of their profession, domestic workers feel that they have a weaker legal case than other occupational groups, and that going to a lawyer would not be worth the effort or resources. It is also possible that the close relations developed with one’s employer in domestic work (especially for

live-in domestic workers) makes it practically and psychologically more difficult to take legal action. Ultimately, we would require additional research and information before reaching any conclusions.

When asked “What makes it difficult for you to negotiate with your employer about your job?”, respondents primarily cited a lack of Greek language skills (36.1%) and a lack of precise knowledge of one’s rights (36.1%), followed by not having a contract (33.3%), the fact of being isolated and having no one to back them up (27.8%), that their employer cites COVID-19 as a reason for either late payment, salary cuts, or reduction of working hours (25%), and that there is no organization to back one up (19.4%). One respondent provided an alternative (“Other”) response: “My employer always decides what is right or wrong” (FIGURE 29).

FIGURE 29.

What makes it difficult for you to negotiate with your employer about your job? Choose all that apply.

Answered: 36 | Skipped: 74



MIGRATION, RESIDENCE PERMITS, AND CITIZENSHIP

In this study, migration issues cover residence permits, citizenship applications and temporary permits. Procedures for applying for residence permits⁴⁴ and naturalization⁴⁵ continue to be remarkably complex and inaccessible for applicants in Greece, and our findings corroborate this. The most problematic areas on migration status are acquiring long-term residence permits in Greece, cumbersome procedures, changes in law and a lack of political will for processing residence permits in a reasonable manner, temporary permits for long durations and poor naturalization policies.

FIGURE 30.

How did you enter Greece?

Answered: 88 | Skipped: 22



⁴⁴. Generation 2.0. (2021, December 1), An online platform made for Greeks only, <https://tinyurl.com/yxdotrej>

⁴⁵. Generation 2.0. (2021, November 3), Letter to the President of the Republic: Unduly extreme delays in the citizenship acquisition procedures, <https://tinyurl.com/yxj53jrl>

Our respondents entered Greece under different legal regimes: 40% said it was as domestic workers, around 20% as nursing aids and 18% on tourist visas (Figure 30. Types of visa to enter Greece by Pilipina/os). Some entered as seamen (5.68%), and this last group often face issues with both the Greek and Philippine states regarding their residence permits as well as extensions in documentation that would allow them continued access to working as seafarers. Several respondents cited Law 89,⁴⁶ which they argue shapes the general framework through which shipping companies hire workers from the Philippines, in a manner that causes endless trouble related to work and social security:

“Law 89 is the law for shipping companies; those shipowners, they have the right to take crew from the Philippines to work for their office as part of the Law 89. It is the same as *adeia paramonis* [residence permit], the only difference is IKA. *Adeia paramonis*, they got to pay your IKA, but the Law 89 is that they pay you private insurance. One more difference is that with Law 89, you cannot work anywhere else. If you lose your job, or you work somewhere else, they will find you and send you back to the Philippines. You cannot change your employer because you are under Law 89. Law 89 and seamen contracts are similar. If you have a problem with your employer, they will directly send you back to the Philippines unlike the *adeia paramonis*... If you are not happy with your employer because you are abused or you have a problem, you can go to the embassy of the Philippines. But their advice is that you can always go

46. A study by D. Angeli states: “According to the representative of the Filipino migrant association, domestic workers are recruited from Philippines through legal channels, but not as domestic workers; as contract workers or by making use of Law N. 89/1967, which allows offshore companies to hire foreign employees and directors. Most get employed by upper class households. Exploitation normally consists of undeclared work, long working hours and undefined tasks, as the domestic worker is often expected to be on stand-by day and night”. Angeli, D. (2017). Migrant domestic workers and human trafficking in Greece: Expanding the narrative, *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 15(2), 187-203.

back to the Philippines. The embassy cannot do anything about our seamen here ... There is a law that if you work at sea, you cannot work at home, that is Greek law. But most of the seamen and seawomen are brought here from the Philippines, it is easier to take people to your boat if you have a company in the Philippines – you can take 5 Pilipinos for a 30-meter boat – **they do not only own us as a crew, they use us at their homes, they also share us with their friends in Greece** even if it is illegal. It is good for us that they are hiring us, but when there is a problem there is nothing you can do legally. They are not our employers in the contracts when there is a problem. Things do not change for us unfortunately ... If I was injured on the boat, there is no medical assistance since in the contract, I do not work on that boat but I do not have a say. Only those who have a good heart, a good employer, can give you some assistance.”

–Yacht worker, Focus Group 2

“I have a good relationship with my employer. **However, not all employers are willing to give IKA, not all employers are willing to give a working permit as a seaman** ... There are many requirements to be a seaman with training for two weeks every year. I need the Greek government to give me that specific *adeia paramonis* [residence permit] for seamen ... For example, as a seaman, you must be here in Greece for seven years, you need to prove it with receipts with bills, insurance, house contract and other paperwork to prove that. **People who come here as seamen or student visa or Law 89 have these difficulties.**”

–Yacht worker, Focus Group 2

Residence permits

The most important concerns related to residence permit applications raised in focus groups are that a) the Greek government abolished indefinite permits in 2014 and b) workers are completely dependent on employers with respect to paperwork for residence permits. Residence permits issued today can have a maximum validity of ten years. Yet even those are not easily accessible: many participants who had held ei-

ther ten-year or indefinite duration residence permits, received two or three-year duration residence permits upon renewal. Some of these participants had worked and lived in Greece for 20 years or more.

When asked when the first time was that they applied for a residence permit, a significant number of respondents said it was in the late 1990s and the early 2000s (Figure 31). Meanwhile, nobody applied for a residence permit before 1986.

FIGURE 31.

In what year did you first apply for a residence permit in Greece?

Answered: 51 | Skipped: 59



NUMBER OF
RESPONDENTS

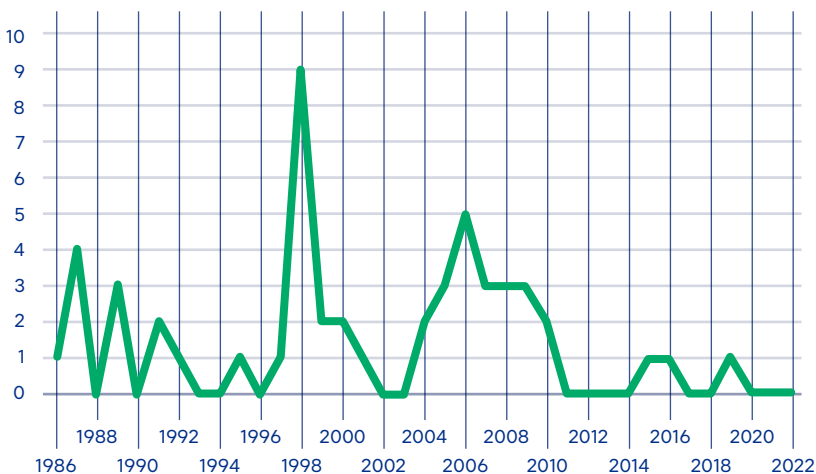
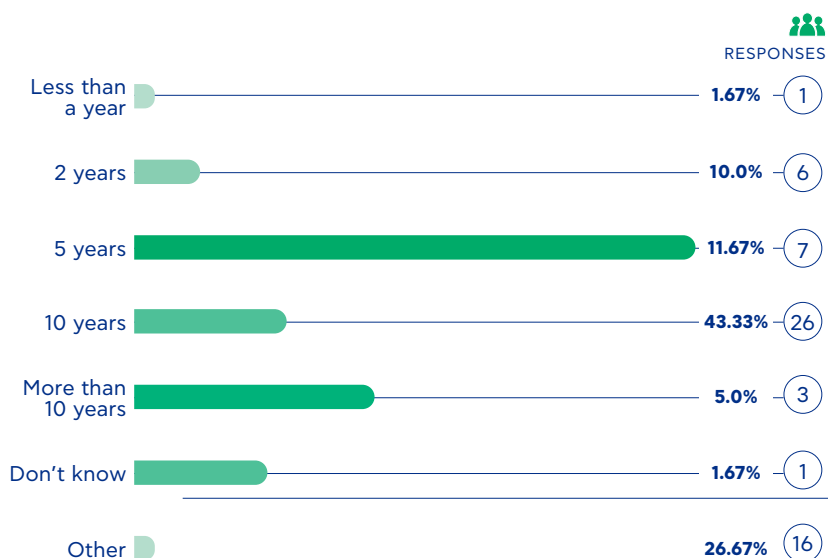


FIGURE 32.

For how long is your current residence permit valid?

Answered: 60 | Skipped: 50



When asked how many times they renewed their residence permits, 17.24% didn't know (FIGURE 31). Among those who did provide a figure, the average was more than six times. Some 24.1% have renewed their residence permit over six times. Shockingly, one respondent said that they originally obtained a residence permit in 1987, and that it is "renewed from time to time when it expires."

One Pilipino community activist and Greek citizen (aged 78), laid out his experience with residence permit applications in Greece:

"There is a question of how we can manage to survive, how we can manage our financial situation. At the same time, to stay healthy, to stay safe. These are all, our very strong concerns that each and every one of us, including myself, especially those who are in extreme vulnerability, who are vulnerable, people who are in an advanced age like myself... How we are

treated as migrants in Greece, this is not normal, for example, in terms of our residence permits... **How we are treated not as human beings, but just things that they benefit from.** So, we benefit and contribute a lot. **We contribute, we pay IKA, we buy groceries, we pay bus cards and all that. This is a contribution to the Greek economy.** Right? It is part of that, we pay rent, we pay our taxes, but despite that the government does not really give honor, does not really give respect, does not really acknowledge this contribution. So even if you are staying here for 30 years, 35 years; we have many people here that **stayed here for more than 30 years and still they have to run after the residence permit.** What does it mean? That means that the Greek government, the Greek state does not really appreciate our human contribution, our being human. We are treated as second, third class human beings... I have lived here in Greece for more than 30 years and I have seen, I have experienced racial discrimination and I had to fight that in order to remain stable, to stay legal here..."

–Interview with a Pilipino activist, Greek citizen, 78

In an interview, a seafarer underlined how social security-related practices can have a direct negative impact on migration status.

"Employers will often pay limited social security contributions. This is a huge problem, as in practice it could mean that you are getting a 2-year residence permit, whereas if you had collected more social security you could be getting a 5-year residence permit."

–Interview with a seafarer, 48

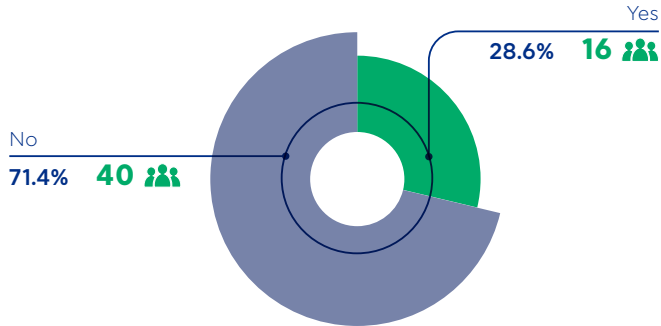
Citizenship

Very few Pilipina/os in Greece have acquired Greek citizenship: **Only 28%** have considered applying for it (FIGURE 33), and only 7% actually applied for Greek citizenship (FIGURE 34). From the five people who did apply, three received a positive response, one a pending response and one a negative response.

FIGURE 33.

Have you ever considered applying for Greek citizenship?

Answered: 56 | Skipped: 54



A 58-year-old worker expressed her concern about the citizenship application:

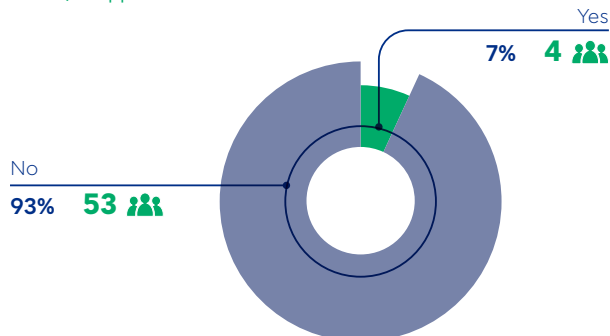
“Many people didn’t apply for citizenship because they know that **the Greek government is not really serious about giving citizenship to migrants. Even a simple work permit takes such a long time to process, how do we dare to apply for citizenship?** Most of the people are here for 30-35 years and the status of residence permit changes from time to time. They do not want to have false hopes for themselves that they can be granted citizenship.”

–Interview with a Pilipina care worker, 58

FIGURE 34.

Have you applied for Greek citizenship?

Answered: 56 | Skipped: 54



Another Pilipino migrant (aged 78) who received citizenship described his experiences with citizenship applications thus:

“You have to go through a labyrinthine process to obtain citizenship, and a lot of Pilipinos don’t have time for this. It is similar for residence permits. A lot of Pilipinos have paid a lot of money, and have been victims of lawyers. A lot of people will say ‘for God’s sake! I have to pay all this money, and there is no assurance that I will get the money back at all!’ For a lot of Filipinos this is hundreds of euros. **It took me 15 years, personally.** I had to speak with all sorts of people. **Now it’s much worse, there’s a written test.** I had to go to the interior ministry a number of times and plead with them, telling them I’ve been here for 30 years. It’s messy, and **instead of giving people opportunities for becoming citizens, it discourages them.** Even for the renewal of the residence permit, you go through a lot. You have to spend an incredible amount of time. If we had the right to vote, a lot of political parties would say ‘OK, we want to help you out with all your problems’. But right now, whatever government is in power, it’s the same. There’s a form of discrimination. And even when you become a Greek citizen, you’re still not one, you’re a second-class Greek citizen, that’s it. And we can only change that if we are all conscious of it. I recently heard of another two people born in Greece, and who currently don’t have a residence permit.”

–Interview with a Pilipino activist, Greek citizen, 78

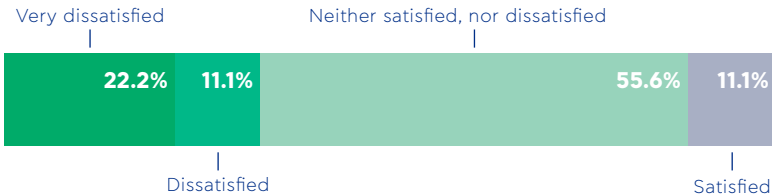
One respondent who was denied citizenship said it was because they failed to meet language requirements. In the focus groups, respondents consistently emphasized that they work their entire lives and never had time to prepare for Greek language exams required for citizenship applications or to prepare all the necessary documentation.

Of the nine respondents who answered a question on how satisfied they are with the Greek citizenship application process (very few have had an interaction with Greece’s citizenship services), 22.2% expressed great dissatisfaction, 11.1% dissatisfaction, 55.6% neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction and 11.1% satisfaction. None selected the option “very satisfied” (FIGURE 35).

FIGURE 35.

How satisfied are you with the services for Greek citizenship applications?

Answered: 9 | Skipped: 101



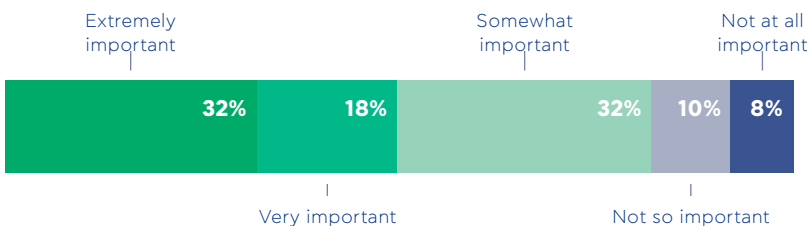
Despite not having access to citizenship, many feel strongly about the right to vote and stand for election at the national, EU and local level (FIGURE 36).

- 51% of the respondents believe it is “extremely important” or “very important” for them to have the right to vote and stand for elections at the local, national or EU level.
- When asked whether they felt their stay in Greece should give them the right to integrate, 92.7% said “yes”, and 7.3% said “no”.
- 96%, meanwhile, believe that their contribution to Greek society should be reflected in legislation that allows migrants the right to stand for, or vote in elections.

FIGURE 36.

How important is it for you to have the right to vote and stand for elections at the local, national, or EU level?

Answered: 50 | Skipped: 60



In 2010, a law was indeed introduced that allowed long-term resident holders to vote in local and EU elections but was short-lived as it was rejected by a constitutional court.⁴⁷ Where citizenship is very difficult to acquire, this means that in practice many individuals do not have any political power.

EMBASSY SERVICES

Across the world, embassies typically provide their citizens with a number of key services that otherwise would not be available to them if there was no diplomatic presence. Precisely what services are provided differs from one diplomatic mission to the next, but embassies are typically expected to provide access to vital documents, passport renewals, notarial services, and where elections take place abroad, voter registration services. Our study looked at Pilipina/o experiences of services provided by their embassy in Athens. When we dig deeper into which issues among embassy services are more likely to provoke dissatisfaction, the most important are **advocacy for the rights of Pilipina/os in Greece, behavior of personnel, and accessibility in terms of transportation, or during the pandemic by phone or email.**

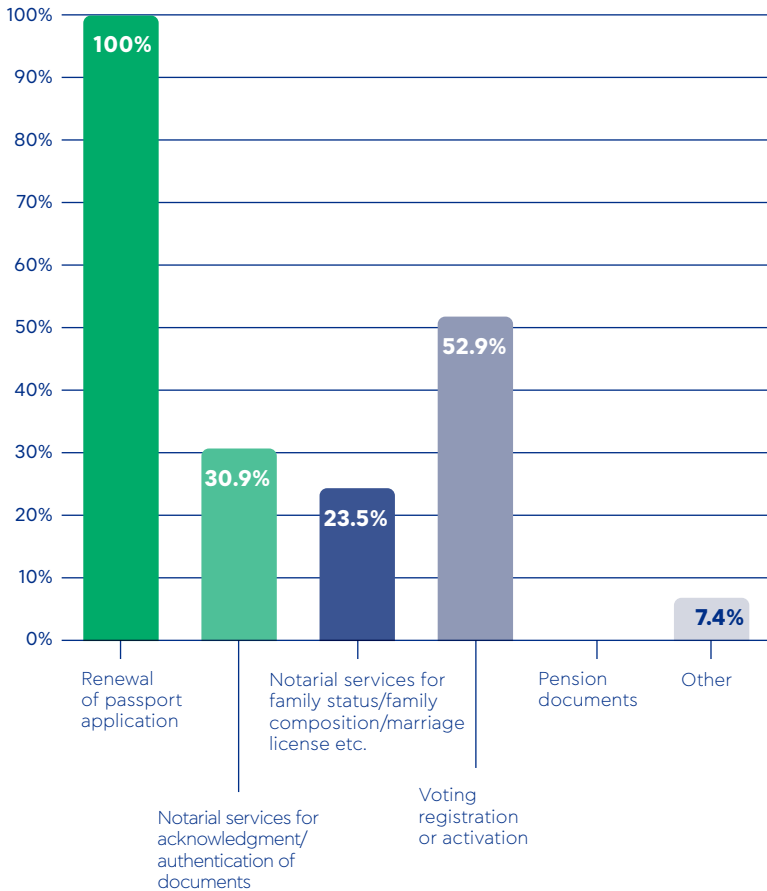
The most commonly used services in the embassy are renewal of passports (all respondents); voting registration or activation (52.9%); notarial services for acknowledgement/authentication of documents (30.9%); and notarial services for family status/family composition/marriage license, etc. (23.5%) (FIGURE 37).

⁴⁷. Triandafyllidou, A. (2015). Reform, counter-reform and the politics of citizenship: local voting rights for third-country nationals in Greece, *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 16(1), 43-60.

FIGURE 37.

Which embassy services have you used? Please check all that apply.

Answered: 68 | Skipped: 42

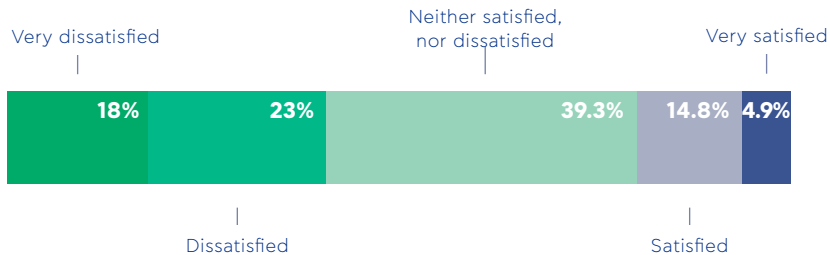


When we asked about their general degree of satisfaction with embassy services, 41% of respondents were either “very dissatisfied” or “dissatisfied”; only 19.7% were either “satisfied” or “very satisfied” (FIGURE 38).

FIGURE 38.

How satisfied are you with the Philippine embassy's services for its citizens in Greece?

Answered: 61 | Skipped: 49



One general complaint that frequently appears in the survey and in our discussion is the cost of transactions. From an interview with a community member:

"When you go to KEP, the Greek Citizen Service Center, you can get tons of documents notarized, for free. The Pilipino embassy is closed on Greek public holidays, and on Pilipino holidays. And **they charge a great amount. There's no empathy at all in the embassy."**

–Pilipino worker, 78

"Too expensive for every document to fix."

–Survey respondent

Indeed, the embassy website cites the cost of notarizing a document at 22.50 euros, a very significant cost for a routine transaction.⁴⁸

An interviewee complained of what they thought were unnecessary cost and access-related policies during the pandemic:

⁴⁸. <https://tinyurl.com/2znjr869>

“Processing your passport during COVID is very difficult, and requires COVID testing that is not required elsewhere. They asked vaccinated people to get an antigen test, for receiving your ballot. The thing is, you didn’t have to go inside to receive it! It was outdoors. And in Greece this wasn’t required, if you were vaccinated. Some people spent 8 euros for this!”

–Pilipino worker, 48

Some Pilipina/os also feel that their diplomatic services are failing to properly represent their needs. Adding up the “dissatisfied” and “very dissatisfied” categories shows that **56.9%** of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with respect to advocacy for the rights of Pilipina/os by their diplomatic representation in Greece (FIGURE 39). One example provided by an interviewee (aged 78) was that the relationship between two departments in the Philippines might be standing in the way of a proper representation of labour-related issues:

“The embassy is under the department of foreign affairs. In practice, POLO, the Philippine Overseas Labour Office, follows what the ambassador says. In practice, the ambassador is supervising the Filipino labour office.”

–Interview with a Pilipino activist, Greek citizen, 78

Some **36.7%** of respondents **have had problems in accessing the documents they need from the Philippine embassy** (FIGURE 40). When we asked which documents they had trouble accessing, they were mostly about the renewal of passports and notarial services for acknowledging and authenticating documents.

Other problems, described in the open-ended questions in the survey, include the following:

“My daughter’s school documents: Only one signature was needed from the Embassy, she had to repeat one more year because they did not help me, because the Pilipino school here had issues with them.”

–Survey respondent

FIGURE 39.

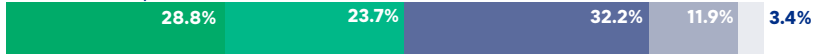
Could you rate the following aspects of the Philippine embassy's services, based on your experience?

Answered: 63 | Skipped: 47

Amount of paperwork



Behaviour of personnel



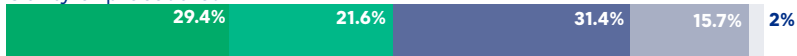
Delivery times



Operating hours



Clarity of procedures



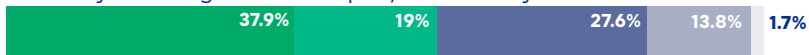
Telephone service (availability and assistance provided by telephone)



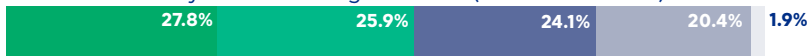
Email service (availability and assistance provided by email)



Advocacy for the rights of the Pilipina/o community in Greece



Access to embassy services during COVID-19 (since March 2020)



Proximity to home



Proximity to city centre



Proximity to work



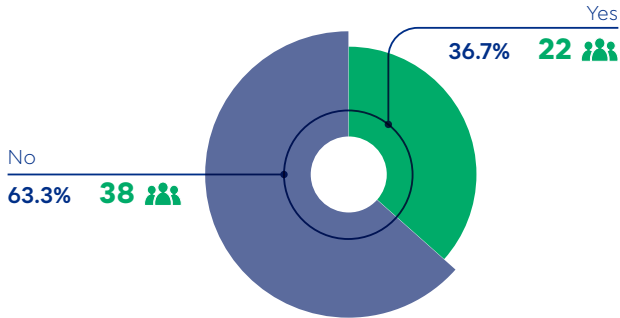
Accessibility (e.g. public transportation links, parking, etc.)



FIGURE 40.

Have you had any problems getting access to any documents you need from the Philippine embassy?

Answered: 60 | Skipped: 50



Meanwhile, 52.5% of respondents are either “dissatisfied” or “very dissatisfied” with the behavior of the personnel (FIGURE 39). Survey respondents cited the following issues:

“Some employees are **unapproachable** and indignant”

“Acting like a boss, and embarrassing at times.”

“Employees are not **friendly** to the constituents.”

“Some employees are **rude**.”

“The embassy staff needs to undergo training and workshops on how to deal with people.”

“The employees of the embassy are **not approachable**, they do not have patience, they are lazy.”

“They are **not approachable**. They **do not care**. Sometimes they scream.”

–Survey respondents

An interviewee narrated a recent incident, related to voting registration. The behavior they witnessed was yet another indication to them that the embassy does not respect ordinary citizens:

"If you are not a member of any big organization, they won't respect you at the embassy. If you are just the little guy, they won't respect you. A week ago, I asked about the voter's ballot and they asked me who I am. We have problems with voter registration with many people at the moment. For instance we have an individual who is living in Dubai, but can't register to vote, because her ballot is in Greece."

–Interview with a Pilipino worker, 46

One of the issues that respondents are dissatisfied with is **clarity of procedures**. Some 29.4% of respondents are very dissatisfied with the clarity of procedures, while 21.6% are dissatisfied with clarity of procedures, adding up to 51% of respondents (FIGURE 38). They expressed this concern in the survey with the following words:

"Not approachable, they're not very helpful. **They don't give exact instructions.**"

"Rude employees. They **don't give exact information** on every process"

–Survey respondents

Some 55.1% of respondents said they were "very dissatisfied" or "dissatisfied" regarding accessibility with respect to transportation links, parking, etc.

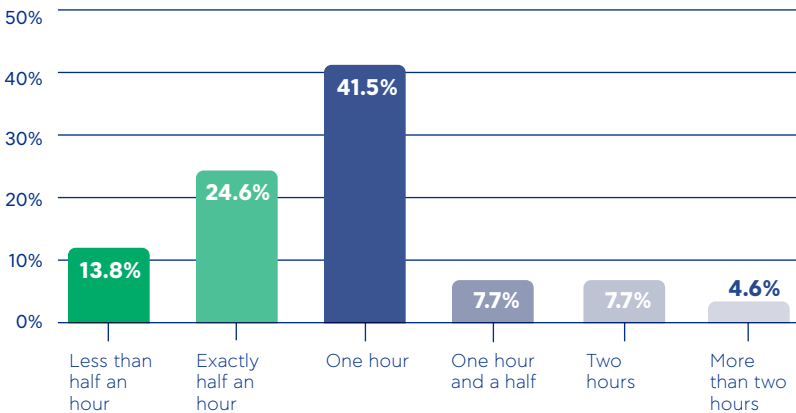
Operating hours make it difficult to go to the embassy from work or from home. Some 41.5% of respondents spent an hour reaching the embassy, 7.7% spent one hour and a half, 7.7% spent two hours, and 4.6% spent more than two hours (FIGURE 41). One respondent protested that the embassy closes in observance not only with holidays in the Philippines, but also with Greek public holidays, adding to the inefficiency.

Because of such issues relating to accessibility and necessary transportation to and from the embassy, 75.4% of respondents believe that it should be relocated somewhere accessible.

FIGURE 41.

From your house or work, how much time do you spend to go to the Philippine embassy?

Answered: 65 | Skipped: 45



CLOSING SECTION: DAILY LIFE

To better understand the daily lived experiences of Pilipina/-os, we also asked questions that combined subjects such as work, pensions, the pandemic, and their experience of living in Greece more generally.

When asked to rank the obstacles that most affect their quality of life in Greece (1=most important, 7=least important), most respondents cited the lack of a bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines (43.5%) and bureaucracy, laws and regulations on residency and citizenship applications in Greece (34.9%). Next came difficulties at work (30.3%), followed by racism and xenophobia (16.1%), and restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic (8.3%).

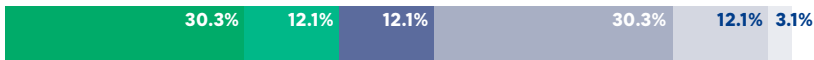
At this point it is worth noting that the lack of a bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines far exceeds other options as the primary obstacle (43.5%). It also far exceeds other options as the second most important obstacle (30.4%) (FIGURE 42).

FIGURE 42.

What are the most important obstacles that affect the quality of your daily life in Greece? Please rank from the most important (1) to the least important (7).

Answered: 53 | Skipped: 57

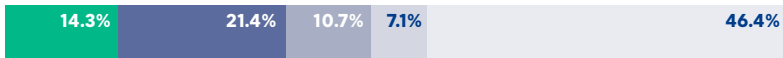
Difficulties at work



Racism and xenophobia



Sexism and sexual harassment against women



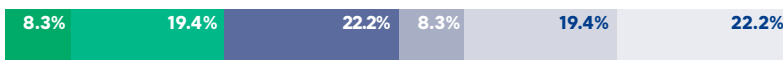
Bureaucracy, laws and regulations on residency and citizenship applications



Lack of bilateral social security agreements between Greece and the Philippines



Restrictions related to COVID-19



● First ● Second ● Third
 ● Fourth ● Fifth ● Sixth

When asked to use their own words on why they considered these answers as the most important, a significant number of respondents emphasized the need for a BSSA; 16 comments stressed the centrality of a bilateral social security agreement between Greece and the Philippines, with observations such as the following:

"The IKA [social security system for salaried workers in Greece] has to be received in the Philippines" (a reference to pension transfers)

"Lack of Bilateral Agreement. No assurance/benefit of staying here in Greece no matter how long you stay!"

—Survey respondents

Other survey comments stress the need for more inclusive paths to residence permits and citizenship:

"Citizenship should only require 5 years of residency and payment of EFKA, should qualify any person to acquire Greek citizenship".

"Long time documented migrants should be given indefinite permits."

"Foreigners are treated as second-class people and treated and looked upon as poor people! Paid much lower than those of their counterparts."

—Survey respondents

The final question in the survey asks respondents whether they would like to add something. Here are some responses:

"Facilitate passport renewal, and remove embassy stamps."

"Citizenship should be acquired by 5 years of residency and paid by EFKA, regardless of age."

"Continuous Greek residency with paid government insurance should be enough to qualify anybody to become a Greek resident and knowledge of the basic Greek language."

"Citizenship should be acquired by 5 years of residency and paid by EFKA, regardless of age."

"Only benefits are guaranteed to be received by OFWs/older workers. If you haven't died yet, just receive OWWA. How about when he is still alive, give him help or value."

"OFW rights and better service of the Philippine embassy."

"OFW department"

"Another agency OFW department"

"Lack of bilateral and social agreement between Greece and Philippine"

"Equal job equals payments."

–Survey respondents

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

05

TO GREECE (MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS) AND THE PHILIPPINES (DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT, SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM, AND DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

Reactivate discussions on a bilateral social security agreement (BSSA) between the two countries

Greece and the Philippines should reinitiate negotiations on a bilateral social security agreement immediately. We believe that Pilipina/o migrant workers should participate in the development, negotiations, implementation, and monitoring of agreements in line with principles of transparency and accountability.⁴⁹ As both countries have large migrant communities overseas, and thus significant experience on bilateral social security agreements, we believe that they have the institutional capacity to make this a reality.

⁴⁹. See the reports on how to negotiate the BSSA in a decent manner: Center for Migrant Advocacy (2010), Bilateral labour agreements and social security agreements: Forging partnerships to protect Filipino migrant workers' rights, <https://tinyurl.com/y6hc8xwj>; International Labour Organization Country Office for Bangladesh (2018), Good practices and provisions in multilateral and bilateral labour agreements and memoranda of understanding, <https://tinyurl.com/y46jgarc>

Increase information campaigns and “know-your-rights” training on labour and social security rights

Greece and the Philippines must support Pilipina/o Overseas Foreign Workers (OFWs) through providing up-to-date, practical, accessible and multilingual information and training to workers regarding their social security and labour rights. This should include information on labour legislation, contracts, complaint mechanisms, to prevent abuse and discrimination in social security and work, both before leaving the Philippines and throughout their stay in Greece.⁵⁰

TO GREECE

Sign and Ratify ILO Convention 189

Greece must sign and ratify ILO Convention 189 to protect the labour rights of domestic workers. Several countries in the EU (including Belgium, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden) have already taken this step.

Abolish the penalization of the minimum pension based on legal residence

Ensure that pensions are accessible in a fair manner, and that migrant workers are not penalized through residency requirements (such as the 40 years of residence required under Law 4387/2016 for a national pension) that have proved impossible to meet in recent decades.

Ensure that labour law and labour policy do not exempt domestic workers

Domestic workers must be considered fully-fledged workers

⁵⁰. Center for Migrant Advocacy (2010), Bilateral labour agreements and social security agreements: Forging partnerships to protect Filipino migrant workers' rights, <https://tinyurl.com/y6hc8xwj>

in all regards, and not be excluded from any health and safety or occupational standards, as is the case with Law 3850/2010.

Make contracts mandatory in domestic work

Domestic workers must be provided with contracts, in order to fully protect their right to payment, benefits, decent working hours, provision of private space (for live-in domestic workers), personal protective equipment and any other information necessary toward their health and well-being in the workplace.

Improve path to long-term residency

The procedure for obtaining long-term residence permits must be fair, clear and with little expense. Such procedures must also reflect the real conditions of labour and social rights in Greece, and not penalize applicants for failing to meet stringent social security requirements, which employers, and not workers, often fail to meet.

Make naturalization procedures fairer and truly inclusive

The path to citizenship should include procedures that are reasonable, inclusive, within a reasonable time frame and do not require high fees or income thresholds.

TO THE PHILIPPINES DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Philippine embassy in Athens must be more accessible to its citizens

The Philippine embassy must relocate to a more central location, close to the workplaces and homes of Pilipina/os. It must operate at more flexible times and dates and abolish

unnecessary and burdensome procedures and expenses for routine paperwork.

The embassy must be more proactive in tending to the needs of OFWs

The Pilipino labour attaché should be more proactive in helping Pilipina/o citizens in Greece, with issues such as retrieving passports withheld by employers, and other employment-related rights. The embassy should not force its citizens to seek the representation of private lawyers, trade unions or non-profit organizations.

TO THE GREEK LABOUR INSPECTORATE

The Labour Inspectorate should be proactive in looking after domestic workers⁵¹

The Labour Inspectorate should adopt new strategies to monitor labour violations in domestic work and make sure the workers do not suffer from retaliation after reporting these violations.

⁵¹. International Labour Organization (2021, June). Extending social security to domestic workers: Lessons from international experience, <https://tinyurl.com/y6ogwl2p>. See the International Labour Organization guide for labour inspectorates (2014, September), Labour inspection in domestic work, <https://tinyurl.com/yyqz2sqp>

TO THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF GREEK WORKERS IN GREECE (GSEE)

GSEE must be more accessible to non-Greek language speakers

The GSEE should provide adequate access, information material, complaint forms and helplines operating in English.

GSEE should be more representative

The GSEE should reach out to and include more migrant workers, to properly reflect the diverse demographic and occupational reality of the workforce in Greece.

OVERSEAS FILIPINO WORKERS (OFW): THE NEW FILIPINO HEROES

06

A Poem by Rhey Sta. Maria, from San Miguel Bulacan, and an
OFW in Athens, Greece

Bago ako pumalaot sa kwento kong gagampanan
Ako muna ay bumabati sa lahat ng kababayan
Mga Overseas Pilipinong lumisan sa inang bayan
Itong kwento ay handog ko sanay inyong magustuhan

Buhay ng Ofw ay talagang may kahirapan
Mayroong tagumpay at mayroon ding kabiguan
Katulad ng sinapit nitong aming kapalaran
Halina kayo at makinig itoy aking isasaysay

Kami rin ay Ofw na katulad ng karamihan
Naglakas loob na magtungo dito sa ibang bayan
Marubdob ang pag-asa na gaganda itong buhay
Pangarap ay makakamit, pag-assenso'y makakamtan

Nang kami ay ihatid na, sa lugar ng paliparan
Mababakas sa bawat mukha ang matinding kalungkutan
Mga pangako at tagubiling mag-ingat ka sana aking mahal
Ay siyang tanging babaunin, doon sa aming pupuntahan

Pagdating namin dito ay agad ng naramdaman
Ang matinding lungkot na noon lamang naranasan
Itong aming mga mata ay palagi na lamang luhaan
Nais ay bumalik na doon sa ating inang bayan

Unang buwan pa lamang sa napasukang trabaho
Lahat nang mga kundisyon ay biglang nagbago
Itong palang amo namin ay sobra ang pagkatuso
Ang Quota ng produksiyon ay kanyang binabago

Dahil gusto nitong Amo madoble ang kanyang kita
Bawat isang manggagawa ay lagi niyang sinisita
Binabantayan, sinisigawan, at minsan ay tinatakot pa
Na kapag hindi naka Quota ay ipapadeport niya

Gayundin ang kontrata na aming dala-dala
Ay winalang bahala at hindi niya kinilala
Pormalidad lamang daw, gayon ang turing niya
At ito daw ay batid nitong aming embahada

Kami noon ay sinaklot ng lungkot at ng takot
Pangarap na pag-asenso ay naging bangungot
Ibig nang masira itong aming mga loob
Saan na kami pupunta? Saan na kami susuot?

Kasawiang sinapit ay nagsilbing mga hibla
Na kami ay mabigkis at saka magkaisa
Mabisang paraan na aming nakita
Na magbibigay lunas sa aming problema

Taon pa ang lumipas ng aming simulan
Na ang mga karapatan ay aming ipaglaban
Naging matagumpay itong aming mga hakbang
Permit at Pasaporte ay amin ding nahawakan

Dahil sa tagumpay na aming nakamtan
Kamanggagawang Griego ay naging kaibigan
Hanggang maging meyembro sa kanilang samahan
At ang naging lider pa ay mula sa aming hanay

Nagkaisa kaming lahat na magtutulungan
Mga Griego, mga Pilipino, at iba pang mga dayuhan
Batas para sa paggawa ay aming ipaglalaman
Tamang sahod at benepisyo ay dapat makamitan

Pagtutulungan ay naghari sa buong pabrika
Na sa aming employer ay nagbigay ng alarma
Siya ay nagsagawa ng mga pagtutol at mga taktika
Upang pagkakaisa namin ay mabuwag niya

Panlilinlang at pananakot ay kanyang inilunsad
Upang ang aming samahan ay magiba at mawasak
Ang kanyang pagkatalo ay hindi niya matatanggap
Siya ay tatakas! Pabrika ay kanyang ililikas!

At isang araw nga kami ay biglang nagulantang
Pabrika ay sarado na, at wala na itong laman
Mga makinarya ay inilipat sa sikretong paraan
Pagbabayad ng benepisyo ay gusto pang takasan

Kami ay naiwang hindi alam ang gagawin
Uuwi na lang ba kami at aming tatanggapin
Kasawiang sinapit, kapalarang kaysakit
Sa pandarayuhan ba'y ito ang makakamit?

Iisang paraan na lamang, ang aming naiisip
Nasa aming embahada kami doon ay lumapit
Aming idinulog itong kasawiang sinapit
Hustisya ay hiniling na sana'y aming makamit

Ito palang embahada ay walang pakialam
Sa aming masaklap na naging kasawian
Ang payo ni Amba ay kalimutan na lamang
At kami ay umuwi na doon sa ating inangbayan

Ngunit ang katarungan ay ibig naming makamtan
Kung kaya ang Embahada ay aming pinikitan
Ito ang tanging naisip namin na siyang paraan
Upang maipaglaban itong aming karapatan

Dalawampu at isang araw, Dalawampu at isang gabi
Kami ay nag piket sa harap ng embassy
Sama sama kami, lalaki, bata, at babae
Dyaryo at karton ang higaaan sa kalye

Dahil sa aming ginawang kilos at protesta
Maraming tumulong maraming sumuporta
KASAPI, kababayan, griego at mga peryodista
Kami ay nanalo at nakamit ang hustisya

dalawamput isang taon na ngayon ang nagdaan
Istorya ng pangyayari ay sariwa pa sa isipan
Isang laban ng karapatang mahirap na kalimutan
Tagumpay ng Ofw, mga Pilipinong nandayuhan

At ngayon sa paggunita nitong aming kwento
Kami ay umaasang kayo ay muling makasalo
Mga limot na bagong bayani ay muling nagpupugay sa inyo
Mabuhay ang Ofw, mga bagong bayani ng lahing Pilipino!



PHOTO 8

Pilipina women in traditional dress, photographer and precise date unknown. Source: <https://tinyurl.com/2oxuu32l>

FURTHER READING

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Angeli, D. (2017). Migrant domestic workers and human trafficking in Greece: Expanding the narrative. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 15(2), 187-203.

Bellas, C. (Ed.) (2012). *Οικιακή εργασία και κοινωνική ένταξη μεταναστριών στην Ελλάδα της οικονομικής κρίσης* [Domestic work and the social integration of immigrant women in Greece during the economic crisis]. University of the Aegean Press.

Blank, N. R. (2011). Making migration policy: Reflections on the Philippines' bilateral labour agreements. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 3(2), 185-205.

Chilton, A., & Woda, B. (2021). The effects of bilateral labour agreements: Evidence from the Philippines. Available at SSRN: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3867881>.

Chryssochoou, X. (2014). Severe forms of labour exploitation: Supporting victims of severe forms of labour exploitation in having access to justice in EU member states. Fundamental Rights Agency.

EFKA. Σύνταξη λόγω γήρατος / Προϋποθέσεις απονομής [Retirement due to old age / Award conditions]. <https://tinyurl.com/y3d75t9s>

Floros, K., & Jørgensen, M. B. (2020). Tracing the future of migrants' labour relations: Experiences of institutionalized migrant precarity in Denmark and Greece. *Political Geography*, 77, 102120.

Fouskas, T., Gikopoulou, P., Ioannidi, E., & Koulterakis, G. (2019). Gender, transnational female migration and domestic work in Greece. *Collectivus, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 6(1), 99-134.

Garcia, K. L., Habaña, K., & Canto, D. (2022). The effects of labour migration and OFW remittances on the level of poverty in the Philippines. *Journal of Economics, Finance and Accounting Studies*, 4(1), 203-221.

Gialis, S., & Herod, A. (2014). Of steel and strawberries: Greek workers struggle against informal and flexible working arrangements during the crisis. *Geoforum*, 57, 138-149.

Go, S. (2004). Fighting for the rights of migrant workers: The case of the Philippines. *Migration for employment: Bilateral agreements at a crossroads* (pp. 187-202). OECD.

Go, S. P. (2007, September). *Asian labour migration: The role of bilateral labour and similar agreements* [Conference presentation]. Regional Informal Workshop on Labour Migration in Southeast Asia, Manila.

Hantzaroula, P. (2008). Perceptions of work in Albanian immigrants' testimonies and the structure of domestic work in Greece. In H. Lutz (Ed.), *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme* (pp. 61-74). Routledge.

Hantzaroula, P. (2009). Μια γενεαλογία του αποκλεισμού της έμμισθης οικιακής εργασίας από την κατηγορία της εργασίας [A genealogy of the exclusion of paid domestic labour from the category of labor]. In Efi Avdela et al (Eds.), *Επισφαλής εργασία, γυναικεία εργασία: Παρέμβαση με αφορμή την Κωνσταντίνα Κούνεβα* [Unsafe work, female work: Intervention on the occasion of Kostadinka Kuneva]. Historein/Nefeli.

Holzmann, R. (2016). Do bilateral social security agreements deliver on the portability of pensions and health care benefits? A summary policy paper on four migration corridors between EU and non-EU member states. *IZA Journal of European Labour Studies*, 5(1), 1-35.

Jones, K., Mudaliar, S., & Piper, N. (2021). Locked down and in limbo: The global impact of COVID-19 on migrant worker rights and recruitment. International Labour Office.

Kapsalis, A. (2012). Tackling the problem of undeclared work. Eurofound. <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/article/2012/tackling-the-problem-of-undeclared-work>

Kapsalis, A. (2015). *Η αδήλωτη εργασία στην Ελλάδα: Αξιολόγηση των σύγχρονων μέτρων καταπολέμησης του φαινομένου* [Undeclared work in Greece: Evaluation of modern measures to combat the phenomenon]. Labour Institute of the General Confederation of Greek Workers. <https://tinyurl.com/y4psjkak>

Kapsalis, A. (2018). The development of Greek migration policy and the invention of "para-legality" in labour relations of immigrants. *Κοινωνική Πολιτική*, 9, 67-87.

Kremalis, K., & Paparrigopoulou, P. (2020). *Social security law in Greece*. Kluwer Law International.

Lazaridis, G. (2020). Filipino and Albanian women migrant workers in Greece: Multiple layers of oppression. In F. Anthias & G. Lazaridis (Eds.), *Gender and migration in Southern Europe* (pp. 49-79). Routledge.

Maroufouf, M. (2013). "With all the cares in the world": Irregular migrant domestic workers in Greece. In A. Triandafyllidou (Ed.), *Irregular migrant domestic workers in Europe: Who cares* (pp. 95-115). Routledge.

Maroukis, T. (2013). Economic crisis and migrants' employment: A view from Greece in comparative perspective. *Policy Studies*, 34(2), 221-237.

Ozyegin, G., & Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2016). Conclusion: Domestic work, migration and the new gender order in contemporary Europe. In H. Lutz (Ed.), *Migration and domestic work* (pp. 207-220). Routledge.

Tastsoglou, E., & Hadjicostandi, J. (2003). Never outside the labour market, but always outsiders: Female migrant workers in Greece. *Επιθεώρηση Κοινωνικών Ερευνών*, 110, 189-220.

Topali, P. (2008). *Σιωπηρές σχέσεις, διαπολιτισμικές επαφές: Η περίπτωση των Φιλιππινέζων οικιακών βοηθών στην Αθήνα* [Silent relationships, intercultural contacts: The case of Filipino domestic helpers in Athens]. Alexandria.

Topali, P. (2009). Constructions of care in modern Greece: Gendered relationships between Filipina domestic workers and Greek employers. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 15(1), 94-124.

Topali, P. (2009). Greek and Filipina domestic workers in contemporary Greece: The reproduction and transformations of domestic work, domestic relationships and female identities. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 18(2), 311-340.

Topali, P. (2012a). «Διαμεταναστευτικές πρακτικές, μορφώματα ένταξης: Φιλιππινέζες οικιακές εργαζόμενες στην Αθήνα» [Immigration practices, integration formations: Filipino domestic workers in Athens]. In C. Bellas (Ed.), *Οικιακή εργασία και κοινωνική ένταξη μεταναστριών στην Ελλάδα της οικονομικής κρίσης* [Domestic work

and the social integration of immigrant women in Greece during the economic crisis] (pp. 399-439). University of the Aegean Press.

Topali, P. (2012b). «Θεσμικές ρυθμίσεις της οικιακής εργασίας και μετανάστευση: Μια συγκριτική μελέτη στα κράτη-μέλη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης» [Institutional arrangements for domestic work and migration: A comparative study of European Union member states]. In C. Bellas (Ed.), *Οικιακή εργασία και κοινωνική ένταξη μεταναστριών στην Ελλάδα της οικονομικής κρίσης* [Domestic work and the social integration of immigrant women in Greece during the economic crisis] (pp. 15-85). University of the Aegean Press.

Topali, P. (2014). «Κατασκευές της διαφοράς στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα: Οι Φιλιππινέζες μετανάστριες και η εκκρεμότητα της ετερότητας» [Constructing difference in modern Greece: Filipino immigrants and the possession of otherness]. In E. Papataxiarchis (Ed.), *Πολιτικές της καθημερινότητας: Σύνορο, σώμα και ιδιότητα του πολίτη στην Ελλάδα* [Everyday policies: Border, body and citizenship in Greece]. Alexandria.

Triandafyllidou, A. (2015). Reform, counter-reform and the politics of citizenship: Local voting rights for third-country nationals in Greece. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 16(1), 43-60.

Voskeritsian, H., Kapotas, P., Kornelakis, A., & Veliziotis, M. (2019). The dark side of the labour market: Institutional change, economic crisis and undeclared work in Greece during the crisis. In V. Pulignano, & F. Hendrickx (Eds), *Employment Relations in the 21st Century: Challenges for Theory and Research in a Changing World of Work*. Kluwer Law International.

Yannakourou, M., & Tsimpoukis, C. (2013). Flexibility without security and deconstruction of collective bargaining: The new paradigm of labour law in Greece. *Comparative Labour Law & Policy Journal*, 35, 331-369.

REPORTS AND POLICY PAPERS

Center for Migrant Advocacy. (2010). Bilateral labour agreements and social security agreements: Forging partnerships to protect Filipino migrant workers' rights. <https://tinyurl.com/y6hc8xwj>

Center for Women and Work. (2020). *Domestic work in New Jersey*. <https://tinyurl.com/2my5g3xv>

Embassy of the Philippines in Athens. *Filipinos in Greece*. <https://tinyurl.com/y3ceqqwd> (Accessed online in May 2022)

European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion. (2018). *Pension Adequacy Report 2018*. <https://tinyurl.com/yy4ujhk3>

European Commission, Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion. *Greece: Old-age pensions*. <https://tinyurl.com/y32fkdre>

European Trade Union Institute. (2007, April 5). *Pension reform in Greece*. <https://tinyurl.com/y44fnyql>

Eurostat. (2019). *Ageing Europe: Looking at the lives of older people in the EU. 2019 edition*. <https://tinyurl.com/y6533zcf>

Fudge, J., & Hobden, C. (2018). *Conceptualizing the role of intermediaries in formalizing domestic work*. International Labour Office. <https://tinyurl.com/2zodxlgz>

Generation 2.0. (2020, February 27). *It's time to talk about the national pension*. <https://tinyurl.com/yxhkqvxx>

Generation 2.0. (2021, December 1). *An online platform made for Greeks only*. <https://tinyurl.com/2znjr869>

Generation 2.0. (2021, November 3). *Letter to the President of the Republic: Unduly extreme delays in the citizenship acquisition procedures*. <https://tinyurl.com/yxj53jrl>

Greek Agency for Welfare Subsidies and Social Solidarity. *Ανασφάλιστοι υπερήλικες: Πληροφορίες* [Uninsured elderly: Information]. <https://tinyurl.com/y59lagkd>

Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. *Bilateral issues with third countries*. <https://tinyurl.com/y6swrpkk>

Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. *Κύρια σύνταξη* [Main pension]. <https://tinyurl.com/y3jw4vlg>

Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum. (2022, March). *Νόμιμη μετανάστευση Μάρτιος 2022: Παράρτημα Β* [Legal immigration, March 2022: Annex II], <https://tinyurl.com/2awnxd2>

Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum. *ΣΤΑΤΙΣΤΙΚΑ* [Statistics]. <https://tinyurl.com/y3uf36gl>

Greek Unified Social Security Fund. *Μηνιαία Στοιχεία Απασχόλησης 2020* [Monthly employment data 2020]. <https://tinyurl.com/yys5kw7y>

International Labour Office. (2013). *Domestic workers across the world: Global and regional statistics and the extent of legal protection*. International Labour Office. <https://tinyurl.com/2lfnj47>

International Labour Organization Country Office for Bangladesh. (2018). *Good practices and provisions in multilateral and bilateral labour agreements and memoranda of understanding*. <https://tinyurl.com/y46jgarc>

International Labour Organization. (2013). *Extension of Social Protection of Migrant Domestic Workers in Europe*. <https://tinyurl.com/2e7swy9j>

International Labour Organization. (2014, September). *Labour inspection in domestic work*. <https://tinyurl.com/yyqz2sqp>

International Labour Organization. (2015). *LEGOSH: Occupational Safety and Health (OSH). Greece (2015)*. <https://tinyurl.com/y6yzdedt>

International Labour Organization. (2016) *Social protection for domestic workers: Key policy trends and statistics*: <https://tinyurl.com/yywsqwbs>

International Labour Organization. (2016). *Regulating International labour recruitment in the domestic work sector: A review of key issues, challenges and opportunities*. <https://tinyurl.com/y3zzaxve>

International Labour Organization. (2021, June). *Extending social security to domestic workers: Lessons from international experience*. <https://tinyurl.com/y6ogwl2p>

International Labour Organization. *Convention 157*. <https://tinyurl.com/y4fvllly>

Justice for Wage Theft. Call for an Urgent Justice Mechanism for Repatriated Migrant Workers. <https://tinyurl.com/yxea6cpr>

Migrant Forum in Asia. <https://tinyurl.com/y5mxav9h>

National Domestic Workers Alliance. (2021). *6 months in crisis: The impact of COVID-19 on domestic workers*. <https://tinyurl.com/y6gp9fxn>

Philippine Overseas Welfare Workers' Administration.
<https://tinyurl.com/t3czk4w>

Philippine Social Security System, *Bilateral social security agreements*, <https://tinyurl.com/yfhqam6k>

Philippine Statistics Authority. (2022, March 7). 2020 overseas Filipino workers (final results). <https://tinyurl.com/y3uyrha6>

Philippine Statistics Authority. 2019. *2019 Survey on overseas Filipinos*. <https://tinyurl.com/2c7glx42>

Philippines Social Security System. (2018, July 10). Philippines now has social security partnership with Germany, Japan. <https://tinyurl.com/y2wbyxfy>

PICUM. (2018, February). *Shared concerns and joint recommendations on migrant domestic and care work*. <https://tinyurl.com/2ekfle3n>

Psimmenos, I., Poulou, E., & Istikopoulos, O. (2021). *Gaps and barriers of ILO Convention No. 189: Profiling migrant domestic workers' employment conditions in Greece*. Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. <https://tinyurl.com/y2wprdyq>

Your Europe. *Social security cover abroad*. <https://tinyurl.com/yyuj7m2d>

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

FERHUNDE DILARA DEMIR is a PhD candidate in sociology at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick. She obtained her MA in sociology at Rutgers and MA in human rights at University College London. She is a researcher, union organizer-leader and lecturer in critical pedagogies. She has research experience on community health, labour rights, higher education, organizations and political-economic development in addition to extensive project design and management experience in social projects with migrant women in Greece. She is trained as a mixed methods researcher and she has more experience in qualitative and community-based participatory action research.

ANDREAS BLOOM has worked as an employment and education counsellor at the International Rescue Committee in Greece from 2019 to 2022. Over the past few years, he has engaged both as a volunteer and professional with migrant communities through various organizations and projects involving housing, work, welfare and education. He has also worked as a journalist. His main interests are in migration, labour rights, occupational health, pensions, and lifelong learning. He holds a bachelor's degree in urban planning and a master's degree in political theory from University College London.

WORKING AND RETIRING WITH DIGNITY

A Study of Labour, Social Security and
Pensions of Pilipina/o workers in Greece

A publication of the

Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Office in Greece

Kallidromiou 17, 10680 Athens, Greece

Tel. (+30) 210 3613769

www.rosalux.gr/en

in collaboration with

KASAPI Hellas–Unity of Filipino Migrants in Greece

3rd Septemvriou 48 & Marni, 10433 Athens, Greece

Tel: +30 210 8664527

kasapihellas@gmail.com

and

RECollective

www.re-collective.org

AUTHORS

F. Dilara Demir and Andreas Bloom

CONTRIBUTORS

Debbie Valencia and Rhey Sta Maria

RESEARCH TEAM

F. Dilara Demir, Andreas Bloom, Jose Valencia, Thanasis Tyrovolas, Thess Villamayor, Jayrose Mendoza, Aurora Tabangin, Carolina Philipp, Saskia Fischer, Debbie Valencia, Rhey Sta Maria, Antonina Melody Casiño, Aurora Roy, Cassie Lorilla, Cesar Reburiano, Elmanuel Recla, Estella Labiang, Fely Rose Mendoza, Grace Jane, Imelda Garcia, Avelino Mendoza Jr, Maria Theresa Rivera Pastor, Nina Casiño, Rowena Diaspues, and Yolanda Oliha.

RESPONSIBLE FOR PUBLICATION

Efi Panagopoulou

COPYEDITING/PROOFREADING

Damian Mac Con Uladh

LAYOUT

Erifili Arapoglou – enARTE

COVER PHOTO

November 1996, Protest of Filipino workers in Athens.
Photo: Archive of Ergatiki Allileggii (Εργατική Αλληλεγγύη)

PRINTED BY

KETHEA SCHEMA+CHROMA
Printed in Greece

This publication is free of charge.
Athens

First edition October 2022
ISBN 978-618-5478-08-7

This publication, like many of the activities of the Office in Greece of the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, was funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

THIS COMMUNITY RESEARCH PROJECT was conceived by KASAPI Hellas as an expression of its commitment to the rights and welfare of Pilipina/o migrant workers, who migrated to Greece in the past few decades, leaving their homes and loved ones to seek a better life for themselves and their families. This study is the first in Greece to be done by and for Pilipina/o domestic workers. It includes a large survey, interviews, focus groups and recommendations.

THE INTENT IS TO MAP what is happening on the ground in the life of Pilipina/o migrant workers, their working conditions, as most are live-in domestic workers confined within the four walls of their employers, and to understand how they are treated by state agencies that “exported” them due to lack of job opportunities back in their home country.

IT ALSO AIMS TO GATHER objective information on their working conditions and treatment by state institutions in Greece. The study hopes to capture the feelings and demands of Pilipina/o migrant workers, and to change policies in Greece and the Philippines, so that all workers may be allowed to work and retire in dignity.

IN COLLABORATION WITH

reCollective
research | education | culture

