

L'OSPITE INTERNAZIONALE

Con questa rubrica intendiamo dare ospitalità e possibilità di audience a contributi di studiosi provenienti dall'estero che consentano di proporre nuove prospettive in un contesto politico-culturale come quello italiano che, rispetto ai temi del sistema penale e penitenziario, è spesso asfittico e provinciale. Si tratterà talora di traduzioni di testi già pubblicati in libri o riviste straniere di non facile accessibilità per un pubblico di non addetti ai lavori. Requisito indispensabile per la scelta di tali testi sarà quello di individuare in essi degli elementi che permettano al lettore di accedere alla ricostruzione del dibattito internazionale sui temi trattati, in modo da consentire una visione ampia e documentata delle questioni in campo, non limitata al corto respiro della cronaca quotidiana del Belpaese.

Body, Border's and Biometric Control. The violation of Human Rights in migrants. A qualitative research in Greece

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Introduction

During the 20th century, both hygiene and health related to migration, including examples, medical and sanitary control which exercised on migration subjects in border areas or in migration detention centers with an explanation of non-proliferation diseases applying eugenic practices.

Today, the supposed fear of "disease" and "crime", leads to the implementation of the project "Xenios Zeus" which includes repressive measures of population movements to Greece - EU. This project includes: a) placing modern equipment, using new technology to repel migratory subjects. Here are integrated and exercised the new biometric verifications, exemplified by the use of new-generation thermal cameras, b) attempts to put the immigrants in custody in order to send them away c) creation of detention centers throughout the country, (today already ten).

The threat to public health associated with increased inflows of migrant population in the country. More precisely the entrance into the country is forbidden to persons who appear diseases like SARS, Cholera, Diphtheria,

Active Tuberculosis, Plague, Smallpox, Yellow Fever, and if these persons have already entered into the country, then restriction procedures (quarantined) are placed, characterized those human subjects as “dangerous” for the public health (see Ministerial Decision M.S. 39a/FEK 1002/V/2.4.2012).

Thus, this paper analyse forms of criminalization of migration subjects, through their appointment as “criminals”, the violation of their human rights at the borders, in detention centers and in everyday life and the biological stigmatization by the “pathologicalization” of the bodies who migrate, as “carriers transmitted diseases”, highlighting the concept of medicalization, both at the border (medical examinations) and at home (controls infectious diseases for the protection of public health).

1. Theoretical Framework: critical criminology and migrant policies in Greece

First of all, «the source of social exclusion was the main theme of the French-language magazine of social and political commentary *Le Monde Diplomatique* in February 1995. The contents had to do mostly with migrant communities established in the advanced industrialized European countries, written about a topic familiar to the average Northern-European citizen. Yet very few people in Greece – or other Mediterranean countries like Italy – would have imagined a few years ago that the phenomenon could soon concern them, since these countries have traditionally been countries of emigration» (Karydis 1998, p. 350).

Furthermore, «the political management of the migration into Europe is related to the wider process of European integration and, more specifically, to the way in which it is (re)creating new frontiers and “territorialities” for the exercise of social control over crime and deviance, implicating multiple actors coming from different jurisdictions (administrative and penal), and from various levels of governance (regionals, nationals, inter-nationals, supra-nationals and universals). The criminological analysis of the migratory movements follows the epistemological trend of the “Sociology of globalization”, “Criminology beyond the nation state”, “transnational and comparative criminology” and “Criminology of mobility”» (Nikolopoulos 2012, p. 185).

More specifically, critical criminology, «absolutely rejects individualistic approaches to crime, and the ontological status of the criminal act, as well as criminal predispositions that traditional positivism gave the violator of the law» (Vidali 2010, p. 8).

Critical criminology investigates «the “dark side of crime” (which means crimes who are not coming into the light by the institutions of the formal social control such as the police) and the validity of official crime statistics, in order to draw firm conclusions as to the definition of crime prevention policy. Argued that maintained a false stereotype of criminality at the expense of the lower social classes and strata» (Karydis 2010, p. 14).

At the same time, «the most radical / neo-Marxist (1970) denounced the class operation all the mechanisms of the criminal justice system, ie, the regulatory (legislation), the ratification (criminal courts) and the prison in the field of serving the sentence» (Karydis 2010, pp. 14-15).

Moreover, «theorists of critical criminology instead of referring to crime characteristics of ethnic groups (following the dominant political discourse) they giving emphasis on the criminalization of specific classes and specific ethnic groups which are presented as the “scapegoats” of the society. In this way, they making obvious that the political-social system provides an alibi in the event of an institutionalized racism. In other words, critical criminology combining Marxist methodology and approaches of Foucault indicates the class discrimination and social exclusion on specific social classes and groups. Moreover, it refers the “politicization” of the crime and the “criminalization” of political dissent» (Karydis 1996, p. 181).

According to Hudson (1993), «the sociology of critical discussion on the criminalization of the black people connects the study of the general trend towards the criminalization of (potential) defiant subgroups of socially powerless to the study of the nature and the dynamics of this has called “new-racism”» (Karydis 1996, p. 181).

Thus, «according to critical criminology, the attention of the people it is directed from the State’s neo-fascist demonstration practices against migrant and refugees to the people supposed problems of crime and show the threat allegedly personify» (Karydis 1996, p. 182).

A typical example is the «French far-right National Front party of Jean Marie Le Pen which won 17% of votes in the 2002 elections. At his public appearances Le Pen’s included anti-migrants statements combined with overt anti-Semitism, racist puns for the crematoria, references to “gender inequality” and homophobic disgust. In 1987, Le Pen likened AIDS patients with leprosy and he used racist discourse against Arabs» (Athanasίου 2007, pp. 74-75).

Additionally, «the present condition of transnationality brings the link between placement and displacement: Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi and British Prime Minister Blair have proposed establishing camps (“Transit Processing Centers”) in surroundings of Europe to house unwanted populations

of refugees and migrants, put again bluntly, the question of the relationship of the West with its foreigners» (Athanasίου 2007, p. 283).

Finally, one of the main area of concern of critical criminology is State crimes. A typical example is the blatant violation of human rights of migrant subjects at the borders, in detention centers but also in everyday life in the host country, while violating all European Conditions.

Moreover, «migrants, blacks, Jews, minorities accompanied by prejudices irrevocably lead to discrimination. Despite the efforts of the Un, the Unesco, the Ilo, the “racial discrimination”, is a trace of the past that has not been eliminated» (Panousis 2007, p. 245).

So, «biology and ethnology mobilized to identify genetic or cultural factors that make up a (false) scientific basis for marginalization or persecution of the inferior» (Panousis 2007, p. 246).

2. Bio-Criminology. From Eugenics to Biometric Control

Initially, a framework for determining the social concern for the body, «the Nettleton, identifies three different theoretical models that attempt sociological interpretation of the body in modern societies. The first is the naturalistic, the second is the social constructionist and the third is the phenomenological» (Alexias 2011, p. 81).

Besides, «the body has many aspects for sociologists and anthropologists: a clue to highlight the current situation as a development of the past (physical-anthropologists), an enhancement of national superiority or supremacy of the genus (Nott & Glidden 1868), a tool for production repression and economic value (Marx 1867, 1963; Marx & Engels 1967; Engels 1969), an intermediate of learning (Mauss 1979; Mead 1970), a symbol of society (Hertz 1960; Van Gennep 1960; Douglas 1966, 1970), a personal sacrifice in society (Durkheim & Mauss 1963), ascetic (Weber 1984), a symbol of the status (Veblen 1953), the basis of society at a glance (Simmel 1965), a symbol of the self (Goffman 1959) and a tool of political control (Foucault 1973, 1978, 1989), adding the feminist work of many authors from different perspectives (eg Witz 2000, Greer 1971, 1978; Martin 1989; Wolf 1990; Scheper - Hughes & Lock 1987 etc.)» (Alexias 2011, pp. 35-36).

During the 19th century, because of the ideas of Cesare Lombroso people were categorized as far as it concerns the crime from their biological and external characteristics (phenotypes). Today, on this base, many sciences (such as genetics) are developed and are being created and their basic scientific objective it's the human body in relation with crime (Makrinioti 2004, p. 60).

Thus, «introduced the concept of (embodied deviance), where feminist approaches are instrumental in breaking the physical existence of the deviance, setting a new basis to study the differentiated body. Contest, in other words the physical territory of the deviance. This requires relating the body to the particular cultural and political realities of power and domination» (Makrinioti 2004, p. 24).

More specifically, «criminal biology was to forge an additional link in the medical solution Judenfrage. According to Ritter, the task of criminal biology was to discover whether or not they can identify specific information enabling early detection of criminal behaviour» (Proctor 2004, p. 401).

Ritter, «held various positions in state institutions, such as Health Services in the Third Reich ... Points out questions of heredity, race and “racial hygiene” (eugenics) in central pillars of ideology and worldview. Ritter’s chief concern was the definition of Gypsies ... The findings of such surveys deposited in government agencies such as the Central Administration of the Reich Anti-Existence of Gypsies. Both Ritter and Justin and the other “researchers of Gypsies” accused after the war for participation to manslaughter, but acquitted at every trial» (Trubeta 2008, p. 32).

Of course, «these efforts certainly was not invented by the Nazis. Scientists of criminal biology had tried since the *L'uomo delinquente* of Lombroso to build a forensic system that connects the morale, the criminal and racial degeneration. The crime, according to this view, it was literally a disease. The disease, in turn, represents a sign of moral degeneracy. The crime could be detected through some physical signs» (Proctor 2004, p. 401).

A typical example «is the solution of the “Jewish issue” where, “under the science”, Jews were racial predisposition to commit crimes, just as they had racial predisposition to get sick... in early 1941, the Reich Interior Minister ordered to kill all Jews in German hospitals – not because they meet the criteria for euthanasia but because they were Jews» (Proctor 2004, pp. 402-403).

Subsequently, «the 20th century, driven by advances in genetics and “hope” for eugenics, criminal biology became a research priority for governments and scientists» (Proctor 2004, p. 401).

Today, modern applications of biometric checks create new areas of research in the sociology of genetics. As highlighted features «medical intervene in the management of the person’s body, expanding the limits of power ... So the human body, under the introduction of new medical technology and the completion of decoding the structure of DNA, it is a perfectly constructed object» (Alexias 2011, p. 62).

The construction of the “new genetics”, «will include its own promises and its own risks. The earlier plans were eugenic novel social programs ap-

peared in the form of biological transport. The Socio-biology has shown Sahlins, is a social project: the liberal philanthropic interventions aimed at restoration of morality and discipline among poor and degenerated, the Rassenhygien and eliminate social groups, or business Socio-biology – the stakes were construction of society» (Rabinow 2011, pp. 498-499).

In the future, «the new genetics will cease to be a biological metaphor for modern society and will become instead a circulation network of identity terms and restriction loci, around which and through which a truly new type of self-production will emerge, which I call “bio-sociality”» (Rabinow 2011).

Furthermore, «the idea that a person’s genes or hormones can lead to criminal behaviour has long been out of favour and provokes hostility among most criminologists. Yet startling discoveries in genetics and neurology that have prompted a biological turn in other social sciences also have led to the emergence of a subfield in criminology. Bio-criminology, or Biosocial Criminology, emerges from the shadows of eugenics and social Darwinism, long condemned as pseudo-scientific and vilified for stoking the German Nazi movement» (Monaghan 2009).

As Amoore (2006, p. 342) remarks, «contemporary biometric bodies counts bare out much of what Appadurai signals for the creation of “boundaries around homogeneous bodies” that “performatively limits their extent” flattening differences and idiosyncrasies into calculable categories. New forms of biometric technology extend this categorization and enumeration of the body via processes of risk profiling, such that they have themselves come to perform and represent a border that approves or denies access».

In this context, the application of modern methods of biometric checks based on the dominance of medical discourse. After all, «in the name of medical institutions were founded and characterized some crazy or criminal» (Foucault 2008).

The applications of genetics and molecular biology, «have a decisive impact on the recruitment and representation of the body, to redefine its limits, in respect of the subject’s body, creating “new increasingly medicalization body”» (Makrinioti 2004, p. 26).

So biometric, «is any measurable, physical or physiological feature or behaviour trait that can be used to identify an individual or to verify the claimed identity of an individual» (Donnelly *et al.* 2009, p. 2).

Furthermore, about the modes of biometric systems, «a biometric is used for (eg. commercial, financial, healthcare, security, or law enforcement), these systems have two basic functions, namely verification and identification» (Donnelly *et al.* 2009, p. 5).

The biometric modalities are: fingerprinting recognition¹, palm print recognition, hand geometry, vein Pattern Recognition, Facial Recognition, Facial Thermography, Ear Geometry Biometrics, Iris scanning, Retina, Gait, Odour Recognition, Voice Recognition, Keystroke Dynamics, Signature recognition, DNA, Multimodal Biometrics, Future Biometric Modalities.

Moreover, about the ethical consideration, «the use of biometric systems and applications raises a number of ethical questions, particularly relating to basic rights such as privacy, autonomy and bodily integrity. While these rights are legally protected both nationally and internationally, concerns have been raised that these rights could be disproportionately superseded under the guise of acting for the common good, for example, for national security or public health and safety» (Donnelly *et al.* 2009, p. 60).

So, «the body has, in the past been used as a means of political control, with people in particular groups or categories being “branded” or labeled for identification purposes, for example, criminals in late ancient regime in France, or Nazi prisoners during World War II. Such body-based identification was considered dehumanising by many people. However, similar concerns have also arisen about more recent methods of control involving biometric technologies, for example, the philosopher Agamben has criticised the collection of biometric information as part of the US-VISIT immigration programme. He suggests that while such mechanism of control would previously have been considered inhumane and extraordinary, they are now being proffered as normal and routine and could potentially “be the precursor to what we will be asked to accept later as the normal identity registration of a good citizen in the {s} tate’s gears and mechanism. For reason he believes such methods of control should be opposed now”» (Donnelly *et al.* 2009, p. 66).

Furthermore, «as a manifestation of what Walters (2002, p. 571) calls the “bio-political border”, biometric borders extend the governing of mobility into domains that regulate multiple aspects of daily life. Subject to bio-power, the crossing of a physical territorial border is only one border crossing in a limitless series of journeys that traverse and inscribe the boundaries of safe / dangerous, civil / uncivil, legitimate traveller / illegal migrant» (Amoore 2006, p. 338).

¹ «The Eurodac system, 2003, Member State establishes its own fingerprint recognition system, which is then connected to the central EU Database. The fingerprints of any asylum applicant entering an EU Member State are screened against the database to establish whether or not that individual has already claimed asylum in another Member State The Eurodac system was implemented to help overcome problems of “asylum shopping”» (Donnelly *et al.* 2009, p. 23).

Thus, the aim of criminal biology, is the “pathologicalization” of non-compliance behaviours. So, applied «recipes and therapeutic procedures such as the dissociate and the control of the sick, the exclusion of criminals» (Foucault 2008, p. 71).

The social acceptance occurs via the “fear of crime” and the “fear of disease transmission”. Thus formed «a generalized culture of fear that legitimizes the ever expanding surveillance, as for example in implementing biometrics» (Elmer 2003).

Finally, «bio-power operates by imposing a biological rift between themselves and others, to those who should live and who has to die (in this sense, every bio-political is die – politics). The imposition of this bio-political schism is what Foucault called racism. Bio-politics records racism in the mechanisms of modern power» (Athanasίου 2007, pp. 21-22).

3. Research Methodology

In this research, it is appropriate to use qualitative research methods, since the objective is the explanation and analysis of the reasons that cause the appearance of social phenomena associated with modern methods and techniques of biometric control of population movements. Specifically, we analyse the concept of “medicalization borders”, in light of current models of migration inflows control in Greece and in Europe. Furthermore, we analyse State crimes and more specifically the violation of human rights of migrants by official institutions of social control. The main area of concern, is the construction of the profile of migrant as criminal by the official institutions of social control.

Besides, the critical theories of social sciences and social research, have to do with the explanation of the dominative structures of the society. Their target is the scientific critical analysis of the society, in order to support the social action for the transformation of the social reality (Comstock 1994).

Therefore, criminology’s research based on the real facts of the social reality. At this point, a characteristic paradigm is the critical analysis of the institutions of formal social control. The methodology here concerns historical comparative analysis, participant observation, interview etc. (Georgoulas 2007, p. 77).

The first method used is the biographical-narrative interview. Eight were the migrants interviewed. The time dimension of the narrative was divided into three levels, which are as follows: (a) life in the country of origin, (b) travelling in Europe and (c) life in Greece as a host country.

The biographical narratives understood as «a privileged site to study the experiential world of subjects to detect antisense systems and frames of reference from which they derive, to define situations, and to understand the interpretations and guidelines for action» (Tsiolis 2010, p. 353). This type of «interview is very typical of a means by which very detailed and insightful data are collected from one individual» (Jupp 2002, pp. 63-64). Migrants narrate experiences of exploitation, racism, abuse, marginalization and control on their action.

The second method is content analysis and was conducted at two levels. At first level, studied reports of National and European institutions (Greek Ombudsman, CPT, European Court of Human Rights, ECRI), while at the second level social history reports are being examined. Content analysis «is often used as a supplementary method in a multi-method strategy. It can involve the collection and analysis of both quantitative data and qualitative data» (Crow, Semmens 2008, pp. 95-96).

More specifically, according to Krippendorff (1980), «content analysis is a research technique that aims to reiterate and draw valid conclusions from the data in their context». Content analysis in evidence, «refers to a systematic investigation of a text rather than a simple reading» (Georgoulas 2007, p. 90).

The investigation was carried out from 10/09/2009 to 30/06/2012. The survey was conducted on an island, bordering Greece-Turkey. The basic hypotheses of this research are the following:

1) The “medicalization of borders” through biometric checks leads to stigma of the “body” of migratory subjects.

2) The institutions of formal social control construct profile of the immigrant as criminal, while violating the human rights of migrants during their stay in the country.

Finally, through biometric methods of modern population control, a new form of state bio-power at European level will be built. The goal is to build a new form of monitoring bodies, the biometric surveillance. Furthermore, structured and the concept of presumed bio-security of citizens from population movements. So, grow and “borders” to the absolute control of people physically.

Today, the issue of health and disease rends immigrants at risk. The State obliges migrants to mass medical screening and repulsion from the country, and keeping them in modern detention camps, in the name of public health.

4. Basic research results

According to data provided by Amnesty International in 2010, about 103,000 Afghans were forced to leave their home country because of armed conflict. In Iraq, militias were responsible for the deaths of many Iraqis. Finally, in Palestine is reported by the Independent Commission for Human Rights (ICHR) largely unwarranted arrests near Gaza.

The conditions under which the migratory subjects are driven to escape the EU, are related to the endangerment of human life in the countries of origin. It is a fact «that refugees experience a traumatic experience which stems from a extermination and destruction desire of themselves or of like-minded» (Magganas 2004, p. 255). This is a fact that is distinguished through the “testimonies” of immigrants who participated in our survey. The H.A., born in Afghanistan, says, *«they caught me, beat me and told me you have to leave this place»*. Thus, the “violence” and “threat” of human life “dominate”, combined with the inertia of mechanisms to control such phenomena. The Afghan O.P. states during the biographical interview *«I told police that my life is in danger and they did nothing»*. Moreover, civil wars and conflicts between different political and religious groups, play a catalytic role, to the decision of the subject, to leave “undercover” from the country of origin. Indicative is the placement of E.A., of Moroccan origin. Talking about internal “conflicts” between the Polisario Front and the Government of Morocco, he says, *«they caught my cousin and beat him, and kept him in a room. They have prisons in Sahara, no one knows where they are, there are some people that never come back»*.

Precisely, the “fear” for the loss of human life characterises the daily reality of the country of origin. In this manner the concept of “persecuted subject” is structured. The subject persecuted, should be removed from the country in which he lived until now. A person is converted in this sense a “refugee” who “travels” with destination a “life without fear”. But in which way can this journey be described?

On the journey to the EU migratory subjects experience economic exploitation of illegal human traffickers. The Afghan P.A., says, *«we were 20 people kept in a room and they did not let us go if they did not take the money ... And those who could not pay them, they beat them and told them I do not know what you will do, we just want the money»*. The migratory subject, in this sense, becomes a “commodity”, and the value of “human life” is thrown aside. With a series of events, S.T., has the following “picture” of the “trip”, *«I found the person who would help me get out of Afghanistan and go to Iran ... The police run behind us and I was saying to myself that we will lose our*

lives when the car left the road. He flew us on a dirt road and left ... And you are afraid because you know that if the police catches you and sends you back to Afghanistan is dangerous as well ... In the way you walk there can be a mine to die, or you may get caught by the Talibans etc.». While similar conditions are practiced in Turkey, as presented by the Afghan K.O., «*The Turkish demanded 500 euros to bring us to Greece. We went night on the beach, to go to Greece. On the boat we were 6 people at one time ... at some minute, I fell into the sea, I almost drown and one person pulled me up, when the boat broke down, he pulled out a gun and he told us not to move from our position and he moves us back to our land*».

The journey continues at the border between Greece and Turkey. Due to the “increase” of migratory influx underlying the EU formal social control is formed and practiced both internally, through the police and port, and externally, through Frontex.

The S.C., Moroccan-born refugee, says, «*In our sea responsible is the Coast. They took the money and our mobiles and they threw our clothes in the sea. Nobody searched us and left us bare. They put us in a boat, they gave us a paddle boat and pierced (to leave the air) and they let us into the sea to go back to Turkey*». Essentially, these practical control mechanisms of the state, are aimed at informal refoulement. In the context of the modern concept of bio-value, human life has no value when they are “threat” to “developed countries of EU”, creating a new form of boundary regularity. The same is reflected through the “testimony” of Afghan W.I., «*the last time I tried to come to Greece, I crossed the river to go to Alexandroupolis. We were caught by the police, they took the mobile and they send us back to Turkey illegally ... after they had put us in a police truck and beat everyone with a plastic or anything else they could find to beat us*».

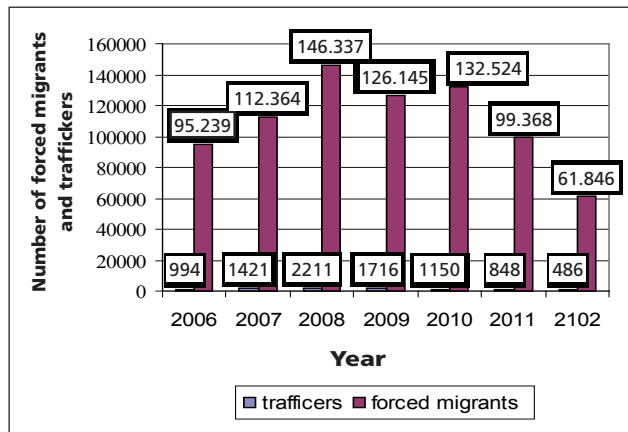
The Independent Authority “Ombudsman” said a report by the NGO Pro Asyl notes the increase in cases of «non-typical refoulement of aliens enter via land and sea borders». At the same time, the existence of phenomena such as (a) «Drowning aliens attempting to smuggle by sea into the country», (b) «sexual abuse of Kurdish origin person while being detained by members of the Coast Guard».

At the same time, the growing rushes immigrants in the country, identified by the mechanisms of formal social control, the so-called “Increasing crime”. Of course, as we will see below, the “political asylum” applied sets to a “illegality”, the largest proportion of immigrants.

According to the Ministry of Public Order and Protection of the Citizen in 2011, were arrested for illegally entering the country while 99,368 foreigners until August 2012 arrested 61,846 aliens. In *Table 1* compared data

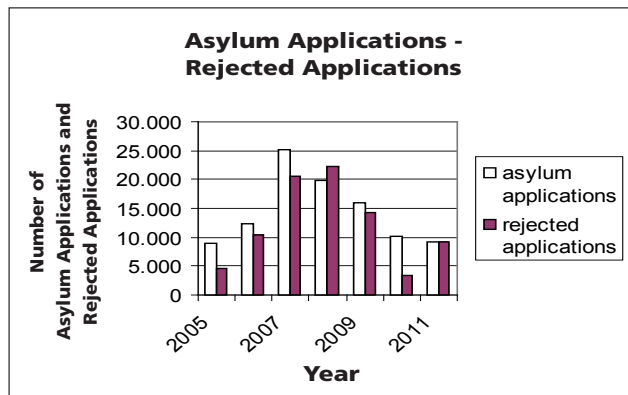
regarding irregular migrants and traffickers from 2006 to 2012. Remarkable it is the authorities action against the arrests of traffickers, which is presented inefficient something which does not happen in the case of immigrants.

Table 1



Referring to official statistics on migration should be noted that even if one person enter “unlawfully” the country is recorded as an offense and is therefore criminalized. Another fact in connection with the these high rates are asylum policy adopted in the country.

Table 2²

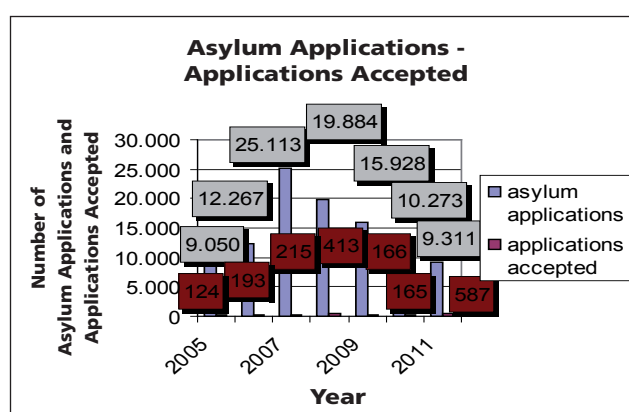


² In the rejected applications includes applications from previous years.

According to *Table 2* applications for asylum are almost in line with the rejected requests. Then seen in *Table 3*, the applications have been accepted are presented too less compared again with the applications submitted by the period 2005-2011. More specifically, in 2011 filed 9,311 permit applications for asylum and were accepted 587, ie. 6.3% and in 2010 was lower at 1.6%.

After all, «foreigners are disadvantaged as far as their legal and political position is concerned. It is, therefore, the absolute jurisdiction of the host state not to renew or to withdraw a license if it determines that a risk to public order, national security» (Ventura, 1994, p. 78).

Table 3³



Comparing and studying the data we can observe that we need to find a way so as to permit asylum, making thereby migratory subjects in conditions of insecurity, non-recognition of the rights and recorded “lawbreakers”.

In addition to the forms of victimization and criminalization of migrants, and the flagrant violation of human rights, appears the phenomenon of criminalization of the disease by medical-biometric border controls. The chased subject controlled by the body control mechanisms resulted practices “medicalization border”.

More specifically, «the 20th century, eugenics promised to ensure that the same integrity and purity, giving priority to racial purity. Biomedical services put racial hygiene. Legalizing Nazi racial theories, the pre-war German scientific community saw Nazism as applied biology. In the state of bio-power, the protection of human life is connected with its extinguish ... As a result

³ In the accepted applications includes applications from previous years.

of these, we observe the exclusion persons or groups that they named as “foreigner”» (Athanasίου 2011, p. 41).

Thus, the shift in focus to protecting the health of the collective social body of migratory subjects considered a threat, highlights issues rapprochement of the concept of the body in connection with the exercise of medical discourse (medicalization), which is surrounded by forms of power and domination, by delimiting the bodies constituting threat. The exercise of this discourse defines the bodies that can pass or not the borders (after medical and biometric controls), structuring at the same time the meaning of “medicalization borders”. Like, «*in a Island, the police took us to the hospital for tests. After a few days we took the data and fingerprints and we drew pictures*», us says Moroccan S.C.

The medical power, moreover, contributes to the building of the body image of the immigrants, characterised it as “contaminated”, “sick”, “unmarked”, “dangerous” for the “collective social body”.

Thus, «social control becomes easier and extends even in health» (Panousis 2007, p. 384). At the same time, «racial or racist issue born under the discourse where people have biological differences» (Panousis 2007, p. 341).

Besides, «there is a vicious cycle between medicalization and criminalization to characterize something as a crime or disease» (Koukoutsaki 2002, p. 42).

Thus, «the “medical eye” becomes a disciplinary mechanism for defining human life as a sequence of events in the body, strengthens the regulatory identity and behaviour of individuals and populations» (Ong 2011, p. 593). Redefining the “clean” and the “dirty”, normal and deviant, healthy and contaminated, defining once again the “suffering body” as a “foreign body”. Typical is the following aspect of Afghan R.I., «*took our clothes and they were investigate our bodies. Police searched our bags. We were doing health tests and the doctor asked us if we have a health problem. Some who have health problem came back. We did blood tests, to see if we have a health problem, the results put into the folder*».

According to Ministerial decision⁴, «there are developed appropriate measures to protect the health of the population which is threatened by migrant populations. Responsible body for medical checks defined the Center for Disease Control and Prevention. The category of high-risk groups (such as immigrants) includes the following diseases: SARS, Cholera, Plague, Smallpox, Yellow Fever, Tuberculosis, Malaria, wildtype, primitive, Syphilis, Active leprosy, lymphogranuloma Venereum, granuloma inguinale / Donovanosis, chancroid, gonorrhoea and HIV, HBV, HCV etc.».

⁴ 39a/FEK 1002/V/2.4.2012.

Thus, «Even though the phenomenon of medical control of the derogation is not new, it has been spread to such an extent in modern societies, so talking about the establishment of a medical model of social control» (Koukoutsaki 2002, p. 41).

As features mentioned in this Ministerial Decision, «for diseases introduced mandatory testing for every immigrant. Patients who suffer from these diseases are excluded from entering the country. In case where the immigrant have not entered the country illegally is limited ... so as not to pose a risk to public health».

Main area of concern is the fact, how high-risk groups for these diseases fall especially coming from a country such endemic diseases, thereby structuring a modern “ethno-genetic”, and increasing discrimination.

Characteristically presents the above Ministerial Decision, «in high-risk groups fall especially migrants who are coming from countries with endemic diseases ... The hospitals and health departments regions of the country are obliged to create special areas for isolation, quarantine restriction ... the immigrants that they are not sick take special health certificates».

In this way, we have the “contraction” of the “bio-political” subject, since «the bio-politics of medicine production includes institutions such as clinics refugees, which are providing care to patients and newcomers through the disciplining of everyday behaviour. Thus, the refugees are been socialized as “governial citizens”» (Ong 2004, pp. 632-633), with the aim of acquiring the specific health certificate.

All of those are associated with modern biometric border controls, where «biometric measures have tended to discriminate against migrants deliberately as part of a policy ... Immigrants from third-world countries, for example, are more likely to need visas for entry into the US, and certain nationals and ethnic groups are deliberately targeted by immigration controls because of terrorism fears ... particular link between immigration and law enforcement bodies serves to further stimulate the perception of migrants as criminals... In addition, public health bodies have already started warning against the exclusionary nature of entitlement cards» (Rebekah 2005).

A typical example for Greece, is the placement of new generation thermal cameras at the border. Typical is the view of Afghan O.P., «*I passed on the border of some farmland from Turkey ... they caught us there ... my friend says they have cameras*». An after-effect of these is the imputation of the medical and criminal stigma, according to the “theory of interaction” (Becker 1963). Thus, «the stigma due to bodies defects, in relation to race, gender, religion and ethnicity» (Makrynioti, 2001, p. 16). Moreover, the subjects are «vulnerable to the stigma of formal social control» (Georgoulas 2009, p. 100).

After medical checks, immigrants have the experience of detention centers. The conditions in the detention centers characterized by police violence and insufficient health treatment and malnutrition. The S.C. mentioned characteristics, *«kept us in a prison cell, if we need to go to the bathroom we have to be accompanied by a policeman, we were given food only in the evening, we drink water from the toilet»*. The same image provide us O.P. *«We went to a prison where we were about 300 people in a cell. Most of us were from Pakistan and Arabia. The cell was smelled very bad and we could not sleep. The toilet was in a terrible state. Those who worked there yelled and swore»*.

The “bad” conditions of detention of migrants highlighted by reports of many international organizations. For example, the Commission on Human Rights states that *«the great pressure on police officers ... may lead to incidents of police violence against detainees»* (Annual Report 2011, National Commission for Human Rights, pp. 90-91). Moreover, a report by Amnesty International and the International Helsinki Federation, Nigerian recorded testimony, according to which during withdrawal from the Attica Aliens Directorate where he was held, *«policemen grabbed him with their hands and then they kick him, pulling him, and hitting him with a black object. Every time I touched this object it was like to be penetrated by electricity»* (Dimitras 2007, p. 241).

In all the experiences that are recorded by the migratory subjects *«there is a common concept of vulnerability. It is the ignorance of the language, the lack of information about their rights, the fear of the institutions and the general feeling of insecurity»* (Magganas 2004, p. 260). As H.A. said, *«they told us nothing about our rights in Greece»*. A report by the UNHCR, it is particularly worrying that *«prisoners are not informed for valid reasons and duration of their detention»* (Dimitras 2007, p. 248). Even if someone has been released, under the condition that they will leave the country in a short time, they have to face groups that they try to take advantage of them and racist attitudes.

Meanwhile, newly arrived, immigrants are submitted in some kinds of exploitation (for example economical exploitation) by other immigrants, who are already living in the host country. The W.I. says, *«there are people who do not know the language well and some immigrants are exploited. They say they need 500 euro to churn residence permit for the costs of the lawyer, and the lawyers do not get paid, just help us to seek asylum in the country»*. Then, under the economical exploitation, they are working illegal.

Furthermore, police's racist and xenophobic practices are recorded. The police behaviour is developed as a result within a particular professional culture that ignores the rights of immigrants. On this, the following statements are illustrated, *«a police officer stopped and asked me if I have the papers with*

me. I give him the paper and he told me to go to the police. I went to the police station where they informed me that they had to caught me. They were kidding of me in order to scared me» ... «The police treat people according to their skin colour» ... «They told me that I have to leave they country because they didn't want me to stay in Greece».

Finally, a central area of concern is the victimization in society. According to Karydis (1998), «the construction of the particular stereotype of course, facilitates the victimization of the Albanians migrant community. Many of them have, indeed, been killed by police and army patrols at the and near the frontiers... Nobody has been punished for that so far. Moreover, an impressive number of serious incidents against migrants are perpetrated by civilians. In two cases, migrants were shot and killed because they tried to steal a bicycle. Another one was killed because he has stealing water-melons» (Karydis 1998, p. 356).

5. Instead of epilogue

Forms of verbal violence, jeering, raids in areas where migrants live and exercise of brute force, prohibition of employment etc. are very common in modern Greek society and which are related to the emergence and activation of ideologically extreme groups. Using practices reminiscent of the fascist assault battalions in Germany of Hitler, threaten the daily lives of migrants.

In times of insecurity, uncertainty, discontinuity, redefinition of social positions and reallocate groups in the social hierarchy, xenophobia and racism are growing and entering the realm of politics (Ventura 1994, p. 91).

The extreme racist violence to population movements increased dramatically mainly thinking about the rise of the extreme right, in particular the popular link "Xrisi Augi" (X.A.) in the Greek Parliament. According to Psimitis (2012) «fascist racism in every version is a culturally constructed attitude dynamics in which recourse acting a particular group of people, shaping and legitimizing openly aggressive behaviour towards members of other groups, usually targeting as responsible for the actual invented or social problems».

Attacks fascist violence towards irregular migrants formed the basis of suppression of diversity. As a result the "legitimacy" defending the representatives of the area is the need to drastically reduce and ultimately eliminating the differences not only in the areas of race, language and religion, but also those of health, sexuality, behaviour, lifestyle, collective action (Psimitis 2012).

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