## Timeline of return policies in Greece

1990s	Early 2000s	Post-2008 debt crisis	Post-2015 'refugee crisis'
Law 1975/1991 is adopted to regulate entry and residence of migrants in Greece and to organise deportation procedures.  Large-scale deportations of irregular Albanian migrants without legal process, widely known as 'sweeping operations'. Fewer deportations of citizens of other countries.	Deportations decrease (but never cease) after successive regularisation programs, in the context of high rates of economic development supported by cheap migrant labour.  A Bilateral Readmission Protocol between Turkey and Greece is signed in 2001.  EU readmission agreements between various third countries (incl. Albania, Russia, Ukraine and other Balkan and Eastern European countries).  Dublin 2 implementation.	Large numbers of migrants leave Greece voluntarily due to high unemployment, either seeking for opportunities in other countries or returning to their countries of origin – sometimes adopting circular migration routes.  RABIT operation Frontex (2010-2011) and operation Shield (2012-2013).  Construction of the fence in the Greek-Turkish borders (Region of Evros) starts in 2012.  Law 3907/2011 is adopted to transpose the Directive 2008/115/EC on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals.  Massive arrests aiming at identifying and subsequently deporting irregular migrants are held under the 'Xenios Zeus' operation (2012-2013).  The Greek Ombudsman launches the Recording Mechanism of Informal Forced Returns in 2014.  A system of pre-removal detention centres is established with a Ministerial Decision in 2015, regulating already existing detention facilities.  IOM launches Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) program in Greece.  The Greek Asylum Service (GAS) was established in 2011, and started its operation in 2013.	Push-back operations in the Aegean Sea and Evros region are increasingly reported.  In 2015 Greece becomes one of the main entry points to Europe for more than 1 million refugees and migrants. Five hotspots are established in the islands of Lesvos, Chios, Samos, Leros and Kos.  The EU Turkey statement reached in 2016 creates ground for returns to Turkey. The following years extensive and substantial amendments of the Greek asylum law took place.  Closing of the Balkan Route (2016).  In 2016, a distinct Ministry of Migration Policy is established for the first time in Greece.  In 2020 thousands of migrants gather at the Greek-Turkish border. After that the patrols are reinforced on the Greek side.  Seven successive reforms of the Greek asylum legislation follow the launching of the EU-Turkey Statement (18.3.2016).  IOM Greece continues AVRR with repeated programs.  Frontex gets deeply engaged in border surveillance.  The National Commission for Human Rights (HCHR), launches the Recording Mechanism of Informal Forced Returns in 2023.  In the end of 2023, the position of the National Coordinator for Returns is established in the MMA (Law 5078/2023).

**Source:** Hatziprokopiou, P., Kandylis, G., Komita, K., Koutrolikou, P., Papatzani, E., & Tramountanis, A. (2024). Legal and Policy Infrastructures of Returns in Greece - Country Dossier (WP2) (v1.). GAPs: De-centring the Study of Migrant Returns and Readmission Policies in Europe and Beyond. <a href="https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10665482">https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10665482</a>