

## Alexandra E. Zavos

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[http://www.genderstudies-panteion.gr/en/?page\\_id=199](http://www.genderstudies-panteion.gr/en/?page_id=199)

### Academic qualifications

- 01.10.04-11.03.10     **PhD**, Department of Psychology, Manchester Metropolitan University, Supervisor: Prof. Erica Burman.  
Thesis: The politics of gender and migration in an anti-racist group in Athens.
- 01.10.02-16.06.04     **MSc(Res) Critical Psychology**, Department of Psychology, Manchester Metropolitan University. Awarded with Distinction.  
Dissertation: Mirroring identities: representations of greek muslims in Athens.
- 18.09.85-20.02.93     **B.A. Sociology**, Department of Sociology, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens, Greece, Grade: 7,7 (very good).

### Vocational Training

- 01.02.13 – 31.03.14     Training in Process Oriented Psychology at the Process Work Institute, Portland, OR (combined distance and residential study).
- 2002     Trainer Certification from the National Center for Adult Education, Greece.
- 1992     Vocational Training Certificate, Model National Nursery School, Athens, Greece.
- 1992 – 2000     Training in Systemic Group Process and Family Therapy at The Athenian Institute of Anthropos (A.I.A.), member of the European Family Therapy Association.

### Awards

- 01.09.04-31.08.07     Research Studentship, Research Institute for Health and Social Change, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- 01.10.02-30.09.03     Research Scholarship, 1984 Foundation.
- 01.10.91-31.03.92     Erasmus Scholarship, Brunel University, Department of Human Sciences.

### Languages and IT skills

**Languages:** English (mother tongue), Greek (mother tongue), German (excellent, Grosses Deutsches Sprachdiplom, 1987), French (intermediate), Spanish (beginners).

**IT Skills:** Microsoft Office applications (Word, Excel, PowerPoint); Photoshop, FinalCutPro (video editing software); MAXQDA (qualitative analysis software).

## **Professional Experience**

**Principal Researcher and Post-Doc Fellow**, 01.04.2015 - present

Center for Gender Studies and Department of Social Anthropology, Panteion University

DAPHNE Project USVReact: Universities Supporting Victims of Sexual Violence: Training of Sustainable Services (<http://usvreact.eu>)

### Responsibilities

Research on university policies and best practices regarding support of victims of sexual violence and harassment at university. Development of training materials and module for training 80 members of staff and students on issues of sexual violence at university. Evaluation of training. Networking with higher education institutions and other organisations dealing with gender based violence. Dissemination of project results and organisation of Final Conference in Athens.

**Part-time Lecturer**, 01.09.15 - 31.07.16

Interdepartmental Master's Program "Gender - Society - Politics", Panteion University

### Responsibilities

Teaching one three-hour/week course per semester. Fall semester: Feminist Research and Narrative Analysis. Spring semester: Gender, Transnationalism, Citizenship. Organisation of the public talk by Dr. Surya Nayak (Salford University) on "The Activism of Black Feminist Theory as Methodology", Panteion, 18 Jan. 2016.

**Research Fellow**, 01.09.14 – 30.09.14

Center for Gender Studies, Department of Social Policy, Panteion University

### Responsibilities

Preparation of the Interdepartmental Master's Program "Gender - Society - Politics" at Panteion University.

**Principal Researcher**, 01.03.10 – 31.03.13

Center for Gender Studies, Department of Social Policy, Panteion University (Coordinator)

FP7 Research Project [MIG@NET](http://www.mignetproject.eu): Transnational Digital Networks, Migration and Gender ([www.mignetproject.eu](http://www.mignetproject.eu)).

### Responsibilities:

Reports: National Report on Religious Identities and Practices (co-authored); National Report on Sexualities (co-authored); Policy Brief.

Research topics: "Religious practices», «Sexualities».

Collaboration with project partners on the design and implementation of research work- packages "Religious practices" (Utrecht University, University of Hull) and "Sexualities" (Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, Peace Institute); empirical research (participant observation, interviews, focus groups with Arab Muslim women in Athens, internet research); analysis and discussion of research data; writing of national reports.

Additional responsibilities: co-organizing European Public Policy Meeting (Nicosia, Cyprus, 24.11.2012); writing of Project Policy Brief.

**National Researcher**, 01.03.11-31.05.11

European Institute of Gender Equality (EIGE), contracted to Yellow Window Management Consultants (Belgium).

Project: Study of Collected Narratives on Gender Perceptions in 27 EU Member States.

### Responsibilities:

Report: National Report for Greece.

Life-history interviews with men and women; codification of data with MAXQDA; analysis and discussion of data; writing of national report.

**Principal Researcher, 01.03.08 – 28.02.11**

Center for Gender Studies, Department of Social Policy, Panteion University (Coordinator)

FP7 Research Project GEMIC: Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean: an Interdisciplinary Perspective ([www.gemic.eu](http://www.gemic.eu)).

Responsibilities:

Reports: Context Analysis and Methodology Review, National Report on Intercultural Education, Final Synthesis Report and Policy Recommendations, Policy Brief.

Research topics: "Intercultural Education".

Collaboration with project partners on the design and implementation of research work-package 'Intercultural Education' (University of Cyprus, Euro-Balkan); policy analysis and empirical research (participant observation, interviews, focus groups in a multiethnic school in Athens); analysis and discussion of research data; writing of national report.

Organization of National Public Policy Meeting “Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean”, 20 January 2011, Panteion University, Athens, Greece.

Organization of International Conference “Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean”, 21-22 January 2011, Panteion University, Athens, Greece.

Administrative duties: writing of interim and final project progress reports; ongoing communication with partners and the European Commission for the management of the project; networking with practitioners, stakeholders and policy makers; dissemination of project results.

**Research Assistant and Trainer, 01.09.98 – 31.03.02**

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

EPEAK Program: Education of Muslim Children ([www.museduc.gr/en/index.php](http://www.museduc.gr/en/index.php))

Responsibilities:

Conducting interviews and focus groups with high-school teachers and students in the cities of Xanthi, Kommotini, Sappes in the region of Thrace; coding and analysis of interviews.

Co-designing and implementing psycho-social animation and communication workshops for Muslim minority adolescents and high-school students in Xanthi, Kommotini, Sappes; teacher training on communication and inter-group relations for Primary and Secondary School teachers in Xanthi and Kommotini.

**Youth Worker, Trainer and Project Coordinator, 01.09.97 – 31.12.01**

NGO ARSIS – Association for the Social Support of Youth, Athens

Responsibilities:

Designing and conducting yearly training programs with **adolescents** and **young adults** on: creative expression and communication; workshops on psycho-social development, group interactions and conflict resolution. Collaboration with: Special Detention Ward for Young Offenders (1997-2000); DIAVASI Drug Prevention Center (1997); Ministry of Health & Social Services (1999-2002).

Designing and conducting training seminars with **teachers, social workers, health care practitioners** on: youth-work; psycho-social development; communication and conflict resolution; cultural mediation; refugee support. Collaboration with: Secretariat for Adult Education (2000); Program “Melina – Education and Culture”, Ministry of Education (2000-2002).

**Administrative Assistant and Trainer, 01.09.95 – 31.03.00**

The Athenian Institute of Anthropos (A.I.A.) in partnership with the National Organization against Drug Use (O.K.A.NA.), Greece.

Primary Prevention and Health Promotion Program “Educating the Person of the 21st Century”.

### Responsibilities:

Assistant to the Director; organizational and managerial support; organization of educational and scientific material; mapping of community services; organization and coordination of psycho-social training activities.

Designing and conducting yearly training programs with **children, adolescents and young adults** on: creative expression and communication (production of youth-zine, radio show, video, theatrical performance); workshops on psycho-social development, group interactions and conflict resolution.

Designing and conducting training seminars with **teachers, social workers, health care practitioners** on: youth-work; psycho-social development; systemic group process and family therapy; genogram; communication and conflict resolution.

## **Other Teaching Experience**

**Course Tutor**, January – May 2012

January – May 2011

Department de Pedagogia, Universitat Rovira i Virgili and GREDI, University of Barcelona.

Responsibilities: Creating the syllabus, teaching and administrating the module *Activist Research*, for the online course “Introduction to Feminist Research Methodology”, Seminario Interdisciplinar de Metodologia de Recerca Feminista (SIMREF).

**Course Tutor**, March - June 2007

Department of Psychology, Manchester Metropolitan University

Responsibilities: Supervising Masters’ students learning and assignments during the *Discourse Analysis Practical* (15 hours) for the module “Discursive Approaches”.

**Course Tutor**, March – June 2006

Department of Psychology, Manchester Metropolitan University

Responsibilities: Creating the syllabus, teaching and administrating the module *Health Psychology and Migration* (15 hours). Class taught for the Master's course “Health Psychology”.

## **Funded research proposals (co-authored)**

FP7-SSH-2009-5.2.3. Culture in the creation of a European space of communication (Small or Medium Scale Focused Research Project).

Proposal No.: 244744 - MIG@NET. Title: “Transnational digital networks, migration and gender”.

Submitted: 13.01.2009. Total score: 15/15. Grant Agreement No. 244744.

FP7-SSH-2007-3.3-01 Cultural interactions and multiculturalism in European societies (Small or Medium Scale Focused Research Project).

Proposal No.: 216065 - GEMIC. Title: “Gender, migration and intercultural interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean: An interdisciplinary perspective»

Submitted: 10.05.2007. Total score: 14/15. Grant Agreement number: 216065.

## **Professional Activities**

### **Membership of Professional Associations and Groups**

Member of the Greek Sociological Association since 2012.

Member of the editorial board of *Annual Review of Critical Psychology* since 2010.

## Editorships

Guest editor of *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, Special Issue “Feminisms and Activisms”, 2005.

Guest Editor of *Citizenship Studies*, “Changing Landscapes of Urban Citizenship: Southern Europe in Times of Crisis”, 2016.

## Invited Talks, Lectures and Classes

- 2016 ‘The ‘refugee crisis’ in context: A view from Greece’, paper presented at the PRIO Cyprus Centre Annual Conference “Migration and Conflict in Europe and the Middle East”, 14-15 October 2016, Nicosia, Cyprus.
- 2015 ‘On using gender as an analytical tool for interrogating crisis: some preliminary reflections from the Greek context’, paper presented at the Round Table “Intersections of Crisis: Conflict, Gender and Migration in Europe’s Periphery”, Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) Cyprus Centre, 16 December 2015, Nicosia, Cyprus.
- 2012 ‘Gender and the Politics of Anti-racist and Immigrant Protest in Greece’, paper presented at the Workshop “The Monstrosity of Tolerance Talk: Subjection, Racialization and Control in Educational Policies of Integration and Multiculturalism”, chaired by Zelia Gregoriou and Alexandra Halkias, 13th International Conference of ISSEI, University of Cyprus, 2-6 July, Nicosia, Cyprus.
- 2011 ‘Reflections on Strategies and Resistances from the Politics of Knowledge’, invited speaker and panel chair at the V Training Seminar in Intercultural Dynamics “Knowledge Politics and Intercultural Dynamics: Actions, Innovations, Transformations”, CIDOB and United Nations University, 14-15 December, Barcelona, Spain.
- 2011 ‘Greece, Migration and the Borders of Europe in Crisis: From the Cosmopolitan Ideal to the Practice of Cosmopolitics’, at the “Current Issues in European Cultural Studies” Conference, Panel “Cosmopolitan Issues: Knowledge and Mobilities in a World of Borders”, Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden and Linköping University, 15-17 June, Norrkoeping, Sweden.
- 2010 ‘Performative acts of citizenship and the challenges of gender and migration: postcolonial and intersectional perspectives’ (6 hours), invited class taught at the Ohrid Summer University 2010: “Gender Studies of and for the Region of the Balkans”, Department of Gender Studies, Institute for Social Sciences and Humanities Research “Euro-Balkan”, Macedonia, 21-25/06, Ohrid, Macedonia.
- 2010 ‘Doing activist research’ (6 hours), invited class taught at the Seminario Interdisciplinar de Metodologia de Recerca Feminista (SIMREF), Department de Pedagogia, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, and GREDI, University of Barcelona, May, Barcelona, Spain.
- 2010 ‘Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South East Europe’ (6 hours), invited class taught at the Interdepartmental Master’s Program in Urban Planning, School of Architecture, National Technical University of Athens, March, Athens, Greece
- 2008 ‘Gender, Migration and Victimization in the Renewed Project of the Nation’, at the “Nation, Violence and Gender” Conference, Forced Migration Studies Program, University of Witwatersrand, 4-7 March 2008, Johannesburg, South Africa.

## Volunteer Work

Oct. 13 – May 14 National Institution of Social Care and Vocational Training 'Beit Atfal Assumoud', Shatila Palestinian Refugee Camp, Beirut, Lebanon. Interviews with staff and families; preparation of publicity material.

## Other

Founding member of the feminist group “FemAct” and organization of the International Meeting on Feminisms and Activisms, Barcelona, 8-9 July 2006.

Organization of the anti-racist campaign “Gender, Migration and Domestic Labour” for the Network of Social Support of Refugees and Migrants, Athens, 2005-6.

Video production of the “Right to Stay” for No Borders Manchester, 2005.

Founding member of the adult education group for migrants “Back Benches”, Athens, 1998-2002.

## Publications

### Books (edited)

Zavos, A., Kambouri, H. and Stratigaki, M. (eds) (2013), *Gender, Migration, Interculturalism*, Athens: Nissos (in Greek).

### Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals

Zavos, A., Koutrolidou, P. and Siatitsa, D. (forthcoming), 'Introduction: The Crisis in Southern Europe and Why it is Important for Studying Urban Citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*.

Zavos, A. (2013), 'Endangered Lives, Dangerous Lives: Reflections on the Biopolitical Stakes of a Migrant Hunger Strike', *The Greek Review of Social Research*, Special Issue: Displacements and Emplacements: Migration, Gender, and Precarious Subjectivities in Conditions of Aggressive Neoliberalism, edited by A. Athanassiou and G. Tsimouris.

Kambouri, N. & Zavos, A. (2010), 'On the Frontiers of Citizenship: Considering the Case of Konstantina Kuneva and the Intersections Between Gender, Migration and Labour in Greece', *Feminist Review*, 94: 148-155.

Zavos, A., Biglia, B. (2009), 'Embodying Feminist Research: Learning from Action Research, Political Practices, Diffractions and Collective Knowledge', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 6(1): 153-172.

Zavos, A. (2008), 'Moving Relationships/Shifting Alliances: Constructions of Migration in the Leftist Anti-racist Movement in Athens', *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, Special Issue: Asylum and Migration, vol. 6 (online), <http://www.discourseunit.com/arcp/arcp6/Zavos.pdf>.

Zavos, A. & Jacobson, M. (2007), 'Paranoia Network and Conference: Alternative Communities and the Disruption of Pathology', *Journal of Critical Psychology, Counselling & Psychotherapy*, 7: 28-39.

Zavos, A. (2006), 'Kurdish Women Refugees in Athens: Record of an Absence and the Politics of (In)visibility', *Das Argument*, Special Issue: Migrantinnen. Grenzen Ueberschreitend (Women Migrants. Crossing Borders), 266: 391-401. (in German)

Zavos, A. (2005), 'Working "Across Borders": the Journal as Boundary Object', *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, Co-editor of Special Issue: Feminisms and Activisms, 4: 9-26.

Zavos, A. (2005), '(Im)possible Translations: Challenging Therapeutic Authority Through Textual Practices', *Group Analysis*, 38: 115-128.

### Chapters in Books

Zavos, A. (forthcoming), 'Gendering the Crisis: Claiming New Values and Agencies Beyond Destitution', in E. Doxiadis, A. Placas (eds.) *Living Under Austerity: Greek Society in Crisis*. Oxford and N. Y.: Berghahn.

Zavos, A. (2014), 'Gender and the Politics of Immigrant Protest in Greece', in K. Marciniak and I. Tyler (eds) *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, New York: SUNY.

Zavos, A. (2013), 'The construction of identity and difference in school: cultural discourse and representations of gender and migration'. In A. Zavos, H. Kambouri and M. Stratigaki (eds), 2013.

Zavos, A. (2012), 'Intersecting Relations of Power and Difference in Anti-racist Activist Research', in *Knowledge Politics and Intercultural Dynamics. Actions, Innovations, Transformations. V Training Seminar of Young Researchers in Intercultural Dynamics*, Barcelona: United Nations University and CIDOB.

Zavos, A. (2012), 'Building Alliances: Greek and Migrant Women in the Anti-racist Movement in Athens', in G.T. Bonifacio (ed), *Feminism and Migration: Cross-cultural Engagements*, New York: Springer.

Zavos, A. (2010), 'Gender, Migration and Anti-racist Politics in the Continued Project of the Nation', in I. Palmary, E. Burman, K. Chantler and P. Kiguwa (eds), *Gender and Migration: Feminist Perspectives, Political Interventions*, London: Zed.

Zavos, A. & Kambouri, H. (2010), 'Female Migration as Political Experience: Gendered Subjects and Performative Negotiations of Identity in the Anti-racist Movement', in F. Tsimouridou (ed), *Minority and Migrant Experiences*, Athens: Kritiki. (in Greek)

Zavos, A. (2009), 'In Search of New Political Subjects: Gender and Migration in the Anti-racist Movement', in D. Vaiou, M. Stratigaki (eds), *The Gender of Migration*, Athens: Metaixmio. (in Greek)

## Online Papers

Zavos, A. (2012), 'Hunger Striking for Rights: the Alien Politics of Immigrant Protest', *Cultural Anthropology*, Hot Spot Issue: Beyond the "Greek Crisis", edited by P. Papailias. Online: <http://www.culanth.org/?q=node/432>

## Book Reviews

Zavos, A. (2004), 'Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis by M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S. Yates (Eds.). A Review', *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 14 (2): 131-32.

## Research Reports

Kambouri, N. and Zavos, A. (2012), *Report on Migrant Sexualities. National Case-Study: Greece*. MIGNET: Migration, Gender and Transnational Digital Networks, FP7 Cooperation, Contract No.: 244744, Athens.

Kambouri, N. and Zavos, A. (2012), *Report on Religious Identities and Practices. National Case-Study: Greece*. MIGNET: Migration, Gender and Transnational Digital Networks, FPF Cooperation, Contract No.: 244744, Athens.

Zavos, A. (2011), *Study of Collected Narratives on Gender Perceptions in 27 EU Member States: National Report for Greece*, European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), contracted to Yellow Window Management Consultants, Belgium.

Zavos, A., Kambouri, H. (2011), *Policy Brief*. GEMIC: Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean, FP7 Cooperation, Contract No. 216065, Athens.

Zavos, A., Kambouri, H. (2011), *Gender, migration and intercultural interactions in South-east Europe and the Mediterranean. Research findings and policy recommendations* (Deliverable 11). GEMIC: Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean, FP7 Cooperation, Contract No. 216065, Athens. Accessed at: <http://www.gemic.eu/?p=1001>.

Zavos, A. (2010), *Report on Intercultural Education. National case-study: Greece*. GEMIC: Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean, FP7 Cooperation, Contract No. 216065, Athens.

Zavos, A. (2009), *Context Analysis and Methodology Review Report* (Deliverable 3). GEMIC: Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean, FP7 Cooperation, Contract No. 216065, Athens. Accessed at: <http://www.gemic.eu/?p=219>.

## Papers presented at International Conferences (2008 – today)

Zavos, A. (2015), 'Syrian Refugees in Athens: From War to Destitution and Freedom of Movement. Endangered Lives challenging Fortress Europe', paper presented at the 7th International Conference of Critical Geography "Precarious Radicalism on Shifting Grounds: Towards a Politics of Possibility", 26-30 July 2015, Ramallah, Palestine.

Zavos, A. (2013), 'Gender, Religion and Transnationalism: Identities and Practices of Athenian Arab Muslim Women Migrants', paper presented at the panel "Transnationalism, New Borders and Urban Religions", chaired by Alexandra Zavos, 2<sup>nd</sup> EastBordNet Conference "Relocating Borders: A Comparative Approach", Humboldt University, 11-13 January, Berlin, Germany.

Zavos, A. (2012), 'Arab Muslim Women Migrants in Athens: Religious Identities and Practices and Digital Media', paper presented at the panel "Religious Practices and the Internet: Muslim Women's Negotiation of Identity and Agency in a Post- and Trans-national European Context", chaired by Sandra Ponzanesi, 8th Feminist Research Conference, Central European University, 17-20 May, Budapest, Hungary.

Zavos, A., Kambouri, N. (2011), 'The GEMIC Project: Research Findings and Policy Recommendations', paper presented at the International Conference "Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in South-East Europe and the Mediterranean", 21-22 January 2011, Panteion University, Athens, Greece.

Zavos, A. (2009), 'Mapping Commonalities and Differences in Changing Gender and Migration Relations in Southern Europe', paper presented at the "Researching Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in Southern Europe: an Intersectional Approach", panel chaired by Maria Stratigaki, 7th Feminist Research Conference, 4-7 June 2009, Utrecht, Netherlands.

Zavos, A. (2009), 'Gender, Migration and Intercultural Education: Challenges for Practicing Multiculturalism in Greece', paper presented at the "Schooling Resistance", symposium chaired by Erica Burman, Gender and Education Conference, 25-27 March 2009, Institute of Education, London, UK.

Gavriilidis, A., Zavos, A. (2008), 'Intimacy, Lies and Videotape: The Initiation into Greek National Jouissance', paper presented at the Subjectivity International Conference, School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University, 27-29 June 2008, Cardiff, UK.

## References

### **Dr. Eleni Papagaroufali**

Director of the Interdepartmental Master's Program "Gender - Society - Politics", Panteion University

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Department of Social Anthropology  
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### **Dr. Maria Stratigaki**

Scientific Coordinator of GEMIC and MIG@NET Research Projects

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Department of Social Policy  
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### **Dr. Erica Burman**

PhD Supervisor

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**Title: The politics of gender and migration in an anti-racist group in Athens**

**Abstract**

The field I am interrogating through the double focus of gender and migration is the anti-racist movement, a social and political context of significance for the development of migration activism/politics in Greece. Taking migration as a paradigmatic lens, rather than an exceptional situation, I question the reproduction of assumptions of national identity and ethnocentric belonging as fixed and racialised categories tied to the sovereign power of the nation-state, in social science as well as political discourses. At the same time, looking at the symbolic and material articulation of gender with other social divisions, I consider how dominant national and racialised hierarchies become naturalised, but also how they are challenged through the emergence of new political subjects, most notably, migrant women.

I explore the political relationship between Greeks and migrants in the context of one of the oldest anti-racist groups in Athens called here ‘Support Action’, which has contributed significantly to the politicisation of migration and the engagement of public opinion and politicians with the adverse conditions that, as a rule, migrants experience here in Greece. Nevertheless, as I illustrate in my analysis, this politicisation has been established in terms that – because of their totalising, reifying and pathologising/victimising character – have excluded migrants themselves from substantial and equal participation: anti-racist discourses fail to register migrants’ own perspectives and agency in official anti-racist narratives, and migrants’ contribution to the anti-racist movement is circumscribed, regulated and undervalued.

During my fieldwork, August 2005 to July 2006, I immersed myself as a member of the group in the role of activist/researcher. Together with other Greek and migrant women we organised a ‘gender and migration’ initiative with the aim of making migrant women’s experiences and problems more central in the anti-racist movement. Inspired by feminist methodological preoccupations with reflexivity and situated knowledge production, I explore the tensions and contradictions of this experience, which illustrate poignantly how intersecting racialised and gendered relations of power between Greek and migrant women implicitly produce new exclusions, even as they explicitly try to fight racism. Therefore, I argue that, on the one hand, the political relationship between Greek activists and migrants develops asymmetrically and turns into one of regulated political representation and patronage; on the other hand, I argue that working towards a feminist politics of alliance requires challenging negotiations and personal confrontations with racialised, classed and ethnicised privilege.

In my analysis I focus on the one hand on the formal discourses of ‘Support Action’, published over the last two decades, as examples of canonised anti-racist ideology. Using migration and gender as analytical categories, I highlight the construction of essentialised identities and hierarchical subject positions through discourses that invoke ‘migrant-victim’ (vs. ‘activist-hero’) stereotypes, as well as the representation of social relations and antagonisms in formulaic terms, conjured as nation-centered and state-oriented rather than challenging the legitimacy and sovereignty of the nation-state. On the other hand, drawing on migrant women’s political narratives, delivered on the occasion of a public discussion on domestic labour exploitation and migrant women’s rights, I demonstrate how migrant women appropriate the available stereotypical representations of victimhood and gender to establish visibility and recognition with Greek audiences and wield power, performatively engendering a new politics of belonging that challenges existing (ethnocentric, racialised, masculinist) hierarchies and entitlements. Finally, I argue that these acts of agency can offer important insights for contemporary debates on post-national and inclusive citizenship in the face of current challenges to transform European identity.