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Challenging and Confirming Touristic Representations of the Mediterranean: Migrant Workers in Crete

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About RAMSES2: RAMSES2 is a Network of Excellence on Mediterranean Studies funded by the European Commission under the 6th Framework Programme. Oxford's contribution to RAMSES2 is a collaborative endeavour of the European Studies Centre and the Middle East Centre, which is run by SEESOX. Launched and coordinated by the Maison Méditeranéenne de Sciences de l'Homme in Aix-en-Provence, RAMSES2 involves 36 academic institutions from Western Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East researching the history, societies and current politics of the wider Mediterranean area. Its ambition is to create a new field of Mediterranean studies by bringing together the hitherto disparate scholarship on the different littoral subregions and countries. Through its activities, the network seeks to supplement the efforts of the European Union to bolster cross-Mediterranean integration via the Barcelona Process, the newly-instituted Neigbourhood Policy as well as the enlargement framework covering now the Balkans and Turkey. RAMSES2 investigates the Mediterranean as a geo-historical space marked by various patterns of exchange and cross-fertilisation in order to transcend the socio-political, economic and cultural fractures characterising it at present.

Within RAMSES2, St Antony's coordinates a work package dealing with borders, conflicts and memories in the Mediterranean. It examines, from a comparative perspective, the experience of wider South East Europe (the Balkans, Turkey and Cyprus), the Middle East and North Africa. The research will focus on three main axes:

- The (de)legitimising discourses on borders in South East Europe and the wider Mediterranean;
- The impact of imperial legacies and memories on border conflicts;
- The transformation and resolution of border conflicts.

The RAMSES2 sub-project run by St Antony's brings together a group of scholars from the European Studies Centre, the Middle East Centre, Maison Française and the Department of Politics and International Relations. The steering committee includes Kalypso Nicolaidis (Chair), Othon Anastasakis, Richard Caplan, Philip Robins and Michael Willis.

Challenging and Confirming Touristic Representations of the Mediterranean: Migrant Workers in Crete[1]

Ramona Lenz

From the perspective of Western Europe the Mediterranean is shaped by the imagery of tourism and migration. During the time of the "guest worker"-migration in the 1960s and 70s the notion of the hopelessly underdeveloped South of Europe which pushes "guest workers" towards the rich North became prevalent here. It offered a contrast which let the beginning prosperity in the North appear even clearer. (see von Osten 2006) Besides the attractions "sea, sun and sand" it was exactly this conception of backwardness which – reinterpreted in authentic and traditional Mediterranean lifestyle – made the area attractive for tourist consumption.

Today it is again pictures of the Mediterranean, which represent migration dynamics in Europe. In the meantime, however, the countries of origin of the "guest workers" have become countries of immigration and European Union member states or candidates for accession. The representation of the Mediterranean as an area of migration is dominated now by pictures of desperate refugees and illegal immigrants, who risk their life by crossing the sea, in order to enter the "fortress Europe". In these current representations the "colonial narrative of migrants as members of a territory of underdeveloped" is continued (ibid.). A translation of the migrant area into the tourist area seems, however, more difficult than at the times of the "guest worker"-migration. What constitutes the Mediterranean as a tourist destination seems to have no longer anything in common with the Mediterranean as an area of migration.

Also in terms of research traditions, tourism and migration are usually studied separately, not only with regard to the Mediterranean. While the paradigm of transnationalism has become a widely discussed issue in migration research, tourism

[1] The paper was presented at the *Oxford Symposium on (Trans)Nationalism,* St Antony's College, Oxford, 26-28 May 2006 convened by Kerem Oktem and Dimitar Bechev as part of the RAMSES2 Network workpackage on borders in the Mediterranean.

studies remained to a large extent unaffected by this concept.[2] Just as many migration studies used to concentrate on the encounter of sedentary natives and mobile migrants, who belong to two different, clearly definable cultures, studies on tourism usually assume that there are sedentary hosts on the one and mobile tourists on the other hand. While migration in classic migration research is understood as a unique, unidirectional process resulting in resettlement, tourism is mostly understood as a temporary time-out from settled life. In both research traditions sedentariness is considered as the norm and mobility as deviation, which in case of migration may lead to identity crises for the immigrant and to integration problems for the host society, and in the case of tourism may have negative effects on the authentic lifestyle of host societies. (see Römhild 2002:179-84)

In the Mediterranean tourist-migration area, however, tourists, hosts and migrants interact with each other, tourist and migrant practices overlap and intermingle. Refugees are accommodated in hotels which are not fully booked, returning "guest workers" open businesses in tourism, former tourists settle down in the Mediterranean, become immigrants and employ construction workers and domestic helpers from abroad, migrants with or without papers work in tourism, just to give a few examples.

Against this background I wanted to conduct neither a pure migration nor a pure tourism study, but look into reciprocal effects and overlaps, which are characteristic of the Mediterranean, since the region is both a popular tourist destination and an area shaped by migration processes. My concrete research fields are tourism regions in Crete and Cyprus, whereas in the following I will concentrate only on findings from my field research in Crete. There I conducted research in Rethymnon, a tourist city at the north coast of the island. I mainly focused on migrant personnel in tourism-related jobs. In addition, I conducted interviews with employers, tourists and in Cyprus also with representatives of trade unions and employers' associations which will, however, not be systematically reflected in this paper.

Many of the migrants I met are transmigrants in the sense of Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc (1997:121), insofar as their "daily lives depend

[2] For an exception see Jana Binder (2004) on backpacking as a transnational form of tourism.

on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders, and [their] public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state". With my decision to focus on a group of migrants who are not connected by the same country of origin/passport but by working in the same region and the same economic sector, I tried to avoid the assumption of a migrant community defined by the same ethnic background, which characterizes many migration studies, also many of those working with the paradigm of transnationalism. Despite the extension of perspective by means of transnationalism they remain limited to "mono-ethnic migrant networks", as the cultural anthropologist Sabine Hess (2005:141) critically notes. So they run the risk of reproducing the idea of a cultural mosaic of clearly definable ethnic groups on a transnational level and do not allow for cross-connections and hybrid, non-ethnic cultural practices of migrants.

Transnational research cannot do without consideration of the nation-state or of supranational state-like formations like the European Union with their respective concepts of culture, because they have a powerful impact on the mobility of people. Hence, for my research it is important to look into both, unruly mixtures and boundary crossings on the one hand and powerful labelling of difference on the other hand.[3] In the following I will concentrate on a specific label of difference which characterizes in particular the Western European view of the Mediterranean: the conception of a homogeneous, territorially definable cultural area with immobile inhabitants which assumes congruence of the geographical and the social or cultural space. (see Welz 1994:49) I would like to pursue this conception in consideration of its transnational challenges on three levels:

1. ... in European Union tourism and identity politics,

2. ... in migrant-tourist practices at the time of the "guest worker"-migration,

3. ... in present-day migrant-tourist practices.

[3] It would be shortened, however, to connote transnationalism only with practices of migrants or even celebrate these as nomadic without restrictions. Transnationalism does also take place on a conceptual political level. (see Hess/Tsianos 2003)

1. ... in European Union tourism and identity politics

Migration as well as tourism politics help to define what is genuinely European. Migration politics which limit inward mobility across the outer borders of the European Union by applying different mobility categories to different people are a central element of a distinctive identity policy. In contrast, tourism politics which deal with inner-European mobility are part of an integrative identity policy. On that score tourism is important in a double sense: As a job market for mobile European Union citizens – in that context mobility is encouraged – and as a means of intra-European identity formation through touristic encounters of people within Europe.

In the course of the European integration process the Council of Europe and the European Union promote "culture tourism" which they consider to play a key role in establishing "durable integration" and "transcultural dialogue", whereby both the cultural variety of Europe and also the common cultural heritage are stressed (see Enser 2005:108).[4] A lot of effort is also put into the promotion of high-quality tourism in order to reduce the negative side effects of mass tourism. Sustainability in economic, ecological and cultural regards is the keyword. Since the middle of the 1990s sustainable development of tourism has become a priority of European Union institutions. (See Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften 2003:5) In a report of the EU Commission two challenges for sustainability are stressed: First, the lack of qualified staff and second, the possible negative effects of tourism development on the economic and social situation of the local population, the risk, to dissociate culture from its local embeddedness, and the loss of local authenticity of socio-cultural expressions (see Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften 2003:29). Therefore, on the one hand training programs for employees in tourism-related businesses are demanded and on the other hand the awareness of the tourists for environment and tradition is promoted. Beyond that, sustainable tourism is seen as a contribution "to an awareness of European cultures and heritages and, on this basis, strengthens EU citizens' sense of sharing a common identity and a common destiny". (see Committee on Transport and Tourism 2005)

[4] Concerning the strategic use of culture in order to promote social cohesion in the EU see Shore 2000 and Welz 2005.

The European tourism programs thereby perpetuate the notion of immobile local populations and unchanged traditions. The fact that traditions may be reconstructed or even invented because of tourism (see Welz 2000) is disregarded and also the fact that due to tourism and migration the local population is involved in transnational networks. It is assumed that European tourists meet European natives and express the variety of European cultures, whereby culture is understood as a clearly definable, territorially bound unit. The local population, whose interests are conceptualized as a major concern of sustainable tourism is hardly further differentiated. Migration is not mentioned at all.

2. ... in migrant-tourist practices at the time of the "guest worker" migration

Before I elaborate on findings from my field research in Crete, I would like to go back a little in the history of tourism and migration in Greece in order to show the longstanding connections of the two mobility forms on the one and the enduring dominance of the concept of sedentary locals on the other hand.

Between 1961 and 1973 approximately one million Greeks emigrated, more than two thirds of them to central and Northern Europe, in particular to West Germany (see Kaiser 1985:497). Simultaneously, the mobility of Germans in the opposite direction increased. Until the 1950s Greece had been primarily attractive for culture travellers looking for the origins of the cultural heritage of Europe and mainly interested in archaeological sites. This type of tourism was based on the conceptualization of Greece as "the place that gave birth to Western civilization". It was a rather elitist way of travelling and maintained continuity with the travel tradition established in the 18th and 19th centuries. (see Galani Moutafi 2004:171)

In the 1960s Greece became a popular destination for backpackers and other alternative tourists. They were less interested in the places of pilgrimage of the culture travellers that testified a sophisticated culture of the past. Instead they wanted to get into contact with the local population living currently in Greece. (see Römhild 2002:165) These travellers were impressed by the hospitality of the locals and by their lifestyle which they perceived and idealised as "simple", "archaic" and "close to nature", in contrast to their own experience of alienation in industrialized Western societies. They

were looking for this lifestyle in rural areas; urban life was avoided because it was considered as the starting point of modernization. Some of these tourists eventually even settled down in Greece.

The majority of travellers who did not stay but returned to their home countries had the opportunity to extend the “Mediterranean flair” that they had experienced during their holidays back home in the restaurants that the ”guest workers” had opened up in the meantime in order to escape their more and more precarious working conditions as employees. (see Bojadžijev 1998:303 and Gogos 2005:387). With “Sirtaki, Bouzouki and Souflaki” (Römhild 2002:163) they activate the tourist imaginations of their customers.

Between 1974 and 1985 nearly half of the Greeks spread all over Europe returned to Greece (see Fakiolas 2000), some accompanied by Western European partners. In Crete and in other Greek regions that in the meantime had become popular tourism destinations many of the returning “guest workers” found employment in hotels and restaurants (see Buck Morss 1987:203) or opened up their own tourist businesses. Through their work with foreign tourists they could transform the cultural capital they had accumulated during their time in Western Europe into economic capital.

Already these days where characterized to a large extent by a combination of tourist and migrant practices and by transnational references and lifestyles. What is consumed as originally Greek or Cretan is thereby frequently a transnational product. Especially “guest workers” in Germany, Greek return migrants in Greece or mixed couples who have met via tourism or migration seem to be equipped with the necessary cultural capital to define and produce most authentic traditional local culture for Graecophile tourists. (see Römhild 2002) These are skills and strategies which the cultural anthropologist Gisela Welz would call “reflexive traditionalism” (Welz 2000).

Apart from elitist cultural tourism on the one hand and alternative tourism on the other, mass tourism which is organized to a large extent by international tour operators has been developing significantly over the last forty years. By advertising the attractions “sea, sun and sand” in the urban centres of West Europe they have turned the countries of the Mediterranean into a pleasure periphery. Alternative tourists now fear the destruction of

"tradition" and "authenticity" by mass tourism. In contrast to mass tourists they consider themselves to be "insiders" who are familiar with the culture, have friends among the local population and are able to differentiate "authentic tradition" from authenticity staged for tourist consumption. (See Römhild 2002:171-2) The contrasts they stress between their own way of travelling and other tourist practices enables them to represent themselves as cosmopolitan, multi-cultural and flexible. (see Backes 2002:159)

In order to prove their own flexible and multi-cultural lifestyle they do not only need the construct of the mass tourist as a contrast to their own individual style of travelling, they also need an immobile, mono-cultural contrast: the local population. Its culture is bound to a clearly limited territory and shifted into pre-modern times. While looking for stable cultural identities in the host societies, the tourists do not feel the need to define their own cultural identity. They rather claim a privileged blank position for themselves, as Martina Backes puts it. She goes on saying that in their multi-cultural ideology the alternative travellers conceptualize the members of the host communities as puppets of a collective. At the same time they emphasize that they recognize and respect cultural diversity and claim an unprejudiced approach to cultural differences as a politically correct attitude.

A precondition as well as a result of this kind of tourism that is based on the pretence of intercultural understanding is the concept of a social order with immobile cultural identities on the one hand and mobile multi-cultural tourists consuming these cultural identities on the other hand. By means of their own unspecified cultural identity and their proclaimed value neutrality towards other cultures the latter put themselves in a superior position. (see Backes 2002:161) This superior position is characterized by a privileged access to a large number of immobilized cultures due to the privilege of almost unrestricted mobility with simultaneous immobility of the others. (see Goethe 2002:27; Steyerl 2002:41)

3. ... in present-day migrant-tourist practices

These others are, however, not at all immobile. Greece, which had for a long time been considered as a typical country of emigration, has become also interesting as an

immigration or transit country for migrants from all over the world. Soon after the end of World War II the first refugees and asylum-seekers from Eastern Europe came to Greece. Later refugees from the global South followed. The immigration of so-called low-skilled labour migrants began in the late 1960s. With the beginning of the 1990s the number of immigrants, particularly from Albania, increased rapidly. (see Fakiolas 2000) Moreover, there are the above-mentioned tourist-migrants from the countries of Western and Northern Europe who first entered as tourists and then settled down, and the Greek repatriates from the same countries.

The presence of all these groups contradicts the dominant notion of immobile, traditional communities in the South of Europe, which still shapes tourist expectations. Even the widespread de-localising "sea, sun and sand"-tourism that seems to be independent of the specific locality refers to the respective local context on a symbolic level. While the restaurants of the so-called "guest workers" in Western Europe are appreciated for the culinary extension of the Mediterranean flair beyond the holidays and also the Greek repatriates with their intercultural competence in dealing with tourists are well accepted, more recent immigration to Southern Europe, however, seems to be less easily harmonized with the distinguished travel experience of certain tourists. Even if immigrants from the global South and East in the meantime constitute an integral part of the labour force in the tourism sector in the Mediterranean, they are completely ignored in travel guides and official self-representations of Mediterranean tourism destinations. In the narratives of tourists they are either also ignored or perceived as diminishing the touristic consumption of difference.

Let me give you two examples from my fieldwork in Crete: A former German tourist who had decided to settle down in Crete expressed a very romantic view of the island and attached great importance to his own integration into the local community. He perceived the Albanian immigrants as disturbing: "The Greeks don't like the Albanians", he said and in his effort to assimilate as much as possible he made derogatory comments about the Albanians. A Belgian tourist expressed her disappointment that the hotel and restaurant staff often was not of Greek origin. She was referring to Western European service personnel in tourism enterprises here. By Albanian staff, however, she felt not disturbed, since in her eyes they did not differ from Greeks and so did not affect her

consumption of difference. In her eyes, Greekness doesn't have to be authentic as long as it looks as such.

I would like to continue and conclude now with three examples of migrants in Crete, who on the one hand try to become invisible in order to fit into the tourist-colonial imagination of the immobile cultural area of the Mediterranean, but who on the other hand undermine this perspective with their transnational skills and practices. They exemplify how the touristic imagery cannot only contribute considerably to update longstanding cultural hierarchies and dependencies, but how the same imagery can also be adopted as a tool of resistance (see Spillmann/Zinganel 2004:7).

Alban

Alban came at the beginning of the 1990s from Albania to Athens, by foot via the mountains. In the first years he didn't have papers. After he had tried to eke out a living in Athens and had been back to Albania several times, he decided to try his luck on a Greek island. Someone had told him: "Go away from Athens. Athens is only for thieves." He thought, life on the islands would be easier. Thus, he went to Piraeus and bought a ship ticket. The next ship coincidentally went to Crete. Other Albanians had warned him: If someone would notice that he is Albanian, they would tear his ticket up and the money he had spend for it would be lost.

Alban was lucky. He mingled inconspicuously with a group of tourists and so managed to enter the ship. He didn't know anybody in Crete, however, he knew where to find other Albanians, who helped him in the beginning. After some tiring jobs as a construction worker he found a job as second waiter in a Greek tavern. By now he speaks fluent Greek and some English and has managed to become first waiter. He is well aware of the expectations of the guests: "If European tourists ask me, where I come from, I tell them I am Greek. If tourists from the north of Greece want to know where I come from, I say, I am Cretan and if Cretans ask me, I say I am from the North of Greece. Tourists want to speak about Crete, how nice it is and so on. When I say, I come from Albania, tourists sometimes seem to be disappointed. So I tell them, what they want to hear. That's

my job." Since he speaks also a little Italian, he sometimes pretends to be half Italian – especially when he meets women who are travelling alone.

The working situation in a tourist region does obviously not only require but also facilitate a play with different roles, identity ascriptions or mobility categories. Pretending to be a tourist rendered it possible for Alban, who "was illegal" at that time, to be mobile in Greece. In interacting frequently with tourists he then quickly acquired the skills to pretend the appropriate national and/or regional affiliation for each customer. Pretending to be Greek proved to be beneficial with regard to Greek tourists who might express a racist attitude towards Albanians as well as with regard to Western and Northern European tourists who want to meet ethnic Greeks in their holidays in Greece. Beyond that he knows how to take advantage of the mediterraneanizing and exoticizing images of masculinity that female Western European tourists are looking for.

Renata

Similar to Alban, Renata found herself forced to take up the mobility category "tourist" on her search for work in the European Union. Renata is Serbian. In 1993 she came to Greece for the first time in order to work. She found a job as a carer of an old lady, at whose house she stayed. Occasionally, she also worked as a harvester at the olive and orange harvest. For a while she took turns with a friend, one day the friend looked after the old lady and Renata went to the harvest and the other way round the next day. During the summer we met she was working in the kitchen of one of the numerous cafés and bars at the boardwalk of Rethymnon.

In the meantime Renata had got a work permit and her current boss deposited for her into the unemployment insurance, so that she gets 300,- Euro insurance per month in winter, when there are only few tourists and little job opportunities on the island. The money is, however, not sufficient. Therefore, Renata becomes a tourist herself from time to time. Over the past years she has travelled to Germany several times with a tourist visa in order to work as a cleaning lady and kitchen help in the Rhine-Main area, once in a Croatian restaurant in Frankfurt, some other time in a Greek tavern in Bad Homburg. In addition, she worked as a cleaning lady in private households – everything illicitly, of

course, since as a tourist she is officially not allowed to work. Other Serbs usually help her finding jobs and accommodation.

Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1997) analyse increasingly mobile and multi-local migration strategies as both answers to the more and more limited possibilities to satisfy basic socio-economic needs at only one place and as a reaction to ever more restrictive national migration politics of Western industrial states. Renata may be considered as an example of this. Satisfaction of her socio-economic needs is impossible for her at only one place. Therefore, she commutes between Germany, Greece and Serbia. Since the European border regime does not allow for her inner-European labour mobility, she has to change the official mobility category each time she crosses a border. When she comes to Germany, she becomes a tourist, working illicitly. When she comes to Greece, she is a legal migrant with a limited work and residence permit and limited possibilities to find a job.

Dardan

The working and living space Europe has become similarly transnational for Dardan. Dardan is Albanian, but in Greece most people take him for Greek. During daytime he worked at the beach and in the evening in a bar. Dardan enjoyed his work, but he already had some unpleasant experience. When he worked in Crete for the first time in 1996, his boss withheld parts of his wages. He got the money only two years later and only by exerting pressure. Also with tourists it was not always easy. If Greek tourists noticed that he is Albanian they often reacted in a hostile manner, he said. In addition, some of them refused to pay for using the beach saying they were Greeks on a Greek beach. Concerning tourists from other countries Dardan sometimes had the impression that tourist guides and receptionists had warned them to beware of Albanians. If Dardan revealed that he is Albanian, some tourists would seem unsettled.

Dardan speaks fluent Norwegian and understands Swedish, which is very useful for his jobs in Crete. In winters he works as a waiter in Norway. In Albania Dardan has completed a one-year training as a policeman. Now he would like to become a policeman in Norway. He considers himself to be well-prepared for a job at the police because

dealing with tourists from different cultural backgrounds would be useful to handle the problems of the multi-cultural Norwegian society, he thinks.

Dardan has acquired the debate on multiculturalism, which from the perspective of the "Western European centre" was initiated in order to acknowledge and revalue the differences of the migrant "others" as part of the diversity of the own society. With the conception of a peaceful coexistence of cultures in Western European immigration countries multiculturalism perpetuated the concept of a mosaic of homogeneous, clearly definable ethnic cultures. One's own society could be upgraded as multicultural, depending, however, on the mono-cultural societies where the "guest workers" were supposed to come from and which were consumable in holidays.

Against this background it seems almost ironic how the Albanian seasonal worker in Greece makes use of the debate on multiculturalism. On the one hand, his presence in Greece contributes to the blurring of touristically consumable cultures in the Mediterranean that are part of the idea of multiculturalism in Western and Northern European societies. Moreover, he is one of those tourists are warned against at hotel receptions. On the other hand, he considers himself competent of handling the problems of a multicultural Northern European society exactly because of skills developed in encounters with tourists "from different cultural backgrounds" in Greece. Maybe he can be considered as a "postcolonial Owlglass" (Ha 2004:150), who challenges the hegemonic discourse by means of persiflage.

Conclusion

The boundaries of the homogeneous, territorially definable cultural area of the Mediterranean have become blurred. This is similarly true for mobility forms that cross the Mediterranean. Migrants enter as tourists, tourists turn into migrants or switch between the two. In spite of these ambiguities there is a mobility regime that takes certain mobility categories as fixed constants, promoting some and hampering others. Infrastructure and discourses that facilitate the mobility of EU-Europeans are however also used by non-Europeans. Migrants make use of different mobility categories and the

corresponding infrastructure and also of respective discourses in ways that are officially not intended.

In Northern and Western European countries current migration processes from the global South and East are represented as a challenge to multiculturalism or even as a reason for its collapse. The boundary of "integrateability" has shifted. The former "guest workers" are now considered as civilized Europeans and have became allies in the national integration debates as well as in European identity constructions. Now poorly paid Eastern European workers are perceived as threatening and above all Muslim migrants. They do not only disorder the multicultural arrangement with the familiar "guest workers" in the European centres, but also endanger the consumption of homogeneous cultures in the holidays at the Mediterranean.

Alban, Renata and Dardan are transmigrants characterized by a kind of "strategic transculturality" (Puetz 2004:28), which gives them the opportunity to orient themselves reflexively in different symbol systems and operate in them. In the sense of Antoine Pécoud (2000) they are cosmopolitans, since they have the skills to ensure their social and economic survival in different cultural and social contexts and despite various constraints. They make use of the invisibilities that the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990) produces with regard to the Mediterranean, which – as mentioned in the beginning – obviously is no longer able to translate the space of migration into the space of tourism and hence segregates the two. This offers a space for mimicry which can be considered as a form of strategic warfare for the subaltern, who use the ambivalences of the colonial discourse for daily deception and camouflage. This warfare is based on an intimate knowledge that despite all systematic exclusions expresses the inevitable proximity and intimateness with the familiar enemy in the colonial situation and turns it against the coloniser, as Kien Nghi Ha (2004:148) puts it.

Transferred to the postcolonial European mobility regime, the practice of mimicry is more than a creative play with identities. The labels of cultural difference which are imitated here are not merely innocent descriptions of different objectively observable identity categories, but attempts to govern reality along these categories. Insofar migrants make use of powerful figures of the present European mobility regime like "genuine Greek", "tourist" or "asylum-seeker"[5] or of central European identity discourses like multiculturalism, they do not simply reproduce hegemonic identity concepts, but refuse at the same time powerful labels of difference and cross political strategies of governance that rely on the visualization and classification of mobility.

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[5] For the strategic use of the category of "asylum-seeker" by migrants see Hess/Karakayalı 2006.

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