Manifestations of xenophobia in right-wing populism and extremism and ways to deal with them: Homophobia, Misogyny and other gender issues. [The Greek case.]
Manifestations of xenophobia in right-wing populism and extremism and ways to deal with them: Homophobia, Misogyny and other gender issues. [The Greek case.]

By Maria Koutelidaki
Clarifications

**Homophobia**

Homophobia comes from the Greek words ""homos"" which means "same" and "phobos" which means "fear".

According to the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILega):

- Homophobia is the fear, irrational anger, dislike or and hatred towards homosexuality.

**Misogyny**

Misogyny comes from the Greek words ""muza"/""muza"" which means "hate" and ""yuv"/""yuvaka"" which means "woman".

Misogyny is defined as the dislike of, contempt for or ingrained prejudice against women.

**Other Gender Issues**
Homophobia

Homophobia comes from the Greek words "όμο/-όμοιο" which means "same/similar" and "φοβία/φόβος" which means "fear".

According to the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA):

- Homophobia is the fear, irrational anger, dislike or/and hatred towards homosexuality.

It appears in two distinct forms:

- As internalized homophobia: when LGBTI people perceive and accept heterosexuality as the right way of existence and living.
- As institutionalized homophobia: when governments and public authorities act against the principle of equality as far as LGBTI people are concerned. This term includes threats or hate from public figures, the prohibition of pride events as well as other kinds of discrimination.
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Misogyny

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Misogyny is defined as the dislike of, contempt for or ingrained prejudice against women.

It appears as:
- Sexual discrimination
- Belittling of women
- Violence against women
- Sexual objectification of women
- Disempowerment of the right to abortion
- Others
It appears as:

- Sexual discrimination
- Belittling of women
- Violence against women
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- Others
Other Gender Issues

Sex or Gender?
- Sex refers to the "biological gender" which includes the biological differences between males and females, the visible differences in sexual organs, and the potential to reproduce.
- Gender refers to the "social gender" which is learned to follow and relates to the social categorization of being "female" or "male" and reflects "masculinity".

Gender Identity, expression, and sexual orientation
- According to the transgender perspective, gender identity refers to a person's internal sense of their gender, which may or may not align with their sex assigned at birth. It can evolve over time and may not be evident in infancy.
- Expression refers to the outward manifestation of gender identity, including behaviors, appearance, and social interactions.
- Sexual orientation refers to one's attractions to and desire for members of other genders.

Trans People
- "Trans" refers to "transgendered" referring to people whose gender identity differs from the sex assigned at birth.
**Sex or Gender?**

- Sex refers to the "biological gender" which implies the biological differences between females and males, the visible differences in their *genital organs* and the consequent difference in their reproduction procedures.
- *Gender* refers more to the "social gender" which is related to culture and refers to the *social categorization of what is "feminine" and what is "masculine".*
Gender identity, gender expression and sexual orientation

According to the Yogyakarta Principles:
- "Gender identity" refers to each person's deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerisms.
- "Sexual orientation" refers to each person's capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender or the same gender or more than one gender.
Trans People

"Trans" is an "umbrella-term" referring to people whose gender identity or/and gender expression differentiate themselves from the sex assigned at birth.
Homophobia in Greece

FRA Survey on LGBTI-Results for Greece
- In your opinion, how many people in same-sex partnerships hold jobs in public positions?
- In your opinion, how many people are taking measures to promote respect for the human rights of LGBT persons?
- All things considered, how satisfied would you say you are with your life today? (0-10)
- In terms of your civil rights, are you satisfied?
- Do you consider yourself a sexual minority?

Right-wing parties on homosexual couples

- Golden Dawn and extreme religious groups led a violent protest that forced the closure of Terence McNally's controversial play Corpus Christi, in which Jesus and the apostles are portrayed as gay men, in Athens in October 2012. Golden Dawn MP Ilia Panagiotaros was filmed shouting homophobic insults at the play's director. After the cancellation of the play, the director received death threats.
- In early December 2013, Serafim of Piraeus, known for his homophobic views, threatened to excommunicate any member of the Parliament who would vote in favour of extending civil partnerships to homosexuals. (Prominent role of the Orthodox Church in Greek society.)

Vallianatos and Others v. Greece
Vallianatos and Others v. Greece

Law n. 3718/2008

Chapter 2

23. In essence, the question in the present case is whether the provisions of the Law in question, which have been in force since 1994, give to the applicant's rights to marry and to found a family the same protection under the ECHR as the laws of each Member State, and in particular the national law of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
Law n. 3719/2008

Section 1
Conclusion of a civil union

"A contract between two **different-sex** adults governing their life as a couple ("civil union") shall be entered into by means of a notarised instrument in the presence of the parties. The contract shall be valid from the date on which a copy of the notarised instrument is lodged with the civil registrar for the couple's place of residence. It shall be recorded in a special civil register. "
Article 14 ECHR

Prohibition of Discrimination
The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

"Sexual orientation is a concept covered by Article 14. Where a difference in treatment is based on sex or sexual orientation the State’s margin of appreciation is narrow. Differences based solely on considerations of sexual orientation are unacceptable under the Convention." (ECHR, n.77)
Article 8 ECHR

Right to respect of private and family life

1. Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence.

"It is not disputed that their relationships fall within the notion of "private life" within the meaning of Article 8 of the Convention. The Court also points out that in its judgment in Schalk and Kopf, it considered that, in view of the rapid evolution in a considerable number of member States regarding the granting of legal recognition to same-sex couples, "it would be artificial to maintain the view that, in contrast to a different-sex couple, a same-sex couple [could not] enjoy ‘family life’ for the purposes of Article 8"." (ECHR, n.73)
same-sex couples would have a particular interest in entering into a civil union since it would afford them, unlike different-sex couples, the sole basis in Greek law on which to have their relationship legally recognized." (ECHR, n.90)

"of the nineteen States which authorize some form of registered partnership other than marriage, Lithuania and Greece are the only ones to reserve it exclusively to different-sex couples" (ECHR, n.91)
SYRIZA finally enacted the relevant law, no. 4356/2015, granting the right to form a civil union both to heterosexual and homosexual couples.
Right-wing parties on homosexual couples

Journalist: "Are homosexual couples supposed to get married?"
Evangelos Meimarakis, President of the conservative party "New Democracy" candidate for being the next Prime Minister of Greece:
"Look, personally I don't care about something like this. Many times I get concerned about their efforts to convince us that this is something normal and right. And I get very concerned and very reluctant about the issue of adoption."

"A phenomenon that in my language is translated as "extortion", meaning complete "corruption" and "merchandising" in the system of specific structures which functioned till now within the Greek territory."

Who is that who is going to guarantee that a little boy, for example, that will be raised for two years is not going to be shot at the same time by one of the two "parents" whose show is not a blood feud?

What do we understand from this? It's about a system of coexistence of every value, of security and the principles that determine our personality and that are the glue of unifying and positive individuals. Absent would be judgment because we would not have the unity that divides us from monopolies.

Greeks wake up!!! What happens to your neighbor's house happens to your house too!!! Wake up and choose to shout a hundredfold NO to corruption that they want to install using the excuse of deliberation and tolerance towards the so-called "different" as another side of what is normal. Family and will be the most fundamental cell of a healthy and cohesive society.

Eclipse and all differences lead them these parameters exists in a destructive and debased way."

(Excerpt of Stavros Alesopoulou Raouchtsa)
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"Look, personally I don't care about something like this. Many times I get concerned about their efforts to convince us that this is something normal and right. And I get very concerned and very reluctant about the issue of adoption."
"A phenomenon that in my language is translated as “entropy”, meaning complete “disorder” and “anarchy” in the system of specific structures which functioned till now within the Greek territory."

Who’s that who is going to guarantee that a little boy, for example, that will be raised by two men is not going to be abused at the same time by one of the two “parents” since there is not the blood bond?

What do we understand from this? It is about a tactic of contravention of every value, of morality and the principles that determine our personality and they transform us in a pulp of ungoverned and passive individuals obedient without judgment because we will not have the limits that divide moral from immoral!

Greeks wake up!!! What happens to your neighbour’s house happens to your house too!!! Wake up and choose to shout a thunderous NO to corruption that they are trying to impose using the excuse of deliberation and tolerance towards the so called “different” as another side of what is normal. Family is and will be the most fundamental cell of a healthy and cohesive society. Anything else that differentiates itself from these parameters works in a destructive and distortional way.”

(Article of Stamatina Alexopoulou Rouchota)
Golden Dawn and extreme religious groups led a violent protest that forced the closure of Terence McNally's controversial play Corpus Cristi, in which Jesus and the apostles are portrayed as gay men. In Athens in October 2012, Golden Dawn MP Ilias Panagiotaros was filmed shouting homophobic insults at the play's director. After the cancellation of the play, the director received death threats.

In early December 2013, Seraphim of Piraeus, a prominent role of the Orthodox Church in Greek society, threatened that members of Parliament would vote in favour of extending civil partnerships to homosexuals, in defiance of the Church's wishes.
FRA Survey on LGBTI-Results for Greece

- In your opinion, how widespread is same-sex partners holding hands in public? 1%
- In your opinion, how widespread are positive measures to promote respect for the human rights of LGB people? 0%
- All things considered, how satisfied would you say you are with your life these days? 5,7%
- In terms of your civil status, are you single? 96%
- Do you consider yourself a sexual minority? 71%
Misogyny in Greece
Inside the Greek Parliament

- Approximately 1 out of 5 Members of the National Parliament is a woman.
- Rise of verbal violence and sexism against female MPs
- Parliamentary Commission on Gender Equality asking for fines, parliamentary compensation cutback, deprivation of the right of speech, condemnation of such practices and a Code of Conduct.
- First female Prime Minister Vasiliki Thanou, President of the Supreme Civil and Criminal Law of Greece (as a temporary PM in September 2015)

- Derogation female MPs.
- Judgment MPs.
- Presented to partner consummate marriage.
On the Media

- Derogatory comments on the positions of female MPs based on their gender.
- Judgment of the apparel only of the female MPs.
- Presentation of women mainly as housewives, partners, mothers, sex symbols, superficial consumers both on advertisements and TV shows.
The Council of State: Ratification of the fine imposed by the Greek National Council on Radio and Television on a TV channel for providing weather forecast of inferior quality than the one required for the purposes of TV.
The right to abortion

“Abortion is not a right. Abortion is an insult to nature itself which constitutes murder.”

Christos Pappas

"What we need to understand is that there is no right or wrong in such delicate issues, since all the different opinions seem to have their social, moral or legal ground."

"In order to bridge the gap between the easy access to abortion and the protection of the rights of the "nasciturus", careful legislative drafting research needs to be conducted, taking into account important medical factors.” Eliza Vosenberg
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Violence Against Women

During a live TV update a Golden Dawn candidate, Ilias Kasidiaris, flung a glass of water towards a female SYRIZA candidate, and then slapped a female Communist Party candidate. (After that, support for Golden Dawn started rising.)
Gender Equality Index by EIGE

- Physical violence by a partner since the age of 15: 18%
- Psychological violence by a partner since the age of 15: 33%
FRA Survey on Violence Against Women - Results for Greece

- Avoiding places or situations for fear of being assaulted: 68%
- Avoiding to leave the home alone due to fear of being assaulted: 28%
- Avoiding to take certain streets or going to certain areas for fear of being assaulted: 54%
- Avoiding to go to places where there are no other people around: 56%
- Avoiding to open the door when alone at home: 51%
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>EL</th>
<th>EU-28</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Full-time equivalent employment rate (15+ population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>47.2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duration of working life</td>
<td>years</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed people in education, human health and social work activities (15-64 employed)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ability to take an hour or two off during working hours to take care of personal or family matters (15+ workers)*</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>33.8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working to tight deadlines (15+ workers)*</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>64.4</td>
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<td>Money</td>
<td>Mean monthly earnings****</td>
<td>PPS</td>
<td>1 759</td>
<td>2 140</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean equivalised net income (16+ population)</td>
<td>PPS</td>
<td>11 136</td>
<td>11 585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at-risk-of-poverty, ≥ 60 % of median income (16+ population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>78.1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S20/S80 income quintile share (16+ population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Graduates of tertiary education (15-74 population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tertiary students in the fields of education, health and welfare, humanities and arts (tertiary students)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>17.9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People participating in formal or non-formal education and training (15-74 population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>44.6</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers caring for and educating their children or grandchildren,</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>77.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>every day for one hour or more (15+ workers)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers doing cooking and housework, every day for one hour or more</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15+ workers)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers doing sporting, cultural or leisure activities outside of</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their home, at least every other day (15+ workers)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers involved in voluntary or charitable activities, at least</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>once a month (15+ workers)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of ministers (18+ population)**</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of members of parliament (18+ population)**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of members of regional assemblies (18+ population)**</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of members of boards in largest quoted companies, supervisory</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>board or board of directors (18+ population)**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of members of central bank (18+ population)**</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intersecting inequalities</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>15-64</td>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>15-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment of people born in a foreign country (15-64 corresponding population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment of country nationals (15-64 corresponding population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment of people aged 55-64 (55-64 population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment of people aged 15-54 (15-54 population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rates of people living in a household with one adult and one or more children (15-64 corresponding population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rates of people living in a household with one adult and no children (15-64 corresponding population)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transphobia

Term that stands for negative, cultural and personal beliefs, opinions, attitudes and behaviours based on prejudice, dislike, fear or/and hatred towards trans people or other variations of gender identity and gender expression. (Transgender Europe [TGEU])
Institutionalized Transphobia

Expressed through legal sanctions and non-existing / inadequate mechanisms towards the confrontation of violence and discrimination. (ILGA)
Social Transphobia

Expressed in the forms of physical and other kinds of violence, rhetoric of hate, discrimination, threats, marginalization, social exclusion, offenses, etc. (ILGA)
Harassment by the Police

- Absence of successful prosecutions of the culprits and allegations of collusion between police officers and the Golden Dawn.
- New anti-racism police units are not yet competent for incidents on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity.
- Routine police harassment of transgender persons by fining them for solicitation and attempted prostitution arbitrarily.
- In the run-up to Thessaloniki Pride 2013, a group of transgender people was arrested and charged with public order offences and their lawyer was also detained without justification and intimidated by the police.
Harassment in Education

Case of a transgender person, who was harassed in an Athens evening school and was driven to abandon her further education. (The only teacher that supported her was suspended.)

Modification of the data on the ID Card
- Final Judgment of the Court
- Surgery for the redefinition of the gender

FRA Survey on LGBTI- Transgender People
What would allow you to be more comfortable living as a transgender person in Greece?
- Measures implemented at school to respect transgender people: 85% strongly agrees
- Public figures in politics, business, sports etc speaking openly in support: 55% strongly agrees
- National authorities who promote the rights: 59% strongly agrees
- Training of public servants (e.g. police, teachers) on the rights of transgender people: 59% strongly agrees
- Better acceptance of differences by religious leaders: 55% strongly agrees
Modification of the data on the ID Card

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FRA Survey on LGBTI- Transgender People

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FRA Survey on LGBTI-Transgender People

- In your opinion, in Greece, how widespread is discrimination because a person is Transgender? 71%
- Do you avoid expressing your gender (or your desired gender) through your physical appearance and clothing for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed? 34% yes // 52% no
Right-wing extremism and populism
Ways to deal with Homophobic Behaviour

• Extension of the law on civil unions to include same-sex couples.
• Greater occupation of the mainstream parties with and stronger commitment to the confrontation of discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation and intensive reaction to hate speech.
• Further cooperation with independent authorities and relative NGOs to get informed about the development of homophobia, to complete the legislative gaps as well as to conduct awareness raising campaigns on the media.
• Introduction of a course related to the understanding and acceptance of differences to the national educational system.
• Collaboration between the political system and the leadership of the Orthodox Church in order to prevent homophobic expressions and to promote tolerance and acceptance.
Ways to deal with Misogynistic Behaviour

- Condemnation of discriminatory expressions and sexism inside the Greek Parliament, imposition of sanctions and establishment of a Code of Conduct.
- Greater activation of the Greek National Council on Radio and Television to eradicate sexism and discrimination on the ground of gender on the media.
- Further cooperation with independent authorities and relative NGOs to get informed about the development of misogyny, to complete the legislative gaps as well as to conduct awareness raising campaigns on the media.
- Review of current Directives on Gender Equality, Equal Pay, Maternity and Paternity Leaves as well as Representation of women in decision-making positions.
- Introduction of a course related to gender equality and sexism to the national educational system.
- Cooperation with the private sector and provision of incentives and guidelines to businesses to adopt gender equality measures.
Ways to deal with Transphobic Behaviour

- Greater occupation of the political system with and stronger engagement to the confrontation of transphobia and the reassurance of equal treatment towards transgender people.
- Investigation of police arbitration and violence against transgender people, enactment of relative legislation and imposition of sanctions.
- Investigation of collusion between police officers and the Golden Dawn.
- Extension of the competence of anti-racism police units to include incidents on grounds of gender and sexual orientation.
- Review and simplification of the legislation concerning the modification of the data on the identity card of transgender people.
- Reassurance of equal opportunities for transgender people in education and employment. (legislation, incentives, etc)
- Further cooperation with independent authorities and relative NGOs to get informed about the development of transphobia, to complete the legislative gaps as well as to conduct awareness raising campaigns on the media.
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