

**Socio-economic Integration of Immigrants in Greece:  
The Case of the Greater Athens Area**



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## **Abstract**

This study examines issues pertaining to the socio-economic integration of immigrants in Greece. Its focus is on two localities of the greater Athens area, Piraeus and Korydallos, and on three immigrant communities: Albanians, East Europeans and Asians. The research is set within the context of debates about immigration and integration, and more specifically within the economic, social and ethno-cultural context of Greece. This approach, which primarily recognises the specific significance of the host country's structures, perceives immigrants as dynamic actors that develop competition strategies in the context of their own cultural references and sense-making. Through this perspective, it is argued that immigrants develop autonomous individual and/or collective integration strategies, which are largely a result of the bottom-up interaction of immigrants with both the native population and the socio-political institutions of the host country, at the local level.

This thesis is the outcome of fieldwork research that involved probability quota sampling of 270 immigrants from Albania, Asia and Eastern Europe, interviewed in person using a structured questionnaire, with some room for collecting qualitative data. It examines the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants by applying quantitative methods (construction of the integration index, the use of one-way ANOVA, independent samples t-test and multiple linear regression analysis), and descriptive analysis. The integration indicators include: employment, housing, use of the Greek language, social interaction, social and political participation, self-evaluation of integration, and racism and discrimination.

The findings provide an empirical account of the level of integration of immigrants, revealing a significant degree of heterogeneity among communities, a factor that has unavoidably conditioned integration patterns. East Europeans display the highest level of partial integration in comparison to the other immigrant groups. Albanians appear relatively stable at the level of partial integration, while the Asians display a marginal integration pattern. The integration index of socio-economic integration stands at the level of partial integration. The multiple linear regression analysis shows that citizenship, years of residence and educational are significant predictors of integration levels. The empirical findings corroborate the hypothesis of differentiated exclusion in the integration process of immigrants, with the relevant policies leaving room for partial integration only. Furthermore, the study suggests that the limited range of the state's institutional intervention appears to offer increased space for local and individual micro-processes, confirming that micro-level practices and strategies of the immigrants themselves are the most effective channels in shaping the phenomenon of socio-economic integration.



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# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 Background and theoretical rationale

The integration of immigrants in the host societies takes place in the context of a broad socio-economic process, in which people from different cultural backgrounds, who co-exist and interact within a common socio-economic context, are synchronised with different value systems, traditions and attitudes. This process involves the adaptation of both immigrants and the host society to a new social-economic context, whose various parts are interrelated and interdependent.

In reality, however, socio-economic relations between immigrants and the host society are established in the context of a socio-political system of institutions, narratives and hierarchies that grant exclusive privileges to the host country (Alba and Nee, 2011). In this way, the host society may selectively integrate certain population categories, keeping others in an extremely vulnerable and marginal position, thus legitimising the ‘construction’ of social categorisations and hierarchies through ideological and cultural references (Ventoura, 2011, p. 30). In a way, policies adopted by the host country fabricate the institutional context by integrating or excluding certain categories of immigrants from social and political participation but also from economic and social advancement. These are the policies that contribute to the formation of national identity, giving individuals their legal identity and defining who has the right to what (Ventoura, 2011, p. 26). Soysal (1994) claims that different policies for the integration of immigrants are the outcome of different institutional contexts and perceptions concerning the status of membership in every nation state. These variations affect immigrants’ attitudes, because the relationship that has developed between immigrants and the host country at the individual and collective levels is dialectical.

In a context of growing concern about the prevalence of hate speech, the large number of violent incidents, conflicts and racially motivated murders, social cohesion within European societies has eroded to an alarming degree<sup>1</sup>. These developments, coupled with the rapid rise in unemployment due to the economic crisis and the prevalent insecurity, have turned immigrants into ‘easy’ targets of xenophobic and racist attacks from extremist political parties, which, under the rubric of ‘national salvation’, perceive immigrants as the modern

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<sup>1</sup>Here, a few cases in point may be mentioned: the social unrest that occurred in France in 2005; the great reaction and tensions caused by the publication of cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad in Denmark in 2006; the series of racially motivated crimes in Norway and Italy (Florence) in 2011; and, the scandal in Germany regarding the murder of immigrants in the period 2000-2007 by members of a right-wing organization.

enemy. Indeed, the 'protection' of the host society against the immigrant-enemy is presented – in some cases – as the key political argument to claim power.

In almost every European country there is a rise of anti-immigrant, neo-Nazi and extremist political parties that support racist ideologies. In the Netherlands, the Freedom Party of Geert Wilders saw a rise from six per cent in 2006 to 16 per cent in 2010, while the French National Front increased its percentage from 11 per cent in 2007 to 18 per cent in 2012. In Greece, the neo-Nazi party of Golden Dawn<sup>2</sup> holds 17 seats<sup>3</sup> in parliament.

There is no doubt that the current socio-political environment in Greece is partly the result of a failure in the country's political system to manage effectively the phenomenon of migration and to implement a fair policy for the socio-economic integration of immigrants. Furthermore, the rise in racism during the years of the economic crisis has very much stalled the process of integration while inhibiting the tolerance of the host society and finally, the democratic principles and values. In light of these developments, the socio-economic integration of immigrants along with the safeguarding of social cohesion in the Greek society has become a highly critical issue.

With this problematique in mind, the overall objective of the study is to adopt an empirical approach that is theoretically informed to analysis of the integration of immigrants, with reference to the Greek economy and society. In particular, the study investigates the extent of socio-economic integration of first generation immigrants, which comes from three different migration systems at the local level. It explores, furthermore, the integration strategies that different immigrant groups develop in the new ethno-cultural and economic context of Greece. It is assumed that these strategies are the result of immigrants' interaction with both the native population and the institutions of the host country, marking a bottom-up trajectory. This approach, which recognises primarily the specific significance of the host country's structures, has perceived immigrants as dynamic actors that develop autonomous competition strategies in the context of their own cultural references and sense-making (Koff, 2002, p. 8).

Some older approaches to the concept of integration are inclined to define it not only as a dynamic trajectory – a process towards a situation where socio-economic and political discrimination between demographically comparable immigrants and the native population is absent (Kontis, 2001) – but also as an objective. In that theoretical context, integration aims

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<sup>2</sup> Racially motivated attacks saw a dramatic increase in Greece. From January to September 2012, 87 incidents against refugees and immigrants were recorded. Eighty three of these incidents took place in public spaces (in squares, streets and on public transport). For more information, see: <http://news.in.gr/greece/article/?aid=1231218993>

<sup>3</sup>2015 national election results

at ensuring the same living and working conditions as well as equal rights among native and immigrant populations through the mutual adaptation of the two population groups during the integration process (Hammar, 1985, p. 33). Thus, integration is perceived as a two-way process based on mutual rights and respective obligations for legally residing immigrants and the host country, a process that requires the full participation of immigrants (C.E.C., 2003, pp. 18-19). This means, first, that it is primarily the host country's responsibility to ensure that immigrants enjoy the same rights in a way that allows them to participate on equal terms in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the receiving country. Secondly, it denotes that immigrants respect the host society's fundamental rules and values, and participate actively in the integration process, without relinquishing their ethnic identity. This, rather conservative, approach can be found in much of recent government policy across the EU – distinguished by political denunciation of the multicultural model and increasing intolerance of difference.

An alternative term – 'social inclusion' – has also been employed, though admittedly it is used to describe a number of similar integration-related issues (e.g., labour market, housing, education, health). It entails notions such as 'equal access' or 'equal opportunities'. It has been acknowledged, however, that the term inclusion<sup>4</sup> *per se* implies it is the migrants themselves who are required to 'fit in' the existing society, and not the society that should adjust its structures to accommodate them (Castles *et. al.*, 2002, p.118).

Today, however, the concept of social inclusion is no longer considered an independent process. Rather, it is seen as only one aspect of a broader set of integration policy goals that aim to combat poverty and eliminate the exclusion of *all* disadvantaged groups in society (Rudiger and Spencer 2003, p. 5). As such, it remains a key term in social policy yet is rarely found in the literature on immigrant integration.

Brubaker's more recent arguments on the 'return of assimilation' (Brubaker, 2011, p. 168) emphasise several new aspects which have informed the present study. First, is that emphasis is now placed on the *process of becoming similar*, as opposed to a theoretical end-state of complete absorption. Second, is a recognition of a multi-generational population as the unit of study, rather than the individual: this is crucial, in that different age cohorts will integrate differently (e.g. the automatic host language acquisition of children, compared with

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<sup>4</sup> Taking a step further, inclusion may be defined in relation to social exclusion, which deals both with the success and failure of attaining a proper status of wellbeing (e.g., ensuring basic material requirements such as housing and food). From this perspective, the discourse on the diptych that is inclusion and exclusion is seen as part of a broader neo-liberal discourse, according to which inclusion is a form of 'regulating the poor' (Piven and Cloward, 1993), rather than a call for doing away with inequality altogether (Samers 1998, p. 139).

the greater difficulty for adults). Analogously, we must also recognize the heterogeneity of populations under study, and that the shift will be to another form of heterogeneity within that population group. This is particularly likely to involve intergenerational differences – even if we focus on first generation immigrants. The third new approach that we utilize is a shift from a transitive to an intransitive phenomenon: the former sees immigrants as the objects of a process or government policy, whereas the latter recognizes not only that immigrants have agency, but also that it is a social process that individuals are (usually unconsciously) part of.

The fourth new aspect identified is a shift away from older ideas of a homogeneous reference population, and toward a disaggregated approach that considers multiple reference populations, with distinct processes occurring in different domains. This abandonment of the idea of a ‘core culture’ requires careful choice of the indigenous reference groups, as well as examination of discrete issues and processes. Integration is examined not as a general concept but in its different dimensions (covering social, cultural, political and economic aspects). The specific areas covered are: employment; housing and segregation; use of the Greek language; social interactions; social and political participation; and, racism and discrimination.

It is assumed, therefore, that integration is taking place at a different level among different ethnic groups and none of the one-dimensional causal mechanisms can adequately interpret the outcomes of immigrants’ integration in the host country. On the contrary, it involves a variety of mechanisms that operate at different levels and at a different intensity. Similarly, all mechanisms and their effectiveness vary among the immigrant groups, because they sometimes involve more collectivistic processes of integration while at other times they involve more individualistic ways of integration. Moreover, in most cases, the configuration of their integration trajectory arises as a result of the synergy of collectivistic and individualistic mechanisms (Alba and Nee, 2011, p. 95).

## **1.2 The Greek context of migration**

Throughout its modern history, Greece has been predominantly an emigration country. The country’s economic growth, its integration in the EU and its geographical proximity to the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, contributed to its transformation into an immigration country. In the 1990s, Greece was transformed overnight from what was a largely homogeneous country in terms of language, national and cultural heritage, into a host country of mass irregular migration flows. The most important sectors of the Greek economy such as agriculture, the construction industry, tourism and the domestic service sector, became

popular with immigrants. Furthermore, the significantly improved social conditions, the changes that marked employment rates (e.g., the increasing entry of women into the formal labour market) and social needs (e.g., population ageing and the need for elderly care) worked as a powerful factor for the attraction of undeclared labour.

According to estimates, during the last 22 years about 1.4 million people have entered and settled into Greek territory. This number has increased from the year 2000 onwards (Tsioukas, 2009, p. 55). According to the 2011 census, the population of Greece is estimated at 10,787,690. Of them, 9,903,368 are Greek citizens. These figures show that the foreign population in Greece is at 888,422 people. Also, according to the official data released by Eurostat (2012), 956,000 foreigners lived in Greece in 2011, representing 8.5 per cent of the country's total population. When residents born in other countries were included in the estimates, this number increased to 1.255 million, or 11.1 per cent of the total population. The OECD (2012b) report on Greece estimates the foreign population to consist of 80 per cent who were born abroad, of which 10 per cent of them have acquired citizenship through naturalisation (2012b, p. 28).

The data for 2012 estimates the number of immigrants who reside in Greece at 831,000, notably eight per cent of the country's total population (Table 1). Legally residing immigrants in particular constitute four per cent of the total population, while 3.5 per cent or half of the immigrant population reside in Greece irregularly (i.e., without a stay permit).

Table 1. Stock of foreign population (2012)

	<b>Size of immigrant stock</b>	<b>% of total resident population</b>	<b>Source of data</b>
Total legal immigrant population	440,118	4.07	Stay permits valid on 31 December 2012, Ministry of Interior database
Irregular immigrants (estimate)	391,000	3.62	Maroukis, T. (2012)
Total immigrant population	831,118	7.68	
Total population of Greece	10,815,197	100.00	National census of 2011, data available at <a href="http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/General/resident_population_census2011.xls">http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/General/resident_population_census2011.xls</a>

Source: Triandafyllidou (2013, p. 9)

Recent data from the Greek Ministry of Interior database on valid stay permits, put the number of legally residing TCNs at 487,094 in 2014 (Table 2).

Table 2. National composition of the migrant population (2014)

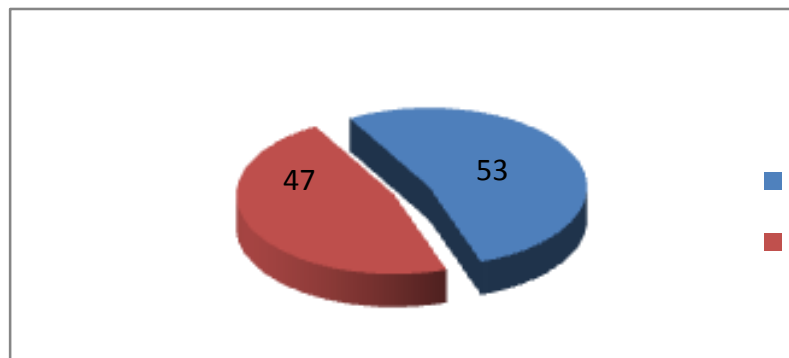
	<b>Third Country Nationals (TCN) valid permits</b> December 2014	
<b>Country of Origin</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Albania	333,440	68.5
Ukraine	17,765	3.7
Georgia	16,156	3.3
Pakistan	15,557	3.2
Rusia	13,096	2.7
India	12,893	2.6
Moldavia	8,698	1.8
Bangladesh	5,938	1.2
Other	63,551	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>487,094</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*Sources:* Greek Ministry of Interior, valid stay permits on 31 December 2014

These figures show that the main feature of the Greek human geography of immigration is the dominant presence of a particular ethnic group in relation to the total immigrant population. The legally residing population of third country nationals (TCNs) includes mostly individuals with Albanian citizenship (68.5 per cent). They are followed by individuals coming from the former Republics of the Soviet Union, including Ukrainians, Georgians, Russians and Moldovans, and by people from India, Philippines and Pakistan (Table 2).

Men constitute slightly over half (53 per cent) of the total legal immigrant population, and women make up 47 per cent of the legally residing immigrant population (Figure 1). At the same time, the gender balance in the composition of the various ethnic groups though is very uneven and heterogeneous.

Figure 1. Gender composition of the migrant population (%)



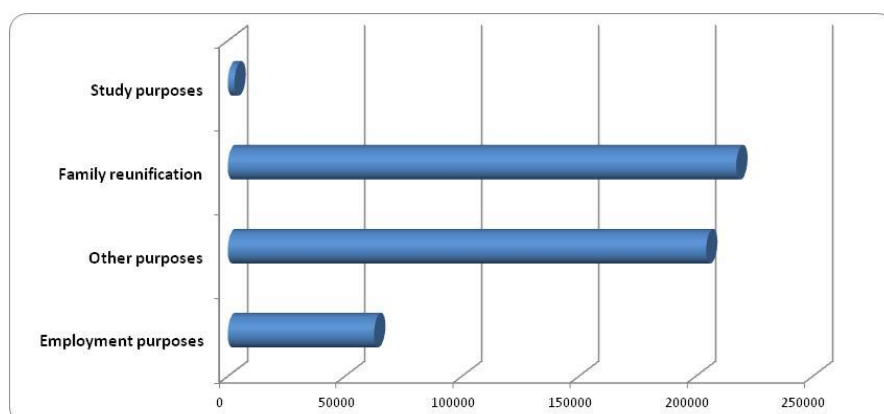
Source: Greek Ministry of Interior, December 2014

Women make up less than 9.6 per cent of immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh while they comprise over 83 per cent of immigrants from Ukraine, 76 per cent of those coming from Russia, and 75.7 per cent and 70.5 per cent for those from Georgia and Moldova, respectively (Greek Ministry of Interior, 2014). These gender differences are apparently linked to the structural features and needs of the Greek labour market for 'cheap hands', the temporary nature of immigrant mobility, the initial phases of the accommodation process in Greece, women's role within the family and society and, the family culture (tradition) of the respective ethnic groups.

Employment is considered one of the primary reasons for migration with almost 50 per cent of foreigners coming to Greece looking for a job (OECD, 2012a, p. 28). However, compared with the residency status, which is an important factor for entering the labour market, 52 per cent of men have a residence permit for 'other purposes'. Then follow residence permits for family reunification (31 per cent) and residence permits for dependent employment (17 per cent). The majority of women have residence permits for family reunification (60 per cent), 'other purposes' (31 per cent) and residence permits for employment (8.6 per cent) (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Permits of stay by purpose (2014)



With respect to long-term residence, it is worth mentioning that at the end of 2012, 107,000 foreigners held the 10-year residence permit or the indefinite stay permit. Since then, the total number of the long-term stay permits issued has increased significantly (30 per cent more compared to 2011). This increase corresponds to one quarter of the total legal immigrant population in Greece (Table 3).

Table 3. Long-term permits issued (2007-2012)

Type of permit	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total permits of 10-year or indefinite duration	821	34,296	45,998	62,312	75,377	107,080

Source: Greek Ministry of Interior, database on stay permits 2007-2012

The majority of foreigners in the country are of working age. According to OECD (2012b) data (Table 4), almost 90 per cent of people born abroad are between 15 and 64 years of age.

Table 4. Size, age and gender composition of the foreign-born population in Greece (2009-10)

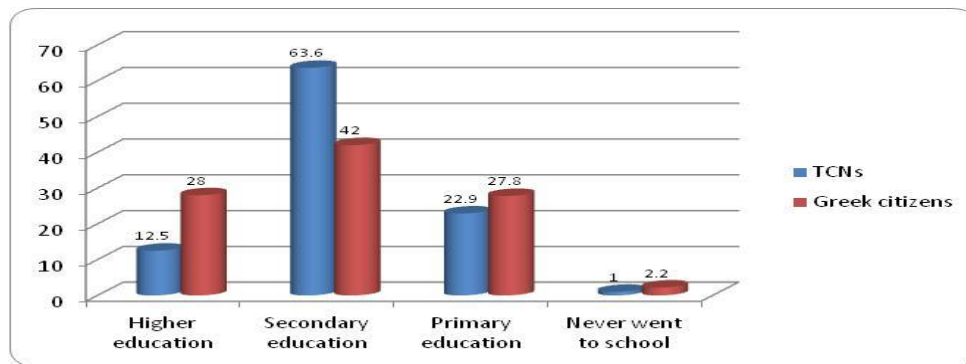
		Foreign-born			Difference (+/-) with the native-born			Women
		0-14	15-64	65+	0-14	15-64	65+	
	All foreign-born persons							
	Total number of persons	Distribution in %			Percentage points			Percentage of foreign-born
	Percentage of the total population							

Greece	858,000	7.9	6.1	89.6	4.2	-9.1	25.1	-16.0	49.8
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Source: OECD (2012b, p. 47)

With regard to the educational attainment of immigrants, according to recent LFS data (see Figure 3) the proportion with primary education is similar to that of the Greek population, is less than half for tertiary education, and significantly higher for secondary education. Most immigrants (around 76 per cent) have secondary or college education. The educational level of immigrants varies according to their gender.

Figure 3. Educational level of immigrant and Greek population (%)



Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority, Labour Force Survey, second quarter 2014

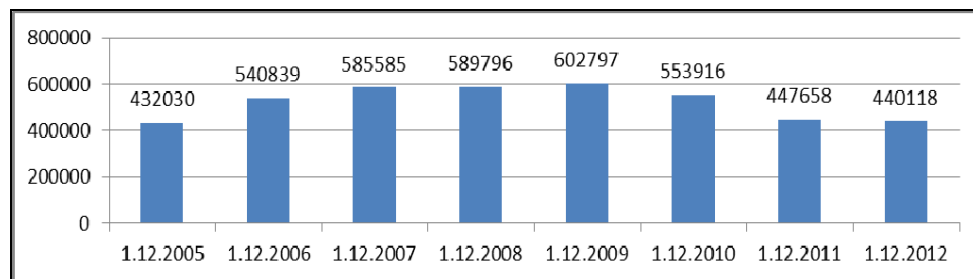
At the same time, the composition of the immigrant population residing in the country has started to change. Changes have begun to occur even when it comes to relationships between immigrants and the native population. Although many immigrants continue to move back and forth, to work temporarily (or irregularly) or to return to their countries of origin, there are many whose residence status in Greece is acquiring a permanent character, and who display more stable and closer ties with the host country. Moreover, with nearly one million people of different ethnic groups having settled in Greece for many years, the most pertinent issue at the moment is the cohabitation with the second generation of immigrants (Takis, 2010, p. 9).

The Greek financial crisis and the austerity measures have dramatically altered the country's economic and social conditions, also affecting the lives of immigrants. The impact of the economic crisis on immigrant workers as the most vulnerable social group is manifold and largely interwoven with the systemic characteristics of immigration in Greece (Maroukis, 2008). In reality, the crisis has hit harder the sectors of the Greek economy employing most of the migrants' work force, notably the construction sector, which has seen significant

unemployment since 2008 (OECD, 2012a). Surveys (Gemi, 2013; Maroukis and Gemi, 2013) point to the fact that regular immigrants are losing their legal status due to high unemployment, which was estimated to be 36 per cent during the third quarter of 2012 (Hellenic Statistical Authority, Labour Force Survey, third quarter 2012).

Indeed, data from the Greek Ministry of Interior (2013) shows that the largest number of legal immigrants residing in Greece was recorded in March 2010, when 600,000 residence permits were in force (Triandafyllidou, 2013, p. 8). Since then, there has been a gradual decline in the number of stay permits. At the end of 2010 there were 550,000 stay permits while in December 2010 this number was smaller, at 440,000 (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Regular immigrant population Greece (2005-2012)



Source: Database of valid stay permits, Ministry of Interior (Triandafyllidou, 2013, p. 8)

It is estimated that this reduction in the number of residence permits is due to the effects of the economic crisis, the insecure employment status and the dramatic rise of unemployment. As a result, a significant number of immigrants lose their legal residency status due to the inability to secure the appropriate documents (e.g., sufficient annual income, employment contract, insurance) which are necessary for the renewal of one's residence permit.

### 1.3 Research questions and hypothesis

With respect to addressing the key issues that the study aims to address, nine research questions were formulated:

1. What is the degree of migrant integration, if any, at local level?
2. What are the key indicators which explain the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants, both as individuals and groups, in the studied localities of the Greater Athens area?
3. What is the socio-economic performance of each immigrant group?
4. What is the socio-economic integration difference among immigrant groups?

5. What is the socio-economic integration difference between immigrants and natives?
6. What is the residential distribution of the migrants in the Greater Athens area?
7. What is the impact of the migrants' socio-demographic characteristics on their integration outcomes?
8. Is there a statistically significant relationship between (seven) integration indicators and the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample?
9. What are most important variables that affect the general integration index?

Through this perspective, the working hypothesis of this study assumes that *immigrants develop autonomous individual and/or collective integration strategies, which are largely a result of the bottom up interaction of immigrants with both the native population and the socio-political institutions of the host country, at the local level.*

The study argues that despite the unequal terms and the existing institutional exclusion (Pavlou, 2011; Huddleston, 2011), immigrants' strategies and practices, both individually and collectively, are jointly shaping the integration process and its outcomes. This specific perspective allows not only the analysis of the power factor, but also refers to the linkages between large-scale institutional processes and changes at the individual level (Alba and Nee, 2011, p. 85). In the context of such a multi-dimensional and dynamic relationship, individuals tend to choose a location and an integration strategy according to the outcome (successful or unsuccessful) of the structures' interaction, of the intentional actions (Morawska, 2007) and of the cultural and social limits that the labour relations and ethnic networks are setting in the host country. Moreover, in the Greek case, the historically embedded attitude towards the cultural 'other', the structural and institutional barriers along with the rise of the hate speech and racist violence against immigrants - as a consequence of current economic crisis - has been shaping the overall situation in which an individual/immigrant reformulates the interpretive framework and the processing laboratory of his/her strategy (Papataxiarchis *et al.*, 2008).

It is through these lenses that the study seeks to explain the inconsistencies and inadequacies of the integration policies as an analytical tool as well as to empirically explore the extent to which an autonomous individual and/or collective integration strategies may or may not offer satisfactory solutions toward greater socio-economic cohesion in Greek society.

#### **1.4 Methods of research**

To address the above research questions, this study uses quantitative methodology in the design of its primary and secondary data. Concretely, it involves a quota sampling technique, structured questionnaires, with some open questions, and background sources.

With regard to background sources, the adoption of a multi-disciplinary approach is considered appropriate starting from the theory that socio-economic scientific thinking is not an autonomous process determined only by internal developments but a product of time and of the socio-economic context from which it emerges. In order to analyse the migration phenomenon in general and the integration in particular, theories on immigrants' integration are employed. Following this line of thought the study analyses the concept of integration as a general socio-economic construction. Particular attention is paid to the definition, dimensions, determinants and integration mechanisms concerning immigrants in the host economy and society.

At the same time, the study examines the environment in which individuals and groups develop certain forms of interdependence, as a reference point for analysing the concept of integration, which is mentioned in the relevant literature as systemic integration or a system of integration. Also, two main typologies regarding socio-economic integration are analyzed in detail, notably the typologies of Heckmann (1999) and Entzinger (2000). We consider that these typologies are significant for the further analytical elaboration of the working hypothesis. The selection of these specific approaches was preferred because of the holistic analysis that they provide the degree of invasiveness in various aspects of integration and the methodological structure of integration indicators both at micro–meso–and macro-level.

The delineation of the sampling frame was done through the method of quota sampling. The sampling method used was that of stratified random sampling using nationality and gender as criteria of stratification. The research tool was a structured, closed-ended questionnaire. Within this framework, it examines the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants by constructing a general integration index and applying independent samples t-test, one-way ANOVA and multiple linear regression analysis. In the case of the segregation and housing conditions indicator, it was deemed necessary to adopt a dual methodological approach. More specifically, two research tools are applied: first, the mapping of the spatial distribution of both the population sample and the total immigrant population living in the two areas through a geo-coding method and, second, the use of a questionnaire to examine in detail the housing conditions of the sample population.

Another important methodological element is the fact that the integration level is evaluated statistically by the comparison between immigrants and the native population in different spheres of socio-economic integration. For this purpose, the European Social Survey data (4<sup>th</sup> round, 2008) is used with the aim to construct the aggregate index of immigrant integration with Greek citizens as the control group.

Given that the morphological and demographic characteristics of immigrants constitute a crucial background that affects significantly their integration path, it was necessary to estimate the statistically significant relationships that exist among the seven individual indicators of social integration and the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample population. These are namely, gender, age, citizenship, educational level, years of residence and residence status. Finally, in order to determine whether there is a linear relationship between the index of integration and the variables that were not used for the creation of the index, the statistical model of the multiple linear regression was applied.

### **1.5 Scope and limitations**

Our attempt with regards to studying the integration of immigrants in Greece seeks to expand the conceptual framework drawing on primary and secondary data, in order to respond to the immediate need for a better understanding of the new era of immigration and integration in which cross-border movements as well as the emerging multicultural ‘mosaic’ of the urban environment seem to be permanent features of modern Greece. In this context, the scope is to promote a dynamic and multi-dimensional approach to the issue of immigrant integration in the Greek economy and society. It should be acknowledged, however, that the findings of the study are only indicative of the studied localities and their immigrant groups due to the limitations that exist both in terms of the geographical scope of the field research and the size and selection of the sample.

### **1.6 Outline of the chapters**

This study is organised in seven chapters. Chapter One presents the introduction to the thesis, highlighting its background and theoretical rationale, research questions and hypotheses, scope and limitation, its methods and broadly outlining the content of the chapters.

Chapter Two reviews the literature that provides the foundation of the thesis' hypotheses. Its aim is to locate this study within the broader theoretical and empirical framework, to clarify the conceptual background and to link it with previous studies and

research. It is divided into three parts. The literature review of the first part starts by presenting the academic debate over migration and integration which is organised around six thematics: integration theory, dimensions and modes of integration, migration regimes, national integration policies and integration indicators developed so far at EU level. Also, two main typologies regarding socio-economic integration are analysed in detail notably, the typologies of Heckmann and Entzinger. The second part focuses on empirical studies related to socio-economic integration found both in the European and Greek literature. The third part of this chapter goes on to examine the literature on specific integration indicators, theory and research that we are going to test empirically in our study.

Chapter Three defines the methodological approach and the research typology, presents the sampling strategy, the population sample and its main characteristics, analyses the sampling method employed and the techniques used for the completion of the questionnaires and, examines the mapping method of geographical distribution of both the spatial distribution of the overall immigrant population that lives legally in the Greater Athens area and, the sample of the study. Particular emphasis is placed on the analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant groups that constitute the target group of the empirical part of the study and to the elaboration of the reasons that led to the selection of these groups as the most representative immigrant groups in Greece.

Chapter Four presents the statistical methods for data analysis. It builds on the descriptive analysis and comparative composite indicators of both the immigrant groups and the natives. It elaborates on the construction of the integration index that measures the socio-economic integration of the three immigrant groups, with native Greeks being part of the control group. Moreover, it discusses the use of statistical techniques - the independent samples t-test, one-way ANOVA and multiple regression – for the analysis of the primary data.

Chapter Five reports the findings of the descriptive analysis of socio-economic integration, with a particular emphasis on Greece. It focuses on the comparative analysis of the sets of empirical results structured on the basis of the seven indicators of socio-economic integration: employment, housing, use of Greek language, social interaction, social and political participation, self-evaluation of integration and, racism and discrimination.

Chapter Six presents the empirical findings of the statistical analysis organised by integration index. The chapter discusses the outcomes of the independent samples t-test, the one-way ANOVA for differences between the three migrant groups and the multiple linear regression analysis.

Finally, Chapter Seven (conclusions and recommendations) recaps the findings and evidence from the previous chapters and draws out the policy implications. This chapter in particular is devoted to summarising the key research findings in relation to previous literature and as a response to the working hypothesis initially formulated. It provides a synthesis of both the theoretical and empirical contributions of the study while acknowledging its limitations.

### **1.7 Contributions of the study**

This thesis and its innovative analytical approach contributes to a deeper understanding of the migration phenomenon on the one hand, and the integration of immigrants in the Greek society on the other, thus enriching the rather limited literature on these issues. More specifically, it highlights the particular features of bottom-up integration strategies, and their increasing diversification into separate integration domains such as employment, housing, the use of Greek language, social interaction, and social and political participation. What may be the fundamental contribution of this study to existing integration approaches in the literature is that in order to examine the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants it makes use of quantitative methods (integration index, independent samples t-test, one-way ANOVA and multiple linear regression) in order to measure ‘subjective’ indicators such as interaction with locals or social, economic and political participation. Another contribution is the integration typologies employed for the first time in the Greek literature, namely the typologies of Heckmann (1999) and Entzinger (2000).

Yet, it offers an important contribution by comparing different ethno-cultural groups of immigrants representing different migration systems and ethno-cultural contexts, and with different demographic and social characteristics. Thus, Albanians represent family immigration, East Europeans represent female immigration, and Asians represent male immigration. The empirical part of this study focuses on two unexplored urban areas – the municipalities of Piraeus and Korydallos in Greater Athens, characterized by high concentration of the studied immigrant groups. More concretely, Piraeus is the second largest municipality in the Greater Athens area and Korydallos represents a unique combination of locality and the implementation of the bottom-up integration approach. All in all, the theoretical approach of the immigrants’ integration process from the perspective of the quantitative ‘bottom-up’ approach, in association with both the comparative analysis of the three immigrant groups and the application of the statistical model of the multiple linear



regression, will contribute to the enrichment of the general study of the socio-economic integration of immigrants in Greece.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical foundations on integration as it has been explored in the relevant literature, and is organized around the different themes that we consider central in answering the research questions. Furthermore, it contextualises them in the more specific literature that engages with the national and local dimensions of the process in question. Section 2.1 is an overview of the theoretical foundations of integration. We go on to explore the literature on the dimensions and modes of the integration process (2.2), before providing an overview of how past research has addressed integration in the context of migration regimes and national integration policies (2.3). Section 2.4 focuses on integration policy indicators developed at the European level, while the sub-chapter 2.5 focuses on the literature employed to examine the specific area of socio-economic integration both in Europe and Greece. Section 2.6 will anchor the subject in the particular context of our study by examining the literature on specific integration indicators, theory and relevant research that we are going to test empirically in our study.

### **2.1 Integration theory**

The concept of integration can be seen as the opposite of disintegration and/or segregation if observed from the perspective of urban space. In this classical sociological approach, integration refers to the shared beliefs and practices of social interaction in a given society. In a way, integration is conceived as term derived from social and political theory, which has dominated contemporary political debate about the incorporation of migrants (Weil and Crowley, 1994, p. 110). In the context of political science, the integration is seeing with reference to the influence of prevailing institutions in receiving countries which orient the beliefs and actions of elite and mass actors as regards immigration and integration (Triadafilopoulos, 2013, p. 23).

Policy debates over integration, however, have taken place without any real agreement on what integration is. Indeed, the use of the term integration refers to the acceptance and inclusion of the culturally different 'Other' (i.e., immigrant) within the dominant cultural system of the host country: this constitutes a fundamental mechanism for the reproduction of cultural codes and the integration of distinctive socio-cultural groups into

a collective unit (Ventoura, 2011, p. 38). According to Bauböck (2001), integration '*should be understood as referring to the inclusion of newcomers as well as to the internal cohesion of societies and political communities that are transformed by immigration*' (2001, p. 2). For Heckman (1999), integration refers to '*the inclusion of a new population into an existing social structure and to the kind and quality of connecting these populations into the existing system of socio-economic, legal and cultural relations*' (1999, p. 3). More analytically, socio-economic integration for Heckman means: a) acquisition of rights and access in the core institutional structure; b) socialization of individuals according to the cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal code of a host society; c) individual and group membership in the private sphere; and, d) belonging and identification with a host society.

However, when it comes to exploring the societal relations between newcomers and the native population, it would be useful to take into consideration the following three distinctions suggested by Hartmut Esser (2004, pp. 6-7):

1. the social integration of migrants into the existing systems of the receiving society,
2. the consequences of social integration for the social structures of receiving societies, and
3. the consequences of social integration for the societal integration or system integration of the receiving society.

Following the same line of thought, Penninx (2004) sees integration as '*the process of becoming an accepted part of society both as individuals and groups*' (2004, p. 10). According to this approach, the process of the social integration of immigrants requires the commitment of the both immigrants and the host society, and a strong interaction between them as well. Nevertheless, as Penninx admits, it is interaction between the two that determines the direction and outcome of the process, even though the two are fundamentally unequal partners. Indeed, the host society, its institutional structures and mechanisms and its reaction to newcomers, are much more decisive vis-à-vis the outcome of the process (Penninx, 2004, p. 11).

From the standpoint of this broader discourse, Doomernik (1998) maintains that integration should be conceptualized both as a process and a state of being. He compared integration with a chemical reaction '*by which several elements are joined together into a new product can also be reversed, again freeing individual elements*', with the reverse process being disintegration (1998, p. 1). The former involves both the individuals and their communities on the one hand, and the receiving society and the individuals constituting it on the other hand. The latter implies a situation in which immigrants hold a position which is

similar to that of natives with comparable and relevant characteristics, notably in terms of age, education, and gender.

By emphasising the controversial concept of integration, Vermeulen (2004) theorizes it as *'a descriptive and analytical term used to analyse the way the relations between immigrants and their communities on the one hand and the majority population on the other change in time'* (2004, p. 29).

From a supranational, institutional perspective, it was acknowledged that *'above all, integration in a democracy presupposes the acquisition of legal and political rights by the new members of a society, so that they can become equal partners. In this approach, integration can also mean that minority groups should be supported in maintaining their cultural and social identities, since the right to cultural choices is intrinsic to democracy'* (European Commission, 2003, p. 9). In addition, the European Council (2004) has defined integration as *'a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States'* (2004, p. 6). It is stressed in addition, that *'integration is a matter for society as a whole, and that efforts are needed both from migrants and from indigenous populations in order to achieve genuine social cohesion'*.

In line with this view, the basic idea behind integration is the convergence of social outcomes, where policy inputs on the basis of equal opportunities may produce equal outputs and consequently ensure the well-being of the entire population (Niessen, 2009, p. 2). This approach reflects, indeed, the ability of a diverse society to integrate its members into a new context of active citizenship that can ensure the long-term prosperity of all members of society (Niessen and Huddleston, 2007, p. 71).

In conclusion, it has become clear that integration is a broader term that refers to a dynamic, continuous and multi-dimensional process, the success of which requires a two-way adaptation: from both immigrants and host society. Such an approach recognizes, however, the *'asymmetry'* (Bauböck, 2005, p. 18) it implies, since the institutional opportunity structures and state's mechanisms play the decisive role in the outcome of the process. In order to better understand the above theoretical foundations, it would be necessary to elaborate on the dimensions and modes of the integration process, as they are portrayed in the literature.

## **2.2 Dimensions and modes of integration**

As is clear, integration cannot be seen as a single or unilinear process. Quite the opposite, it is a multi-dimensional process and it takes different ‘forms’ in time. According to Bourdieu and Luhmann (cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1996), contemporary society should be understood as a matrix of multiple, autonomous and interdependent area and structures within which various actors are involved but only partially, not entirely. Saying that, any attempt to study social integration should have as a point of departure the fact that integration is conceptualized as a situation or as a process, and must determine beforehand the area and dimensions that will be investigated (i.e., labour market, housing, education, etc.). Therefore, we can talk about various dimensions of integration, depending on the area in which integration is examined each time. At the same time, one should take into consideration that the distinctive dimensions of the integration process vary depending on the epistemological orientation of scholars involved, on their socio-ideological orientation and inevitably on the national framework and socio-economic model of the country of reference, through which the integration takes place.

The conceptual frameworks that analyse the types and modes of integration provide a useful theoretical tool for the understanding of its multi-faceted nature. Concretely, for Portes and Zhou (2011; 1993) the modes of incorporation and its dimensions are usually established on a complex basis shaped by 1) the government policy of host countries, 2) the societal reception (the values and prejudices of native population) and 3) the characteristics of co-ethnic communities. Holding American society as a point of reference, they elaborate on three dimensions that delineate the social contexts within which immigrants are or aren't exposed to the vulnerability of downward mobility. The first refers to distinctive physical features (e.g., skin color), while the second emphasizes the concentration of immigrants in segregated urban areas and the third contextual dimension concerns the lack of occupational opportunities for upward intergenerational mobility.

With regard to the modes of incorporation, Portes and Zhou (1993) suggested three paths. The first is referred to as classical assimilation, which leads to increasing acculturation and integration into the American middle class. The second is assimilation into the urban underclass, leading to social marginalisation and downward mobility. The third, defined as selective acculturation (cited in Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 54) is the preservation of community culture and values, accompanied by economic integration.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Heckman (1999) distinguishes between four dimensions of the integration process: the structural, the cultural or acculturational, the social and the identificational (1999, pp. 22-23). Following a slightly different approach, Esser (2001) also suggests four basic dimensions of the integration process, notably acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. While acculturation – seen as a precondition for placement – is considered in similar terms to socialization, placement refers to a wide spectrum of the structural incorporation. Interaction, on the other hand, is related to social action and the formation of relations and networks. Identification, finally, implies the identification of an individual with a given social system and sees himself as a member of a collective body (2001, pp. 8-12).

For Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) integration occurs in a variety of spheres, where the pace of the process is not always the same. Concretely, in their study they make the distinction among three spheres of integration: the socio-economic, the cultural, the legal and political. With particular regard to integration policies, Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003, pp. 11-14) distinguish between three major dimensions of the integration process which correspond to three integration modes respectively:

- 1) The socio-economic: *temporary workers versus immigrants*
- 2) The legal-political: *jus sanguinis versus jus soli*
- 3) The cultural: *multiculturalism versus assimilation*

In the context of the analysis of the political integration of minorities in the Netherlands, Engbersen (2003) distinguishes between three interrelated dimensions of social integration: the *functional*, the *moral* and the *expressive*. The *functional* dimension, viewed as the most significant one, refers to the degree of participation of citizens in the major institutions of a society. In the *moral* dimension, the emphasis is given to the extent to which citizens are able to participate fully and equally in society. Finally, the *expressive* dimension involves the extent to which citizens are able to develop their individual and collective identities (2003, p. 3). Engbersen goes a step further by mapping out the policy objective of his model:

1. Functional: *equality and equity*
2. Moral: *rule of law, citizenship and social cohesion*
3. Expressive: *Development of individual and shared identities*

In the same vein, Vermeulen (2004) also suggests three dimensions of integration: the structural, the socio-cultural and the identificational. The structural integration refers to the right of access to legal status, citizenship, education, labour market and housing. The socio-

cultural dimension refers to the equal participation in the fundamental processes of production, distribution and governance (2004, pp. 29-30). The identity dimension, finally, refers to the cultivation of the sense of belonging and identification with its values and its cultural value-system. In addition, he elaborates three integration processes:

1. Structural: *equality versus inequality*
2. Socio-cultural: *homogeneity versus heterogeneity*
3. Identity: *inclusion versus exclusion*

Penninx (2004), finally, constructs a comprehensive analytical approach of the integration process which revolves around three levels: the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural-religious. The first refers to the basic question of whether immigrants are regarded as full-fledged members of the political community. The second dimension pertains to rights related to institutionalized facilities in the socio-economic sphere. The third involves the rights of cultural, ethnic or religious groups to manifest themselves. In addition, each dimension corresponds to a set of indicators of opportunity and risk indicators, which, according to Penninx, facilitate or impede the upward social mobility of immigrants into a host society (2004, pp. 6-7).

From the examination of the theoretical approaches regarding the dimensions that constitute the integration process and delineate its model, it becomes clear that it is conceptualized as the interaction of two parties that takes place at a different level, in different societal contexts. The factors that determine the outcomes of this process are multi-dimensional, interconnected and involve different actors (individually and collectively), organisations and socio-economic institutions with the plurality of outcome being the rule. The integration process covers four analytically distinct dimensions of becoming, or not becoming, an equal part of society, as described in the foregoing paragraphs, which are summarized as follows: structural, social, cultural and identificational, where the first dimension conditions the others. From the above it is clear that some scholars qualify the subjective dimensions (such as human and ethnic capital, the degree of attachment to ethnic community, acculturation) as important factors in shaping the integration trajectory. On the contrary, others believe that immigration status and the national policies of the host country are the structural and institutional mechanisms that determine both the structure of the integration models and its outcome. In sum, it is made clear that although the integration process results from the interaction of two parties, it is the socio-political system of the host country which plays a decisive role in its outcome. While acknowledging the importance of

such systems in determining the outcome of the process, we will proceed onto some of the more specific, national experiences as they are represented in the literature.

### **2.3 Migration regimes and national integration policies**

As immigration has become one of the more acute and controversial phenomena of modern times, its management at the national, regional and supranational levels remains a challenge. Either as immigrant receiving countries, countries of settlement or transit states, more and more governments are seeking out new theoretical tools and policies in to effectively handle this extremely complex, controversial and multi-dimensional phenomenon. Meanwhile, an interesting question raised by various scholars of migration addresses the nature of the relationship between immigration and integration. Are they two aspects of the same process or are they two different phenomena? The majority of scholars involved in migration studies agree that they are the ‘flipsides’ of the same process. However, research related to integration that mainly focuses on the local or even national level addresses the phenomenon from a socio-economic perspective, or defines it as a set of policy objectives to be achieved (Koff, 2002).

Immigration policy is indeed defined as a set of measures, accompanied by adopted social practices that (1) regulate and control the entry, stay and employment of immigrants (Schnapper, 1992), and (2) manage the accommodation and settlement of immigrants in a host society. The latter is considered part of social policy, which shapes national integration policies and is applied to regularly residing populations that are not composed of naturalized citizens of the country in which they reside. Furthermore, it formulates the legal and other formal requirements for the peaceful coexistence between immigrants and the native population. It is, therefore, a multi-dimensional definition that confirms the decisive role that immigration policy plays both externally, through the management and security of state borders, and internally, by guaranteeing social cohesion (Fakiolas, 2008). In fact, migration has always been discussed within the framework of the nation-state. One of the most important factors that play a key role in shaping immigration and integration policies in EU countries in particular, is the tradition and history of nation-state formation and its historical position towards the different ‘others’. Historical disparities are reflected both in size and type, in the quality and dynamic of immigrant populations that have settled in those countries. On the other hand, national models of immigrant integration remain important despite growing supranationalism in Europe.



Meanwhile, a common feature embedded in the immigration and integration policies of a large number of European nation-states is the ‘temporariness’ of the immigration phenomenon. Until recently, most Western European countries did not accept being defined as ‘immigration countries’, even though some have higher numbers of immigrants in their territory than more typical immigration countries. Moreover, the deliberate persistence to refuse being an ‘immigrant-receiving country’ has prevented the development of comprehensive and pro-active integration policies.

In a context of growing concern about the prevalence of social conflicts in European cities, the debate on the future of integration models and various national integration strategies has earned particular attention both in academic and political terms. The policy debate on the issue, as well as scholars themselves, tend to focus on country comparisons of modes of citizenship and integration, emphasizing their differences in relation to social outcome. It is demonstrated for instance, how the French republican model, with its recognition of the ‘individuality-citizen’, opposes British and Dutch ‘multiculturalism’, and how the latter differ from the German differentiated integration system, which provides access to social protection and security rights for immigrants but without the benefit of extensive political rights.

The integration of immigrants and the relevant integration policies emerged as prominent issues in the political debate in many European countries during the second half of 1990. However, the discussion had already started in the mid-1970s, when it was realized that the ‘guest workers’ were there to stay and a number of ethnic/immigrant minorities (as a result of family reunification) had become part of European countries social structure.

Several studies have addressed the different aspects of social integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in European societies. A significant part of the relevant bibliography deals with integration theories (Parekh, 2000; Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Heckman and Schnapper, 2003; Penninx, 2004) through the examination of a wide spectrum of policy objectives, processes and outcomes (i.e., from assimilation to multiculturalism or to national pluralism).

Other scholars have focused on the evaluation of individual state integration policies (Entzinger, 2004). Several policy and official texts have elaborated on national and/or European policies, highlighting at the same time the ‘best practices’ (Home Office, 2005; European Commission, 2004b), whilst other studies have turned their attention to comparative approaches of integration policy across countries (Koopmans and Statham,

2000; Body-Gendrot and Martiniello, 2000; Heckmann and Schnapper, 2003; Penninx *et al.*, 2004; Sussmuth and Weidenfeld, 2005).

As indicated earlier, integration policies are by virtue context-bound and entail two components: the ideological and the institutional (Penninx, 2004, p. 21). With the state as a point of departure, the problem of ideological orientation is expressed in the definition of integration and the design of respective policies. In this vein, two policy models have been distinguished: the inclusionary and the exclusionary. The first refers to immigrants becoming citizens, and policies recognizing immigrants as individual political actors (France) or are again recognized as citizens but in this case ethnic minorities are conceptualized as relevant notions (Anglo-American multiculturalism). The second refers to 'guestworker' policy, according to which the country is not an immigrant country, immigrants are defined as outsiders and hence are considered temporary workers (German model) (Penninx, 2004, p. 7).

Bauböck (2001) develops his theoretical approach on the integration of immigrants based on the idea that public culture is self-transformative (2001, p. 5). He argues further that democratic societies exposed to immigration need a common cultural framework that is supported by their political institutions and is coextensive with the political community. In this context, the specific role of the modern state, as he views it, is to create a public culture that entails four aspects: the linguistic, the historical, the political and the civil. Furthermore, he supports that the integration of immigrants depends crucially on four conditions: economic opportunities<sup>5</sup>, legal equality<sup>6</sup>, cultural toleration and recognition.<sup>7</sup> Bauböck (1994) maintains that these three factors altogether are not sufficient to ensure social integration. It is public culture that should reflect the migration reality, and ought to be transformed in response to it. With regard to citizenship, the distinct difference in Bauböck's approach is the emphasis he places on the social rather than political dimension of citizenship (Bauböck, 1994, p. 206).

Sassen (1996), on the other hand, views immigration as the crucial factor in the tension between denationalizing economic space and renationalizing political discourse. In addition, she argues that in an emergent international human rights regime, human rights tend to prevail above other rights allocated to the nationality of individuals or groups (political, social and civil rights) and hence can be seen as potentially contesting state sovereignty and

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<sup>5</sup>Economic opportunities refers to upward social mobility within and between generations.

<sup>6</sup>Legal equality refers to extensive rights for non-citizens combined with guaranteed access to formal citizenship through naturalization or at birth.

<sup>7</sup> Cultural tolerance and recognition refer to the freedoms of ethnic, linguistic and religious communities of immigrants to use their languages and religious practices, public recognition and a special exemption from the general rules.

devaluing citizenship (1996, p. 95). She maintains, finally, that under human rights regimes states must increasingly take account of individuals qua persons, rather than qua citizens.

For Soysal (1994) the modes of inclusion applied by nation states in relation to immigrants determine the processes of citizenship and integration. The argument employed is that the way that states incorporate immigrants (i.e., participation in social institutions in the host country) reveals the structure and function of membership systems or incorporation regimes. These regimes comprise legal rules (i.e., type and duration of residence), policy frameworks (i.e., reception practices and dispersal), and administrative and organisational structures. According to her, incorporation regimes are historically encoded outcomes of the divergent and contrasting ways in which states have come to define their understanding of membership and belonging. These regimes, their other impacts aside, also define the relationship between the receiving state and foreigners and thus the modes of inclusion. According to her, the intersection of two criteria, notably the locus of action and authority, and the organizational configuration, lead to four ideal types of incorporation regimes: (1) the corporatist model (Sweden, NL), (2) the liberal model (Switzerland, UK), (3) the statist model (France) and (4) the fragmental model (Gulf oil countries) (Soysal, 1994, pp. 163-164).

Regarding integration models, Castles and Miller (1993) initially constructed four dominant types of models of incorporation: imperial, folk or ethnic, republican, and multicultural or pluralist (1993, p. 39). In his later work, Castles comes up with a slightly different typology of four models of incorporation: (1) total exclusion, (2) differential exclusion (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), (3) assimilationist (France), (4) pluralist model (USA, Canada, Australia, Sweden). Castles' typology complements Soysal's interpretation which maintains that the key factor is the impact of different processes of state formation. While Castles places emphasis on explaining why variation in incorporation and integration exist through historical perspective, Soysal's concern, on the other hand, is to explain how different structures and functions of membership systems impact on incorporation regimes (School of Planning, 2002).

Penninx (2001; 2003; 2004), however, takes the debate about the integration policies to the local level by adopting such a bottom-up approach. He supports that as integration processes take place at different levels, the policies they are tied to can be formulated and implemented at different levels too: from the lower tier of the neighbourhood, municipality, province, to the highest tier of state (2004, p. 29). Penninx underlines that emphasis should be placed on the local level, since the effects of immigration and integration policy impact on

both immigrants and the local elements of the host society. It is exactly there that integration is (or isn't) occurring and where the need for policies oriented to the local needs is immediate. At the same time, Penninx's perspective on citizenship and integration follows a rights-based approach, where access to these rights is the determining factor of incorporation. Further, he suggests that this can be differentiated in terms of three rights-based spheres: juridical and political rights (i.e., formal rights of citizenship), socio-economic rights (i.e., employment rights, welfare entitlements), and cultural and religious rights (i.e., inclusion of migrant organisations, multi-cultural education). Elaborating further on this, Penninx proposes the reformulation of those dimensions of citizenship for the purpose of analyzing policies of national and local governments, and so as to create a framework within which to evaluate the integration policies implemented.

Bosswick's (2005) approach looks at different perspectives of integration policies and suggests a top-down approach. This approach is linked to the concept of systemic integration, which operates relatively independently of the motives, purposes and the actors' relationships, and horizontally cross-cuts the institutions, organizations and legal systems of the host country. Conversely, he identifies the bottom-up approach with the concept of social integration: the inclusion of new actors in a given system, the creation of mutual relations among the actors and the development of their attitudes within the social system as a whole. This approach refers to deliberate and motivated interaction as well as collaboration between individual actors and groups.

The above analysis of some theoretical approaches about the social integration policies showed that the public debate on immigration is conducted within the confines of the political system. Therefore, the formation of social integration policies for immigrants in the EU is directly linked to the tradition and history of each nation-state in the course of the process of the establishment of the state's identity. Thus, any form of integration is determined by the way that citizenship is perceived; whether defined formally or in real terms, citizenship in liberal democratic societies means ensuring the individual's rights to participation in society. This refers both to the laws and the institutions of a political system, which determine social interaction and the actors that take part in it.

In conclusion, the above-mentioned models are considered increasingly less useful for several reasons (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005). First, the nation-state is perceived as a static, rigid/inflexible entity which can hardly be transformed. Secondly, they focus on ideologies and public culture, ignoring the practical dimension of the social integration process. Thirdly, the immigrant mostly appears as a passive receiver of these models. Fourthly, they do not

take into account the most important dimension of integration, i.e., its local dimension, and fifth, they do not properly account for the fact that models and individual social integration policies tend to be coordinated (Niessen *et al.*, 2007), and that there are huge variations at the regional and urban levels, that are much more extensive than the most visible national differences (Koff, 2002; Baldwin-Edwards, 2005).

In order to establish a methodological framework for analyzing integration in the national context, we will present the typologies which are understood as best illustrating this process.

### **2.3.1 Selected typologies of socio-economic integration**

This section elaborates in greater detail on the integration process, by reviewing two key typologies and by exploring their relevance to the present study in terms of developing indicators, which are further considered in the empirical chapter. More concretely, it draws on Heckman (1999; 2006) and Entzinger (2000; 2003) typologies which capture the main contours of the integration process, analysing in depth its dimensions and elaborating the related indicators. These are the two typologies that, in our view, are most coherent in illustrating the socio-economic integration of immigrants by adopting both top-down and bottom-up approaches. At the same time, they offer useful insights into national integration strategies and the specific case of social integration of the first generation of immigrants.

These specific approaches were selected on the basis of several criteria that are mainly related to the depth of analysis they provide, the extent of invasiveness in various aspects of the integration process and the methodological structure of the integration indicators both at the micro, meso and macro levels. Finally, the main goal of this section is the selection of those research tools and integration indicators that will enable us to properly address the working hypothesis of the study from both a theoretical and empirical perspective.

#### **2.3.1.1 The typology of Heckmann**

According to Heckmann (1999; 2006), different national integration strategies are associated with a number of determinant factors such as the traditional forms of the macro – social integration, the national ideology and certain key-decisions made during the immigration process. However, this approach does not ignore the role played by the dialectical correlation between the respective national integration model (macro-level or top-down approach) and

the integration process of immigrants as active subjects (micro-level or bottom-up approach) (Heckmann, 2006, pp. 26-27).

Following this line of thought, integration is perceived as a form of social action the outcome of which is shaped in relation to the national opportunity structure and to the extent of immigrant's accessibility to this. As such, Heckmann (1999) supports that it is the national framework that makes the difference and that ultimately determines the outcome of the immigrant's integration process. However, he recognizes that the existing national opportunity structure does not constitute a static size. On the contrary, it is influenced inter alia by the way that the national economy functions, the overall quality and the institutions, the relations between the country of origin and the host country, the perception and the respective practices regarding access to citizenship, the receiving society's attitude towards foreigners and/or the cultural and religious 'other' (1999, p. 9).

At the same time, the national integration model suggested by Heckman is an interpretative context that relates to the general regulatory framework. Alternative or complementary interpretations or concepts refer to the individual characteristics of the immigrants that are linked to family background, ethnic group characteristics, gender, discrimination and the extent of marginalisation (as they perceive it) (1999, pp. 9-10).

As pointed out earlier, the distinctive features of national integration policies reflect the range of the socio-structural principles that make up a given society (social class), such as the 'Soziale Marktwirtschaft' in Germany or the French 'étatisme' (1999, p. 28). It is also a common belief that the social class and in particular the sense of nationality play a catalytic role in shaping the integration policies in general, which in synergy with the embeddedness of national identity determine the level of integration or inclusion of immigrants (*ibid.*).

An additional feature of the national model of integration is what Heckmann refers to as 'the social definition of the immigration situation' (1999, p. 28), which is formed in relation to the historical context of nation-state formation. For the latter, the level of acceptance of the 'other' impacts decisively on the design of integration policies. Therefore, the question according to Heckmann is whether immigration and integration are perceived as regulatory procedures intertwined with the public life of a country or are considered a temporary and marginal phenomenon.

The total of the direct and indirect integration policies, which are designed on the basis of the socio-structural principles of a country and the social definition of the immigration situation, Heckmann calls 'national model of integration' (1999, p. 28). The three parameters that make up Heckmann's national model of integration are:

1. The social definition of the immigration situation.
2. The relationship between the 'social order' and sense of 'nationhood'.
3. A checklist for the analysis of integration policies.

The third parameter, the typology analysis (Table 5) of the integration policies, is analysed below in detail:

Table 5. The dimensions of integration policies

Dimensions of Integration	Integration Policies	
	General	Specific
Structural	1	5
Cultural	2	6
Social	3	7
Identificational	4	8

*Source:* Heckmann (1999, p. 28)

As is seen in Table 5, general or indirect integration policies refer to the context of whole policies of a modern state for the integration of the overall population, including nationals and non-nationals. Conversely, the specific social integration policies refer to the creation of new institutions that respond to the specific needs of the immigrant population. In the context of general integration policies, the dimension of structural integration encompasses mainly legal membership that is citizenship or legal integration, education or schooling and the labour market. What's more, the introduction of special classes for learning the language of the host country is, for instance, considered a separate policy. Cultural integration, on the other hand, also includes the education system with respect to language and history as well as policies toward religion. Identificational integration includes a variety of practices that contribute to the development of feelings of belonging to the nation-state. Such policies can be political socialization, the teaching of history and the development of particular emotions.

In sum, the whole context of integration policies, which, according to Heckmann, make up the national model of integration, are summarised in Table 6 below.

Table 6. The national model of integration

<b>Integration Dimensions</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Policies</b>
<b>Structural Integration</b>	Acquisition of rights and access to core institutions	Legal rights/citizenship, Economy, Labour Market, Education, Training, Employment, Housing, Health
<b>Cultural Integration or Acculturation</b>	Processes and state of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change of individuals	Language training, support of the ethno-cultural identity of immigrants
<b>Social Integration</b>	Membership of immigrants in private sphere with regard to private relations and group membership	Specific policies for social interaction and contact between the immigrants and the native population. Education and housing policies with an aim to avoid spatial segregation. Promotion of social and political participation
<b>Identificational Integration</b>	Membership at the subjective level which is expressed in feeling of belonging and identification	Multiculturalist Policies. Policies for the recognition of religious and ethno-cultural organizations. Promotion of a culture of citizenship

Source: Heckmann (2006, pp. 24-25)

Adopting a micro-level approach, Heckmann (2006, pp. 24-25) elaborates on the model of stages. According to this, the integration process advances at a different pace at different stages. Thus, some immigrants can be integrated institutionally (citizenship) but can also be excluded by the cultural or social life of the host country, or vice versa. In this context, he identifies four stages of integration:

- (i) **Structural integration**: acquisition of rights and individual access to core institutions.
- (ii) **Cultural integration** or Acculturation: focuses on the process of the (re)socialization of immigrants in the host society. Cultural integration is considered a heterogeneous concept that is intertwined with values and beliefs, with popular culture and everyday practices such as:
  - Cultural preferences and practices: mass media, cinema, music, food, entertainment.
  - Language issues: the degree of use of the host country's language in relation to the use of one's mother tongue.
  - Ethical issues: attitudes related to gender role, divorce, cohabitation, and to a homosexual relationship.
  - Religious matters: the exercise of religious practices.



- (iii) Social integration: refers to the socially active and interactive participation of immigrants in a host society. This dimension includes:
- Social interaction/networking – refers to the nature of social contacts
  - Partners and Friendships: refers to inter-ethnic friendships and intermarriages
  - Membership – political, ethnic, religious, sport organizations.
  - Political participation – formal and informal (political parties, civil society, business and trade unions).
  - Racism and Discrimination – discrimination and the phenomenon of racism have a significant impact on the integration process, and a particularly negative impact on cultural integration and identificational integration.
- (iv) Identification Integration: reflects the feelings of belonging and identification with the host society, especially at the national, regional and/or local level.

### **2.3.1.2 The typology of Entzinger**

Entzinger (2000; 2003), on the other hand, proposes an analytical approach that focuses primarily on public ideology, on the basis of which integration policies are devised. In this context, Entzinger raises two questions: how public authorities define the ideal result of the integration process and which are the useful tools to achieve the desired results. There are two key dimensions in Entzinger's analytical approach:

1. Integration is a multi-dimensional process, which takes place in different sectors of society. The most important sectors are: the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural sector.
2. The second dimension refers to the way that a host society and its public authorities view immigrants. The question is whether the host society considers them members of a specific community with certain characteristics different from those of the native population, or whether it considers them individuals of a different background who ought, sooner or later, to become fully integrated in the society of the host country.

The two dimensions produce six combinations. These combinations reflect six possible outcomes of the integration process, as well as six different purposes of the integration policies as listed in the table below. More specifically, the first column refers to the legal and political space. This is the domain in which relationships between the state and the immigrant are established. Formally, newcomers enjoy fewer rights compared to the

native population. If this situation continues for a long time, it then violates the right to equality which constitutes the basic characteristic of modern liberal democracies.

Table 7. The typology of Entzinger

	<b>Legal-Political</b>	<b>Socio-Cultural</b>	<b>Socio-Economic</b>
<b>Individual Approach</b>	Equal Rights	Liberal pluralism or assimilation	Equal Opportunities
<b>Group Approach</b>	Group Rights	Multiculturalism	Justice/Affirmative action

*Source:* Entzinger (2000, p. 105)

The second column of Table 7, above, refers to cultural space. The question is how increasing cultural diversity in modern societies can be efficiently managed. From an individual perspective, culture is perceived as a private matter. Hence, the public intervention with regards to the promotion of mutual understanding policies between social groups with different cultural backgrounds, is limited. However, some experts argue that the policy of multiculturalism creates favourable conditions for the participation of immigrant communities in the host society. The basic principle of this approach consists in the public recognition of cultural diversity, which in turn is reflected in all sub-systems of public life.

The individual approach, on the other hand, initiates from the classical liberal perspective that takes for granted the downward position of immigrants in the hierarchy of the labour market, and furthermore considers that it is the task of public authorities to implement the principle of equal opportunity in other areas, as well as in housing and education. Conversely, the purpose of the collective approach is not simply limited to ensuring equality and accessibility, but it is extended to the evaluation of specific outcomes for all immigrant communities. Following this line of thought, all immigrant groups and/or ethnic minorities should enjoy equal access to public services and goods. Such a form of equality can be achieved through affirmative action policies, which aim to remove social barriers and combat discrimination (Entzinger, 2000, pp. 101-106).

From a micro-level perspective, Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) argue that the key indicators for the measurement of immigrants' integration vary according to the opportunity structure of the host society, as well as the position occupied by the immigrants in the host society. Using this approach, the indicators for the measurement of the integration of immigrants are structured as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Integration indicators

	<b>Opportunities Indicators</b>	<b>Risk Indicators</b>
<b>Legal – political integration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ The acquisition of citizenship (eligibility, documentation, etc.)</li> <li>✓ Dual citizenship (policy/rules, numbers)</li> <li>✓ Safe residence permits status (eligibility, documentation, numbers) and related rights.</li> <li>✓ Political participation (formal and informal)</li> <li>✓ Civil society participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Low rate of acquisition of citizenship</li> <li>✓ Temporary status/residence permit</li> <li>✓ Low level of participation in formal and informal politics – lack of representation</li> <li>✓ Low level of participation in civil society (participation only in ethnic organizations)</li> <li>✓ Discrimination and racism</li> </ul>
<b>Socio-economic Integration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Employment: paid work, entrepreneurship</li> <li>✓ Income levels and poverty</li> <li>✓ Social security: rights</li> <li>✓ Education: Education level/school success, participation in mixed schools</li> <li>✓ Housing: quality, residency in mixed neighbourhoods</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Unemployment</li> <li>✓ Unemployment fuels welfare dependency</li> <li>✓ Inability to work</li> <li>✓ Low school success, participation in ethnic minority schools</li> <li>✓ Low quality of housing – residency in ethnic neighbourhoods</li> <li>✓ Discrimination in employment, education and housing</li> </ul>
<b>Socio-cultural Integration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Attitude toward the basic rules of the host country</li> <li>✓ Frequency of contacts with the host society and the country of origin: international contacts</li> <li>✓ Spouse selection: mixed marriages</li> <li>✓ Language skills</li> <li>✓ The host society’s perceived public image for the immigrants: the role of mass media</li> <li>✓ The results of policies regarding respect to the diversity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Inter-group/inter-ethnic relations</li> <li>✓ Inter-groups/inter-ethnic marriages and/or marriages with native population</li> <li>✓ Criminality</li> <li>✓ Recorded discrimination incidents and racist attacks</li> </ul>

Source: Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003, pp. 32-37); E.C. (2005, pp. 1-2)

From the examination of the above typologies it was found that the common approaches that guide research on integration are concentrated in the dialectical interaction and in the interplay between top-down and bottom-up approaches. In claiming this, one acknowledges at the same time the key role of national opportunity structured (macro-level) to the outcome (positive or negative) of the social integration process.

The critical evaluation of these typologies reveals that Heckman’s approach displays a higher degree of analytical pervasiveness of his theoretical model. Furthermore, the structure of his typology and the methodology employed to construct the dimensions of the integration process (structural, cultural, social and identificational), make it functional and adequately measurable. This allows its practical implementation and in a way responds to the research needs of this study.

On the other hand, Entzinger's model of integration (macro-level) appears to be less useful. This is because first, the nation-state at the institutional level (structures and institutions) appears to be a static entity. Secondly, it focuses deeply on ideology and public culture, ignoring the practical dimension of the processes involved in the social integration process. Thirdly, the methodological 'boundaries' of each dimension are blurred and often overlapping (integration dimensions: legal-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural). In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the main advantage of the model introduced by Entzinger – in contrast to Heckmann's model – lies with the analytical frame it provides, as well as the distribution of key indicators and integration variables at the micro-level.

## **2.4 Measuring integration at the European level**

The design and implementation of integration policies has received significant attention from scholars in recent years. Comparative studies have shown that national strategies between member states are not considered as cohesive (Spencer, 2006b) and often lack clear goals (Zincone, 2000; Spencer, 2003). In other cases, the development of integration policy at the national level (i.e., in the Netherlands) is marked by discontinuity (Entzinger, 2006). Scholten (2011) argues that in the Netherlands, minority policy in the 1980s had a multiculturalist orientation. Furthermore, integration policy in the 1990s had adopted a more universalist outlook. In contrast, from the turn of the millennium integration policy shows distinct assimilationist traits (Scholten, 2011, pp. 75-76). Indeed, the disparity between the (good) intentions of national integration policies and their practical implementation persists.

From a cross-national perspective, Koopmans and Statham (1999) find in their study a tendency of claim-making in Britain and Germany, whose national models of immigrant integration prevail despite growing supranationalism in Europe. On the other hand, it is broadly acknowledged that the outcomes of integration programmes and policies are highly influenced by the reception attitude at the local level, where immigrants are not the only social groups experiencing discrimination (Castles *et al.*, 2002).

For decades, the discourse on immigrant integration in Europe has focused on the emergence of differences between the classical models of integration that characterize a large number of countries, such as France, the United Kingdom, and Germany. While emphasising that national differences will not disappear, Joppke (2007) argues that they will persist in two ways, first '*as sheer contingency and history, which will never be the same in any two places*' and second, in nation-state efforts '*to obstruct, but more often to accommodate and mould the*

*new in the image of the past*' (Joppke, 2007, p. 272). In other words, Joppke suggests in his analyses a distinction between political and apolitical integration. According to this view, political integration adopts the perspective of the host country's national identity and historically derived conceptions of social membership. Apolitical integration, on the other hand, is expressed by EU policy norms and directives that focus on the depoliticizing of integration (cited in Fanning, 2009, p. 44). With this distinction in mind, the challenge to immigrants' integration in European societies is at the core of the EU objectives. It is viewed as a crucial dimension to the Lisbon agenda's goals of making the EU '*the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world*'. In contrast, the failure to develop an integrated, tolerant society that will pave the way for the peaceful coexistence between different ethnic minorities and the native population, can lead to the reproduction of a discriminatory attitude, to social exclusion and to the rise of racism and xenophobia (European Commission, 2001).

With regard to policy convergence in the EU concerning integration models, the process for the formation of a common European migration policy has recently showed that national consciousness and ethnocentric tendencies are not necessarily the only factors determining the preferences of every member state. Immigration and integration issues have enjoyed a high position on the agenda of the EU member states. In the past two decades, a strong tendency has been observed of striving towards a common denominator in integration policies across the EU, though this process is often described as inconsistent (Carrera, 2008). Indeed, developments in European policy on immigration are very much linked to policy on integration.

Recently, the issue of immigrant integration has been seen as a distinct field of policy that runs through all levels of governance (European, national and local). As integration, among other things, means equal opportunities to enjoy the same standards of living with the host society, the development of indicators and mechanisms to evaluate its progress is considered a prerequisite. Given the increasing diversity of today's societies, it seems that full participation is an ideal goal that may not always lead to the desired outcome. Therefore, the implementation of effective integration policies should entail an evaluation of the integration process through a comparison of the socio-economic performance of immigrants and their children on the one hand, with that of national citizens on the other. When socio-economic disparities become more acute, then the need arises to identify factors at the root of such differences. Furthermore, one should account for the fact that the diversity that characterizes the immigrant population's socio-cultural background, along with factors of

time and demography, could extensively differentiate the outcome of integration between one ethnic community and another, and from one country to the next. Therefore, an in-depth comparison of the socio-economic characteristics of immigrants in relation to the reference group of a native population is a prerequisite for the evaluation of the integration process. However, such differences in age distribution, in educational level or in other socio-demographic characteristics make this comparison a difficult task, in particular when it comes to the interpretation of the outcome of integration. Thus, apart from the socio-demographic characteristics, it is important to explore the specific characteristics of the immigrant population, such as language and other skills, the level of education in the country of origin and the level of access to information linked with employment opportunities and social services (OECD, 2012b, p. 19).

Hence, the question that arises from the above problematique is how and which indicators and variables may produce reliable and comparable data for measuring the integration process in a given country or across countries in the EU. Niessen and Huddleston (2007) corroborate this in maintaining that the active participation of citizens and the convergence of social outcomes for immigrants when compared to the native population, are the factors determining the success of the integration process (2007, p. 2). By viewing it as a convergence of outcomes, emphasis is placed on the value of diversity and in ensuring social cohesion. Therefore, the results can be measured according to the level of wellbeing of the overall population (Niessen, 2009, p. 2).

The growing interest in the measurement of the progress and outcome of both the integration process and related policies, has in fact led to the benchmarking and construction of specific indicators which enable the quantification and measurement of all aspects of integration (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; European Commission, 2004c).

Although the construction of integration indicators might be viewed as an easy task to achieve, it has proven a very complicated issue in practice. This is partly due to the difficulty of gaining access to statistically appropriate elaborate data on immigrants. At the same time, one of the main controversial points is whether the comparison between the native and immigrant populations can qualify as representative, since it refers to two significantly different groups coming from different socio-demographic backgrounds (e.g., level of education or language usage). One must therefore question the statistical significance of the quantitative and qualitative measurement of these social groups (Entzinger, 2005). On the other hand, even in the case of cultural and social integration, finding measurable units is an even more complex task, since the available data is often the result of small-scale surveys.

Furthermore, mixed groups, the composition of the household, or external appearance, are difficult to measure and hence properly evaluate.

In one of the evaluation reports of the European Commission (2003), the synthetic mapping of the integration process includes an extended framework of indicators (six in total) as well as a broad set of quantitative and qualitative variables. It is outside the scope of this study to analyze those in detail. However, it would be useful to refer here to the central indicators which are related to the following sectors: (1) education, training and employment; (2) social integration; (3) health; (4) legal integration; (5) political integration.

With the advancement of knowledge in this area, the classification of the integration indicators was based on the indicator's rational use. Thus, according to the European Website on Integration<sup>8</sup> and the European Index MIPEX<sup>9</sup>, the integration indicators can be categorised on the basis of their use: a) context indicators, b) input indicators, c) performance indicators and d) output and outcome indicators. The context indicator refers to social and political situations, the input includes policy measures and financial resources, performance summarizes efficiency and effectiveness, and output and outcome entail products, impact and sustainability (Niessen, 2009, p. 3). By extending this analysis to the evaluation of integration policies, the five main measurement indicators that focus on policy domains are included in Table 9, below.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.mipex.eu/>

Table 9. Integration indicators – European Website on Integration

<b>Active Citizenship</b>	<b>Economic Participation</b>	<b>Social Cohesion</b>	<b>Education and Culture</b>	<b>Anti-discrimination and equality</b>
Residence and work permits	Employment	Housing and urban development	School education	Anti-discrimination at work
Civic citizenship	Recognition of qualification and skills assessment	Social inclusion	Out-of-school education incl. life-long learning and distance education	Anti-discrimination in service provision
Naturalisation	Vocational training and career development	Social protection	Language competencies	Access to justice
Political participation	Workforce diversity and capacity-building	Health	E-learning	Equal opportunities
Volunteering and third-sector	Self-employment and entrepreneurship	Other services	Intercultural dialogue including interreligious dialogue	Positive action
Consultation, mediation and dialogue platforms	Supplier diversity		Cultural activities and diversity	
Civic education				

Source: Niessen (2009, p. 4)

Based on the Zaragoza Declaration, Eurostat (2011c) prepared a pilot study in order to propose a set of common indicators for the integration of immigrants in the countries of the European Union. The aim of the proposed common indicators is to support the monitoring of the situation of immigrants and the outcome of integration policies (2011c, p. 5). The policy areas, along with their respective core indicators, are elaborated in Table 10 below.



Table 10. Zaragoza Declaration: Indicators of migrant integration

<b>Employment</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Social Inclusion</b>	<b>Citizenship</b>
employment rate	highest educational attainment (share of population with tertiary, secondary and primary or less than primary education)	median net income – the median net income of the immigrant population as a proportion of the median net income of the total population	the share of immigrants who have acquired citizenship
unemployment rate	share of low-achieving 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science	at risk of poverty rate – share of population with a net disposable income of less than 60 per cent of the national median	the share of immigrants holding permanent or long-term residence permits
activity rate	share of 30 to 34-year-olds with tertiary educational attainment	the share of the population perceiving their health status as good or poor	the share of immigrants among elected representatives
	share of early leavers from education and training	ratio of property owners to non-property owners among immigrants and the total population	

Source: Eurostat (2011c, p. 5)

As mentioned in the previous section, the goal of integration is to eliminate the socio-economic disparities between immigrants and the native population. The disparities usually appear in the areas of economic integration, upward mobility, education, career development, and participation in the political and cultural life of the host country (Niessen and Huddleston, 2007, p. 2).

## **2.5 Literature review on immigrant integration**

The primary purpose of this sub-chapter is not the exhaustive presentation of the relevant literature that addresses the various aspects of the integration process of immigrants in host societies. Rather, it focuses on the major developments that have contributed to the emergence of more comparative and politically focused examples of research over the last two decades in Europe and Greece.

### **2.5.1 Integration in Europe**

#### **2.5.1.1 Measuring the integration process**

Research on the integration process has sought to identify the patterns of integration displayed by immigrants, while using natives as a control group. A case in point is the study entitled '*The Societal Integration of Immigrants in Germany*' (Fertig, 2004), which examines whether and to what extent immigrants in Germany are integrated into German society. The research is based on a series of qualitative, subjective and individual data collected in 1999 as part of the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP). These data are analyzed comparatively among three groups: German nationals, first and second generation immigrants, and ethnic Germans. More specifically, it is investigated whether and to what extent there are differences between these groups with regards to their leisure time activities and their attitude to specific domains in life. Finally, certain indicators are analyzed, that focus exclusively on the social integration of immigrant groups, such as the level of knowledge of the German language and/or contacts with native Germans. In the empirical analysis, all three groups are compared with a native German group. The results of the research show that the parameters of the immigrants' integration differ to a greater extent from those of the native Germans while converging more with ethnic Germans. Moreover, the attitude of second generation immigrants is marked largely by pessimism and self-doubt compared to other groups. And it occurs despite the fact that their activity patterns and the degree of participation in social life converge much more than with those of native Germans.

The same subject is examined through a different methodological approach in the book entitled *Immigrant Integration: The Dutch Case* (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000), which investigates the integration process among six ethnic minority groups in Dutch society. The main purpose of the study is to measure the access of equality to important institutions in the country and equality regarding participation in economic and political life. Simultaneously, the authors focus on the Dutch national context, by analyzing the triangle that includes the

history of post-war immigration, immigration conditions and Dutch immigration policy/politics. The study investigates how the social status of these six groups has evolved and how it is interpreted. More specifically, the questions the authors seek to address are the following: First, which are the determining factors that influence the evolution of immigrants' social status/position? Secondly, how can these developments be evaluated? Are there reasons for optimism or pessimism?

In this context, the comparative approach to the study holds the following axes as reference points:

- a) Succession of generations
- b) The immigration process
- c) Labour market structure and the position of the working class
- d) Social reproduction
- e) Stereotypes, discrimination and racism
- f) Structural integration, national cohesion and the preservation of culture
- g) The role of class, culture and discrimination
- h) Types of integration
- i) Immigration policy

The key obstacle identified by the authors is low mobility in the labour market and correlation between the educational level and the immigrant's employment position. As far as the evaluation of the integration policies is concerned, the authors support the promotion of social integration policies for the entire population, contrary to the specific policies that can reproduce marginalisation.

### **2.5.1.2 Socio-cultural indicators of integration**

In their understanding of socio-cultural integration as a prerequisite of socio-economic integration, the study by Ersanilli and Koopmans (2011) addresses the dimension of socio-cultural integration of Turkish immigrants in Germany, France and the Netherlands. Following Berry's (1997) theoretical line, the study identifies two independent dimensions of socio-cultural integration, e.g., the degree of maintenance of the origin country's culture and the degree of adaptation to the host culture. The analytical typology consists of four indicators: the degree of identification, language skills, inter-ethnic social contacts and religious obedience. The data analysis was carried out according to the statistical model of a multiple linear regression through which a number of additional variables were examined,

that are considered to affect dependent variables such as ethnic identity, socio-economic status, generation, the relative size of the community and the geographical dispersion of Turkish immigrants in every country involved. The results of the statistical control show that the cross-country differences persist with regard to most aspects of maintenance and adaptation. However, contrary to the important role attributed to political integration, the observed international differences are a relatively moderate influence. Thus, it challenges the prediction of certain widespread theories regarding the impact of integration policies in the socio-cultural integration of immigrants (2011, p. 209).

### **2.5.1.3 National and local integration policies**

The national philosophy that defines the concept of integration may be understood as a key factor in influencing the form of the process in a national or local context. It is in this light that the study of Borkert *et al.* (2007) entitled *Local integration policies for migrants in Europe* examines the historical and institutional factors that have contributed to the formulation of immigration policies in twelve EU member states. They further evaluate the integration policies that have been implemented in fourteen European cities at the local level. The authors contend that the migration history of a country, like the national philosophy that defines the concept of integration, significantly influences communities, determining to some extent the social integration policies that have been adopted. For this reason, the research analyzes the ethnic background and context of local integration policies, citing at the same time the migration history and integration models that have been applied.

The research found significant differences between the national integration policies among these countries. It is also stressed that in none of these European countries have immigrant integration policies been designed in a systematic way, so as to constitute a national integration strategy – or at least one that is consciously formulated. The authors conclude that, first, the strategy that a country follows in order to ensure the social cohesion and to resolve the socio-economic problems determines the process of immigrants' integration. Secondly, the feeling and the perception of the nation and ethnicity play an equally important role. Thirdly, national integration policies are determined by the social definition of the immigration situation. Finally, in European countries, despite strong convergence trends, national differences persist and have a significant impact on integration policies at the local level.

While stepping outside of the classical European context, Alexander (2003) adopts a novel approach, exclusively focusing on the local level policy response to immigrants and

proposes a typology of host-stranger relations. Drawn from empirical data from 25 cities, his typology is in a way a reformulation of the classical nation state models, applied this time to local level policy-making. The typology proposed by Alexander (2003, pp. 411-430) distinguishes between four types of institutional attitudes that are expressed through four policy types:

- 1) Non policy – migrants as transient
- 2) Guestworker policy – migrants as temporary labour force
- 3) Assimilationist policy – migrants are permanent residents and their ‘otherness’ disappears in the short-run
- 4) Pluralist – migrants as permanent with their otherness perceived as permanent feature.

His innovation relates to a new category named ‘transient’. It is this category of non-policy which is of interest, since it is derived, among others, from the literature on contemporary Athens. This transient attitude, he claims, is typical of local authorities in the first phase of labour migration, when the immigrant population is small and many are undocumented. Migrant workers are regarded as a transient phenomenon and a responsibility of the national state: avoidance of responsibility characterises the local state, although some ‘street-level bureaucrats’ may have a radically different view from the official one (Alexander, 2003, p. 419). The strategy—or lack thereof – of the local state is to ignore migrant associations and informal economic activity; to allow migrant children access to schools and healthcare on an ad hoc basis; to ignore ad hoc places of worship, housing issues and ethnic enclaves; and to treat migrants as a public security concern when necessary. The policy stance is essentially reactive and limited to specific crises; clearly, it is unsustainable over an extended period and will ultimately shift to another more goal-oriented stance.

The innovation of Alexander’s study is that unlike the most comparative political integration models that focus either on the nation-state or focus on the supranational, his work was based more on his empirical findings (from different cities such as Rome, Athens, Tel Aviv, etc.) and less on theory. He innovates, while adding a new category, the transitional immigrant. At the same time, he leaves out the hypothetical model of absolute exclusion, with the policy of the guest workers approaching the differentiated exclusion model of Castels, emphasizing the temporary nature of this phase at the local level (cited in Baldwin-Edwards, 2005, p. 16).

#### **2.5.1.4 Migrants as active agents of integration**

Reversing the understanding of the relationship between immigrant and host society with respect to integration, Koff (2002) explores the role of immigrants themselves in the process of integration. Looking at immigrants in Italy and France, Koff begins from the assumption that immigrants are not passive recipients of integration policies; they are not even weak social actors overwhelmed by host country structures and institutions. Koff posits instead that immigrants are rational political actors competing for a 'just distribution of resources' (2002, p. 7), albeit within settings of varying ideologies and political culture. This meso-analysis, located at the city level, then tries to address the interaction of rationality, institutions and cultural variables.

The focus on the city level (Bari, Florence, Toulouse and Lille) captures more precisely the localised political environment within which immigrants compete for resources. Although it is national policies that regulate status such as residence permits, family migration and naturalization, it is at the local level that immigrants work, live, and perhaps integrate. Looking at four integration domains: political, economic, housing, and public security, Koff finds massive variation between the cities. Indeed, variation between cities in the same country is often greater than between countries, once more calling into question the relevance of national patterns or policies. Furthermore, there appears to be little relationship between scores in different domains: for example, Lille displays a very high political integration of its immigrant population, while displaying poor housing integration or economic integration. Florence scores highly on economic, political and housing integration, but very low on public security. In other words, there are no common patterns of integration to be found, at least at this level of analysis. The big deficit of this approach is its lack of differentiation by ethnic group and lack of attention to generational issues among immigrants. It is possible that a more detailed investigation would produce different results.

#### **2.5.2 Literature review on migrant integration in Greece**

During the past two decades, interest in immigration to Greece has grown, resulting in a significant amount of relevant research and publications. Reviewing this literature in detail is beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, the literature review in this section will focus on studies written by both Greek and other scholars, who deal with the socio-economic integration of immigrants in Greek society. The purpose is to briefly review the existing literature on integration in Greece and to identify its limits with relation to the topics that are

relevant to this study. The literature review intends to locate this study within the existing work on the subject, and to explain its contribution.

Research studies on integration began to multiply from the early 2000s onward, especially after the introduction of Law 3386/2005, '*on entry, residence and integration of third country nationals in Greek territory*' and funding allocated to migration and integration studies. Before that, the weakness in capturing the size of the transformation that was taking place in Greece, by viewing the phenomenon as temporary, and hence as neglecting the implications for integration (Glytsos, 1995) has been clearly reflected in the literature of the first decade (1990s).

During the second decade (2000s), the relevant literature on integration focuses, inter alia, on four main themes: immigration policy, economy and labour-market integration, social exclusion versus inclusion, and issues of identity and culture (Hatziprokopiou, 2006). Many early publications were mainly descriptive and particularly concerned with either the demographic and/or economic characteristics of immigrants (e.g., Petrinioti, 1993; Fakiolas, 1995), or with immigrants' rights and legal status (e.g., Theodoropoulos and Sykiotou, 1994). In other studies, integration is examined in relation to the labour market (Maratou-Alipranti, 2002), ethnic mobilisation (Petronoti, 2001) and policy developments (Fakiolas, 2003), with the focus often being on specific migrant groups (e.g., Markova, 2001 on Bulgarians and, Labrianidis and Lyberaki, 2001 on Albanians). In this context, the Albanian immigrant community – though this is in part justified, because of its size – constitutes the main target group of a large numbers of studies, while the sampling framework is geographically restricted to the country's capital. On the other hand, it is estimated that the low quality and small quantity of the statistical data make it difficult for scholars and researchers to carry out a comparative analysis among immigrant groups (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005).

However, as Petronoti and Triandafyllidou (2003, p. 11) note, there is an urgent need to locate empirical studies within wider theoretical frameworks concerning globalisation, capitalism, multiculturalism and modernity. At the same time, patterns of interaction between migrants and native populations during that period remain largely under-researched. The reason for this, according to Hatziprokopiou (2006), lies in the understanding of the phenomenon mainly from two perspectives: of the host society and of the migrants themselves, who lack coherent frameworks and theoretical concern. Further, he claims that no efforts have been made to '*synthesise dialectically the two perspectives and develop a coherent framework of analysis in order to understand the dynamism of the phenomenon, its contradictions and the patterns of interaction*' (2006, p. 67).

We will now go on to explore the more recent research that reflects the latest developments in the field of migration studies in Greece. The literature reviewed in this section is grouped along the themes considered most relevant to the research hypothesis in the Greek context.

### **2.5.2.1 Measuring socio-economic integration**

While adopting a novel methodological approach toward the Greek context, the study entitled *Domestic Workers and Social Integration of Migrant Women: Analysis of the Sample Survey Results* (Bellás, 2012) elaborates both qualitatively and quantitatively on some of the key socio-economic and demographic characteristics, as well as the level of socio-economic integration, of domestic workers from Albania, Georgia, Moldova, and the Philippines residing in Greece. The research typology is based on a dual analysis of the individual views of the respondents about the quality of institutions along with the opportunities that the institutions provide. The triangulation of the research data provided the opportunity for the identification of both quantitative and qualitative factors that have a strong impact on the integration process. For the data collection a questionnaire with 43 sets of closed questions was used, and was completed by 451 immigrant women in 2012. For the further statistical analysis of the data, ten individual indicators were constructed, and one general social integration index following the model of the Migrant Integration Policy Index. The study reveals that Ukrainian domestic workers display the highest general social integration indicator (0.56) and are followed by Albanian women (0.54) and Filipino women (0.51), while Moldovans display the lowest integration rate (0.50).

With the goal of establishing an integration index for the Greek context, Kontis and Bezevengis (2011) identify the qualitative and quantitative indicators for monitoring immigrants' social integration. The study examines six social integration indicators: labour market, housing, health and welfare, social and political participation, education, socio-cultural and psychological adaptation. The key findings of this research project were based on a national sample survey of 1,843 immigrants and 395 institutions or bodies responsible for integration policies. Additional statistical databases of the Hellenic Statistical Authority (EL.STAT) were used, such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS), the Survey about Family Income, Living Conditions (EU-SILC) and the Household Budget Survey (HBS). Regarding employment, the objective indicators showed an advanced degree of integration, particularly in relation to labour market access and working hours, while subjective indicators presented a less positive image about integration. The main problem is low insurance contribution, low



wages and high hetero-employment. On the contrary, the housing image appears to be very positive with a high degree of similarity between the native population and immigrants. The same positive picture is also seen in the health-welfare dimension with three quarters of immigrants being satisfied with health services. While subjective indicators show positive evaluation values in education, objective indicators, on the contrary, show a high rate of immigrant children who drop out of secondary education and a low level of Greek language knowledge among immigrants. Finally, the dimension of social and political participation presents a moderate and very positive image, except with regards to the very low participation in institutions of political and social representation.

Using data provided by local authorities, Baldwin-Edwards's study on the integration of immigrants in Athens (2005) focuses on local integration indicators in Athens. The report's innovation lies in the adoption of Vermeulen's analytical typology of indicators of social integration, which is applied by the author to the case of Athens. More specifically, the statistical data analysis focuses on three stages of integration: (a) residency and employment; (b) family reunification and configuration; and (c) formulation of ethnic minorities or/and assimilation. After the evaluation of the available data of the progress made regarding the integration of immigrants, the author concludes that there is evidence for the argument of 'structural exclusion' of the immigrant population in Greece.

### **2.5.2.2 Integration in the labour market**

Examining the patterns of integration in the labour market, Kasimis and Papadopoulos (2012) analyze the economic and institutional framework conditioning the integration of immigrants in the Greek labour market. The studies make use of primary data collected at the local level, while analyzing secondary data from the labour force survey and the evaluation of social integration and anti-discrimination policies in the labour market. The volume is divided into two parts. The first part consists of four texts which set the framework for the interpretation of the basic themes. The second part includes the individual analysis of the empirical research at the local level. In these studies one may discern the local dimensions of immigrants' employment and mobility in different areas of Greece. The authors conclude that immigrants have fueled the informal labour market. This in turn means that the job positions available to immigrants require low skills, which imply low salaries and limited opportunities to improve their social and professional status.

The main purpose of the study of Cavounidis (2012) is to answer the question as to whether and to what extent the integration of immigrants in the labour market has been

achieved. The methodology compares immigrants and the native population in different spheres of their economic activity and employment, through the use of statistical data selected from the 2008 Labour Force Survey. The examination of the data concludes that immigrant workers' participation and employment rates are at higher levels compared to Greek nationals, while unemployment rates are similar for both groups. These differences relate to the sectoral and occupational composition of employment, to employment status and to salaries. Finally, the author makes specific policy recommendations for the mitigation of any related inequalities and for the convergence of the Greek experience with the European standards of immigrant integration into the labour market.

The study of Maroukis (2010) is predicated on the notion that the structure of the Greek economy, in relation to social conditions, is central to determining not only supply but also labour force demand. The empirical research is based on interviews conducted with 560 Albanian immigrant households, 12 representatives of Albanian associations and 128 companies that employ Albanian workers. Interviews were also conducted with civil servants from all employment offices in the Attica prefecture. The study arrives at the conclusion that the main job positions for immigrants are still 'protected' by labour restrictions and social marginalisation.

### **2.5.2.3 Integration and social capital**

The study of Iosifidis and Kizos (2012) emphasizes research findings relating to the role and function of social networks and social capital, in the social integration of immigrants in the host society. It presents the findings of two research studies on the integration experiences of immigrant men and women in Western Greece and the attitudes and perceptions of the local population about the immigrants living and working in these areas. Interviews were conducted with immigrants living in Western Greece as well as with the native population. More specifically, 221 interviews were conducted with immigrants of different nationalities: Albanians (47.5 per cent), Bulgarians (12.2 per cent), Romanians (9.5 per cent), East Europeans (5.9 per cent), Western Europeans (2.3 per cent), Asians (18.1 per cent) and Africans (4.2 per cent). Furthermore, 438 interviews were conducted with Greek citizens with the use of a closed questionnaire for the measurement of attitudes. The findings highlight the crucial role that social networks play in the shaping of the conditions of the social integration of immigrants into local economies and societies. In this context, social contacts between immigrants and the native population appear quite weakened and superficial. The study

shows the clear tendency for the gradual creation of 'parallel societies' with less communication between immigrants and locals.

Focusing on social capital, Kontis (2009) examines the relationship between social capital and the migration process, the importance of granting citizenship to immigrants in the context of an active public policy addressing the integration and status of immigrants in Greece. This collective volume addresses a number of issues that focus on citizenship and integration, social capital and integration, housing, political participation and the evaluation of national migration policies of European countries, in comparison to the Greek case. The general conclusion is that by following a model of 'differential exclusion' and by selecting the implementation of non-interventionist policies for the integration of immigrants into society, but also by selecting a restrictive citizenship policy, the state leaves room only for the partial integration of immigrants. More specifically, immigrants participate in the labour market; they enjoy some individual and social rights, while the state displays a degree of tolerance towards undocumented migrants, but does not proceed to grant them political rights.

#### **2.5.2.4 Patterns of integration**

The purpose of the study of Papadopoulou (2006) is the interpretation of different forms and processes of immigrants' social integration into Greek society. The author distinguishes between integration and incorporation. The former means participation in the public sphere, while the latter refers to the adoption of society's value system. The empirical data is drawn from 1,064 structured questionnaires conducted with 532 immigrants and from 30 open interviews with representatives of immigrant associations. The study concludes that immigrants are integrated into Greek society through processes akin to those followed by the native population. It also follows the argument that integration is clearly tied to legalization, which in turn depends on the availability of employment opportunities.

Focusing on the patterns of integration of Albanians, Kasimati (2006) assesses the level of integration of Albanian immigrants in the labour market and in the social life of Greece. The research draws on empirical data from the Attica region, involving both Albanian and Greek participants. More specifically, 30 Albanians and 78 Greeks were examined using the method of the biographical approach (life stories). In the study's results a convergence of views between Greeks and Albanians is observed regarding the social integration of Albanian immigrants. Moreover, the results showed a higher rate of integration in the labour market than in the social level. The final conclusion of the study is that the integration of Albanian immigrants has yet to be achieved.

Applying a similar method, Hatziprokopiou (2006) examines the integration of immigrants in Thessaloniki. In the field research 208 interviews were conducted with Albanian and Bulgarian immigrants living in Thessaloniki. The study makes use of structured questionnaires for the selection of quantitative data and interviews for the collection of qualitative data. The author concludes that immigrants constitute a social group that is constructed along the basis of exclusionary mechanisms. Despite this fact, immigrants organize their life in the host society through the adoption of specific integration strategies. The latter are formed on the basis of informal networks and in a multi-level interaction with the local community. Finally, despite the different exclusion processes, the author concludes that inevitably, immigrants have become an integral part of Greek social reality.

The review of the literature on the socio-economic integration of immigrants highlighted a number of theoretical and methodological approaches. The main approaches discuss the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of immigrants' integration into the labour market as well as the types and nature of their employment in relation to the needs of the labour market. Some other approaches expand their problematic to include the relationship between socio-economic capital and citizenship, and the attitudes and perceptions of the local population regarding the integration of immigrants. It is worth noting that the most recent studies on the subject (e.g., Bellas, 2012; Kontis and Bezevengis, 2011) develop a coherent framework of both quantitative and qualitative analysis by locating their approach in a wider theoretical framework. As periodic statistical measurement of integration indicators are an important parameter of defining specific objectives of states' integration policies, international reports (e.g., OECD, 2013b) focus on the evaluation of both immigration policy and the specific integration policies implemented by the Greek state. In terms of research methodology, a tendency is observed in adopting inter-disciplinary approaches in which the researchers seek to integrate (theoretically) their empirical research, which is actually not linked functionally and scientifically. Thus, some studies are restricted to the simple description of quantitative data without further analyzing empirical findings based on a theoretical model. Furthermore, the sample selection, in other cases, appears problematic due to the fact that it is not initiated from a specific sampling method. Sometimes, we observe a lack of complex interpretative tools or the absence of a triangulation method of findings which are selected from different sources and collected using different methods.

To sum up, despite serious efforts, the bibliographical context for the study of immigrants' socio-economic integration in Greece remains theoretically marginalised and methodologically limited. Furthermore, the studies regarding the means and strategies of

migrant integration appear limited as far as their arguments and data are concerned. In the context of this problematic, the present study aims to contribute to the broadening of the thematic, by recording quantitatively and by interpreting, in depth, the integration strategies of three immigrant groups, always in line with the existing socio-political environment.

Our research, *de facto*, as well as because of additional objective difficulties, cannot avoid some of the weaknesses found in previous studies – e.g., the field research in the wider area of the capital and the restricted sampling framework. However, the theoretical approach of the immigrants' integration process from the perspective of the quantitative bottom-up approach, in association with both the comparative analysis of the three immigrant groups and the application of the statistical model of the multiple linear regression, will contribute to the enrichment of the general study about the socio-economic integration of immigrants in Greece.

## **2.6 Literature on socio-economic indicators of migrant integration**

This section examines in depth the relevant theories and literature (international and Greek) on specific integration indicators that we are going to test empirically in our study: segregation and housing, usage of the host country language, social interaction, social and political participation, and racism and discrimination.

### **2.6.1 Segregation and housing conditions**

Housing is an important field for assessing the integration of immigrants in the host society. Socio-economic characteristics, size and household composition are some of the key determining factors that shape it (OECD, 2012b, p. 61). The preferences of immigrants regarding their intention to settle in the country of destination, in combination with the permanent or temporary status, as well as the family status, also play an important role. Thus, newly arrived immigrants, especially those without family or limited social networks, are the most likely to live in an unsuitable home.

According to the relevant literature, housing is considered an integral part of immigrants' integration in urban areas (Bosswick *et al*, 2007, p. 1). Furthermore, a concrete spatial location is not just a geographical reference of individuals' everyday lives, but is also a means of accessing different activities and life chances. Moreover, a particular location also reflects the type of housing and the special socio-economic status of the people who live there. Yet at the same time, public image and infrastructure are associated with this particular area. Thus, immigrants may live in neighbourhoods in the city centre, but these

neighbourhoods are segregated and deprived of access to information, basic infrastructure and relative opportunities. On the other hand, immigrants may live in urban areas, which constitute an integral part of the broader social networks and structures.

The decisive factors that, according to the literature, constitute the basic core of the housing dimension of socio-economic integration, are the following:

1. Socio-spatial segregation, or the formation of ethnic ghettos
2. Housing conditions, such as the number of persons per room, the space that corresponds to a person, housing quality, i.e. access to hot water or indoor toilet. In particular, the lack of information regarding the rental system, discrimination by owners as well as inequalities in accessing the credit system, are some of the reasons that explain why immigrants are more exposed to poor housing conditions compared to the rest of the population (OECD, 2012b, p. 61). For the assessment of housing conditions, the OECD (2012b) has proposed the use of three indicators: ownership status, the physical condition of housing and the housing cost (2012b, p. 61).
3. Discrimination in rental or housing markets.

Regarding segregation, the term refers to both spatial segregation – such as the physical distance and the social structure of the area – and social segregation, that reflects the social distances in a given society (Lavrentiadou, 2006, p. 27). Both these distinctions of segregation can be further differentiated into sub-categories such as demographic segregation, social (class) segregation and ethnic segregation (Bosswick *et al.*, 2007). However, in most cases, the above dimensions co-exist and ‘co-form’ simultaneously, especially at the local level. It is thus a difficult task to describe or analyze these dimensions separately. More specifically, there are many similarities between ‘ethnic’ and ‘social’ segregation, because the immigrant or ethnic groups, from a socio-economic and cultural aspect, do not usually appear as homogeneous communities. At any rate, in our analysis, we will attempt to link socio-spatial segregation with the main dimensions of the integration process, while placing particular emphasis on the socio-economic dimension.

The dominant view regarding spatial segregation is that residence in neighbourhoods with a high percentage of immigrants automatically leads to less integration in society, and at the same time reduces their life opportunities. It should be noted, however, that the evolution of the phenomenon of segregation is determined to a large extent by the specific characteristics of urban local structures, by the institutions and rules of the welfare state, and by the structure of the housing market, in combination with the historical context of their

development. For this reason, one could argue that segregation is an inevitable consequence of (unequal) urban development even when it has not emerged as a central problem as in Greece or in other countries of Southern Europe.

With regards to the results of the impact of the phenomenon at hand from the relevant literature it appears that socio-spatial segregation negatively impacts on the level of language proficiency (of the host country) in particular, as well as the creation of broader social networks inside the society of settlement (Schönwälder, 2007). As pointed out by Bosswick *et al.* (2007), socio-spatial segregation has a negative influence on the formation of social capital, from the perspective of successful competition in the context of the functioning of the main institutions of the host society. Musterd (2003) on the other hand, advances his approach by taking into consideration three hypotheses. According to the first, which is based on the experience of American cities, segregation is a fact (dialectically speaking), growing rapidly and causing horizontal spatial hyper-concentrations of vulnerable population groups, with unpredictable social consequences. The second case focuses on the discouraging effects of the integration process, with the result that certain parts of the population lag behind in areas such as education and employment. In this manner they become ‘trapped’ inside their ethnic community. Reversing the above arguments, the third hypothesis supports the conclusion that the high and increasing level of segregation of particular social groups creates a difficult environment for the equal access to education and employment. This development has a negative impact on social integration and upward social mobility in general.

It is no coincidence that issues of socio-spatial segregation<sup>10</sup> and their impact at local level are high on the political agenda of the EU. More specifically, the European Commission has funded specific research programmes (e.g., URBEX, LIMITS and CLIP) which were created for the expansion of the knowledge regarding the underlying mechanisms that reproduce this phenomenon and the evaluation of the national integration policies effectiveness, in order to achieve social cohesion. The growing interest in this issue was triggered by the recent tensions and conflicts between different ethnic groups and between immigrants and police forces, which have taken place in outskirts of some of the largest European cities, and the rapid rise of anti-immigrant and neo-Nazi forces in Europe (e.g., the National Front in France and Golden Dawn in Greece). These particular developments have

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<sup>10</sup> According to the definition of Lavrentiadou, the concept of social exclusion has a spatial dimension, it is associated with urban development and it is a condition that characterizes the main immigrant groups especially in the early years of their arrival in the new country and it mainly refers to the first generation of immigrants.

led to an increased anxiety as to the growing gap between different ethnic groups, evoking memories and images from North American ghettos.

The ghetto argument, meanwhile, is opposed by some scholars who support the anti-ghetto version, having rather turned their attention to the socio-ideological transformations that have been created in the urban areas of modern cities. More specifically, as Loic Wacquant (2008) shows in his book, in the French case it has been proven that the dominant political forces fail to understand that the neighbourhoods of the lower classes have undergone a process of impoverishment and a process of gradual decay, a process that took them away from the standards of ghetto. The ghetto, according to Wacquant, is an ethnically homogeneous enclave that encompasses all members of the lower class and their institutions, avoiding in this way the tensions in the city. In contrast, in the present day, decaying suburbs are mixed. Moreover, the growing presence of immigrants in the post-colonial era is due to the reduction of their spatial segregation (here the reference is to the second and third generation of immigrants). Therefore, Loic Wacquant concludes that ethnic heterogeneity, porous borders, a declining institutional density and the inability to create a common cultural identity, have turned these areas into the opposite of the ghetto, the anti-ghetto.<sup>11</sup>

### **2.6.1.1 The role of neighbourhood**

In the last years, an increasing interest in the neighbourhood has been observed in the European literature,<sup>12</sup> often in contrast to the approaches that refer to the concept of the globalized city (Vaiou, 2007). Similar interest has been observed at the political level, having as a reference the local dimension, i.e., the neighbourhood.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, it has been widely accepted that successful integration, both in the residential space and in the neighbourhood, is important insofar as it contributes to the formation of community relations, to the stability of the local community, and finally as to how it affects the access of immigrants to services and employment opportunities (Spencer, 2006b). In reality, however, it has been observed that the supply and the prices that regulate the housing market, job insecurity coupled with low income, push immigrants towards deprived areas where they can find cheap housing (Ventoura, 2011, p. 36). On the other hand, the settlement in

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<sup>11</sup> Article in e-newspaper Re-public.gr <http://www.re-public.gr/?p=193>

<sup>12</sup> See [Musterd and Deurloo 2002](#), [van Kempen 2002](#), Musterd 2003, Schönwälder et. al. 2007, Bosswick *et al.*, 2007.

<sup>13</sup> See programmes such as «Social Exclusion Strategy» and the Centre for Neighbourhood Research in the UK and Soziale Stadt in Germany.



neighbourhoods where relatives or friends live, provides them with the physical and emotional support that mitigates the difficulties of first adjustment (*ibid*).

The neighbourhood as a spatial unit for the measurement of residential segregation on a small scale does not constitute a new subject of discussion and research. On the contrary, over time, it has concerned various academic disciplines dealing with urban areas, including urban sociology. Historically speaking, the sociological approach to the neighbourhood – having as a starting point the human ecology of the Chicago School – connected the neighbourhood as part of the city via the concept of ‘community’. Thus, according to this view, the importance of the neighbourhood as a community is not limited to the geographical boundaries of space. On the contrary, social networks, with their emotional and symbolic significance for residents, and the creation of identity in relation to place, are of great importance. Therefore, the neighbourhood is created as a small-scale spatial entity, which exists because of the personal contacts and references to a common past.

Contrary to this approach, Crow and Allan (1994) propose the separation or differentiation of the concept of neighbourhood from that of community. On the one hand, they argue that a community can exist beyond the geographical boundaries of the neighbourhood and on the other, that the neighbourhood cannot exist without the community. Interpersonal networks, which constitute the basis of the community, may be local, inter-local or international. However, to a large extent, they constitute a personal choice, while the neighbourhood is more a random product of many individual choices (Vaiou, 2007).

The argument of Massey (1994; 2005), on the other hand, refers to the place (identifying it with the neighbourhood), which is shaped by a particular set of social relations developed in a specific location. The uniqueness of the place, according to Massey, comes as the result of the specificity of this interaction, as well as of the social changes it produces, and the interconnection of social relations with broader processes that are extended beyond the boundaries of this particular location.

Meanwhile, Forrest (2004) in an attempt to clarify the differences in the use of the term neighbourhood and in order to extend his analytical perspective, proposes four different interpretations which are inter-related with, but not identical to the concept of neighbourhood as community. More specifically, he theorizes the neighbourhood as: (1) community, (2) context<sup>14</sup>, (3) commodity, (4) consumption niche.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> This term refers to issues related to local infrastructure and employment opportunities, the conditions of exposure to violence and crime and the influence of the prevailing culture in shaping lifestyle.

<sup>15</sup> In practice, the conceptualization of neighbourhood as a product and consumption pocket/enclave is associated with its role in the housing market. Indeed, neighbourhoods are categorized and obtaining commercial value on the basis of certain

At the same time, several studies focus on the negative impact of socio-spatial segregation in the social integration process of poor households in the city's neighbourhoods. The study entitled *The State of English Cities* (Robson *et al.*, 2000) describes the development of a 'dangerous mosaic' in the neighbourhoods of English cities. The authors argue that a focus exclusively on the problem of space, cannot in and of itself confront general economic problems such as unemployment, which are at the core of the problems that small neighbourhoods face (Robson *et al.*, 2000, p. 30).

### **2.6.1.2 The impact of socio-spatial segregation on migrant integration**

Many national and local governments have expressed their concerns about the possibility of the uncontrolled spatial over-concentration of immigrant groups in major European cities. The basic argument lies in the fact that the high spatial concentration of immigrants in urban areas, in combination with a low socioeconomic status, may potentially impede their full integration and therefore their active participation in society, creating in this way enclave of exclusion (Musterd and Deurloo, 2002).

Indeed, in modern times, employment opportunities offered by the host society are geographically defined and the available housing – accessible to immigrants – is usually restricted to the areas around the poor and deprived neighbourhoods within the urban city centre, areas long abandoned by the native population. On the other hand, it is a fact that the concentration of newly arrived immigrants in certain (mostly central) neighbourhoods of the city tends to be extremely significant since it cultivates a sense of security for the group, but also gives immigrants the opportunity to socialize with their new social environment. The crucial question, however, is through what processes and under which criteria the place or neighbourhood of early settlement can become places of integration and not areas of marginalisation (Lavrentiadou, 2006, p. 48). At this point, Peach (1996) distinguishes between two categories: (1) voluntary concentration because of specific cultural institutions; and (2) the forced bottom up segregation, owing to economic discrimination and lack of access to decent housing conditions (Simpson *et al.*, 2006).

In the relevant literature, there is particular emphasis on the increasing tendency of socio-economic segregation, which is found in many EU member states, without necessarily being in agreement on the real size of the problem. On the other hand, several studies have

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special characteristics, which meet the particular requirements of special social groups. In this way it is cultivating a very specific and a selective image. On the contrary, neighbourhoods with a negative social image are trapped in a vicious circle of stigma, which reproduces exclusion.

pointed out that current dimensions that trigger the phenomenon of segregation are not related to the so-called voluntary concentration of immigrants, rejecting as such the myth of self-marginalisation. Conversely, the lack of alternatives in the housing market are a result of the low income and/or the direct discrimination in access to specific housing programmes. These are some of the main economic factors that contribute to this phenomenon (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002).

What is equally remarkable is the diverging views as to whether socio-spatial segregation is a negative phenomenon or not, for the immigrants and ethnic minorities themselves (Musterd, 2003; Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002). Some scholars argue that the association of ethnic segregation with economic deprivation creates serious social problems (Harrison and Philips, 2003). At the same time, other studies have shown that the moderate levels of spatial segregation can impact differently on the various dimensions of the integration process. Thus, data from the city of Amsterdam showed that minorities experiencing a relatively modest level of segregation, display different levels of integration, especially in the areas of education, political participation and representation (Musterd, 2003). The supporters of the positive association between segregation and ethnic status of immigrant groups maintain that the development of community infrastructure and of social support networks, that occurs within the 'segregated' ethnic groups, can strengthen the feeling of belonging (Harison and Philips, 2003). Following the same line of thought, other scholars suggest that the 'magic' key, or crucial factor of integration, is social mobility. In this vein, Gijsberts and Dagevos (2005) hypothesize that ethnic urban segregation does not negatively affect social mobility. They admit, however, that it might have negative effects in other dimensions such as cultural integration. Therefore, they conclude that there is fertile ground for the development of special policies that should aim at the mitigation of negative impacts, while preserving the ethnic character of these urban areas, because, as they maintain, mixed neighbourhoods contribute to the development of social contacts. Conversely, other scholars express their concern about the possible negative socialization processes that take place in the poor and 'segregated' neighbourhoods, a fact that can create risks for future social conflicts and the growth of racism and discrimination (Andersson, 2007).

### **2.6.1.3 Socio-spatial segregation in Southern Europe and Greece**

The literature on migration in Southern Europe theorises the informal and weak regulatory capacity of the state as the basic conceptual tool for the analysis of the so-called 'Southern European' model of immigration (King, 2000). The specificities of the development of urban

space in Southern European cities have led to the formation of neighbourhoods with poor social equipment and inadequate social infrastructure. Contrary to the experience of Northern Europe, the settlement of immigrants in the cities of Southern Europe does not corroborate a mere geographical segregation between the city centre and the urban suburbs. Indeed, this fact has contributed to the smooth process of integration of residents in the city life and to a kind of homogeneity in urban areas, associated with the avoidance of social divisions and conflicts. Moreover, the relatively rapid improvement of housing conditions observed in the studies, is considered to be an important parameter of socio-economic integration. The above argumentation has led some scholars to claim that integration initially takes place in the city, before integration in society (Vaiou, 2007). However, Malheiros (2002) has found evidence of growing ethnic segregation in the cities of Southern Europe, despite the fact that traditionally these cities do not present socio-geographical divisions because of their model of urban development and the form of capitalism applied (Leontidou, 2005). In addition, Malheiros identifies strong evidence of interrelation between urban development and migration. According to him, the areas where immigrants are concentrated are those that present high levels of social and housing deprivation, which he perceives as a form of social exclusion (Malheiros, 2002, p. 107).

In this context, the particular features of the Greek case are associated with the position of Athens within the wider national space. As a southern European metropolis, the urban complex of Athens dominates in the system of Greek cities, both in demographic terms and in terms of socio-economic activities (Lavrentiadou, 2006, p. 56). These features in combination with the lack of a social welfare system – according to the classical model of the welfare state of Northern Europe – leave greater space for the role of family (Maloutas, 2012). Despite the presence of a large number of immigrants, there were not strong trends of housing segregation in Athens, because of the tendency of immigrants to gather in the small and accessible apartments available for rent in the high-density areas near the centre of Athens: this central area had already deteriorated as a result of the excessive construction of the 1960s and 1970s (Maloutas, 2003, p. 12).

The human geography of the immigrant population in Athens follows a similar concentration-decentralization model with that of the native population. Thus according to the statistical data of the Ministry of Interior (2010), approximately 40.5 per cent (223,085 people) of the overall immigrant population in Greece (550,389) is spatially concentrated in the wider region of Attica. Apart from the high number of Albanian immigrants (54 per cent), the percentage of immigrants from Eastern Europe (Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians and

Moldavian) is also high (15 per cent). Immigrants from Asia (Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians) represent 10.5 per cent of the total immigrant population in Greece. Despite the high concentration of immigrants in the region of Attica, surveys have shown that Athens is one of the most pluralistic European metropolises (Arapoglou, 2008, p.1). The same argument is posited by other studies which argue that immigrants are sparsely settled in the city, and despite the fact that there are small concentrations, there are no ghettos (Petronoti, 1998; Vaiou and Hadjimichalis, 2003; Vaiou, 2007). Furthermore, relevant research has identified the existence of interaction spaces among immigrant groups, and between immigrants and the native population in the neighbourhood of Athens, where a 'bottom-up' form of integration occurs. This hypothesis is supported by the study of Vaiou (2007) on the correlation between space, gender and migration, whereas the study of Baldwin-Edwards (2005) identifies evidence for emerging ghettos, but he believes that this can easily change.

Certainly, there are significant differences among ethnic immigrant groups in terms of their spatial distribution/concentration within the urban area of the capital. Arapoglou (2008) points out that Albanian immigrants have a high residential mobility and seem to share the same residential areas with Greeks, a fact that contributes to the low levels of spatial segregation. The immigrants from Eastern Europe and Asia are usually concentrated in smaller communities and segregation is evident mostly in the case of unskilled workers (Arapoglou, 2006, p. 29).

It should be noticed that spatial 'co-existence' does not necessarily mean a reduction of social distances and mitigation of inequalities. Thus, immigrants, despite the spatial/residential proximity to the native population may live in substandard housing conditions and often do not have access to public facilities and infrastructures, like Greek citizens (Arapoglou *et al.*, 2009; Maloutas, 2012). This issue has also been addressed by Psimmenos (1995; 2006) who has particularly focused on the existence of a 'periphractic' space within the city where immigrants live away from the native population. The study of Iosifides and King (1998) on the role of employment, space and housing in the social marginalisation of immigrant workers in Athens showed the existence of small enclaves of immigrants with low income and poverty even in the rich districts of the capital. Arapoglou (2006) stresses that despite the pluralistic image Athens, new forms of socio-ethnic segregation (particularly with respect to employment) have made their appearance, which require further elaboration of theoretical concepts (2006, p. 30). Kandylis (2006) on the other hand, maintains that the presence of immigrants in Athens, rather than producing the

traditional dilemma of assimilation versus exclusion, has created an unprecedented (for Greece), national hierarchy, with ethnically unequal rights in the city (2006, p. 158).

Regarding the determinants that shape the phenomenon of socio-spatial segregation, the study of Arapoglou and Sagia (2009) stands out. The study supports that the settlement pattern of immigrants in the urban area of Athens is linked primarily to housing and employment, as well as the functioning of formal networks. In this context, authors distinguish forms of a 'selective assimilation', on the basis of professional and class opportunities.

The study of Arvanitidi and Skoura (2008) attempts to conceptualize the residential characteristics of immigrants in different urban environments of medium-size cities, such as Volos. The study identified similar characteristics of immigrants' suburban settlement with those of Athens and Thessaloniki. That is to say, immigrants are settled in almost all urban neighbourhoods, without any sign of 'ethnic enclaves'. Nevertheless, the authors claim that the city centre, because of the cheap housing stock, attracts a larger number of immigrants in comparison to the newly constructed (and expensive) houses in the suburbs. Therefore, the research concludes, the most important decisive factors with respect to the spatial settlement of immigrants in Volos are mainly economic factors, followed by cultural ones (Arvanitidi and Skoura, 2008, p. 194).

Baldwin-Edwards (2005) in his study entitled *The Integration of Immigrants in Athens: Developing Indicators and Statistical Measures* considers that the settlement of immigrants in the centre of Athens fills the void left by the native population, following their move to the affluent northern suburbs. Furthermore, he believes that the increased demand for housing has led to higher levels of rental prices, with owners not investing in the modernizing of cheaper houses.

With the urban space of Thessaloniki as his starting point, Hatziprokopiou (2006) focuses his research interest on discrimination in the housing market, at the expense of immigrants. Specifically, he mentions the refusal of owners to rent houses and apartments to Albanians as a factor contributing to a serious problem. Meanwhile, he finds that the access of immigrants to state-subsidized housing is significantly lower, because of limited social security coverage (before 1998).

Finally, Iosifides *et al.* (2007, p. 1348) maintain that the common denominators of spatial mobility among Albanians living in Greece are family and informal networks.

#### **2.6.1.4 Measuring socio-spatial segregation and housing conditions**

A question that arises is that of which methods and indicators may be employed and how, in order to measure the socio-spatial integration of immigrants in cities. In the context of a study on the residential patterns of immigrants, Lavrentiadou (2006) claims that residential mobility is in and of itself an indicator of the integration of immigrants, because geographical and social mobility always contribute to increased residential mobility. Another element that, according to the author, influences the level of integration of new populations in urban areas, is the type of housing and its location in relation to the city centre; if the house cannot allow the development of relations of solidarity between the inhabitants, it cannot be an element of integration (2006, p. 48).

The study of Bosswick, Luken-Klaben and Heckman (2007) entitled *Housing and Integration of Migrants in Europe*, measures housing conditions with the following selected indicators:

Access – To what extent do immigrants have access to decent housing?

Availability and supply – Availability is affected by: (1) the general relation between supply and demand in the housing market, especially for groups with low income, (2) rent price and access to bank loans, and (3) developments in the income of vulnerable groups.

Physical condition of housing – What is the typical situation of housing in which immigrants live and how has it evolved over time? Apart from the space assigned to each person, four more amenities such as running water, toilet, bath or shower and heating constitute the housing standards applicable in the EU member states.

Housing and quality of the social environment – The quality of the social environment is closely linked to the existing relations within the community at the local level. Relations between ethnic communities and society at large are important factors for urban social cohesion.

The European study LIMITS (Latcheva *et al.*, 2006) entitled *Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in European Cities: Life-courses and Quality Life in a World of Limitations*, focuses, among others, on the evaluation of integration based on the following indicators: the type of house, the number of rooms and people living in the same house, the size and cost of rent. Moreover, in relation to socio-spatial segregation, the set of indicators include the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood, the reason for the selecting the house, and the pre-existence of ethnic or relative networks.

In Greece, the study of Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011), and in particular the chapter entitled 'Defining the indicators for the assessment of integration policies of third-country

nationals in Greek society: the housing dimension', employs the following indicators (Table 11) that were considered the most relevant in relation to the subject of our study.

Table 11. Integration indicators of housing

<b>INTEGRATION INDICATORS OF HOUSING</b>	
<b>BASIC INDICATORS</b>	<b>SUPPLEMENTARY INDICATORS</b>
Uniformity of spatial distribution	Residential mobility
Ownership status of dwelling	Housing amenities
Size of dwelling	Possession of durable goods
Age of dwelling	Degree of difficulty satisfying housing needs
Adequacy of heating facilities	Probability of buying house in Greece
Degree of satisfaction with household	

*Source:* Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011, pp. 5-7)

The above survey showed a high level of similarity between the spatial distribution of immigrants and that of Greeks. At the same time, home ownership rates for immigrants and mainly for Albanians, are very low. Dwelling size, heating and the level of satisfaction with housing conditions, all display satisfactory figures, when compared to the native population (Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou, 2011, p. 21).

Attempting to summarize the conclusions from the analysis of the bibliography on segregation and housing, we present the key points that will further support our empirical research. The phenomenon of segregation exists both in the form of spatial segregation – such as the physical distance and the social structure of the area – and as social segregation, which reflects the social distances in a given society. The evolution of segregation is determined to a large extent by the specificities of the urban local bodies, the institutions and the rules of the welfare states, as well as the structure of the housing market, while the problem of socio-spatial segregation is associated with general structural problems such as unemployment and poverty. Therefore, the high spatial concentration of immigrants in association with the low socioeconomic status may prevent the full integration and lead to their non-active participation in society. In the Greek literature, the majority of studies on socio-spatial segregation are limited geographically to the region of Athens and Thessaloniki, while only one study examines this phenomenon in the city of Volos. In all relative studies there is a common assumption that despite the high concentration of immigrant groups in the region of Attica, Athens appears to be one of the pluralistic European metropolises. Moreover, despite the limited concentration of immigrants, one cannot make the case for the existence of ghettos. The new emerging trends of socio-ethnic segregation are associated with the settlement standards of immigrants in the urban area of Athens, which mainly link the



location of housing with employment, low socio-economic status and the functioning of informal networks. Regarding the methods of measuring the phenomenon of segregation in Greece, the indicators used are the Dissimilation Index (DS) and the Exposure Index (EXP), and vice versa. Regarding housing conditions, very few studies in Greece refer to the correlation of housing indicators with other fields of socio-economic integration.

### **2.6.2 Use of the host country's language**

The discussion on immigration and multiculturalism includes an additional important dimension: the role of proficiency in the language of the host country, in relation to immigrants' socio-economic integration path. However, the key factor of socio-economic integration in relation to linguistic diversity is not the knowledge of the language or languages *per se*, but communication (Skourtou, 2002). According to this view, communication supports social cohesion, not because all people use a common language code (this is a minimum requirement), but because citizens know where, why, with whom and for what they will use one language or the other (Fishman, 1972).

An important dimension of learning the language of the country of settlement is that participation in familiar or unfamiliar experiences through the use of a new language, leads to an increased focus on the issue of diversity.

Given that knowledge of the language of the country of settlement is important in terms of integration (economic, social and cultural); this debate is also closely tied to the policy of recognition (Bauböck, 2011). Languages do not only have communicative values, but are also important in terms of how we see the world, as well as a point of expression of individual or collective identity. Interestingly, Bauböck interprets linguistic assimilation as more compatible with the liberal values as long as immigrants remain free to express their beliefs (Bauböck, 2001, p. 8). He then proposes the adoption of certain guiding principles that could be applied in the sphere of public policy in different national contexts: linguistic freedom,<sup>16</sup> assimilation, accommodation and recognition (*ibid*). Bauböck, however, places more emphasis on the promotion of linguistic assimilation by the state, promoting language learning (of the country of settlement) through public education, both for the children of immigrants and for newcomers. The provision of language skills is for Bauböck a public duty, because the struggle for survival and the need to save money prevents many immigrants from investing time and money to attend language courses. The problem of language

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<sup>16</sup>Bauböck notes that with regards to linguistic freedom, liberal democracies must ensure the immigrants' right to use their language both in private and in the public sphere.

proficiency (or non-proficiency) identified with immigrants who settled in postwar Europe is a characteristic example. Despite their long-term residence (often exceeding 30 years) in the country of settlement, immigrants face serious difficulties in speaking the country's official language. Therefore, Bauböck concludes that instead of blaming immigrants for the failure of socio-economic integration, we ought to attribute responsibility for language programmes to public institutions.

The issue of compulsory attendance of language courses is one of the most heated debates in European public discourse. The management of linguistic diversity and the acquisition of language skills are becoming increasingly important at every stage of immigrants' life cycle, starting from the pre-school age to the adult applicants for citizenship or stay permit (Mehlem *et al.*, 2004). Regarding linguistic integration of adult immigrants, there are recent developments in language learning programmes for adult immigrants, as a mandatory requirement in order to obtain the right of residence in the host country. In the context of the so-called integration programme, language learning classes have been established as an obligation for both parties involved (the state must provide the classes, and the immigrant must attend).

Some European countries have introduced special policies on language learning and integration programmes for newcomers (Netherlands, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Sweden), while some other countries have implemented integration measures which constitute part of the general migration policies (Italy, Spain), whereas in some cases the responsibility is assigned to non-governmental organizations (Italy) (Cingolani, 2004).

Bauböck's (2001) own understanding of the purpose of language learning programmes, is that they must guarantee the long-term interests of the immigrant, in relation to upward social mobility, and not with regard to the short-term gain of securing income through unskilled work (2001, p. 6).

Nowadays, the one-sided focus on language proficiency as the basic prerequisite for integration has been criticized (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2004), while the emphasis has shifted to intercultural or multicultural education, which aims to bridge cultural and linguistic differences and to focus on more open approaches that can comprehensively address the needs of immigrants in the multi-linguistic context of their daily life. On the other hand, the increasing number of immigrants in the USA, with most originating from non-English speaking countries, has attracted the interest of researchers on the role of language proficiency in the integration of immigrants. There is evidence that proficiency in English helps immigrant to integrate economically in the new country, enjoying better income and at

the same limiting the wage gap between immigrants and the native population (Bleakley and Chin, 2009). However, despite the changes towards a more balanced perception on the obstacles and difficulties of linguistic and educational integration, nowadays, old problems persist and continue to draw the attention of scholars.

Thus in the study of Dustmann (1996) entitled *The social assimilation of immigrants*, with regards to the level of proficiency in German, the author highlights the fact that whether an immigrant can speak the German language well or very well, has a largely positive impact on their sense of German identity, compared to those who do not speak the German language so well. The author concludes that proficiency in German seems to have positive effects not only on economic success, but also promotes social integration significantly.

Moreover, in the relevant literature, the parameter of linguistic capital is theorized as an important component of immigrants' human capital in the society of settlement. Linguistic capital thus has (utilitarian) added value for the economy of the country of settlement, since it is not transferable to the economy of the immigrants' country of origin. Investment in linguistic capital should be based on the potential future benefits, the cost of acquisition and individual efficiency in production (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003, p. 3).

Chiswick and Miller (2001), on the other hand, present a more comprehensive context of the variables that interpret these factors. In particular, the relevant variables, which measure the performance of immigrants with regard to the acquisition of linguistic capital, are the educational level and the age at which one has migrated (given that the possibility of learning may deteriorate during the life cycle), assuming that settlement is permanent and that the period during which linguistic capital is productive, depends on the age of the immigrant when they enter the country of settlement. Accordingly, individuals who migrate at a younger age have greater incentives to acquire the required linguistic capital. Moreover, its acquisition may depend on the extent of an individual's exposure to the language of the host society. Chiswick and Miller (2001) noted that a variable that measures the exposure of individuals to language is the duration of residence in the country of settlement.

Beckhusen *et al.* (2012) take as a starting point the economic perspective<sup>17</sup> theory of Lazear (2007), and have identified two key components in relation to the level of usage of the country of settlement's language.

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<sup>17</sup>According to this approach, language proficiency is considered as a prerequisite for economic success and social integration.

(i) Segregation and spatial scale

According to the authors, the socio-spatial segregation of immigrants is an important parameter with relation to the use of language and cultural adaptation. Therefore, the decision to learn the language is influenced by the expected social reward, which comes as a result of interaction between members of the dominant culture. Thus, in the context of spatial interaction, meeting opportunities are not determined simply by the spatial proportion of immigrants in a region, but by the distribution of immigrants across the system of spatial units, which constitute the space within which a person's activities take place.

(ii) Networking and assimilation

Networking is divided into two sub-types. The first type refers to behaviours aimed at maintaining contact within the immigrant community, e.g., participation in an ethnic association. Networking, according to the present version, affects language proficiency in two different ways. First, networking implies that commercial transactions are contained within the ethnic border of community. Therefore, the opportunities of meetings/transactions with members of the same ethnic group are relatively larger than those with the rest of society. Subsequently, the reduction/limitation of income/diversity of clientele, will in turn limit the likelihood of learning the new language. Secondly, intra-group networking reduces the exposure of immigrants to the host country's language, being in this way a barrier for its acquisition.

The second type of networking focuses on the behavioural context that essentially creates the patterns of contact with members of society at large, such as the time you spend with the native population. These behaviours are described as assimilative. However, frequent contact with members of the host society increases the expected social reward, which results in the greater use of the host society's language. Moreover, assimilative behaviours increase the exposure of an immigrant to the host country's language and therefore strengthen its proficiency. The empirical findings provide convincing arguments that the behavioural differences play a key role in the understanding of language proficiency of immigrants. However, the assimilative attitudes and, to a lesser extent, networking behaviours, are important for the language proficiency, reducing in this way the negative spatial effects.

The study of Bleakley and Chin (2009) entitled *Age at Arrival. English Proficiency and Social Assimilation among U.S.A Immigrants*, focuses on the relationship between

language proficiency (English) and social integration. The question is whether English language proficiency and the social advancement of immigrants is the result of their cultural preferences or other more fundamental constraints. Utilizing the 2000 census data, researchers correlated the variables of intermarriage relations, fertility and residential location, with the age of entry in the USA, focusing particularly on whether the age coincides with the 'critical period' of language learning. The study's findings showed that English language proficiency significantly affects the process of socio-economic integration. Furthermore, the prospect of intermarriage is linked to the immigrants' language proficiency, education and upward mobility and development in the labour market. In addition, English language proficiency increases the possibility of both divorces and mixed marriages. Immigrants with higher level of English language proficiency marry people with greater fluency in English, better educated and with higher income, thus increasing the possibility of mixed marriages. It is also estimated that immigrants with a higher level of language proficiency have less probabilities to live in purely 'ethnic enclaves'. Finally, regarding the initial working hypothesis, researchers note that structural constraints play a key role in the integration process of immigrants in the USA. Even immigrants with a strong preference for full integration or assimilation in American society may not succeed because of structural constraints.

Other studies examine the relationship between language skills and the area of residence, such as the studies of Funkhouser and Ramos (1993) and Toussaint-Comeau and Rhine (2004). More analytically, Funkhouser and Ramos (1993) found that Dominican and Cuban immigrants with greater English proficiency are more likely to live outside the purely ethnic areas of USA. On the other hand, Toussaint-Comeau and Rhine (2004) argue that Spanish immigrants with low English proficiency are more likely to live in purely Spanish areas (ethnic enclaves) of Chicago. Finally, Lazear's (2007) approach is also very interesting, in its effort to reverse traditional correlations identified a positive relation between the interaction of living in a purely ethnic region and the linguistic proficiency of an immigrant. In Greece, developments with regards to immigration have led to the de facto creation of multicultural or multilingual environments. The Greek state, however, is by and large a *de jure* recognition of this reality, with the result that today we have what Fishman (1972) calls individual bilingualism without social bilingualism (in Damanakis, 2004). On the other hand, studies examining the role of Greek language acquisition in the broader socio-economic integration of immigrants are limited. More specifically, two surveys conducted in Athens in 2003 by MRB Hellas (Greek Statistical Service) showed that 70 per cent of immigrant

children are fluent in Greek, while 28 per cent of adult immigrants who live in Greece for more than 6 years have low linguistic proficiency (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005). The study by Lyberaki and Maroukis (2004) and Maroukis (2010) found that the majority of adult Albanians spoke Greek well, while the number of those who could write was smaller. The most common places or means to learn the Greek language, according to this survey, were the workplace (69 per cent) and television (50 per cent). Simultaneously, the percentage of immigrants who have attended Greek language courses appears to be very low (18 per cent) (Lyberaki and Maroukis, 2004, p. 17).

The survey of Iosifides (2007), in contrast, showed a significantly improved image of language proficiency among immigrants, compared to previous studies. Thus according to estimations, 56.5 per cent of Albanians and 45.7 per cent of Bulgarians have medium-level language skills, while some of those who participated in the survey declared that they had attended Greek language courses at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (2007, p. 47). Similarly, the study of Papadopoulou (2009) found that the majority of her sample – immigrants living in Athens, Thessaloniki and Ioannina – were sufficiently proficient in Greek (92.9 per cent) (2009, p. 50).

A more representative picture of the language proficiency of immigrants who live in the Greek territory is provided by the recent study of Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2011, p. 23). More specifically, this survey found that the overall indicator of Greek language proficiency is low. With regards to the immigrant group, Albanians have the highest score of Greek language learning, and immigrants from Asia, Africa and South America the lowest. Between the two groups we have immigrants from European states that are not members of the Union. Regarding the years of residence, it is clear that the greater the number of years of residence in Greece, the greater the language proficiency.

As far as educational level is concerned, those who have completed tertiary education display the highest score. Then comes the group that has completed secondary education, while the lowest score is held by those who have completed their primary education.

The international literature on the subject makes it clear that language proficiency is a key parameter of socio-economic integration. In the Greek case, while most immigrants do not learn Greek through organized language programmes, there is also little by way of an organized institutional framework to ensure this. Furthermore, there is no acknowledgment of the multicultural facet of the Greek context in the public sphere.

### **2.6.3 Social interaction**

The population movements as a result of immigration inevitably bring together different social groups and, in this particular case, immigrants with the native population of the country of settlement (Zagefka and Brown, 2002). Despite the occasional conflicts of interest between economic and local factors on the one hand and immigrants on the other, in reality multiple bonds emerge and enhance socio-economic integration at different levels (Spicer, 2008).

Indeed, there is a consensus among scholars that one of the most relevant indicators for measuring socio-economic integration is the ‘density’ and the quality of contacts between immigrants and non-immigrants (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). In the new social environment, immigrants develop new links and contacts that extend beyond the in-group and/or inter-group contacts, focusing mainly on interaction with members of local communities. Thus, friendships developed between immigrants and the native population are of particular importance for the successful socio-economic integration of the former. Furthermore, the use and the way of utilizing leisure time represent an equally critical factor in the process of immigrant integration. And this is not only because an active social life may have a positive impact on individual performance in the labour market, but is primarily related to the immigrant’s ability to be integrated into the value system of the social life of the country of settlement.

At the same time, the development of social networks is an important factor for cultivating feelings of belonging, security, freedom and empowerment (Spicer, 2008; Massey, 2005). The relevant research findings indicate that in contrast to the first generation of immigrants – which can remain socially and culturally isolated –future generations may enjoy full membership, precisely because of the development of social networks (Spicer, 2008).

The important role of social networks for immigrant integration has been the subject of an extensive literature, which examines two basic operating ways of migration networks. These social networks can provide support in finding a job, housing, or support in the provision of relevant information. This short-term assistance can have a positive impact on long-term integration into the society of the country of settlement.

Migration networks are considered essential tools for the formation of creative social capital, which also includes social relations (Coleman, 1988). It is argued that the extent of social connections and trust are key factors for the formation of social capital (Durlauf and Fafchamps, 2004; Ager and Strang, 2008). Putnam (2003) distinguishes between three forms

of social connection: social bonds (family, co-ethnic or other forms of in-group relations), social bridges (other out-group communities) and social links (structures and institutions of the state), which are considered essential dimensions for the development of immigrants' social capital.

At the same time, the concept of social interaction (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2003) focuses on how the interaction between individuals outside the labour market affects their social and economic decisions. Thus, the coexistence of different ethnic groups and the 'social meeting' between people of different social groups may exert significant influence on individuals' choices both in public and private life. This is because individuals learn to become educated from such contacts, forming their social perceptions and attitudes towards certain people and population groups. Consequently, ethnic socio-spatial segregation/concentration can for example cultivate the perception of threat and alienation towards the native population. At the same time, it may also become a mechanism for strengthening in-group contacts, reducing the negative perceptions of one group at the expense of another, while at the same time consolidating their ethnic identity.

Regarding the measuring of social interaction, in their study entitled *The Rationality behind Immigration Preferences*, Van Dalen and Henkens (2003) used the following variables:

- Degree of spatial concentration of population groups – in the neighbourhood where they live.
- Ethnic concentration – in a particular neighbourhood.
- Contact areas – where native population comes in contact with immigrants from different groups.

Musterd and Ostendorf (2008) in their study entitled *Spatial Segregation and Integration in the Netherlands* identified differences between population groups in relation to their level of contact with other ethnic groups. Thus, the younger generation of immigrants (second generation) with a higher educational level, maintained more contacts with other ethnic groups compared to the first generation of immigrants (older) with a lower educational level. However, differences among immigrant groups remained strong. More specifically, in this study it is mentioned that immigrants from Surinam and the Antilles maintain more contacts with people who do not belong to the same ethnic group as them, while Turks and



Moroccans appear oriented toward their own ethnic groups. But even among the latter, particular ethnic characteristics and educational capital seem to affect their social interaction.

In the study of King and Mai (2004) entitled *Albanian Immigrants in Lecce and Modena: Narratives of Rejections. Survival and Integration*, the authors examine how Albanian immigrants in different geographical areas of Italy, are integrated in the local, social and economic areas and in particular in the sphere of employment, housing and social space/place. In this context, researchers address two dimensions: first, the relationship with Italian society throughout employment, with welfare services and with neighbourhood relations. Second, the solidarity relations with their own ethnic group through relative and friendly interactions. Regarding leisure time, the study showed that consumer and entertainment standards vary significantly depending on age, gender, educational level and marital status. In summarizing their findings, the authors note that the overall experience of Albanian immigrants' integration in Italy has been formed in relation to strong bias/prejudices, which is horizontally diffused in all areas, even at the level of social interactions.

The study of Zagefka and Brown (2002) entitled *The relationship between acculturation strategies, relative fit and intergroup relations: immigrant-majority relations in Germany* examines to what extent the model of inter-individual preferences for the integration of Turkish immigrants and ethnic Germans can be implemented at the level of inter-group relations. In this direction, three main indicators were designed to measure the quality of inter-group relations: intra-group prejudices, positively considered inter-group relations and discrimination. Finally, the study showed that the quality of inter-group relations was visibly improved when it the harmonization of acculturation attitudes between the immigrants and the host society was improved. Thus, although it cannot be argued that there is a causal relationship between the quality of inter-group relations and the harmonization of acculturation attitudes, the quality of inter-group relations is an important factor.

The study of Spicer (2008) entitled *Places of Exclusion and Inclusion: Asylum-Seeker and Refugee Experiences of Neighbourhoods in the UK* has as a starting point the assumption that social networks of asylum seekers and refugees (first and second generation) constitute an important dimension of social integration and play a crucial role in their spatial segregation. Furthermore, the study examines qualitatively the way in which the target group perceives and constructs the concept of neighbourhood as a potential place of integration or exclusion, and compares the narratives of parents with those of children. The study came to the conclusion that the sample population gives special emphasis to the creation of supportive

social networks with people of the same ethnic or religious identity. At the same time, difficulties appear in the development of social bonds with white or other indigenous groups.

The study of De Palo, Faini and Venturini (2007) entitled *The Social Assimilation of Immigrants* approaches social relations from a different perspective. The purpose of the study is to examine the extent of social relations of immigrants compared to those of the native population. The research findings were then associated with a certain number of key factors such as age, marital status, educational and activity level, and size of household. It would be interesting to mention some of the findings which demonstrate that regardless of the personal characteristics (e.g., age and education), immigrants seem to socialise to a lesser extent compared to the native population. Their socialization patterns, however, converge with those of the native population. Furthermore, it was found that educational capital significantly affects the type and form of immigrants' social activities. Although people with a higher educational level seem to socialize to a lesser extent with their neighbors, they strongly socialize with the wider society.

In Greece, an important study on social capital is that of Iosifides *et al.* (2007) entitled *Forms of Social Capital and the Incorporation of Albanian Immigrants in Greece*. The study focuses on the social capital and its effect on the social integration of Albanian immigrants in Greece. The research findings showed that social capital, though it appears confined within families and networks of relatives, constitutes the most important factor in the integration of Albanian immigrants into Greek society compared to other forms of social capital. However, despite these positive aspects, the over-concentration of Albanian immigrants in particular job positions, mainly as a result of family and ethnic networks, is viewed by the study as a negative development. In this way, we have the gradual appearance of the phenomenon of 'ethnic enclaves' and 'ethnically specialized' immigrant worker in the economy and in some sectors of the labour market, for example in the construction sector for Albanians and in domestic services for Filipinos (a form of ethnicisation of the labour market). On the other hand, while social capital (family/relatives and ethnic networks) seems to play an important role in the social integration of Albanian immigrant, social relations with Greek nationals appear weak, highlighting in this way the rather problematic image of socio-economic integration. According to the respondents, this phenomenon is due to the dominant, negative public image for Albanians in Greek society. Finally, it is worth mentioning that immigrants who had developed stronger social relations with Greeks seem to enjoy better social and employment treatment, which probably contribute to both the reduction of discrimination and to the improvement of socio-economic integration of immigrants in Greek society.

From a different perspective, the study by Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2011) discusses the indicator of socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants in the context of socio-economic integration in general. In particular, the study focuses on specific factors/variables, some of which have been used for the construction of the indicators of the author's own study (social interaction/friendships), which are summarized as below:

- Cultural orientation: preference in the country of origin or the country of settlement.
- Psychological adaptation: individual/private sphere (e.g., self-esteem, feelings).
- Socio-cultural adaptation: interpersonal sphere (e.g., relationships, transactions).
- Perceived discrimination: internalization of incident.

The study concludes that the cultural orientation of immigrants is generally balanced. Most choose the harmonization strategy, which suggests the combination of Greek culture and their own ethnic culture. At the same time, socio-cultural adaptation shows a lower percentage, due to the relatively restricted supporting networks (60 per cent), while the percentage in relation to the perception of discrimination is low but significant (67 per cent). The variation of the psychosocial adaptation of immigrants is relatively restricted, with respect to individual demographic factors such as gender, age and education. On the contrary, the role of inter-group relations and the dynamic processes in relation to ethnicity and the duration of residence are more important (Pavlopoulos *et al.*, 2011, p. 34).

To sum up, we can say that the level of social contacts and interaction between the immigrants and the native population constitutes an important dimension of the broader process of socio-economic integration. Moreover, friendly relations, the use of leisure time and the creation of social networks have emerged as key dimensions of the social interaction process. The theoretical framework of analysis is based on social interaction theory and is formed on the basis of three socio-spatial orientation indicators. In the field of social interaction it is underlined that second generation immigrants with a higher educational level maintain more contacts with both the native population and members of other ethnic groups, compared to first generation immigrants who are older and have a lower educational level. Additionally, other studies show that in addition to 'classical' variables (e.g., age, gender, educational level and marital status) the social interaction of immigrants with the native population is formed in connection with a public image (negative or positive) and the prejudices against certain ethnic groups that are associated with that image.

#### **2.6.4 Social and political participation**

Social and political participation may be defined as an expression of the ‘continuum’ with social and the political exclusion on the one end, and the full exercise of citizenship rights on the other (Spourdalakis *et al.*, 2011, p. 3). In addition, social and political participation falls in the sphere of political integration, allowing as such the extension of the latter to formal and informal socio-political participation (Vogel and Triandafyllidou, 2008). Yet how does one define the concept of political integration?

According to Martiniello (2005, p. 3), the political integration of immigrants is structured on the basis of three components:

- (1) Political participation
- (2) Political mobilization
- (3) Political representation

These components are multi-dimensional (e.g., ethnic networks, labour associations), they are structured in multiple levels (e.g., individual, collective); they develop in different contexts (e.g., local, national, regional) and hold EU citizens as a point of reference.

According to Martiniello and Statham (1999), political participation and the representation of interests take place in three geopolitical levels or in three political spheres: supranational, national and local (1999, p. 567). This has resulted in the development of different forms of political action, which include, among others, the parliamentary, electoral and consultative bodies, pressure groups and ethnic/immigrant organizations.

At the same time, classical theories regarding social and political participation have as a unit of measurement the individual’s political behaviour, following as such what is widely known as the standard, or baseline model (Vogel, 2008). Political participation at the individual level is mainly determined by social characteristics such as the age, gender, educational level, socio-economic status, ethnicity and political behaviour of the individual. Therefore, social status and political orientation are considered as the main interpretative factors that determine the difference in the frequency and intensity of the socio-political participation of immigrants.

A similar picture emerges from the study of Koopmans and Statham (2000), according to which political participation and the integration of immigrants are influenced by four main factors:

- (1) Individual characteristics of immigrants (as described above).
- (2) National and non-national organizational formations or networks.
- (3) Institutional and political opportunity structure of participation.

(4) Ethnic group characteristics (demographic composition, size, socio-economic status).

Furthermore, the theoretical concept of Koopmans *et al.* (2005) focuses on the determinants that affect the organizational behaviour and the presence of immigrants in the public life of the country of settlement. In particular, the three defining elements that lay the foundations of their theoretical approach are based on the following factors:

- (1) Migration policy – which includes the right to citizenship, voting rights and integration policies implemented by the host country. Thus, this national framework creates a particular environment of opportunities and constraints, which significantly affects the evolution dynamic of the immigrant associations.
- (2) The potential influences of the country of origin – which are formed according to the political, economic and social conditions of this particular country. The power of the country of origin to ‘manipulate’ immigrants contributes significantly to the formation of their collectivities and to the definition of their objectives (Schubert, 2004).
- (3) Collective identities – which create the sense of belonging to a particular ethnic, religious and/or racial group. These collective identities have already been formed in the country of origin and have been transferred to the country of settlement. However, these identities do not remain static but are constantly changing. Thus, the national integration framework of the host country along with any influence exerted by the country of origin on immigrants can have an impact on the formation of their collective identities.

The multiplicity that characterizes social and political participation, in combination with the functioning of modern democracy, may assume formal (the right to vote and to participate in labour unions) or informal (volunteering, immigrant organisations and associations) characteristics. It may also be developed in relation to local, national or international issues (Spencer, 2007).

It would be interesting at this point to examine the argument made by Bauböck (1994, 1999, 2007, 2006) about citizenship (formal dimension) as the only requirement for integration in a state. The distinct difference in Bauböck’s approach is the emphasis he places not just on political, but also the social dimension of citizenship (2007, p. 2). According to this approach, liberal democratic societies must include all members of a society, because it is social participation that will have to define the boundaries of integration (or not) (1994, p. 206). In this context, he further distinguishes between civic and social virtues. The former

concern the citizens' participation in the political process, while the latter, though not directly linked to citizenship, contributes to creating and maintaining social capital and a robust civil society required as a background for a stable liberal democracy. Interestingly, Bauböck maintains that the absence of such civic virtues undermines the legitimacy of democratic representation even when equal rights are guaranteed (1999, p, 11-12)

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that an immigrant and the institutional structures of a given society are different categories of actors, Penninx *et al.* (2004) note that '*these are the fundamentally unequal actors in terms of power and resources*' (2004, p. 142). Furthermore, macro-structural factors (institutions) play a fundamental role in relation to the micro-structural factors (individuals). This is the main theoretical argument of Koopmans (1999) when he defends the concept of the political opportunity structure as an interpretative framework of analysis of fluctuations with respect to the levels and forms of collective actions (1999, p. 100). Bousetta (2001) on the other hand, focuses on the factors that are found under the macro-structural level, i.e., the so-called 'infra-politics' of individuals and groups that operate within immigrant communities.

It could therefore be argued that the most appropriate indicators for measuring social and political participation are those that measure the frequency of immigrant participation either at the institutional level (democratic processes such as electoral participation) or at the civil society level (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; Castles *et al.*, 2002). Moreover, political integration – as an important component of the process of socio-economic integration – is a two-way process that requires not only individual or collective incentives from the part of the immigrants, but more importantly a developed political opportunity structure of political participation and representation which typically falls in the sphere of the competences of the country of settlement.

However, the approach that addresses formal participation in democratic processes often presents methodological problems of measurement and thus problems in quantifying the political participation of immigrants in the country of settlement. This happens because immigrants in certain EU member states do not enjoy the right to vote and as a result are *de facto* excluded from the electoral process, whether in their function as voters or as candidates for public office (e.g., the case of Greece). Furthermore, political parties appear unwilling to provide information or data on the ethnic identity of their members (Koff, 2002).

Nevertheless, the interest of the research community has lately focused on the examination of the following topics:

- (1) The formal political participation of immigrants.
- (2) The mapping of immigrant organizations and their impact on social integration.
- (3) The participation of immigrants in mainstream social institutions as well as in civil society.

Regarding informal participation, we often encounter that regardless of whether someone has, or hasn't the citizenship of their country of settlement, their active participation in public and political life is very important both for that individual and for the community as a whole. It is obvious that the possibility of representation is extended beyond governments and political parties. Social movements and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) hold a particularly significant position with regard to the political science disciplines. At the same time, it is a fact that autonomous movements give immigrants a collective voice especially with respect to local politics, while cooperation with leftist groups and 'new' social movements (such as environmentalist groups) have strengthened their involvement in Western politics both at a local and national level (Koff, 2002).

The fact that immigrants have sufficiently developed a sense of responsibility and belonging in the country of settlement, in association with the strengthening of social relations and interactions with the native population, constitutes a dynamic source of social capital and social cohesion (Spencer, 2007). At the same time, the participation of immigrants in public life provides the necessary tools in order to promote their needs and demands both vis-à-vis the state (institutions), and their employers. Therefore, participation in general emerges as a meaningful form of communication beyond and outside the ballot box.

A number of scholars have focused on the factors that lead immigrants to participate in political activities in their country of settlement (Berger *et al.*, 2004; Jacobs *et al.*, 2004; Tillie, 2004). These studies have highlighted the importance of individual characteristics (such as the age, gender, and educational level) and the individual and/or collective incentives (e.g., political interests or the feeling of political effectiveness) in the formation of immigrants' political attitudes and behaviours. On the other hand, other scholars have attempted to correlate the variations observed at the level of participation with certain structural aspects of the socio-political environment in the country of settlement. The study of Fennema and Tillie (1999) examines the impact of social capital of ethnic/immigrant networks, in the political participation of four immigrant groups (Turks, Moroccans,

Surinamese and Antillean) in the city of Amsterdam. Their research found positive correlation between the density of the organizational migration networks and political participation in general. In short, the denser the organizational networks of the ethnic groups, the greater their political participation. The authors go on to examine three key factors:

- (1) The level of political participation in political formations.
- (2) The level of confidence in democratic institutions.
- (3) The interest in public life at the local level.

The empirical results showed a positive correlation between the level of political participation and the level of confidence in democratic institutions. The higher the level of trust in political institutions, the greater immigrants' participation in public policy actions and initiatives. At the same time, the study found significant differentiations among the four immigrant groups. Authors attribute these differences to political culture, in the context of which the social capital is developed (through ethnic organizations and networks), opinions and attitudes on the role of civil society are shaped, and the perception about the position of immigrants is determined.

Contrary to this approach, other scholars argue that immigrants' political participation is influenced by certain specificities that characterize political institutions in the country of settlement (such as local integration policies) (Vermeulen, 2005). Several studies (Ireland 1994; Koopmans *et al.*, 2005; Koopmans and Statham, 1999; 2002) show that political participation is shaped in relation to the institutional characteristics that are related to migration management, and the mode of socio-economic integration.

Another group of scholars focus on the comparative evaluation of the levels and forms of political participation of a particular ethnic group in different political and institutional environments (countries), such as Moroccans in France, Belgium and the Netherlands (Bousetta, 2001). These studies attempt to examine the mechanisms behind political mobilization, in order to evaluate the level of influence exerted by different national opportunity structures impact on political mobilization itself.

In the study of Tillie and Slijper (2006) entitled *Immigrant Political Integration and Ethnic Civic Communities in Amsterdam*, the authors found that ethnic groups of Turks and Moroccans in Amsterdam show a high percentage of political participation (72 and 76 per cent respectively) compared to immigrants from Surinam. The study concludes that it is public participation (through voluntary organizations) that produces social capital, which in turn contributes to the building of social trust among members of society, a crucial



prerequisite for the political participation of immigrants. The authors conclude that a dynamic ethnic community seems to be a prerequisite for successful integration, at least regarding political participation.

In Greece, it is only recently that a public debate was launched on the measures for the creation of institutional dialogue and institutional mechanisms for the representation and participation of immigrants in public life. However, the conditions of insecurity that continues to prevail, the lack of long-term prospects for the majority of the immigrant population and their de facto exclusion from the naturalization process are major obstacles for their participation in public life. Indeed, the participation of immigrants in civil society institutions (non-governmental organizations, cultural associations) is at a low level and mainly revolves around issues related to the renewal of residence permits, rather than around issues related to the social and political requirements for participation and presentation in Greek society.

The Greek structural frameworks in place provide incentives neither for formal, nor for informal political participation. With regards to formal participation, there is no electoral participation, as immigrants do not enjoy the right to vote or stand as candidates in national elections<sup>18</sup>. Moreover naturalization is considered a ‘reward’ for an immigrant’s assimilation, rather than as an institutional mechanism for enhancing socio-economic integration. With regards to informal participation, the low number of organized immigrant associations in Greece is used as an argument by policy makers to exclude immigrants as stakeholders from the decision-making process.

From a bottom-up perspective, it seems that there are significant differences between immigrant organizations in Greece, with respect to their manner of organization and the degree to which the Greek state engages with them. Another important aspect is immigrants’ political culture, which is conveyed by the immigrant as an individual experience to the host society. However, one should not overlook another important factor that may catalytically affect the way that immigrant organizations have developed. This includes the national political opportunities structures that are created by the socio-political environment, for the development of social and civic capital in the country of settlement. It has been observed that immigrant organizations develop participatory structures which reflect the political system of the country of settlement.

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<sup>18</sup>Immigrants were allowed to participate in the municipal elections of 2010, but the turnout was very low.

In their study, entitled *Migrants and Political Life in Greece: Between Political Patronage and the Search for Inclusion*, Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2009) offer evidence for the validity of the previous hypothesis. The authors argue that the model of political relations, political participation and protection developed by third country nationals and co-ethnic Greeks, reflect the mainstream political culture of Greece (2009, pp. 5-6).

In contrast to the previous study, the study of Iosifides (2009) entitled *Social Capital and Integration of Immigrants* examines the role of immigrants' social capital to the outcome of social integration through a micro-structural approach. The study is a qualitative research, whose target groups are immigrants from Albania and co-ethnic Greeks from the former Soviet Union. More specifically, the dimensions of social capital examined by Iosifides are summarized below:

- Relationship with immigrants of the same or different nationality.
- Relationship to the wider society of the country of settlement.
- Relationship to the administration, state and institutions.
- Relationship with immigrant organizations, NGOs and other associations.
- Political and social participation, unionism and related activities.

The results of this study show that despite the increased interest of Albanians in Greek political affairs and in particular in migration policy issues, their participation in representative collective bodies of any form is very low. The author attributes this fact to the relations of distrust and insecurity that emanate from the legal status of Albanians, but also because of the feeling of inefficiency in the representation of immigrant interests. A similar picture emerges for co-ethnics Greeks from the former Soviet Union, whose integration efforts take place at the individual level (2009, p. 367).

Finally, an elaborate study on the social and political participation of immigrants who live in Greece is that of Spourdalakis *et al.* (2011). This study quantitatively examines six sub-indicators that make up the indicator of social and political participation. Briefly, these sub-indicators are:

- 1) access to citizenship
- 2) administrative efficiency
- 3) access to fundamental rights
- 4) participation in institutions of political and social representation
- 5) trust/reciprocity

#### 6) communication effectiveness

We will present here the finding of several indicators (1, 4, 5 and 6) which are directly related to the object and theme of this chapter.

Sub-indicator 1: Access to citizenship. As expected, this sub-indicator scores the lowest percentage (2.4 per cent), while knowledge of cultural institutions and institutional frameworks scores the highest percentage (63.59 per cent). Equally high percentages are found in the sub-categories of ‘negative discrimination’ (63.1 per cent) and ‘knowledge of political institutions and institutional framework’ (63.6 per cent).

Sub-indicator 4: Participation in institutions of political and social representation. Surprisingly, the level of participation in immigrant organizations appears to be extremely low (1.9 per cent). A similar picture emerges with respect to the low participation of the respondents both in political and social organizations (3.3 and 3 per cent respectively). On the contrary, the sub-indicator (4.3) institutional and practical opportunities for socio-political participation has the highest percentage (42.2 per cent).

Interestingly, what distinguishes sub-indicator 5 (Trust-Reciprocity) is the high percentage of the sub-index of interpersonal trust (55.1 per cent) compared to the level of trust either in public institutions (44.7 per cent) or in civil society organisations (40.7 per cent).

The comparison of sub-indicators 4, 5, and 6 showed that in the sphere of social and political participation (indicator 4), immigrant groups’ trends present elements of convergence. A different picture emerges from sub-indicator 6, with immigrants from Africa, Asia and South Africa showing lower performance of communication effectiveness compared to other immigrant groups. Finally, when comparing the same indicators with the years of residence in Greece, we found that immigrants who live more than 10 years in Greece have higher rates of social and political participation (Spourdalakis *et al.*, 2011, p. 26).

Through the review on the relevant research and theoretical approaches regarding social and political participation, we observed that the majority of studies focus on individual indicators, especially with relation to the dimension of social capital. From the review of the Greek literature we found that the participation of immigrants in public life is low, while the participation in ethnic/immigrant organizations is even lower. Nevertheless, the socio-political capital of immigrants seems to play a crucial role in the outcome of social and political participation. Therefore, the general conclusion mainly concerns the ‘informal’ way of functioning of political opportunities structure as well as civil society, a phenomenon that

produces exclusion and gives sui generis characteristics to the Greek case, always in relation to other EU member states.

### **2.6.5 Racism and discrimination**

Immigrants face a number of obstacles with respect to the process of their socio-economic integration, which are mainly related to the limitations that relate to residence status and discrimination (Spencer, 2006a). The fight against discrimination and racism is at the core of any integration policy of vulnerable groups, since they constitute direct and clear evidence of social exclusion. In practice, however, discrimination and racism at the expense of immigrants are one of the main causes for the failure of integration policies, to the extent that they neutralize their beneficial impact and perpetuate suspicion and negativity towards immigrants.

From a policy perspective, states take specific measures to combat institutional and other forms of discrimination and racism, which are considered essential tools for the achievement of socio-economic integration (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003). According to the common principles of social integration, *'access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration'* (European Commission, 2004a, p. 6). Thus, the acceptance of immigrant integration as a two-way process of mutual adaptation both for immigrants and the host society, should find expression in the latter's willingness to grant institutional, legal and political rights to immigrants. In fact, racial/ethnic discrimination and racism is a result of the host society's negative attitude towards immigrants. But it can also be the result of institutional structures and processes, the practices of which systematically go against the interests of immigrant groups. Thus, for example, the institutional discrimination can occur when the right to employment in public sector only applies to the native population and/or when it is about the limited access of immigrants to certain public goods and services.

The former EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) proposed that combating racial inequalities is a key element for the promotion of immigrants' integration (E.U.M.C., 2005). Another relevant study by the government of Great Britain showed that discrimination against ethnic minorities is the most likely potential factor of social exclusion as well as the main cause of creating disadvantages in the labour market (Sutton *et al.*, 2007). In France, it has been found that ethnic identities can be strengthened as a result of existing discrimination, hindering in this manner the social status, as well as the

upward mobility, of immigrants, a development that contributes to the formation of entrenched identities in place and time (Chapman and Frader, 2004). In Italy, the twin phenomena of racism and discrimination against immigrants are manifested either openly (e.g., job advertisements) or through more subtle forms, such as the obstacles that immigrants face in accessing the banking system, in sports activities and in the judicial system (Commissione per le Politiche di Integrazione Degli Immigrati, 2001).

Currently, policy makers at the European level have now turned their attention to the problems of integration, racism, social marginalisation and the potential of social conflict in relation to immigrants and ethnic minorities who live in European cities (FRA, 2010). With Tampere as a starting point (October 1999) the European Commission created the guidelines for a common immigration and asylum policy, placing particular emphasis on the promotion of immigrants' integration in European societies. The orientation of immigrants' political integration in accordance with the Tampere programme should have been developed around issues of discrimination and protection from discriminatory practices, the free movement of third-country nationals who have a long-term residence permit, the right to family reunification and equal opportunities in the labour market (Aumüller, 2005).

In the context of European legislation on discrimination, Article 13 of the Treaty of Amsterdam (which entered into force in 1999) gave the EU new powers to combat discrimination based on gender, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, age and sexual orientation. In particular, this legislation includes two main Directives:

- (1) The Directive on Employment Equality (2000/78), which protects all persons within the EU from discrimination at the workplace.
- (2) The Directive on Racial Equality (2000/43), which prohibits discrimination based on racial and ethnic origin at the workplace, as well as in other areas such as education, social security, healthcare and access to goods and services.

Meanwhile, several European countries have adopted integration policies that aim to promote equal participation and representation of immigrants. France, for example, has implemented measures in order to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship and integration of immigrants, while it has criminalized racial discrimination, which it considers a human rights issue. Other countries recognize multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of their societies and in this context have strengthened anti-discrimination legislation (e.g., the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Sweden).

In Greece, Law 3304/2005 '*Implementation of equal treatment irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation*' brought Greek legislation into line with the above EU Directives (2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC). However, its implementation was delayed and as a result the people who may have been victims of discrimination, as well as pertinent institutions (labour inspectors, NGOs, local authorities, trade unions) have overlooked the contents and provisions of the law. Although this legal document paved the way for the recognition of multiple forms of inequality, its implementation did not touch upon existing immigration law (Pavlou, 2007). More specifically, according to Article 4, the specific provisions are not implemented in cases where different treatment is provided by the laws that regulate issues of neutralization, entry and residence of immigrants into the Greek territory. Therefore, the law against discrimination does not cause discrimination and inequalities associated or caused by existing migration policy (Greek Ombudsman, 2007, pp. 7-8). Thus, its implementation has been limited to ethnic minorities, recognized refugees, repatriated Greeks, excluding many cases of unequal treatment on the basis of racial or ethnic origin, religious belief, age or sexual orientation, concerning immigrants and asylum seekers. In the Ombudsman's report (2007), however, the number of complaints and court cases is still too small and does not reflect the extent of discrimination in Greek society. The implementation of the principle of equal treatment has been seriously downgraded by the reluctance of individuals and groups to express their personal experiences of discrimination by public authorities and the limited work of NGOs as intermediaries between society and government institutions.

According to a recent OECD (2012b) report on the frequency of perceived discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin, 26 per cent of respondents identify themselves as members of a group that has experienced discrimination. This percentage is the highest among the OECD member countries (2012b, p. 148).

Whereas various methods have been by scholars and institutions to measure discrimination and racism, the OECD (2012b) list three key approaches. The first starts from the econometric analysis of the existing databases of macro-economic indicators. In this case, discrimination is usually estimated on the basis of the residual percentage difference that arises from the indicators of employment, housing, income and educational level. Specialized elements, however, that include specific measurement indicators such as language proficiency and other skills, are unable to grasp the factors that affect integration, such as differentiated use of personal networks, knowledge and information regarding administrative

procedures and/or the functioning of labour market, as well as personal motivations and ambitions (OECD, 2012b, p. 145).

The second approach for measuring discrimination involves recording immigrants' personal opinions in relation to the frequency of unequal treatment. This approach is used in a number of social surveys such as those of the European Social Survey and the Eurobarometer. This method is characterized by certain vulnerabilities which are the result of its inherent subjectivity. Indeed, the level to which the immigrants perceive ethnic discrimination varies depending on socio-economic characteristics, such as gender, age, educational level and employment status. Moreover, public debate in the country of settlement on immigration, on integration and on the particular characteristics of certain ethnic groups, may affect the perceptions of how concepts of discrimination and racism are defined (OECD, 2012b, p. 145).

The third and most prevalent approach of the past two decades which is considered to be the most objective is the so-called method of correspondence testing, which mainly refers to employment and housing indicators. In particular, in order to determine the level of discrimination, there are applications for open jobs and/or housing rental in the name of two virtual applicants. The distinctive feature in the applicant profile is ethnicity, which is usually displayed by the name. Discrimination is then evaluated by the frequency of invitations, either for a job interview or a house viewing. This approach allows the test of all information sent along with the application and at the same time reduces the margin within which the employers or owners may decide on the basis of other criteria other than ethnicity (OECD, 2012b, p. 146).

In daily life, discrimination and racism pose serious obstacles to immigrants' access to important resources of survival such as in the areas of employment, housing, and social interactions, which constitute the subject of this paper.

More specifically, in relation to employment, at least during the first period of settlement in the host country, immigrants are concentrated in lower professional and income levels. Institutional and real economic discrimination act in a multidimensional way and hinder integration and immigrants' development in the labour market.

Discrimination in employment occurs when employers perceive race, ethnicity or other 'external characteristics' as features by which to predict immigrant productivity (OECD, 2009). The relationship between discrimination and employment at lower and unskilled job positions can assume the character and dimensions of a vicious cycle.

Discrimination against immigrants can lead to poorer and more deprived job positions where immigrants are stigmatized because of the nature of their job (Koff, 2002).

According to the FRA (2009), in 2009, in some EU member states such as the UK, Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden, statistical data gathered by the competent institutions against discrimination, suggest an intense manifestation of dissatisfaction in relation to incidents of discrimination. In most EU countries, the official record of racial discrimination and racist-related incidents in the labour market, as well as the processing of that data, are very limited. For instance, in its statistical analysis for 2008, the OECD (2008) mentioned that employment opportunities for the second generation of immigrants in Germany were 15 per cent less than the same opportunities for native peers. The differences identified in educational performance led to the conclusion that discrimination in the labour market may be a possible explanation that justifies this difference.

In the case of Greece, Baldwin-Edwards (2006) maintains that immigrants occupy the lowest positions in the labour market and that laws against discrimination are not sufficient to change this situation. In his view, the main reason lies in the functioning of the labour market itself, as it is structured on the basis of social and family networks.

Socio-spatial segregation, on the other hand, is synonymous to discrimination and for a long period the term was used to designate specific institutional practices or policies, such as Jews being forced to live in ghettos, the prohibition of blacks to travel to some areas in US cities and the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Social segregation puts dominant groups at a distance, both social and spatial, and aims to block contact and interaction between them. Furthermore, discriminatory practices in housing lead immigrants to inferior, overcrowded and often spatially segregated housing. Therefore, race and ethnicity have evolved into a very important evaluation factor of access of immigrants to the housing market.

What has often been mentioned is that the access of immigrants to worker and private homes is systematically prevented because of their ethnic origin and/or their skin color, thereby discouraging their settlement in certain neighbourhoods/areas. Indirect discrimination can also result from the allocation of social housing that disproportionately excludes certain immigrant groups.

Some countries conduct special studies in order to identify existing discrimination in relation to the access of immigrants and ethnic minorities to the housing market. In Spain, the study of SOS Racism Bizkaia (2010) highlighted discrimination as the most important obstacle to immigrants' access to decent housing in the city of Bilbao (FRA, 2010, p. 117). In Sweden, the Swedish Union of Tenants (Kawesa and Lappalainen, 2008) conducted a



telephone survey on discrimination with some 100 homeowners across the country, using foreign and Swedish names. Ethnic discrimination was identified in 37 per cent of cases of housing rental towards individuals with foreign names, in comparison to those with Swedish names. In France, the report of E.C.R.I. (2010) underlined that racial discrimination against immigrants or people with an immigrant background and with a different skin color remain a serious problem both in private and public housing (2010, p. 24).

Regarding the dimension of social interaction in relation to discrimination and racism, this is determined by the duration of contact between immigrants and the native population. Some arguments underline that the prolonged time span of the inter-group contacts reduces prejudice, while others, on the contrary, argue that biases may increase with time.

According to the so-called Contact Hypothesis (Karmela and Jasinskaja, 2000), contacts between immigrants and the host society reduce discrimination, but only when they take place at the private/personal sphere and between people/persons with a similar social/economic status. It is also estimated that with increased duration of contacts, better use of language and knowledge of culture, mutual understanding is increased. However, the same approach does not exclude the possibility that discrimination and racism may increase (rather than decrease) due to the longer duration of social/friendly contacts. This is because as the number of immigrants increases, their presence becomes more visible (in public places in particular), while competition for limited or scarce resources causes social conflict.

## **2.7 Conclusions**

This chapter has outlined the literature on integration and its dimensions that provides the foundation for the further exploration of the hypothesis of the thesis. Its aim was to locate this study within the broader theoretical and empirical framework, to clarify the conceptual background and to link it with previous studies and research.

It has become clear that integration is an umbrella term that refers to a dynamic, continuous and multi-dimensional process, the success of which requires a two-way adaptation: from both immigrants and host society. Such an approach recognizes, however, the asymmetry it implies, since the institutional opportunity structures and state's mechanisms play a decisive role in the outcome of the process.

The review of the literature on the socio-economic integration of immigrants highlighted a number of theoretical and methodological approaches developed so far. Despite serious efforts, the bibliographical context for the study of immigrant's socio-economic

integration particularly in Greece remains theoretically marginalised and methodologically limited. At the same time, as the ultimate goal of integration is to eliminate the socio-economic disparities between immigrants and the native population, the indicators provided at the E.U. level enable policy makers, experts and practitioners to compare integration processes and situations over time, and between different social contexts. In our case, however, it is obvious that despite the growing trend of convergence with respect to the use of a common set of indicators, in practice, it is difficult from both an empirical – and a practical perspective in particular – to use the entire set of indicators in a small-scale, bottom-up and non-representative study such as this. Nevertheless, they have provided an invaluable source of information that can assist in providing a robust scientific context for the elaboration of research questions and working hypothesis of this study.

## **Chapter Three: Methodology of Data Collection**

This chapter elaborates in detail on the methodology of the empirical part of the thesis. It begins by defining the methodological approach, the sampling strategy and the research typology. In addition, it presents the population sample and its main characteristics; analyses the sampling method employed and the techniques used for the completion of the questionnaires; and examines the mapping method of geographical distribution for both the spatial distribution of the overall immigrant population legally resident in the Greater Athens area and the sample of the study. Particular emphasis is placed on the analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant groups that constitute the target group of the empirical part of the study and on the elaboration of the reasons that led to the selection of these groups as the most representative immigrant groups in Greece.

### **3.1 Methodological approach**

The particular approach chosen for data collection and analysis – namely quantitative data assembled from personal interviews – was selected in order to construct an index of social integration. The quantitative data are interpreted with the aid of qualitative information obtained through a number of open questions, and supplemented by the numerous prior studies of a qualitative nature. This has the advantage of building upon previous studies, adding a more rigorous quantitative dimension to a relatively understudied area.

As the sampling strategy used (with a constrained total sample size) is probability quota sampling, this has implications for the sample size of some nationality groups by gender. In particular, owing to the extreme gender asymmetry of most immigrant nationalities in Greece, certain ‘citizenship genders’ have samples of only one or two persons.<sup>19</sup> Specifically, these are Eastern European males (Russian, Ukrainian, Moldovan and Georgian) and Asian females (Pakistani and Bangladeshi). These limitations of data reliability are largely bypassed by the methodology adopted of nationality grouping – that is, the similarities between the groups are considered to be sufficient as not to require detailed consideration of individual nationalities. Moreover, the gendered citizenships involved are present in very small numbers in Greece, which is why the sampling strategy also results in very small samples of these.

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<sup>19</sup> See section 3.4 footnotes for details

The study opted for the probability quota sampling method, as this method has the advantage of producing an accurate ‘microcosm’ of the target group (Bryman, 2004, p. 102). The relative proportions of immigrants in different categories, such as gender, nationality and area of residence, and the combinations of these categories, are believed to be an accurate reflection of the immigrant population in West Attica as a whole (Piraeus and Korydallos are part of it). It is acknowledged, however, that even given this method, the greater the heterogeneity within a population, the greater the sample that will be required. In order to overcome this disadvantage and to increase the degree of representativeness of our sample, the choice of respondents followed the probability sampling approach (random sample) so as to allow for a greater degree of generalization with respect to the population.

### **3.2 Defining the research typology**

In this section, the research typology is defined and further elaborated. It draws on the typologies of Heckman (1999; 2006) and Entzinger (2000; 2003) as identified in the in-depth analysis of section 2.3.1. Furthermore, the overall literature review in the previous chapter presents the process by which we arrive at the selection of the two typologies most apt in addressing our research questions. In the author’s view, they are most coherent in illustrating the socio-economic integration of immigrants by adopting both a top-down and a bottom-up perspective. Indeed, they were selected with the purpose to construct the integration indicators that allow their empirical implementation and in a way respond to the research needs of this study.

Holding the central hypothesis as a point of reference while taking into account the challenges and limitations of such an endeavour, the author chose to synthesize a functional model of integration which combines the macro-level approach of Heckmann (indicators) and the micro-level approach of Entzinger (variables). Analytically, we adopted the six indicators that make up the socio-economic integration of Heckmann’s typology (employment, housing/segregation, social interaction, use of language, social and political participation and discrimination/racism), which are enriched with micro-level variables adopted from Entzinger’s typology.

With the combination of the most important elements of both typologies we proceeded to the compilation of Table 12, below, which includes the most appropriate indicators for the measurement of the socio-economic integration of immigrants in local level. An additional integration indicator is included – self-evaluation – not considered by

any of the previously reviewed typologies. This is an added value to our interpretation and understanding of migrant socio-economic integration.

Table 12. Summary of indicators of socio-economic integration

<i>Socio-economic Integration</i>		
<b>INDICATORS</b>	Outcome	
	Positive	Negative
	<b>Employment</b>	Employment: paid work, entrepreneurship
<b>Housing/Spatial Segregation</b>	Housing: quality, residency in mixed neighbourhoods	Low quality of housing – residency in ethnic neighbourhoods
<b>Use of language</b>	Language skills, Formal learning of Greek language	Low language skills, Informal learning of Greek language
<b>Social Interaction</b>	Frequency of contacts with the host society and the country of origin.	Inter-groups/ethnic relations
<b>Social and Political Participation</b>	Positive attitude towards the basic rules of the host country Formal and informal participation	Low level of participation in formal and informal politics – lack of representation Low level of participation in the civil society (participation only in ethnic organizations)
<b>Racism and Discrimination</b>	Low level of perceived racism and discrimination	Discrimination in sectors covered by indicators
<b>*Self-evaluation of integration</b>	Satisfaction with living conditions in Greece Satisfaction with housing conditions in Greece Matching work position with educational level	Low satisfaction with living conditions in Greece Low satisfaction with housing conditions in Greece Mismatch between work position and educational level

Source: Author's compilation

\* Additional indicator, not derived from previous literature, which is added to the analysis

Undoubtedly, the choice of the first six indicators is directly linked to the conclusions drawn from the review in the relevant bibliography while the seventh indicator on self-evaluation adds a new dimension to the integration process. We now proceed to present the method by which we identified our research sample and the process of data collection and analysis.

### 3.3 Identifying the sample population

The field research of this study was conducted from June 2010 to November 2010, and includes legally residing immigrants in the Greater Athens area (the municipalities of Piraeus

and Korydallos). These municipalities provided a list with 10,243 immigrants resident in their domains. This population was used to derive a much smaller sample of 270 immigrant respondents. The delineation of the sampling frame was done through the method of quota sampling. The sampling method used was that of stratified random sampling using nationality and gender as criteria of stratification. It is described in detail in section 3.4 below. The research tool was a structured questionnaire, completed in face-to-face interviews to be described in detail in section 3.5.

This study assumes that the extent of the integration process differs in many ways from one ethnic group to another. It was for this reason that it was deemed necessary to compare between different ethno-cultural immigrant groups which come from different geographical and cultural contexts, and also represent distinct immigration models, e.g., family migration, female immigration and male immigration.

Although we decided to group the respondents based on certain shared characteristics (e.g., geographical areas of origin, gendered migration patterns and historical ties with Greece), it is broadly acknowledged that there are great and far-reaching differences within the Asian and East European groups. As elsewhere, Asians living in Greece today represent a variety of religious, national and cultural backgrounds. Though most are single men at a productive age, their linguistic background and ethnic and religious belonging greatly differ. East Europeans in Greece, meanwhile, represent a mosaic of minorities and languages, often different from their country's official language or dominant ethnic group. While Russians, Ukrainians, Moldovans and Georgians may largely share some degree of proficiency in Russian, this is perhaps more a product of the educational system in the former communist regimes. The use of diverse mother tongues persists within these countries and in Greece. However, given the specific characteristics of the immigrant population in Greece, the differences between the three chosen nationality groups are thought to be considerably greater than difference within each group.

The sample comprises 270 immigrant respondents. Sixty-five per cent are Albanian, 25 per cent are from Asia (Pakistan, India and Bangladesh) and ten per cent originate from countries of Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Georgia, Russia and Moldova). The following sub-chapters present the main characteristics of the above-mentioned immigrant communities.

### **3.3.1 Albanian immigrants in Greece**

The largest immigrant flows in Greece come from a single country, Albania. During the 1998 regularisation process, expatriates from at least 120 countries applied. Albania dominated the list since 65 per cent of applicants were Albanian. A number of factors led Albanians to emigrate to neighbouring Greece, in search of better living conditions. The Albanian economy was underdeveloped (both during the years of the communist rule and after the end of the regime) and in a prolonged transition, whereas the Greek state offered expatriates from southern Albania the possibility to obtain citizenship through naturalization.

In 2005, according to Albanian government data, 600,000 Albanians lived in Greece – constituting the largest Albanian ethnic community in Europe. Based on other data (Baldwin-Edwards and Kolios, 2008), in 2007 out of 220,000 foreigners of all ages born in Greece, 110,000 were of Albanian nationality. The Labour Force Survey (2011) estimated the number of Albanians at 449,706, which represents 57 per cent of the total immigrant population (79,431 in total) and 5 per cent of the total Greek population (Triandafyllidou and Marouf, 2012).

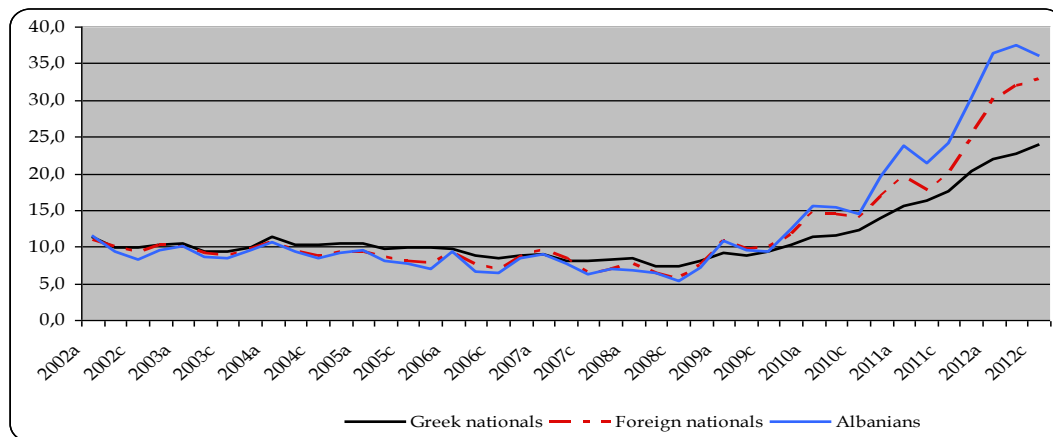
During the 1990s, immigration from Albania was predominantly irregular, the only ways for legal entry into the country being either through obtaining a tourist visa, or through the family reunification process. Despite their irregular entry and stay in Greece and the mass deportations that took place during the 1990s, a great number of Albanian immigrants returned to Greece. From 1991 to 1998, the period during which there were high immigration flows to Greece and especially from Albania, Presidential Decree 359/1997 entered into force, introducing the first regularization programme for irregular immigrants in Greece. During the first phase of its implementation, two-thirds (241,561) of immigrants who were regularized were from Albania.

The efforts to regularize the immigrant population along with the branding of deportations as ‘irregular’ resulted in the decrease of irregular circular immigration from Albania. Furthermore, the stricter border controls associated with immigrants and the insistence of the Greek state that immigrants contribute to social insurance, contributed to the permanent stay of Albanian immigrants in Greece (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004b, p. 62). During the first years, immigrants were mostly men, and were later followed by their spouses and children. Since 1999, the Greek state found itself facing a new reality, that of the long-term presence of an immigrant population in the country; thus, it adopted Laws 2910/2001 and 3386/2005. It also adopted new regularization programmes and focused on issues of the social integration of immigrants, which gave rise to the issue of designing integration

policies. With the 2001 Law, 67,000 residence permits for family reunification were granted by the Greek state (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004c). Official data showed that in 2004, there were in Greece over 400,000 adult Albanians, approximately 100,000 Albanian students and 200,000 Greek co-ethnics from Albania. In particular, regarding the Greek co-ethnics living in Greece, one of the two dominant categories of that population is from Albania. A great number have acquired Greek citizenship. It is estimated that the number of foreigners who live in Greece with this special status (Greek co-ethnics) is 217,000. Of these, 206,000 are expatriates from Albania. This number presents a decreasing trend because of a new Greek state policy to grant Greek citizenship to Albanian co-ethnics (Tsioukas, 2009, p. 51).

The arrival of the economic crisis in Greece in 2010 deeply impacted on the economic and social conditions of Albanian migrants. According to the Hellenic Statistical Authority Labour Force Survey data (2012) the Albanian migrant population in Greece has declined from early 2010 onward, for the first time in the last twenty years. Having said that, Figure 5 shows the average unemployment rate at 18.2 per cent in July 2011, up by 6 per cent over one year, and since 2009, the unemployment level of non-EU immigrants – and of Albanians in particular – has been far higher than that of Greek nationals (Hellenic Statistical Authority, Labour Force Survey data, 2012).

Figure 5. Unemployment rates by nationality group, 2002-2012



Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority, Labour Force Survey (2012)

Under these circumstances, it is difficult for Albanian migrants to find work and to purchase the insurance stamps required in order to renew their permit of stay. As a result, what many migrants actually suffer from is the reverse process of regularization – de-regularization. Those who become unemployed, or fail to acquire a long-term stay permit, are



often left to their fate, despite most having resided in the country for over 15 years, often with children born and raised in Greece.

A glance at the database of stay permits of the Greek Ministry of Interior (2012) shows that in December 2012 there were 300,839 Albanian stay permit holders, out of a total of 440,118 foreigners registered in the database (Table 13).

Table 13. Valid stay permits, as of December, 2005-2012

Year	Citizenship					
	Albanians	%	Other foreign nationals	%	Total foreign population	%
2005	301,622	67	150,497	33	452,119	100
2006	375,053	68	172,454	32	547,507	100
2007	408,431	69	180,655	31	589,086	100
2008	414,153	70	178,473	30	592,626	100
2009	429,683	70	181,126	30	610,809	100
2010	419,188	70	177,053	30	596,241	100
2011	406,993	70	175,119	30	582,112	100
2012	300,839	68	139,279	32	440,118	100

Source: Ministry of Interior

Table 13 shows that the highest number of valid stay permits held by Albanian immigrants was recorded in 2009 (429,683), while in 2012 their numbers reached the lowest level (300,839). Compared to previous years, the number of documented Albanian migrants gradually declined with respect to the total immigrant population in Greece in 2010 and 2011. The figures for 2012 stood at 300,839, which signals a decrease of 128,191 compared with previous years.

The fall in the number of registered Albanian immigrants matches no reasonable explanation – it cannot, for instance be attributed to the number of Albanians granted Greek citizenship under older and more recent legislative initiatives (e.g., Law 3838/2010). According to the data of the Greek Ministry of Interior (2015), only 7,791 Albanian citizens (of the second generation) out of a total of 10,145 foreign nationals, have been granted Greek citizenship, in the time period of 20/3/2010 to 22/08/2012. Therefore, we can make the assumption that the decrease in the number of regular Albanian migrants concerns the category of migrants who have lapsed from regular status to an irregular one. However, fewer stay permits do not necessarily imply that Albanian immigrants have left the country. In fact, some, who even though unable to meet employment and welfare payment requirements for permit renewal, may have lost their legal status but still remain in Greece. It is interesting to

see how the ‘map’ of residence permit categories has been changed during the past two years. Table 14, below, shows a slight increase in the number of long-term residence permits, especially in the number of 10-year residence permits and long-term residence permits, while the number of new permits for dependent and non-dependent work is nil.

Table 14. Long and short-term stay permits issued

Category	2010	2011	2012
Indefinite Duration (L.3386/05, art. 91, par. 2)	22,174	22,141	22,099
10-year duration	23,333	28,295	49,780
Long-term resident (L.3731/08, article 40, par.7)	267	442	578
Dependent work (L.3386/05 K.Y.A..21535/7-11-2006)	1,758	3	0
Independent economic activity (L.3386/05 K.Y.A.21535/7-11-2006)	41	0	0

Source: Greek Ministry of Interior

The application of the long-term validity of stay permits recently adopted by the Greek government, albeit with significant delay, grants Albanian immigrants the opportunity to return to Albania or to move elsewhere (within the Schengen area) with the option to regularly return to Greece when work is available. In contrast, Albanian migrants with temporary stay permits actually face difficulties in renewing their stay permits due to unemployment and financial difficulties in Greece. The relaxation of visa rules between the EU and Albania, which allows only for short-term stay (three months) and informal, seasonal work, provides no further employment rights.

The Social Security Organization in Greece (2012) provides a detailed picture of the employment situation of Albanian immigrants under the dependent employment/work status. In December 2012, Albanian immigrants represented 5.03 per cent of all insured people to IKA and nearly half of all insured foreigners (Table 15).

Table 15. The percentage of insured workers (2007-2012)

Citizenship	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Greek	86.3	86.3	86.65	86.6	87.6	90.68
Albanian	7.3	7.3	6.9	6.7	6.1	5.03
Other	6.4	6.4	6.45	6.7	6.3	4.29
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Social Security Organization (IKA)

Compared to previous years, the number of insured Albanian migrants gradually declined in 2010 and 2011 with figures for 2012 standing at 5.03 per cent, a decrease of over two per cent compared to 2007. As previously mentioned, the economic recession has hit hardest the construction sector, which largely employs Albanian immigrants. According to Social Security Organization (2012) in 2007 approximately 50 per cent of insured Albanian immigrants registered were employed in construction and only 16 per cent in manufacturing. In 2011, only 22.5 per cent of Albanians were working in the construction sector and the rest mainly in the tourism sector, followed by manufacturing. For the first half of 2012 the average employment of Albanians in the construction sector is no more than 20 per cent (Social Security Organization, 2012).

Of course, the total number of Albanian irregular migrants cannot be aggregated from these data alone. Besides, the above numbers do not indicate a real outflow but rather a strong trend towards de-regularization occurring during the last few years. However, analyzing the quantitative data provided by state institutions involved in immigration management allows us to solidify the regular resident population of Albanians and therefore make a case for the irregular ones.

### **3.3.2 Immigrants from Asia (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh)**

In the 1980s we have, for the first time, the appearance of non-European immigrants (mainly from Asia and Africa) in Greece, as a result of labour force shortages, especially in the mining sector, which opened the labour market for the entry of foreign unskilled workers into the country (Kotzamanis, 2008, p. 13). Immigrants from Asia and Africa were employed mainly in the sectors of construction, agriculture and domestic service. Since 1995, there has been an increased immigration flow from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Mainly as a result of the underdevelopment of these countries, the political upheavals that take place there, but also as a result of environmental changes, a great number of immigrants come from Asia and Africa. In December 2012, from the total of 440,118 non-EU citizens who lived permanently in Greece, almost 30,000 people were citizens of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh (Greek Ministry of Interior, 2012).

The main characteristics of the immigration flows coming from these countries are: (a) the under-representation of women (out of the total of foreign men who live in Greece, the Pakistani population is the second most prevalent group, at 8.63 per cent after Albanians); and (b) high irregular immigration, either in the form of illegal entry into the country or violation of the terms of the residence permit (most frequently because of overstay). Based on

data provided by the Greek police, in the period 2006-2008, 353,940 arrests of irregular immigrants were made. Of these, 13,997 were immigrants from Pakistan and 4,200 from Bangladesh (Tsioukas, 2009, p. 56).<sup>20</sup>

It is currently estimated that there are 130,000 Asians living in Greece. The community's representatives claim the Pakistani community is about three times larger in size compared to the 24,488 recorded by the Labour Force Survey in the fourth quarter of 2012. The Indian community (12,000 to 15,000) is also larger than the 10,806 people who held residence permits in 2012 (Greek Ministry of Interior, 2012). The Bangladeshi community appears to be more than double (at least 12,000), compared to the 5,025 people who held residence permits in the same year (ibid).

Mostly, Asian immigrants are employed in the low skill and low cost sectors of the economy: agriculture, construction, textiles, services and trade. Pakistanis work mainly in the textile processing industry, in the construction sector and in the service sector (e.g., auto repair shops, petrol stations). At the same time, the presence of Pakistanis has increased in internet cafes and in telecommunication centres. The majority of Pakistanis (90 per cent) who work in the craft industry, are living in Athens, while Pakistanis who work on farms live in the area of Marathon, in the prefectures of Attica, Viotia, and Evia, but also with significant numbers in other prefectures (Tonchev, 2007).

The employment sectors where Pakistanis are employed in Greece have changed over the years. Initially, during the first years of their presence in Greece in the late 1970s, and because of their socio-economic characteristics, they were mainly engaged in agriculture and textiles (Yousef, 2013). They also met the country's need for blasters in the shipbuilding sector. Their employment conditions are characterized by long working hours, low salaries and even social or physical isolation (Leghari, 2009, p. 6).

On the other hand, the Indians who are residing in the urban areas of Athens, in the municipalities of Agios Ioannis Renti and Tavros, while the majority are located in the wider area of Attica (e.g. in Marathon and Megara), in Viotia (Thiva and Oinofyta), in Piraeus (in the island of Poros), in Argolis and works in farms and fish hatcheries. Finally, Bangladeshis mostly live in Athens (90 per cent) and work mainly in retail and catering.

With regard to the social profile of Asians in Greece, a very significant issue is their marital status; due to the fact that the majority of Asians in Greece are men, those enjoying a

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<sup>20</sup> Although the number of illegal immigrants in Greece is not easy to obtain, it is estimated that in 2008, 172,250-209,402 irregular immigrants resided in Greece (Lianos *et al.*, 2008)

family life are very few. During the last two years, there was a significant decrease in the proportion of those with full-time employment. The lack of employment is one of the main reasons that make Asian immigrants leave the country. Meanwhile, their work remains low-status and without insurance because legal immigrants, especially during periods of economic crisis, are considered 'expensive' and less 'desirable' since employers in many cases are reluctant to pay their social security contributions (Yousef, 2013). At the same time, there are some legal immigrants who maintain their grocery stores and restaurants in the centre of Athens and their call centres in the area of Piraeus (Lazarescu and Broersma, 2010, p. 399). In the last two years, the only form of legal entry into the country for Pakistanis has been through family reunification (Yousef, 2013). According to Maroukis (2008), the purpose of the adopted policy is to curb immigration flows, as they burden the country economically in a period of economic crisis.

Finally, Asian immigrants come from specific areas, bringing with them social and cultural standards, which are unknown to Greek citizens. Also, immigrants from Asia belong to various religious denominations, on which Greek society is not sufficiently informed. Being 'recognizable' in appearance and culturally, Asian immigrants are in a particularly difficult position and face several difficulties in their social integration.

### **3.3.3 Immigrants from Eastern Europe (Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova)**

The political changes in Eastern Europe led to an immigrant influx from the countries of the region in the mid-1980s. The Polish were the first group to settle in Greece, followed by immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania. The political upheavals of 1989-1991 intensified immigration from these countries. One of the most important and largest immigration flows in the history of Greece came from Eastern Europe. Out of the 440,118 non-EU citizens who resided legally in Greece in December 2010 under the status provided by Law 3386/2005, 16,698 were Ukrainian, 13,596 Georgian, 11,772 Russian and 9,266 Moldavian. From the 120,000 residence permits granted to EU citizens, 38,382 were granted to Bulgarians, 38,469 to Romanians and 11,299 to Polish nationals (Greek Ministry of Interior, 2012). Contrary to the initial increase in the inflow of citizens from Bulgaria, Romania and Poland, as a result of these countries' accession to the EU, in the last two years the number of immigrants from those countries has significantly decreased owing to the economic crisis and lack of jobs.

Regarding Greek co-ethnics who live in these areas, the first significant wave of repatriation was observed during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, mainly due to the appearance of nationalist movements in the wider area of the Balkan region. After the signing

of the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, Greeks from Bulgaria and from the areas that were ceded to Bulgaria and Serbia returned to Greece, while the displacement of the Greek population from Albania and Romania continued until 1920. At this time the first immigrant flow arrived in Greece from Russia; due to the occupation of many Russian provinces by the Turks, the Russian revolution, and the announcement of the annexation of Macedonia, many Greeks who lived in the wider areas of the Caucasus moved to Greece. During the post war years, there was a large flow of repatriation from the USSR, and nowadays the Greeks from the former Soviet Union are the second numerically dominant category of repatriates in the country. Overall, it is estimated that the number of foreigners who live in Greece under the repatriate status is 217,000 people. Of these, 8,000 come from the former Soviet Union (Tsioukas, 2009, p. 51).

It should be noted that women from these countries appear to constitute up to 80 per cent of overall migration flows over the last twenty years in Greece. As Cavounidi (2003) has pointed out, this trend reflects not only autonomous female mobility, but also demonstrates that the migration pattern of East Europeans to Greece is shaped by gender. The majority of these women migrate independently as heads of their family, and then apply for family reunification. They are usually over-represented in vulnerable work positions (Ventura, 2009, p. 30) and are typically excluded from the formal and legally guaranteed labour market. It has also been observed that women leave their children and husbands back home.

The gender gap seems to have grown in recent years, a development that has been linked to the position of women in the labour market, since the areas where men are employed, such as construction, have been affected more by the economic crisis, compared to the domestic service sector where the majority of women are employed (Marouf, 2013). This has led to an extremely high unemployment rate of 70 per cent for men from Eastern European countries, while the respective percentage for women is significantly lower, namely 22 per cent (E.E.D.A., 2012).

The forms that women's immigration takes today are a result of both the deregulation of the welfare state and the development of the international division of labour. The deregulation of the welfare state and the increasing access of women into the labour market have created a number of vacant domestic service positions, which were filled by immigrant women, from Eastern Europe in particular (Psimmenos, 2006, p. 164).

### 3.4 The selection of the sample and its characteristics

The quota sampling method was applied for the purposes of the delineation of the sampling frame. In line with this method, a representative sample based on criteria of nationality and gender was constructed.

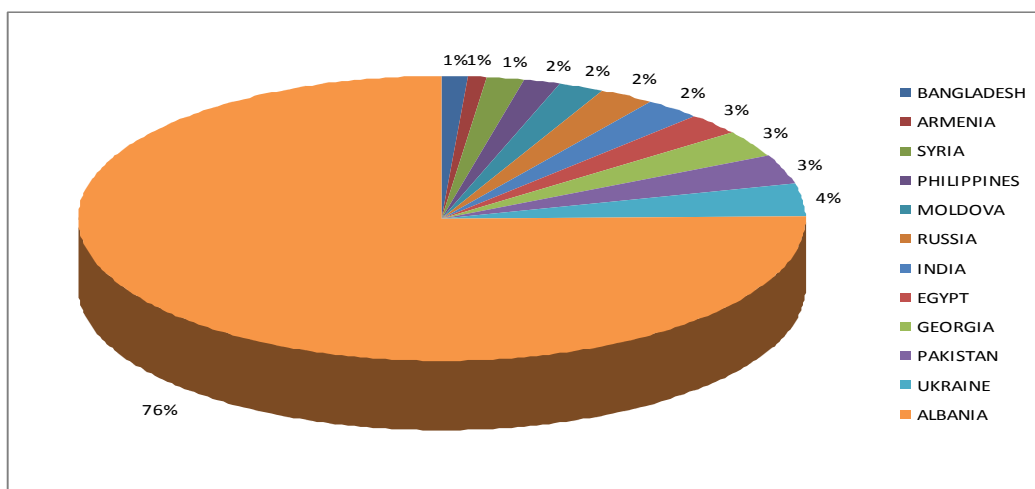
It is in this context the author requested from the Department for Migration Policy of the Ministry of Interior in February 2010 that they provide statistical data on the characteristics of the immigration population in Greece, as well as relevant population data for the Attica Prefecture. Their response was positive and provided us with the necessary data regarding the distribution of legally residing third-country immigrants by country of origin, gender, age group and type of residence permit in the Greek territory, and according to region and immigrant department.

In total, the number of legal immigrants who held valid residence permits on 8 February 2010 was 518,675 people, while the number of residence permit renewals granted was 85,452. The data have are presented below, by nationality and gender all of Greece, the region of Attica, and West Attica and Piraeus. The last sub-region is the geographical area where we conducted our empirical research.

#### 3.4.1 Demographic profile of the immigrant population

As illustrated in the chart below (Figure 6), Albanian immigrants constitute the majority of the total immigrant population, namely over 70 per cent. They are concentrated in the Attica region (Figure 7).

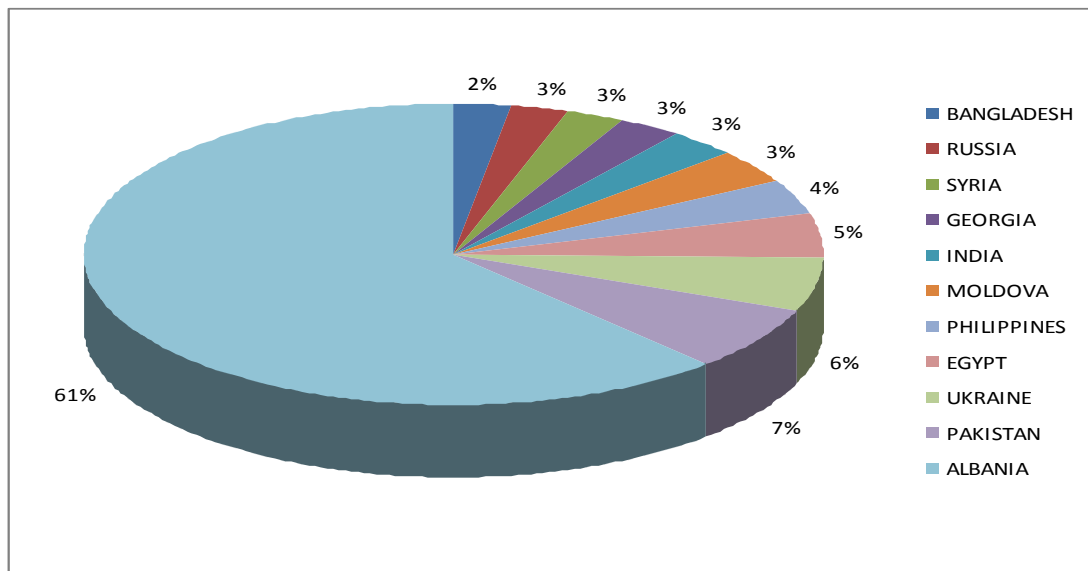
Figure 6. Overall immigrant population in Greece



Source: Greek Ministry of Interior, 2010

What is also interesting is the distribution of the immigrant population according to gender. There are significantly more men than women. The proportion of males in the Albanian population residing in Greece is 75 per cent. The Albanian female population constitutes 66 per cent of the total female immigrant population in Greece.

Figure 7. Overall immigrant population in the Attica region

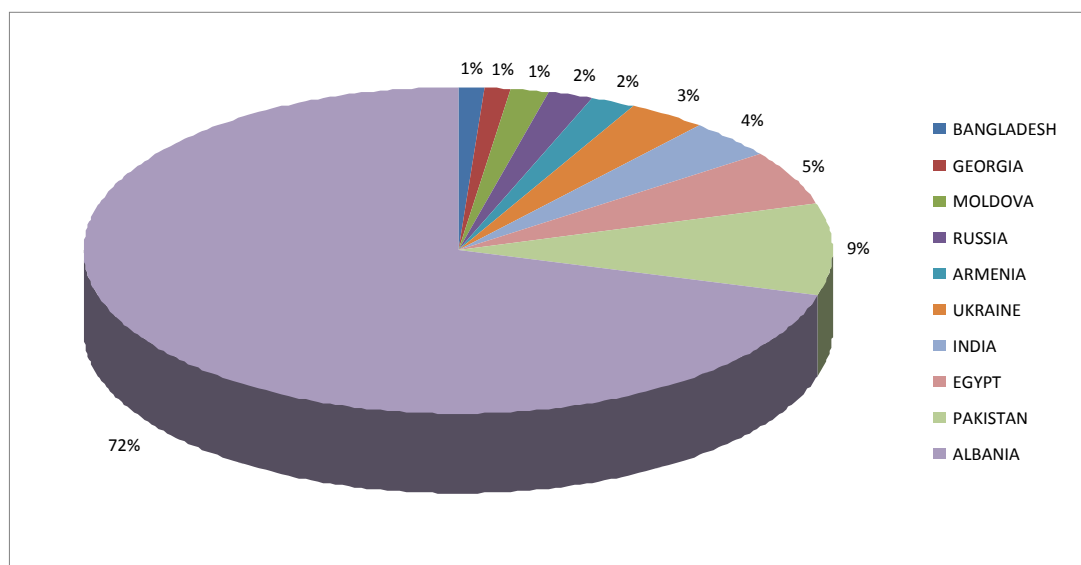


Source: Greek Ministry of Interior, 2010

When we focus on the composition of the immigrant population within the boundaries of Western Attica and Piraeus, we find that the percentage of Albanians is slightly reduced (67 per cent) compared to their percentage in the country as a whole. However, this change does not significantly affect the existing ethnic 'balances' (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Overall immigrant population in Western Attica and Piraeus



Source: Greek Ministry of Interior, 2010

The government registers provided the sampling frame. A quota sampling method was applied taking into account the distribution of immigration groups throughout Greece and in the geographical areas of interest, i.e., Piraeus and Korydallos.

**Greece (N=518,675)**

- 1<sup>st</sup> group: Albanians (71 per cent)
- 2<sup>nd</sup> group: Asians: Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi (7 per cent)
- 3<sup>rd</sup> group: East Europeans: Ukrainians, Russians, Moldavians and Georgians (11 per cent)

**West Attica Unit (N=34,745) (incl. Piraeus and Korydallos)**

- 1<sup>st</sup> group: Albanians (67 per cent)
- 2<sup>nd</sup> group: Asians: Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis (14 per cent)
- 3<sup>rd</sup> group: East Europeans: Ukrainians, Russians, Moldavians and Georgians (8 per cent)

Given the fact that the sampling frame is defined geographically in the Greater Athens area (Piraeus and Korydallos), we structured a sample that is representative of the percentage of nationality division of the total immigrant population in West Attica.

### 3.5 Sampling method

The available sampling frame of our research lists comprises  $N=10,243$  immigrants; 7,664 of them live in the municipality of Piraeus, while the other 2,599 live in the municipality of Korydallos. According to the general principles of good sampling practice, the statistical ideal population sample is  $n=1,500$  people because the margin of error is only 5 per cent. The reduction of the population sample to  $n=500$  people would increase the margin of error to 10 per cent. In our case, however, due to financial and time constraints, the population sample is set at  $n=270$  people, recognizing the disadvantage of this choice as it increases the margin of error to 15 per cent. This means that the sub-populations of our sample that are below the threshold of 15 per cent are considered statistically insignificant.

According to the above data, the methodological sample of our study was the Stratified Random Sampling with stratification criteria: the citizenship and the gender.

Regarding the second part of the random sampling, the sample was obtained from a uniform list-frame, as described above, in such a way that by the end of the successive choices each non elected unit had an equal chance with the other units to be elected in the next round. The representative subset - our sample of 270 people - is nothing but a 'random subset' of the total population, according to the method of quota sampling.

Regarding the way we reached the randomness, the random sample was limited to the implementation of the systematic sampling so that each element of the population may have the same probability of being included in the final sample of 270 people. However, in order to practically apply the random selection of the sample, the sampling frame should not to be configured according to a variable. Therefore, we used random selection in order to have the same probability of selection for each person.

The mathematical equation used for the sampling was done through random numbers, a method that guarantees the 'randomness' of the choice because it is constructed in such a way as to be consistent with the mathematical definition of randomness through a systematic process. In particular, in order to form a sample of  $n$  units from  $N$  population size in the systematic sampling, we worked as shown below:

a) We chose an interval size of  $K=N/n$

a) Randomly selected a number between 1 and  $K$  and then took every  $K$ th number

b) The sample consists of the elements of the population with numbers 1,  $1+K$ ,  $1+2K, \dots, 1+(-1)K$

Finally, the proportional allocation of the sample in the two study areas was done as below: from the immigration list/record of the municipality of Piraeus 2.5 per cent of the total sampling frame was chosen, which includes n=195 people/immigrants. Similarly, in the municipality of Korydallos, 2.5 per cent of the total available sampling frame was chosen (n=65 immigrants).

The final sample was formed as below:

TOTAL SAMPLE =270 PEOPLE

1<sup>ST</sup> GROUP: ALBANIAN IMMIGRANTS: 65% (174 PEOPLE); 74 WOMEN (42%); 101 MEN (58%)

ALBANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF PIRAEUS: 75% (131 PEOPLE); 55 WOMEN (42%); 76 MEN (58%).

ALBANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF KORYDALLOS: 25% (43 PEOPLE); 18 WOMEN (42%); 25 MEN (58%).

2<sup>ND</sup> GROUP: EASTERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS: 10% (28 PEOPLE); 20 WOMEN<sup>21</sup> (80%); 8 MEN<sup>22</sup> (20%).

EASTERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF PIRAEUS: 75% (19 PEOPLE); 15 WOMEN<sup>23</sup> (79%); 4 MEN<sup>24</sup> (21%).

EASTERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF KORYDALLOS: 25% (9 PEOPLE); 5 WOMEN<sup>25</sup> (56%); 4 MEN<sup>26</sup> (44%).

3<sup>RD</sup> GROUP: ASIAN IMMIGRANTS: 25% (68 PEOPLE); 7 WOMEN<sup>27</sup> (8%); 61 MEN<sup>28</sup> (92%).

ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF PIRAEUS: 75% (50 PEOPLE); 5 WOMEN<sup>29</sup> (10%); 45 MEN<sup>30</sup> (90%).

ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF KORYDALLOS: 25% (18 PEOPLE); 2 WOMEN<sup>31</sup> (11%); 16 MEN<sup>32</sup> (89%).

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<sup>21</sup>7 Russia, 4 Ukraine, 5 Georgia, 4 Moldova

<sup>22</sup>2 Russia, 2 Ukraine, 2 Moldova, 2 Georgia

<sup>23</sup>5 Russia, 3 Ukraine, 4 Georgia, 3 Moldova

<sup>24</sup>1 Russia, 1 Ukraine, 1 Moldova, 1 Georgia

<sup>25</sup>2 Russia, 1 Moldova, 1 Georgia, 1 Ukraine

<sup>26</sup>1 Russia, 1 Ukraine, 1 Moldova, 1 Georgia

<sup>27</sup>2 Pakistan, 2 Bangladesh, 3 India

<sup>28</sup>14 Bangladesh, 37 Pakistan, 10 India

<sup>29</sup>2 Pakistan, 1 Bangladesh, 2 India

<sup>30</sup>27 Pakistan, 10 Bangladesh, 8 India

<sup>31</sup>1 Bangladesh, 1 India

<sup>32</sup>4 Bangladesh, 10 Pakistan, 2 India

### 3.5.1 Replacements/Cancellations

The non-response (5 per cent)<sup>33</sup> of some immigrants in the municipality of Piraeus during the empirical research led to the reduction of the final sample to n= 260 people. In these cases, the following method was implemented: after the refusal of some immigrants to answer the questions or after the non-validation of their contact information<sup>34</sup> and after three fruitless replacements, we thought that the random selection was failed and then decided to cancel the all order. Two Albanian women from the municipality of Piraeus refused to answer the questions. Thus, instead of 55 interviews with Albanian women in Piraeus, we finally held 53 interviews – minus two from the initial estimation. The reason in the first case was the woman's refusal to answer the questions, while in the second case it was the non-validity of the phone number. Also, from the 76 men who were initially planned to be interviewed, only 68 interviews were conducted because three of them did not answer the questions while five had problems with their contact information (telephone numbers). This is due to the old immigration lists that exist in the municipality of Piraeus (2009), compared to the new immigration lists of the municipality of Korydallos (2010).

The percentage of replacement is 18 per cent of the total sampling<sup>35</sup>. The method applied was the following: when the telephone numbers were not valid or the immigrants refused to respond, the replacement was done with the choice of the next two immigrants in the list<sup>36</sup>. In total, 13 per cent of the replacement was done in Piraeus<sup>37</sup> and 5 per cent (two men: one Pakistani and one Indian) in the municipality of Korydallos.

The empirical research was conducted between June and November 2010. In the first two weeks of June the pilot research was implemented. It demonstrated the weaknesses of the questionnaire structure and some questions' wording, as well as communication problems with the target groups. Subsequently, in consultations with the supervisors the relevant corrections and modifications were made.

The communication process was formed according to the steps below:

1. Telephone contact. In case of difficulties, we were assisted by people who spoke the language of each target group; here we refer to the case of the Asian immigrants.
2. If the telephone numbers were not valid, proceed with the method described above.

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<sup>33</sup> The highest permitted margin of cancellation

<sup>34</sup> The alien list of the Municipality of Piraeus is from 2009. Thus, some of the contact details may not be valid.

<sup>35</sup> The highest permitted margin of replacement for the sample to remain representative is 20 per cent of the total sample.

<sup>36</sup> The same gender and ethnicity

<sup>37</sup> From the 16 people, 6 of them were East Europeans (4 women and 2 men), 7 Albanians (4 women and 3 men) and 3 Asian men (2 Pakistanis and 1 Bangladeshi).

3. Appointments and meetings with immigrants in different places (home, neighbourhood, coffee shops and restaurants).
4. Interviews – questionnaire.

### **3.6 Questionnaire techniques**

For the data collection, a structured questionnaire with closed questions was used<sup>38</sup>. This questionnaire is addressed to the immigrants and records their opinion on the domains below:

- Employment
- Housing conditions
- Level of Greek language knowledge
- Social interaction
- Social and political participation
- General self-evaluation
- Racism and discrimination<sup>39</sup>

The questionnaire was completed by the author of this study, who conducted face-to-face interviews with the immigrant groups. These were selected randomly from the available immigrant lists of the municipalities of Piraeus and Korydallos. The interviewees provided personal information, with some exceptions, mostly where information concerned the family as a whole (e.g., with housing-related questions).

With the primary objective of gathering the required information with accuracy and validity, a particular emphasis was given to the creation of trust and to the building of spirit of cooperation with the target groups. In this context, I was assisted by officials at the Immigration Office of the Municipality of Korydallos and individuals from the target groups, especially Asians who expressed their readiness (voluntarily) to help in the building of confidence and to facilitate the communication with the target group given the linguistic difficulties that characterize this specific group in their use of the Greek language. Their contribution proved particularly valuable in the case of Piraeus where the immigration lists were from 2009 and this fact reduced the validity of some communication data.

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<sup>38</sup> The design of the questionnaire was based on the nationwide survey titled: «The definition of indicators for the assessment of third country nationals' integration into the Greek society» 2009-2010. For further details see <http://emmedia.pspa.uoa.gr/research/research/html>

<sup>39</sup> The indicator of racism and discrimination was incorporated horizontally into the various indicators of the questionnaire.

The success of the research depends on the ability of the interviewer to gather reliable information. This information should describe accurately the immigrant's views as conveyed during the interview. At the same time, a key issue in our case was the adoption of an impartial and neutral stance from the part of the interviewer – especially when the interviewer comes from the target group ('an insider') – in order to not affect, judge and influence the interviewees' responses. Also, the interviewer explained the context of the research in detail (what exactly was required from the interviewees and the purpose of the research). Finally, it became clear to the interviewees that the survey data were confidential<sup>40</sup> and their collection was done exclusively for research and scientific purposes.

### 3.6.1 Type of questions/answers

The basic requirement for the optimal recording of the target group's views in the questionnaire was the correct understanding of the question's content by the immigrants. For this reason it was considered necessary to use mixed questions/answers that have been successfully used in other, similar surveys (Kontis and Bezevengis, 2011). We present below the type of questions/answers according to which we formulated our study's questionnaire.

✓ Questions to complete

**Example:** *When did you first come to Greece? [state the year]*

Answer: 1|9|9|2|

✓ Codified Answer

**Example:** *Residence status;*

Answer: |2|

The interviewer, based on the answer of the respondent, identifies the appropriate code from the relative table and fills in the corresponding field.

<b>Column 11:</b> Blue Paper Certificate with Photo - Veveosi=1, Dependent Work Residence Permit=2, Residence Permit for Independent Economic Activity=3, Seasonal Work=4, 10-year Residence Permit=5, Long-term Residence Permit=6, Residence Permit for Family Reunification=7, Parent of Greek Citizen=8, Student Residence Permit=9, Spouse of a Greek Citizen=10,
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<sup>40</sup> According to the provisions of the Law 3267/1956 and 2392/1996

✓ 'Yes' or 'No' Answers

**Example:** *Do you think that your job position respond to your studies?*

Answer: 1|| Yes 2||No

✓ Scaled questions

**Example:**

	Not at all								Very well
Gl. 1.1 <i>How well do you understand the Greek language?</i>	1  <input type="checkbox"/>	2  <input type="checkbox"/>	3  <input type="checkbox"/>	4  <input type="checkbox"/>	5  <input type="checkbox"/>	6  <input type="checkbox"/>	7  <input type="checkbox"/>	8  <input type="checkbox"/>	9  <input type="checkbox"/>

In this type of questions, responses were ranked on a continuum scale from 1 to 9. The left part of the scale represents the negative answer while the right part of the scale the positive one. The respondents are encouraged by the interviewer to concretize their views, using the two parts of the scale as a benchmark. It should be clarified at this point that in the 9-point measurement scale (1=not at all, and 8-9=very much), the individual points are grouped as follows: the low rating takes the grade 2-3, the moderate ranking the grade 4-5, and the maximum rating the grade 6-7 in each of the individual variables.

✓ Multiple choice questions

**Example:** HD.10. *How did you find your current residence?*

HD.10.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	From relatives
HD.10.2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	From friends
HD.10.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	From associations, organizations and churches
HD.10.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	From newspaper articles
HD.10.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	From agencies
HD.10.6	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	A friend of mine lived in this apartment
HD.10.7	<input type="checkbox"/>	I was living in the same neighbourhood
HD.10.8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other

In these questions, multiple answers are provided, from which the respondents may choose one or more, depending on their experience. The interviewer, depending on the answer of the respondent, ticks the relevant box. In the case that the available option does not correspond to the answer or the respondent volunteers to provide additional information

on the question, the interviewer may tick the 'other' box and record the answer. This also provides room for collecting supplementary qualitative data to aid the interpretation of the quantitative figures.

✓ Open questions

**Example:**

HD.7 *Except from your primary residence, have you bought or rented another residence in Greece or in your country of origin? If yes:*

1. In which area/city?  
.....
2. The type of current use (rental, ownership, etc.)?  
.....

✓ 'Filter' questions

**Example:** HD.3 *The family's primary residence in Greece is:*

HD.3.1	Rented -> HD.5
HD.3.2	Ownership without any financial obligation (loan, mortgage, etc.); -> HD.4

If the respondent answer to the question HD.3 is 'rented', then the questionnaire continues with the question HD.5. In these cases, the arrow (→) indicates the number of the next question.

### 3.6.2 Questionnaire structure and the method of empirical data collection

This section presents the key indicators on which the questionnaire was constructed and gives special explanations on the questions in each indicator separately.

#### 3.6.2.1 Demographic data

In the first part of the questionnaire we have collected the basic demographic characteristics of the individual and their data on citizenship, legal status and duration of residence in Greece.



2	__	Sex
3	__ __ __ __	Year of birth
4	__	Marital status
5	__	Educational level (on the process)
6	__	Educational completed
7	__ __	Citizenship
8	__ __	Second Citizenship (if available)
9	__ __ __ __	When did you first come to Greece?
10	__ __	How many years are you living in Greece?
11	__ __	Residency Status

The answers were completed according to the below codification:

<b>Column 2:</b> Male=1, Female=2
<b>Column 4</b> Single=1, Married=2, Widowed=3, Divorced or Separated=4
<b>Column 5:</b> None=0, Kindergarten=1, Primary school=2, Middle school (Gymnasio)=3, High School (Lykeion)=4, Technical Vocational Training School (TEE)=5, Vocational Training Institutes=6, Technological Educational Institutes=7, Higher Education Institutes, Military Schools=8, Post-graduate Studies (MSc, MBA)=9, Doctoral Studies (PhD)=10
<b>Column 6:</b> Not attending school=1, Not completed primary school=2, Primary School certificate=3, Middle School certificate=4, High School diploma=5, Degree TEL, TES =6, Degree IEK=7, Degree TEI=8, University Degree (Ptychio)=9, Masters' Degree=10, PhD=11
<b>Columns 7 - 8:</b> Albanian=1, Pakistani=2, Indian=3, Bangladeshi=4, Russian=5, Moldavian=6, Georgian=7, Ukrainian=8, Greek=9, Other=10
<b>Column 11:</b> The Blue Paper Certificate with photograph - Veveosi=1, Dependent Work Residence Permit=2, Residence Permit for Independent Economic Activity=3, Residence Permit for Seasonal Work=4, 10-year Residence Permit=5, Long-term Residence Permit=6, Residence Permit for Family Reunification=7, Parent of Greek Citizen=8, Student Residence Permit=9, Spouse of a Greek Citizen=10.

### 3.6.2.2 Employment

Despite the fact that in this research study employment is not included as a separate indicator but is rather given the overall structural importance of employment in socio-economic integration, it was considered necessary for the collection of basic key elements of the employment or unemployment of immigrants. Thus, this specific section includes six questions, which are simply restricted to the employment or unemployment status of the immigrants. When immigrants were working we asked them about their employment status (employed, self-employed), the type of employment (permanent, temporary or informal), and their profession in Greece (builders, domestic worker, store workers/vendors). Finally, question EM.6: ‘Do you think that your work position meets your educational level?’, seeks to detect subjectively the employment self-image of the immigrants subjectively

### **3.6.2.3 Housing**

The main purpose of this section is to present the housing conditions of the immigrant in relation to their residence and the wider urban area. Initially the questionnaire tried to record the residence areas of the immigrants during their stay in Greece and then it tried to capture the characteristics of their current residence and the level of satisfaction with their housing conditions. Therefore, this section of the questionnaire that includes 19 questions, gather information on the immigrants' residency, concerning:

- ✓ The primary residence in Greece
- ✓ The ownership status of the primary residence
- ✓ The main characteristics of the primary residence
- ✓ The qualitative characteristics and the housing amenities
- ✓ The immigrant's judgment about the level of satisfaction from the housing conditions

### **3.6.2.4 The use of the Greek language**

This section of the questionnaire includes five questions that are structured in a subjective manner. The main purpose of this section is the recording of immigrants' judgment regarding the level of use of the Greek language (speaking and writing), the available ways and means for learning the language and the extent of the use of the language in the work area, in public and in the private area.

### **3.6.2.5 Social interaction**

The basic dimensions of this particular index are summarized in the questionnaire in 11 questions that include:

- ✓ The frequency of contact with relatives and friends (Greeks and compatriots)
- ✓ The frequency of meetings with relatives and friends (Greeks and compatriots)
- ✓ Their main friendly interaction (SI.3)
- ✓ Their interest in making Greek friends (SI.6)
- ✓ If they have experienced racism and discrimination in their interaction with Greeks

### **3.6.2.6 Social and political participation**

This part of the questionnaire includes 17 questions that aim to ascertain the role of immigrants' political participation in relation to their integration into the Greek society. This survey examines qualitative and quantitative data related to:

- ✓ Whether the immigrants knows the basic institutions of the host country (PP.2):

- ✓ The institutions of democracy (parliament, government, political parties, etc)
- ✓ The state's institutions (public services, courts, independent institutions, etc)
- ✓ The civil society (associations, NGOs, etc.)
- ✓ Whether they believe to the existence institutions that discriminate them (PP.4)
- ✓ Their level of confidence in the institutions and in the governmental and non-governmental organizations in Greece (PP.5)
- ✓ Whether immigrants participate to:
- ✓ Civil society's organizations – cultural organizations, unions, associations and other social activities (PP.12)
- ✓ Political action through alternative mechanisms – parties initiatives or initiatives of other political actors (PP.6)
- ✓ Institutional bodies – such as trade unions and professional organizations (PP. 8)
- ✓ Local authorities through local initiatives (PP.6)
- ✓ Evaluation of the participatory experience (PP.7, 9, 12)
- ✓ Regarding the political communication, the questions recorded:
  1. The extent to which the respondents were interested in having information on social, political, cultural and artistic matters (PP.13)
  2. The level to which they use Greek and ethnic mass media (PP.15)

### **3.6.2.7 General self-evaluation questions**

The purpose of this section is to record through eight scaled questions the factors that cause the most significant problems with respect to immigrants' socio-economic integration. These factors are listed as follows:

*GQ.2.1 Legislation*

*GQ.2.2 Public Services Behaviour*

*GQ.2.3 Language*

*GQ.2.4 The habits and lifestyle of Greek society*

*GQ.2.5 Racist behaviour*

*GQ.2.6 Employment*

*GQ.2.7 Social security/Insurance*

*GQ.2.8 Other*

### **3.6.2.8 Racism and discrimination**

This specific index is not contained separately in the questionnaire, but is contained in all of the separate indicators. More specifically, in the housing section, the question is: HD.19 *During the last five years (or since you came to Greece) have you ever faced a problem in renting or purchasing an apartment because of your ethnic origin?*

In the social interaction section, the question is: SI.10. *How often have you been treated unfairly or offensively because of your ethnic origin?* In the social and political participation section the question is: PP.3 *Do you believe to the existence of institutions that discriminate immigrants?* Finally, in the section of the general self-evaluation questions, the immigrants were asked whether they consider that *racist behaviour* (GQ.2.5) is a barrier to their socio-economic integration.

## **Chapter Four: Methods for Data Analysis**

This chapter discusses the use of descriptive analysis for examining socio-economic integration and the construction of the indicators measuring immigrant integration. The latter is further used as a dependent variable in the statistical analysis. The statistical techniques employed – independent samples t-test; one-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) and multiple linear regression – are also discussed here.

### **4.1 Socio-economic integration: a descriptive analysis**

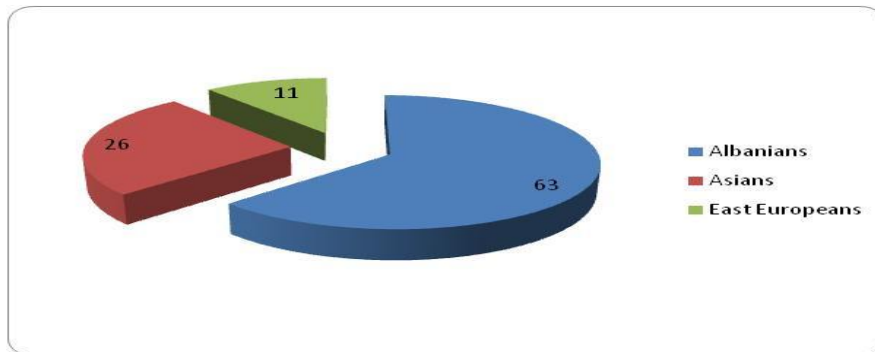
The descriptive analysis draws on quantitative data gathered from personal interviews, which is interpreted with the aid of qualitative information obtained through a number of open questions, and supplemented by the numerous prior studies of a qualitative nature. Frequency tables, graphs and figures are produced to summarise the findings and allow for descriptive comparison between the immigrant groups along the seven integration indicators: employment and labour market integration; housing and segregation; use of the Greek language; social interaction; social and political participation; self-evaluation of integration; and, racism and discrimination.

SPSS (version 15) software was used for data coding, generation of frequency tables, graphs and the statistical analysis. Initially, the questions were coded to create a database of responses. In each column the variable was structured according to the questionnaire's order, while each row recorded a respondent answers.

#### **4.1.1 Profile of the sample**

The sample consists of 164 Albanians (63 per cent), 68 Asians (26 per cent) and 28 East Europeans (11 per cent) (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Immigrant groups of the sample (%)

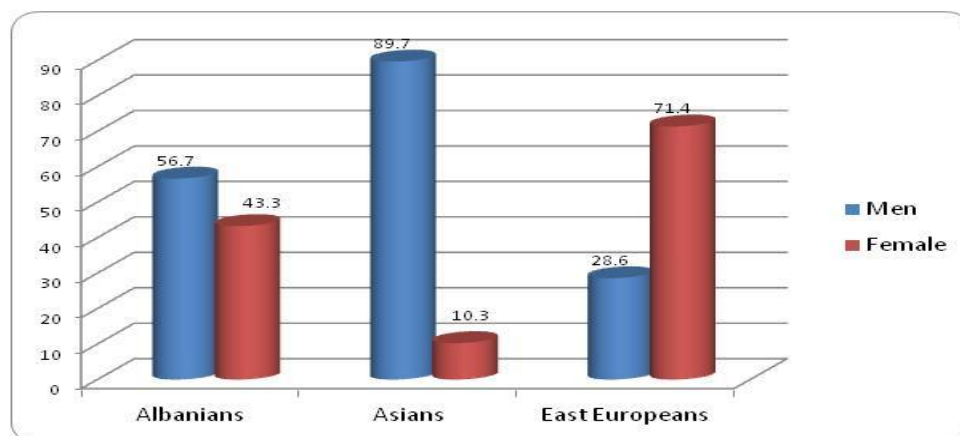


Source: Survey Data

#### 4.1.2 Gender

In relation to gender, 43 per cent of the sample are women from Albania, 10 per cent are women from Asia and 71 per cent are women from Eastern Europe. Interestingly, certain differences are noted among the sub-groups of our sample, with relation to the gender and immigrant groups (Figure 10). We see that women from Eastern Europe are over-represented when compared to men from the same group, whereas women from Asia are underrepresented. Clearly, these data indicate a different migration path on the basis of gender: immigrant women from Eastern Europe follow an independent migratory path into Greece, when compared to women from Albania and Asia.

Figure 10. Gender by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

The picture that emerges from the data in our research seems to characterize the total of the immigrant population. As demonstrated in other surveys, immigrant communities from

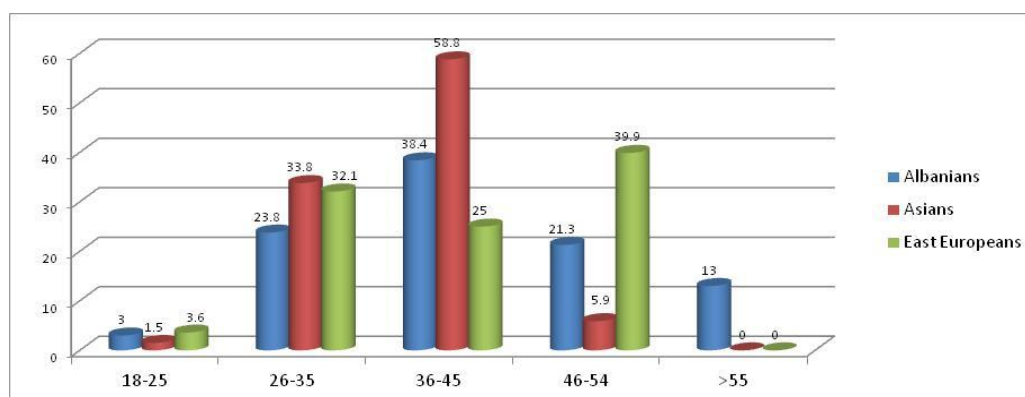
Eastern Europe and Asia tend to show a strong imbalance with relation to gender. On the other hand, a key feature of migration from Ukraine and Russia is that 70-80 per cent of the total numbers of each group are women, while communities from Pakistan, Bangladesh and India are mainly represented by men, at 85-90 per cent (Triandafyllidou and Maroufof, 2011, p. 26). When viewed in this light, contemporary immigration to Greece displays novel features, in particular with regard to the image of women as independent actors in the migratory process (Maroukis, 2010, p. 17).

#### 4.1.3 Age

In relation to age, the largest group of respondents (42 per cent) is aged 36-45 years while nearly one third, or the second largest age group of our sample, is aged 26-35 years. These data confirm the hypothesis that the immigrant population in Greece is mainly represented by younger ages.

It is worth mentioning that it is not only the male but also the female population that displays similar patterns of age distribution (42 and 24 per cent respectively). From the comparison between groups (Figure 11), the majority of Asians and Albanians belong to the groups aged 36-45 years and 26-35 years (93.6 per cent and 62 per cent respectively) while East Europeans show a slightly increased concentration in the group aged 46-55 years (40 per cent).

Figure 11. Age groups by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

The figure above confirms the 2011 census data and the subsequent surveys (Iosifides *et al.*, 2007) which showed that about half of the immigrant population in Greece belongs to

the group aged 25-44. In contrast, immigrants aged 55 and above make up only 7 per cent of the total immigrant population in the country.

The age distribution of the immigrant population is quite different from that of the native population. Only a third of the native population belongs to the group aged 25-44 years, while 30 per cent are aged 55 and over.

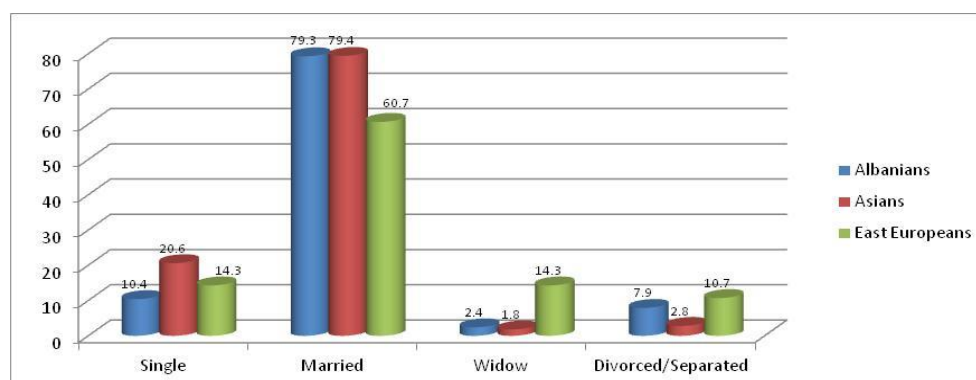
### 4.1.3 Family Status

Regarding the marital status of the respondents, the overwhelming majority are married (77 per cent), confirming once more the existence of ‘family immigration’, in the case of Albanian immigrants in particular (79 per cent) (Cavounidis, 2003, p. 231; Papataxiarchis *et al.*, 2008, p. 100). It should be noted that despite the fact that the majority of Asians (79 per cent) are married, there is a difference in relation to whether their family lives in Greece, or whether men migrate alone, leaving their family in their country of origin.

Although the survey does not lead to this conclusion, other studies show that their families remain in their home countries. According to Tonchev (2007) nearly 100 per cent of married Indians and 78 per cent of married Pakistanis living in Greece are not accompanied by their spouses. It is estimated that cases of family reunification concern no more than two per cent of Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Greece (Tonchev, 2007, p. 20).

Asians present the highest rate (20.6 per cent) of single immigrants, compared to other groups in the sample (Figure 12). Tonchev’s study claims that the highest percentage of single men is found in Pakistani and Indian communities.

Figure 12. Family status by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data



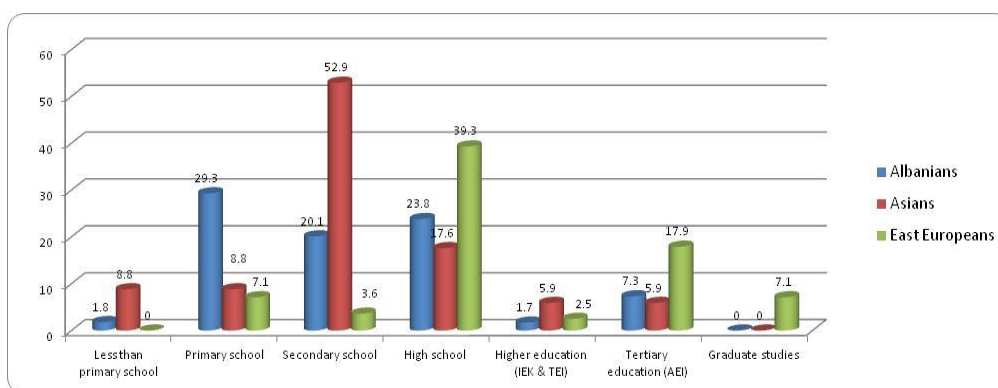
It is also interesting to observe the family standards that characterize the sub-groups of the sample. Whereas there is a general picture of over-representation of Albanians and Asians in the category of married immigrants (79 per cent), East Europeans also display high percentages in other sub-categories. For example, 20 per cent are widowed and 15 per cent are divorced or separated.

#### 4.1.4 Educational level

In relation to educational level, 27 per cent of respondents have completed secondary school (gymnasion), 24 per cent have completed high school (lykeion), 22 per cent have completed primary school (dimotiko) and 15 per cent are IEK and TEI graduates (Figure 13). These figures confirm the previous studies of Zografakis *et al.* (2007), which show that most immigrants (59.3 per cent) have completed secondary education (2007, p. 49).

It is a very interesting fact that the educational level and respective educational qualification have been acquired in the country of origin before immigrants arrive in Greece. At this point it would be useful to refer to a particular feature with respect to the secondary educational system in the countries of origin. According to the educational system in Albania, for instance, the secondary school certificate (gymnasion) is equivalent to the high school diploma (lykeion) in Greece. Therefore, the conclusion is that the majority of responding immigrants, particularly from Albania, have finished their secondary education.

Figure 13. Educational level by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

In the comparative approach of the three immigrant groups, the following results emerge: 44 per cent of Albanians have completed secondary education (gymnasion and lykeion), 29 per cent have completed primary education, and 17 per cent have graduated from

IEK and TEI, while 7 per cent have graduated from university (AEI). In relation to gender, the largest percentage of Albanian women have completed secondary education (41 per cent), 38 per cent have completed primary education, while a significant number have obtained degrees for TEI and AEI (21 per cent).

Regarding the educational level of East Europeans, 39.9 per cent are high school (lykeion) graduates, while a generous number (43 per cent) among them hold a university degree. What is also interesting is the difference between men and women within the same immigrant group. Thus, while the majority of men have finished primary school (88 per cent), a high percentage of women (60 per cent) have finished higher education.

The educational level of the immigrant groups in our sample appears to differ from the findings of previous studies, which suggest that the educational level of immigrants varies according to their ethnicity. The implication is, of course, that immigrants from Asia usually have a lower educational level when compared to immigrants from Eastern Europe and Albania.

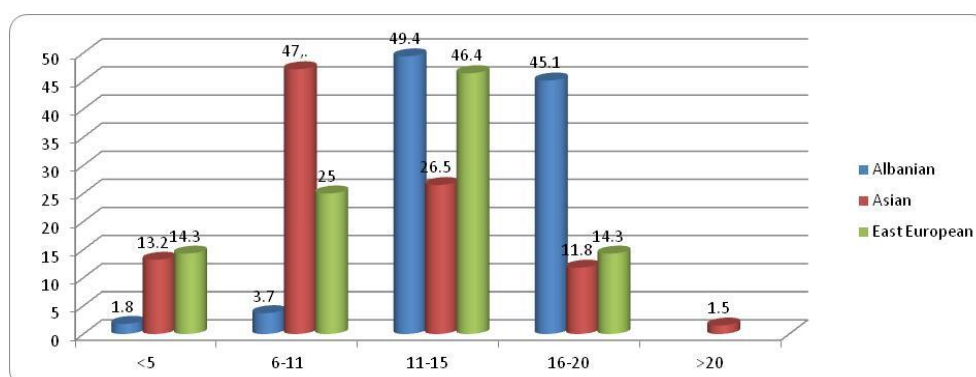
One very typical example is the work of Tonchev (2007), which claims that the educational level of Asians is lower than the average of all immigrants in Greece (2007, p. 4). In the study of Maroukis (2010), the percentage of Albanian immigrants who have finished secondary school and higher education appeared to be at a higher level. The study of Eurostat (2011b), on the other hand, found that in Greece the percentage of people aged 30-34, who have finished higher education and were born abroad, was lower when compared to the native population (2011b, p. 142). This has also been confirmed by the study of Cavounidis and Cholezas (2013), which displays the figure of 20 per cent, with respect to the number of EU member state citizens who have completed higher education, compared to 3.3 per cent for Albanians (2013, p. 87).

#### **4.1.5 Years of residence**

Regarding the years of residence, 77 per cent permanently live in Greece for over ten years (Figure 14). More specifically, 43 per cent are living permanently in Greece for 11-15 years, while 33 per cent live in Greece for 16-20 years.

However, there is a differentiation among the immigrant groups of the sample. Figure 14 shows that the largest percentage of Albanians are living in Greece longer than the other two immigrant groups, 49.4 per cent are living in Greece for 11 to 15 years, while the percentage is slightly lower for those living in Greece for 16-20 years (that is the case for 45.1 per cent of Albanians).

Figure 14. Years of residence by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

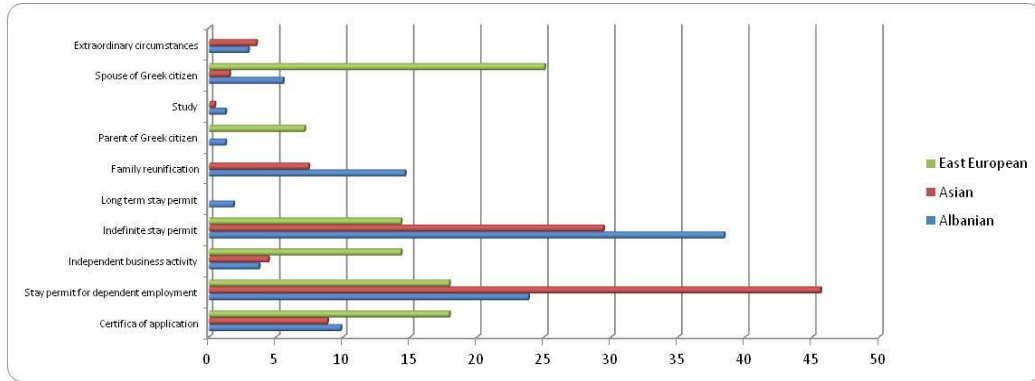
A slightly different trend is observed for East Europeans, who show fewer years of residence in Greece. More specifically, 46.4 per cent have lived in Greece for 11 to 15 years, and 25 per cent for 6 to 10 years. Asians are ranked third in the number of years spent in Greece. The largest percentage (47.1 per cent) have lived in Greece for 6 to 10 years, while 26.5 per cent have lived in Greece for 11 to 15 years. The OECD report (2012b) confirms these trends: among those immigrants resident in Greece a significant proportion (27 per cent) have spent 6 to 10 years in the country (2012b, p. 27).

#### 4.1.6 Legal status

The stay permit defines the legal status of immigrants and is one of the key institutional factors that affect the outcome of the socio-economic integration process. The more stable and long-standing the status of residence, the better and safer the prospects for the social integration of immigrants. Figure 15 indicates that the largest percentage of respondents hold a 10-year residence permit (34 per cent), while 29 per cent hold a temporary residence permit for dependent work. Most Albanians hold a 10-year residence permit (38 per cent), compared to Asians, the largest percentage of whom hold a residence permit for dependent work (46 per cent). What is also interesting are the categories of residence permits obtained by the immigrants from Eastern Europe. A quarter of them (25 per cent) hold a residence permit as a Greek citizen's spouse. The largest percentage of Albanian and Asian women hold family reunification residence permits (31 per cent), in contrast to women from Eastern Europe who hold residence permits as spouses of Greek citizens (35 per cent). The latter figure may be

interpreted as an indication of a greater interaction and stronger social relations between East Europeans and Greek nationals.

Figure 15. Legal status by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

## 4.2 Constructing the integration index

The questions raised here concern first, the way in which we added the variables and second, how we defined the importance of each sub-index for integration and thus in which equation we should include each variable in the construction of the composite index. We could, *a priori*, ascribe a different equation to the different factors presenting our value judgment of the data. However, this approach would pose risks to the researcher's subjectivity regarding his/her personal judgment and would lead to arbitrary conclusions. Thus, in order to avoid a subjective approach we considered all variables as equally important and therefore did not use a different measurement equation. As such, we considered all six indicators as equally important; every indicator's importance was 1.7. Thus, we can draw an average for all seven individual indicators and observe in this way the total integration of each social group (Albanians, East Europeans and Asians) with Greek citizens as the control group.

For the composition of the integration index, three methodological parameters were taken into account:

- The balance of the objective variables, which results from the quantitative data and subjective variables that capture personal qualitative evaluation.
- The inclusion of sub-indicators and variables that reflect the level of social integration in the seven respective domains.

- The construction of the integration index consists of seven equally balanced indicators, with weighting factor for each indicator standing at 1.7<sup>41</sup>.

Regarding the construction of the integration index, we selected from the questionnaire the questions/variables that provided answers to the working hypothesis of this study, namely the question of who is more or less integrated into the Greek society. Thus, it is necessary to enquire about the logic behind the selection and ranking of certain indicators (as listed in Table 16) which we included in the construction of the integration index.

A case in point is the logic underlying the ranking of private and public language classes (indicator GL2) in the integration index. In choosing the language proficiency indicator, special emphasis was placed on the means and resources available for language learning in Greece. Thus, in ranking this indicator, it was necessary to consider the particularity of the Greek case, whereby institutional factors have a catalytic role in restricting or promoting Greek language learning. Indeed, the institutional promotion of publicly-provided classes in combination with economic incentives has proven to contribute to proper acquisition and more successful integration into (mostly salaried) employment. Meanwhile, the informal pattern of Greek language learning is evidently seen as a factor that leads to the inability of the immigrant population to develop adequate language skills (mostly writing and reading) and the failure of upward employment mobility.

Another particularity of the Greek case is a social belief system which is institutionally ingrained and broadly reflected in the Greek society. On the one hand, it understands education as state responsibility. On the other, this belief system coupled with institutional barriers has had a negative impact on the development of private educational structures. It is indeed difficult to enrol for private Greek language classes. First, there is little or no demand for them. Secondly, immigrants seem inclined to distrust them. They are often unwilling to pay for Greek lessons without the prospect of acquiring a relevant formal qualification. Indeed, when applying for long-term residence status or naturalization, the Code of Migration and Integration (Law 4251/2014, article 107) does not recognize language proficiency certificates issued by private educational institutions. Only certificates issued by the state-led Greek Language Centre are considered. Correspondingly, children are required to present public school certificates, and students to provide public university certificates.

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<sup>41</sup>We then calculated an average for all the seven sub-indicators in order to examine the general integration of each immigrant group (Albanians, East Europeans and Asians) and for the group of Greeks.

Paradoxically, whilst the language proficiency certificate is perceived to be a state responsibility, the resources and means for acquiring it are limited. As regards access to language courses, the attendance requirements are particularly demanding. Class attendance depends on the attendee's residence permit and employment status. It is not surprising therefore that most migrants learn the (spoken) Greek language through work and television. The share of those who have attended Greek language courses remains insignificant. Thus, with the above in mind, the participation of migrants in state-sponsored language classes is ranked to signify full integration; participation in privately-provided language classes is ranked as partial integration; and non-participation means no integration.

Another interesting point is to elaborate the logic behind the ranking of employees versus self-employed (indicator EM2). With respect to employment, self-employment is ranked as an indication of full integration in the labour market, whereas salaried work is ranked as partial integration. This reflects the particularities of the Greek case. In other national contexts, self-employment may suggest a move away from unemployment, an exclusion from salaried work, and a difficulty in communicating or becoming proficient in the host country language. Conversely, in Greece, self-employment is perceived as the most significant indication of upward labour mobility; it provides a social and economic comparative advantage with relation to salaried work. That is to say, it is related to the ability of an individual or group to carry out a particular economic activity autonomously. Moreover, in collective consciousness, being a 'manager/owner' is a traditional social construct that suggests the superiority of an individual's socio-economic status. Meanwhile, this element is part of a broader model of economic development in Greece, which is marked by late industrialisation and the prevalence of family-based small enterprises, high rates of self-employment and large informal economy.

Despite an increased tendency for self-employment among Greeks, it is still low among migrants, who are to a large degree employed as salaried (often part-time) workers. In most cases, self-employment and/or entrepreneurship are usually observed in professions or market niches where migrants once worked as salaried workers (e.g., construction). There are, for instance, employment sectors that are exclusively restricted to Greeks. Their legal framework is fraught with restrictions at the expense of migrant entrepreneurs such as citizenship, type of residence status, permit for independent economic activity, a 60,000 EUR deposit and a certificate of reciprocity with the country of origin. These disincentives perpetuate migrant inability to start a business. Only a few succeed. Therefore, self-

employment or entrepreneurship is ranked to indicate full integration while salaried work is considered partial integration.

Similar logic was followed to rank the housing type indicator (HD9). Its structuring and ranking reflects the particularity of the Greek context. There is an observed pattern of migrant concentration in apartment blocks in the city's central districts. This is primarily due to the urban model of development that was marked by the access of migrants to a large, affordable housing stock. More specifically, Athens is a 'mosaic' of contradictions regarding design practice, the form of the urban structure, and social stratification. The unique and particularly complex social geography of the city's urban space – a stark contrast to a typical capitalist metropolis – in combination with present-day economic circumstances, is the context within which differentiations in the choice of housing for migrants must be sought.

A heterogeneous population tends to settle in a disorderly fashion, with little planning, transforming Athens into a 'chaotic city'. All these factors have led to particular and very differentiated spatial models of organization in the city, whereby unlicensed construction and *antiparochē*<sup>42</sup> represent the dominant forms of acquiring and producing urban land and housing stock. More specifically, unlicensed construction for a first home, was a practice popular among the lower social strata, who settled semi-autonomously and semi-illegally in areas with more favourable conditions (e.g., proximity to transport networks, labour markets). This spontaneous urbanism (Leontidou, 1990), as well as the structure of the process of production in combination with informal forms of employment, have contributed to the creation of multi-functional but socially homogeneous areas and neighbourhoods in the city centre. *Antiparochē*, on the other hand, has been the principal means of mass production of housing stock in the modern Greek city, with all central areas undergoing a process of 'apartmentisation' (Vaiou *et al.*, 1999). This led tens of thousands of Athenians from higher social strata to abandon their homes in the immediate and broader city centre *en masse*, so as to benefit from a higher quality of life in the suburbs. Thus, those who stayed in the centre were mostly members of the lower social strata, followed, in more recent years, by economic migrants. In this context, the deterioration of the housing and building stock was a given. The low prices, in combination with the central position of these areas, tend to attract migrants and members of low socio-economic strata in general, who either rent or seek to acquire their first home in these areas. These areas are typified by low rents, poor quality housing and

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<sup>42</sup> *Antiparochē* (αντιπαροχή) is a decades-old, quid-pro-quo construction practice whereby instead of payment, the developer compensates the owner of the original property with a flat in the newly-built apartment block.

small apartments (often on the ground floor or basement), but also by a lack of basic amenities (e.g., central heating).

The multi-fragmentation of property and the *de facto* absence of any form of zoning have led to the non-exploitation of old detached houses through antiparoché, resulting in the creation of a stock of downgraded detached houses without basic amenities, usually occupied by migrants.

On the other hand, the choice of an independent and decent home that provides for basic comforts is directly linked to economic prosperity, permanence of residence and employment status and the aspiration of home ownership. It is thus interpreted as the highest indication of upward socio-economic mobility, providing a social and economic comparative advantage, to own one's home as opposed to renting one.

What is more, in the collective consciousness of the Greek society, owning an independent home is a demonstration of one's superior socio-economic status. For instance, migrants residing in autonomous homes are likely to have engaged in entrepreneurial activity, and subject to favourable policies (e.g., holding a permanent residence status, such as the Greek *omogeneis* from Albania and the former Soviet Union). However, this does not suggest a mainstreaming trend, since the majority of immigrants face institutional barriers associated with precarious residence status, with low-paid, salaried work or unemployment, and lack of access to alternative resources (e.g., housing loans, rent and loan subsidies). Taking into account the individual particularities of the Greek case, we have ranked the relevant indicator accordingly by type of house, with independent dwelling corresponding to full integration, residence in apartment buildings as partial integration, and residence in a downgraded detached home or non-normal house (e.g. garage, cabin) as zero integration.

Another case in point is the indicator measuring migrants' trust in supranational, national, local and civic institutions (indicator PP5). It is considered to be of key importance in the structuring of the integration index. Here, the degree of political participation, as a significant dimension of the integration process, is strengthened by the increase in the degree of trust towards democratic institutions. The greater the degree of trust, the greater is the participation of migrants in civic activities and initiatives. At the social level, civic participation (through voluntary associations) creates social capital, which in turn contributes to the creation of social trust among the members of the community, a fact that is understood as an important requirement for the civic participation of migrants. More specifically, the degree of trust in supranational, national, and local institutions of public power is linked to political culture and reflects positions and perceptions with respect to the political system and



its institutions. Moreover, the degree of trust towards civil society reflects the qualitative aspects of social capital; more specifically, it sketches migrants' own perceptions of reciprocity in participation.

In the case of Greece, however, there is an institutional particularity that provides further scholarly interest insofar as it contributes to the structuring of this indicator within the integration index. This may be summed up in the reflection on how to measure migrants' level of trust, where there is no political recognition or participation – that is, where there is no possibility of representation or defense of both their collective rights and their interests. Indeed, a public debate was recently initiated on the necessary measures for the creation of institutional dialogue and institutional mechanisms for the representation and participation of immigrants in public life. However, the conditions of insecurity that continue to prevail, the lack of long-term stay permits and access to citizenship and, migrants' *de facto* exclusion from the political participation remain major obstacles to their involvement in civic life.

One other reflection concerns the extent to which measuring an average of individual attitudes within a social group facing exclusion may produce reliable and pertinent data. In adopting a broader perspective for determining the level of social capital, it would be useful to underline that the latter consists, *inter alia*, of the sum of structural and cultural resources available to the members of a social group on the basis of trust and reciprocity. Consequently, we could account for the fact that the relevant indicator may directly or indirectly reflect the relationships that are articulated and developed within public life. Thus, the indicator may sum up all the parameters that promote the participation of migrants in civic life and allow for the consolidation of subjective trust. While accounting for the above particularities and the complexity of the Greek case, the indicator was constructed on a continuum Likert scale from 1 to 9 (1=not at all, and 9=very much); the responses were then ranked with individual points grouped as follows: grade 1-2 was tabled as 'no integration', moderate grade 3-6 as 'partial integration', and maximum grade 7-9 as 'full integration'.

Table 16 summarises the selected indicators that comprise the integration index.

Table 16. Coding of variables

	SOCIO-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION INDICATOR	Sub-indicator	Score		
			No integration (0)	Partial Integration (1)	Full integration (2)
1	Employment	EM1: What is the main occupation for this week?	EM 1.2 (Unemployed)	EM 1.4-1.6 (Student)	EM 1.1 (Employed)
		EM2: If you are employed, what is your position at work?	EM2.4-2.5 (Paid Training)	EM 2.1 (Salaried employee)	EM 2.2-2.3 (Self-employed)
		EM3: What is the type of your employment status?	EM 4.3 (Informal)	EM 4.2 (Temporary)	EM 4.1 (Permanent)
2	Housing	HD3: The primary residence in Greece is:	HD 3.4-3.6 (free concession)	HD 3.1 (Rented house)	HD 3.2-3.3 (ownership)
		HD6: What is the reason for selecting this specific residential area?	HD 6.3 (low rent)	HD 6.2 (Family/Relatives/Friends)	HD 6.1-6.4-6.5 (Proximity to Work, ecc)
		HD9: The house where you live is:	HD 9.5-9.6 (no normal house: garage, cabin, hut, etc)	HD 9.3-9.4 (Apartment/flat)	HD 9.1-9.2 (Independent villa)
		HD15: What are the heating conditions of the house?	HD 15.2-15.3-15.4-15.8 (No Heating, etc)	HD 15.5-15.6 (Air condition, etc)	HD 15.1 (No Heating)
3	Use of Greek Language	GL 1.1 How well do you <b>understand</b> the Greek language?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		GL 1.2: How well do you <b>speak</b> the Greek language?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		GL 1.3: How well do you <b>write</b> in the Greek language?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		GL 1.4 : How well do you <b>read</b> in Greek?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		GL 2. How did you learn the Greek language?	GL. 2.1 (self-taught)	GL 2.2 (private lessons)	GL 2.3-2-6 (Language classes, etc)
4	Social Interaction	SI3: Your friends are mainly:	SI 3.2 ( compatriots)	SI 3.3-3.4 (Greek and compatriot)	SI 3.1 (natives)
		SI5: How interested are you in maintaining friendly relationships with Greeks?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		SI6: How interested are you in maintaining friendly relationships with your compatriots?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		SI7: Do you want to maintain the lifestyle of the country of your origin?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		SI8: How much do you want to adapt to the Greek lifestyle?	1-2	3-6	7-9
5	Social and Political Participation	PP2: Do you know the following institutions and organizations?	PP 1 (no)	-	PP 2 (yes)
		PP5: How much do you trust each of the following institutions?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		PP6: Are you a member or friend of one of the following organizations?	PP 6.6 (no)	PP 6.4-6.5 (country of origin)	PP 6.1-6.3 (Greek political party, etc)
		PP15.2: How much are you interested in: Issues of the host country (Greece)	1-2	3-6	7-9
		PP16.1 To what extent do you use the following media in order to be informed on the issue of your interest: Greek newspapers and magazines?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		PP16.6: To what extent do you use the following media in order to be informed on the issue of your interest: Greek TV	1-2	3-6	7-9
6	Self-evaluation	GQ1: Are you satisfied with the living conditions in Greece?	No	Adequately satisfied	Yes

		GQ2: What cause the greatest problems to you?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		HD 17. Are you satisfied with your housing conditions?	HD 17.4-17.5	HD 17.3	HD 17.1-17.2
		EM 6. Do you think that your work position meets your educational level?	EM 6.2 (no)	EM 6.3	EM 6.1 (yes)
7	<b>Racism and Xenophobia</b>	SI10: How often do you treat you unfairly or offensive because of your origin?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		HD19: Have you ever faced a problem with renting a house because of the ethnic origin?	HD 19.1 (yes)	-	HD 19.2 (no)
		SI11: In your opinion, how often do Greeks misbehave towards immigrants?	1-2	3-6	7-9
		pp.3: Do you think that there are institutions whose behaviour is discriminatory?	PP 3.1 (yes)	-	PP 3.2 (no)
		pp.4: if yeas, at which level:	1-2	3-6	7-9
		GQ2.5: What cause the greatest problems to you: The racist behaviour of Greeks	1-2	3-6	7-9

Source: Author's calculations

The integration index results from the average of the sub-indicators on the one hand, and the highest value on the other, which indicates a higher level of social integration. In particular, some 'key' questions selected from the seven indicators of this study were taken into consideration. Then, we set new scales to the answers of the respondents and set new values: (0) – No integration, (1) – Partial integration and (2) – Full integration. With the conversion of answers to the new scale, a space from 0 to 2 was created, where 0 means no integration and 2 means full integration. Any score in-between indicates the level of integration.

The interviewed immigrants were classified into three main groups. The Albanian immigrants were considered as a separate group under the title 'Albanians'. The immigrants from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh were the second group with the title 'Asians'. The immigrants from Russia, Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine were the third group, titled 'East Europeans'.

In order to construct the aggregate index of immigrant integration with Greek citizens as the control group we used the European Social Research Survey data (4<sup>th</sup> round, 2008). More specifically, the method below was used:

From the database (SPSS) of the European Social Research Survey (4<sup>th</sup> round, 2008) the corresponding variables were chosen along with ours for the 7 indicators, listed below:

Demographic Greek-Immigrant Sample (E44-3/F62-4/F6-6/C27-7/C30-9)

Employment: Greek-Immigrants (F8a-EM1/F12-EM2)

Housing: Greek-Immigrants (F1-HD13/F71-HD16.8)

Language: Greek-Immigrants (C31-GL5.1)

Social Interaction: Greek-Immigrants (C2-SL1)

Political Participation: Greek-Immigrants (B1-PP1/Karta 8-PP5/B4-PP5.1/B5-PP5.2/B6-PP5.3/B8-PP5.5/B17-PP12.2/B18-PP12.3/B21-PP6.1/F30-PP8/)

Racism-Discrimination: Greek-Immigrants (E37/C25-GQ2.5)

New scales to the questions and new groups to the respondents were introduced. With the conversion of answers to the new scale, a range from 0 to 2 was created, where 0 means 'no integration' and 2 means 'full integration'. Any value in this range indicates the degree of integration.

We draw an average for all seven individual indicators in order to examine the total integration of the Greek group. After drawing an average of Greek responses, we created a table with the aggregated responses.

#### **4.2.1 Independent samples t-test and one-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance)**

The independent samples t-test was employed to examine whether there is a significant difference between the average levels of integration of migrant men and women by individual indicator. It was considered suitable for the analysis as the grouping variable 'gender' had only two categories.

*Null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ):* average levels of integration of men = average levels of integration of women

*Alternative hypothesis ( $H_1$ ):* average levels of integration of men  $\neq$  average levels of integration of women

One-way ANOVA was used when the grouping variable had more than two categories as this was the case with the variable 'migrant group'. The test was employed to examine whether there was a statistically significant difference between the average integration levels of the three immigrant groups, Albanians, citizens from Asia and citizens from Eastern Europe. In the one-way analysis of fluctuation/variation, a dependent variable is (always continuous) and only one independent variable (not always continuous, categorical) is included. In our analysis, the dependent variable is the integration levels per indicator

while the independent variable is the immigrant groups (with the three categories). The dependent continuous variable is divided into three groups corresponding to the three categories of the independent variable. The averages and the variations by category are calculated, whereby the significant correlations are identified. If ANOVA is statistically significant, then at least a couple of categories of the independent variable affect the fluctuation of the continuous dependant variable ([Oakshott, 2012](#)).

*Null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>):* average levels of integration of Albanian migrants = average levels of integration of Eastern European migrants = average levels of integration of Asian migrants

*Alternative hypothesis (H<sub>1</sub>):* average levels of integration of Albanian migrants ≠ average levels of integration of Eastern European migrants ≠ average levels of integration of Asian migrants

The significance level of the p-value for all statistical analysis was set at p<0.05 (5 per cent). When p-value < 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected, concluding that there is a significant relationship between two variables (they are dependent). Otherwise, if p-value > 0.05, then there is no relationship between the two variables, making them independent. Furthermore, we applied multiple linear regression modeling in order to identify the factors that significantly impacted on the dependent variable, i.e., the integration index.

### **4.3 Factors impacting on the levels of integration: Multiple Linear Regression Analysis (MLR)**

The purpose of this section is to discern whether there is a linear relationship between the general integration index and some of the variables that were not used for the construction of the general integration indicator. The algebraic form of the multivariate regression model is:

$$Y_i = a + b_1 * X_1 + b_2 * X_2 + \dots + b_n * X_n + e_i$$

where:

Y<sub>i</sub> represents the values of the dependent variable;

X<sub>1</sub>, X<sub>2</sub>,..... X<sub>n</sub> are the values of a set of independent variables;

n- number of the gathered observations;

e<sub>i</sub> - the model's error

The MLR cannot be applied to any data set. One first limitation for the application of this technique is the type of variables of the data set that is being examined. The following assumptions are necessary for the implementation of the MLR.

1. The dependent variable must be continuous and normally distributed.
2. The independent variables can be either continuous or binary. The categorical variables are introduced to the model through re-coding in the form of dichotomous variables.
3. The existence of a linear correlation between the dependent and the independent variables.
4. The non-existence of multicollinearity among the independent variables.
5. Residuals need to be normally distributed, to be independent, and to exhibit constant fluctuations ([Gujarati, 2011](#)).

In our analysis, the general integration index is a continuous variable, which takes a value in the scale [0-2] and is therefore suitable to be used as a dependent variable in the regression model. Table 17 summarises its descriptive statistics. The average integration index is 1.035, with a median of 1.061. The minimum value is 0.29 and the maximum reaches 1.64.

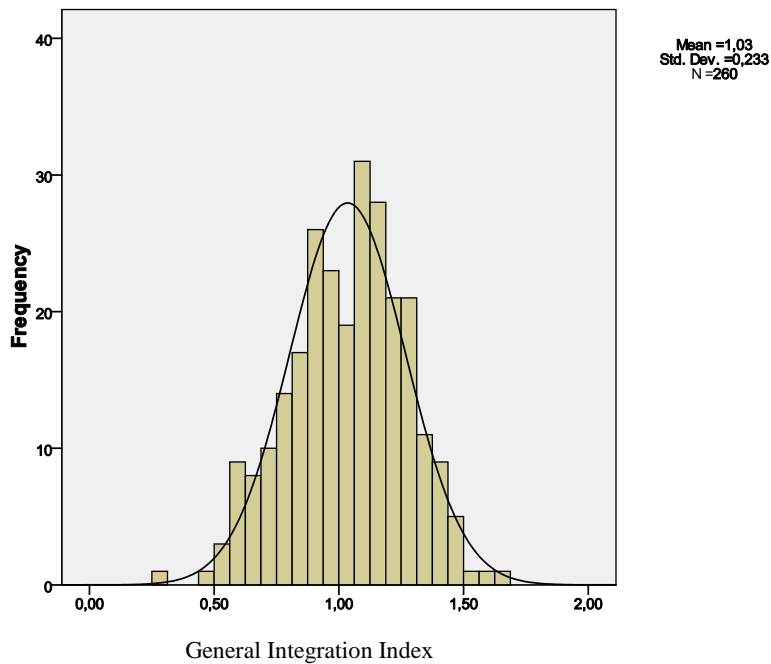
Table 17. General Integration Index: descriptive statistics

N	Valid cases	260
	Missing	0
Average		1.035
Median		1.061
Mode		1.07
Standard deviation		0.233
Minimum		0.29
Maximum		1.64

Source: Survey Data

The fact that the integration index presents similar values is a first indication that the dependent variable follows a normal distribution, a factor that constitutes the first prerequisite for the implementation of the model. The above evidence is confirmed by the histogram in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Distribution of the general integration index



The assumption for the normal distribution of the dependent variable is tested applying the Kolmogorov – Smirnov test.

H<sub>0</sub>: the dependent variable is normally distributed.

H<sub>1</sub>: the dependent variable is not normally distributed.

Results: Kolmogorov – Smirnov test statistic = 0.799, p-value= 0.545 > 0.05

Therefore, we accept the null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>) that the general integration index variable is normally distributed. With relation to the independent variables, we selected those which were examined earlier in Chapter 3. It should be mentioned that no variables used for the construction of the general integration index were selected as explanatory variables in order to avoid the problems of multicollinearity. The variables initially considered for inclusion in the model are presented in Table 18, below.

Table 18. Variables initially considered for inclusion in the regression model

Description of Variable	Variable	Type	Categories and Statistics	Coding									
Gender	Gender	Binary	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Categories</th> <th>number</th> <th>%</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Men</td> <td>162</td> <td>62.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Women</td> <td>98</td> <td>37.7</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Categories	number	%	Men	162	62.3	Women	98	37.7	0- Men 1- Women
			Categories	number	%								
			Men	162	62.3								
Women	98	37.7											
Age	Age	Continuous	average: 40.87. standard deviation: 9.37										
Elementary school or no formal education		Binary	Elementary school or no formal education, n= 65 (25.0%)	1-Elementary school or no formal education 0-Other educational level									
Gymnasion		Binary	Gymnasion, n=70 (26.9%)	1-Gymnasion 0-Other educational level									
Lykeion		Binary	Lykeion, n=51 (19.6%)	1-Lykeion 0- Other educational level									
Albanian (group)	Albanians	Binary	Albanians, n=164 (63.1%)	1-Albanian 0-other ethnic group									
Asian (group)	Asians	Binary	Asians, n=68 (26.2%)	1-Asian 0- Other ethnic origin									
Years of residence in Greece	years_residence	Continuous	average: 13.3 standard deviation: 4.354										
Housing Mobility from first residence	hd.1.1	Binary	Have moved from initial place of residence, n=237 (n=91.2)  Remained in initial place of residence, n=23 (n=8.8%)	1-have moved from initial place of residence  0-Remained in initial place of residence									

Source: SPSS data set

The variables on ‘university degree’ and ‘East Europeans’ are used as references. The third criterion is the existence of a linear relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables. Table 19 presents the Pearson's Correlation Coefficients of the general integration index with the independent variables.



Table 19. Pearson correlation coefficients

	General Integration Index
General Integration Index	1.000
Age	0.080
Gender	0.083
Years of residence in Greece	0.452**
Have moved from initial place of residence	0.218**
Elementary school or no formal education	-0.109
Gymnasion	-.305**
Lykeion	0.139*
Albanians	0.200**
Asians	-.400**

Source: Survey Data

Note: \* - significance level  $p < 0.10$ ; \*\* - significance level  $p < 0.05$

Therefore, the variables of gender and age of the respondents may not be included in the analysis because of the very weak and statistically insignificant correlations with the general integration index.

The case of multicollinearity may be tested after the implementation of MLR. Within this test, SPSS calculates two different indexes: the index of tolerance and the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF). In order to avoid the phenomenon of multicollinearity in our model the tolerance index should be greater than 0.1 while VIF must be less than 10 for each of the independent variables. The assumptions for the residues will also be tested after the implementation of MLR.

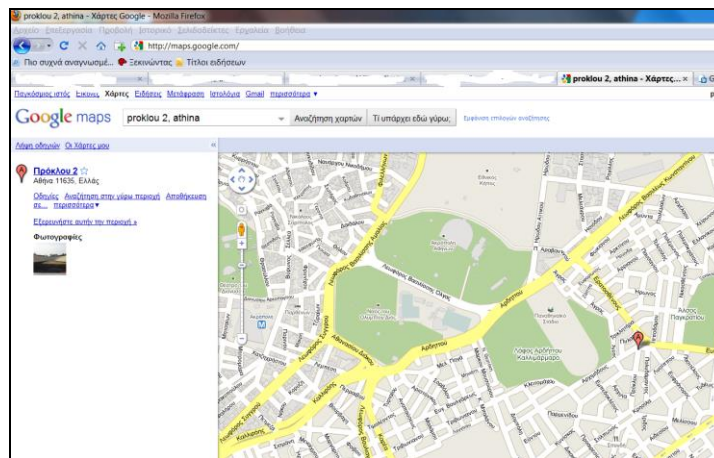
Finally, it should be noted that the method to be followed for the determination of the model is that of Step-Forward, which enters the variables according to their contribution to the model. The first independent variable entered in the regression equation is the one that has the highest correlation with the dependent variable. In our case, it is that of the years of residence in Greece. In the next step, any of the remaining independent variables that have the highest partial correlation with the dependent variable are included in the model. This process continues until there are no other variables correlated significantly with the dependent variable.

#### 4.4 Mapping the spatial distribution/concentration of immigrants in the Greater Athens area (Piraeus and Korydallos)

A prerequisite for the mapping of any data is the existence of one and/or more fields that can give information on the position in the area. The most prevalent/common form of such information is the address. The mapping of the address in the actual position is called geo-coding. There are several methods of geo-coding (e.g., manual and automatic).

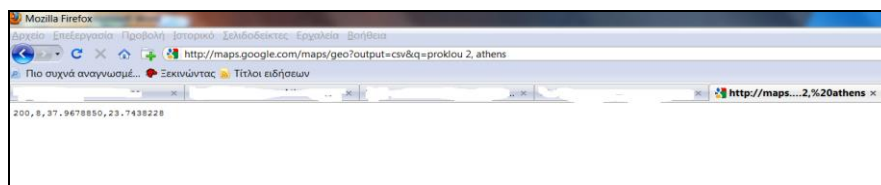
In this case, because of the large volume of data, an automatic means of geo-coding was preferred. More specifically, this application performs customized online address searches (<http://maps.google.com/>) and records them in a new file, adjacent to the original address. For example, through the conventional way of research (<http://maps.google.com/>) the address ‘Proklu 2’ in Athens would yield the result shown in Map 1. The result of the customized search through the above-mentioned application is presented in Map 2, while Map 3 shows the match control result held for the results of the two different research ways.

Map 1. Conventional geo-coding method

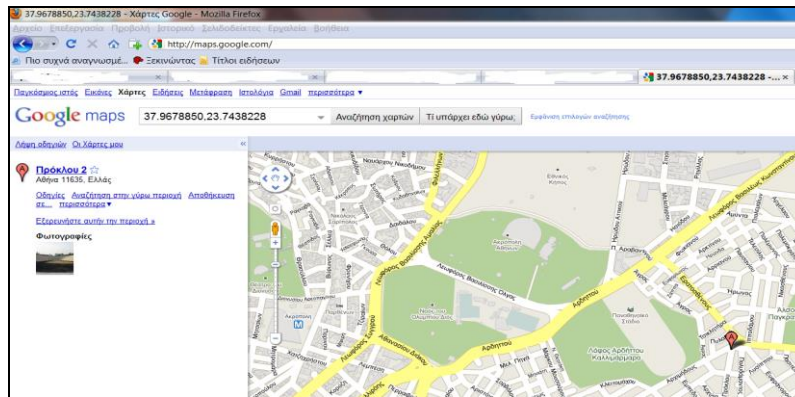


Source: Author's calculations

Map 2. Adjusted search in server <http://maps.google.com/> with the coordinates' results that correspond to the address we are searching.



### Map 3. Matching control of the two different search modes' results.



Source: Author's calculations

Up to this point the automatic and manual methods of geo-coding display no differences since the items are searched individually, and the results should be copied and pasted manually to the original worksheet. However, with the application of spreadsheets provided by the website (<http://docs.google.com/>) and more specifically through Importdata, the process is automated. The application of spreadsheets used by Google Docs is nearly identical to all related spreadsheets applications (MS Office Excel, Open Office Calc) but as mentioned above, it has the specialized importdata function that allows the direct import of data from web servers.

Thus, we address geo-coding questions of to the <http://maps.google.com/> and as a result we will not have the usual image of a point on the map (Map 1) but the coordinates that correspond to the specific address (Map 2). The main disadvantage of this procedure is that we can make only fifty questions of geo-coding each time. Thus, the data should be broken into smaller subsets of fifty entries. Through this customized search there is no possibility of feedback, or ability to ask the server further questions of determination. Thus, we check the way under which is done the setting down of the data regarding the address (spelling, mandatory reporting of the municipality where the research is conducted).

Finally, it is necessary to point out certain additional technical parameters regarding the processing and the check of the final result. After the geo-coding process is completed, a series of logical and geometric-topological controls were carried out. More specifically, first we carried out a reasonable control which tested whether and how areas with different addresses present the same coordinates, as well as whether the same addresses have different coordinates.

After the correction of these errors, a geometric control was carried out, which includes the check/control of all entries related to Piraeus, and examined whether they were within the limits of the municipality. The same procedure was also followed for the municipality of Korydallou. At the same time, a manual sample check was performed and through the process of reverse geo-coding (procedure similar to that shown in Map 3), we tested whether and how the coordinates obtained from the above procedures correspond to the initially registered addresses. Table 20, below, shows the distribution of the non-geo-coded entries by nationality and by municipality.

Table 20. Distribution of the non-geo-coded entries by nationality and municipality

Country	Korydallos			Piraeus			Total		
	Missing	Total	%	Missing	Total	%	Missing	Total	%
Egypt	0	29	0.00%	9	960	0.94%	9	989	0.91%
Albania	11	1,983	0.55%	22	5,790	0.38%	33	7,773	0.42%
Georgia	0	34	0.00%	1	102	0.98%	1	136	0.74%
Moldova	1	53	1.89%	0	84	0.00%	1	137	0.73%
Bangladesh	0	46	0.00%	2	144	1.39%	2	190	1.05%
Ukraine	5	98	5.10%	0	232	0.00%	5	330	1.52%
Palestine	1	64	1.56%	5	589	0.85%	6	653	0.92%
Russia	2	60	3.33%	0	107	0.00%	2	167	1.20%
Syria	0	21	0.00%	1	72	1.39%	1	93	1.08%
Philippines	0	3	0.00%	1	53	1.89%	1	56	1.79%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2,569</b>	<b>0.78%</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>8,691</b>	<b>0.47%</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>11,260</b>	<b>0.54%</b>

Source: Author's calculations

The table that contains all the registered data and their coordinates is transformed into a shape-file, which is manageable using specialised mapping software (ArcGIS, Geomedia and Manifold). This transformation gives us the possibility to produce numerous thematic maps (position mapping based on nationality) and spatial-statistical analysis (density-concentration ratio by nationality).

The resulting coordinates are in the geocentric reference system (WGS84) and had to be transformed into the Greek Geodetic Reference System (EGSA 87) in order to ensure the identification and the comparability with other data and the available cartographic background. The procedure was performed via the specialized Global Mapper software.

## Chapter Five: Socio-Economic Integration: Descriptive Analysis

This chapter provides descriptive examination of the quantitative data collected through personal interviews. The analysis is supplemented by qualitative information gathered through a number of open-ended questions as well as self-evaluation questions on integration, and numerous prior studies of a qualitative nature. Mapping of migrant spatial distribution is used to substantiate the analysis of housing market integration.

The chapter is structured along the seven indicators used for measuring socio-economic integration – namely, employment, housing, use of the Greek language, social interaction/relations, social and political participation, self-evaluation and, discrimination and racism.

### 5.1 Employment and labour market integration

Employment is a central factor motivating the decision to migrate. Moreover, it is perhaps the most important aspect of economic and social integration, since it determines the physical aspect of immigrants' existence, their living conditions and the fulfillment of their 'immigration mission' (Maroukis, 2010, p. 126). On the other hand, employment has always been one of the main mechanisms of socio-economic integration for both the native and immigrant population (Ventoura, 2011, p. 38). As it is frequently mentioned by scholars, integration into the host society coincides with integration in the labour market since employment itself constitutes the necessary passport that provides access to all forms of social participation (Levitas, 2004; Kasimati, 2009, p. 9). The EU Common Basic Principle of Integration mentions that '*employment constitutes a key dimension of the integration process and a key issue for the participation of immigrants, for their contribution to the host society, and for their ability to make this contribution visible*' (European Commission, 2004a).

In reality, the employment status of immigrants is determined, among other things, by the prevailing economic conditions during the process of migration and on the structure and features of the local economy and labour market, as well as the opportunities that the latter may provide (Ventoura, 2011, p. 36). Nevertheless, the key factor determining the path of integration into the labour market is the infrastructure of the host country. It is in the context of this infrastructure that the dynamics of immigration itself unfold. At the same time,

however, we cannot overlook the fact that integration into the host society does not take place at once as a result of the integration of immigrants into the labour market. On the contrary, its outcome is determined by the level of interaction and interrelation of social and cultural factors.

The actual position of immigrants in the labour market is thus dependent upon several structural and non-structural factors, including: migration policy, the particular features of the economy, labour market structure, the individual characteristics of immigrants (education, age, gender, knowledge of the host country's language), residence status and chosen migration strategies. More specifically, the systematic study of immigrant integration into the labour market requires an in-depth, combined examination of employment features, position in the labour market, working conditions, salary rates and working hours.

A complex approach of the kind is beyond the scope of both this session and our study as a whole. The goal is to identify the parameters that are to be found in the broader case of the socio-economic integration of immigrant groups. Consequently, in searching for qualitative findings, we are given the opportunity to sketch out the basic features of the working conditions of immigrant groups in the sample, an element that reflects the degree of socio-economic integration of the three immigrant groups.

The contribution of this chapter to the study of socio-economic integration of immigrants in relation to employment, becomes more distinct when situated in the context of a broader literature on integration into the labour market in Greece, mainly after 2001. An attempt is also made to describe the employment condition of immigrants in Greece, as it has been presented by the recent surveys and the available statistical data.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the employment situation by gender and immigrant group. This is followed by a descriptive analysis of the employment status, the causes of unemployment, the labour relations and the professions of the population sampling in Greece. This section ends with the presentation of the immigrants' self-evaluation regarding whether or not their current occupation corresponds to their educational qualifications.

The multiplicity that characterizes the establishment of immigrants' employment relations, particularly in the case of the Greek labour market, imposes similar interpretative approaches. In this context, the constantly changing dynamic parameters that are associated with the historicity of the 'coincidental' developments at a national, regional and international level, in dialectical relation with the main national and local factors, constitute interconnecting starting points in the formation of the Greek migratory map. It is important to

emphasize the decisive contribution of the structural and political infrastructure of the host country in developing the framework in which migration dynamics unfolds. In practice, this national framework has emerged as a major factor in the creation of specific forms (formal or informal) and models of employment relations and statuses.

In the case of Greece, it has been observed that during the economic growth period of the 1990s, the improvement of living standards, the openness and seasonality of certain sectors of the Greek economy, the relatively easy geographical access in conjunction with the so-called 'developed model' of informal economy, played an important role in the attraction of migratory flows, mainly from neighbouring countries in the early 1990s.

These economic developments created the urgent need for a new workforce. The high educational level of the native population in association with economic prosperity, led to the departure of Greek citizens from the occasional, seasonal, low-paid and low socially identified jobs (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2012; King, 2000). The massive entry of women into the labour market created a vacuum in the (traditionally organized) Greek household, which apparently was replaced by the services provided by the migrant domestic workers (Maroukis, 2010, p. 248; Papataxiarchis *et al.*, 2008). The intense migratory trends led to the depopulation of the rural countryside. Immigrants (mostly men) came to fill this gap, following a process which was described by some scholars as 'the new rurality' (Kasimis and Stathakis, 2003; Tonchev, 2007, p. 11). In contrast to the above approach is the theoretical interpretation of the so-called 'cumulative causation' of migration as a self-sustaining process (Tonchev, 2007, p. 11). According to this, the immigrant communities and the informal ethnic networks play an important role in attracting new immigrants, mainly due to their mediation in finding housing and employment. This approach explains partially the findings that emerged from Tonchev's survey (2007) of Asians, the findings of Maroukis' survey (2010) about Albanians, those of Kontis and Bezevengis (2011), and Bellas (2012). These surveys point to the important role played by informal ethnic networks in order to ensure the initial access to employment and subsequent labour market integration. The multiplicity according to which the real operation scope of the labour market is structured, in relation to the position of immigrants within it, give a unique, multi-dimensional dynamic that sometimes exceeds the interpretation limits of one or more theories.

In reality, however, the dynamic of these developments consolidated a new type of labour division, where immigrants and native population are employed in 'parallel labour markets' in different sectors and professions. Immigrants mostly occupy unskilled (and seasonal) jobs often below their educational qualifications in sectors characterized by

production of intensive labour and/or informal activities such as the construction sector, agriculture and domestic services (Iosifides *et al.*, 2007).

Therefore, despite the confirmation by several surveys (Zografakis *et al.*, 2008) of the hypothesis that immigrants create new jobs for the native population, increase consumption, decrease prices and make Greek products cheaper and companies more productive, thus contributing positively to the national balance of payments, in practice immigrants are treated as production factors that are imperfect substitutes for native workers (Zografakis, 2011). The phenomenon of labour division is attributed both to the large size of the underground Greek economy which displays an unlimited demand for low paid unskilled work (OECD, 2005) and to the outdated and inflexible Greek labour and immigration policy in general.

On the other hand, the educational qualifications of immigrants are not recognized as equivalent to the corresponding degrees of native workers. During the past twenty years of migration experience, both immigrants (first generation) and their children (second generation) have been excluded from access to several professions, despite the fact that they hold the necessary educational and professional qualifications. As Maroukis (2010) argues, *'the main job positions of immigrants are 'protected' through their marginalisation'* (2010, p. 280).

### **5.1.1 Working conditions**

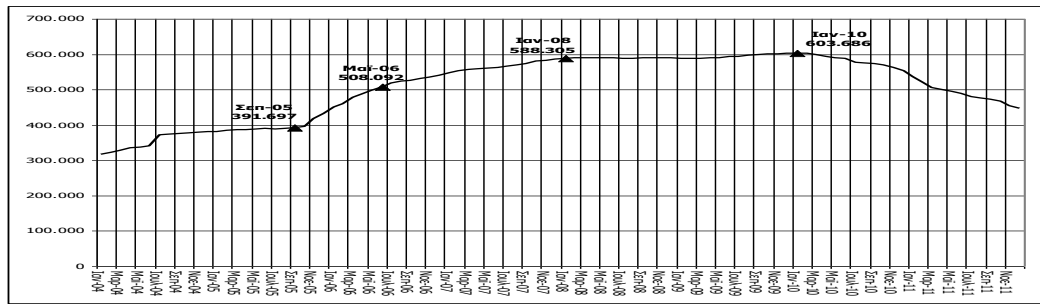
According to Eurostat (2011a), in December 2009, 565,595 immigrants lived in Greece and 43.2 per cent of residence permits were issued for employment purposes, whereas migration for family reunification presents a comparatively higher percentage (44.4 per cent)<sup>43</sup>. Greece is only surpassed by Italy in the percentage of residence permits issued for employment; it is first among the other countries of Southern Europe in the category of residence permits for family reunification (Kassimis and Papadopoulos, 2012). In January 2010, the statistical data (Figure 17) show an increase in the number of residence permits in force, to 603,686 (Greek Ministry of Interior, 2011). According to subsequent data, 2010 was the year with the highest number of valid residence permits since 2004.

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<sup>43</sup> The majority of residence permits for family reunification refers to immigrant women who are employed in undeclared work as cleaners or domestic workers.



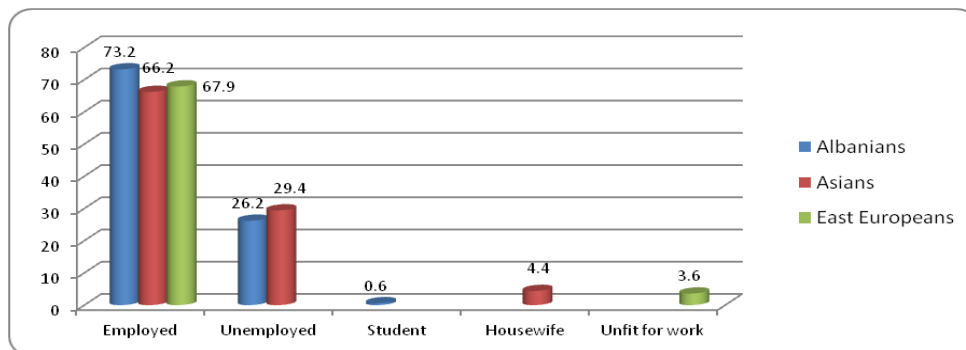
Figure 17. Stay permits 2004-2011



Source: Greek Ministry of Interior, 2011

In the same vein, the findings of this study show that the majority of the sample's respondents (70.8 per cent) are employed (Figure 18), while the unemployment rate does not exceed 27.3 per cent. And this despite the fact that the period in which the research was carried out (in second half of 2010), coincided with the outbreak of the economic crisis. With regards to differentiation among immigrant groups, the data show no significant deviation. The immigrant group with the highest rate of employment seems to be Albanians (73.2 per cent). They are followed by East Europeans (67.9 per cent) and Asians (66.2 per cent) with little difference between the first two groups.

Figure 18. Working conditions by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

Regarding unemployment, Asians present a slightly higher percentage (29.4 per cent) compared to East Europeans (28.6 per cent) and Albanians (26.2 per cent), while in other categories the relative distribution appears 'ethnicised', although participation is very restricted.

If we linearly separate the gender and immigrant group, we will see that 75 per cent of men from Eastern Europe are employed, while this percentage appears slightly reduced in the

case of Albanians (73.1 per cent) and Asians (72.1 per cent). In the case of unemployment, the gap among the immigrant groups is larger, especially if we compare the unemployment rate of Albanians (26.9 per cent) and Asians (27.9 per cent) with that of East Europeans (12.5 per cent). In practice, however, the observed deviation (or gap) seems to be a dummy for the simple reason that the real unemployment rate of East Europeans appears to be divided equally between two categories: ‘unemployed’ 12.5 per cent and ‘unable to work’ 12.5 per cent. Therefore, the real unemployment rate of East Europeans (regardless of the cause) is clearly at 25 per cent.

With regards to gender, 72.8 per cent of all employed immigrants are men. However, this difference between the two sexes is not particularly pronounced, since the percentage figure of overall employed immigrants is at 67.3.

The observed convergence of the two sexes may suggest an increase in the participation of immigrant women in the formal labour market, especially in the case of Albanians (73.2 per cent) and East Europeans (65 per cent). Another interesting point is the high participation of immigrants from Eastern Europe in both the labour market and in the unemployed category, with 65 and 35 per cent respectively. The immigrant group with the lowest employment rate and the highest unemployment rate are Asian women (14.3 and 42.9 per cent respectively).

The unemployment rate for women is higher (28.6 per cent) when compared to men (26.5 per cent) especially in the case of women from Asia and Eastern Europe (42.9 and 35 per cent respectively). The percentage of women from Albania is at its lowest level compared to men of the same group but this difference is not significant (25.4 per cent for women and 26.9 per cent for men). However, we can see a relatively high concentration of Asian women in the category of housewives (42.9 per cent) and their negligible participation in employment (only 14.3 per cent), which may indicate the transferring of trends of intra-family models and hierarchies, from the country of origin to the host country.

### **5.1.2 Contractual status**

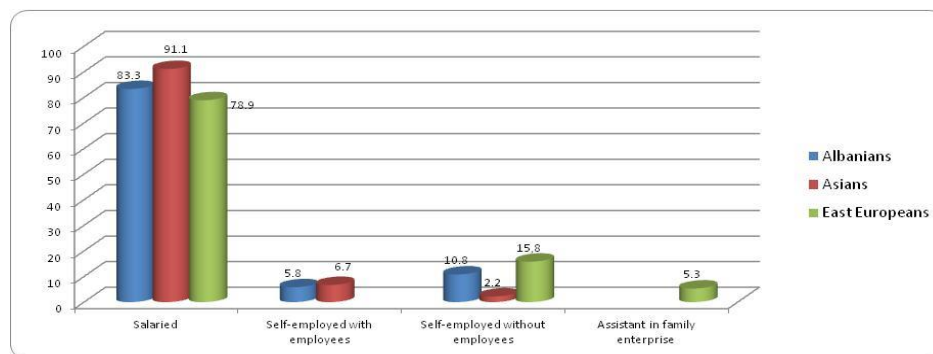
Regarding contractual status, the majority of respondents (84.8 per cent) are salaried employees, while a very low percentage are self-employed, with employees (5.4 per cent), or without employees (9.2 per cent). With respect to gender, our study finds a near perfect balance between men (84.9 per cent) and women (84.6 per cent) in the category of ‘salaried employment’, as well as the relative prevalence of women (12.3 per cent) to men (7.6 per

cent) in the category of ‘self-employed without employees’. In contrast, the figures provided by the Social Security Organisation (2010) showed that men make up 16 per cent and women nearly 11 per cent of all insured persons. This may be due to lower rate of social security contribution among women, which is partly related to the working conditions in the domestic services sector. On the other hand, immigrants insured in the construction industry constitute 45 per cent of all insured persons in the sector.

Regarding the differentiation among the immigrant groups, Asians (91.1 per cent) precede Albanians (83.8 per cent) and East Europeans (78.9 per cent) in the ‘salaried employee’ category (Figure 19). The picture that emerges appears improved in relation to the results presented in the study by Tonchev (2007), which claims that a large proportion of Asian immigrants have not been insured or have only been partially insured (2007, p. 4). The same study indicates that the majority of Asian immigrants are employed in low-skilled and low-cost positions, especially in the construction industry, in agriculture, in manufacturing, in services and trade (Tonchev, 2007, p. 3).

Again, our study shows that Asians, despite their low rate of participation, show a stronger presence than Albanians (6.7 per cent and 5.8 per cent respectively) in the ‘self-employed with employees’ category, while the group of East Europeans shows a higher percentage (15.8 per cent) in the ‘self-employed without employees’ category, when compared to Albanians (10.8 per cent) and Asians (2.2 per cent).

Figure 19. Contractual status by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

With respect to contractual status by gender and immigrant group, Asian men show high percentage (90.9) of ‘salaried employees’ when compared to men from East Europe (85.7 per cent) and Albania (80.9 per cent). In contrast, in the categories of ‘self-employment

with/without employees', it is worth noting the high representation of Albanian men (7.4 and 11.8 per cent) when compared to Asians (6.8 and 2.2 per cent).

An interesting finding is the near perfect balance between the two genders (84.9 and 86.6 per cent respectively) in the category of salaried employment. In the same category, however, the percentage of salaried employment for Albanian and East European women seems to match that of men (86.5 per cent).

The two sub-categories of employment, 'self-employment with employees' and 'self-employment without employees' seem to be predominantly represented by women. Thus, the first category is dominated by Albanian women at 3.8 per cent, the second category by women from Eastern Europe (25 per cent), followed by Albanian women at 9.6 per cent. This picture confirms the upward trend of immigrant women towards integration in the areas of salaried employment and small businesses.

These results seem to corroborate those in the study of Papadopoulou (2009b), according to which the overwhelming majority of immigrants are salaried employees (82.5 per cent) while 13.4 per cent are self-employed without employees (2009b, p. 47). The higher participation of Asian immigrants in the category of salaried employment is explained by the trend that shows a significant percentage of Asians in our sample to be employed in manufacturing.

In the case of Albanians, Maroukis (2010) traces the upward job mobility of Albanian immigrants, in the increased rates of self-employment (7.4 per cent for men and 3.9 per cent for women) and salaried employment (19.9 per cent for men and 15.7 per cent for women). The figures of Maroukis regarding the underemployment of Albanian immigrants of both sexes coincide with the data in our research. On the other hand, the relatively high participation of Albanians in the category of 'self-employed with employees' confirms the results of the study of Triandafyllidou and Maroufof (2012). Furthermore, a recent study conducted by Cavounidis and Cholezas (2013) found significant differences among Greeks, Albanians and nationals of other countries, regarding the indicator of self-employment. More specifically, one in four Greek men and one in five women are self-employed without employees, while the relative rates among Albanians is close to 7 per cent and the relative rates for nationals of other countries range from 4.5 per cent (women) to 10.1 per cent (men). It is suggested that the differences in the percentages of self-employment are tied to several structural factors such as the constraints arising from the legal framework for formally running a business activity by foreigners, their access to banking products, their non-

participation in professional organizations and the non-recognition of their qualifications (Cavounidis and Cholezas, 2013, p. 91).

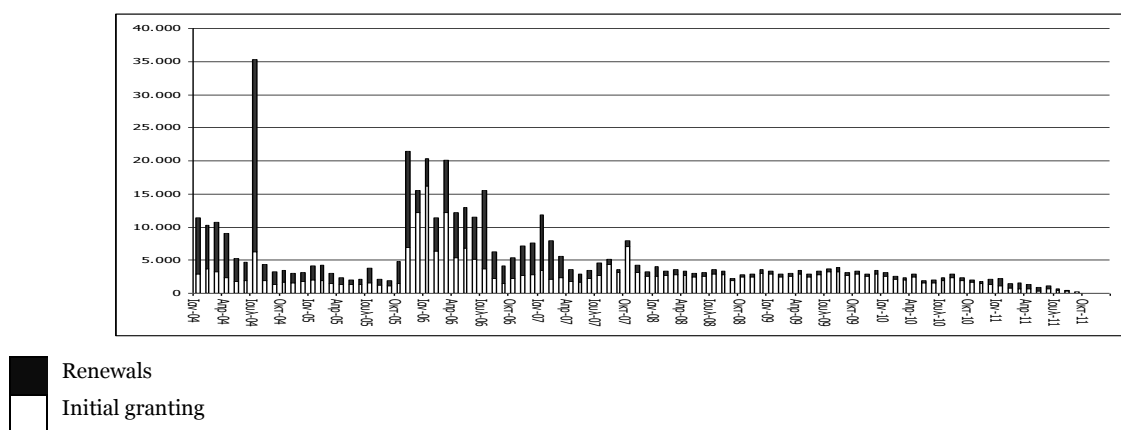
While attempting to summarize the conclusions that arise from the above analysis, we can say that dependent employment is the norm. The phenomenon of 'ethnicisation' of the labour market persists, with some immigrant groups covering specific labour market segments.

### 5.1.3 Unemployment

When it comes to integration into the labour market, a significant indicator is the rate of unemployment, which nowadays is directly influenced by the ongoing economic crisis in Greece. According to Zografakis (2011), the increase in unemployment among immigrants has found integration indicators at a lower level compared to the previous period, with men experiencing the biggest problems in finding a job when compared to women (2011, p. 7).

Meanwhile, the data of the Ministry of Interior (2011) reveal that from 2010 onwards there is a decrease in the number of valid residence permits. The number of residence permits<sup>44</sup> was estimated at 447,658 in December 2011 (Figure 20). According to the same estimations, in October 2011 there were no new residence permits issued, only renewals (Ministry of Interior, 2011, p. 29).

Figure 20. Fluctuations in stay permits 2004-2011



Source: Ministry of Interior

The assumption that the current economic crisis has mostly affected immigrants is also confirmed by the data of the Hellenic Statistical Authority and the Labour Force Survey (2012) which show that from the first quarter of 2009 onwards, the unemployment rate of

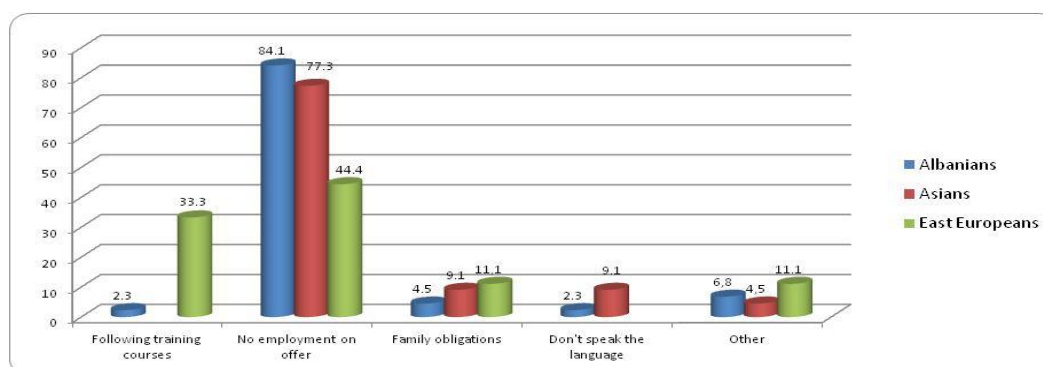
<sup>44</sup> In 1/12/2010 there were 553,916 residence permits

immigrants is higher than for Greeks<sup>45</sup>. Indeed, the economic crisis appears to have had a heavier impact on immigrants, a fact that is related to its serious impacts on specific sectors of the economy (e.g., construction) and the increasing unemployment rate among immigrants to 35.9 per cent, in contrast to the national average, which is at 24.5 per cent (European Commission, 2013, p. 17).

Although the fieldwork was conducted in the second half of 2010, at the onset of the economic crisis in Greece, the results presented in the figure below show the shortage of job offers (77.3 per cent). This finding confirms that the insecure and vulnerable socioeconomic status of immigrants expose them to the effects of the economic crisis, compared to the native workforce.

Of particular interest are the differentiations observed among the immigrant groups (Figure 21). The highest percentage among those unemployed immigrants who consider the lack of job offers as the main cause of unemployment, are Albanian immigrants (84.1 per cent). They are followed by Asians (77.3 per cent) and East Europeans (44.4 per cent).

Figure 21. Reasons for unemployment by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

Male migrants seem to face greater difficulties in finding a job (93.2 per cent) compared to women. Asian and Albanian men consider the lack of jobs as the main cause of unemployment, while only 50 per cent of women share the same view.

Over 50 per cent of East Europeans and eight per cent of Albanian men consider that there are other reasons that led to unemployment (discharge/dismissal, job accident and problems with the residence permit renewal). Despite the general assessment that immigrant men are more vulnerable to unemployment, the figures show that a high percentage of

<sup>45</sup> It should be noted that this development is contrary to the trends of previous years, during which the unemployment rate of the immigrant population was lower than that of Greek nationals.

immigrant women from Albania (73.3 per cent) and East Europeans (42.9 per cent) believe that the lack of jobs is the main cause of unemployment.

There are a high percentage of immigrant women from Asia in the category 'I cannot leave my children at home', at 40 per cent, and in the category 'I do not speak the Greek language' (20 per cent). In the latter category, we also observe the absence of immigrant women from East Europe, while Albanian women are represented with a very low percentage (5.3 per cent), 42.9 per cent of immigrant women from Eastern Europe present 'the attending of courses or training programmes' as a cause of unemployment.

The main reason for unemployment, however, appears to be the lack of jobs, perhaps linked to the first 'symptoms' of the economic crisis. This is a finding that confirms the hypothesis that the insecure and vulnerable socioeconomic status of immigrants exposes them to the effects of the economic crisis, compared to the native workforce (Triandafyllidou and Marouf, 2012; Ministry of Interior, 2011).

Similarly, the high unemployment rate among men when compared to immigrant women (93.2 and 54.8 per cent respectively) may be due to the fact that the economic crisis has 'crippled' those sectors (construction industry) of the economy where the participation of immigrant men (especially Albanians) is very pronounced. This hypothesis is confirmed by the research of Zografakis (2011) according to which immigrant men face greater problems of unemployment when compared to women (2011, p. 7).

With respect to the high concentration of East Europeans (33.3 per cent) in the category 'attending professional training programmes', this may be due to their increased access to the structures that provide vocational training and ease access to the labour market, an element that would confirm the hypothesis that this particular group possesses certain features that contribute to their upward social advancement. In contrast, the high participation of Asians in the category 'I do not speak the Greek language' corroborates the argument that Asian immigrants follow more complex paths toward integration (Papadopoulos, 2010; Tonchev, 2007).

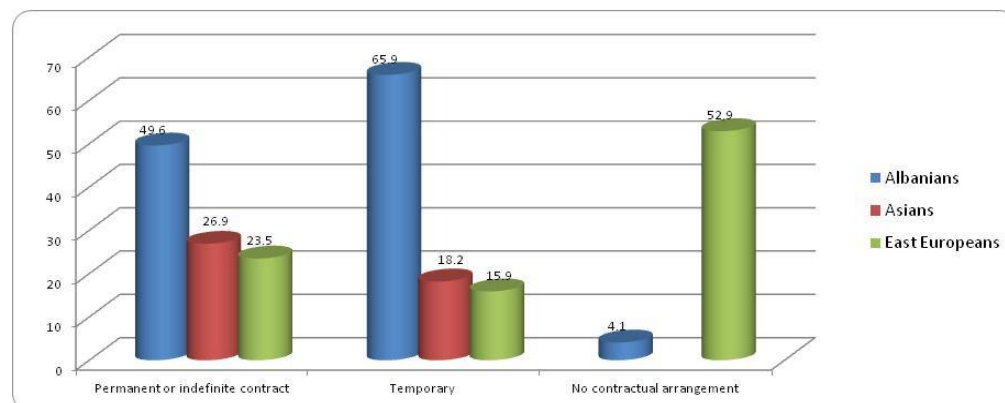
Data from the Labour Force Survey (2012) for the increase in unemployment among immigrants, and data from the Ministry of Interior (2011), show a decrease in the number of residence permits issued by the Greek state for the period 2010-2011. This would suggest a trend whereby immigrants are returning to their countries of origin, or remaining in Greece without documents. Meanwhile, the reduction in the population (176,310) observed in 2011 further supports the validity of the previous case, regarding immigrants returning to their countries of origin. The ongoing economic crisis, the employment and insurance losses, in

association with the precarious status of immigrants in Greece, may all contribute to renegotiating the terms of integration (or dis-integration), in comparison to earlier periods (Zografakis, 2011, p. 7).

### 5.1.4 Types of labour relations

The majority of respondents (53.3 per cent) declared that their labour relations are regulated by permanent employment contracts. Men (66.4 per cent) represent higher percentages compared to women (29.7 per cent). At the same time, the categories ‘no contractual arrangement’ and ‘temporary’ gather lower percentages (24.4 and 22.2 respectively). In this case, however, the gender distribution is completely reversed. Women concentrate far higher percentages (42.2 as opposed to 28.1 for men) in both the informal and temporary employment positions compared to men (14.7 for women and 19 per cent for men). But if we are to look at the differentiation of labour relations by immigrant group, we will see that the majority of Asians has a permanent employment contract (65.9 per cent), while the percentage of Albanians and East Europeans in the same category does not exceed 50 per cent (Figure 22). In the ‘temporary’ category, there are only two immigrant groups, Albanians with 26.9 per cent and Asians with 18.2 per cent. Interestingly, East Europeans are most strongly represented in the ‘undeclared work’ category (52.9 per cent), significantly ahead of both Albanians (23.5 per cent) and Asians (15.9 per cent) (Figure 22).

Figure 22. Type of labour relations by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

Albanian men display a relatively higher percentage (67.2) in the ‘permanent employment contracts’ category, when compared to the respective percentage of East Europeans (66.7 per cent) and Asians (65.1 per cent). In the ‘temporary contract’ category,



the percentage is equally shared between Albanian (20.9 per cent) and Asian men (18.6 per cent). In the last category, 'no contractual arrangement' the East Europeans are most represented, at 33.3 per cent.

The fact that more than half of our sample appear to be employed with a permanent or indefinite contract, may be linked to the upward professional mobility of men and their greater access to the labour market that was found in previous studies (Zografakis, 2011; Trianatafyllidou and Maroufof, 2011; Papadopoulos, 2010). This is also demonstrated by the increasing participation of Albanian and Pakistani men in the social insurance system (Social Security Organisation, 2010; Triandafyllidou and Maroufof, 2011). This trend may be reinforced by the need for employment and insurance documentation in Greece (120 insurance stamps) as a prerequisite for the renewal of residence permits (Kontis, 2011; Papadopoulou, 2009b). The relative stabilisation of the institutional framework that regulates legal status in the last three years is an additional factor contributing to this direction.

Insofar as labour relations for immigrant women of our sample are concerned, we can see a very high concentration of women from East Europe in the 'no contractual arrangement' category, with Albanian women displaying the second highest rate, at 38.5 per cent.

In the 'temporary contracts' category, Albanians are the only group represented, at a rate of 34.6 per cent. Women from East Europe have higher percentages of permanent employment when compared to women from Albania (26.9 per cent). The high rates of informal employment (42.2 per cent) of East European and Albanian women compared to men (14.7 and 19 per cent) were confirmed by the research of Zografakis (2011), according to which 40.9 per cent of women are working without an employment contract (2011, p. 33). This trend is reinforced by the informal function of the domestic service and cleaning sectors, where a great percentage of women from Albania and East Europe are employed (Triandafyllidou and Maroufof, 2011; Maroukis, 2010; Nikolova and Maroufof, 2009; Papataxiarchis *et al.*, 2008). One further element which corroborates our hypothesis, is the fact that Greece is the first among the four countries of Southern Europe with the largest number of residence permits issued for family reunification (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2012), which is potentially related to the legal status of women employed at informal work.

Finally, given the fact that 'temporary' labour relations represent 22.2 per cent of the total number of respondents, we may conclude that labour relations are moving between two extremes: there is salaried employment (53.3 per cent) and informal employment (24.4 per cent) and little in between.

### 5.1.5 Occupation

A survey by Zografakis *et al.* (2007) showed that 40 per cent of foreign workers are employed as unskilled workers and 35 per cent as specialized craftsmen. With regards to the sector of employment, there is comparatively increased participation of immigrants in the service sector with 15 per cent working in retail, whereas the percentage of immigrants employed in agriculture is a mere two per cent. This may be an indicator of the upward professional mobility of immigrants (Albanians in particular), who are long-term residents in the country.

The picture that emerges in the survey by Kasimis and Papadopoulos (2008), describes the upward professional mobility of immigrants in the local labour market. We can observe in this study that migrants, who are employed on a long-term basis in the local labour market, are gradually moving to new, more skilled, better paid and more established professions. The key factors contributing to this aforementioned mobility is the structure of the labour market itself, the years and status of residence, the individual motivation to adapt, and an acceptance by the host society (Papadopoulos, 2010, p. 100).

As regards the three groups in questions, the research has provided us with an overview of the 'ethnic map of employment' by profession, suggesting a relatively diversified set of integration strategies. Before the financial crisis, Albanian immigrants appeared to be more engaged in the construction sector, which was described as stable and was associated with upward socio-economic mobility. The fact that some Albanians have developed their own businesses in the same sector is a confirmation of their sector's potential for this kind of mobility. Asian immigrants appear to live and work with a lesser degree of interaction with the local community, a pattern which may suggest more restricted opportunities for integration (Papadopoulos, 2010, p.100).

This is supported by the findings of Tonchev (2007), which suggest that the low level of integration of Asian immigrants is due to their marginalisation with regards to particular sectors of Greek society. The data provided by Social Security Organisation (IKA, 2010) serves to support these findings. In relation to employment sectors, over 55 per cent of Albanian immigrants were employed in construction and tourism, the remaining 29 per cent in manufacturing and retail (at 15 and 14 per cent respectively). In the business sector, Albanian immigrants display a high mobility with more than 2,000 companies registered in the Chamber of Commerce. For the other immigrant groups, the employment picture appears

slightly different. In contrast, only 15 per cent of the other groups work in the industry sectors (18 per cent in retail, 24 per cent in manufacturing and 18 per cent in tourism).

In the study of Tonchev (2007), Pakistanis work mainly in manufacturing, while they are also active in the construction industry and in the service sector (e.g., auto shops, petrol stations). The number of Pakistanis working in internet cafes and telecommunication centres are also more numerous. Indians are employed in farms, animal husbandry and fish farming (Tonchev, 2007, p. 18). Finally, Bangladeshis work mainly in retail and restaurants. The study of Triandafyllou and Maroufof (2011) shows that Asians display are more likely to run their own business than Albanians or other immigrant groups from East Europe (2011, p. 29).

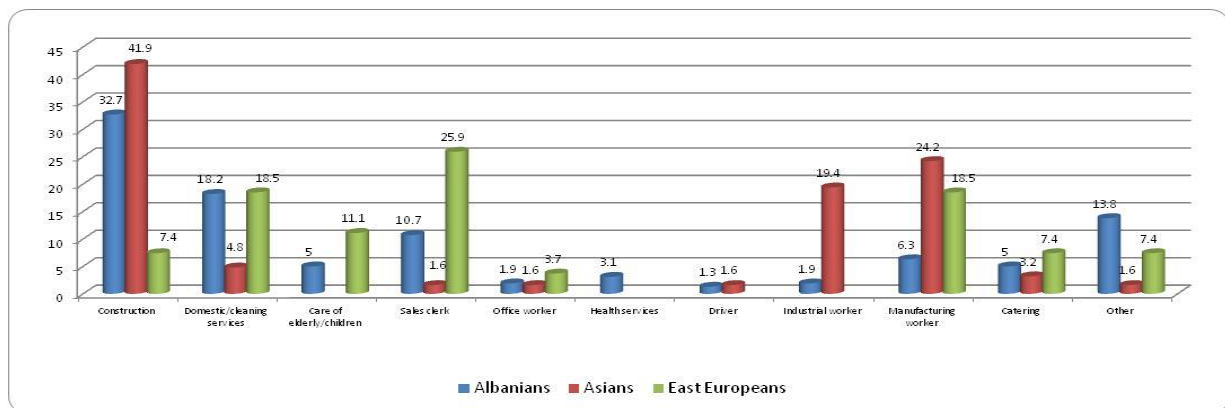
In the case of immigrants from Eastern Europe, the study of Nikolova and Maroufof (2010) shows that Ukrainian and Georgian immigrants are employed in sectors of the economy with a traditionally strong presence of immigrants: domestic services for women, and construction for men (and to a lesser extent in the fields of tourism, transportation and small business). The study by Triandafyllidou and Maroufof (2011), mentions that Ukrainians (together with Romanians and Bulgarians) are underrepresented in the business sector in comparison to other immigrant groups (Albanians and Asians) (2011, p. 29). The study by Kontis and Bezevengis (2011) regarding the indicators of immigrant integration into the labour market, depicts a problematic situation in relation to the low insurance rates (2.9 per cent for Greeks, 15.4 per cent for immigrants), but also the salaries of immigrants in contrast to those of Greeks. Similarly, the research showed an advanced level of integration particularly regarding access to employment and working hours (2011, p. 31).

As our study demonstrates, the map of the professional sector reveals on the one hand the diversity of occupations for immigrants, and on the other their significant vertical distribution, without any high concentration in any given sector. The sector with the highest concentration, relatively speaking, are construction (32.3 per cent), domestic services (14.9 per cent), manufacturing (12.1 per cent), retail (10.1 per cent) and other categories (10.1 per cent). This last and least populous category ('other') includes high-skilled professions such as director, interpreter, journalist and insurer. With regards to gender, almost half of the male population is employed in the construction sector (49.4 per cent) and 9.4 per cent in textiles. On the contrary, immigrant women are employed in domestic services and the cleaning sector (38.6 per cent), in retail (18.2 per cent), in elderly or childcare services (11.4 per cent) and other professions (11.4 per cent).

If we focus on the distribution of occupational sectors by immigrant group, we will notice that in the construction sector the traditional ethnic division has changed, with Asian

immigrants displaying higher rates of employment in comparison to Albanians (Figure 23). In the domestic service sector, East Europeans and Albanians are equally represented (18.5 and 18.2 per cent respectively). On the contrary, in the elderly and child care sector, East Europeans are the most represented – albeit with low rates – and Albanians follow with a very low participation rate (5 per cent). What is noteworthy is the high percentage of East Europeans (25.9 per cent) and the low percentage of Albanians (10.7 per cent) in retail.

Figure 23. Occupation by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

What is noteworthy is the predominance of Asians in the industry and manufacturing sectors (19.4 and 24.2 per cent respectively) compared to East Europeans, while the percentage of Albanians is very low. The presence of Albanians is significantly enhanced in the ‘other’ category, with 13.8 per cent, whereas other groups appear to be under-represented in this category.

Albanian men come first in the construction sector with 55.4 per cent. They are followed by Asians (42.6 per cent). There is a strong presence of East European men among sales clerks and office workers (28.6 and 14.3 per cent respectively). In industry and manufacturing, the participation of Asian men is high (19.7 and 24.6 per cent respectively), whereas men from East Europe display higher rates of participation (28.6 per cent in the construction category). Finally, in the ‘other’ category we can see a strong presence of Albanian men at 15.2 per cent.

In the case of women, there is a strong presence of Albanians (43.3 per cent) in domestic services. In elderly/child care, East Europeans are most represented (15.5 per cent), followed by Albanians (10.4 per cent). There is a significant participation of East European and Albanian women in retail (25 and 16.4 per cent respectively).

In sum, despite the high rates of participation in the traditional sectors occupied by immigrants (the construction and domestic service sector in particular), percentages in these sectors appear significantly reduced when compared to earlier studies (Iosifides, 2007; Papadopoulou, 2009b; Nikolova and Marouf, 2009; Maroukis, 2010).

This tendency may serve as evidence of the improved access to the labour market, and of the upward trend of professional mobility, which has also been observed in other studies (Kontis and Bezevengis, 2011; Papadopoulos, 2010; Maroukis, 2010).

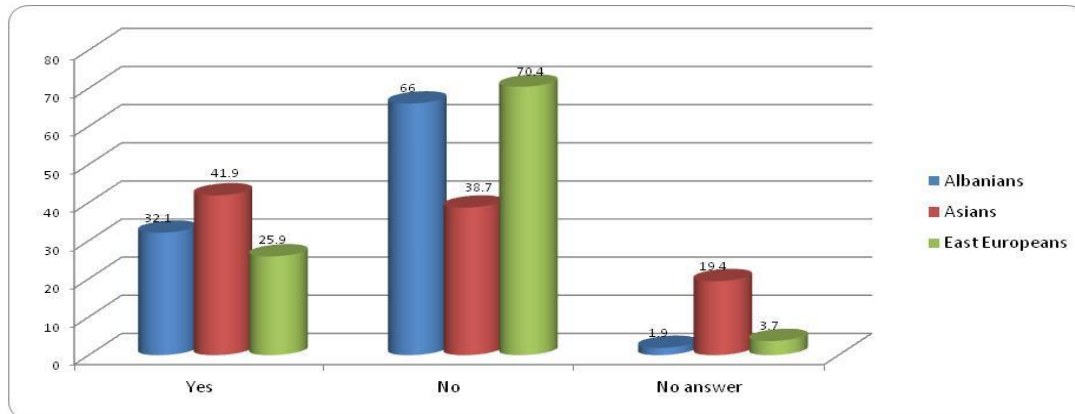
In the case of women, this upward mobility may be observed in other professions. Women from Albania and East Europe fare better in retail and office work, whereas one may discern a presence of these groups among new highly-skilled occupations (10.1 per cent). Thus we can assume that the upward professional mobility of immigrant women is clearly more pronounced than that of immigrant men. The above picture is confirmed by the research conducted by Zografakis *et al.* (2009), which showed that a significant proportion of the immigrant population (15 per cent) is now working in the service sector, and as clerks and vendors in shops or outdoor markets (2009, p. 74).

#### **5.1.6 Self-evaluation of occupational status**

One of the key dimensions of migration is the employment of immigrants as unskilled labourers in low-status jobs in comparison to the native population. This is in spite of the fact that their educational level is higher, in comparison to their occupation in the host country. The concept of social advancement and successful integration are inextricably intertwined with the self-image and self-evaluation of the individual or immigrant regarding their job position.

Figure 24 shows that the majority of immigrants (59.7 per cent) state that their employment does not correspond to their educational level. In contrast, 33.9 per cent believe that there is a positive correlation between their educational level and their job position. There is a noteworthy percentage of immigrant women (70.5 per cent) who believe their job position to be inconsistent with their educational level. With respect to immigrant groups, we observed that East Europeans concentrate the highest percentage of 'No' answers (70.4 per cent), followed by Albanians (66 per cent) (Figure 24). The largest percentage of Asians seem to positively evaluate the job position they hold, in relation to their educational level (41.9 per cent).

Figure 24. Self-evaluation of occupational status by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

An interesting picture emerges with regards to self-evaluation based on gender, according to which 57.1 per cent of East European men believe that their profession responds to their educational level. This picture is reversed, with 65.2 per cent of Albanians evaluating it negatively.

Regarding the self-evaluation of women, the figures show that Albanian women come first for 'Yes' at 29.9 per cent, followed by East Europeans at 15 per cent. In the 'No' section, East Europeans come first at 85 per cent, followed by Albanians at 67.2 per cent.

The picture that emerges from the above confirms that the educational qualifications of immigrants do not correspond to their occupation. As findings from other studies confirm, it is a general characteristic of the immigrant workforce (Zografakis, 2011; Iosifides, 2007). This is also confirmed by a Eurostat report (2011b), which shows that in Greece the percentage of highly skilled migrants is 10 per cent above the corresponding average of the overall population of the same age category (2011b, p. 76).

The highest percentage of negative self-evaluation is responses from immigrant women. This offers itself to two interpretations. First, this picture may be an indication of the higher educational level of immigrant women compared to men. Secondly, it may be viewed as an expression of protest and frustration against informal employment in the domestic sector. The demographic data in this research shows a high percentage of women attending high school and higher education (29.6 per cent) in comparison to the male population (19.8 per cent) whose education level is lower than that of women.

### **5.1.7 Concluding remarks on employment and labour market integration**

Employment is a key facet of socio-economic integration, as it is a confirmation of the success of one's endeavour to migrate and seek better opportunities abroad. As such, it is both a mechanism of socio-economic integration and the most significant indicator of the degree of economic integration into the recipient society. This is reflected in our own study, where the largest percentage of the sample is in employment. The picture that emerges from the preceding analysis shows that the majority of the sample population are employed as dependent workers, with Albanians scoring the highest rate of employment. This is also corroborated by the study of Cavounidis and Cholezas (2013), which shows that Albanians display a labour profile closer to that of Greeks (2013, p. 87). This high level of labour market integration is corroborated by findings from previous studies. In particular, the studies of Kasimis and Papadopoulos (2008), Papadopoulou (2009b) and Kontis and Bezevengis (2011), maintain that the majority of immigrants have a job and show a high level of access to the labour market when compared to Greek nationals. The same applies to native women, as demonstrated through the studies of Papadopoulou (2009b), Maroukis (2010), Kontis and Bezevengis (2011) and Triandafyllidou and Maroufouf (2011). This picture is possibly an indication of the high level of labour market integration, of the advanced maturity of the migration phenomenon in Greece, and the emancipation of both immigrant women and the family of immigrants in general (Kontis and Bezevengis, 2011, p. 182).

In addition, the high rate of labour market integration is an indication of the fulfillment of what has been frequently called the 'migration mission'; the search for employment lies at the root of the phenomenon of economic migration, in that it remains its primary purpose. For those having resided for a prolonged period in Greece, increased participation in the labour market is associated with the structural characteristics of the local labour market, its morphological features, the human capital of the migrant population as well as the size of the Greek informal economy, in combination with the high demand for unskilled labour (Kontis and Bezevengis, 2011, p. 187; Nikolitsa, 2008). As the study by Kontis and Bezevengis (2011) suggests, an important factor that contributes to the high rates of employment is the mediating role of ethnic networks in the integration of immigrants in the labour market (2011, p. 185).

In Greece, self-employment is perceived as the most significant indication of economic integration, as it provides a social and economic comparative advantage with respect to salaried work. However, a significantly high rate of migrants are employed as

dependent workers, while the level of self-employment is very low. The endurance of salaried work is of course linked to the impediments of certain institutional factors, such as the residence status, and the permit for independent work, or with the disincentives that they reproduce, with respect to the entrepreneurship of immigrants schemes (Kontis and Bezevengis, 2011, p. 181). The study of Cavounidis and Cholezas (2013) gives a further explanation by linking the low rates of self-employment, with the restrictions posed by the legal framework to non-nationals in order to start a business (2013, p. 9).

The largest percentage of the migrants in our sample are employed with a permanent or indefinite contract. Men display a higher percentage in this category, whereas women display a higher percentage in informal employment, or employment with no contractual arrangement. The fact that over half of the sample (53.3 per cent) appears to be employed with a permanent or indefinite contract, may be linked to upward job mobility and labour market integration, particularly among men from Albania. This is an additional indication of a high level of economic integration, in contrast to temporary work, the latter being a feature that distinguishes immigrants with long-term residence from newly arrived immigrants (OECD, 2012b, p. 128).

As far as the sector of employment is concerned, half of the male population works in the construction industry, while a smaller percentage work as manufacturing workers. It comes as no surprise that the largest percentage of women work as domestic workers. It is worth noting that a significant proportion of Albanian and East European women work in high-skilled professions. Although traditional professions (construction and domestic services) present high rates of participation, they appear however to be quite reduced in comparison to former studies. With respect to the professions of men, one may discern a reproduction of the traditional model of employment in those sectors associated with the presence of immigrant men in Greece. Correspondingly, despite the prominence of these sectors, there is a notable presence of women (from Albania and East Europe) in the retail and service sectors. There are strong grounds to support the hypothesis that the upward professional mobility and economic integration of women is more evident than with men.

Conversely, it seems that a considerably high rate of respondents negatively evaluate the relation between occupation and educational level, with women recording the highest negative evaluation. This trend is also confirmed by the OECD data (2012b) according to which immigrants in Greece are employed in low-skilled jobs eight times more than the native population (2012b, p. 118). The same report notes that one third of the immigrants who have recently earned a highly specialized employment position that does not correspond



to their educational level (OECD, 2012b, p. 120). It must be noted that Albanian immigrants show an increasing trend of employment integration, though one can hardly speak of a reversal in traditional patterns. East Europeans present a relatively dynamic and flexible labour market integration, while Asians, despite their growing participation in the formal labour market, show a relatively low labour mobility and a lack of expectations for further economic advancement in particular. The main causes may be found in insufficient knowledge of the Greek language. Our findings suggest that labour market integration is shaped by years of stay in Greece and legal status, confirming as such the hypothesis that integration in the labour market depends upon the duration of residence and migrants' legal status (Papadopoulos, 2010).

Therefore, the bottom-up perspective of economic integration displays a higher degree of upward mobility. However, insofar as the regulatory role of the institutional/political framework is concerned, the findings confirm the belief that the state is responsible for reproducing certain forms of systematic marginalisation of immigrants in the labour market, by holding individuals in an uncertain legal status and preventing their access to labour rights. Consequently, in such an environment, the most important dimension of socio-economic integration of the immigrant population is the individual and family level strategies in response to the needs of the local labour market.

## **5.2 Housing conditions and segregation**

The choice of a residential location, the neighbourhood, housing, as well as the wider social environment of the neighbourhood all constitute an integral part of the socio-economic integration process of immigrants in urban areas (Ventoura, 2011, p. 36). The core factors that make possible the assessment of housing as a significant dimension of socio-economic integration are socio-spatial segregation and housing conditions. Moreover, housing conditions as an indicator of socio-economic integration shape the image of the progress of social upward mobility and how it might be advanced in the future, particularly in relation to living standards and expectations. The Common Basic Principle of Integration notes that *'frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration {.....} and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and Member State citizens'* (European Commission, 2004, p. 18). Therefore, a particular urban area is not just a geographical reference point for the everyday life of people, but reflects the varied spectrum of social relations and networks both at an in-group level and in relation to society in general. Other

significant parameters of assessing this indicator are the type of house, the specific socio-economic status, the relevant infrastructure of the area and its public image.

Despite the great importance of housing conditions and of the spatial distribution of immigrants in the city, we cannot overlook the fact that the integration into the host society does not happen only as a result of the integration of immigrants in the urban area. The outcome of the integration process is also determined by the level of interaction and the interrelation between structural, social and cultural dimensions associated with both the special ethnic characteristics of immigrants and the nature of national structures in the context of which the dynamic of migration and integration is developed. In practice, urban policies applied by the state at central or local level, are to a great extent decisive factors that reflect the city's ability to integrate immigrants into its structures. Moreover, housing policy (or the lack thereof) accelerates or slows down the pace of this process (Lavrentiadou, 2006, p. 15).

In this study, socio-economic integration is approached in the context of the distinct, but interconnected spheres of socio-economic participation, where participation in one sphere influences the levels of participation in other spheres. It is here that housing manifests itself par excellence as an expression of socio-economic integration. This chapter addresses two key dimensions of housing. The first dimension examines the geographical mapping of spatial distribution/concentration of immigrants in the urban areas of the Greater Athens Area for the total immigrant population living in these municipalities, as well as for the immigrant groups participating in our study. The second dimension focuses on the descriptive analysis and evaluation of housing conditions of the sample population. The following are elaborated in detail: housing mobility, housing status, reason for choosing this particular region, basic characteristics of housing, housing quality and amenities. This section ends with a presentation of an assessment of the level of satisfaction with housing conditions, by the immigrants themselves.

### **5.2.1 Mapping the spatial distribution/concentration in the Greater Athens area (Piraeus and Korydallos)**

Our interest in mapping the spatial distribution/concentration in the Greater Athens areas (Piraeus and Korydallos) arises from the fact that there is no prior study that examines the dimensions of this phenomenon within the geographical limits of this area. Moreover, the selection of these particular municipalities presents a special interest because they have two different urban sizes, i.e., a metropolitan municipality with a developed industrial activity,

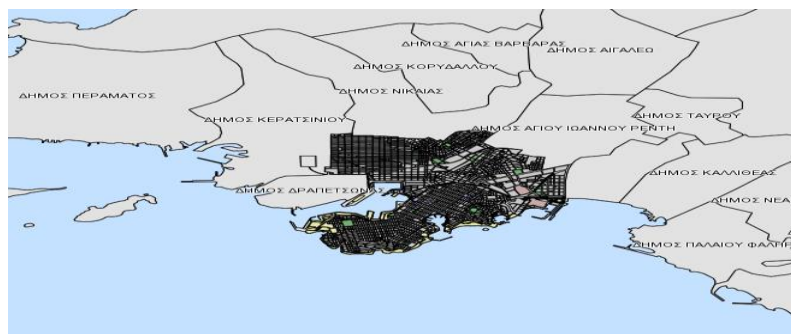
like that of Piraeus, and a small municipality like Korydallos. Third, the spatial distribution/concentration of immigrants in parts of the Greater Athens area deserves further investigation, given more recent developments, such as the ongoing economic crisis at the national level, the unprecedented rise of anti-immigrant political forces, and the impact of the above on existing patterns of marginalisation.

Subsequently, we will present the maps of spatial distribution of both the total legal immigrant population as recorded in the immigrant registers of the two municipalities. Secondly, we will present the maps that reflect the spatial distribution of the population sampling in these two areas.

Before dwelling further on the mapping, we consider it necessary to briefly present the main urban features of the municipalities of Greater Athens area (Piraeus and Korydallos).

The municipality of Piraeus is the centre of the Regional Unit of Piraeus and includes the municipalities of Korydallos, Nikaia-Agios Ioannis Rentis, Keratsini-Drapetsona and Peramatos (Map 4).

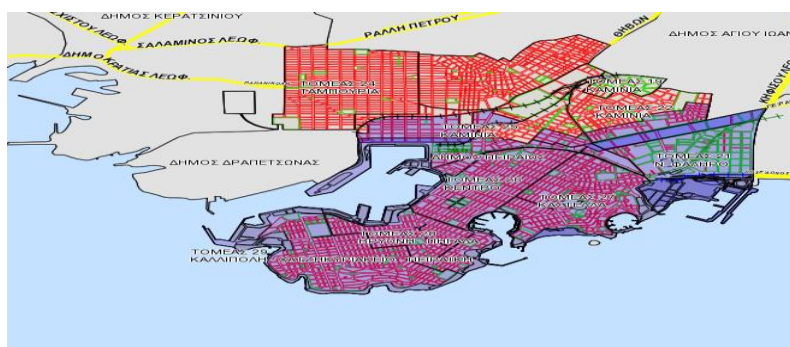
Map 4. Geographical Information System of Piraeus/Geographical Background



Source: <http://gis.piraeus.gov.gr/>

The city of Piraeus hosts the country's largest port, making it the largest trading centre of the Greek economy. Moreover, Piraeus is connected with the Aegean islands, and as part of the urban complex of Athens disposes of various transportation means that connect the city with the other municipalities of the Attica region (Map 5).

Map 5. Geographical Information System of Piraeus /Urban model

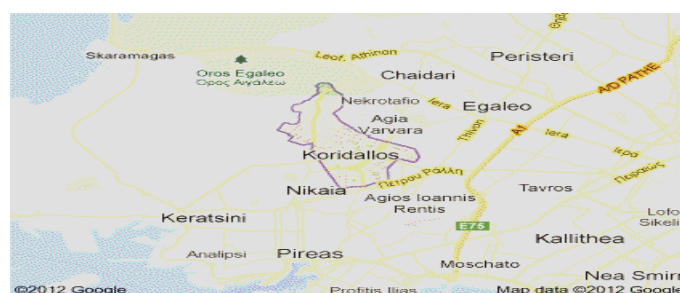


Source: <http://gis.piraeus.gov.gr/>

On the other hand, the city of Piraeus, as a former industrial area, has undergone in the last decades a phase of constant deindustrialization and structural changes, with a corresponding impact on the structure of the urban space (Valerianou *et al.*, 2006). The population of Piraeus, according to the census of 2011, has 163,688 residents, while the legally residing immigrant population of the municipality was 4.35 per cent (7,645) of the total population<sup>46</sup>; 61.5 per cent of the immigrant population are Albanian, 21.5 per cent are East European (Russia, Georgia, Ukraine and Moldavia) and 17.2 per cent are Asian (Pakistan, India and Bangladesh).

Korydallos is part of the Regional Unit of Piraeus (Map 6). It is typical as a district in the wider area of the capital, insofar as it includes all the problems, contradictions and challenges that characterize the urban space of the Greater Athens area (Theodoropoulou and Kati, 2012, p. 49).

Map 6. Map of Korydallos

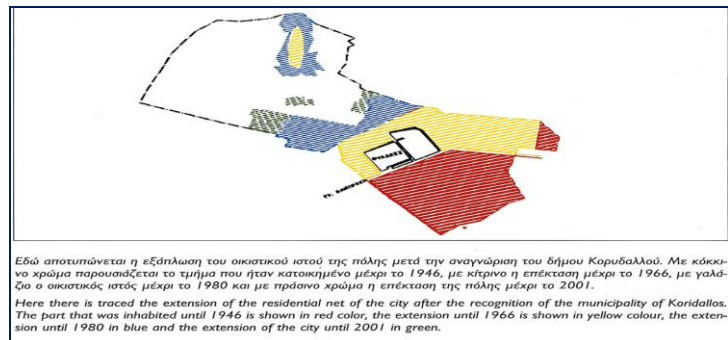


Source: <http://maps.google.com>

<sup>46</sup> According to the number of residence permits issued in 2009.

Along with the other districts of Piraeus (Kokkinia, Tambouria, Keratsini and Drapetsona), Korydallos was initially populated by Greek refugees from Asia Minor after the Asia Minor catastrophe and after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne (Map 7).

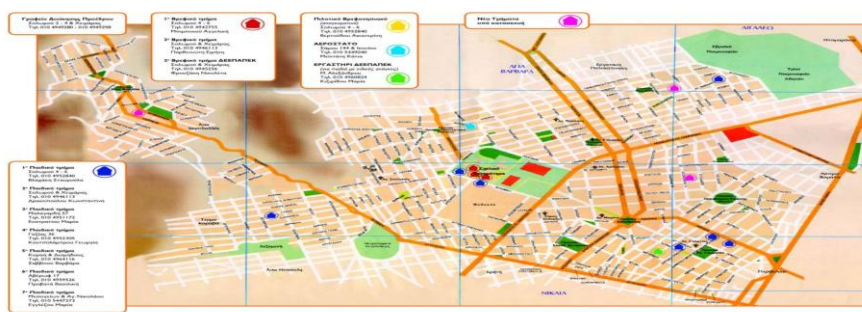
Map 7. Residential Area of Korydallos



Source: Theodoropoulou and Kati (2012, p. 51)

Korydallos presents a relative advantage from an environmental point of view when compared to the neighbouring municipalities, due to the presence of mountains, while it is at a focal point with respect to the capital's industrial areas, but also at a short distance from the centre of both Athens and Piraeus (Map 8). What is characteristic of the role of Korydallos, is the presence of Grigoriou Lambrakis Avenue (an intermediate section of Petrou Ralli and Schistou Avenues, and a gate to the Attica region from the West) and the Korydallos prison complex (Theodoropoulou and Kati, 2012, p. 53).

Map 8. Urban fabric of Korydallos



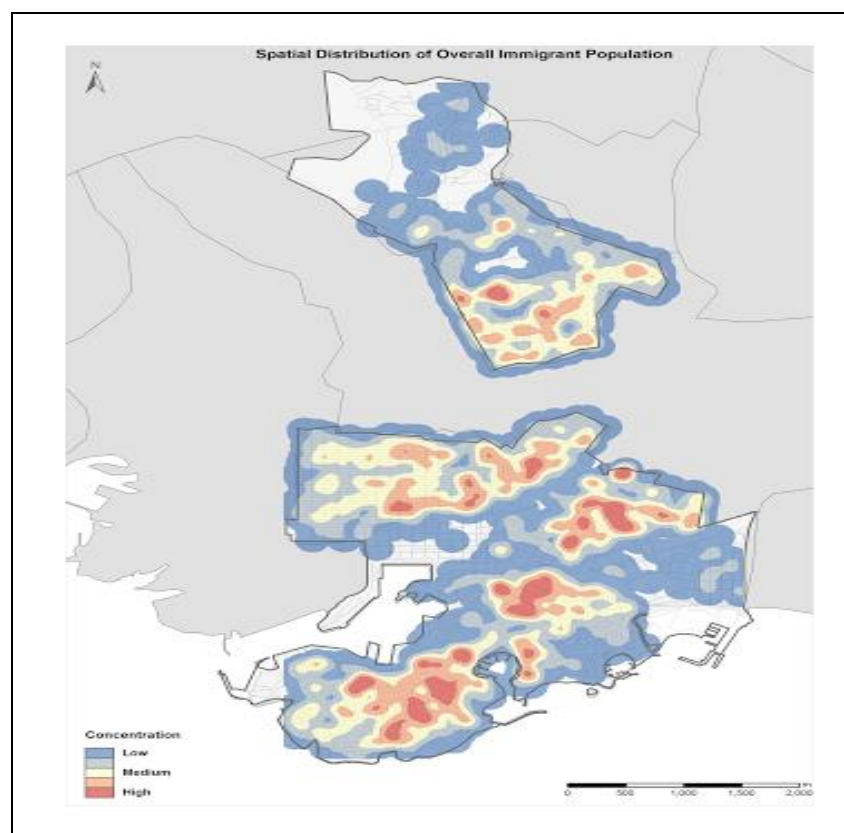
Source: [http://www.korydallosportal.gr/images/map\\_modified.jpg](http://www.korydallosportal.gr/images/map_modified.jpg)

We will now present the findings and the visual representations of the mapping procedures used.

In Map 9<sup>47</sup>, we observe an intensive concentration of immigrants, regardless of ethnicity<sup>48</sup>. A relatively higher concentration is observed in the first ward of Piraeus, in the traditional centre of the city, around the municipal theatre, in the most deprived areas and in the former industrial zones of Piraeus (Agios Dionisios and Kaminia).

In Korydallos, there is a strong concentration in the south section of the city (Kato Korydallos), in the most populated area of the city, that is the commercial zone of Taxiarchon street, Eleftherias square and Athinas street.

Map 9. Spatial distribution/concentration of the overall migration population



Source: Author's calculations

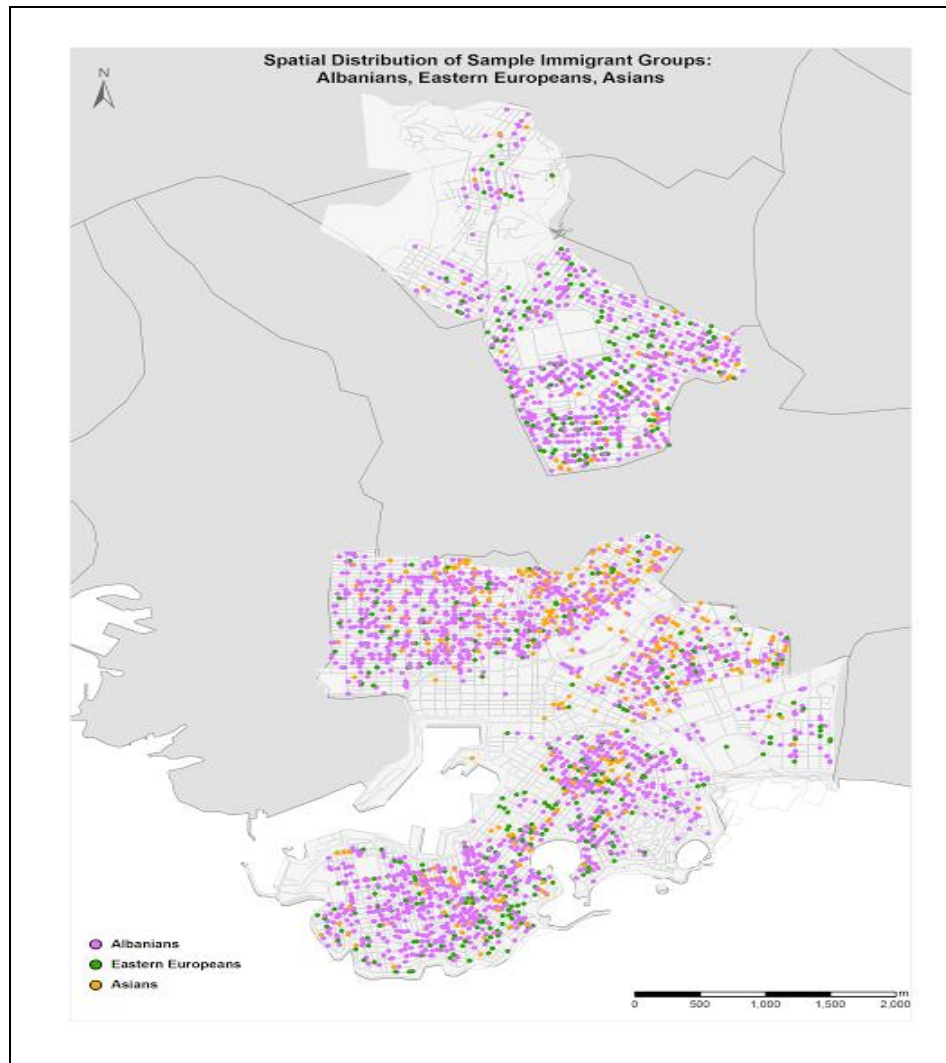
The distribution/concentration of the sample population displayed in Map 10 follows similar patterns to those of the previous map, since the sample population of this study constitutes 84.5 per cent (n=9,368) of the total immigrant population (n=11,086) in both

<sup>47</sup>The scale used was at 150:1, which divides the map into small sections, slightly smaller than the official definition of a neighbourhood (walking distance, catchment area).

<sup>48</sup> The darker red indicates denser concentration.

regions. Clearly, the dominant group is Albanians (n=7,605), while there appears to be a mix of ethnic groups, as there are no identified enclaves with purely ethnic characteristics.

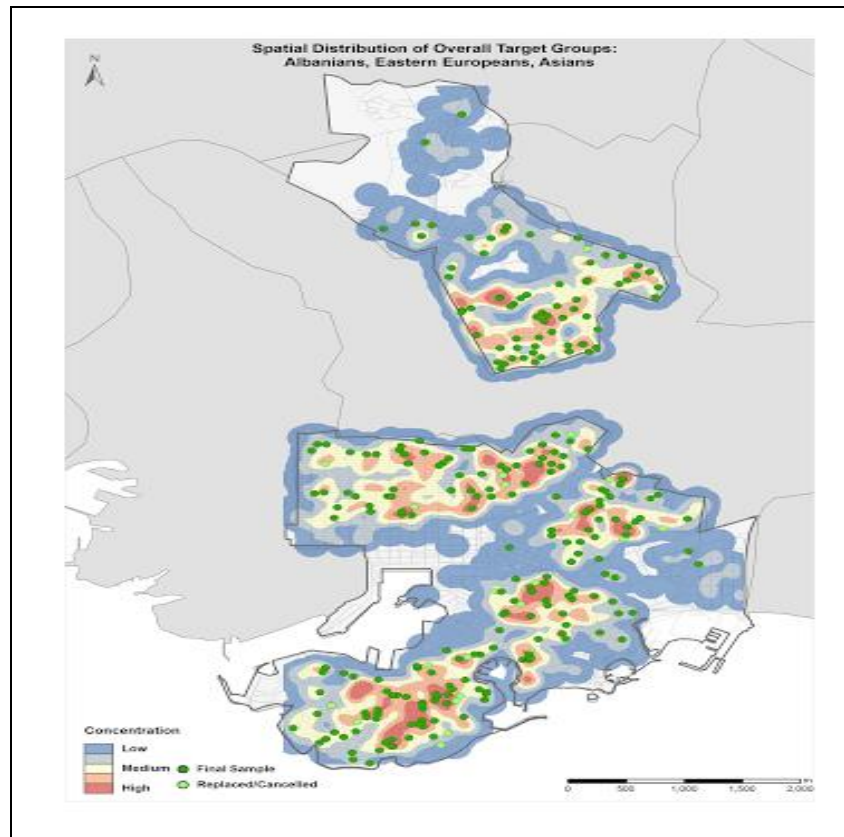
Map 10. Distribution/Concentration patterns of the sample population



Source: Author's calculations

Map 11 depicts the concentration of the groups in the sample. At first it seems not to differ from the overall picture displayed in Map 9.

Map 11. Spatial Distribution of Sample Population



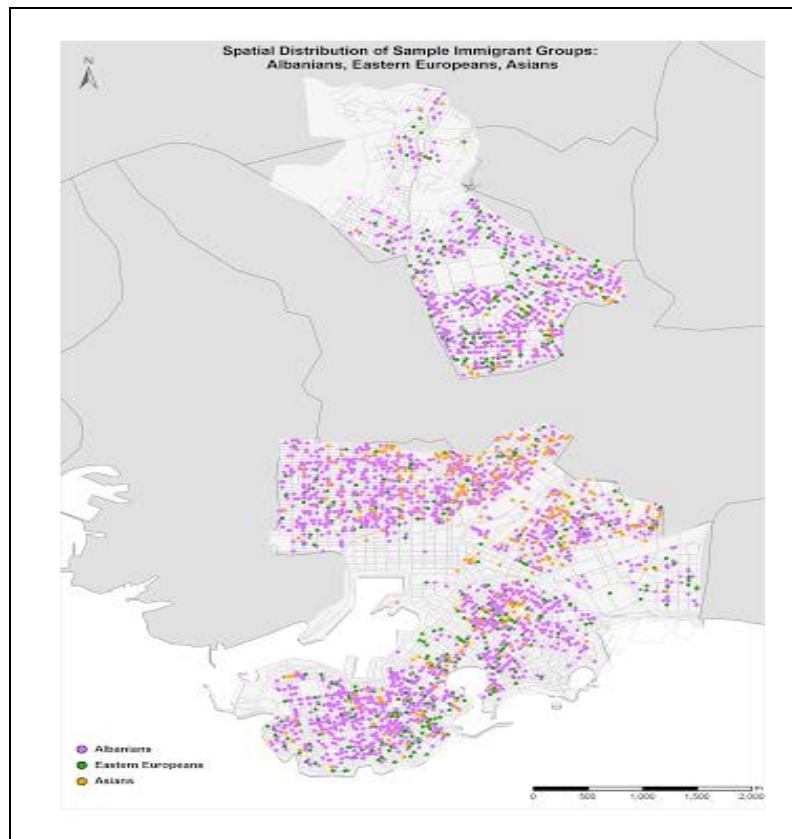
Source: Author's calculations

It is necessary to clarify that the sections in dark green reflect the distribution of the final sample, while those in light green reflect the individuals who have either been replaced, or whose participation has been cancelled. In the case of Korydallos, the replacements are not entirely discernible, as the scale of the printing means that one individual's signal has been overlapped. Finally, there is a strong correlation among the areas of high concentration of immigrant groups of the sample, both in the initial and final samples.

Map 12 presents a more detailed picture of the sample with regard to the immigrant group that each individual belongs to. However, the further mapping of concentrations of the other immigrant groups of the sample (Asians and East Europeans) did not take place, because of their relatively small number (ratio of about 1 to 7 compared to Albanians). Such a mapping of numerically small groups could display hot spots (high concentration) in areas where there may be no more than a family, but which happens to have four members.



Map 12. Distribution of Immigrant Groups of the Sample



Source: Author's calculations

Regarding the total immigrant population of Piraeus (Map 12) we discern at first strong trends of spatial concentration, which are determined according to the following characteristics:

- ✓ The strong trends of spatial concentration are restricted to two areas: in the traditional city centre of Piraeus and in its former deprived industrial zones.
- ✓ The spatial concentration observed is not associated with strong ethnic characteristics of the immigrant groups.

Therefore, in the case of Piraeus, although segregation does not appear to have ethnic features, the concentrations observed in the case of the deprived area of the former industrial zone may be associated with the low rents, coupled with the low socio-economic status of immigrants, access to commuting facilities, employment, and pre-existing friendly/familial networks in this area. This trend confirms what Psimmenos (1995; 1998) has described as a 'periphractic' space within the city, and which is about the existence of spaces of segregation where immigrants are cut off from the locals/native population. It is further linked to the

findings of the study conducted by Arapoglou (2006), according to which the residential mobility of immigrants is shaped by the level of spatial proximity between housing and workplace. Furthermore, it seems that both the initial settlement and the subsequent spatial relocation and/or housing mobility of immigrants in the city is subject to the economic restructuring and in particular to the geographical position that industrial units and services occupy in the urban environment (Arapoglou, 2006, p. 14).

On the other hand, the concentration observed in densely populated areas of the traditional centre of Piraeus, may at first be an indication of housing upward mobility and ultimately an indicator of greater socio-economic integration. Moreover, it may be linked to the need for socialization and externalization, for entertainment (with public areas such as squares and parks as a reference point), for maintaining social relations with both compatriots and the native population, and to public service networks (e.g., schools, transportation, hospitals, public services). As Lavrentiadou (2006) suggests, the neighbourhood is the only area in which immigrants may come into contact with both the native population and the networks of their compatriots (2006, p. 48). This might be related to the urban characteristics of the city, and as some studies support (Tzortzopoulou, 2002; Maroukis, 2010) to vertical segregation, according to which native populations and immigrants usually live in the same neighbourhoods or even in the same or closed blocks of flats, but natives usually occupy upper floors and moderns homes/apartments.

What is equally interesting is the picture of the spatial concentration of immigrants in Korydallos, an area without the metropolitan features of Piraeus. The fact that the largest concentration of immigrants is found in the most populated and expensive part of Korydallos (the commercial zone of Taxiarchon street, Eleftherias square, Athinas street) is a significant finding that stands out when compared to previous studies, overturning somewhat dominant perceptions. It stands out first because the housing market is quite expensive (mainly due to the intense commercial activity in the area), and second, because the area's profile is not related to the main sectors of employment for immigrants (i.e., industry). Besides, the fact that the percentage of immigrants living in Korydallos (3.8) is lower than Piraeus (4.35), may be explained by the fact that there is no connection between housing and employment. Given that all activities in the municipality of Korydallos have this particular area as a reference point, the high concentration of immigrants may be associated with the need to 'impose' or make visible their presence in the public areas of the city, and to socializing and entertainment in keeping with local standards and consumption patterns. Moreover, this picture is likely to be in line with what Vaiou (2007) describes as a form of bottom-up

integration taking place in the neighbourhoods of Athens. It should, however, be noticed that such a development presupposes on the one hand the long-term presence in the host country and increasing upward mobility, in particular regarding the interaction that takes place in the field of social co-existence with the native population.

The above observations are similar to the findings of the recent study by Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011, p. 9), which confirm the very high level of similarity between the spatial distribution of immigrants and that of the native population, with the value of the indicator of integration being highly satisfactory (83.5 per cent).

Map 12, which portrays the spatial distribution of the sample population (Albanians, Asians and East Europeans) shows no signs of ethnic enclaves. This picture is supported by a broad range of studies, which find that immigrants are diffused throughout the city, and that despite the fact that there are small scale concentrations, there are no ghettos (Petronoti, 1998; Vaiou and Hadjimichalis, 2003; Vaiou, 2007). However, this picture does not fully correspond to the findings of Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011, p. 9), which showed different levels of spatial distribution by immigrant group. More specifically, the value of the indicator of spatial distribution for Albanians is more satisfactory (86.1 per cent) when compared to the other immigrant groups. Finally, Maps 10 and 11 confirm that the population of our sample constitutes a representative sample in terms of their distribution in the space of the two cities.

## **5.2.2 Housing conditions**

Housing is another key aspect of socio-economic integration. Housing conditions, relating to quality and space, provide a wealth of information on the living standards of immigrants, their expectations for the future, their patterns and prospects of upward socio-economic mobility. This section focuses on the housing characteristics and conditions of the sample population. More specifically, the housing indicator was constructed on the basis of specific variables, which are listed in detail in the survey questionnaire (Annex 1).

### **5.2.2.1 Housing mobility**

The analysis of housing mobility does not concern merely the measurement of change of residence. It also deals with explaining individual and collective behaviour. Housing mobility is divided into local and distant. Correspondingly, it affects to a greater or lesser degree the level of migrant integration. Moreover, long-term stay in the same 'non-ghettoised' area indicates a condition of structural social integration.

Respondents were asked how frequently they changed residence, in order to determine trends of housing mobility among our sample. The majority of respondents (91.2 per cent) stated that they had changed their initial residence. Here, Albanians display the highest percentage (98.2 per cent).

Regarding the question 'how many times have you changed homes during your stay in Greece?', on average, 84.2 per cent of the sample have changed residence from two to five times. One may clearly discern a prevalent tendency of repetitive horizontal housing mobility (at an average of 91.2 per cent), for all groups in the sample. Albanians, however, present a higher percentage (98.2 per cent) regarding the frequency of change in residence.

Another indicator that reflects housing mobility is the years of stay in the last place of residence. Among the respondents in our sample, 41.4 per cent stated that they had lived in the same residence for three to five years, with East Europeans coming in first place (46.2 per cent), followed by Albanians (43.6 per cent) and Asians (34.3 per cent). It must be noted that the indicator in question is significantly differentiated with respect to newly-arrived and older immigrants.

### **5.2.3 Type of residence**

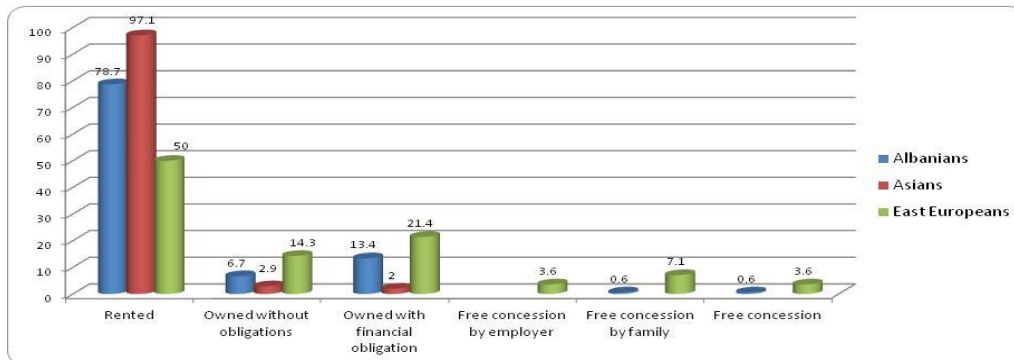
Type of residence is a basic and widely used indicator of the conditions of migrants' experience. There is a positive association between the levels of structural integration and the ownership status of one's main residence.

This indicator demonstrates the intention for long-term residence in the host country, migrants' economic position, and perhaps their 'displacement' from the rental market as a result of discrimination. According to the OECD's definition (2012b, p. 60), home ownership status is divided into three categories: ownership, rental, and free concession.

Our study shows that the majority of immigrants in the sample (80.4 per cent) live in rented homes, while only 17.3 per cent are owners. From the owners, 10.8 per cent state that their home ownership is bounded by financial obligations, while 6.5 per cent have no financial obligations.

Asians display the highest percentage in the category of rented homes (97.1 per cent), followed by Albanians (78.7 per cent) and East Europeans (50 per cent). In the case of home ownership (Figure 25) East Europeans display the highest percentage (35.7 per cent) followed by Albanians at 20.1 per cent and a very small number of Asians (2.9 per cent). However, the largest percentage of East Europeans and Albanians own their homes, and are bound by financial obligations (21.4 and 13.4 per cent respectively).

Figure 25. Home ownership status by immigrant group (%)

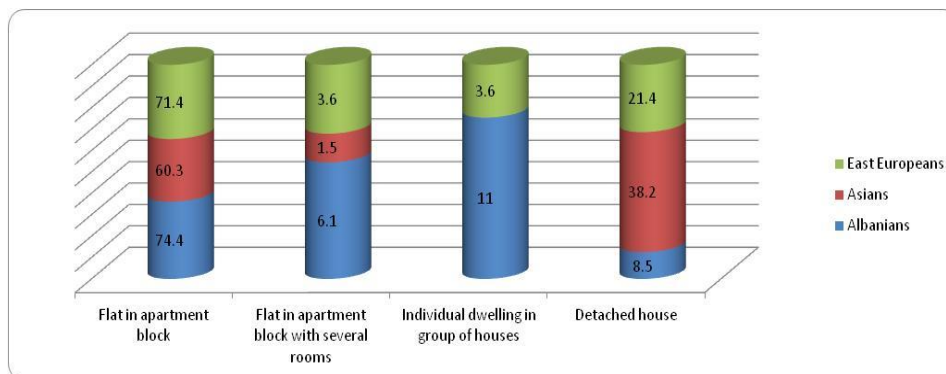


Source: Survey Data

The low rates of home ownership (17.3 per cent) converge with the results of the OECD report (2012b), which showed that in Greece the percentage of immigrant home owners is significantly lower than that of the national population, compared to the OECD member countries (2012b, p. 60). The results of the study of Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011), on the other hand, showed even lower percentages of home ownership – at 8.2 per cent of the total immigrant population in Greece. This finding confirms a reduced level of economic integration.

Figure 26 shows that the majority of the sample (70.4 per cent) lives in an apartment, while a significantly lower percentage (17.7) live in detached houses. Albanian immigrants (74.4 per cent) and East Europeans (71.4 per cent) display higher percentage in the category of living in flat/apartment when compared to Asians (60.3 per cent). Asians, on the other hand, display a higher percentage (38.2 per cent) in the category of detached houses.

Figure 26. Type of residence (%)



Source: Survey Data

The fact that the largest percentage of respondents lives in apartments/flats is interpreted in the context of urban development models of the wider area of the capital. This is also linked with the cheap housing stock available for rent to immigrants. The trend that shows that Asians display a greater percentage for detached houses, may be connected to specific characteristics of this immigrant group, reflected in the number of people living in the same house (men) and low expectations regarding housing conditions.

#### **5.2.4 Year of home purchase**

The indicator for the year of purchase of a home captures the economic ability of migrants, and in particular their intention for long-term stay in the receiving country. The existence of a new home, in combination with its own additional features, is an indication of decent housing and a certain degree of prosperity. A high indicator value suggests a condition of 'advanced' integration.

The findings show that 18.3 per cent have purchased a home built between 1965 and 2003, whereas 75 per cent have purchased a home built between 2004 and 2009. Albanians are more likely to have purchased their primary residence in the period 2004-2009 (87.7 per cent), whereas East Europeans, display a greater percentage (50 per cent) in the period 2000-2003 (though a significant increase of 40 per cent is noted for this group in 2007). Finally, Asians are under-represented in this category, with only two people having purchased a home in 2008.

#### **5.2.5 Level of rent**

This specific indicator reflects the Greek particularity, regarding the pattern of concentration in apartments in the city's central districts. Indeed, 80 per cent of the sample live in rented homes. This is primarily due to the urban model of development that was marked by the access of migrants to a large, affordable housing stock. In this context, the cost of rent demonstrates the economic strength of migrants, which is reflected both in the condition of the residence and the comforts it provides, as well as the area in which it is located.

According to respondents, the largest percentage pay a rent of between 251 to 350 euros per month, whereas 32.4 per cent pay between 351 and 450 euros per month. In the category with the lowest price of rent (between 150 and 250 euros) Asians (37.9 per cent) are more represented than other groups. A tendency of over-concentration of Albanians and East Europeans is observed in the categories of 251-350 and 351-450 euros, at 86.7 and 84.6 per cent respectively. This development suggests an improvement of the socio-economic status of

immigrants and therefore the presence of improved housing conditions. Asians, on the contrary, displays an over-concentration (84.9 per cent) in the category with the minimum level of rent (150-250 and 251-350 euros) an element that implies inferior housing conditions in comparison to the other two immigrant groups.

### **5.2.6 Choice of residence location**

The choice of residence location is, to a great extent, a reflection of one's financial capacity, as well as an indication of the ease of access to social and ethnic networks, while it also indicates the direct or indirect need of socialization in the urban space of the capital. When asked the reason that led them to the selection of their residence location, 46.5 per cent of the total sample attributed it to the earlier presence of friends or relatives in the same area. The second reason is proximity to workplace, at 28.5 per cent. The third reason is reduced cost, at 15.8 per cent. Over 50 per cent of Asians seem to select the housing area based on the existence of family/relatives/friends networks, with Albanians following at 45.1 per cent. In contrast, East Europeans appear to choose their area of residence based on existing networks of family, relatives or friends, as they are based on proximity to workplace.

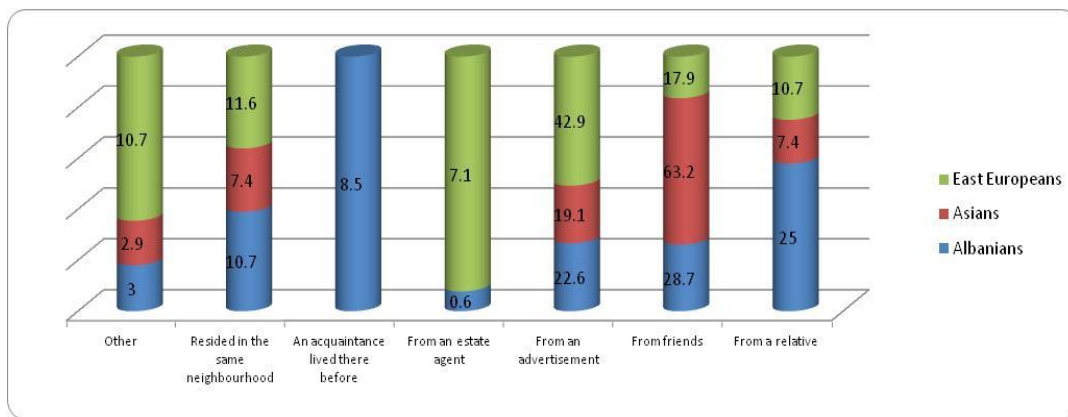
The largest percentage of respondents state that the main reason for selecting an area of residence is the existence of relatives and friends, and this suggests that the presence of friends/relatives in the area is more important than the area itself. A similar trend was observed in the study in Maroukis (2010) and Iosifides *et al.* (2007), who argued that the spatial migration path followed by Albanian immigrants in Greece is associated with the pattern of networks of family and relatives. On the other hand, the fact that East Europeans present a more balanced and perhaps more rational approach when selecting a residential area (in terms of spatial proximity between home and workplace), converges with the findings of the study of Arapoglou (2006), which supports that the housing mobility of immigrants is determined by the possible spatial proximity between residential location and workplace.

### **5.2.7 Modes of finding a residence**

As mentioned above, the trends and pattern of housing settlement in urban areas is associated with the modes of finding a house, and whether this is conditioned by the existence of social or family networks and/or proximity to the workplace. According to Figure 27, 36.5 per cent stated they found their current house through the help of friends, 23.8 per cent through advertising, 18.8 per cent with help from relatives, and 10.4 per cent as a result of living in the same neighbourhood.

In the case of Albanians, there is a relatively equal distribution among three categories (25 per cent through the help of relatives, 28.7 per cent through the help of friends, and 22.6 per cent through advertising). In the case of Asians, it is clear that most (63.2 per cent) found their residence through the help of friends. Finally, in the case of East Europeans, the higher percentage is in the category of rental advertising while the category ‘with the help of friends’ follows with 17.9 per cent.

Figure 27. Modes of finding a house by immigrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

It is worth noting that the mode of choosing a residence is determined by subjective preferences, rather than rational criteria, which means that friendly and relative networks play a crucial role in the housing/spatial settlement of immigrants in urban areas. Thus, in the case of Albanians, networks of friends and relative dominated other categories. Such a trend may possibly be interpreted in the context of the family migration pattern of Albanians in Greece. Asians seem to rely almost exclusively on friendly networks (of men), rather than on other means. This is also associated with the nature of the initial individual decision of migration to Greece, which apparently relied more on friendly networks of compatriots. East Europeans present a more rational mode of seeking a house, with rental advertising working as the chief mode, and friendly networks following with a lower percentage.

### 5.2.8 Number of bedrooms

According to the respondents, the majority of the sample (69 per cent) live in houses with two bedrooms, while the percentage of those who live in houses with one to three bedrooms is equally distributed among these two sub-categories (14.7 per cent). On the other hand, the majority of Albanians (72.4 per cent) live in houses with two bedrooms. In the category of



residences with a single bedroom, Asians have the highest percentage (27.9 per cent) and are followed by East Europeans (14.8 per cent). Albanians display a higher concentration compared to the other immigrant groups in the category of houses with three bedrooms (17.8 per cent).

The largest percentage of immigrants seem to live in two bedroom homes. However, the fact that Asians display a higher percentage in the category of one bedroom homes compared to other immigrant groups, may be explained by the number of persons that live in the same house (usually men) and the low expectations regarding housing conditions.

### **5.2.9 Floor space**

Regarding the floor space, there is a dense concentration in the category of 31-50 square meters (60.5 per cent), which characterizes all three immigrant groups (60.4, 61.8 and 58.3 per cent respectively). Then come dwellings with 81-100 square meters of floor space. Here the most represented group are Albanians (25.6 per cent), then East Europeans (16.7 per cent), followed by a very low number of Asians (4.4 per cent).

This trend is reversed when it comes to the category of 31-50 square meters, where the largest percentage are Asians (19.1 per cent) followed by East Europeans (16.7 per cent). What is also significant, but with lower rates, is the concentration of Asians in the category of up to 30 square meters (the other groups are almost absent from this category).

The general conclusion that may be drawn from the results of this variable is the significant presence of Albanian immigrants in the category of 51-80 square metres, and to a lesser extent, in the category of 81-100 square metres. Asians, on the other hand, while mostly concentrated in 51-80 category, also display a tendency of diffusion between the first two categories (31-50 and up to 30), while East Europeans show a slightly higher concentration in the 51-80 square metres category. The study of Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011), on the other hand, showed that the level of integration on the basis of the floor area for all immigrants appears almost satisfactory in comparison to Greeks, whilst in the case of immigrants from Albania and other countries (Asia, Africa, Latin America) the respective rate is lower, at 73.9 and 70.1 respectively (Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou. 2011, p. 13).

### **5.2.10 Number of persons in accommodation**

As expected, all the above (number of rooms and housing size) are meaningful when associated with the people who use and share these housing areas. Therefore, the results show

that 40.3 per cent of the sample lives with four persons, 26.4 per cent with three persons, 14.3 per cent with two persons, and 10.9 per cent with five persons.

Albanians have a higher concentration in the categories of three and four persons (27.4 and 47 per cent). East Europeans, on the other hand, have higher percentages in the categories of two and three persons (33.3 and 40.7 per cent). Finally, Asians seem to have a more uniform distribution in the individual categories, although they present a higher concentration in the category of four persons with 32.8 per cent.

### **5.2.11 Year of housing construction**

Regarding the year of construction, 37.8 per cent of the sample declared that their residence was constructed at some point between 1961 and 1970, 31.7 per cent live in residence dated 1971-1980, while 15.4 per cent state they live in residences dated 1946-1960.

In the case of Albanian immigrants, we observed a large concentration in relatively old buildings, with 42.7 per cent living in houses dated 1961-1970 and 29.9 per cent in houses dated 1971-1980. This picture is reversed in the case of Asians with 39.7 per cent living in residences dated 1971-1980 and 33.8 per cent living in residences dated 1961-1970.

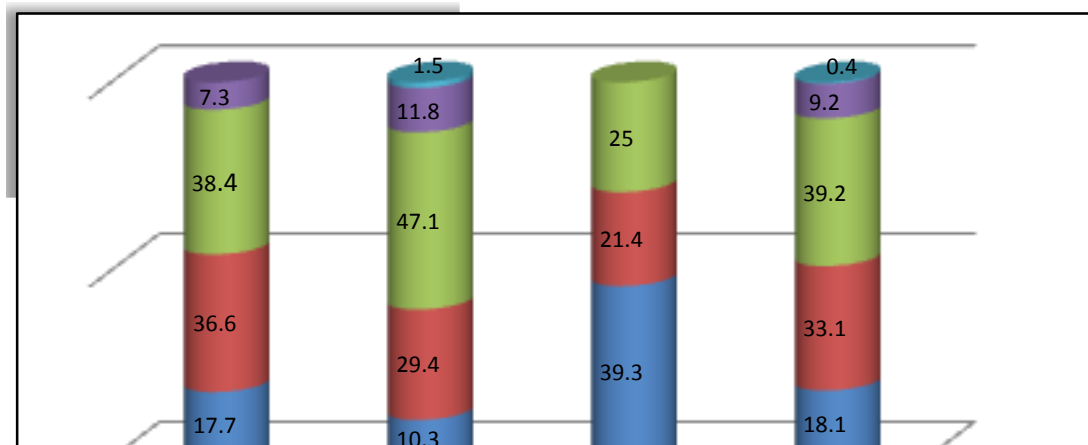
This picture appears very different with regards to the year of construction of residences for East Europeans. More specifically, 18.5 per cent live in residences built during the period 1961-1970, 22.2 per cent during the period 1971-1980, 18.2 per cent dated 1981-1990, and 18.5 per cent living in residences dated 1991-2000.

As the study of Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011) shows, the level of integration based on the same variable displays less satisfactory rates (Albanians: 51.1, new EU member states: 52.8, other countries outside the EU: 51.2) compared to Greeks. This rate is even lower in the case of immigrants from Asia, Africa and America (46.5).

### **5.2.12 Self-evaluation of housing conditions**

An important variable is also how the immigrants themselves evaluate their housing conditions. Thus, according to Figure 28, the greatest percentage of respondents (39.2 per cent) claimed to be 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied' from their housing conditions, 33.1 per cent appear to be 'satisfied', while 18.1 per cent are 'very satisfied'. Those who are 'rather dissatisfied or very dissatisfied', display a small percentage (an average of 9.6). From the group perspective, the largest percentage of Asians and Albanians are 'neutral' (47.1 and 38.4 per cent respectively), while Albanians score higher percentages in the 'rather satisfied' category (36.6 per cent) compared to Asians (29.4 per cent) and East Europeans.

Figure 28. Level of satisfaction with housing conditions (%)



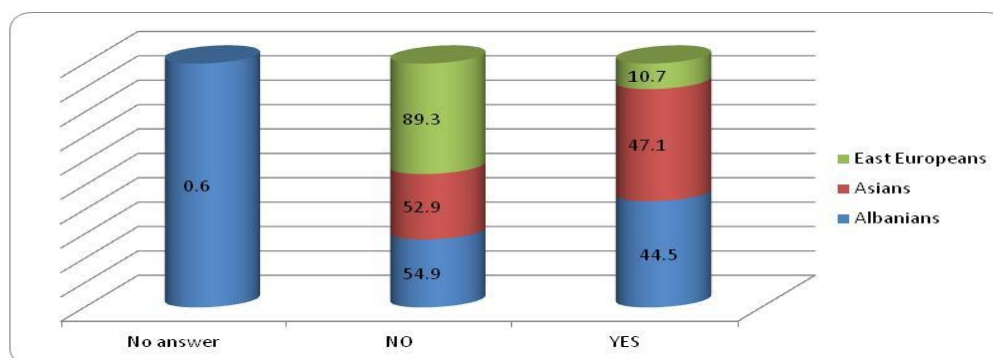
Source: Survey Data

Finally, the largest percentage of East Europeans (39.3 per cent) declared that that they are ‘very satisfied’ with their housing conditions, 25 per cent are ‘neutral’, 21.4 per cent are ‘rather satisfied’, and finally 14.3 are ‘rather dissatisfied’.

The analysis of these variables shows that the immigrant groups with the highest percentage of satisfaction with housing conditions is East Europeans (60.7 per cent), while Albanians and Asians follow with 54.7 and 39.7 per cent respectively. This picture is reversed when it comes to the category of ‘neither satisfied nor dissatisfied’ with Asians scoring the highest percentage (47.1 per cent), followed by Albanians (38.4 per cent) and East Europeans (25 per cent). This is also confirmed by the study of Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou (2011), which showed a relatively high level of satisfaction of immigrants with their housing conditions (immigrants: 59.9, Greeks: 76.8), with Albanians claiming to be more satisfied (64.5 per cent) than other immigrant groups (Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou, 2011, p. 19).

It is a fact that a key dimension of housing is also the racism and the discrimination experienced by immigrants during the search for a suitable residence. As shown in Figure 29, when asked whether they have ever faced a problem with renting a residence because of their ethnic origin, it is interesting to note that 58.1 per cent have not experienced discrimination attitudes, while 41.5 per cent have.

Figure 29. Discrimination in the housing market (%)



Source: Survey Data

The immigrant groups that face the greatest problems with renting a residence are Asians (47.1 per cent), with Albanians following at 44.5 per cent. The percentage of East Europeans is quite low (10.7 per cent) compared to the other two groups.

### 5.2.13 Concluding remarks on housing and segregation

This sub-section examined two key dimensions of housing. The first covered the geographical mapping of the spatial distribution/concentration in the Greater Athens area, for both the total of the immigrant population and the immigrant groups of our sample.

As far as the socio-spatial distribution is concerned, the total of the immigrant population in the Greater Athens area displays a distinct spatial concentration pattern in certain central and traditional high-density areas of the two cities. These patterns are not characterized by intense ethnic characteristics, but are possibly related to the following:

- the low cost of renting in association with the low socioeconomic status of immigrants (former industrial zone of Piraeus).
- the level of spatial proximity between home and workplace.
- access to public service networks (transportation, schools, hospitals, public services, etc.).
- family/ethnic and friendly networks.
- the phenomenon of vertical segregation.
- the increasing upward mobility, in particular regarding the interaction that takes place in the field of social coexistence with the native population at the local level.

Regarding housing conditions, a horizontal housing mobility seems to characterize all three immigrant groups, with Albanians displaying a higher percentage in the frequency of changing residence. At the same time, an important element which, according to the literature, significantly affects the level of immigrants' integration in the urban areas is the ownership status of the residence. Relevant studies have come to the conclusion that the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants is a statistically significant factor regarding the increased possibility of home ownership. In particular, immigrants who have been successfully integrated into the host society are more likely to purchase houses compared to the less integrated immigrants (Mitrakos and Lavrentiadou, 2011, p. 6). In our case, home ownership rates are low, with East Europeans having the highest percentage, compared to Albanians. This trend is also confirmed by the recent study of Bella (ed.) (2012) on the social integration of immigrant women domestic workers, where the majority of the sample (70.3 per cent) live in a rented house and only 10.9 per cent are owners.

The low rates of home ownership may be explained by the institutional barriers which are related to the precarious residence status and the lack of access to other resources (loan, specific subsidizing projects such as Social Housing Organisation, which is now defunct). Indeed, the fact that 81.7 per cent of the sample's owners stated 2000-2008 as the period during which they acquired a home, may be explained by the timing of the regularization programmes (1998, 2001 and 2004) and the subsequent normalization of the residence status. The stability of residence gave greater accessibility to bank loans and subsidizing programmes by the Workers' Housing Organization (OEK). From 2008 onwards a sharp decline is noticed in the housing market, a development that may be associated with the economic crisis, rising unemployment, the refusal of banks to grant loans and finally to the dismantling of OEK.

Moreover, the fact that the majority of immigrants live in apartment flats, is attributed primarily to the urban development model of the capital, in association with the cheap residences available to immigrants. At the same time, the problems of racism and discrimination faced in renting a house may be related to the external physical features (Asians) and the prevailing prejudices associated with these groups (Albanians).

Housing conditions, as an important indicator of socio-economic integration, complete the picture when thinking of how socio-economic upward mobility evolves in the present, and how it might evolve in the future. One should, however, consider that the evolution of the segregation phenomenon and housing conditions is determined to a large extent by the specificities of the urban local infrastructure, the institutions and rules of the

welfare state and the structural development of the housing market, in combination with the historical frame of reference of the above.

As revealed by the present study, the spatial distribution of immigrants does not seem to confirm the simple geographical division of centre-urban periphery. In practice, this has contributed to the 'normal' integration of residents in the urban structures of the two cities, and to a kind of homogeneity in the urban environment, avoiding in this way social divisions and conflicts. Furthermore, the relatively improved image of housing conditions, compared to findings of previous studies, can be seen as an important aspect of socio-economic integration.

The crucial question, however, is whether urban integration automatically leads to greater integration in society. Or could the explanation perhaps lie in the argument on class of Loic Wacquant (2007), according to which ethnic diversity, porous borders and the inability to create a common civic and political identity, made the neighbourhoods of large cities the opposite of the ghetto, the anti-ghetto?

Finally, when examining immigrants integration, one should consider the new problems that arise from the economic crisis and the rise of anti-immigrant political forces. The historical absence of well-designed integration policies has given way to the repressive policies and the domination of anti-immigrant and racist speech. Therefore, immigrant groups – in particularly those occupying a lower position in the social hierarchy – can be trapped in dead-end situations, with no prospects for social mobility and the ongoing risk of urban marginalisation (Maloutas, 2012; Arapoglou *et al.*, 2009).

#### **5.4 Use of the Greek language**

The use of the language of the country of settlement is of the utmost importance and constitutes a prerequisite for the successful socio-economic integration of immigrants (OECD, 2010b, p. 32). The proper use of language requires, among others things, a degree of cultural knowledge, since the function of a language is connected with the culture it expresses and reproduces. In this way, the language-learning in adult immigrants equips them with the knowledge and ability to understand and evaluate socio-cultural practices and meanings (Papageorgiou, 2006). It helps them, therefore, to develop the ability and interest in social participation and active contribution to social dialogue, since communication is socially useful and ultimately the connective fabric of society. The better the members of a society communicate with one another, the more peaceful and cohesive that society becomes. In this

respect, social cohesion is supported by communication, not because people use a common language code, but because they know where, why, with whom and for what they will use one language or the other. The common Basic Principle on Integration states that *'basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration'* (European Commission, 2004, p. 18).

In this chapter, there is a detailed presentation of the knowledge level of the Greek language, the methods of learning it, the evaluation of these language courses and the frequency of using the Greek language in the private and public spheres.

#### **5.4.1 Proficiency in the Greek language**

With regard to the level of comprehension of the Greek language, 53.9 per cent of respondents answered that it is 'very good', and 25 per cent 'good'. In terms of immigrant groups, however, there seems to be a large difference in the category 'very good comprehension' of the Greek language between Albanians and East Europeans on the one hand (89 and 67.9 per cent respectively) and Asians on the other (7.3 per cent). Asians show a higher concentration in the categories 'very good' and 'good' (34.1 and 30.9 per cent respectively). It is also the only immigrant group represented in the categories of 'basic' and 'not at all' (1.5 and 26.4 per cent respectively).

A similar picture is presented by the level of speaking of the Greek language. The largest percentage of respondents believe that their level of speaking is 'very good' (36.3 per cent) and 'excellent' (33 per cent). At the group level, Albanians are represented equally in the categories 'very good' and 'good' at 43.1 and 42.1 per cent respectively. East Europeans come next with 39.3 per cent, and state that their level of oral proficiency is 'excellent'. Conversely, Asians show a higher percentage in the categories 'little' (35.3 per cent), 'well' (29.4 per cent) and 'very well' (25 per cent).

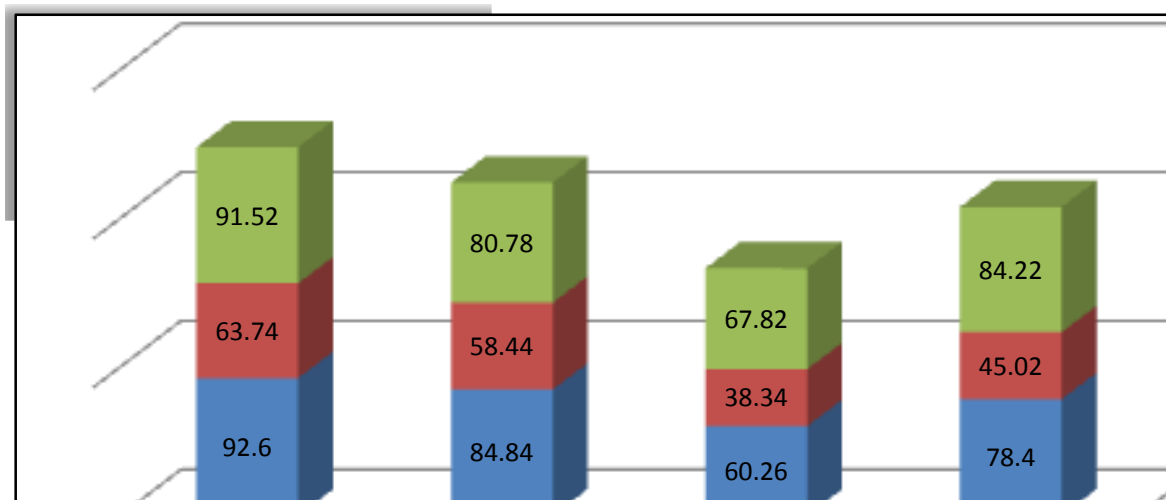
For writing skills, the picture that emerges is significantly altered: 33.1 per cent of respondents declared that they write 'well', 23.4 and 17.7 per cent write 'little' and 'not at all' respectively. Finally, only 9.6 per cent write 'very well'.

Albanians and East Europeans are good at writing with 37.8 and 35.7 per cent respectively. In the category 'very well', East Europeans have higher percentage compared to Albanians (21.4 and 20.7 per cent respectively). On the contrary, Asians have the highest concentration in the category 'not at all', with 44.1 per cent.

At the same time, 33 per cent of respondents declared that they are ‘excellent’ at reading, while 21.9 read ‘very well’ and 18.1 per cent read ‘little’. Similarly, Albanians and East Europeans believe that they are excellent at reading, at 46.4 and 42.1 per cent respectively. In the case of Asians, 39.7 per cent read ‘little’ Greek, while 27.9 per cent cannot read Greek at all.

Figure 30 (below) shows the overall level of Greek language proficiency by category and immigrant group. As is clearly visible, Albanians and East Europeans outrank Asians in almost all sub-categories.

Figure 30. Proficiency in the Greek language by immigrant group (%)

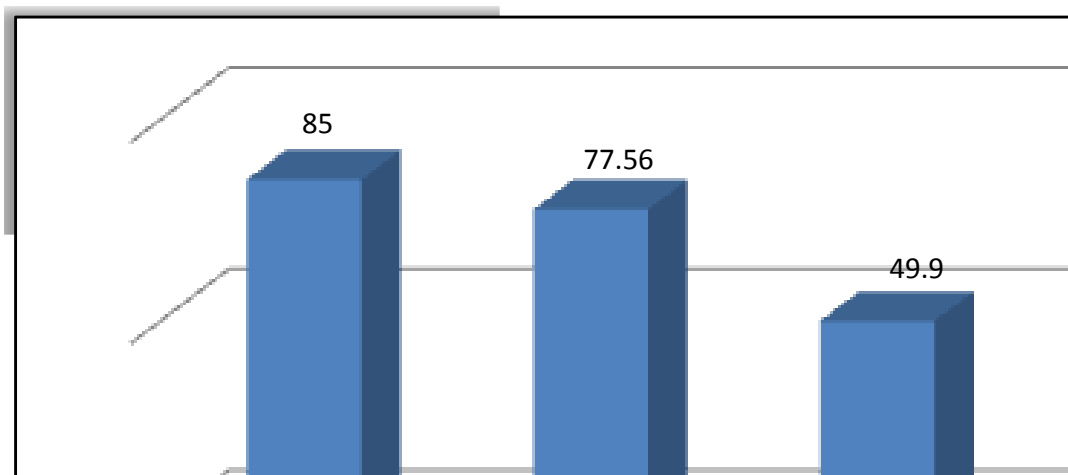


Source: Survey Data

Figure 31, below, displays the average rate of language proficiency of the overall sample by category. Clearly, the majority of the sample (85 per cent) can understand Greek, followed by 77.56 and 70.22 per cent respectively for speaking and reading. In contrast, only 49.9 of the sample can write in Greek.



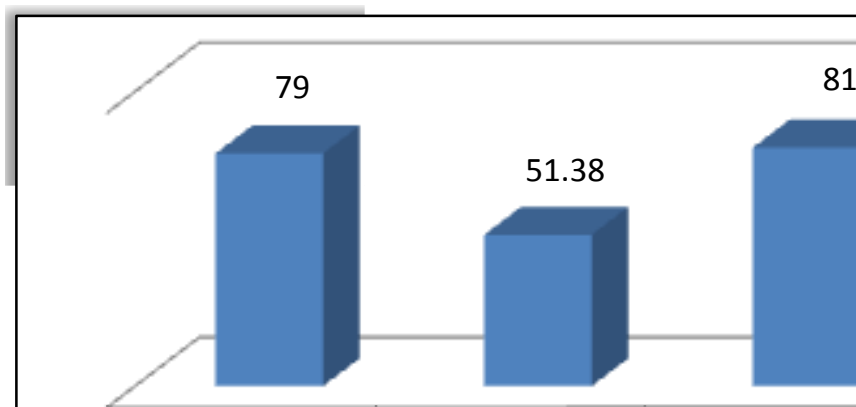
Figure 31. Level of knowledge of the Greek language of the overall sample (%)



Source: Survey Data

Finally, Figure 32 shows the average of language proficiency by immigrant group. East Europeans notably display a greater language proficiency level (81 per cent) compared to Albanians (79 per cent), even though the difference is minimal. Conversely, the average level of Greek language proficiency for Asians is found to be quite low (51.38 per cent) when compared to other groups.

Figure 32. Overall level of Greek language by group (%)



Source: Survey Data

The average score of Greek language proficiency of the sample population appears very high, reaching 70.67 per cent. However, the major weakness that we note is in writing skills, while comprehension, reading and speaking are clearly higher. In relation to the level of language proficiency by immigrant group, East Europeans and Albanians have generally

high percentages when compared to Asians, although the latter display a much better picture when compared to previous studies.

#### **5.4.2 Methods of Greek language learning**

The method and means available for learning the language of the country of settlement attribute special characteristics to the quality of communication and the prospect for social and professional advancement. With the purpose of evaluating the learning methods of the Greek language, the respondents were asked to give their opinion on the three methods chosen in order to acquire the basic language skills.

The majority of the sample (89.2 per cent) learn Greek on their own, while other methods of learning display very low percentages. In terms of immigrant group, the majority of Albanians (91.5 per cent), East Europeans (85.7 per cent) and Asians (85.3 per cent) state that they learned Greek on their own.

In second place, with 57.5 per cent, we find those who learned the language by attending co-funded courses organized by Vocational Training Centres, 22.5 per cent is in the 'other' category, followed by 15 per cent who have attended Greek language courses organized by the prefectures or municipalities in which they live. Interestingly, 75 per cent of those who attended language courses are East European, 57.1 per cent are Albanian and 28.6 per cent are Asian. In contrast, Asians shows comparatively greater access to the programmes of the prefecture or municipality, at 57.1 per cent.

From the results above it emerges that the third view, 'other', with 92.7 per cent, in combination with the first option 'myself' (89.2 per cent), constitute the 'informal rule' for learning the Greek language. The low level of those attending co-funded Greek language courses in Professional Training Centres is justified by a lack of access mainly due to structural barriers related to employment/unemployment status, and residence status.

From the socio-economic integration perspective, it is worth noting the high participation of East Europeans in co-funded language courses, a fact that may be attributed to their higher level of networking at the state level. Asians, in contrast, participate in programmes organized by the municipality or the prefecture, which may be attributed to their greater degree of networking at the local level. However, the dominance of informal and empirical patterns of learning the Greek language is evidently seen as one of the factors contributing to the proven inability of the immigrant population to develop writing skills, and consequently to secure work and overall upward mobility.

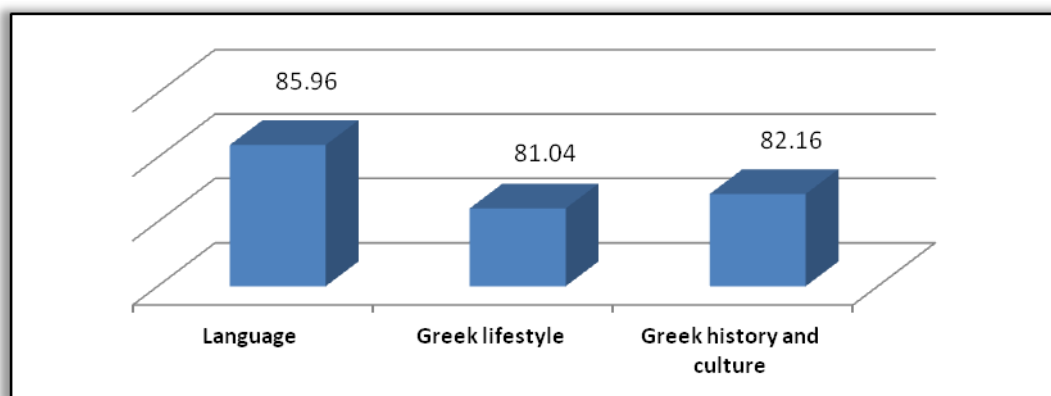
### 5.4.3 Evaluating the importance of attending Greek language classes

To the question, ‘how much did Greek language classes help you to learn the language?’, the majority of the sample (50.9 per cent) answered ‘very much’. At the group level, 60 per cent of East Europeans and 55.1 per cent of Albanians believe that Greek classes helped them ‘very much’ to learn the language (vocabulary, grammar and syntax), with Asians following at 30.8 per cent. When asked to evaluate whether Greek language courses helped them to learn the Greek lifestyle (customs, traditions), the average percentages in the categories ‘much’ and ‘very much’ are smaller compared to the previous question with 45.6 per cent.

From the group perspective, 60 per cent of East Europeans believe that Greek language courses helped them ‘very much’ to become acquainted with the Greek lifestyle, Albanians follow with 48.2 per cent while Asians come last with 23.1 per cent. Similarly, 47.4 of the sample believe that Greek language courses helped them ‘much’ in learning about Greek history/culture and 29.8 per cent ‘very much’.

Comparing the average scores by category (Figure 33), the majority of the sample population (85.96 per cent) responded that Greek language lessons helped more in vocabulary, grammar and syntax rather than lifestyle and history/culture. However, the overall picture shows a very high average score across categories, that reaches over 80 per cent.

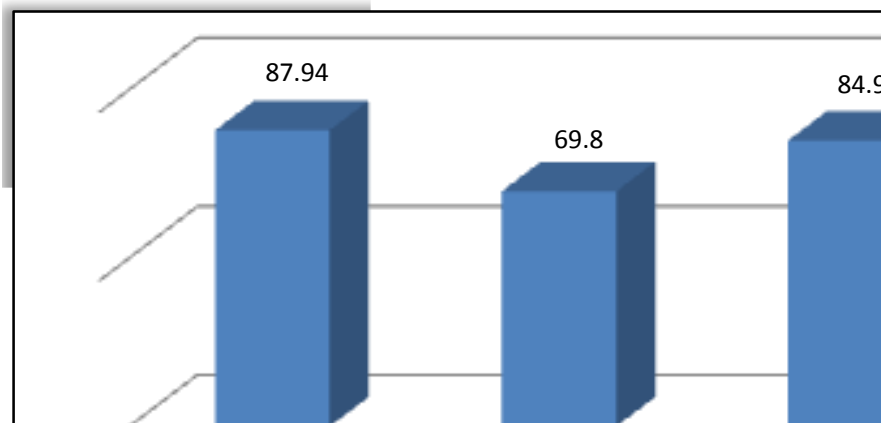
Figure 33. Helpfulness of Greek language classes (%)



Source: Survey Data

At the group level (Figure 34), more Albanians evaluate positively the usefulness of attending Greek language classes, compared to East Europeans (82.16 per cent) and Asians (81.04 per cent). However, the differences are very small.

Figure 34. 'Greek language classes were useful' (%)



Source: Survey Data

The picture that emerges from the above analysis confirms that the implementation of the Greek language teaching system contributes to the proper learning of the Greek language, the majority evaluate it as very positive (more than 80 per cent). Finally, the findings show that Greek language classes helped more in vocabulary, grammar and syntax, in comparison to the other categories.

#### 5.4.4 Method of Greek language learning

When asked the reason for selecting a method of language learning, the majority of respondents (53.9 per cent) said the chief reason was the economic factor, followed by 'other' (21.6 per cent). At the group level, the economic reason is the main factor for 66.7 per cent of Albanians and 58.8 per cent of Asians. Conversely, 46.2 per cent of East Europeans maintain that 'other' reasons are the choice of relevant method, while 26.9 per cent consider the economic factor as the most important reason.

From the above analysis it becomes clear that the main reasons that determine the method of Greek language learning are the economic aspect (53.9 per cent), then the 'other' category at 21.6 per cent. In addition, the economic reason seems to be the norm for Albanians, while for Asians this specific option seems to include both the economic factor (58.8 per cent) and the ethnic orientation dimension, with 20.6 per cent claiming that they learned about the programme from their compatriots. In the case of East Europeans this picture differs, with the largest percentage stating that 'other' was the main reason behind their decision.

#### **5.4.5 Frequency of Greek language usage**

To the question ‘which language do you use in your family’, 65.8 per cent of the sample responded they used the mother tongue, while 24.6 per cent claimed they use both the mother tongue and Greek. The same holds true for Albanians, with 59.1 of them using the Albanian language to a greater extent in communication with their families, and 34.1 per cent using both Greek and Albanian.

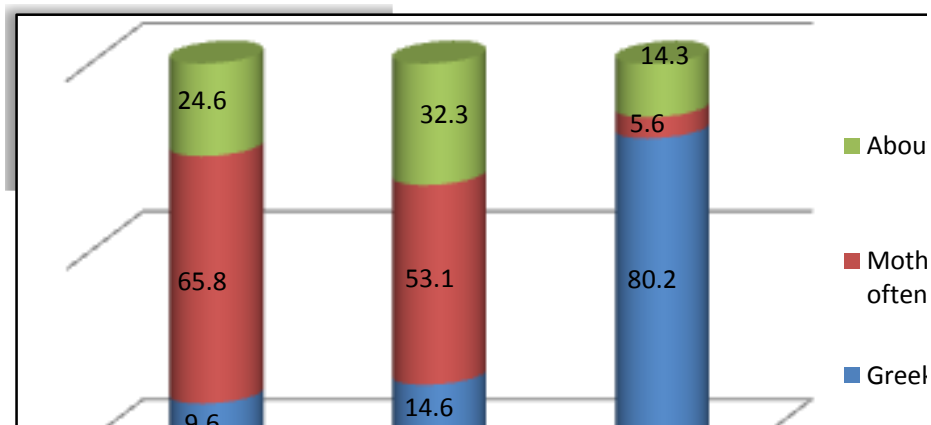
In contrast, 95.6 per cent of Asians exclusively use their mother tongue in communication with their families. East Europeans display interesting language patterns, with 42.9 per cent using Greek in family, 32.1 per cent their mother tongue and 25 per cent using both languages.

In communication with friends, the majority of immigrants (53.1 per cent) use their mother tongue, 32.3 per cent both languages, while only 14.6 per cent appear to use the Greek language with friends. Similarly, 45.1 per cent of Albanians communicate with friends more in their mother tongue, 38.4 per cent in both languages and 16.5 per cent in Greek.

The majority of Asians (98.6 per cent) use their mother tongue to communicate with friends, while only 11.8 per cent use both languages. Among East Europeans, 35.7 per cent seem to use Greek to communicate with their friends, 46.4 per cent both languages and 17.9 per cent their mother tongue only. In the workplace, the majority (80.2 per cent) of the sample use the Greek language, while 14.3 per cent use both languages.

Comparing the average distribution of the sample population by category, as shown in Table 35, we found that in the sphere of private life either in families or with friends, immigrants use their mother tongue more frequently (65.8 and 53.1 per cent respectively). In contrast, at work – which is part of the public sphere – immigrants use Greek more frequently (80.2 per cent).

Figure 35. Frequency of Greek language usage by category (%)



Source: Survey Data

In summary, it can be concluded that the majority of immigrants use their mother tongue more frequently with their family. From a social integration perspective, more than half of the sample appears to communicate with their friends in their mother tongue, while the use of both languages also shows a high percentage. The difference among the immigrant groups however, shows that Albanians make limited use of their mother tongue in comparison to Asians, who communicate with their friends almost exclusively in their mother tongue. At the same time, the majority of East Europeans prefer to communicate either in both languages or in Greek, while the use of the mother tongue appears significantly limited.

The exclusive use of Greek at the workplace comes as no surprise. It is worth noting, however, that 14.3 per cent communicate in both languages and 5.6 per cent make limited use of their mother tongue. The former is probably related to the ‘ethnicization’ of certain employment sectors, while the latter may involve self-employment in purely ethnic small businesses.

#### 5.4.6 Concluding remarks on the use of the Greek language

From the examination of this indicator, it was found that Greek language learning is mainly informal and is correlated to the immigrants’ years of residence in Greece. The Greek mass media play a very important role in the improvement of language skills, while individual efforts, which arise from the need to interact with the native population, are also significant.

The language proficiency of the sample seems to be at very good level, with writing skills being the exception to the rule. East Europeans and Albanians rank much higher compared to Asians, although the latter display a much better picture when compared to previous studies. Likewise, the study of Iosifides (2007) found very high levels of Greek

language usage among Albanians (2007, p. 47). A similar picture emerges from the findings of Papadopoulou (2009b), with immigrants living in Athens, Thessaloniki and Ioannina speaking Greek very well (2009b, p. 50). Conversely, the corresponding indicator in the study of Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2011) is ranked lower (about 50) when compared to this study. However, the general trends that emerges from both studies shows that Albanians come first in Greek language proficiency, with immigrants from Asia, Africa and South America ranking lower (2011, p. 32).

At this point, the question that arises is whether Greek language proficiency is more closely linked to cultural or structural factors. An overview of the theoretical and empirical data examined in this section leads us to the conclusion that Greek language proficiency increases the social interaction of immigrants with the Greek population, while reducing the spatial ethnic concentration and hence the creation of ethnic enclaves. Moreover, the crucial role of institutional factors in the enhancement the Greek language learning is highlighted. Indeed, the results showed that institutional support for teaching the Greek language contributes decisively to Greek language learning by immigrants. This, in combination with the institutional support for a teaching mechanism, reveals a significant gap in integration policy for the first generation of immigrants in Greece. Finally, the demographical variables that influence the performance of immigrants in the acquisition of linguistic capital are educational level, the age and the years of residence in Greece.

## **5.5 Social interaction**

Part of the conceptual basis of social integration is the process of social interaction between newly arrived immigrants and the native population, as well as the cultural code of values that activates a broader communication between them. The Common Basic Principle on Integration mentions that *'frequent interaction between immigrants and the Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration* (European Commission, 2004, p. 18).

There is no doubt that the development of social relations between immigrants and the native population leads to the increase of immigrants' self-evaluation and to the limitations of negative experiences in their relations with society at large. Thus, for example, the development of relations based on mutual trust at the workplace leads to better working conditions and decreases the discrimination based on nationality in the labour market. This results in the treatment of the immigrant as an individual with specific qualifications and profile, and not as an anonymous member of a particular group (Iosifides, 2007, p. 56).

Should this relationship not develop through rational terms, it would lead to social division either in the relationships between immigrants and the native population, or between immigrants and institutions in the country of settlement. Social isolation can fuel the urban phenomenon of ‘fencing’ within the segregated ethnic enclaves and the development of a ghetto identity. These phenomena often lead to socio-economic exclusion and to conflictual situations.

In this context, this chapter discusses the phenomenon of social interaction between immigrants and the native population, in terms of its contribution to the process of socio-economic integration. In particular, it examines the main findings of the empirical research before presenting the comparative interpretive analysis with data from previous surveys.

### **5.5.1 Frequency of meetings**

With regards to meeting with co-ethnics, 40.4 per cent of the sample population said that they meet on a daily basis, while 30 per cent meet ‘every week but not every day’. Meanwhile, the majority of Asians (58.8 per cent) and Albanians (38.4 per cent) meet on a frequent (daily) basis. In the case of East Europeans, these figures appear slightly different, with 28.6 meeting ‘once a month’ with their co-ethnics and 21.4 per cent ‘once a week’.

In the case of frequency of social relations with Greek friends, 28.5 per cent of the overall sample population meet on an almost daily basis, with East Europeans (60.7 per cent) and Albanians (29.9) confirming this trend. Conversely, the majority of Asians either do not meet with Greeks, or have no Greek friends to speak of whatsoever (50 per cent).

To the question ‘how often do you meet with friends from other nationalities’, Asians score a higher percentage (67.6 per cent) compared to Albanians (61.3 per cent) and East Europeans (46.5 per cent).

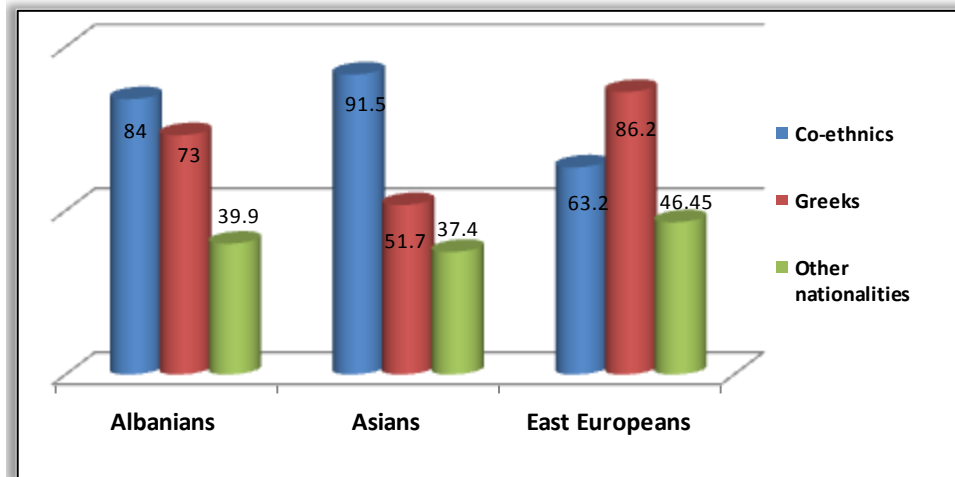
The comparison of averages by category showed that the majority of the sample population (83.82 per cent) maintain frequent contact, mainly with compatriots, 68.6 per cent of respondents meet frequently with Greeks, while contact with immigrants of other nationalities seems to be limited to 40 per cent.

With regards to the frequency of meetings by immigrant group, it was found that the majority of Albanians maintain frequent contacts both with co-ethnics and Greeks (84 and 73 per cent respectively) (Figure 36). In contrast, 91.5 per cent of Asians seem to hold meetings only with co-ethnics. East Europeans present a different picture; the majority of which appear to meet more frequently with Greek friends (86.2 per cent) while the frequency of their



meetings with their co-ethnics and people of other nationalities is at a lower percentage (63.2 and 46.45 per cent respectively).

Figure 36. Frequency of meetings with co-ethnics, Greeks and others



Source: Survey Data

Figure 36 clearly shows that the majority of immigrants (84 per cent) meet more often with their co-ethnics, while their meetings with Greeks and/or other nationalities are less frequent. However, the percentage of meetings with Greek friends is significantly higher (69 per cent) compared to other ethnicities (40 per cent). This confirms the growing level of social relations/interaction with Greeks and hence the improved prospect for socio-economic integration.

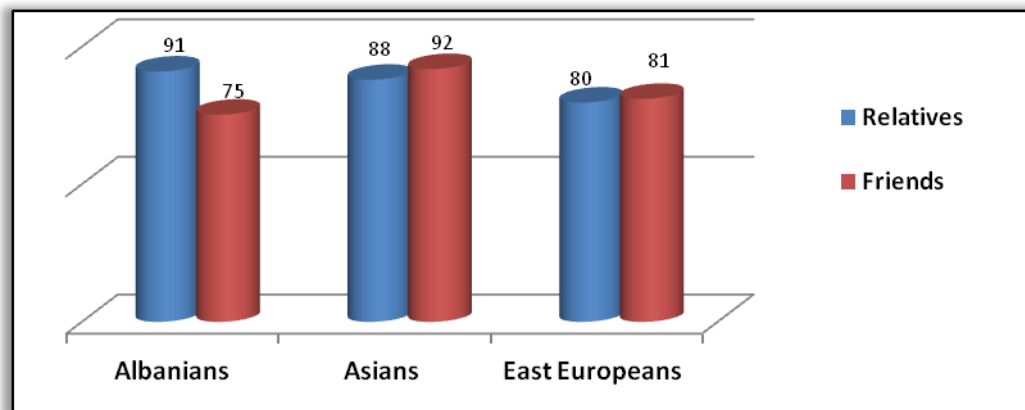
### 5.5.2 Frequency of communication

In terms of communication with relatives, a tendency of frequent communication is observed, which covers the time range from daily to weekly meetings in the total of respondents and at the group level at 86.4 per cent. A similar image emerges from the responses regarding the frequency of communication with friends. Thus, nearly 87.3 per cent of the sample population appears to communicate with friends from once a day, to several times a month. However, comparing between the immigrant groups, we found that Asians communicate with their friends on a daily basis (63.2 per cent), compared to other immigrant groups.

Comparing the average frequency of communication per immigrant group, we can discern a mixed picture (Figure 37). Thus, while Albanians display a preference for communication with relatives, Asians and East Europeans seem to communicate more

frequently with friends (92 and 81percent) than with relatives. The different frequencies of communication with either friends or relatives may be traced back to the particular social characteristics and types of migration that distinguish between immigrant groups. Furthermore, the patterns and frequency of communication both with friends and relatives who live in Greece, seem to vary according to the person’s gender, age, marital status, educational capital, citizenship, years of stay and residence status.

Figure 37. Frequency of communication with relatives and friends by migrant group (%)



Source: Survey Data

### 5.5.3 Friendships

With regard to friendship preferences, the majority of respondents (51 per cent) answered that they prefer their co-ethnics. Meanwhile, 42.1 per cent of respondents declared that they prefer to develop friendships with Greeks as much as with co-ethnics. In the case of Albanians, the largest percentage declared that they prefer to develop friendships with both Greeks and Albanians, whereas 45.7 per cent prefer co-ethnics only. Conversely, the majority of Asians, who prefer to build friendships only with their co-ethnics (79.1 per cent), while only 17.9 per cent is keen to maintain friendly relations with both Greeks and co-ethnics. Interestingly, East Europeans display a mixed tendency with regard to the diversity of their social relations. Thus, despite the fact that 53.6 per cent claim that they friends are mostly Greeks and co-ethnics, 32.1 per cent have friendly relations with Greeks and only 14.3 per cent have relations with co-ethnics.

#### **5.5.4 Use of support networks**

The use of support networks is associated with the use of institutional or informal bodies (co-ethnics and/or Greek friends, family, immigrant associations, state structures) in order to deal with any problems or difficulties.

To the question ‘how often do you ask for help from members of your family?’, there is an almost uniform distribution of responses across the scale from ‘never’ to ‘always’, with a relatively higher concentration in the category ‘always’, at 21.9 per cent. The group of Asians displays an increased level of concentration in the category ‘never’ and ‘almost never’, at 51.5 per cent. This trend may reflect particular aspects of immigration for Asians – mostly single men – and the geographical distance from their families (usually residing in the country of origin).

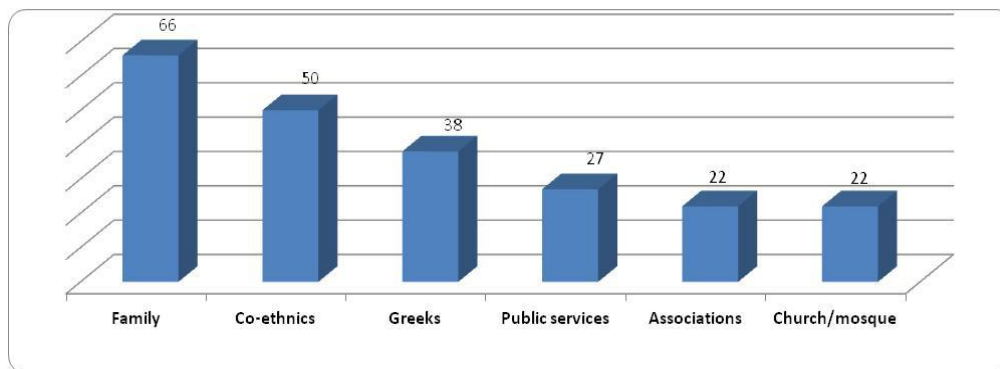
The patterns of mutual assistance that emerge are interesting. The majority of respondents claim to have rarely requested help from their co-ethnics (54.2 per cent). At the group level however, two trends prevail. On the one hand, Albanians and East Europeans display negative attitudes towards their co-ethnics. On the other hand, Asians seem to rely on the social networks of their compatriots (58.8 per cent).

At the same time, the majority of immigrants respond negatively to the prospect of requesting help from ‘Greek friends’ (64.2 per cent). From the comparison of immigrant groups, two dominant trends may be distinguished. The first trend reflects the attitudes of Asians and Albanians who stated they have never asked for help from Greeks (77.9 and 76.9 per cent respectively). The second trend concerns East Europeans, with 25 per cent claiming to have always asked for help from their Greek friends.

Although 78 per cent of respondents declared that they never asked for help from government/public bodies, the picture differs slightly with respect to East Europeans, who appear much more flexible in the use of these services. When we come to the assistance provided by associations and churches/mosques, the picture that emerges is one of distrust and/or rejection, reaching a rate of 96.2 per cent.

By comparing the overall averages by category of supportive networks (Figure 38) it was found that family networks score the highest percentage (66 per cent) compared to immigrant associations that come last with 22 per cent.

Figure 38. Types of support networks (%)



Source: Survey Data

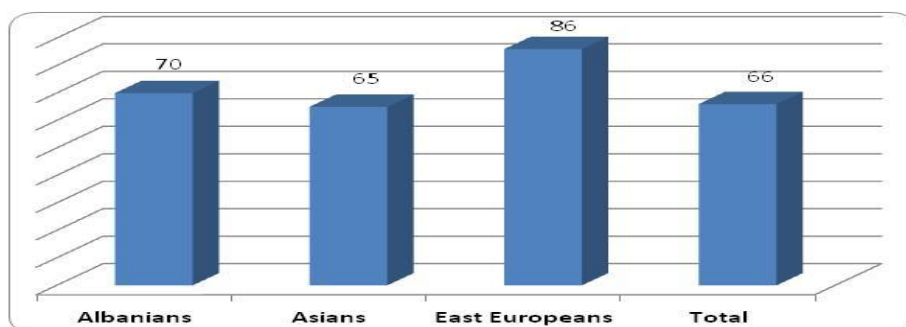
At the group level, it is observed that Albanians and East Europeans display a greater degree of trust toward family support networks, when compared to Asians. East Europeans, on the other hand, seem to prefer the support networks of Greeks, public services and the church (to a far lesser extent).

In sum, East Europeans show greater social interaction with Greeks and public services when compared to other groups. In addition, the use of church support networks can possibly be interpreted in the context of both their cultural identity and the process of socialization.

### 5.5.5 Willingness to develop friendships with natives

The East Europeans demonstrate greatest desire to maintain friendly relationships with Greeks, compared to Albanians and Asians (Figure 39). This reflects the positive expectations of East Europeans, with respect to upward social mobility. On the other hand, the factors related to gender, educational level and citizenship influence the level of preferences on relationships with Greeks. Thus, a man who belongs to the age group between 36 and 45 years of age has finished secondary school, lives in Greece for 11-15 years and has a permanent residence permit, displays a greater willingness to develop friendship with Greeks.

Figure 39. Willingness for friendships with natives, by group (%)



Source: Survey Data

### 5.5.6 Willingness to develop friendships with co-ethnics

With regards to developing friendship with co-ethnics, we observe a reversal of the previous set of answers: 61.1 per cent of respondents express their desire to maintain ‘much so’ and ‘very much so’, friendly relationships with their co-ethnics. The same trend is also identified in the case of Albanians and East Europeans, though with some significant variations. More specifically, 32.1 per cent of East Europeans state their moderate preference to maintain friendships with their co-ethnics. Over 78 per cent of Asians, on the other hand, show a ‘strong’ desire to maintain friendly relations with people of the same ethnic group. This trend is also confirmed by the overall average score by group presented in the figure below. The total average score of the three immigrant groups stands at 74 per cent.

Comparing the relevant trends on the preferences, it is observed that in total, immigrants prefer to maintain friendly relationships with their co-ethnics (74 per cent), as opposed to Greeks (66 per cent). It would be useful, however, to note that the differences between the two categories are relatively small.

It would also be interesting to mention the differences observed among immigrant groups. Thus, Albanians seem to have a relatively balanced picture, with 74 per cent stating their willingness to maintain friendly relationships with their co-ethnics, while only 70 per cent feel this way about Greeks. Asians, on the other hand, have a clear preference for their co-ethnics (81 per cent), while 65 per cent wish to maintain friendly relationships with Greeks. A completely different picture holds for East Europeans, where 86 per cent prefer to develop friendships with Greeks, and 71 per cent with their co-ethnics.

Significant findings emerge from the above evaluation with regard to the level of preferences and integration strategies in the field of social relation development, in particular

with Greeks. Thus, East Europeans display high tendencies of developing social relations with Greeks and hence a higher potential for upward social mobility. Asians prefer to maintain friendly relationships with their co-ethnics, while Albanians display a relatively balanced picture. The study of Iosifides (2007) shows that most Albanians maintain friendly relations with their co-ethnics, while a significant number maintain relations with other nationalities. According to the author, the main reason behind the preference to maintain closer social relations with co-ethnics (social bonds) are the common experiences in the host country, a common origin and a common language that facilitates communication (2007, p. 56).

### **5.5.7 Levels of adaptation to Greek lifestyle**

The overall score of this variable stands at 81, with the majority of respondents stating that they would like to adopt the Greek lifestyle ‘much’ and ‘very much’, with East Europeans scoring higher in the ‘very much’ category, at 79 per cent.

From the total average of all responses we can see that 93 per cent of East Europeans are in favour of adapting to the Greek lifestyle, while Asians and Albanians follow with 80 and 75 per cent respectively. Finally, the total average of this indicator stands at 78 per cent.

The first ‘surprise’ concerns Albanians, who hold last place in adapting to the Greek lifestyle. Asians, on the other hand, display high percentages in adapting to the Greek lifestyle, although in terms of social relations they prefer to build relationships with their co-ethnics. This finding may indicate the ambivalent attitude of this group both in terms of social relations and ethnic identity.

The total average score of immigrants who wish to follow the Greek lifestyle (78 per cent) displays higher percentage compared to the relevant indicator (64) in the study of Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2011, p. 9).

Interestingly, the total average score regarding the ‘Greek lifestyle’ is higher in comparison with the lifestyle of the country of origin, though this difference seems to be very small. On the other hand, it was found that although this development highlights the trend of identification with the Greek lifestyle, at the level of interpersonal/friendly relations with the native population, there seems to be a tendency of suspicion on both sides, and possibly a lack of trust.

### 5.5.8 Self-evaluation of social interaction with Greeks

To the question ‘how easy is to have good relations with neighbors’, the responses were positive, both in total and at the group level: 42 per cent of the total sample evaluates their relationship with neighbours as ‘very good’. At the group level, 79 per cent of East Europeans evaluate as ‘very good’ their relationship with their neighbor, followed by Albanians (42 per cent).

As illustrated above, the local network of social relations presents a fairly positive picture, with East Europeans on the one hand maintaining very good relations with their native neighbors and Asians, on the other hand, evaluating these relations as very positive.

When asked to evaluate discrimination at the individual level, 39 per cent of respondents said that they have never experienced discrimination, or that this discrimination was minimal. The same holds true for Albanians and East Europeans, who display a relatively higher concentration in the categories ‘never’ and ‘little’ (25 and 26 per cent respectively), 18 per cent of Asians have not experienced discrimination, whereas 32 per cent have experienced discrimination often, and 39 per cent have experienced discrimination very often.

According to the average score per immigrant group, Asians display the highest percentage of experiences of discrimination (62 per cent), whereas Albanians and East Europeans display lower percentages (57 and 54 per cent respectively). The total average for the three immigrant groups stands at 58 per cent.

The above findings show that Asians have more frequently been targeted with unfair and/or offensive behaviour, compared to Albanians and East Europeans. This is probably related to their physical characteristics as well as their cultural specificities/particularities (e.g., religion). In the same vein, the average score of relevant indicator of the study of Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2011) stands at 65 (2011, p. 16).

The majority of respondents (66 per cent) believe that Greek nationals display bad or very bad behaviour towards immigrants (37 per cent and 29 per cent respectively). This holds true for 74 per cent of Albanians, while Asians and East Europeans provide a more moderate picture.

From the comparison of the total average score by immigrant group, it appears that 68 per cent of Albanians negatively evaluate the behaviour of Greeks towards immigrants. Asians and East Europeans in contrast, evaluate this behaviour less negatively.

The fact that Albanians display a higher percentage of perceived discrimination may be associated with the negative public image that is produced and reproduced by the mass

media with regard to the criminal behaviour of this specific group. This is also confirmed by the study of Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2011), where the value of the variable ‘lack of discrimination against ethnic groups’ stands at 68 (2011, p. 16).

The comparison of averages in relation to the discrimination experienced at both the individual and collective level showed that Albanians are the only group who believe they have experienced more discrimination as a group than as individuals (67 per cent). Asians and East Europeans, on the contrary, believe that discrimination experienced at the individual level is greater than discrimination experienced at the collective level (58 and 48 per cent respectively).

Finally, the total average of the sample population stands at 66 per cent in relation to discrimination at the collective level, and at 58 per cent in relation to discrimination at the individual level.

### **5.5.3 Concluding remarks on social interaction**

The differences emerging between the immigrant groups are of particular interest, especially with respect to their social orientation, with each displaying a different strategy towards social relations/interaction. Thus, Albanians show a relatively balanced picture of social interaction with relation to both their co-ethnics and Greek friends. Asians, in contrast, appear socially oriented towards their own ethnic group, while East Europeans display a strong tendency of social relations/interaction with Greeks, a fact that contributes positively to their socio-economic integration.

With respect to the use of support networks, Albanians and East Europeans display more trust towards family support networks compared to Asians. In addition, East Europeans seem to prefer equally the support networks of Greek friends and public services. The small percentage of Asians who make use of these networks may find an explanation in the particular characteristics of the pattern of migration from Asia to Greece, and the geographical distance from their families. This finding leads us to the conclusion that the high percentages of Asians who rely on co-ethnic networks may constitute an alternative to (lacking) family networks. The more frequent contact with relatives displayed by Albanians is linked with the pattern of family migration that characterizes this group, something which is confirmed by the study of Iosifides (2007, p. 53).

Moreover, the average score of immigrants who make use of institutional or informal institutions in order to address their problems and difficulties, shows lower percentages compared to the variable of supportive networks of the socio-cultural adaptation indicator (60



per cent) study of Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2011, p. 14). Such a finding may of course be explained by the problematic formation of ethnic collective identity on the one hand, and the lack of trust in collective actions either in terms of immigrant associations or civil society. Albanians and East Europeans show a satisfactory level of friendly relationships with both Greeks and their co-ethnics, evidence that confirms their tendency for upward social mobility in relation to the social interaction indicator. In contrast, the friendly relationships of Asians appears significantly restricted to the in-group level. The above findings are corroborated by the study of Kasimati (2006), which showed weak social bonds, reflected in the limited social interaction between Albanians and Greek nationals in Athens.

In conclusion, our results suggest that the frequency of contacts and social interaction between immigrants and Greeks is the most important variable in explaining social integration and mutual acceptance. Moreover, from the perspective of social interaction theory, the empirical findings of this study converge with the theoretical approach outlined in the first part of this section, according to which young immigrants with higher educational levels and more years of residence tend to maintain more contacts with both the native population and other ethnic groups. Finally, we must recognize that social interaction and contacts in Greece are formed in connection to the public image (negative or positive) and to the relevant prejudices against certain ethnic groups.

## **5.6 Social and political participation**

Public participation includes both political participation and active participation in public life. Political participation encompasses matters of rights and representation and constitutes a determining element of democratic governance. In a democratic system, whoever is affected by a decision can participate directly or indirectly in the decision-making process and express their opinion in order to defend their interests and exercise their rights. As noted in the Council of Europe report prepared by the Expert Group on citizenship, exclusion from decision-making processes offends human dignity, since representation is the essence of democracy (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 3). Furthermore, politics and equal opportunities are conditions and criteria that determine the quality of democratic governance in a country.

Therefore, when society's composition changes due to the massive inflow of immigrants, the part of the population that participates in the social and economic life of the country is gradually invited to join political and public life. This integration poses significant challenges both for the host society and for immigrants, since the latter bring different

cultural and religious traditions along with them, but also have needs and demands from the political and social system. The Common Basic Principle on Integration recognizes the fact that *'the participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration'* (European Commission, 2004, p. 18). One of the basic principles of democratic governance is to ensure equal participation in all democratic processes for all groups and segments of the population (Triandafyllidou and Gropa, 2009, p. 4).

Political participation is found in the vote, but it is certainly not restricted to the vote; it is active social participation in civil society and/or the neighbourhood level. Throughout this process one can learn about: common goods, cooperation, dialogue and compromise. In short, people undergo the process of (re)socialization and this process can make them better and democratically aware citizens.

This sub-section examines the phenomenon of social and political participation of the three immigrant groups of this study, always from the perspective of their contribution to the broader socio-economic integration process. Concretely, the qualitative analysis that follows focuses on:

- Whether immigrants know the bodies/institutions/actors of states and civil society.
- The level of trust in the institutional framework, political institutions and the organization of the political system.
- The level of trust in civil society organizations as well as in immigrants' perceived reciprocity involved in their participatory experience.
- The evaluation of the participatory experience by immigrants.
- The negative discriminative experience that includes the perception of immigrants on discriminatory attitude of the native population and public organizations.
- The trends and forms of participation in the institutions of political and social representation.
- The communication effectiveness that refers to the use of the main mass media and the level of satisfaction from those media.

This section is divided into five sub-sections. The first examines the attitudes and level of satisfaction from the services provided by public institutions, and their evaluation. In the majority of cases, the metric scale includes 9 levels of the Linkert type (from 'not at all' to 'very much'). In the second sub-section we examine both the levels of participation of

immigrants in Greek institutions, and the level of satisfaction from their participation experience. In this case we make use of a two-scale measurement indicator. The third sub-section contains only two questions regarding the political activity in the context of the Greek political system. In the fourth sub-section there is an evaluation of political communication (mass media, ways of information) through a 9-level metric scale of the Linkert type.

### **5.6.1 Interest in politics**

When asked to express their interest in politics, 30 per cent of respondents show a ‘moderate’ interest, 25.4 per cent a ‘slight’ interest and 10 per cent appear to be ‘very much’ interested in the country’s political developments. At the group level, 39 per cent of East Europeans are very much interested in the country’s politics, whilst 32 per cent of Albanians and 31 per cent of Asians displayed a moderate interest. Comparing the average scores by immigrant group it was found that East Europeans have the highest percentage (61percent) of interest in politics in comparison to Asians (60 per cent) and Albanians (59 per cent), while the average score of overall sample population stands at 60 per cent.

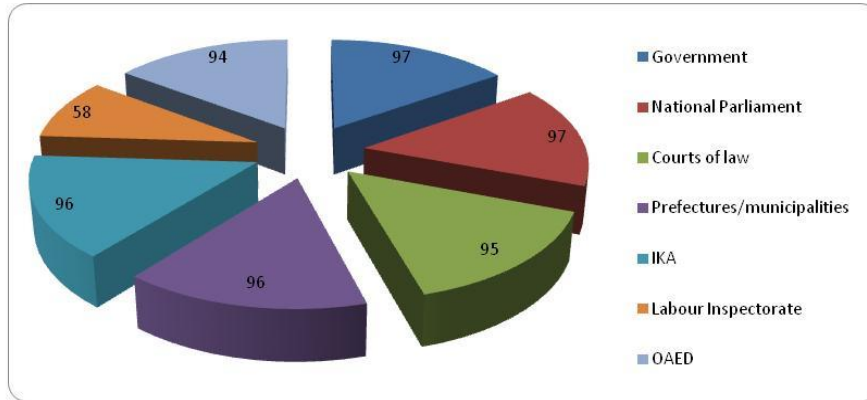
The figures highlight the high interest of East Europeans in the political life in Greece and the low interest of Albanians in this category. At the same time, the relatively high percentage of Asians overturns the perception of low interest in socio-political life in Greece that has previously been attributed to this specific group. The apparent lack of interest shown by Albanians in politics may very well be linked to the sense of distrust towards public and political institutions, as well as their sense of security with respect to their own legal status. Finally, the present variable is strongly correlated with the level of education of immigrants, and to a lesser extent with the years of residence.

### **5.6.2 Familiarity with institutions and organizations**

The purpose of this variable is to examine the level of familiarization of immigrants with institutions/agencies/actors of the Greek state and civil society, as well as with unions/professional organizations.

For the purpose of a clearer illustration, the results were grouped into three categories. The first category, as displayed in Figure 40, includes state institutions, public bodies and authorities – namely, the government, the parliament, the courts, the prefectures and municipalities, the Social Security Organisation (IKA), the labour inspectorate and the Manpower Employment Organisation (OAED).

Figure 40. Familiarity with public institutions and services (%)

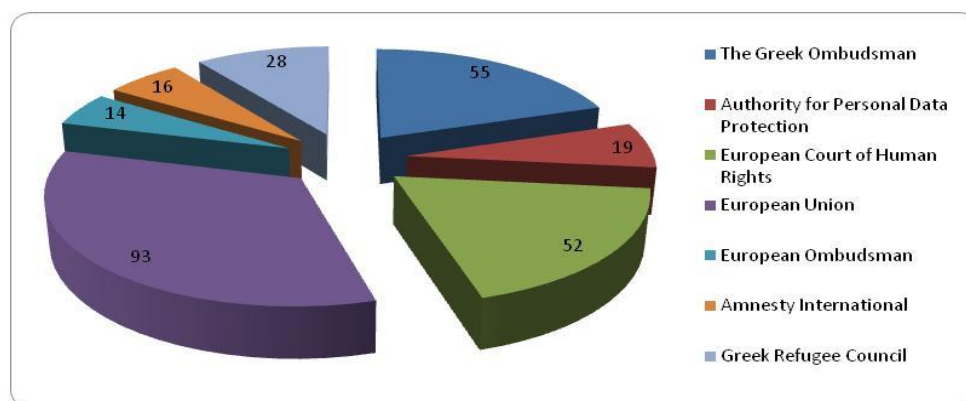


Source: Survey Data

In the average score, as it is illustrated in Figure 41 the level of familiarization with the government, the national parliament and IKA concentrate the highest percentages (97, 97 and 96 per cent). An exception, however, is the comparatively low level of familiarization with the labour inspectorate agency (58 per cent). What is also noteworthy is the differences identified between immigrant groups with respect to the level of familiarization with these institutions. Thus, the majority of both Albanians and East Europeans seem to know ‘extremely well’ almost all institutions. At the same time, Asians concentrate relatively lower percentages compared to the two previous groups. Interestingly, Asians display a higher degree of familiarity with OAED (94 per cent) when compared to other groups.

The second category includes national and independent authorities (the Ombudsman and the Authority for Personal Data Protection), EU institutions (European Union and the European Court of Human Rights) and national/international non-governmental organizations for the protection of the rights of immigrants and refugees (Amnesty International and the Greek Council of Refugees). Interestingly, as shown in Figure 41, the level of familiarization with EU institutions reaches a very high score (93 per cent), while the level of familiarization with the Ombudsman and the European Court of Human Rights gathers no more than 50 per cent.

Figure 41. Familiarity with EU and independent organisations

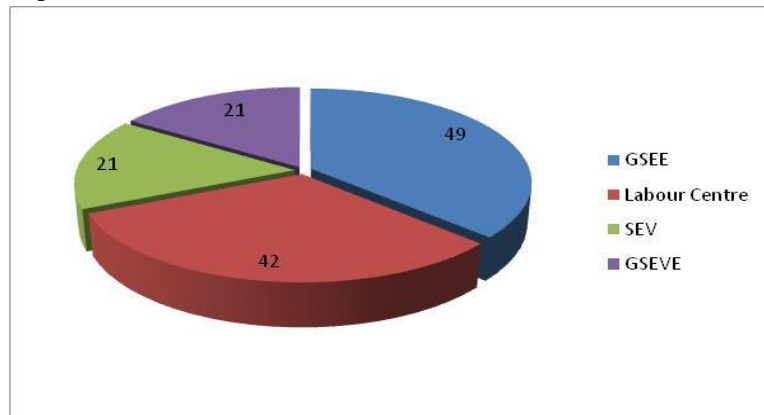


Source: Survey Data

From a group perspective, Albanians seem to be acquainted ‘quite well’ with the Greek Ombudsman and the European Court of Human Rights (68 and 52 per cent respectively). East Europeans, on the other hand, are ‘very well’ acquainted with the European Court of Human Rights (75 per cent), while the Ombudsman and the Greek Council for Refugees follow with smaller percentages (46 and 43 per cent respectively). In the case of Asians, the European Court of Human Rights displays the highest percentage (44 per cent) while Amnesty International and the Greek Council for Refugees come in next place, with 32 and 31 per cent respectively. Finally, the European Union seems to enjoy a near universal recognition among all three immigrant groups.

The third category includes trade unions and professional bodies, namely: the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE), the Labour Centre, the Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (SEV) and the General Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants (GSEVE). As shown in Table 42 the overall level of familiarization with these organizations is below 50 per cent, with the GSEE and the Labour Centre recording the highest percentages (49 and 42 per cent) in comparison to other organizations.

Figure 42. Familiarity with professional and trade union organizations (%)



Source: Survey Data

The comparison of the average score of the level of familiarization with the above institutions by immigrant group shows a very high degree of recognition by East Europeans, in comparison to Albanians and Asians. With Asians the respective percentages are comparatively quite low.

An important finding is the very high level of familiarization of all immigrant groups with both national and public agencies/organizations and European Union institutions. It is interesting to note that the level of familiarization with trade unions and professional bodies is quite low.

With regard to differences observed among immigrant groups, East Europeans show a high level of familiarization with almost all institutions in comparison to other groups. Albanians come in second place, with a slight difference from East Europeans, while Asians are ranked last. These findings (with the familiarization level standing at 63 per cent) coincide almost exactly with those of the study of Spourdalakis *et al.* (2011), in which the indicator ‘Knowledge of Political Institutions and of the Institutional Framework’ stands at 63.59 per cent (2011, p. 11).

### 5.6.3 Perceived discrimination

The institutional discrimination that immigrants experience from the institutions of the state are an important cause of the failure of upward social mobility, to the extent that the latter erodes relationships of trust and perpetuates mistrust on both sides.

To the question of whether they believe that there are organizations discriminating against them, the majority of the sample (78.1) gave an affirmative answer. Albanians stand

out among other groups, with almost 88 per cent claiming that immigrants are subject to discrimination. Asians come next (67.6), and East Europeans display the lowest percentage (46.4 per cent).

In conclusion, we can say that the a) the overwhelming majority of Albanians have a negative perception with regards to the institutional discrimination they experience, b) the significantly lower percentage of East Europeans who believe that they are subject to discrimination, and c) the high percentage of Asians who do not take a position on the variable in question. These differentiations may be linked to the public image, as well as the social stereotypes that have been developed over time, attributing particular (negative) features to the collective image of certain immigrant groups.

#### **5.6.4 Self-evaluation of perceived discrimination**

Those who answered affirmatively to the previous question were asked to rank the perceived discrimination against them (by the state and social institutions/agencies/actors). Among our respondents, 37.4 per cent consider the level of discrimination against them by government ministries to be 'moderate', while 33 per cent consider it to be 'very high'. Furthermore, 32.5 per cent of the sample population evaluate the perceived discrimination by the courts and the legal system as 'moderate', with 26.6 per cent, however, considering it 'very high'.

In the average of the responses provided by immigrant group, Albanians display a higher level of perceived discrimination (34.1 per cent) compared to others, while the largest percentage of Asians (43.5 per cent) believe that the level of discrimination is very low. Interestingly, when it comes to perceived discrimination from the police, 39.9 per cent and 24.2 per cent of the entire sample population evaluate it as 'very' and 'extremely high' respectively. From a group perspective, 46.2 per cent of East Europeans, 45.2 per cent of Albanians and 30.4 per cent of Asians consider the perceived discrimination attitudes by the police to be 'very high'. The sample population believes that discrimination from the prefectures and municipalities is at a moderate level (40 per cent and 42.4 per cent respectively). As expected, the largest percentage of the sample population (42.9 per cent) believes that they experience no discrimination from independent authorities.

With regard to perceived discrimination a different picture emerges. The largest percentage of respondents rate the level of discrimination directed towards them by Greek political parties as 'very' and 'extremely high' (33 and 21.2 per cent respectively). In the case of discrimination by employers the picture changes dramatically, with the largest percentage of respondents evaluating discrimination against them as 'very' and 'extremely high' (29 and

25.6 per cent). Regarding perceived discrimination by neighbours, the largest percentage of respondents appear to rate it at low levels (35.5 per cent), while 22.7 per cent consider that there is absolutely no discrimination from them.

The comparison of the average ratings of perceived discrimination shows that institutions responsible for the greatest discrimination against immigrants are political parties (45.1 per cent), the police (45.84 per cent) and employers (48.76 per cent).

From the analysis of the data above, three prevalent trends may be discerned. The first refers to the perceived discrimination against the immigrants by political parties, the police and employers. These three institutions are considered to be primarily responsible for the structural exclusion of immigrants in relation to the legal status, the recognition of political rights, low labour employment status and policy of repression. On the other hand, the low levels of perceived discrimination from IKA, neighbours and shopkeepers are due to daily contact between immigrants and these institutions. These contacts have been developed in a web of rational and human relations that take place at the local level. The most interesting element is the low number of immigrants who know or have come into contact the civil society institutions. This is because of the lack of information about their role. All in all, the average of the perceived discrimination of the total population sample is approximately 60 per cent. This score is very close to the corresponding indicator examined in the study of Spourdalakis *et al.* (2011) that stands at 63.1 per cent (2011, p. 11).

### **5.6.5 Self-evaluation of trust in institutions**

The purpose of this sub-indicator is to evaluate the level of trust/confidence in state institutions and in civil society organizations/actors. Concretely, with regards to the question ‘how much do you trust parliament’, the largest percentage of respondents share a ‘moderate’ view (33.4 per cent). Again, in the case of courts and judges, the dominant picture is that of ‘moderate’ trust (33.1 per cent). In contrast, the largest percentage of respondents appear to display a low level of trust in the police (33.1 per cent), with 15.8 per cent stating that they do not trust the police at all. Meanwhile, the level of trust in government is ‘moderate’, at 36.2 per cent. The trust of immigrants towards Greek political parties is very low for most participants, with the majority of respondents (64.5 per cent) displaying either little confidence (35.7 per cent) or no confidence at all (28.8 per cent). As in the previous variable, the level of trust towards IKA ranges from moderate (32.7 per cent) to high (27.7 per cent) with Asians showing the greatest confidence towards this institution (38.3 per cent). Equally high levels of trust are expressed by immigrants groups in prefectures and in municipalities,



with 63.8 per cent claiming that their level of trust ranges from moderate to high, and with Asians (38.2 per cent) scoring higher than other groups. The image of trade unions and workers' organisations is rather disappointing, with the largest percentage of immigrants either ignoring their role (28.5 per cent) or expressing their low level (20.9 per cent) of trust. What is yet more problematic is the level of trust towards NGOs, with 30 per cent of respondents being unaware of their existence and 17 per cent having no confidence at all. The same holds true for independent authorities, whereby 34.2 per cent of respondents know nothing about them and 17.7 per cent express their lack of trust.

Finally, the level of trust towards immigrant organizations seems to be questioned by the largest percentage of the sample population, with 31.7 per cent showing absolutely no confidence. The overall average score of respondents per institution shows that IKA (64.52 per cent), the prefectures/municipalities and the government (57.48 per cent) enjoy the immigrants' highest level of trust compared to other institutions/bodies/actors. The institutions enjoying the lowest level of confidence appear to be the professional organizations (38.24 per cent), NGOs (38.24 per cent) and independent authorities (39.9 per cent). Increased confidence towards public institutions (as a form of social links) reflects in a way the level of identificational integration (Spourdalakis *et al.*, 2011, p. 19).

In summary, it can be concluded that the majority almost of immigrants either ignore the existence of, or have little trust in civil society actors, independent authorities, professional organizations and trade unions, as well as immigrant associations and ethnic organizations. The average score for NGOs, ethnic organizations and professional organizations, at 41.1 per cent, almost matches the respective indicator (40.7 per cent) of the study by Spourdalakis *et al.* (2011, p. 20). The possible causes that lead to these results may be related to the lack of information and contacts, the fragmentation of trade unionism, migration movements and the decrease in confidence of the ability of the above organisations to safeguard the interests of immigrants. As the study by Spourdalakis *et al.* (2011) shows, participation by immigrant associations, as an expression of social bonds, displays a very low percentage (1.9 per cent), while indicators of participation in civil society organizations, as a form of social bridges, reach just 3 per cent (2011, p. 17). In contrast, the level of trust in public institutions stands at 44.7 per cent. In a way, the high level of trust towards public/state institutions proves that despite structural obstacles, immigrants have higher levels of confidence in public services, compared to civil society actors.

### **5.6.6 Participation in institutions of political representation**

This sub-indicator consists of six variables that evaluate trends and the extent of immigrants' participation in political formations both at the central and local levels. From the standpoint of the argument that political organisations are the institutional channels for people's interconnection with the organized state and its institutions, the aim of this section is to measure the social bridge of the sample population. Starting from the participation of immigrants in Greek political parties, almost half of respondents (51 per cent) are not members of any political organization, while 49 per cent appear to be members or friends of a Greek political party. Interestingly, the largest percentage of Albanians and Asians seem to have no contact with Greek political parties (45.9 and 41.7 per cent), whereas all East Europeans appear to be members or 'friends' of a Greek political party. The involvement of immigrants in municipal political developments seems equally significant, at 38 per cent, with Asians and East Europeans registering a 50 per cent participation rate, while Albanians' level of participation is at just 32.4 per cent. At the same time, the participation of immigrants in political parties of the country of origin, seems to be at significantly high levels (62.3 per cent), with Albanians ranking first (70.3 per cent) followed by Asians at 58.3 per cent. Finally, the majority of respondents (79.6 per cent) said that they do not participate in any political organization and/or party, with East Europeans scoring the highest percentage (85.7 per cent).

From the comparison of the average level of political participation per immigrant group and institution, it turns out that the majority of respondents do not belong to any party (85.7 per cent). The fact that the participation rate in political parties of the country of origin for Albanians (70.3 per cent) and Asians (58.3 per cent) appears higher than that of East Europeans, suggests their close ties with countries of origin and their active political participation there. This does not seem to apply to East Europeans, who show greater preference for Greek political parties and local political formations (50 per cent).

In sum, there are trends of active participation in local and municipal movements. This may be related to the right to vote in local elections according to Law 3838/2010. The increased trend of participation in political organization/parties of the country of origin that particularly characterizes Albanians and Asians can be justified on the basis of geographical proximity (see Greece-Albania) which facilitates international participation as well as the political culture of each ethno-cultural group. It may also express the need for active political expression and representation, something that the Greek political environment has deprived them of, over the years.

### **5.6.7 Participation in professional organizations**

Participation in social and professional organizations constitutes part of the evaluation and measurement of immigrant's social bridge. The results of this sub-indicator show that the majority of immigrants have low social capital since the 83.5 per cent stated that they do not participate in any trade union and/or professional organization.

As is clearly demonstrated, there is a lack of participation of Asians and East Europeans in the Labour Centres and in Commercial Associations. One should note, however, the membership of Asians in EVEA, which reflects the extent of commercial activities of this particular group.

In conclusion, social capital, as a dynamic form of socio-political integration, is significantly limited with the average rate of participation standing at 15 per cent.

### **5.6.8 Participation in ethnic professional organisations**

Interestingly, none of the respondents have participated in any ethnic professional organizations. This may be related to a number of structural and cultural factors such as immigrants' low and unskilled positions in the Greek labour market, insecure legal residence, and employment status in Greece, which have discouraged them from pursuing their labour rights and representation in the workplace. In sum, this picture may lead us to assume that the institution of professional representation simply does not exist, because such organizations may as yet not be in existence.

### **5.6.9 Forms of socio-political participation**

The most popular form of social-political participation that collects the higher rate of respondents (77.4 per cent) is that of protest or signing a petition (41.9 per cent), and participation in strikes (33.3 per cent) in the next place. Yet what is remarkable is that the majority of respondents (88.1 per cent) have not participated in any of the aforementioned forms of protest.

Comparing the participation patterns by immigrant group, we discern that the majority of East Europeans have participated in protests (100 per cent). Likewise, Albanians also show a great preference for demonstrations/protests (70.8 per cent), but the majority (85.4 per cent), however, declared that they do not participate in any form of demonstration.

In the case of Asians, apart from the participation in demonstrations/protests, what is also interesting is the high rate of participation (50 per cent) in a different form of

mobilization, such as campaigns. Despite this fact, the majority of Asians (91.2 per cent) appear not to be involved in any form of socio-political mobilization.

#### **5.6.10 Evaluation of forms of socio-political participation**

When asked to evaluate the most important forms of socio-political participation, almost 40 per cent of respondents ranked their participation in a demonstration/protest as the most important form of mobilization, while 32.3 per cent believe that industrial action is equally important. From a group perspective, 85.8 per cent of Asians and 66.7 per cent of East Europeans believe that signing of a petition is most important, while for 40 per cent of Albanians and 33.3 per cent of East Europeans industrial action is a more important form of participation.

#### **5.6.11 Forms of political communication**

One of the key components of political communication, as a basic form of information resources, is the range of issues for which immigrants need information. The issues that typically make up communication politics (informative) are the social, political, cultural and artistic. In the sphere of social issues, the largest percentage of respondents show a frequent and great interest (40 per cent and 31.5 respectively), with East Europeans in first place (64.3 per cent) followed by Albanians (43.3 per cent) and Asians (22.1 per cent).

Conversely, 32.7 per cent of respondents show a moderate interest in political issues and 24 per cent display a low interest, 34.2 per cent of Albanians have a moderate interest in political issues, followed by East Europeans (32.2 per cent) and Asians (29.4 per cent).

The interest of respondents in cultural issues appears to be considerably higher, with the largest percentage having a great and very great interest (36.2 per cent and 28.4 per cent respectively), Albanians and East Europeans come first (34.7 and 28.5 per cent respectively), followed by Asians.

At the same time, 78 per cent of respondents are very much interested in having information on artistic issues. All in all, Albanians and East Europeans record high rates of interest for information mainly on social, cultural and artistic issues compared to Asians, while political issues attract less interest.

The low level of interest in political issues may signal an expression of the lack of trust in the political system with regard to the inability of migration management and the ongoing economic crisis.

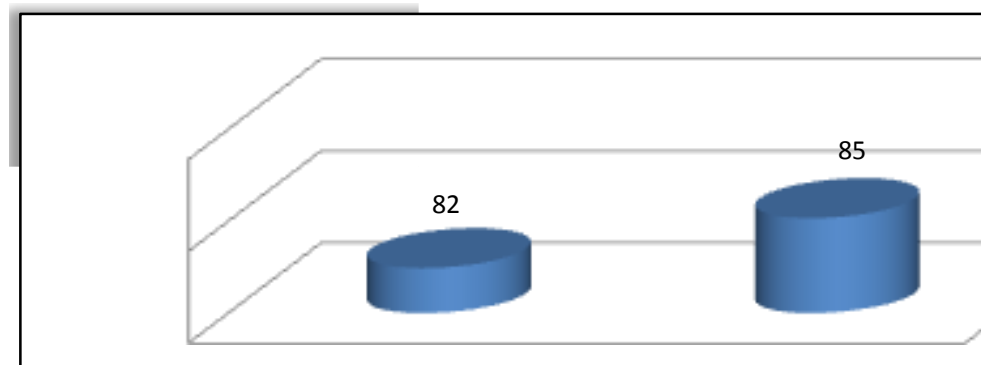
### 5.6.12 Levels of interest in the current affairs either of country of origin or Greece

The dual nature of this variable is of significant interest since it reflects the interactive social and political orientation of immigrants, in terms of issues related either to the country of origin or Greece.

According to the answers, the majority of respondents show a higher level of interest in Greek current affairs (52 per cent) when compared to those of the country of origin (48 per cent). At the group level, East Europeans and Albanians (97 and 85 per cent respectively) display a slightly increased interest in Greek current affairs compared to Asians (82 per cent), with the latter, however, showing greater interest in their country of origin's current affairs (85 per cent).

As shown in Figure 43, this trend is also confirmed by comparing the average interest in current affairs in the origin countries and in Greece.

Figure 43. Interest in current affairs in Greece and in country of origin (%)



Source: Survey Data

Overall, immigrants are more interested in Greek current affairs compared to those of country of origin. This difference, however, is marginal.

The main conclusion from the above is that the majority of the sample's immigrants demonstrate a significant trend of twin social and political orientation, for current affairs of both Greece and the country of origin. The group of East Europeans has more interest in Greek issues compared to the other immigrant groups. Asians, finally, seem to be more oriented on issues of the country of origin.

### 5.6.13 Use of mass media

The use of mass media is part of a wider context of communication skills which is considered an essential prerequisite for the socio-political mobilization of individuals. In practice,

individual perceptions in relation to information and matters of public interest enhance forms of participation in social and political life. Additionally, the mass media as well as the internet may shape the attitudes of social and political participation (Spourdalakis *et al.*, 2011).

When asked about the use frequency of Greek newspapers and magazines, 49 per cent of respondents make low and moderate use of these printed media. From those, only 27 per cent of Albanians and 25 per cent of East Europeans make high use of them, while 47 per cent of Asians make very little use of them.

With respect to the use of foreign printed media published in the countries of origin, the largest percentage of East Europeans (36 per cent) makes 'no use at all'. The largest percentage of Albanians makes 'little' (31.7 per cent) to 'moderate' (21.3 per cent) use. Meanwhile, the largest percentage of Asians uses such media from 'much', to 'very much'.

The use of foreign language newspapers published in Greece appears limited, with 49.6 per cent of respondents using them from 'sparsely' to 'never' (27.3 per cent and 22.3 per cent), while 41.6 per cent makes 'moderate' use of them. Interestingly, the majority of East Europeans (71.4 per cent) does not use these media at all (50 per cent) or make very little use of them (21.4 per cent).

With respect to the radio, 44 per cent use it moderately, followed by 23 per cent that make sparse use of it. Albanians and East Europeans use the radio more frequently (from much to very much) than Asians.

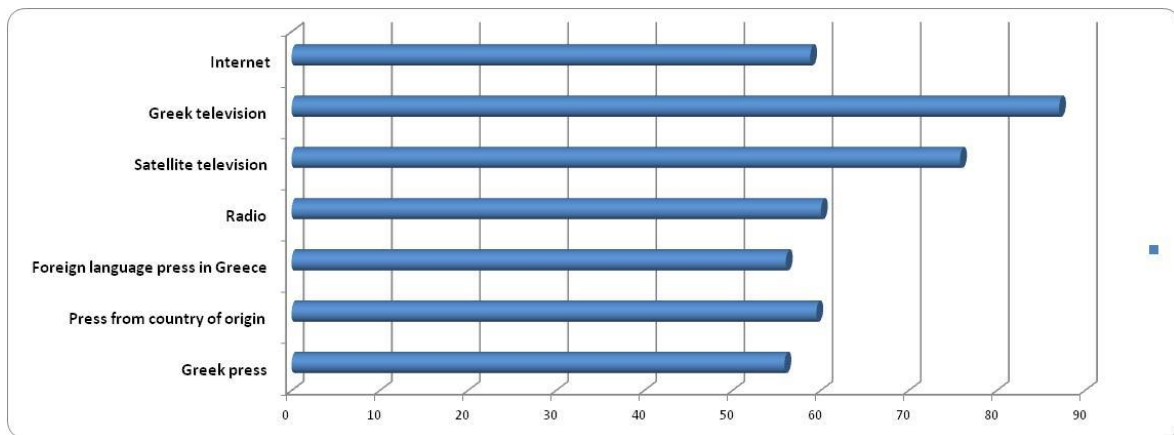
The extensive use of satellite television for information appears to represent over 51 per cent of respondents. The biggest users of satellite TV appear to be Asians with 89 per cent followed by Albanians (63 per cent).

Meanwhile, East Europeans have the highest percentage (54 per cent) of internet users, following by Albanians (29 per cent), whilst Asians seem to use it sparsely (22 per cent).

In sum, Albanians appear to make the biggest use of Greek (91 per cent) and satellite television (74 per cent) compared to the other immigrant groups. Asians use mainly satellite TV (90 per cent), followed by Greek television (75 per cent), but, at the same time, appear to make greater use of the printed media of the country of origin (70 per cent), compared to other groups. East Europeans present a different picture, with the majority showing a preference for radio programmes (73.52 per cent) and internet sources for their information (72 per cent).

Overall comparison between the media types indicates that Greek television (87 per cent) constitutes the first and primary source of information for immigrants, followed by satellite television (76 per cent) and radio (60 per cent) (Figure 44). Albanians were the main users of Greek television while satellite television was preferred by both Asians and Albanians as a reference source and communication with the origin country. These findings concur with the study of Iosifides (2007, p. 49) which showed that Albanian immigrants were more likely to watch Greek television regularly. At the same time, the average overall use of mass media (67.5 per cent) is higher compared to the findings of Spourdalakis (42.5 per cent) (2011, p. 21).

Figure 44. Mass media usage (%)



Source: Survey Data

#### 5.6.14 Self-evaluation of Greek mass media

When asked to evaluate the quality of Greek mass media, 64.5 per cent of the sample population acknowledges their ‘moderate’ and ‘very high’ level of contribution to information (36 per cent and 28.5 per cent respectively). Comparing respondents between immigrant groups, 72 per cent of Albanians and 64 per cent of East Europeans evaluate as moderate the contribution of Greek mass media to their needs for information (40 and 36 per cent). Asians differ on this view, with 43 per cent evaluating as ‘low’ the level of the contribution of mass media to their daily information.

The reported levels of satisfaction with the Greek mass media stand at 67.4 per cent, an improvement in comparison with the evaluation of the same variable in the study of Spourdalakis *et al.* (2011).

### **5.6.15 Concluding remarks on social and political participation**

The purpose of this section was to evaluate the indicators of social and political participation of the three immigrant groups of this study, from the perspective of its contribution to the socio-economic integration process.

As is made clear, active participation in the host society is one of the best indicators of socio-economic integration. It also constitutes an evidence of identification since it reflects the level of immigrants' commitments to the proper functioning of the host society, as well as their desire to have their voices heard on current affairs (OECD, 2012b, p. 133).

When assessed in detail, with respect to interest in politics, the picture that emerges in the findings revealed a high percentage average (60.5 per cent), with East Europeans having the higher percentage of interest in politics in Greece, compared to Asians and Albanians.

At the same time, the level of familiarity with state institutions and civil society actors showed that the majority of immigrants are familiar with state agencies/institutions, which may be interpreted as a strong indication of high interest in institutional and political developments in Greece. They also seem to know equally well the institutions with which they come into daily contact because of issues related to legal (prefectures/municipalities) or employment status (OAED). What is surprising is the low level of familiarity of immigrants with trade unions. One would expect a higher degree of recognition because of these organizations' role in the protection of workers' rights. The very low rates of familiarity with professional bodies/organizations (SEV, GSEVE) confirm the low and unskilled employment status of immigrants in the Greek labour market, which hinders aspirations of upward mobility; East Europeans demonstrate high levels of familiarity with institutions, followed by Albanians and Asians.

The level of trust in state institutions is closely connected with the desire of individuals to assume an active role in the country of settlement. A notable development in this study is that all immigrants showed a higher level of trust in public services such as IKA, municipalities/prefectures, and the government compared to the civic society's actors/organizations. This detail reflects a tendency of upward process of structural and identificational integration. On the other hand, almost all immigrants either ignore the existence of civil society, or do not trust civil society's actors, independent authorities, or professional organizations and trade unions. The same holds true for immigrant/ethnic associations: levels of trust towards them score very low. An explanation for this situation



may be traced in the lack of information, the fragmentation of trade unionism and migration movements, as well as their inadequacy in expressing the interests of immigrants.

The total average of perceived discrimination of the sample population stands at 60 per cent. Three trends may be distinguished. The first refers to the high perceived discrimination against immigrants by political parties, the police and employers. The low level of discrimination demonstrated by IKA, neighbours and shopkeepers are attributed to their daily contacts with immigrants, which are regulated within a context of human and rational relations that take place at the local level. The third trend includes low rates of perceived discrimination by NGOs, independent authorities and the church. However, the percentages of respondents who are not familiar with these actors/institutions are significantly high.

When examining the level of social and political participation in the host society, one may also include volunteering, social and political activities such as participation in civil society's associations, in professional organizations or in political parties. Political participation, however, is the core dimension of active participation in society. Being an ideal indicator of integration, the measurement of immigrants' participation in public life, is in practice a difficult task. The only way to evaluate this is through 'formal' participation in elections or political membership status, which in Greece is reserved only to those who have acquired the citizenship of the country of settlement. In Greece, however, less than one third of immigrants have acquired Greek citizenship (OECD, 2012b, p. 134). Under these circumstances, the evaluation of political participation could be possible only through the involvement of immigrants in 'informal' forms of political activity. In this context, this study traces trends of active participation in local and municipal movements. At the same time, an increased trend of participation was observed in political organizations/parties in the country of origin, particularly for Albanians and Asians, while participation in professional organizations is significantly limited.

The overall assessment of the evaluation of the participatory experience of immigrants in sociopolitical and professional organizations is found to be at low levels. Moreover, the overall assessment of the evaluation of the participatory experience of immigrants is negative, reproducing in this way the pessimistic conclusions of previous studies (Iosifides, 2007; Spourdalakis *et al.*, 2011). This phenomenon may be due to the structural exclusion of immigrants in the field of political representation, in the mistrust between the two sides and the lack of confidence in the ability of these organizations to defend and promote immigrants' interests.

At the same time, common trends display a high use of Greek television as the main communication channel with the Greek reality, and that of satellite television to stay tuned with the countries of origin (Asians and Albanians).

Additionally, the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants such as age, educational level, ethnicity, years of residence and residence status, play an equally important role. Immigrants who have lived in Greece for many years and hold a residence status that is determined by a fixed and a permanent framework, are more likely to participate in public life. The data from the OECD report for Greece (2012b, p. 140) shows that the participation rate of immigrants with a long-term residence permit is 10 per cent higher than for the total immigrant population. Greek language proficiency is also an important factor, since it determines the ability of immigrants to express their voice in the public sphere.

In conclusion, it may be said that social links (relationship with public and political bodies/actors, independent authorities) and social bridges (civil society institutions/actors, NGOs, professional associations) appear relatively limited. Social bonds (co-ethnic or other forms of in-group relations apart from family), on the other hand, are characterized as extremely weak. Thus, the common component which effectively cross-cuts almost all individual forms of social and political participation is the decreasing confidence and lack of trust in institutions and in any form of organized collectivity.

### **5.7 Self-evaluation of obstacles to integration**

It is noteworthy that the majority of respondents (77.7 per cent) report high levels of satisfaction with living conditions in Greece. East Europeans record the highest level of satisfaction (50 per cent), followed by the Asians (38.2 per cent) and Albanians (37.2 per cent).

The majority of respondents (68.4 per cent) believe that legislation constitutes a 'large' (26.1 per cent) and 'very large' (42.3 per cent) obstacle to their integration. The immigrant groups with the highest negative evaluation of legislation are Asians (64.7 per cent) and Albanians (64.4 per cent).

With respect to the behaviour of public servants, the largest percentage of respondents (53.9 per cent) evaluates it as a 'moderate' (25.8 per cent) and 'very great' (28.1 per cent) obstacle to their integration process. In terms of immigrant group, Albanians (59.2 per cent) are the only immigrant group that evaluates it very negatively.

As expected, Greek language proficiency does not seem to be a serious obstacle to integration for the largest percentage of immigrants (46.2 per cent). However, Asians (60.2 per cent) consider the Greek language a ‘moderate’ (33.8 per cent) and ‘very great’ (26.4 per cent) obstacle to their integration into Greek society. Similarly, 61 per cent of respondents consider that the Greek lifestyle does not constitute a problem for their integration in Greek society. Asians respond differently, with 50 per cent stating that the Greek lifestyle poses an obstacle to their integration.

To the question of whether racist behaviour is an obstacle to integration, 50.7 per cent of respondents responded negatively. In terms of immigrant group, 53.1 per cent of Asians believe that racist behaviour is a large obstacle to their integration process. Indeed, the evaluation of racist behaviour in relation to integration appears to have a statistically significant correlation with nationality and age, and to a lesser extent with educational level.

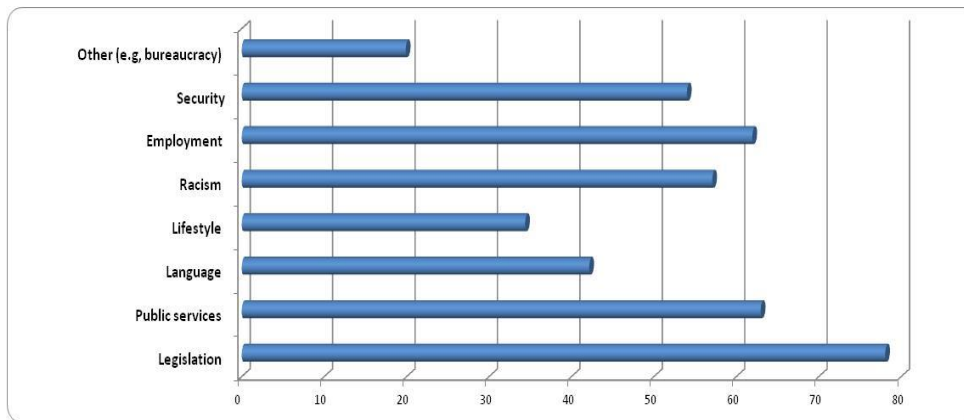
Employment, on the other hand, is believed to be a great and extremely great problem for socio-economic integration for 44.1 per cent of respondents. A similar picture emerges from the comparison of immigrant groups, with the majority of Asians (53.4 per cent) considering it a very great obstacle to integration, while East Europeans (51.8 per cent) and Albanians (39.5 per cent) follow with smaller percentages.

The social security parameter does not seem to be a serious obstacle to integration for the largest percentage of immigrants (48.4 per cent). A different view, however, is expressed by the majority of Asians (50 per cent) who consider to be from a ‘moderate’ (23.3 per cent) to a ‘very great’ (26.7 per cent) obstacle.

In the ‘other’ category, bureaucracy displays the highest percentage, though this figure does not show statistically significant rates.

The summary of the above findings, as shown in Figure 45, demonstrates that legislation is the first factor that hinders the integration process, at 78.6 per cent, with the behaviour of public servants (63 per cent) and employment (62 per cent) coming next.

Figure 45. Self-evaluation of integration obstacles (%)



Source: Survey Data

The comparison among immigrant groups showed that Albanians consider legislation (82 per cent), public servants (66.38 per cent) and racism (57.64 per cent) to be the greatest obstacles to their social integration. Asians, on the other hand, see legislation (75.58 per cent), employment (70.42 per cent) and the Greek language (66.46 per cent) as the main factors that hinder their socio-economic integration. Finally, East Europeans negatively evaluate not only legislation (61.44 per cent) but also the social security system (56.24 per cent). It confirms the argument that the greatest obstacle to the integration of immigrants is the current legislative framework. This is due to the fact that legalization programmes have failed to create a stable and permanent mechanism for the legalization of immigrants and for their socio-economic integration into Greek society. For immigrants, legal status may be understood to entail equality, freedom and access to the same rights as those enjoyed by the native population (Qualitative Eurobarometer, 2011, p. 12).

It is no coincidence that after legislation, the greatest obstacle to integration is employment. Indeed, the outbreak of the economic crisis in Greece and the austerity measures have dramatically changed immigrants working conditions with the level of unemployment reaching 36 per cent in the third quarter of 2012 (Hellenic Statistical Authority, Labour Force Survey, 2012).

Finally, a third major obstacle, particularly for Asians, is the difficulty to communicate in the Greek language. This is a noteworthy observation, in light of the Eurobarometer's understanding of language as being perhaps the most important factor for the facilitation of integration (Qualitative Eurobarometer, 2011, p. 12).

## 5.8 Racism and discrimination

Racism and discrimination against immigrants are a well-known social phenomenon that recently reached alarming dimensions. Their definition includes direct and indirect discrimination<sup>49</sup>, racist/racial violence and discriminatory practices based on race, religion, beliefs and ethnicity (Carrera, 2008).

The phenomenon of discrimination, in particular, is about the treatment of an individual or a social group in an unfair or discriminatory manner because of certain differences, or their membership in a particular social group (Chrisochou, 2005). According to Ventura (2011), discrimination is nowadays ‘legalized’ on the basis of cultural differences/diversities, where diversity and the ‘others’ have been stigmatized on the basis of a presumed inability to adapt to modernity. In this way, the author underlines, individuals are perceived not as subjects but as representatives of the group to which they allegedly belong through a stereotypical image of that same group (Ventura, 2011, p. 31). Racism also constitutes a system of beliefs and practices that seeks to define and make visible the diversity of a social group with the aim of classifying its members in lower social positions and marginalising or excluding them (2011, p. 31).

At the same time, another element that poses an immediate risk for the socio-economic integration of immigrants is the perceived discrimination by the subjects themselves. This term refers to perceived discrimination by individuals and/or groups whose social identity is threatened with deterioration or stigmatization, and where the cause of this discrimination relates to the dynamic of intergroup relations (Chrisochou, 2005).

This sub-section examines the phenomenon of discrimination and racism against the three immigrant groups, from the perspective of their socio-economic integration. The core hypothesis is based on the argument that any permanent inequality (with relation to accessing to public goods), can be interpreted as evidence of discrimination and restrictions on integration opportunities (Alba and Nee, 2011, p. 81). It presents the empirical study results as these have emerged through the analysis of individual indicators. It should be emphasized that this indicator is not defined separately in this questionnaire, but cross-cuts horizontally through nearly all individual indicators.

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<sup>49</sup>According to Article 2 of the Directive 2000/43 EC of 29 June 2000 on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment among persons irrespective of their racial or ethnic origin, ‘direct discrimination occurs when, for reasons of racial or ethnic origin, a person is treated less favourably than another person would be treated in a similar situation. Indirect discrimination occurs when an apparently neutral provision, criterion, or practice would put persons of a particular racial or ethnic origin at a disadvantaged position compared to other persons, unless, the provision, the criterion or the practice is objectively justified by a legitimate cause and the means for achieving this cause are appropriate and necessary (Directive 2000/43/EC:5). <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:el:HTML>

It is worth noting that the most appropriate approach for measuring the index of discrimination and racism was the method of recording the personal opinion of immigrants regarding the frequency of unequal treatment (OECD, 2012b, p. 145).

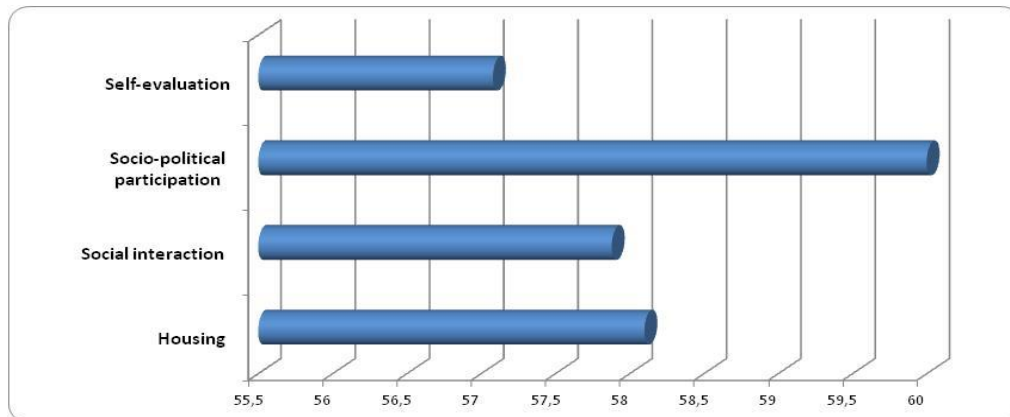
More specifically, with regard to discrimination and racism against immigrants in the course of their effort to find suitable housing, the majority of respondents (58 per cent) state that they have not experienced serious problems. In terms of immigrant groups, Asians and Albanians appear to face greater problems in renting a house compared to East Europeans. As far as the evaluation of discrimination at individual level is concerned, the findings showed that Asians constitute an easy target of unfair or insulting behaviour. This is probably due to their physical and cultural characteristics (e.g., religion). However, the total average of the three immigrant groups of the sample stands at 58 per cent.

Regarding the evaluation of discrimination at a collective level, Albanians display a higher percentage of perceived discrimination, an element associated with the negative public image produced and reproduced – by the mass media in particular – towards this group. The comparison of averages with respect to perceived discrimination both at an individual and collective level, showed that Albanians are the only group who consider that they experience more discrimination as a group rather than as individuals (67 per cent). In contrast, both Asians and East Europeans stated that discrimination against them is greater at the individual rather than the collective level. The total average regarding perceived discrimination at the individual level, gathers the lowest percentage (58 per cent) compared to discrimination at the collective level (68 per cent).

In terms of existing discrimination in the field of social and political participation three findings were identified: a) the overwhelming negative perception of Albanian immigrants in relation to the institutional discrimination against them, b) the significantly low percentage of East Europeans who consider that they have experienced discrimination and c) the high level of Asians who do not take a position. The total average of the perceived discrimination by the sampling population is at 60 per cent.

The comparison of the averages of the individual indicators (Figure 46) showed that the total average stands at 58.3 per cent. The index with the highest percentage of discrimination and racism is that of social and political participation (60 per cent), and then comes the indicator of housing (58 per cent) and social interaction (58 per cent).

Figure 46. Discrimination and racism by indicator (%)



Source: Survey Data

These findings confirm the results of previous studies (Kontis and Bezevegkis, 2011) regarding the high rate of discrimination and racism experienced by immigrants in Greece. Moreover, the fact that the average of the index of social and political participation has the highest rate in comparison to the other indicators is linked to the theoretical dimension of the formal institutional discrimination field, which implies the refusal to Greek citizenship and the right of political participation.

The examination of the perceived discrimination by the subject themselves, showed that the bottom-up integration dynamic is positive. In contrast, the institutional framework, either with objective or subjective conditions (perceived discrimination) is becoming a major cause of a differentiated (institutional) exclusion against immigrants in Greece.

In conclusion, immigrants face a number of obstacles in the process of socio-economic integration, which are mainly due to the structural and institutional constraints, the discriminatory and racist practices that systematically work against their interests. In Greece, however, the public debate on racism and xenophobia is associated almost exclusively with immigration. The basic assumption of this discussion considers racism as a relationship of power that is reproduced and revived both by the immigrants and the native population. However, little attention has been paid to the issue of racist violence, although it is a phenomenon that is growing dramatically in recent years in the country, because of the economic crisis and the rapid rise of extreme right-wing forces. Finally, at the political level, the tackling of discrimination and racism is not just a matter of good and/or ideological intentions, but is related directly to the maintenance of social cohesion, since discrimination leads to negative inter-group relations and to social conflicts.

## **Chapter Six: Socio-Economic Integration – Quantitative Analysis**

This chapter discusses the outcomes of the statistical analysis. It examines the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants by applying quantitative methods (descriptive statistics of the levels of integration per indicator; tests for the existence of relationships between integration indicators and demographic characteristics; the use of one-way ANOVA and independent samples t-test and, multiple linear regression analysis). It examines whether there is a significant difference both between migrant groups and with Greek citizens as a reference group.

The chapter starts with presenting the overall results calculated from measuring the individual indicators per immigrant group and as an aggregate integration index of the total sample. Next, the levels of similarity between the sample population and the Greek population by integration indicator is examined. Migrant demographic characteristics and their educational background constitute important factors that impact on their integration path. Therefore, it was necessary to test for the existence of statistically significant relationships between the seven individual indicators of socio-economic integration and the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample such as gender, age, citizenship, educational level, years of residence and residence status. The chapter ends with discussion of the multiple linear regression results.

### **6.1 Integration index and immigrant groups**

This section starts with analysing the descriptive statistics - mean (average integration levels) and standard deviation - of the integration indicators per immigrant groups. The results are summarised in Table 21, below.



Table 21. Integration index by immigrant group

Immigrant groups	Employment	Housing	Use of Greek language	Social Interaction	Social-Political participation	Self-evaluation	Racism-Discrimination	General Integration Index
Albanians	0.8211	1.1474	1.4462	0.8976	0.8114	1.2529	1.1157	1.0703
N	164	164	164	164	164	164	164	164
Std. Deviation	0.53905	0.24848	0.44272	0.32821	0.22769	0.37045	0.30944	0.19387
Asians	0.7843	1.0527	0.6124	0.7169	0.7719	0.9681	1.2432	0.8785
N	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68
Std. Deviation	0.60885	0.26661	0.57164	0.36432	0.27395	0.42758	0.38467	0.25399
East Europeans	0.7440	1.2649	1.5166	1.2429	0.9484	1.3327	1.3879	1.2053
N	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28
Std. Deviation	0.58352	0.23136	0.40236	0.39761	0.18968	0.49397	0.51188	0.18322
Total	0.8032	1.1353	1.2357	0.8875	0.8158	1.1870	1.1784	1.0347
N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260
Std. Deviation	0.56120	0.25792	0.60279	0.37412	0.24127	0.42039	0.36632	0.23280

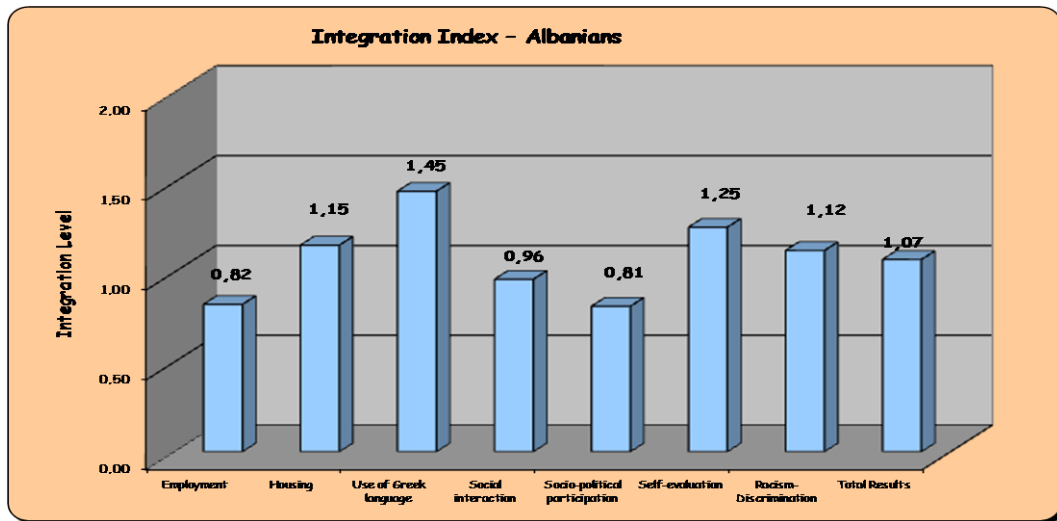
Source: Survey Data

Immigrants who come from different geographical parts of the world and from countries where they were brought up and socialized in a different system of cultures and values, present differences that inevitably determine the course of their social integration. These differences are related to ethnic origin and gender distribution both within the same immigrant group and among groups.

Looking at the values in Table above, we are particularly concerned with the large deviation of the following indicator: the use of Greek language for Asians. Additionally, the indicator ‘social and political participation’ reflects the low participation of East Europeans, with the relative deviation reaching 0.2. Meanwhile, the largest standard deviation is 0.6 in total.

Albanian immigrants in total appear partially integrated, with the final rate standing at 1.07 (Figure 47). The indicators with the higher rates of integration are: the use of the Greek language (1.5) and the self-evaluation (1.25). The indicators with the lowest rate of integration are: social and political participation (0.81), employment (0.82) and social interaction (0.90). However, due to the small standard deviation, the general integration indicator for Albanian immigrants is at the level of partial integration (1.07).

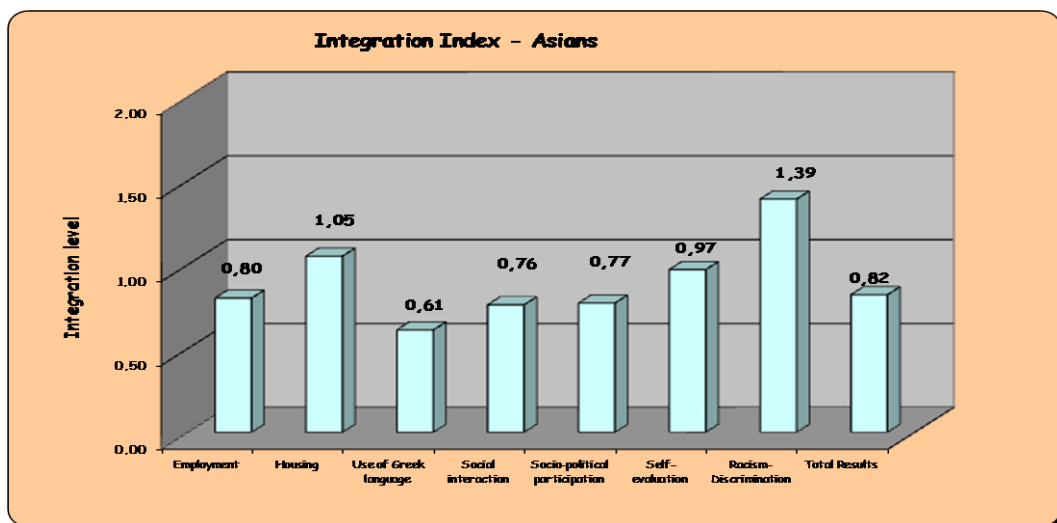
Figure 47. Integration index for Albanians by indicator



Source: Survey Data

Asian immigrants, on the other hand, have a low rate of integration (0.88). It is surprising that one of the indicators with the largest rate is that of racism-discrimination (1.24), followed by the housing indicator (1.05). At the same time, the rest of the indicators register lower values with the use of the Greek language displaying the lowest figure (0.61). Although the employment indicator of Asians has low price (0.80), it has the largest standard deviation (spread of responses) in relation to the other immigrant groups (Figure 48).

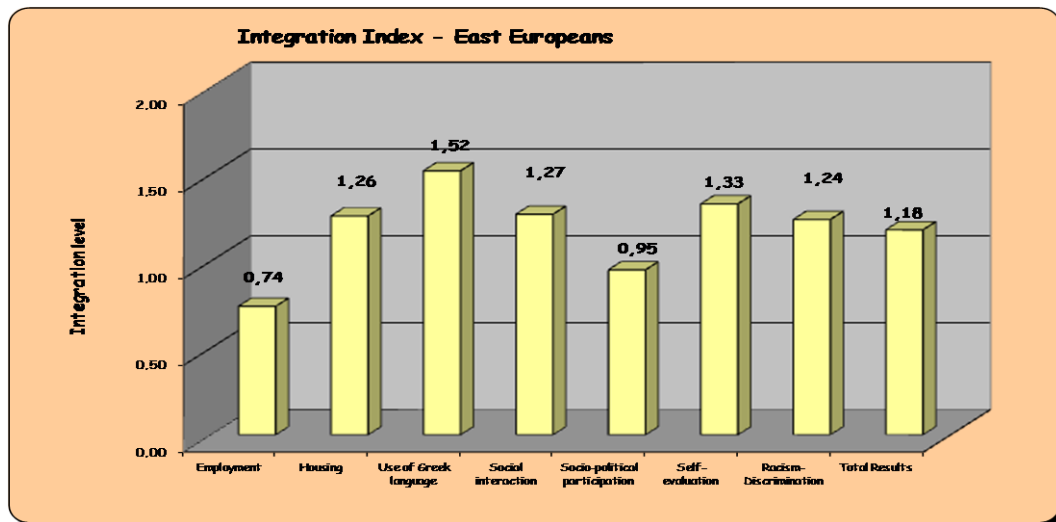
Figure 48. Integration index of Asians by indicator



Source: Survey Data

East Europeans have a higher level of integration compared to Albanians and Asians (1.21), although they did not manage to overcome the limit of partial integration (Figure 49). The only indicator that is found close to full integration is that of the use of the Greek language (1.52). High levels of integration also have the following indicators: racism-discrimination (1.39), self-evaluation (1.33) and housing (1.26). Interestingly, the employment indicator (0.74) has the lowest score compared to other immigrant groups.

Figure 49. Integration Index of East Europeans by indicator

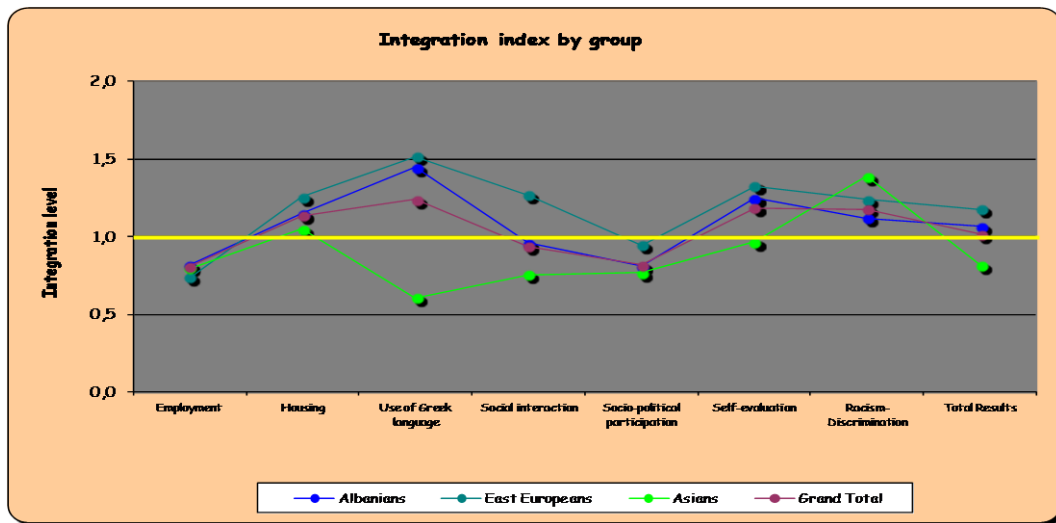


Source: Survey Data

The findings of the composite integration index per immigrant group (Figure 50) show that:

- The group of Albanian immigrants appears at the level of partial integration.
- The group of Asians records a score just below the level of partial integration.
- The group of East Europeans receives a higher price of integration compared to the other groups. The steep variations that from the one hand touch the verge of full integration (in particular the use of Greek language) and on the other present low prices (especially the employment index), are characteristic.

Figure 50. Integration Index of immigrant groups by indicator



Source: Survey Data

At the same time, the picture that emerges from the summary of the findings regarding the different indicators of social integration records the following characteristics:

- The final value of the integration index in the total of immigrant groups of the sample is stabilized at 1.03, at the level of partial integration.
- The majority of individual indicators (4) are over the limit of 1.
- The indicators of employment, social interaction and socio-political participation have low prices.
- The level of employment integration and social and political participation are below the limit of 1 for the three immigrant groups.

One-way ANOVA was applied to examine whether there was a significant difference between the average integration levels of the three immigrant groups.

Ho: mean (Albanians) = mean (Asians) = mean (East Europeans)

H<sub>1</sub>: mean (Albanians) ≠ mean (Asians) ≠ mean (East Europeans)

Table 22 shows that there is a significant difference between the three immigrant groups in terms of their integration levels in housing (F=7.565, p=0.01<5%), use of Greek language (F=79.237, p < 5%), social/political participation (F=5.571, p=0.004<5%), self-evaluation of integration (F=14.240, p< 5%), social interaction (F=23.136, p<5%), racism-xenophobia (F=8.508, p<5%) and the general integration index (F=30.357, p<5%).

Table 22. Integration indicators by immigrant group (one-way ANOVA)

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Housing * Immigrant group	Between Groups (Combined)	.958	2	.479	7.565	.001
	Within Groups	16,272	257	.063		
	Total	17,230	259			
Use of Greek language * Immigrant group	Between Groups (Combined)	35.895	2	17.948	79.237	.000
	Within Groups	58,212	257	.227		
	Total	94,108	259			
Socio-political participation * Immigrant group	Between Groups (Combined)	.626	2	.313	5.571	.004
	Within Groups	14,450	257	.056		
	Total	15,076	259			
Self-evaluation * Immigrant group	Between Groups (Combined)	4.566	2	2.283	14.240	.000
	Within Groups	41,206	257	.160		
	Total	45,772	259			
Social interaction * Immigrant group	Between Groups (Combined)	5.531	2	2.766	23.136	.000
	Within Groups	30,721	257	.120		
	Total	36,252	259			
Discrimination and racism * Immigrant group	Between Groups (Combined)	2.158	2	1.079	8.508	.000
	Within Groups	32,597	257	.127		
	Total	34,756	259			
General integration index * Immigrant group	Between Groups (Combined)	2.682	2	1.341	30.357	.000
	Within Groups	11,355	257	.044		
	Total	14,037	259			

## 6.2 Integration index and sample demographic profile

The demographic and other social characteristics of immigrants are: gender, age, educational level, residence status and years of residence in Greece create a background context that influences their integration in the Greek society.

### 6.2.1 Integration index and gender

Regarding gender, women show a slightly higher level of integration compared to men (Table 23 and Figure 51).

Table 23. Comparison of integration index with gender

Gender	Employment	Housing	Use of Greek language	Social Interaction	Social-Political participation	Self-evaluation	Racism-Discrimination	Total Integration Index
Male	0.8868	1.0993	1.1001	0.8725	0.8168	1.1599	1.2025	1.0197
Female	0.6650	1.1947	1.4599	0.9122	0.8142	1.2318	1.1385	1.0595
Total	0.8032	1.1353	1.2357	0.8875	0.8158	1.1870	1.1784	1.0347

Source: Survey Data

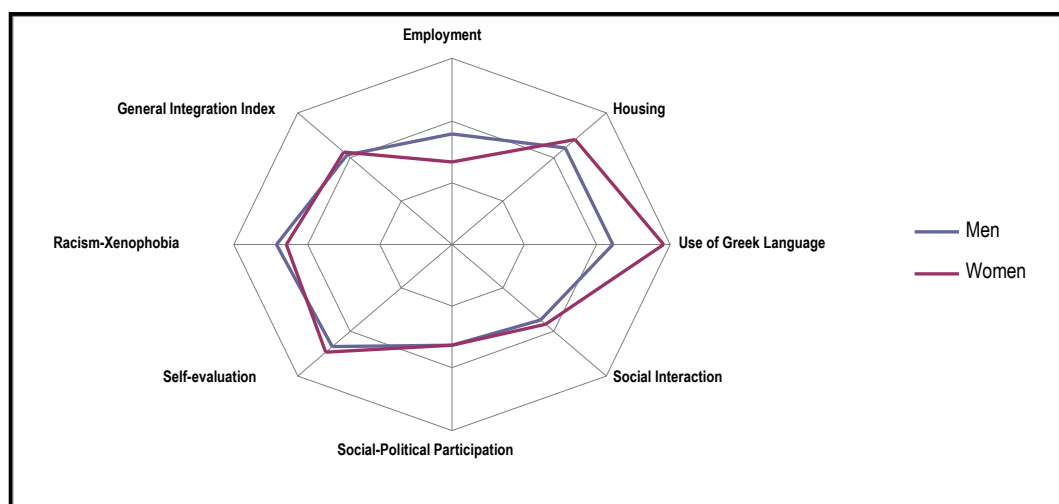
Thus, women have a higher level of integration in the areas of housing, the use of the Greek language, social interaction, self-evaluation and the general integration index, compared to men. The employment indicator, on the contrary, shows that men are more integrated in the labour market than women. Similarly, they perceive themselves as more exposed to racial discrimination. Independent samples t-test was used to examine whether gender has a significant impact on the levels of integration by the different integration indicators. It appears that men and women have significantly different average levels of labour market integration (if equal variances is assumed,  $t=3.14$ ,  $p<5\%$ ), housing (if equal variances is assumed,  $t=-2.93$ ,  $p<5\%$ ) and use of the Greek language (if equal variances is assumed,  $t=-4.86$ ,  $p<5\%$ ) (Table 24).

Table 24. Gender and integration indices (independent samples t-test)

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Housing	Equal variances Assumed	.016	.899	-2.934	258	.004	-.09545	.03253	-.15951	-.03139
	Equal variances not Assumed			-2.841	184.326	.005	-.09545	.03359	-.16173	-.02917
Use of Greek language	Equal variances Assumed	7.424	.007	-4.864	258	.000	-.35982	.07397	-.50549	-.21416
	Equal variances not Assumed			-5.078	232.077	.000	-.35982	.07086	-.49944	-.22021
Employment	Equal variances Assumed	5.331	.022	3.142	258	.002	.22187	.07062	.08280	.36093
	Equal variances not Assumed			3.231	222.865	.001	.22187	.06867	.08655	.35718

Source: SPSS Output

Figure 51. Comparison of integration index by gender



Source: Survey Data

### 6.2.2 Integration index and age

Table 25 and Figure 52, below, show that the younger immigrants (aged 18-25 years) tend to show higher levels of integration in terms of use of the Greek language and social-political participation, compared to older immigrants. The age group over 55 years old appears to display higher levels of integration in the labour market (employment) compared to younger immigrants.

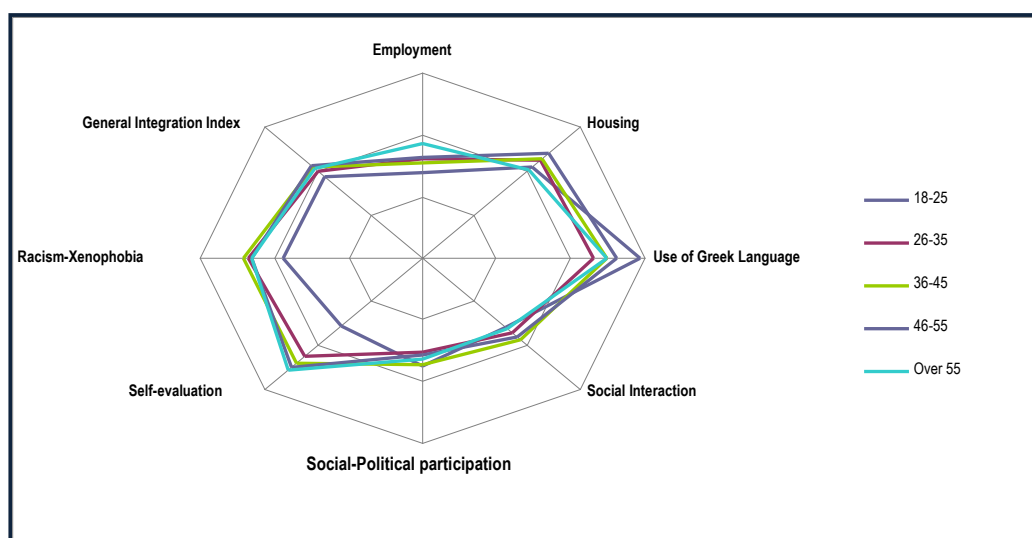
Table 25. Comparison of integration index with age

Group age	Employment	Housing	Use of Greek language	Social Interaction	Social-Political participation	Self-evaluation	Racism-Discrimination	Total Integration Index
18-25	0.6905	1.0357	1.4643	0.8000	0.8698	0.7755	0.9457	0.9402
26-35	0.8099	1.1256	1.1479	0.8535	0.7600	1.1203	1.1725	0.9985
36-45	0.7773	1.1409	1.2451	0.9250	0.8623	1.2068	1.2125	1.0528
46-55	0.8133	1.2050	1.3064	0.9000	0.7868	1.2577	1.1576	1.0610
over 55	0.9242	1.0114	1.2386	0.8091	0.8127	1.2738	1.1482	1.0311
Total	.8032	1.1353	1.2357	0.8875	0.8158	1.1870	1.1784	1.0347

Source: Survey Data

In total, the age group with the highest level of integration seems to be that aged 46-55 years.

Figure 52. Comparison of integration index with age



Source: Survey Data

### 6.2.3 Integration index and educational level

Regarding the educational level, it was found that individuals with a higher level of education have higher levels of social integration (Table 26).

Table 26. Comparison of integration index with educational level

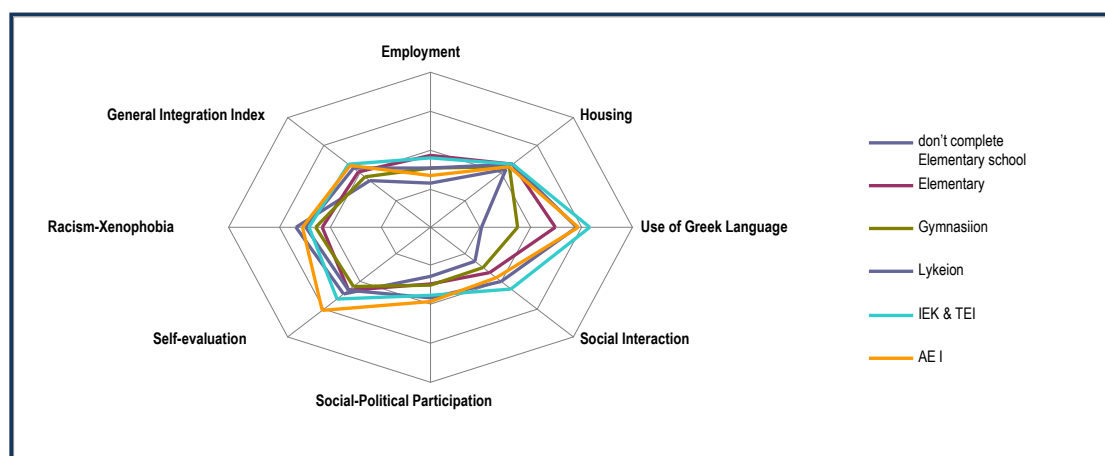
Educational level	Employment	Housing	Use of Greek language	Social Interaction	Social-Political participation	Self-evaluation	Racism-Discrimination	Total Integration Index
Didn't complete elementary school	0.5741	1.0556	0.5000	0.6222	0.6308	1.2222	1.3256	0.8472
Elementary school	0.9226	1.1533	1.2379	0.8214	0.7339	1.1546	1.0730	1.0138
Gymnasium	0.7643	1.1107	0.8653	0.7336	0.7468	1.0686	1.1364	0.9180
Lykeion	0.7634	1.1532	1.4510	0.9903	0.9058	1.1516	1.2327	1.0926
Higher education (IEK & TEI)	0.8875	1.1583	1.5759	1.1150	0.8706	1.3006	1.2113	1.1599
Tertiary (AEI)	0.6667	1.1071	1.4677	0.9238	0.9529	1.5252	1.2762	1.1314
Postgraduate /PhD	0.8333	1.1250	1.5357	1.2000	1.0357	1.3571	1.5650	1.2360
Total	0.8032	1.1353	1.2357	0.8875	0.8158	1.1870	1.1784	1.0347

Source: Survey Data

Moreover, it appears that the values of individual indicators increase when increase of the educational levels. Higher education graduates display a higher level of integration mainly in the following indicators: use of Greek language, social interaction and self-evaluation (Figure 53).



Figure 53. Comparison of integration index with educational level



Source: Survey Data

### 6.2.4 Integration index and years of residence in Greece

The fewer years of residence in Greece are associated with a lower level of social integration in general, and a greater perceived discrimination and racism, decreased social interaction and low employment rates in particular.

Regarding the years of residence in Greece, the higher level of social integration is displayed by immigrants who live in Greece for more than 25 years, followed by those who live in Greece for 16-20 years. The lowest levels of social integration are displayed by those who live in Greece for 1-5 years (Table 27).

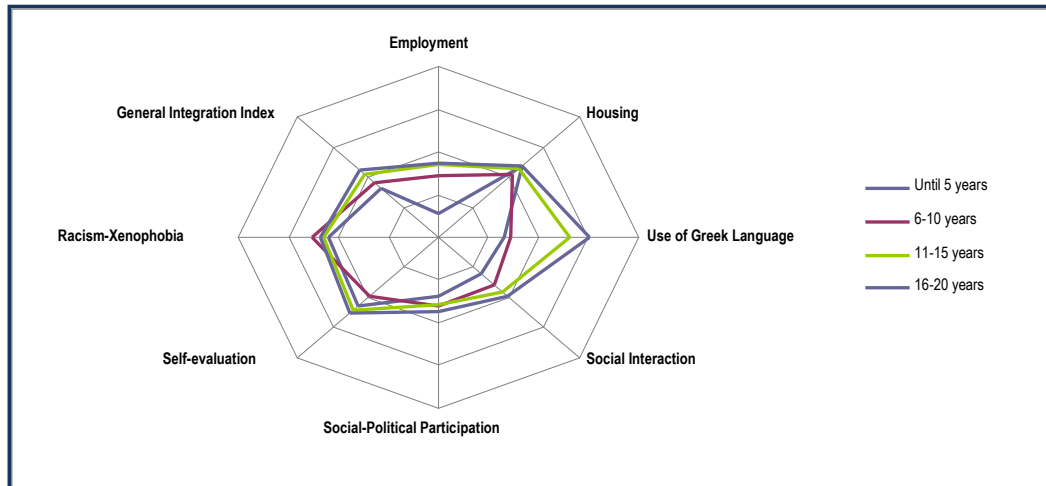
Table 27. Comparison of integration index with years of residence

Years of Residence	Employment	Housing	Use of Greek language	Social Interaction	Social-Political participation	Self-evaluation	Racism-Discrimination	Total Integration Index
Until 5 years	0.2708	1.1875	0.6518	0.6000	0.6846	1.1250	1.1038	0.8034
6-10 years	0.7259	1.0556	0.7286	0.7856	0.7971	0.9905	1.2609	0.9063
11-15 years	0.8601	1.1235	1.3058	0.8946	0.7947	1.2143	1.1551	1.0497
16-20 years	0.8624	1.1841	1.5096	0.9744	0.8746	1.2697	1.1802	1.1221
More than 25 years	1.3333	1.0000	2.0000	1.8000	1.0714	0.8571	1.1100	1.3103
Total	0.8032	1.1353	1.2357	0.8875	0.8158	1.1870	1.1784	1.0347

Source: Survey Data

Thus, the immigrant group who live in Greece for 16-20 years score higher in the use of the Greek language, social interaction and self-evaluation (Figure 54).

Figure 54. Comparison of integration indicators with relation to years of stay



Source: Survey Data

### 6.2.5 Integration index and legal status

As expected, holders of a stay permit for independent economic activity, spouses of Greek citizens and those with a permanent stay permit display the highest level of social integration in relation to holders of other permit types, which essentially indicate their temporary residence status or/and the dependent nature of employment (Table 28).

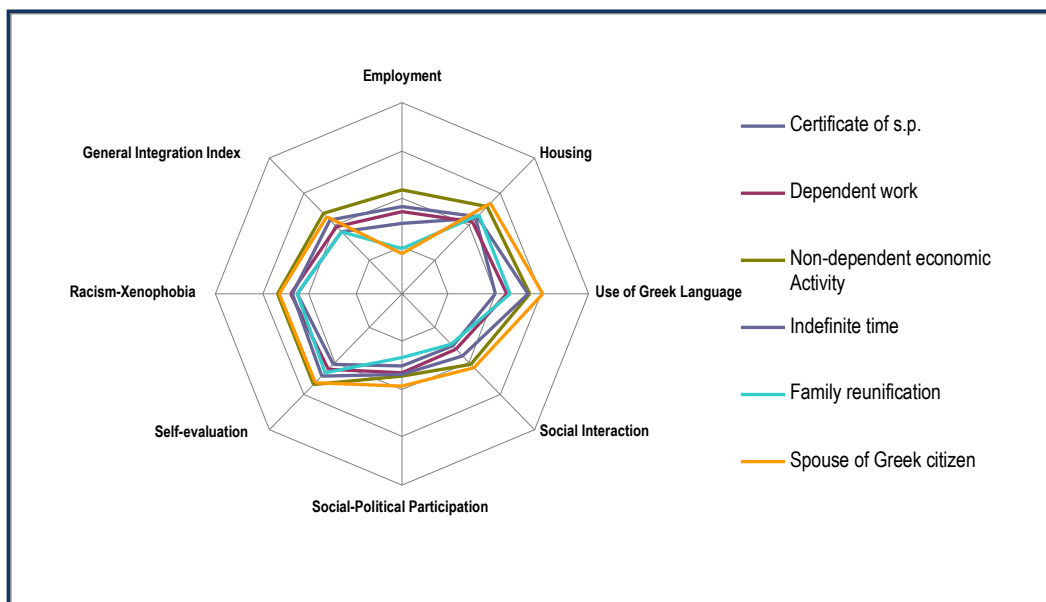
Table 28. Comparison of integration index with legal status

Legal Status	Employment	Housing	Use of Greek language	Social Interaction	Social-Political participation	Self-evaluation	Racism-Discrimination	Total Integration Index
Certificate of stay permit	0.7284	1.1235	0.9947	0.7685	0.7586	1.0476	1.1241	0.9351
Dependent work	0.8622	1.0667	1.1310	0.8213	0.8182	1.1257	1.1889	1.0020
Non-dependent economic activity	1.0897	1.2821	1.3626	1.0462	0.8600	1.3516	1.3300	1.1889
Indefinite time	0.9080	1.1360	1.3473	0.9264	0.8492	1.2338	1.1770	1.0825
Long-term	1.3889	1.1667	1.3810	1.2000	1.0187	1.3810	1.0700	1.2295
Family reunification	0.4713	1.1638	1.1564	0.7517	0.6637	1.1616	1.1310	0.9285
Parent of Greek citizen	1.000	1.0000	1.6429	1.5500	0.7874	1.3214	1.4325	1.2477
Study	0.8333	1.0000	2.0000	1.0000	1.1552	1.2857	0.7500	1.1463
Spouse of Greek citizen	0.4216	1.3578	1.5105	1.0941	0.9711	1.0000	0.5567	0.5722
Exceptional reasons	0.2222	1.0000	0.2500	1.0941	0.3097	1.3126	1.3094	0.5722
Total	0.8032	1.1353	1.2357	0.8875	0.8158	1.1870	1.1784	1.0347

Source: Survey Data

Thus, the category ‘spouse of Greek citizen’ displays a high level of social integration in almost all individual indicators with employment, though it is an exception (Figure 55).

Figure 55. Comparison of integration index with legal status



Source: Survey Data

In sum, women aged 46-55 years, who have attended higher education, hold a permanent stay permit and have lived in Greece for more than 25 years, reach higher levels of socio-economic integration. With regard to the immigrant groups, East Europeans tend to display the highest level of socialization among immigrant groups, a better use of Greek language, the highest level of satisfaction/self-evaluation and the fewest problems related to racism and discrimination. Conversely, Asians display the lowest level of integration, a limited knowledge of the Greek language and a reduced level of social interaction.

### 6.3 Comparing the integration index of Greeks and immigrants

This sub-section examines the level of similarity between the sample and the Greek population by indicator and field of integration. We consider the composite index for the measurement of integration with Greek citizens as a control group. In the international literature on the comparison of the two populations, similarity indicators of the characteristics of each group such as the type of housing, the residence status, the geographical distribution, the structure of the age pyramid, the employment and the professional sector, are very often taken into account. The technique of similarity indicators is used in this sub-section on the basis of the available primary data from the European Social Research Survey (4<sup>th</sup> round, 2008).

Table 29, below, was created by adding the average integration indicators for Greeks.

Table 29. Level of integration similarities between Greeks and immigrants

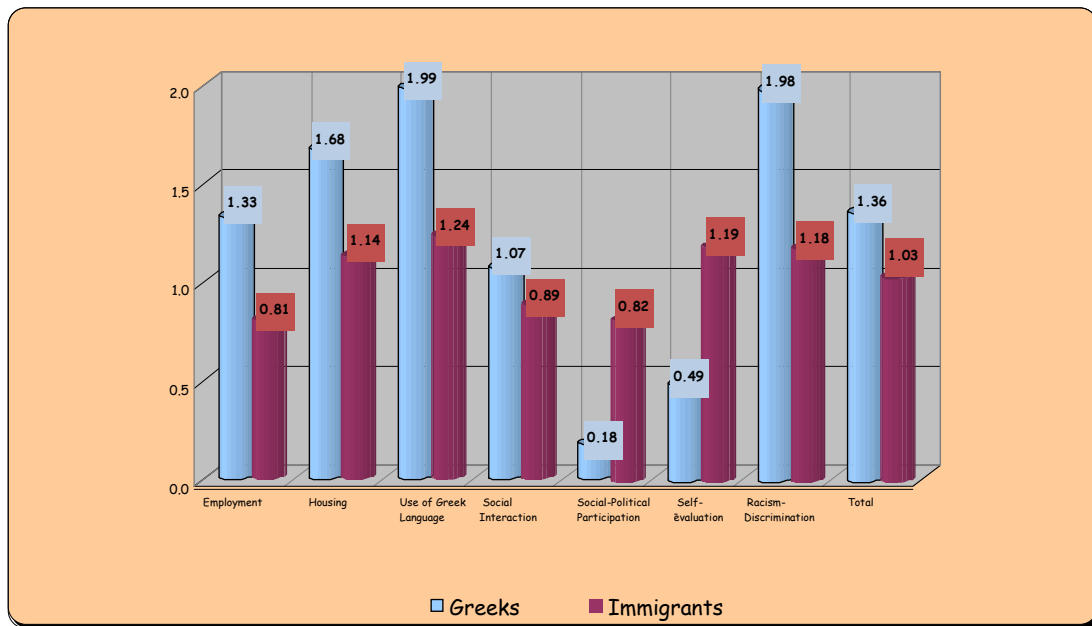
	Employment	Housing	Use of Greek Language	Social Interaction	Social-Political Participation	Self-evaluation	Racism-Xenophobia	Total Results
Albanians	0.82	1.15	1.45	0.90	0.81	1.25	1.12	1.07
East Europeans	0.74	1.26	1.52	1.24	0.95	1.33	1.39	1.21
Asians	0.80	1.05	0.61	0.72	0.77	0.97	1.24	0.88
Greeks	1.33	1.68	1.99	1.07	0.18	0.49	1.98	1.36
Total	<b>0.81</b>	<b>1.14</b>	<b>1.24</b>	<b>0.89</b>	<b>0.82</b>	<b>1.19</b>	<b>1.18</b>	<b>1.03</b>

Source: Survey Data

Some interesting observations that arise from the comparison of the integration indicators are:

- a) The integration average of the Greek population is 1.36. This value reaches the level of partial integration.
- b) The group of East Europeans (1.21) is significantly approaching the integration level of Greeks compared to other immigrant groups (Albanian and Asians) (Figure 56).

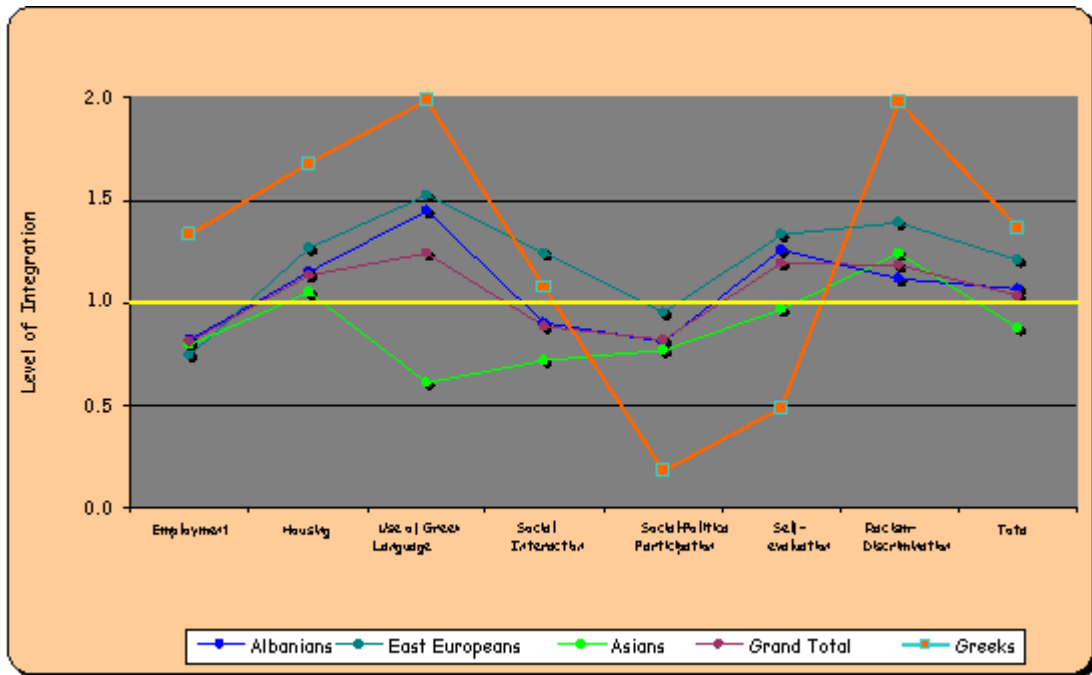
Figure 56. The level of integration similarities between immigrants and Greeks



Source: Survey Data

- a) East Europeans, however, display higher levels of integration in social interaction-friendships in relation to Greeks, an element that indicates a strong trend of socialization.
- b) The values/prices of the indicators: social-political participation and self-evaluation in relation to Greeks appear to have lower prices/values compared to the immigrant groups of the sample in total (Figure 57). This result is likely due to the strong unhappiness of Greeks in the country's political life, because of the economic crisis and ongoing scandals.

Figure 57. Level of integration similarities between immigrants and Greeks



Source: Survey Data

- c) The employment indicator of Greeks, despite its low level (1.33) represents a higher price in comparison to other immigrant groups. Low rates of the employment indicator of Greeks are mostly associated with unemployment and the effects of the Greek economy recession.

Finally, from the comparison of integration indicators between immigrants and Greeks we found that, both in terms of the total rate of integration and individual indicators, East European immigrants significantly approach Greeks mainly with regard to social interaction.

#### 6.4 Results of Multiple Linear Regression (MLR)

Table 30 is a summary of the Forward algorithm of MLR. It presents the independent variables introduced at each step and the total proportion of the variability of the dependent variable that explains the model.

Table 30. Model summary

Model Summary <sup>f</sup>				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.452 <sup>a</sup>	.204	.201	.20807
2	.505 <sup>b</sup>	.255	.249	.20170
3	.575 <sup>c</sup>	.331	.323	.19151
4	.585 <sup>d</sup>	.343	.332	.19022
5	.598 <sup>e</sup>	<b>.358</b>	.346	.18833

1. Predictors: (Constant). How many years have you been living in Greece?  
 2. Predictors: (Constant). How many years have you been living in Greece: Asians?  
 3. Predictors: (Constant). How many years have you been living in Greece: Asians. Albanians  
 4. Predictors: (Constant). How many years have you been living in Greece: Asians. Albanians. Gymnasium.  
 5. Predictors: (Constant). How many years have you been living in Greece: Asians. Albanians. Gymnasium. elementary school or don't complete elementary school.  
 6. Dependent Variable: General Integration Index

Source: Survey Data

The final model includes five independent variables (years of residence in Greece, Asians, Albanians, Secondary School, and Elementary School or not yet completed elementary school) and explains 35.8 per cent of the variability of the dependent variable. This can be considered a significant percentage for this type of data.

Table 31 presents the regression coefficients for the first and last step of the regression analysis. The final, 5th model, is considered.

Table 31. Regression coefficients

Model	Unstandardized coefficients		Unstandardized coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Std. error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)	.713	.042		17.169	.000		
Total years of residence in Greece	.024	.003	.452	8.138	.000	1.000	1.000
5 (Constant)	.980	.051		19.104	.000		
Total years of residence in Greece	.021	.003	.387	6.458	.000	.702	1.425
Asian	-.250	.045	-.472	-5.506	.000	.343	2.913
Albanian	-.178	.042	-.370	-4.214	.000	.328	3.052
Gymnasium	-.091	.031	-.174	-2.939	.004	.720	1.389
Elementary or no schooling	-.075	.030	-.139	-2.475	.014	.799	1.251

Source: Survey Data

The final model is:

**General Integration Index = 0.980 +0.021 x (Total years of residence in Greece) – 0.250 x (Asian) – 0.178 x (Albanian) - 0.091 x (Gymnasium) – 0.075 x (Elementary or no schooling)**

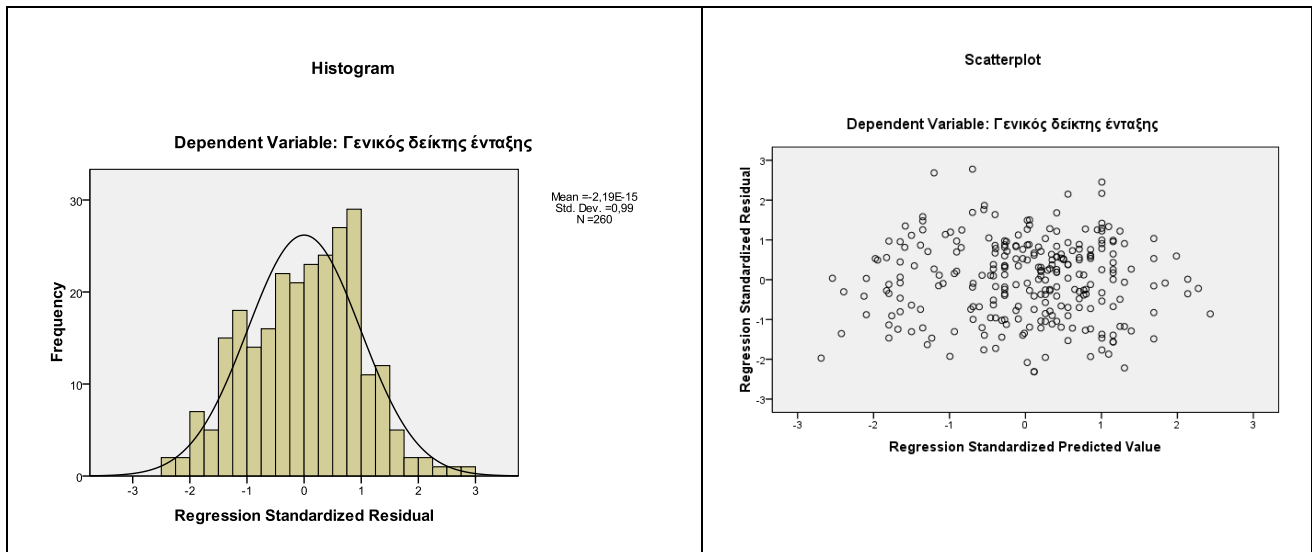
Regarding the categorical variables introduced to the model, the following are considered as level of reference: the East Europeans and the University Diploma. Therefore, the general integration index of an Asian is lower by 0.25 and of an Albanian is lower by 0.178 compared to an immigrant from East Europe. The general integration index of those who have finished Gymnasium (secondary school) is 0.091 lower than that of University graduate. The integration index of Elementary school graduates is lower by 0.075 compared to those who have a University Diploma. Moreover, for each year of residence in Greece, the integration index is increased by 0.021.

There is no multicollinearity in the model because the tolerance index is greater than 0.1 whereas VIF is less than 10 for each of the independent variables. In relation to the importance of the independent variables in the predictive ability of the model, most important are the ones that have the highest beta coefficient in absolute value. Thus, the three most important variables are: 'Asian', 'total years of residence in Greece' and 'Albanian'. Nationality (Asian, Albanian or East European) is therefore the most important variable that affects the general integration index, followed by the years of residence in Greece and the educational level. East European immigrants who live in Greece for many years and those who have a high educational level tend to display high values in the general integration index.

Finally, it should be examined whether the residuals follow the normal distribution. The histogram and the scatterplot of the residuals are shown in Figure 58.



Figure 58. Distribution of residuals (Histogram and Scatterplot)



Source: Survey Data

The left histogram shows the normal distribution of the standardized residues. The other graph presents the standardized residuals and the standardized predictive values. Because it does not present any particular form (e.g., to have the form of a funnel or to form a curve), there is a similar fluctuation/variation around the predicted values of the dependent variable. Hence, the requirements for the residuals are fulfilled.

For the evaluation of a good statistical model of multiple linear regression we examine:

1. The statistical significance of  $R^2$  to be relatively high.
2. The independent variables to be significant in order to have statistical effect on the dependent variables.
3. Residues should be randomly scattered (to be homoscedastic), not to follow any particular distribution.

In our case, the results from the evaluation of the statistical model of the multiple linear regression meet all the three requirements, as specified above. Therefore, we can conclude that the implemented model is statistically significant and supports the hypothesis according to which the demographic and morphological characteristics of immigrants (independent variables) significantly affect the general index of social integration of immigrants (dependent variable).

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations**

### **7.1 Revisiting the research questions**

This research examined the myriad of issues pertaining to the socio-economic integration of immigrants in Greece. It was set in the context of the controversial debate about immigration and integration embedded within the economic and social context of Greece.

Nine main research questions were formulated to address the topic of the study. The first research question was designed to investigate the overall level of integration of immigrants in the Greater Athens area. In this context, the thesis examined the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants by constructing a general integration index which was elaborated in Chapter Four.

The second research question focused on the investigation of the key integration indicators which effectively explained the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants, both as individuals and groups. As the evaluation of the integration process was based on the development of indicators, an important question was raised – namely, which indicators and variables can produce reliable and comparable data for measuring the levels of integration, and in which ways. The selection of the socio-economic indicators employed to answer this research question was directly linked to the conclusion drawn from the review in the relevant bibliography in Chapter Two (in sections 2.4 and 2.7). Furthermore, the overall literature review presented the process by which we arrived at the selection of the seven socio-economic indicators.

The third, fourth and fifth questions were designed to address the socio-economic performance of each immigrant group. The integration levels were statistically evaluated by comparing between immigrants and the native population (Greeks) in seven of the socio-economic domains. The overall technique and methodological parameters employed to construct the integration index were analytically examined in Chapter Four (section 4.1) and the relevant results were presented in Chapter Six (sections 6.1 and 6.3).

The sixth question addressed one of the prominent themes in analysis, namely that of residential distribution of migrants in the Greater Athens area. More specifically, sub-chapter 4.4 introduced the geo-coding method used to map the residential distribution of both the sample and the total immigrant population living in these two areas. Furthermore, sub-chapter

5.3 (5.3.1.1) analysed the geographical mapping of the residential distribution of the overall migrant population officially registered in the municipalities of Piraeus and Korydallos.

The seventh and eighth questions investigated the impact of the migrants' socio-demographic characteristics on their integration index outcome, as well as whether there was a statistically significant relationship between socio-economic integration indicators and the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample. As described in Chapter Four (sub-section 4.2.1) the independent samples t-test and one-way ANOVA techniques were employed to examine whether there was significant difference between the average levels of integration between the three migrant groups, Albanians, Asians and East Europeans. The relevant results were discussed in Chapter Six (section 6.2)

The last question (nine) examined the most important variables that affected the general integration index. For this purpose the statistical model of the multiple linear regression was applied with an aim to explore the factors that impact on the levels of integration. The statistical model along with the findings were discussed in Chapters Four (section 4.3) and Six (section 6.4) respectively.

## **7.2 Restating the contribution – originality of the thesis**

The construction of an integration index for Greece is a significant innovation in the area of migrant integration studies, both for the European and Greek contexts. Moreover, the statistical analysis (independent samples t-test, one-way ANOVA and multiple linear regression) examined the general integration index as a dependent variable to study the impact of a variety of demographic and socio-economic variables.

In this context, the study has contributed to the advancement of the scientific discussion on the factors that impede and those that facilitate migrant integration. By adopting an innovative analytical approach it has further contributed to a deeper understanding of the migration phenomenon on the one hand, and the integration of immigrants in the Greek context on the other, thus enriching the rather limited literature on these issues. More specifically, it has highlighted the particular features of bottom-up integration strategies, and their increasing diversification into separate fields such as employment, housing, the use of the Greek language, social interaction, and social and political participation.

Another contribution is the application, for the first time in the Greek literature, of the integration typologies adopting the indicators of Heckmann (1999) and Entzinger (2000). Furthermore, it offers an important contribution in that it compares different ethno-cultural

migrant groups that represent different migration systems and with different demographic and social characteristics.

All in all, the theoretical approach of the immigrants' integration process from the perspective of the quantitative 'bottom-up' approach, in association with both the qualitative comparative analysis of the three immigrant groups and the application of the statistical model of the multiple linear regression, has contributed to the enrichment of the general study of the socio-economic integration of immigrants in Greece.

### **7.3 Summary of the methodology and limitations**

This thesis used quantitative methodology in the design of its primary and secondary data. In particular, for the collection of primary data it adopted a quota sampling technique, it made use of structured questionnaires with a number of open questions, completed in the course of face-to-face interviews. The sampling method used was that of stratified random sampling using nationality and gender as criteria of stratification. Within this framework, it examined the level of socio-economic integration of immigrants by constructing a general integration index and applying independent samples t-test, One-Way ANOVA and multiple linear regression analysis.

With regard to background sources, the adoption of a multi-disciplinary approach was considered appropriate, starting from the premise that socio-economic scientific thinking is not an autonomous process determined only by internal developments, but a product of time and of the socio-economic context from which it emerges. In order to analyse the migration phenomenon in general and integration in particular, theories on immigrants' integration were used.

Following this line of thought, the study analysed the concept of integration as a general socio-economic construction. Particular attention was paid to the definition, dimensions, determinants and integration mechanisms concerning immigrants in the host economy and society. Also, two main typologies regarding socio-economic integration were analysed in detail, notably the typologies of Heckmann (1999) and Entzinger (2000). They were considered significant for the further analytical elaboration of the research questions and working hypothesis.

In the case of the segregation and housing conditions indicators, it was considered necessary to adopt a dual methodological approach. More specifically, two research tools were applied: first, the mapping of the spatial distribution of both the sample population and of the total immigrant population living in the two areas through a geo-coding method, and

second, the use of a questionnaire to examine in detail the housing conditions of the sample population.

Another important methodological element is the fact that the integration level was evaluated statistically by the comparison between immigrants and the native population in different spheres of socio-economic integration. For this purpose, the European Social Survey data (4<sup>th</sup> round, 2008) was used with the aim of constructing the aggregate index of immigrant integration with Greek citizens as the control group.

Given that the ethnic and demographic characteristics of immigrants constitute a crucial background that significantly affects their integration path, it was necessary to estimate the statistically significant relationships that existed among the seven individual indicators of social integration and the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample population. These were gender, age, citizenship, educational level, years of residence and residence status.

Finally, with the aim of determining whether there was a linear relationship between the index of integration and the variables that were not used for the creation of the index, the statistical model of multiple linear regression was applied.

#### **7.4 Summary of results**

The thesis argument was enriched by the analysis of the primary data. We recapitulate some of the key findings of this study below.

Regarding the level of labour market integration, the employment indicator was the weakest in terms of overall migrant integration. It showed that men were more integrated in the labour market than women, but women had higher rates of informal employment than men. Such a trend reflects the needs of the Greek labour market, and its demand for unskilled, cheap and flexible labour. On the other hand, higher employment levels were displayed by immigrants who had lived in Greece for 16-20 years and who were holders of permanent and long-term residence permits. This confirms the argument that the stability of legal status and the long-term residence permit are important factors for upward employment mobility.

On the basis of the 'ethnic' line, the group of Albanians presented trends of upward employment mobility, in particular regarding the high employment rate and broad the range of professions when compared to other immigrant groups. The group of Asian immigrants, despite the fact that their employment rate was low, did, however, display an increased level of participation in the legal labour market. East Europeans, on the other hand, had the lowest employment rate compared to other immigrant groups. This was linked to the outbreak of the

economic crisis and the austerity measures that had dramatically altered the economic and social conditions in the country and hence the living conditions of the immigrant population.

The outcomes of the segregation and housing indicator showed that the total of the immigrant population in the Greater Athens area displayed distinct trends of spatial concentration in some central and traditionally overpopulated districts of the areas of Piraeus and Korydallos. These trends were not characterised by highly discernible ethnic characteristics but may be related to socio-economic status in general. The fact that the majority of respondents named the pre-existence of relatives and friends as the main reason for selecting their residential area showed that what was more important than the location itself was the existence of social and family networks. Moreover, the fact that the majority of respondents lived in apartments was due to the urban development model of the Greater Athens area, in conjunction with the existence of cheap housing available for rent by immigrants.

The housing indicator was ranked third in the relevant scale of the general integration index. The immigrant group with the highest level of housing integration was that of East Europeans. The fact that the immigrant groups of Albanians and Asians displayed lower rates of housing integration may perhaps be attributed to both the external physical characteristics of Asians and the prevailing prejudice associated with the cultural characteristics ascribed to these groups.

The indicator measuring the use of Greek language showed that learning the Greek language was informal and formulated according to the duration of immigrants' residence in Greece. The use of Greek mass media seemed to play a very important role in the improvement of immigrants' language skills. A major weakness was identified in written expression.

In general, the indicator of use of the Greek language reached the highest rate compared to other indicators of socio-economic integration. The groups that displayed a better use of the Greek language were East Europeans and Albanians, whereas Asians scored very low. In this context, it was no coincidence that East Europeans and Albanians claimed that they had attended more organised Greek language courses than Asians. These indicative results confirmed the fact that the institutional support for teaching the Greek language contributed effectively to learning the Greek language. The comparison of this specific indicator with the demographic characteristics of the sample showed that women had higher levels of Greek language proficiency than men.

In terms of the social interaction indicator, the majority of immigrants had interacted more with their co-ethnics than with Greeks (native population). However, the large percentage of meetings with Greek friends confirmed the relatively high level of social interaction with the native population and hence the enhanced prospect for successful integration. Regarding the frequency of contacts with immigrant groups, East Europeans had higher levels of social interaction with the Greeks. Albanians were next and seem to maintain frequent contact with both their compatriots and Greeks. The Asians, on the contrary, almost exclusively maintained contact with their compatriots, and as a result their social interaction with the native population was significantly limited.

Regarding the use of support networks, it was found that Albanians and East Europeans showed greater trust toward family support networks, when compared to Asians. The high percentage of Asians that appeared oriented toward ethnic groups may be an alternative scenario and ultimately replenishes the limited familiar and social network in Greece. The evaluation of social contacts with Greeks at the local level presented a fairly positive picture for the groups of East Europeans and Albanians, in contrast to the group of Asians that evaluated this relationship less positively.

In total, the indicator of social interaction occupied the fifth position in the scale of the socio-economic integration indicators. East Europeans had the highest level while Albanians and Asians had the lowest levels.

The general indicator of social and political participation was at a low level of partial integration. The immigrant groups with the highest level of political participation were East Europeans, followed by the Albanians and Asians. The 'qualitative' picture that emerged from the analysis of the results of this indicator showed a high level of acquaintance among immigrants with both the national and state public institutions/organizations and with the EU. What was surprising was the low level of acquaintance with the trades and the professional bodies that should have enjoyed a high level of recognition because of their role in the protection of workers' rights.

At the same time, respondents expressed low levels of trust in the immigrant associations and in the ethnic-regional organisations. The possible causes of this development may relate to the lack of information, to the fragmentation of trade unions and migrant associations and the low confidence in the abilities of these organisations to protect immigrants' interests. Indeed, the common element that runs through the different forms of social and political participation was the lack of trust in institutions and in other forms of organised collectives.

The value of the self-evaluation indicator was at a relatively high level compared to other indicators. East Europeans and Albanians were above the limit of partial integration, while Asians followed with a small difference. The comparison of immigrant groups by category of obstacles showed that Albanians considered legislation, public services, and racism as the main obstacles to their socio-economic integration. Asians believed that legislation, employment and the Greek language were the main factors that hindered their integration into Greek society. Finally, apart from legislation, East Europeans also evaluate negatively employment and insurance.

The results put existing legislation in first position among the factors that hinder the integration process, while public services and employment followed. The findings of this indicator confirmed the institutional exclusion faced by immigrants, with the majority of respondents evaluating migrant legislation as the greatest obstacle to socio-economic integration.

Regarding racism and discrimination, the relevant indicator stood above partial integration with East Europeans and Asians evaluating it more positively when compared to Albanians.

At the individual level, the findings showed that Asians were an easy target of unfair and/or discriminative attitudes when compared to Albanians and East Europeans. This is probably due to their visibly different physical characteristics and their cultural specificities (e.g., religion).

Regarding the evaluation of discrimination at a collective level, the Albanian group showed a higher level of perceived discrimination, an element attributed to the negative public image reproduced mainly by the Greek mass media. Meanwhile, Albanians are the only group who considered that they experienced more discrimination as a group rather than as individuals, while Asians and East Europeans believed that the perceived discrimination at the individual level was greater than at the collective level.

It was also found that the indicator with the highest rate of racism and discrimination was that of social and political participation, while housing and social interaction came next.

The fact that the average of the social and political participation indicator was higher than that of the other indicators was associated with the theoretical dimension of the formal discrimination at the institutional level that involved the right of access to citizenship as well as the exercise of political rights. Furthermore, the stigmatisation of immigrants, their connection with crime and repressive policies contributes to conceal the failure of politics to represent this particular social group.



Therefore, the bottom-up integration dynamic has shown a positive track, contrary to the institutional framework, which, either in objective or subjective terms (perceived discrimination), was considered to be the main cause of the differentiated (institutional) exclusion of immigrants in Greece.

The summary of the findings of the index of socio-economic integration showed that the group of East Europeans had the highest level of partial integration compared to other immigrant groups. Albanians appeared exactly at the level of partial integration, while the Asians recorded an integration figure just below partial integration.

Moreover, from the comparison of the similarity index among the total number of immigrants and the group of Greeks showed that in the total integration rate and in some sub-indexes. East European immigrants are closer to Greeks, especially in terms of the use of Greek language and social interaction.

The result from the analysing of demographic characteristics by integration indicators showed a large deviation of the indicator 'use of Greek language' for Asians. Additionally, the indicator social and political participation reflects the low participation of East Europeans. Albanian immigrants in total appeared partially integrated. The indicators with the higher rates of integration were the use of Greek language and self-evaluation. The indicators with the lowest rate of integration were social and political participation, employment, and social interaction. However, due to the small deviation, the general integration indicator for Albanian immigrants is quite close to full integration.

One-way ANOVA showed that there was a significant difference between the three immigrant groups in terms of their integration levels in housing, use of Greek language, social/political participation, self-evaluation, social interaction, racism and discrimination and the general integration index. The independent samples t-test indicated that there was a significant difference between the levels of labour market integration between men and women.

Regarding gender, women showed a slightly higher level of integration compared to men. Thus, women have a higher level of integration in the areas of housing, the use of the Greek language, social interaction, self-evaluation and the general integration index, when compared to men. The employment indicator, on the contrary, showed that men are more integrated in the labour market than women. Similarly, they perceive themselves as more exposed to racial discrimination. Independent samples t-test showed that men and women have significantly different average levels of integration in the labour market, housing and use of the Greek language.

In addition, younger immigrants (aged 18-25) tend to show higher levels of integration in terms of use of Greek language and social-political participation, when compared to older immigrants. The group aged over 55 appears to display higher levels of integration in the labour market (employment) when compared to younger immigrants.

Regarding educational level, it was discovered that individuals with a higher level of education have higher levels of social integration. Moreover, it appears that the values of individual indicators increase with an increase in educational levels. Higher education graduates displayed a higher level of integration mainly in the following indicators: use of Greek language, social interaction and self-evaluation.

The fewer years of residence in Greece were associated with a lower level of social integration in general, and a greater perceived racism and discrimination, decreased social interaction and low employment rates in particular.

Regarding the years of residence in Greece, the higher level of social integration was displayed by immigrants who had lived in Greece for more than 25 years, followed by those who had lived in the country for 16-20 years.

Holders of a stay permit for independent economic activity, spouses of Greek citizens and those with a permanent stay permit displayed the highest level of social integration in relation to holders of other permit types, which essentially indicated their temporary residence status or/and their dependent nature of employment.

The implemented model of multiple linear regression was statistically significant and supported the hypothesis according to which the demographic and morphological characteristics of immigrants significantly affected the general index of social integration of immigrants. Citizenship, years of residence in Greece and educational level were significant predictors of average levels of integration.

It should be acknowledged, however, that the findings of the study are only indicative due to the limitations that exist both in terms of the geographical scale and the size of the sample population.

## **7.5 Discussion and policy recommendations**

Immigration has eroded the physical and symbolic boundaries of modern states, while unsettling the image of an autonomous and replicable nation-state. The idea of citizens who spend most of their life in one country where they share a common national identity has nowadays lost ground. Meanwhile, porous borders and the co-existence of different ethnic identities have undermined the idea of belonging as a prerequisite for integration and

membership in a political community, while reflecting the fragility inherent to the project of a collectivity's formation. The contradiction lies, however, in the fact that while globalisation has contributed to the de-nationalisation of national territory, migration, on the contrary, has re-nationalised the political process of integration of immigrants in the country of settlement.

Although the dynamics of globalization and the transfer of powers to the supranational level are often associated with the process of transcending the boundaries of the nation-state, it is the sovereign state that remains the central organizational structure for the integration of immigrants and the protection of their individual universal rights. Moreover, the national institutional framework is the key factor that ultimately determines the outcome of the integration process of immigrants. This, however, is not a static structure, but is mostly affected by the features of the labour market, the general quality of national institutions, the relations between the country of origin and the host country, and policies regarding the granting of citizenship. Indeed, it is the state that is called upon to play the role of institutional mediator between immigrants and host society. At this point, the crucial question that arises concerns the identity of policies mediating the process of integration.

In Greece, the mass influx of immigrants, mainly from the Balkan countries in the early 1990s, was accompanied by the development of very hostile attitudes, which led to the general rejection of this new 'Other'. The only 'easy' path to integration is through identifying with dominant values and socio-cultural references. This also implies that immigrants ought to discard specific ethnic group features, which are perceived as being antagonistic to the core values of Greek culture.

This trend is also reflected in the persistence of the Greek legislator in attributing a temporary nature to the phenomenon of immigration, starting from the notion that the purity of the Greek race and ethnicity must be preserved (Baldwin-Edwards and Apostolatos, 2007). The presence of 'old' ethnic groups (e.g., Albanians and Bulgarians) is considered a 'threat' to the myth of ethnic homogeneity, a fundamental principle of the formation of the modern Greek nation-state and ethnic identity. Moreover, in a period of intense transformations and social unrest associated with the economic recession, immigrants are perceived as 'irregular' competitors and as a serious threat to the cohesion of the social collectivity and the hegemonic vision of 'Greekness' (Ventura, 2011).

The reticence displayed by the Greek state in managing key integration issues and including them in the policy agenda has led to a prolonged delay in engaging with integration as a policy requiring long-term planning. Indeed, the stance of the Greek state over the past twenty years may be broadly summarized as one where the state officially rejected

immigration through restrictions and closed-border policies, while unofficially acknowledging the market's demand for low-paid, cheap labour. And, while this arrangement gradually began to give way to a more rational evaluation of the phenomenon, it was interrupted by the recession in 2009.

If anything, the recession made it clear that it was the market and not the state that allowed for some form of integration, for it was with the collapse of market mechanisms that trends of integration were reversed, through the de-regularisation of a considerable number of immigrants. This trend was confirmed by our study, which corroborates the hypothesis that differentiated exclusion of immigrants leaves room for partial integration only. Furthermore, the limited range of the state's institutional intervention appears to allow for only local and individual micro-level strategies in shaping socio-economic integration.

In order to preserve social cohesion between Greek citizens and, first and second generation migrants, a new approach is necessary. Such an approach must redefine the fundamental principles ensuring membership in the political community, and provide for the corresponding integration mechanisms that would guarantee social cohesion in the Greek society as a whole. This would require going beyond the logic of the market and looking after the needs and rights of long-term and the second generation migrants, on equal terms with those of Greek citizens. **This would demand the promotion of a new narrative on 'ethnos' that would transcend the ethnic characteristics of all citizens, to encompass all those, regardless of their ethnic origin or religion, who wish to abide by the principles of the democratic state.**

In this respect, citizenship is a key component of formal membership in a political community, as it is only through full access to rights that a person may become an equal member of society. A significant step in this direction was the introduction of the Citizenship Law (3838/2010), '*Current provisions for Greek citizenship and political participation of repatriated Greeks and lawfully resident immigrants and other adjustments.*' More specifically, the law provided for granting citizenship to second generation migrants who were either born in Greece or had been through the Greek education system from young age, it also recognised the right to vote in local elections for long-term residents.

In 2013, the Council of State, with decision 460/2013, ruled unconstitutional two key provisions of the aforementioned Citizenship Law. The first was access to Greek citizenship for second generation migrants. Here, the decision's re-iteration of the *jus sanguinis* principle was motivated by a need to re-introduce the notion of Greek superiority. The second provision concerned the granting of local voting rights to long-term residents from the first

generation of immigrants. According to the decision, local voting rights cannot be extended to those who do not hold Greek citizenship, without prior amendments of the Constitution.

The decision as a whole was considered a highly negative development by many, who believed it reflected a trend of radicalisation among institutions. This, along with the historically unprecedented rise of the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, was believed to endanger the fundamental democratic values in the country. There has hitherto been no legislative initiative to provide for a framework guaranteeing citizenship for the second generation, whose numbers are estimated at 200,000. As our study shows, these political developments have preserved the long-standing mistrust between different groups in the Greek society, with social links (relationship with public and political bodies/actors, independent authorities) appearing weak.

**In this respect, the acquisition of citizenship for immigrants living in Greece for several years must be facilitated, and a new legislative framework must be provided to guarantee access to citizenship for the second generation. Moreover, policy-makers should reconsider the legislation excluding migrants from participating in local elections. Participation in political life at the local level would have the potential to foster trust between different groups in Greek society, where it is most lacking.**

While belonging in a political community and access to citizenship are key features of integration, another no less significant component is the legal status and access to long-term residence status. However, regularisation programmes have repeatedly failed to create a stable and permanent mechanism for ensuring the long-term regularity of immigrants, and as a consequence have also failed to support their socio-economic integration in the Greek society. The research findings confirm this view, as the majority of respondents believe that the existing legislative framework constitutes the most significant obstacle to their integration.

A newly-introduced migration law was expected to have a positive effect in boosting the integration process for the majority of migrants, who have settled in Greece on a near-permanent basis. As outlined in the EU Directive ([2003/109/EC](#)) and transposed into the Greek legislation through the newly introduced Code of Migration and Social Integration (Law 4251/2014), the long-term status is said to encompass a uniform set of rights that ensure equal treatment across the EU. However, not only has this initiative failed to produce the expected outcome (very few migrants have obtained this status), but it has hitherto also failed to curb the negative impact of the financial crisis on legal status in general. Meanwhile, there has been no significant amendment to the legislation to ease access to this status, as a series

of bureaucratic obstacles persist, preventing an increased number of migrants from meeting the requirements.

The amendments to the provisions concerning access to the long-term resident status become all the more pressing given the dramatic impact of the economic recession on the social exclusion of migrants and the de-regularisation of over 100,000 persons since 2010. This trend reflects the disparity between the (often outdated) demands of the legislator on the one hand, and the conditions that prevail, on the other.

Hence, a legislative initiative should facilitate access to long-term residence status and the respective rights that it ensures. In particular, some of the more stringent requirements, such as those concerning income, social security and tax contributions, should be adjusted to reflect the current conditions prevailing in the hard hit recession economy.

With respect to the role of the labour market in socio-economic integration, the economic conditions in the country have dramatically impacted on immigrants' working conditions, exacerbating existing trends that place migrants in a position of disadvantage. It comes as no surprise that following legalisation, most migrants from our sample believed the greatest obstacle to integration was unemployment. Higher unemployment rates were displayed by those holding a temporary residence permit. Conversely, higher employment levels were displayed by immigrants holding long-term residence permits.

The dependence of one's legal status upon employment, in combination with the rise in unemployment, has thus led to de-regularisation and exclusion from the labour market. As such, individuals finding themselves in an uncertain or outright irregular legal status are automatically excluded from social welfare services and labour rights.

Moreover, very few from our sample have access to self-employment, as they face various institutional obstacles in starting their own business. Once more, the state's responsibility is apparent in that the permit for independent economic activity is notoriously difficult to secure, requiring, in advance, significant sums of money and a string of certifications, as well as social security coverage, though without any final guarantee of being granted the permit. The result is that personal entrepreneurial initiative, which might serve as a remedy to the low demand for salaried work, is 'killed off', leading to an increase in the informal labour.

**Consequently, the Greek state must take measures to combat the informal character of employment, while promoting migrant entrepreneurship through policies that will assist migrants to overcome specific legislative or institutional barriers. Moreover, initiatives must include access to finance and support services, language**

**proficiency support and special training programmes, so as to allow migrants to build on limited business, management and marketing skills.**

The crisis, in combination with the precarious legal status of a large number of migrants, has had a significant impact on housing, and on patterns of socio-spatial concentration. In our study, these patterns in the Greater Athens area do not necessarily occur along ethnic lines, but rather on the basis of socio-economic status. This finding, in combination with the deterioration of the urban environment and the increased rates of unemployment, and the recent discontinuation of any state programmes assisting the rental or purchase of homes for low-income earners, increase the risk of segregation in certain neighbourhoods marked by low socio-economic status.

Meanwhile, home ownership may serve as an alternative for certain categories of migrants who both wish to purchase a home and may indeed be able to afford one. Insofar as our sample is concerned, immigrants who have successfully integrated into the host society are more likely to purchase a home, compared to those who are less integrated. However, home ownership rates are very low, and this may be attributed to the institutional barriers which are related to one's precarious residence status, unemployment, and lack of access to alternative resources (e.g., housing loans, rent and loan subsidies).

Given the present economic circumstances, already impoverished migrants risk being trapped in 'dead-end' conditions, with few prospects for social mobility and an increased risk of urban marginalisation.

**In order to preserve social cohesion, policy-makers must re-examine the possibility of instating programmes that may provide incentives (e.g., financial resources, tax incentives, welfare facilities) to migrants in choosing homes (either for rent or purchase) in such a way as to contribute to the spatial diffusion across the city, rather than the concentration and 'ghettoisation' in neighbourhoods that are already disadvantaged and provide cheaper homes.**

Increased language proficiency contributes to the greater interaction either between immigrants and Greek citizens, or between immigrants and state institutions, thus leading to an increased degree of socio-economic integration. Moreover, it is also a formal prerequisite for securing the long-term residence status. Indeed, our study corroborates these broader trends. In addition, it also shows that while Greek language learning is critical to integration, it occurs largely informally, with mass media playing the leading role in the acquisition of language skills. However, an equally critical role is that of institutional support for learning

Greek (i.e., formal state-sponsored lessons), which contributes decisively to immigrants' level of language proficiency, though the beneficiaries are very few.

Despite the critical role of formally certified Greek language proficiency for a series of issues related to integration (e.g., access to long-term residence status, professional training programmes, and specific labour positions), there seems to be no adequate support mechanism to refer to, since language courses are very sparse, centrally coordinated, unaffordable, while not responding to the specific needs of the migrant groups (e.g., they offer little to no support for beginners).

**Thus, a new policy framework addressing the question of language learning must entail two key aspects. First, a revision of the methods used for teaching Greek. Language courses must be more frequent, more affordable, and must offer alternative tools to encompass alternative language learning methods. Second, policy regarding the granting of the long-term residence permit, must be revised in order to recognise language proficiency certificates issued by other educational institutions (i.e., both public and private) so as to allow for greater ease and accessibility for learners.**

As our study shows, social interaction at the local level, or in other words, the relations that form between migrants and Greek citizens at the interpersonal level, are acutely developed. On the contrary, at the group level (i.e., between migrants and the native population at large), the degree of social interaction and contacts is shaped in connection to the negative public image and to the relevant prejudices against certain ethnic groups. The promising trends of interpersonal co-existence displayed by migrants and Greeks (i.e., frequent and close interactions at the neighbourhood level) must serve as an example for reforms in key sectors of governance, in order to ensure that the state apparatus does not lag behind the general population.

**In order to secure a degree of social interaction and to avoid the creation of an environment of social conflict, migrants must be present in key and symbolic positions that are visible in citizens' transactions with the state. In other words, the state must lift any barriers preventing the employment of individuals of immigrant background in key institutions such as the media, public services, the police force, and the judicial system. This would be a confirmation that the Greek state acknowledges the importance of interculturalism as a founding principle of Greek society, a principle that must run through all key sectors of policy and levels of administration.**

The need for institutional reforms becomes all the more compelling since the three indicators displaying the highest rates of racism and discrimination are social interaction,



political participation, and housing. The phenomenon of exclusion and discrimination assumes more critical dimensions with respect to racist violence, a phenomenon that is growing rapidly in recent years, as a result of the economic crisis and the rapid rise of extreme right-wing forces. Policy-makers have yet to confront the fact that at the political level, the tackling of discrimination and racism is not merely a matter of good and/or ideological intentions, but is related directly to the preservation of social cohesion, since discrimination leads to negative inter-group relations and social conflicts.

**At this stage the state must provide the appropriate mechanisms to support existing legislation (e.g., extend the mandate of the Citizen's Ombudsman) that would allow immigrants to report incidents of racist behaviour, and to put in place a framework of policies and administrative procedures that work in favour of intercultural co-existence. More specifically, the state should create a National Watchdog to monitor incidents of racist behaviour and liaise with the authorities to prosecute those who violate the rights of migrants, while penalizing public servants who display racist attitudes towards migrants in the transactions with the latter with local and national public services.**

Institutional aspects of integration aside, another key question that arises from our study relates to the factor that make certain ethno-cultural groups more integrated in the Greek society than others. Undoubtedly, the institutional context and social space offered to immigrants by the host society plays an important role in determining the integration trajectory. Nevertheless, we must also consider that immigrant groups with different demographic characteristics and ethno-cultural backgrounds arrive in Greece at different points in time and occupy different positions in the labour market and in the urban and rural environment. Furthermore, the geographical distance of the migration journey, as well as the historical references of the country of origin, shape the way they are perceived by the Greek society.

Moreover, perceived discrimination in connection with the dynamic of within-group social capital can lead to the formation of different collective patterns, at times encouraging attachment to an ethnic identity. To the extent that they face obstacles for individual integration, migrants may turn to their ethnic community to ensure their own (upward) social mobility, through the projection of those particular ethno-cultural features that might bring them closer.

In conclusion, it becomes clear that integration is not a linear or uniform process. On the contrary, it is a dialectical process, which develops on various levels with different

rhythms. It involves different actors. It assumes different forms and follows different strategies at different stages. Nevertheless, the final goal of these processes must be the peaceful co-existence and social cohesion.

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**ANNEX A: Questionnaire**  
**Confidential**

Person Code: |\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|

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Name

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Researcher

**IMMIGRANTS SOCIAL INTEGRATION SURVEY**  
**2010**

*(Complete a questionnaire **for each person**)*

May 2010

## PERSONAL DETAILS

1	Name:	
2	_	Gender
3	_ _ _ _	Date of Birth
4	_	Marital Status
5	_	Educational Level (Current)
6	_	Educational Level(Finished)
7	_ _	Nationality
8	_ _	Other current nationality
9	_ _ _ _	When did you first come to Greece?
10	_ _	How many years have you been living in Greece?
11	_ _	Residence Status

### Remarks:

<b>Column 2:</b> Male=1. Female=2
<b>Column 4:</b> Single=1. Married=2. Widowed=3. Divorced or Separated=4
<b>Column 5:</b> None=0. Kindergarten=1. Primary school=2. Middle School (Gymnasio)=3. High School (Lykeion)=4. Technical Vocational Training School (TEE)=5. Vocational Training Institute=6. Technological Educational Institute=7. Higher Educational Institute. Military Schools=8. Post-graduate Studies (MSc., MBA)=9. Doctoral Studies (Ph.D)=10
<b>Column 6:</b> Notgoingto school=1. Not finished primary school=2. Primary School Apolytirio=3. Middle School Apolytirio=4. High School Apolytirio=5. Ptychio TEL. TES=6. Ptychio IEK=7 Ptychio TEI=8. University Degree (Ptychio)=9. Master Degree (MSc., MBA)=10. Ph.D=11
<b>Column 7-8:</b> Albanian=1. Pakistani=2. Indian=3. Bangladeshi=4. Russian=5. Moldavian=6. Georgian=7. Ukrainian=8. Greek=9. Other=10
<b>Column 11:</b> Blue Paper Certificate with Photo (Vevaiosi)=1. Dependent Work Residence Permit=2. Residence Permit for Independent Economic Activity=3. Residence Permit for Seasonal Work=4. 10-year Residence Permit=5. Long-term Residence Permit=6. Residence Permit for Family Reunification=7. Parent of Greek Citizen=8. Student Residence Permit=9. Spouse of a Greek Citizen=10.



## 1. EMPLOYMENT

EM1. What is the main occupation for this week?

EM1.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Employed (holder of the relevant permit)
EM1.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployed
EM1.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Salaried employee
EM1.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pupil/Student
EM1.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Housewife (works at home)
EM1.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unable to work and other cases of disability

**Remark:** *only one choice*

EM2. If you are employed, what is your position at work?

EM2.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Salaried employee
EM2.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Self-employed with employees
EM2.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Self-employed without employees
EM2.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unpaid Family Business Assistant
EM2.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Paid Training

**Remark:** *only one choice*

EM3 . If you are unemployed, state the reason.

EM3.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Attending Educational Training Programmes
EM3.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	There are no jobs
EM3.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	I cannot leave the children alone at home
EM3.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not speak the language
EM3.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other

**Remarks:** *upto 3 choices. 1: the most important reason. 2: the second important reason. 3: the third most important reason*

EM4. What is the type of your employment status?

EM4.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Permanent
EM4.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Temporary
EM4.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Informal

**Remarks:** *only one choice*

EM5. What is your profession in Greece|

*ConstructionWorker=1.DomesticWorker.=2. Elderly/children Care=3. Seller=4. Office Worker=5. Nurse=6. Other=7*

EM6. Dou you think that your work position corresponds to your educational level?

1|| YES

2|| NO

3|| DN/NA

## 2. HOUSING

HD.1 How many houses have you changed during your stay in Greece?

None:

Number of Rooms:

HD.2 How many years have you lived in the current home you occupy in Greece?

HD.3 The primary residence in Greece is, today:

- .....
- HD.3.1  Rented house-> HD.5
- .....
- HD.3.2  Homeownership without financial obligations (loan. mortgage); ->HD.4
- .....
- HD.3.3  Homeownership with financial obligations (loan. mortgage); -> HD.4
- .....
- HD.3.4  Free allocation by the employer
- .....
- HD.3.5  Free allocation by the family
- .....
- HD.3.6  Free allocation by other
- .....

**Remarks:** only one choice

HD.4 Year that property was acquired (for home owners)

HD.5 Cost of the Rent (for tenants): €

HD.6 What is the reason for selecting this specific residential area?

- .....
- HD.6.1  Proximity to Work
- .....
- HD.6.2  Family/Relatives/Friends
- .....
- HD.6.3  The Low Cost
- .....
- HD.6.4  Access to Public Transportation
- .....
- HD.6.5  Children School
- .....
- HD.6.6  Other
- .....

HD.7 Have you bought any other house in Greece or in your country of origin?

		In Greece	In the country of origin
HD.7.1	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		
HD.7.2	<input type="checkbox"/> No		

HD.8 If yes:

- In which city/area?  
.....
- The type of current use (rental/home ownership):  
.....

## 2.1. BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING

HD.9 Your home is a:

HD.9.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Detached house or Independent Maisonette
HD.9.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Detached house or Maisonette in a Housing Complex
HD.9.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Apartment Building with fewer or more than 10 Rooms
HD.9.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Apartment Building
HD.9.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Collective Residence (homeless shelter)
HD.9.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	Abnormal residence (garage, cabin, hut)

**Remarks:** only one choice

HD.10 How did you find your current residence?

HD.10.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	From Relatives
HD.10.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	From Friends
HD.10.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	From Associations, Organizations or Churches
HD.10.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	From Newspaper Article
HD.10.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	From Agencies
HD.10.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	A friend of mine lived in this house
HD.10.7	<input type="checkbox"/>	I was living in the same neighbourhood
HD.10.8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other

**Remarks:** more than one choice

HD.11 How many rooms does your house have?

HD.11.1	Number of rooms	
---------	-----------------	--

**Remarks:** *except for the kitchen, the bathroom, the storage room and the entrance hall.*

HD.12 What is the size of the house? Squ |\_\_\_\_\_|

HD.13 How many people are living in the house? |||

HD.14 Year of Construction:

HD.14.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Before 1946
HD.14.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	1946-1960
HD.14.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	1961-1970
HD.14.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	1971-1980
HD.14.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	1981- 1990
HD.14.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	1991 - 2000
HD.14.7	<input type="checkbox"/>	2001 and 2005
HD.14.8	<input type="checkbox"/>	After 2006

**Remarks:** only one choice

## 2.2. HOUSING QUALITY AND OTHER AMENITIES

HD.15 Which are the heating conditions of the house?

HD.15.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Central Heating
HD.15.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Oil Heater
HD.15.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gas Heater
HD.15.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wood Heater
HD.15.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Electrical Appliances
HD.15.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	Air condition
HD.15.7	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other
HD.15.8	<input type="checkbox"/>	No Heating

**Remarks:** only one choice

HD.16 Other basic comforts:

	NAI	OXI
HD.16.1 Separate kitchen in the house	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.2 Toilette inside the house	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.3 Connection to the sewerage system	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.4 Running water in the house	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.5 Hot running water	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.6 Bath or shower	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.7 Electricity	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.8 Phone	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.9 Closed garage	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.10 Opened garage	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
HD.16.11 Store (place for storing)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>

### 2.3. EVALUATION OF HOUSING CONDITIONS BY THE INDIVIDUALS THEMSELVES

HD.17 Are you satisfied with your housing conditions?

HD.17.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very satisfied
HD.17.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat satisfied
HD.17.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
HD.17.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maybe dissatisfied
HD.17.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very dissatisfied

**Remarks:** only one choice

HD.18 How likely do you think it is that you will purchase another home in Greece or in the country of origin in the next three (3) years?

		In Greece	In the country of origin
HD.18.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Impossible	
HD.18.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rather unlikely	
HD.15.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rather likely	
HD.18.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	It is almost certain	

**Remarks:** only one choice

HD.19 Have you ever encountered a problem with renting a house because of your ethnic origin?

1  YES

2  NO

### 3. THE USE OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE

Gl.1 The level of the knowledge of the Greek language:

	Not at all									Very good
Gl. 1.1. How well do you <b>understand</b> the Greek language when someone speaks?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
Gl. 1.2. How well do you <b>speak</b> the Greek language?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
Gl. 1.3. How well do you <b>write</b> in the Greek language?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
Gl. 1.4. How well do you read in the Greek language?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

Gl. 2. How did you learn the Greek language? (*up to three answers*)

- Gl. 2.1  Self- taught (books, TV, friendships)
- Gl. 2.2  Learning schools and private lessons
- Gl. 2.3  Learning programmes of the school of philosophy
- Gl. 2.4  Programmes of the Prefecture or the Municipality
- Gl. 2.5  To the parents' school IDEKE
- Gl. 2.6  Subsidized Professional Training Centres Programmes – (e.g. KEK)
- Gl. 2.7  Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Gl. 3. How much did Greek language lessons help you:

	Not at all									Very much
Gl. 3.1. To learn the language (vocabulary, grammar, syntax).	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
Gl. 3. 2. To learn the Greek lifestyle (ethics, customs, traditions).	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
Gl. 3. 3. To become familiar with Greek history/culture.	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

Gl. 4. Why did you choose this method in order to learn the Greek language?(*up to 3 choices*)

- Gl. 4.1  Economic reasons
- Gl. 4.2  Learned about the programme from compatriots
- Gl. 4.3  Course location was closer to home
- Gl. 4.4  Only there was my application accepted
- Gl. 4.5  This method is better when compared to others

Gl. 4.6|\_| Length of course was shorter

Gl. 4.7 |\_| Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Gl. 5. Which language do you usually use?

	The Greek language	The mother tongue	Both of them
Gl. 5.1 With family members.	_  1	_  2	_  3
Gl. 5.2 With friends.	_  1	_  2	_  3
Gl. 5.3 At work.	_  1	_  2	_  3

#### 4. SOCIAL INTERACTION

SI. 1. How often do you meet your friends?

	Compatriots	Greeks	Other nationality
SI. 1.1 Every day	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
SI. 1.2 Every week but not every day	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
SI. 1.3 Many times during the month but not every week.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
SI. 1.4. Once a month	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
SI. 1.5 At least once a year (less than once a month)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
SI. 1.6 Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
SI. 1.7 I do not have relatives/ friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

**Remarks:** one option per column

SI. 2. How often do you communicate with relatives or friends who live in Greece?

	Relatives	Friends
SI. 2.1 Every day	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
SI. 2.2 Every week but not every day	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
SI. 2.3 Many times during the month but not every week.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
SI. 2.4 Once a month	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
SI. 2.5 At least once a year (less than once a month)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
SI. 2.6 Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
SI. 2.7. I do not have relatives/ friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

**Remarks:** one option per column

SI. 3. Your friends are mainly:

1  Greeks 2  Compatriots 3  Greeks and compatriots 4  From other countries



SI.4 When you have problems or difficulties, how often do you ask for help from:	Never									Always
SI.4.1 your family members	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI.4.2 your compatriots	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI.4.3 Greek friends	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI.4.4 the state/public services, or the embassy	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI.4.5 an association	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI.4.6. the church/mosque	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

	Not at all									Very much
SI. 5 How interested are you in maintaining friendly relationships with Greeks?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI. 6. How interested are you in maintaining friendly relationships with your compatriots?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI. 7. Do you want to preserve the lifestyle of your country of origin?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI. 8 . How much do you want to adapt to the Greek lifestyle?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

In Greece, how easy is it to:	Not at all									Very much
SI.9. Do you have good relations with the neighbors?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

	Never									Always
SI.10. How often are you treated unfairly or in an offensive manner because of your origin?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
SI. 11. In your opinion, how often do Greeks misbehave towards immigrants?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

## 5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

	Not at all									Very much
PP.1 How much are you interested in politics?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

### PP.2 : Do you know the following institutions and organizations? (read all options)

<i>PP.2.1</i>	Government	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.2</i>	Parliament	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.3</i>	Courts	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.4</i>	Ombudsman	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.5</i>	<i>Prefectures</i>	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.6</i>	<i>Municipalities</i>	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.7</i>	IKA (Social Security Agency)	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.8</i>	Labour Inspectorate	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.9</i>	OAED (Unemployment agency)	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.10</i>	Authority for Personal Data Protection	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.11</i>	European Court of Human Rights	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.12</i>	European Union	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.13</i>	European Ombudsman	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.14</i>	General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE)	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.15</i>	Worker Centre	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.16</i>	Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (SEV)	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.17</i>	General Confederation of Greek Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants (GSEVE)	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.18</i>	Amnesty International	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.2.19</i>	Greek Council of Refugees	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>PP.3</i>	Do you believe there are institutions whose attitude is discriminatory?	<i>1. YES</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>2. NO</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

PP.4 : if yes, to what extent? (read all options)

	No Discrimination									Full Discrimination
PP.4.1 Ministries	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.2 Courts and Judicial System	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.3 Police	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.4 IKA	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.5 Prefectures	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.6 Municipalities	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.7 Independent Authorities (Ombudsman, Authority for Personal Data Protection )	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.8 Political Parties	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.9 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs, Hellenic Red Cross, Greek Social Forum)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.20 Professional Organizations (Work Centres, Builders' Syndicates, GSEE)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.11 Shopkeepers	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.12 Employers	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.13 The Church of Greece	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.14 Neighbors	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.4.15 Other	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

PP.5 : How much do you trust each of the following institutions? (read all options)

	Not at all									Very much
PP.5.1 Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.2 Courts and Judges	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.3 Police	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.4 Government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.5 Political Parties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.6 IKA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.7 Prefectures and Municipalities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.8 Professional Organizations (Work Centres, Builders' Syndicates, GSEE)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.9 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs, Hellenic Red Cross, Greek Social Forum)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5. Independent Authorities (Ombudsman, Authority for Personal Data Protection)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.11 Ethnic organizations (Ethnic associations and club/guild)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
PP.5.12 Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

**5.1. Participation in Institutions of Social and Political Representation**

PP.6 : Are you a member or friend of one of the following organizations?

PP.6.1	Greek political party	I. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	↓	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.6.2	Other political party	I. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	↓	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.6.3	Municipal movement	I. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>		2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.6.4	Other organization	I. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>		2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.6.5	Political party of the country of origin (Greek department)	I. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>		2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>PP6.6</b>	I do not belong to any political organization/party	I. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>		2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Remarks:** accepted multiple answers

PP.7 : If you have participated in some of these organizations. how do you evaluate your participatory experience? Select from the following choices

PP.7.1	I believe that the organization used me for its own interest (it exploited me).	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.7.2	I had a limited ability to influence decisions in order to align them with my interests.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.7.3	I managed to greatly influence the decisions according to my interests.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.7.4	It helped me to keep up with developments in Greece.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.7.5	It helped little in my integration in Greek society.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.7.6	It was very helpful to my integration in Greek society.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.7.7	I managed to get a high position in the organization.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Remarks:** accepted multiple answers, but not the combinations SP7.2-SP7.3 and SP7.5-SP7.6

PP.8 : Have you ever participated in any syndicate/professional organization?

PP.8.1	Worker Centre	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.8.2	Syndicate	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.8.3	Commercial Association	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.8.4	Chamber of Commerce and Industry (EVEA)	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.8.5	General Confederation of Greek Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants (GSEVE)	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.8.6	Agricultural Cooperative	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.8.7	Other	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.8.8	I do not participate in any syndicate/professional organization	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Remarks:** accepted multiple answers



Question 10

PP.9 : If you have participated in some of these organizations. how do you evaluate your participatory experience? Select from the following choices

PP.9.1	I think that the organization used me for its own interest (it exploited me).	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.9.2	I influenced little the decisions according to my interests.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.9.3	I managed to greatly influence the decisions according to my interests.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.9.4	It helped me to keep up with developments in Greece.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.9.5	It helped little in my integration in Greek society.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.9.6	It was very helpful to my integration in Greek society.	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.9.7	I managed to earn a high position in the organization	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Remarks:** accepted multiple answers, but not the combinations SP7.2-SP7.3 and SP7.5-SP7.6

PP.10	Have you participated in professional organizations whose members are your compatriots?	1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
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PP.13.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Use of a campaign sticker
PP.13.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Signing of an request or of an appeal
PP.13.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Participation in a demonstration-protest
PP.13.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Participation in a strike
PP.13.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	None of the above choices

PP.11 : if yes, which? (Name of the organization)

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### **5.2. Forms of Social-Political Participation**

PP.12 : In the last 12 months, have you participated in any of the following activities?

PP.12.1	Use of a campaign sticker	1.YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.12.2	Signing of a request or appeal	1.YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.12.3	Participation in a demonstration-protest	1.YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP.12.4	Participation in a strike	1.YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
SP.12.5	None of the above choices	1.YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Remarks:** read them all. Accepted multiple answers

PP.13 : List the following activities from the most effective to the less effective (1: most effective... 4: les effective).

**Remarks:** If 16.5 selected, then no other answer will be accepted.

### **5.3. Political Communication**

PP.14 : In which of the following issues are you interested (social, political, etc.)?

	Not interested									Very Interested
PP.14.1 Social	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.14.2 Political	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.14.3 Cultural	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	
PP.14.4 Artisitc	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	

PP.15 : To what extent are you interested in:

	Not Interested								Very Interested
PP.15.1 Issues of the country of origin	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>
PP.15.2 Issues of the host country (Greece)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>

PP.16 : To what extent do you use the following media in order to be informed on the issue of your interest?

	Not at all								Very much
PP.16.1 Greek newspapers and magazines	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>
PP.16.2 Foreign language newspapers in the country of origin	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>
PP.16.3 Foreign language newspapers in the host country	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>
PP.16.4 Radio	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>
PP.16.5 Satellite Television	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>
PP.16.6 Greek Television	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>
PP.16.7 Internet	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>

	Not at all								Very much
PP. 17 : How much the Greek media cover your need for information?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	9 <input type="checkbox"/>

## 6. GENERAL QUESTIONS

GQ 1. Are you satisfied with the living conditions in Greece?

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GQ. 2 What causes the greatest problems for you?

		Not at all								Very much								
GQ.2.1 Legislation	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
GQ. 2.2 Behaviour of Public Servants	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
GQ. 2.3 Language	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
GQ. 2.4 The conditions and the lifestyle of Greek society	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
GQ. 2.5 The racist behaviour of Greeks	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
GQ. 2.6 Employment	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
GQ. 2.7 Insurance	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
GQ. 2.8 Other	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	<input type="checkbox"/>	9	<input type="checkbox"/>