

State of Art Report - Greece
Current Economic Situation in Greece and in the Region of Pieria

Between 2000 and 2007, unit labor costs (output per worker per hour worked) rose by around 20% in Greece. The resulting excessive consumption and negative trends in labor costs led to the appearance of increasingly high external deficits. In 2008, Greece's current account deficit was around 15% of gross domestic product. In terms of competitiveness, Greece has fallen to 71st place in the World Economic Forum index, below countries like Botswana. In the past, Greece could have applied an easy remedy: devalue its currency and print money. However, this option is no longer possible since the country joined the euro zone. The bad economic situation resulted in a decrease in employment. Thus, many immigrants have lost their jobs and are forced to live the country.

The region of Pieria used to have quite a few small clothing manufactures where a lot of people found employment. However, the last years the most of them have moved to neighboring countries with lower employment cost. At the present there are some small factories manufacturing olive oil, bricks, wood and furniture, which are mainly staffed by Greek manpower. Heavy industry is completely absent from the region.

This bad economic situation has also affected the region of Pieria. However, Pieria's long coastline, Mount Olympus, Ancient Dion, the Holy City of Macedonia, Ancient Pydna, Makrigialo's pre-historic settlement and many other interesting sites, attract tourists which in turn may provide chances in the labor market. In addition, the extensive agricultural, fishing, poultry and animal-breeding sectors enhance the job-chances. We may say that these sections of the economy are completely dependent on immigrant labor. Consequently, the above parameters may be the reason that immigrants in Pieria are still hoping for a better future regarding working prospects.

Networks and Institutes

The Greek State provides information through relevant Networks and Institutes from which immigrants can orientate in the labor market i.e:

Networks: a) The National Center of Professional Orientation (Euroguidance) (www.ekep.gr); b) The Career jet which is a tool for researching working places (www.careerjet.gr); c) Researching for Working Places according to the type of profession (www.adecco.gr).

Institutes: a) The Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED); b) Career Guidance & Counseling in Greece: Guidance & Counseling Centers (KESYP); c) School Career Guidance Offices (GRASEP) (www.guidance-research.org/EGCRF/english/greece/key_issues)

- Immigrants' Working Situation and their role in the Labor Market in Greece.

Although a lot of the new coming immigrants are well educated and skilled, the

majority of the old generation has been working as unskilled manual workers. Thus, the men have been taken up jobs mainly within the building, agricultural, poultry and animal-breeding sectors, while the women work, besides the agriculture, in domestic activities. Often their payment was much less than the official rate and also they were not provided with medical and/or social insurance. However, as the financial situation in Greece has been recently extremely deteriorated due to the general economic crisis that has affected Europe, immigrants were the first social part to have lost the working opportunities in comparison to the Greeks.

Factors that influence immigrants' financial situation

The low educational level, the language barrier, xenophobia and occasionally the illegal status of the immigrants led them in been recruited mainly for simple, heavy, dangerous and sometimes unhealthy jobs undesirable for the Greeks. In our region of Pieria, the main

As immigrants were often 'excluded' from the official payment rate and insurance by their employers, this treatment resulted in hostile feelings towards them. Moreover, this was a barrier to establish harmonic relationships and mutual cultural understanding between the two groups and prohibited immigrants from improving their financial situation and consequently their social integration. As the new generation study in the Greek school system, and acquire eventually the Greek citizenship, the latter situation, progressively and hopefully will be reversed.

Mass Media and Immigrants

Basically, the mass media dedicate a considerable amount of attention towards the 'immigrant-phenomenon' in Greece, mainly since illegal emigration intensified and simultaneously the unemployment rate rose to an extreme level due to the economic crisis. Many immigrants, legal and illegal, lost their jobs. This led to an increase in both criminality and xenophobia. Different political and social groups in Greece faced this situation differently. A durable debate on the role of the immigrants in Greece in the new economic environment has occurred in the mass media, with different parties to express different approaches. This debate has now been part of the daily conversation routine in the Greek families and friend gatherings.

Generally, however, both the official immigrant policy and the main mass media sources are being positively disposed towards immigration question. Hopefully, the new legislation will facilitate the solution of this major problem and will eventually harmonize the relationship between the two groups.

Introduction

There are a lot of immigrants in Greece the last years. The immigrants are coming from different countries and cultures. Albanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Georgians and Romanians are traditionally most of the immigrants in Greece. This is a result of the economic and political changes of these countries. There are also immigrants from other countries like Poland, China and Hungary. Greece is used as a "path" for the transfer of immigrants from the east countries to the European countries as it is the southeast European frontiers. Some of them are trying to find a

job in Greece, but most of them are moving to the ports or the areas which are the “gates” to the west Europe. Under this situation the education policy for the immigrants has been changed.

The multicultural Greek community

According the information from the ministry of Internal Affairs (July 2004) there 198.734 immigrants in Greece with the official permission of residence and they are coming from 134 countries. 63,24% of them came from Albania, 10,58% from Bulgaria and 4,08% from Romania. There are 18 countries that have just a few representatives as immigrants. There are also a lot of immigrants, who applied for the official permission, 507.943 immigrants have applied at least once and they are from 158 countries 62,35% are from Albania, 9,82% from Bulgaria, 4,43% from Romania and other 15 countries are between them with just a few representatives.

The multicultural identity of Greece is not established only from immigrants who are from other countries and who have the official permission to work in Greece. There are also people with the Greek origin, who have lived in other countries and came to Greece because of the change of the political situation in their country and members of multicultural families and Roma (who have the Greek nationality and are equal citizens). This requires new didactic approaches in the educational system for teaching the language and for general educational guidance. The most important guideline is to find new didactic approaches for students who use multilingual communication codes, in order to improve their communication abilities and their further social enrolment.

There are also families where the parents are coming from different cultures. In many areas with tourism there are students from the second generation who are multilingual. In most of those families the father is Greek and the mother immigrant. There are a lot of multicultural families in urban areas as well and the students who are children of these families receive a special training their school.

Quantity report for the immigrant students in the Greek schools

Greek educational policy is based on the principles enshrined in the Greek Constitution, the international (UNESCO) and regional (European) conventions on the rights of children, the principles of non-discrimination and the right to an education. The legislative framework guarantees schooling for all children, citizen or foreign, from the age of 6 to the age of 15. This compulsory education is applicable to all children regardless of the status of legality or illegality of the parents. Art 40 of the 2910/2001 law stipulates that all children born to third-country nationals living in Greece are obliged and have the right to this compulsory education. In fact, school authorities should enroll foreign students even if they do not have the necessary documents, such as school certificates required for enrollment. This law also provides for the possibility of offering mother-tongue learning in addition to the core curriculum – on the basis of an interministerial decision to be issued by the Ministries of Interior and Education – albeit this provision of the law has not been implemented.

During the school year 2002/2003 in the schools of the primary and secondary education there were 98.241 immigrant students who are 6,7% of all the students the same school year.

Table 1 Allocation of immigrant students in all grades of schools years 2002-2003 (Source : Gotovos & Markou 2004)

Grade	All students	Immigrant students	%
Kindergartens	138.304	9.503	6,9

Primary	633.235	54.570	8,6
Secondary	328.309	22.693	6,9
Higher & Vocational	360.616	11.475	3,2
Total	1.460.464	98.241	6,7

Table 2 Number of immigrants students of the school years 1995 – 1999 (Source: Dretakis 2001:39)

School Year	Number of immigrant students	% of all the students
1995-96	8.455	0,6
1996-97	12.572	0,8
1997-98	21.239	1,7
1998-99	35.751	2,5

Table 3 Immigrant students who started for the first time in the school grades (Source: Gotovos & Markou 2004: 83)

Started for the first time	Kindergarten	Primary	Secondary	Higher/ Vocational
1997		4.026		
1998		6.020		
1999		7.656		
2000		9232	5.338	2.252
2001	2538	12.532	6.984	3.422
2002	5376	14.140	8.684	4.855

Most of the immigrant students study at the primary school as all the students. Then they try to attend the college and only half of them study in higher and vocational schools.

Table 4 Allocation of immigrants and all the students in the schools of all grades years 2002-2003 (Source: Gotovos / Markou 2003: 24)

Category of students	Kindergarten	Primary	College	Higher/ Vocational
Immigrants	9,7%	55,5%	23,1%	11,7%
All students	9,5	43,3	22,5	24,7

Countries where the students were born

These students were born in 122 countries. Most of them were born in Albania (69.880 students), Greece (10.292 students), Bulgaria (2.873 students), Georgia (2.130 students), Russia (2.035), Ukraine (1.488) and Romania (1.143). This shows that a lot of immigrants were born in Greece.

According to data provided by the Institute for the Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies (IPODE)³ in 2006, 138,193 students fell in the categories foreign or co-ethnics and returnees. This translates into 9,5% of the total school population.

Table 5. Breakdown of foreign, repatriated and native pupils in Greece during the academic year 2004-05 (Source: IPODE 2007)

Schooling level	Foreign pupils	Repatriated (Co ethnic and returnees) pupils	SUBTOTAL of immigrant (foreign and repatriated) pupils (and as a % of total)	TOTAL of all (including Greek) students
Kindergarten	9,503	1,580	11,083 (8%)	138,304
Primary	59,334	8,405	67,739 (10,6%)	638,550
Secondary	29,170	7,217	36,387 (10,9%)	333,989
Higher	15,456	7,528	22,984 (6,8%)	338,189
Total	11,3463	24,730	138,193 (9,5%)	1,449,032

Immigrants students and study progress

There are presented the study results of students Secondary, Higher and Vocational schools. 14 is the average result for immigrant students in Secondary School. The first year in the Higher School it seems to be about 15,2 and then it drops to 13,5 the second year and 12,3 at the last year. It is the opposite in the Vocational Schools at it is 12,8 the first year, 14,1 the second year and 14,3 the last year. This shows that the direction of the immigrants is to learn more about for a vocation and to find after the school leaving a job instead of continuing their studies at the university.

Table 6. Average results of immigrant students at Secondary and Higher Schools recording to the country of birth (Source: Gotovos & Markou 2004:128)

Country of Birth	B' Secondary	Γ' Secondary	A' Higher	B' Higher	Γ' Higher
Albania	14	13,9	15,3	13,6	12,2
Greece	14,6	15,2	15,5	12,6	11,1

The Greek educational system: New pedagogical orientations since the 1980s according to immigrant's needs

The Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs is responsible for the Greek education system, its administration and its policies. This is complemented by the Primary and Secondary Education Directorates at the Regional Level and the Offices at the Prefectural Regional Level. The current educational system and policy was set up by the 1976 educational policy that was introduced with the new Constitution, and by a series of reforms during the 1980s aimed at, among other priorities, modernizing the curricula and the textbooks and introducing foreign

language lessons from primary school level. The Greek education system is highly centralized with the Ministry of Education and the Pedagogical Institute responsible for the curriculum, the school timetable and distribution of classes, the material and textbooks and the employment of teachers.

It was back in 1996 that the Ministry for National Education and Religious Matters laid the foundations of a system designed to meet the educational needs of social groups with a particular social, cultural or religious identity. The Ministry adopted cross-cultural education - a new form of education in Greece - as part of this policy. The aim of cross-curriculum education is to set up and run primary and secondary classes that provide education to young people with a specific educational, social or cultural identity. In cross-cultural schools, the standard curriculum is adapted to meet the specific educational, social or cultural needs of the students attending them.

The educational system has suffered from chronic under-funding, and has been described as having a history of 'educational conservatism' due to the country's nation-building effort and the primary role of education in political socialization and the formulation of a solid, common identity (Dimitrakopoulos 2004: 11). Since the 1980s there has been an extensive discussion both through debates in the public (media, press) and the political (Parliamentary debates, and within the Ministry of Education) spheres, of the need to reform the educational system. Discussions have concentrated not only on the need to reform the institutional framework and relevant legislation, but equally to review and revise the dominant approach to education. Particularly since the mid 1990s, the discourse has been phrased in terms of needing to change the 'educational philosophy' in order for Greek students (a) to be able to compete in an increasingly globalised and competitive environment; and (b) to be able to successfully integrate within the European Union. These arguments have been expressed by representatives and politicians from across the political spectrum suggesting a consensus on the need to reform and to benefit from access to EU community funds to financially support the costs associated with reform. Moreover, academics and researchers in the field of education have extensively argued for the current assimilative educational policies to be replaced by an educational system more appropriate and better suited to the changing environment. The arguments essentially concentrate on: a system that will be less ethnocentric than the current one; that would enable the recognition and communication with other cultures and civilizations; and that will be able to promote respect for diversity avoid stereotypes and prejudice. The intention has been there to modernize the framework and to adapt it to the changing international environment. How has this translated in practice?

The first dimension has involved the structures and methods of the educational system. Laws 2525/97 and 2640/98 reformed the educational system in Greece in 1997-1998. The former concentrated on the Comprehensive Lykeio (High School), the establishment of day-long pre- and elementary school, 'second' opportunity schools, the enrolment list of teachers to be appointed, the modernization of the Pedagogical Institute, a system with which to evaluate educational achievement and educators, the creation of an Open University, and the enrichment of curricula and departments of Universities (see Bouzakis & Koustourakis 2002: 158). The latter, concentrated on Secondary Technical-Vocational education through institutionalizing Technical-Vocational Schools.

The second dimension has involved the development of intercultural education. There are two components within this. One has to do with the need to respond to and address the educational, cultural, linguistic needs principally of the Greek Muslim minority mainly concentrated in the north-east of the country, and to a lesser degree of the Roma population.² These initiatives fall outside the scope of this paper. The other component has to do with the need to respond to and

address the educational, cultural, and linguistic needs of the new arrivals; in short, of the repatriates and their descendants, and of the foreign nationals who have been arriving and settling in Greece since the early 1990s. These needs were mainly addressed through the creation of reception classes. Reception classes were first set up in secondary and higher schools in the 1980s, particularly in the Thessaloniki area for the children of Greek returnees (Markou 1993). It was not until the mid 1990s that a more comprehensive legislative framework was developed with the aim to respond to the changing educational needs of contemporary Greek society. Law 2416/96 set the foundations for intercultural education in Greece. It established nineteen intercultural schools as a special category of schools and institute reception classes for students with little or no knowledge of Greek (Paleologou 2004). The section below discusses the approach to inter-cultural education in Greece and the main axes of its development.

Cross-cultural schools

A total of 26 cross-cultural schools have been set up throughout Greece since 1996. These schools, which will continue to increase in number, guarantee equality of opportunity to every student in the country, while the cutting-edge approaches to teaching and learning utilised in these schools have a positive knock-on effect on the Greek educational system as a whole.

- Of the 26 schools, 13 are primary schools, while there are 9 junior high schools and 4 senior high schools.
 - A school can only be described as cross-cultural when repatriated Greek and/or foreign students account for at least 45% of the total student body.
 - The educators in these schools receive special training, and are selected on the basis of their knowledge on the subject of cross-cultural education and teaching Greek as a second or foreign language.

Special learning requirements

According to the Greek Institute of Immigrants Policy most of the immigrants are working in the rural areas. Some of them are self-employed and the others are working in enterprises. They attend special classes to learn the Greek language. These are provided by the Ministry of Education through the Centres of Adult Training and through special Greek Language courses which are provided from the Greek Universities (www.ekep.gr). They must have the basic communication skills as they use the Greek Language in order to renew their Legal Permission of Residence. The children and the youth are attending the curriculum of the mainstream Greek schools and if it is their first year in the country they can attend the cross-cultural classes. The policy is to include them in the Greek educational system. When they complete the first part of the secondary education (Secondary School) the usually prefer to continue their studies in Vocational and Technical Schools instead of the High Schools, which usually prefer the Greek students. This is a result of the special language requirements of the High Schools and because it is easier to work when they have received Vocational training. There are also immigrants with special need who study in special needs schools. There is a big difference between immigrants who started to study in Greece and them who continued their studies in Greece. The persons who were born or started their studies in Greece are usually completely intergraded in the education system.

General Policy and inclusion

The role of the television and the newspapers, usually, is to show only the problems of immigrants. They rarely show good practices of integration and immigrants who have peaceful life. The young immigrants who arrive in Greece now, will have many difficulties. It will be difficult for them and the members of their families to find a job. They will be included easier if they have friends or relatives in Greece. There are also a lot of organisations which have been

created from immigrants; they have their own social network. There are social networks which usually are related with the place of origin or the occupation of the immigrants. The networks try also to show off the common ideas, the common cultural characteristics and religion's requirements and help the immigrants in cooperation with the Careers Offices and the Guidance Offices to find a job.

Illegal immigrants and Greek migrant policy

Migration has been a dominant phenomenon in the history of the Greek nation since ancient times. Greek colonies were in a position to maintain their language and culture but also to transmit it to neighbouring peoples. Like most South European countries, Greece has experienced a transformation from a country of emigration to one of immigration in recent years.

In the mid-seventies of the twentieth century, Greece began to receive significant waves of repatriated Greeks from "Western" Europe, America and Australia, as well as the Greeks of the Diaspora. In the late 1980s, with the number increasing into the 1990s, Greece also experienced an influx of labour migrants and asylum seekers from the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa, as well as refugees and immigrants of Hellenic origin from the former Soviet Union (Pontians) or Albania. Most asylum applicants in 2000 were from Iraq, Turkey and Iran, and most were Kurds. In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks in the United States, the Greek authorities further restricted access to asylum procedures for refugees. Fearing a large influx of Afghan refugees, the Greek government severely curtailed access to asylum procedures. Despite lack of infrastructure Greece has received, and is still doing so, a huge number of immigrants. According to the statistic numbers, Greece has received in 1990 immigrants more than the 10% of her population.

The illegal immigrants are more than 300.000 in Greece. (Eurostat)

In 2007, Greece took the 5th place among US, England, France and Sweden, as the country which is considered like one of the most important migration entries to Europe. Per 1000 inhabitants, Greece is the country with the higher number of immigrants. This phenomenon is related with the change of policy in the East Europe while there are a large number of immigrant minorities from Africa and Asia. The most of them are very young, except those who came from development countries.

During the last 10 years a number of thousand immigrants went in Greece illegally without the necessary legal papers. Greece is like a safety fence which stops the entry to Europe. But, unfortunately, the 80% of them remain in Greece, a country which wasn't at first their initial destination because of lack of a stable and modernized immigration policy.

Greece confronts a serious matter without the necessary structure while, on the other hand, the European countries confronted this phenomenon year ago with consequence and continuity. It's important to take in consideration that Greece was on pressure all these years because of her adaption to the financial unification's criteria with E.U., the augmentation of the unemployment, the structural changes in the Greek society, the wave of the repatriates from ex Soviet Union and the illegal rackets of human exploitation.

There wasn't any concrete governmental plan which concerns the immigration problem, particularly for the management and confrontation of the illegal immigrants who entry in Greece and the recognition of their migrant's characteristic. This became a big problem and Greece was unable to convince E.U., although its good will and efforts in this direction.

Between 1999 and 2009 thousand of illegal immigrants have been killed or drowned in the Mediterranean Sea, not far from the Italian, Greek, Spanish and Adriatic costs and died on the borders of Poland, Check Republic, Bosnia, Germany and Croatia.

Because of this problem, from January 2011, a new law adjustment (3907/2011) began in Greece

which concerns the immigrant policy and the organization of a “political asylum” which is totally accorded to the E.U. instructions and the national “Justice” (The law of 16th December 2008/115/EK of the European Council) which guides the procedures of the return of all illegal immigrants to their origin countries, who haven’t any legal paper.

According to the opinion of the Greek members of the Greek Parliament, it would be necessary to re-examine the Treatment of Dublin II, to reinforce the mutual commitment with Turkey related to the management of the illegal immigrants who try to pass the frontiers on Evros river and cooperate with Frontex whose positive results have been already showed since last September. Many other political and social facilities will be provided to the illegal immigrants during their short stay in Greece and the examination of their demands will be quicker and effective since they have the legal papers or political reasons to stay in Greece.

The Greek people from the beginning of his history and according to the laws of Zeus carry the honour of giving hospitality to all people. From 1827 the Greek Constitution of “Trisina” assured the rights of the human being. That simply proves that Greece despite its last unfair bad image has the better intentions to carry out this huge international immigration problem.

Regularizing undocumented immigrants in Greece: procedures and effects.

By Rossetos Fakiolas

Abstract. This article examines the administrative procedures and results of the two legalizations in Greece in 1998 and 2001. Although the massive inflow of foreign immigrants had started in the late 1980s, the number of foreigners granted residence and work permits was restricted, causing a large stock of undocumented immigrants and creating the mentality that these economic immigrants are a new source of low-cost unregistered labor. Following the two legalizations, an increasing number of foreigners have progressed towards integration. Little has changed, however, in the other main aspects of immigration to Greece: not all undocumented immigrants have applied for legalization; for various reasons many do not renew their green card when it expires; new of previously expelled migrants flock in, attracted by the demand for their flexible labor and facilitated by the large underground economy;

Around 230,000 expulsions continue to take place annually; and there is no indication as to how things are likely to develop after the new extension given to all permits until 30 June 2003. Under the present conditions of high unemployment, increasing economic uncertainty and political tension in the country, a third legalization within a short time-frame may cause serious social reactions. The main challenge to migration policy now is how to effectively control migrant inflows and prevent legal immigrants, who also help to redress the serious demographic imbalances in Greece, from lapsing into illegality.

KEYWORDS: UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS; REGULARIZATION; GREECE; ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION; MIGRATION POLICY

Introduction

Due to higher mortality than fertility rates and to shortages in both low-skilled and skill-specific labor, EU countries need the immigration of non-EU nationals at productive ages (OECD 2001a, 2002). However, high living standards, developed social security systems and free political institutions are attracting more immigrants than host-country governments believe are needed or acceptable without causing social unrest. The EU currently has about 12 million residents who are third-country nationals (SOPEMI 2001: 86). There is also a consensus that immigration alone will not resolve EU demographic and labor-market problems. Whereas no democratic country can control outflows, not all incoming migrants have the characteristics required by a particular

host country. Factors such as the amount of pressure on the labor market, the type of shortages involved (absolute or relative, short- or long-term), the key features of those shortages (sectors and/or skill-levels affected) and their determinants (skills mismatch, inadequate labor supply, persistent labor market rigidities) vary markedly across countries (OECD 2002: 3). The restrictions on immigration applied by host countries in their efforts to match inflows

to existing needs cause large-scale irregular immigration, of which over a dozen types have been identified (Ghosh 1998: 1-6). The estimated number of irregular immigrants by receiving country varies from a few hundred thousand to over one million--in the United States about five million and in the Russian Federation about three million (Ghosh 1998: 9-16)--indicating that the phenomenon is not confined to any migration regime in particular. Irregular immigration is at the centre of political debate in EU countries, firstly because of the magnitude of these population flows; and secondly because the phenomenon has persisted, despite the clearly expressed determination of the receiving countries to prevent it (OECD 2000: 53). Notwithstanding strict external and internal controls applied at high administrative and moral cost, new economic migrants pour in, reflecting primarily the existing labor-market needs. With their wage and job flexibility, the immigrants offer useful and often indispensable productive work. References to their positive contribution to the host economies abound in the literature. (1)

Given that migrants belong neither to their country of origin nor to the country of destination, and that illegal immigration persists in periods of economic decline or slow-down and in countries that maintain very different immigration policies, it is illusory to think that it can be eliminated solely by state intervention and improved cooperation between sending and receiving countries (Tapinos 2000: 38). The European Commission (2000a: 3) notes that 'there is a growing recognition that the "zero" migration policies of the past 30 years are no longer appropriate'. On the one hand, large numbers of third-country nationals have entered the Union in recent years and these migratory pressures are continuing, with an accompanying increase in illegal immigration, smuggling and trafficking. On the other hand, as a result of growing shortages of labor at both skilled and unskilled levels, a number of member-states have already begun to actively recruit third-country nationals from outside the Union (European Commission 2000a: 3; OECD 2001a: 3).

Notwithstanding the very real contribution of undocumented immigration to the economy, especially in avoiding complex and time-consuming administrative procedures in marginal economic activities and among farmers and artisans employing immigrants for casual and seasonal work, it has several distorting effects that on balance outweigh the positive ones. Being to a large extent the result of the shadow economy, it only serves to expand it further. The shadow economy is put at between 12 and 15 per cent of the total economy in most Northern European countries; twice as much in Italy and Greece. As a rule, its size is negatively correlated with state efficiency in each country (International Monetary Fund 1999). Toleration of undocumented immigration diminishes the legitimacy of the state and creates unfair competition for the legally employed, punishing them and rewarding the irregulars and their employers, who come to rely increasingly on sources of cheap, flexible and exploitable labor (Collinson 1993: 14). This mentality will take much effort and time to change, while immigration flows themselves generate certain patterns of demand which, in turn, stimulate further immigration. In addition to the heavy administrative and security costs of external and internal control, the unregistered employment of immigrants deprives social security funds and the state budget of large amounts of revenue. In many countries, especially those of Southern Europe, it may also delay institutional and administrative adjustment to their new role as countries of immigration. Undocumented immigrants are often the subjects of exploitation and blackmail, while their expulsion causes much human suffering. Prolonged illegal status also exposes host countries to

criticism that they benefit from irregular migration without offering the immigrants adequate opportunities for economic and social integration. The fight against irregular immigration is therefore crucial to restoring production and labor systems that are compatible with fair competition and respect for workers' rights (OECD 2000: 65).

In addition to helping sending countries to create greater employment opportunities and develop their democratic Institutions in order to reduce the need for migration, (2) host countries have two alternatives when faced with illegal immigration:

* To expel as many undocumented immigrants as they can and to try to restrict illegal flows. Parallel to this, host countries might facilitate only the migration of those whose skills correspond to current labor-market needs. Policies focusing primarily on specific immigrant characteristics would best serve host-country interests, but these may be seen as a form of discrimination (SOPEMI 2001: 52). They also ignore the fact that many immigrants have been 'on the run' for a long time and have no other place in which to settle. As well as being a breach of the law, irregular migration is also a manifestation of individual liberty. It is also the case that policies of expulsion are likely to have limited success because other immigrants would rush in as (false) tourists, students or short-term legal workers, and then overstay. And to the extent that the policies do succeed, they would disrupt production because of irregular immigrants' contribution to it. Regularized migrants invited to replace them are likely not to be as 'flexible' as those expelled. Greece, for example, has expelled about 2.3 million immigrants since 1990 (some several times), Italy has repeatedly used its warships to prevent migrants arriving by boat from disembarking on its shores and there is an ongoing discussion in many countries, including Britain, about the possibility of uniting their naval forces in order to patrol coastlines.

* Legalization. Unlike the invitation of selected individual immigrants or groups with specific demographic and labor-market characteristics, a legalization Print Page - Questia.com _____ 1
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<http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=print&docId=5002029131> 3/1/2006 can apply only general eligibility criteria, such as the date set for illegal entry and the requirement of legal employment for the issue and renewal of the green card. Therefore it may exclude immigrants with other useful characteristics--younger and with particular skills--although the legalizations mostly concern economic immigrants of working age (OECD 2001b: 187; SOPEMI 2001: 53). Legalizations are usually applied when internal and external controls fail to restrict illegal immigration, while both the reality of a large resident foreign population and the partial dependence of the economy on immigrant labor are finally accepted. Meanwhile, a large and growing proportion of the immigrants believe that they are in the host country, regardless of status, because their employers value their labor (see Baldwin-Edwards and Arango 1999; OECD 2000: 55). Yet experience in both Europe and the United States shows that no legalization exercise has ever put an end to illegal immigration (OECD 2000: 34). Legalizations are costly and complex procedures. They can take the form of Long-established and recurrent processes as in France, or be the result of a single date-specific scheme taken after lengthy preparation and extensive debate, as in the USA in 1986, Greece in 1998 and 2001 and Italy, Spain and Portugal since the mid-1980s (OECD 2000: 54). They grant irregular immigrants legal rights on a range of issues, from legal residence and work to voting rights and naturalization, and help them to obtain regular work, invite dependent family members and integrate into local society--in sum, to lead a normal life. Employment is the key to effective integration and therefore takes priority, although some countries choose to give other support (and not work) to their refugees over quite a long period. In conditions, however, of high unemployment and increasing economic uncertainty, immigrants are more vulnerable to unemployment than nationals, partly because of employment discrimination against them (OECD 2001b: 174). To the extent that they benefit from equal

opportunities and possess the required qualifications, their labor may become competitive rather than complementary to that of the nationals. As integration proceeds, competition may develop and substitution rates increase (Koff 2002). Competition helps to raise productivity and keep inflation down, but it may also create antagonism. Social integration generally depends on progress made in economic integration. It may nevertheless be slow if immigrants form closed neighborhoods and restrict most of their social and economic activities to their own ethnic or racial group, as is the case in many European cities (see Ministry of Education 2001). Voting rights come last and may be generous or be granted only after a long legal stay in the host country and upon naturalization. Through their integration, immigrants adjust their working patterns and lifestyles to those of the local society but they also affect attitudes and morals within it. However, until they are fully integrated in the society of the host country, they remain an 'alien' group within it.

This paper sets out to investigate the characteristics of the 1998 and 2001 legalizations in Greece, against a background of a rapidly ageing Greek population, persistent high unemployment among the unskilled and many skilled categories, and an age-old tradition in the migration of Greeks. During 1945-73 alone nearly 1 million people emigrated, and in 1974-85 some 350,000 repatriated. The country, however, lacks administrative experience of the issues raised by the massive immigration of foreigners, whose share in the total population increased from under 2 per cent in the late 1980s to about 10 per cent ten years later. The first section of the article briefly describes recent demographic and economic developments in the country; the second critically reviews the new Aliens Law of 2001. The third part of the paper examines the main features of the two legalizations and attempts to evaluate their demographic and socioeconomic effects, while the final section delves into issues of Greek migration policy. Recent demographic and economic developments in Greece:

This section of the paper looks at the changing character of the Greek population, including an important increase in immigrant children, together with income, unemployment and labor market characteristics. Declining fertility and compensating immigrant flows. In 1998 there were 100,894 births and 102,668 deaths in Greece against 150,000-157,000 births and under 100,000 deaths annually during the 1950s.

Meanwhile the proportion of those aged over 65 years in the total population increased from 7 per cent in 1951 to 13.7 per cent (1.4 million persons) in 1991 and 16.5 per cent (1.76 million persons) in 1998 (National Statistical Service of Greece 1997, 2000). With virtually zero natural population growth, the increase in total numbers by 687,025 persons between the 1991 (10,252,580) and 2001 (10,939,605) censuses was due to the ethnic Greeks who had settled in Greece from Albania and the countries of the former Soviet Union, and to the counting of five times more foreign-passport holders (Table 1).

Further insights into the changing character of the Greek population can be gained from an examination of data on school rolls. As shown in Table 2, the declining number of children of indigenous parents registered in primary and secondary schools is partly compensated by the rapidly increasing number of ethnic Greek and foreign-immigrant children--65,546 pupils with foreign parents enrolled in primary and 16,475 in secondary schools (a total of 82,021) in 2000-01. Additional data from the Ministry of Education shows that the number of pupils born in Greece to immigrant parents increased from 1,458 in 1995-96 to 2,680 in 1998-99. The real increase probably is larger because many pupils born to naturalized ethnic-Greek parents are registered as indigenous, a fact confirmed by empirical observations in maternity hospitals. The distinction between indigenous and recently naturalized Greeks is still made in the schools because pupils who do not speak Greek in their families tend, as a rule, to lag behind the others. This causes problems within the teaching system and results in anti-immigrant, xenophobic and

racist manifestations. The 26 multicultural schools, offering 500 reception classes which help children in their Greek studies, seem not to be adequate (Ministry of Education 2001: 37-8; SOPEMI 2001: 83). With the passage of time the problem becomes less acute for children who settle in Greece, but it remains for the newcomers. Displaying, however, the well-known determination of immigrants to succeed, more and more of these children are doing well and a fair number are the best in their class, challenging indigenous classmates and their parents.

In hundreds of primary schools, foreign children (whose expulsion, as in other European countries, is forbidden and who, since 1997, have been able to enroll irrespective of the legal status of their parents) now number over 10 per cent of all pupils and in some schools exceed 30 per cent (OECD 2000: 15).

In areas of high immigrant concentration--Attica, Elefsis, Thesprotia, Mykonos--foreigners have populated many declining inner-city and suburban areas and their children have repopulated many schools, forming even the majority of the pupils in some classes. Income growth and unemployment:

The average annual growth of the (registered) GDP (gross domestic product) was about 1 per cent between 1979 and 1995 (under half that in the EU) and has been about 3 per cent (above the EU rate) since then. This is another indication of the 'unresolved' relationship between migration and economic growth (Appleyard 1992; Ghosh 1998; Hammar et al. 1997; Tapinos 2000; and for Greece, Fakiolas 1999). During this period Greece experienced a large and continuous inflow of people, initially returnees and then ethnic Greeks and foreigners. But its GDP growth rates have been affected primarily by other factors. About one-third of recent growth is due to the net inflow of resources from EU Structural Funds (about 3 billion euros annually until 2006), financing, among other things, around one-third of all public works (European Commission 2002: 50). A number of infrastructure plans, mainly supported by these funds, are scheduled for completion before the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. Income per head in terms of purchasing power amounts now to about 70 per cent of the EU average and a 3.7 per cent annual growth is targeted until 2006. To attain that rate, however, serious balance of payments and other difficulties for restructuring the economy have to be overcome. Defense absorbs 4.9 per cent of the GDP, proportionally more than double EU and NATO countries' spending, price inflation in November 2002 (3.6 per cent) was nearly twice as high as that in the EU, and the public debt stands at 105.3 per cent of GDP, as against 69 per cent in the EU as a whole (Ministry of Economy and Finance 2002a, 2002b, 2003).

The employment rate in the age group 15-64 years rose from 53.4 per cent in 1991 to 55.4 per cent (35.4 per cent for females) in 2001. The latter is still considerably below that in Ireland (66 per cent) and the European Union area (61.2 per cent-55 per cent for females) where, however, the rate for part- Print Page - Questia.com _____ 2 _____ 13
<http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=print&docId=5002029131> 3/1/2006 timers is 18 per cent as against 4 per cent in Greece. The aim of the European Council is that by 2010 the employment rate should rise to close to 70 per cent as a whole and to over 60 per cent for women. Unemployment in Greece amounted to 9.5 per cent of the (registered) labor force in the third quarter of 2002, down from its highest level of 12.4 per cent (553,000 persons) in the last quarter of 1999 (National Statistical Service of Greece 1997, 2000), against about 8.4 per cent in the euro area in October 2002 (European Commission 2000b, 2002: 27). Labor shortages and undocumented foreign immigration Due to rising educational standards and improving socio-economic conditions, an increasing number of Greeks are only prepared to undertake uninteresting jobs at wages that would price them out of the market. Therefore the labor shortages that emerged were 'relative', in the sense that they were caused by the low wages offered in the market. The 'absolute' shortages, i.e. the specific labor categories not

available in the country, were covered by the invitation of selected individual immigrants: artists, athletes, coaches, skilled workers, care workers and experts in various fields. In the years of near-full employment in the early 1970s, the 'unrewarding' jobs were mostly undertaken by legal immigrants from Asia and Africa, and in the later years mainly by 'tourist' Poles who worked without permits. There then followed irregular immigrants from countries the world over, but the main inflow was from the neighboring Balkan states and especially Albania, after their radical political reforms in 1989-90. Although the flexible immigrant labor force induced even more Greeks to shun these uninteresting jobs, the number of work permits was kept to around 15,000 (Table 1), restricting immigrants to irregular employment and further expanding the already large underground economy. Following the example of other countries, Greece applied its two regularizations in 1998 and 2001, after failing to restrict undocumented immigration through bilateral agreements for the exchange of seasonal labor with Bulgaria in 1996 and Albania in 1997. Mainly because of their onerous procedures, few employers have used these agreements (although there are no exact figures available). Meanwhile, large sections of the economy were partly dependent on immigrant labor and, although the invitation of immigrants with specific characteristics has always taken place, their number could by no means meet existing demand, especially for seasonal and other categories of low-qualified work. Besides, it was known from empirical observations that the overwhelming majority of undocumented foreigners were economic migrants. The procedures and effects of the two legalizations are examined in the third section of the paper, after a critical review of the changes introduced by the new Aliens Law. Main features of the new Aliens Law.

The new law 'On the status of aliens and naturalization 2910/2001 (Government Gazette 91/A/2.5.2001) has replaced Law 1975/1991 (the previous one was Law 4310/1929). In principle this new law does not apply to EU citizens, refugees, asylum-seekers or persons with double or multiple nationality who are considered Greek citizens (for the judicial aspects of the law see Scordas 2002).

Rules and aims of the legalization:

The law stipulated the time-frame and the administrative procedures of the second legalization but it also introduced certain vague eligibility criteria that allowed variable interpretations, at a great cost to both the immigrants and the administration.

The legalization appears to have two main aims:

* To legalize as many irregular migrants as possible by advertising the benefits of regularization and by introducing the purchase of 250 social-security stamps as an additional criterion for eligibility. The large number of foreigners who are now legal (Table 1) indicates that this aim has been achieved, posing the challenge to migration policy to help prevent immigrants from lapsing back into illegality.

* To restrict irregular flows by strengthening external and internal controls. The law annuls the expulsion of illegal immigrants who help the police to reveal practices promoting prostitution (see Ministry of Education 2001: 43-4). In addition the law re-affirms the principle that all public services and legal entities under public law, local authorities, notaries, public utility ventures and social security funding bodies must refrain from offering their services to irregular immigrants. This obligation is also extended to hospitals, sanatoriums and clinics, unless there is an emergency or children need medical care. The aim is to confront cases of abuse of the free national health service which arise from the activities of criminal networks that bring into the country aliens from neighboring states with the sole purpose of being hospitalized in Greek public establishments (Arts. 51-6; also Scordas 2002: 37). In July 2002 Greece ratified a protocol signed with Turkey in November 2001 to the effect that each country would receive back undocumented immigrants who had left their country of origin and were arrested and sent back to

it by the country of destination. It is, however, one of the so-called 'low policy agreements' and does not bind either of the two countries to take proper measures to prevent illegal immigrants landing in the other country. About 500 illegal immigrants have been returned to Turkey since then, whereas about 15,000 have managed to enter Greece. (3)

The law, however, does not link illegal immigration to the widespread undeclared employment in Greece of Greeks and foreigners. The OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) suggests that measures taken to combat the hiring of illegal immigrants must address the problem of undeclared work in general, and not just the employment of illegal immigrants (OECD 2000: 8, 65, 133). Unless governments effectively combat the spread of the underground economy, most immigrants who try to renew their residence permits or obtain a job in the mainstream labor market will risk illegality (and at times illicit or criminal activities).

Permits, family reunion and naturalization:

The law has maintained and promulgated the following features:

- * The issue of limited-time green cards;
- * The decoupling of residence and work permits;
- * Strict regulations for renewing residence permits (five annual renewals before a two-year permit and ten years' legal residence before a permanent permit may be issued; and
- * Onerous regulations in the procedures for obtaining a work permit and inviting foreign workers;
- * There are very few provisions, however, such as minority-language instruction or legal arrangements for the co-ordination or exportability of acquired pension rights, to encourage migrants to repatriate voluntarily.

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Within the six-month period of validity of his or her residence permit, the migrant is expected to apply for a residence and a work permit (the duration of which is completely at the discretion of the authorities). The required documents include health and penal-record certificates, evidence of full social insurance coverage and a work contract or statutory declaration by an employer willing to employ him or her for a given time period. Should the contract be broken, the employer undertakes to inform the Aliens Department and the local authority in the relevant municipality (Art. 66). For the 1998 legalization, however, it took Greek state institutions up to two years to issue these permits (see Papantoniou-Fragoudi and Leventi 2000). Curious, also, is the requirement for legal employment and a work contract at a time when the immigrant has no work permit and therefore has no right to work. The law specifies (Art. 68) that an applicant would not be expelled until his or her application has been approved or rejected, yet nowhere is it stated that she or he would be allowed to work.

Unlike the 1991 law, however, the new Aliens Law does not tie the work permit of the invited foreign workers to a specific employer (Art. 22) and is more generous in the right of the migrant to invite (after two years' legal residence) dependent family members (spouse and children under 18), giving them also the right to work (Arts. 28, 31, 67). It is worth noting here that, throughout the 1990s, family reunion in OECD countries accounted for a high proportion of all inflows--over 50 per cent to Canada, France, Sweden and the United States (OECD 2001b: 177).

Applicants for citizenship must prove a total of ten years' legal residence (15 under the previous law) in the 12 years preceding the date of application. Ten years' legal residence are also required in France, Spain and the Netherlands. Refugees recognized under the 1951 Geneva Convention require only five, while foreigners born and raised in Greece and those married to or who have children with Greek spouses are exempt from the residency requirement. The length of time immigrants can be detained by the police without trial is shortened, while racism and xenophobia

come under penal law and can be indicted by the public prosecutor ipso jure.

Inviting foreign workers:

Perusal of Articles 19-22 indicates that, as with the 1991 law, the new Aliens Law has strict regulations pertaining to the invitation of foreign workers, while the government intends to maintain full control over their number and characteristics. (4) However, as in Italy and other countries (Zincone 1999: 49), the list of workers needed by labor sector and region is unlikely ever to be drawn up, and the other formalities will never be put into practice. Although the law sets out in detail regulations governing the immigration of entrepreneurs, it offers no particular incentives to technology specialists, putting the emphasis solely on the immigration of unskilled workers for regular and seasonal work. Neither is there any reference to the role of immigration in the economic and social development of the country. If, however, the high income growth continues as scheduled, Greece, following other developed countries (SOPEMI 2000, 2001) would have to systematically utilize the skills possessed by those immigrants already present, and introduce incentives for the inflow of more qualified foreigners.

Fees:

The social security contributions and taxes unpaid by irregular migrants over the years are now reclaimed by the state through 'excessive fees', as the Greek Ombudsman's Report (Ombudsman's Office 2001a) on the new law calls them. By introducing the purchase of 250 social security stamps as an eligibility criterion and charging high fees at every stage of the issue and renewal of a card, the law has introduced a 'pay-and-stay principle'. For the provisional six months' residence permit the law required a fee of 147 Euros. In the 9 September-11 November 2002 legalization in Italy, the fee was 100 Euros for an employee and 40 for a domestic worker. (5) For the regular residence permit an additional fee is required, depending on its duration: 147 Euros for a one year permit, 294 for permits valid from one to two years, 441 for permits valid from two to six years and 882 Euros for permits over six years (Art. 71).

Immigrants also had to pay 6 Euros per page to the ministry for the translation into Greek of documents required for registration. However, since the capacity of ministry services was limited, many migrants resorted to authorized lawyers and certified translators who charged up to three times as much as the ministry. Furthermore, in most registration offices in the big cities, many immigrants had to employ intermediaries to repeatedly queue in their place for long hours during the migrants' working day.

Applying for naturalization, immigrants have to pay 1,470 Euros (Art. 59) which is non-refundable if the application is rejected (no reason need be given, Art. 61). They should also assemble, translate and/or officially certify the required supporting documents, in a process that can drag on for months or years. Although international law does not recognize an obligation for states to naturalize aliens, the adoption of administrative procedures lacking any law-based justification is inconsistent with the rule of law and may encourage corrupt practices (Scordas 2002: 36). The fee for naturalization has been removed for applicants of Greek origin. It could be said that the new Aliens Law has introduced a redistribution of income at the expense of the poorest section of the population. The worst effect is perhaps that, despite the professed aim of the policy to help immigrants to 'stay legal', the high fees and costs of the regularization may induce them to prefer the risks of illegality rather than assume the cost of regularization and the risk of non-regularization at the end of the process. Immigrants in financial difficulties at the time of submission of their renewal application may not be able to prolong their presence in the country legally.

Administrative reforms and functional efficiency:

Soon after the registration period of the 1998 legalization, Greece's very poor statistics on immigration improved considerably due to a flow of information on applicants' characteristics.

Unfortunately, to date, similar statistics from the 2001 legalization have not become available. The paucity of relevant information permeates most developments in the field of immigration, primarily reflecting the difficulties faced by the Ministry of the Interior. The reason for this deterioration in the flow of data may be that, on the eve of the second legalization, the government decided to transfer the main responsibility for statistical information output to the Ministry of the Interior, removing it from the Ministry of Labor, despite the latter's experience of the first legalization and its obvious interest in the economic character of immigration. The Labor Ministry, however, still has a say on the issue of the work permit, which is granted after a written statement is obtained by an employee from his or her potential employer. This is certainly a complicated situation which contributes to delaying procedures for the issue of work permits.

The decision was also made to establish:

* Regional migration committees in Greece (Art. 9);

* Employment departments within the regional administrative centers and the main Greek embassies abroad for the invitation of foreign workers (Art. 19); and

* A research centre on migration policy within the Ministry of the Interior (Art. 73).

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The question is whether adequately trained and experienced personnel are available to staff and efficiently run the new agencies at home and abroad, and whether the other ministries involved would be in a position to support the relevant costs and administrative effort necessary to implement the reforms. Administering the heavy bureaucratic procedures for legalization has already heavily taxed the capacity of the inexperienced Ministry of the Interior.

In its Special Report (21 December 2001), the Ombudsman's Office (2001a) criticized the lack of coordination and co-operation between the various agencies, their poor organization and the incompetence of insufficiently-trained officials. It warned that, if nothing was done to remedy the situation, it would take decades to replace the six-month temporary permit, issued upon application, with a one-year permit to all eligible immigrants. (6) Of the 1,731 cases examined by the Ombudsman's Office during 2001 under the section 'Human rights', about one-third concerned foreign immigrants (Ombudsman's Office 2001b: 19). The new extension for the validity of all permits until 30 June 2003, announced on 30 December 2002, is another indication of administrative dysfunction. World-wide experience shows that, in order to be effective, research institutes should be independent and accountable for the quality of their research to other institutes and individual experts. To satisfy its needs, the Ministry of the Interior would instead, and more appropriately, benefit from the work of individual researchers on relevant subjects: for instance from the Mediterranean Migration Observatory of Panteion University, Athens and the Migration and Diaspora Laboratory of Athens University, both established in 2000; and from effective participation in the International Metropolis Project and other similar research and policy networks. More than 18 months after the new law came into effect, hardly any information has been available from the ministry about the activities of the new centre. Nor have there been any government initiatives, such as the setting up of special committees, as in Italy and other countries (Zincone 1999) for investigating the effects of the two legalizations. Holland has found that the integration of legalized immigrants takes generations rather than years, and since 1988 it commissions surveys every three to four years to monitor progress (Vermeulen 2001).

The two legalizations Procedures and numerical results:

Applied much later than in the three other Southern EU countries, the first legalization in Greece increased the number of legal foreigners about five-fold and of economic migrants (excluding EU nationals and ethnic Greeks) ten-fold. Shortly after, however, Greece applied the second legalization, which also elicited a large number of applicants (Tables 1 and 3), demonstrating

that, despite massive expulsions, there was a degree of tolerance to illegal immigration.

The extensions granted increased the validity of white cards in 1998 to about 14 months. During that time, immigrants had to present 40 social security stamps and other required documents in order to be issued with a (normally) annual, renewable green card. The documents included health and penal record certificates which it took Greek state institutions up to two years to provide. The green card, for the renewal of which 150 stamps are required, grants immigrants full civil rights and the same rights as Greeks in the labor market (excluding tenured positions in the public sector). It also normally allows them to receive a Schengen visa but it grants no voting rights. (7) A similar purpose was served by the six-month permit under the 2001 legalization, the validity of which, as mentioned previously, was first extended until 31 December 2002 then, on the eve of 2003, for six further months. The difficulties, however, persist. With both legalizations, many immigrants did not register (Table 1). Among them, following the 1998 legalization, were those who simply did not know about it; those who did not qualify (such as those who had penal records of the many Poles who had been legally in the country but worked without permits); those who could not prove that they resided illegally in Greece before the threshold date of 23 November 1997; who were afraid to give the police their name and address; who were dissuaded by their employers (who employed them without insurance); and those who did not plan to stay in Greece for long or preferred the flexibility of the informal labor market, given also that re-entering Greece after expulsion was not very difficult (see also Sarris and Markova 2001). For the same or similar reasons, many immigrants did not register in the second legalization.

The approximately 135,000 initial applicants in 1998 who did not apply for the green card or did not renew it (Tables 3 and 4) indicate the high propensity of regularized immigrants to lapse into illegality. It is assumed that most of them did so because they could not secure the required social security stamps. In response to this problem, IKA (the main Social Insurance Foundation for private-sector employees) reduced by half the social insurance contributions for domestic helpers. For the employee, the contributions amount to between 14 and 38 per cent of the nominal wage and for the employer between 19 and 48 per cent (33 to 86 per cent for the two together), depending on the kind of job and the social insurance fund. The maximum contribution is for the so-called 'dangerous and unhealthy jobs'--mining, construction, etc.--and nearly doubles the cost of labor because most workers are interested in and bargain on the basis of their take-home pay. Immigrants are interested in securing 40 social security stamps for the issue of the green card and 150 for its renewal. The latter also meet the requirements for full social security coverage.

It is obvious that both employers and employees benefit from undeclared employment and that is why results and revenue from legalizations are below expectations. Partly because of the 1998 legalization, in 1997-98 the labor force increased by 176,000 persons and employment by 98,000, while further increases came about after the second legalization (National Statistical Service of Greece 1997, 2000). However, the number of employees insured with IKA, where all legally employed migrants in the urban sector must register, increased by only 60,000 in the period 1997-2002, from 1,850,000 in 1997 to 1,910,000 in 2002 (Ministry of Labor and Social Security 2003).

By offering a second opportunity to irregular immigrants to regularize their situation, Greece, like many other Southern European countries (Baldwin- Edwards 2002: 41; OECD 2000: 14) also addressed large numbers of immigrants who were in fact once either legally or illegally in the country. However, in addition to those who had not registered and those who had lapsed into illegality, new immigrants continued to flood in, attracted by the demand for their flexible labor--partly derived from the upward job mobility of legalized immigrants, facilitated by the large underground economy and assisted by the networks established by older immigrants. Many

newcomers also hoped that they would benefit from a further legalization. One could conclude from this that the second regularization and the continuous massive expulsions have not solved the problem of illegality. According to an Information Note issued by the Ministry of Public Order on 15 November 2002, 259,403 immigrants were arrested for illegal entry or residence in 2000 and 219,598 in 2001, of whom, in 2001, 4,209 were Afghans, and in the two years respectively, 190,641 and 173,957 were Albanians, 15,920 and 4,643 Romanians, and 11,372 and 10,515 Iraqis.

Reaffirming the basic tenet of Greek policy that the country has reached saturation point and therefore irregular immigrants should not be allowed to stay, the Greek Prime Minister referred to some of these figures on 19 October 2001, and in a later statement he maintained that, in 2001, 150,000 immigrants were caught trying to enter Greece illegally. (8) Of these, 6,864 were 'boat migrants', compared to 3,644 in 2000. During 2001 coastguards prevented 51 Turkish boats from landing illegal immigrants in Greece. Many more did manage to enter Greece, while others perished on the journey. In the week 18-24 December 2002, four boats attempted to disembark over 200 illegal immigrants in various parts of Greece. One boat sank in rough seas and a second crashed on the shore. More than 30 immigrants drowned. Ethnicity, age and education of the 1998 applicants from the 1998 regularization, the structure of applicants by ethnicity, age and years of schooling indicates that they have those demographic and labor markets characteristics required in Greece. The following features can be highlighted. Print Page - Questia.com _____ 5
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* The overwhelming majority are of European stock and are Christians of various denominations, mainly Greek Orthodox and Catholic. About 65 per cent came from Albania, 7 per cent from Bulgaria and 4 per cent from Romania, while Ukrainians, Poles, Georgians, Pakistanis and Indians make up 2-3 per cent each. The remainder comes from many other source countries, showing complex and diverse migration patterns (Cavounidis 2002a: 50-69, 2002b). Therefore, with the implementation of suitable policies, their economic and social integration should not be negatively affected by cultural differences--in fact the integration of many Hindus and Buddhists from Asia and Moslems from Africa and Asia, who have lived many years in Greece, has been unproblematic.

However, the fact that nearly two-thirds of the immigrants comes from neighboring Albania, where the political situation is still unstable, worries many Greeks. I shall return to this point in the final section of the paper.

* The applicants were in the younger age groups (83 per cent were between 20 and 44 years old), about half were married (49 per cent of the males and 60 per cent of the females), and one-third were female (but not, by and large, from Moslem countries where few females work outside the home). Their marital structure and many empirical observations indicate clearly that the overwhelming majority were economic migrants.

* As in other South European countries, recent immigrants in Greece are mostly well-educated, differing from the earlier postwar European migrants, including at the time those from Southern Europe, where many were semi-literate peasants. This contrast is because the majority of recent immigrants into Greece come from former socialist countries which have long-established practices of nine-year compulsory school education and extended technical training. Most of the remainder come from developing countries, many of which tend to keep their youngsters longer at school in order to curb unemployment, whereas the more educated persons usually decide to search for a better life abroad. Of the total, 9 per cent declared they had received tertiary education (6 per cent of the males and 16 per cent of the females), 49 per cent had benefited from secondary school education and only slightly less than 2 per cent were illiterate. To the extent, however, that their statements were correct, and that about the same proportions apply to those

who did not register, immigrants appear to have slightly fewer years of schooling than Greeks. For instance, in 1991 around 7 per cent of all Greeks (but 16 per cent of those in the labor force) had tertiary education (National Statistical Service of Greece 1997, 2000), and standards have almost certainly risen considerably since then. More crucially, immigrants undertake jobs below their formal qualifications. Of those who declared their real level of employment skills (only 41.7 per cent), 58.8 per cent worked in unskilled and 26.5 per cent in semi-skilled jobs, and only 2.9 per cent in jobs requiring tertiary education. The migration of educated persons from less-developed countries means temporary downward social mobility with regard to legal status, and for those who accept jobs below their formal training and actual qualifications it means downward employment mobility (Romaniszyn 2000: 142). It also creates extensive de-skilling and skill depreciation, leading to brain drain (Fakiolas 1995). But to migrants who would otherwise have remained unemployed in their country of origin, their migration may nevertheless bring them, their families and their countries higher material prosperity. Markova and Sarris (2002) have found that education does not seem to be a significant factor in determining (or shaping) Bulgarian migrant earnings.

* As it is easier in a city to escape police controls and find a job (except seasonal agricultural work), the applicants were concentrated mainly in the Greater Athens conurbation (about 44 per cent of the total and 56 per cent of all women) and in the Thessaloniki and Central Macedonia area (17 per cent).

According to empirical observations, however, most of those who had not registered were from the rural areas and were male, indicating that the concentration in urban areas is considerably less intense. As always, in situations in which many immigrants are unregistered, relevant statistics should be interpreted with care. Demographic effects and schooling:

The importance of both ethnic Greek and foreign immigrants in total numbers has already been discussed. Before the two regularizations, the foreign immigrant contribution to balancing the age structure of the labor force affected mainly the unregistered labor market. Post-regularizations, its influence extends to the largest part of the labor market and as dependent family members come in legally, the effects spread even further. In addition:

* An increasing number of immigrants are becoming eligible to apply for naturalization.

* Young, dependent family members invited legally to join their parents, are continuously adding to the population and, as they come of age, to the labor force. Youth are important for employment in all productive sectors, especially in agriculture, construction, the shipyards and the merchant navy.

* More foreign children, born to foreign parents, are attending Greek schools, as was shown in Table 2. Greek citizenship is not acquired by birth in Greece, but the majority of the immigrant children born there is likely to remain in the country and will find it easier to integrate and naturalize.

As already mentioned, immigration alone will not stop the decline nor the ageing of the total population. Apart from the unrealistic growth in entry flows such a solution would involve, experience demonstrates three further things. First, it is impossible to maintain full control over migration gains and the age distribution of entry and exit flows because of voluntary departures, and illegal and legal entries of dependent family members and immigrants from other EU countries on the basis of the Schengen Agreement and on humanistic grounds. Second, the fertility difference attributed to foreign women tends to decline very quickly the longer they stay in the host country. And third, foreign populations are also subject to ageing. Migration therefore should be seen as part of the policy response, alongside efforts to raise skill levels and encourage active ageing.

Greece has a long way to go in encouraging its older workers to remain in employment longer.

As shown above, the employment rate is under that of the EU. The statutory retirement age in the private sector is 62 for females and 65 for males, as in most EU countries. The average, however, declines to around 56 because of frequent early retirement schemes, numerous categories of so-called 'dangerous and unhealthy jobs' which have a lower retirement age, and the large proportion of the workforce pensioned off, even at a relatively young age, due to ill-health. In the public sector, where full pension rights are acquired after 35 years of service (including any employment in the private sector), the actual retirement age is also below 60 because many employees start working before they are 25 and early retirement schemes are also frequent. As a rule, any increase in the retirement age meets with strong trades union resistance.

Available employment statistics include only wage-earners or the self-employed, whereas pensioners have no social security incentives for declaring their employment (which in some cases is also restricted by law). We therefore do not know how many pensioners are employed, work at looking after the substantial --in many households--family properties, or are seeking work. Empirical observations show that many belong to this last category, pointing to a lack of flexibility in two relevant fields: a) to allow working people to establish pension rights after any number of years' service but to start receiving their (smaller or larger) pension when they reach an age stipulated by law; and b) to help the working population, as they grow older, to move to other jobs more suitable for their age, within their broader specialization. Older construction workers find it difficult to climb up multi-storey building projects and become more prone to accidents; miners find it harder to work underground; school-teachers to teach young pupils; typists to sit at the keyboard for hours on end; and the army, police and firemen to participate in strenuous assignments, maneuvers, expeditions, etc. With the systematic analysis of each case, and suitable preparation, including some retraining, persons in similar situations could move to less strenuous jobs in administration, supervision, consulting, coordination, planning and tutoring, utilizing thus their accumulated work experience.

Economic effects

The legalizations have both positive and negative economic effects on immigrants and on the economy. The following findings come from systematic research carried out and empirical observations made by a range of commentators. (9) I will deal in turn with wage rates and real earnings, and then with broader effects on the economy.

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Wage rates and real earnings:

Being determined primarily by the supply-demand relationship of the labor market, the real wages of undocumented immigrants differ considerably according to season, region and kind of job. For equal productivity, employers seem to choose indifferently between Greeks and foreigners, although not infrequently they offer lower pay to the latter, taking advantage of their weaker legal status, including the risk of expulsion.

For legalized immigrants wage determination is more complex. Irrespective of the real pay, employers tend to declare the legal minimum in order to avoid paying all the legal social security contributions, while immigrants are interested in securing the required registered working days in order to renew their permits and have health insurance coverage. These practices apply equally to Greek employees and are caused by a combination of factors, including high social security contributions, unsatisfactory--in the minds of most recipients--social insurance benefits, inadequate provision of state services and petty corruption of public officials inherited from old and widespread habits. Other causes are ineffective labor inspection, large numbers of self-employed workers and those employed in small firms with fewer than five persons on the payroll--these firms tend to benefit from the recent increase in the outsourcing practices of the

larger ones. Despite the considerable progress made in all these fields over the years and strict laws (tertiary education is constitutionally a state monopoly), there is considerable growth in private-sector education and medical care, while many citizens have to use intermediaries or party political connections in dealing with state bureaucracy. Greece does not occupy a praiseworthy position in the Transparency International list of countries with corruption practices (Council of Europe 2002). Reference to these issues is necessary because, as OECD suggests (2000: 66), the overall underground economy in a country is at the root of illegal immigration.

As a rule, it is only because the cost of legal immigrant labor is below that of Greek labor, and because Greeks will no longer undertake certain jobs (like, for example, live-in domestic work or seasonal/casual work in remote places) for any 'reasonable' wage, that employers take on immigrant labor, in which case the immigrant supply of labor is the main determinant of wage levels. When employers pay the current market rate but benefit from the job flexibility of immigrants, i.e. their willingness to do different jobs within the firm (the farm, the household, etc.), this becomes an important cost-reducing factor for small firms, unable to employ different workers for different jobs. For example immigrants are willing, as a rule, to combine driving, gardening, cleaning and receptionist work in a small hotel, or a semi-skilled job and various odd jobs on a construction project. Demarcation issues are unknown among them. In other cases employers ask for more (unpaid) working time, offering in exchange various services such as food, accommodation, transportation, help with paperwork in dealing with the public administration, even invitations to social gatherings, which may cost the employers little but be precious for the immigrants. To the extent that such arrangements are successful there are benefits all round because they reduce labor market rigidities. OECD observes that many labor market measures have aims related to promoting equity and stability, with side effects that may impede the proper functioning of the labor market (OECD 2002). One of these measures is designed to keep artificially narrow the wage differential between unskilled and skilled labor maintained by trades-union pressure and welfare policies.

This process however is not without problems. Open labor conflicts between immigrants and their employers are more frequent since the legalizations.

Several strikes have broken out recently over wage and similar claims. There are also repeated complaints that many large construction firms working on the preparation of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens violate the rules for working hours and the safety conditions of the foreign workers they bring in legally. Among others, these practices cause high rates of work-related accidents and occupational illness. Unlike many other countries, in which the unemployment rate for immigrants is up to three times higher than for nationals (OECD 2001b: 173), in Greece it appears to be only marginally greater (see Table 5). For both Greek and foreign women the rates are over twice as high as those for men (see also SOPEMI 2001: 55). The breakdown by foreign country shows no substantial differences between them or between foreign and EU nationals. Annual fluctuations, however, are considerable. For Albanians the rates were 17.9 per cent in 1991 and 7.9 per cent in 1992, and for EU nationals 8.3 per cent (1991), 8.1 per cent (1992), 16.6 per cent (1998) and 16.2 per cent (2000). Considering the difficulties in obtaining accurate data for persons having both registered and unregistered employment, care should be exercised in interpreting these statistics. As in most other host countries (OECD 2001b: 174, 178), an increasing number of legalized foreigners in Greece become self-employed, while others establish small businesses on their own or in association with Greeks. In both cases a large proportion of the clientele comes from other immigrants. Being conditional upon the ability to communicate in Greek, these forms of employment help immigrants to avoid discrimination and other employment complications and significantly promotes their social integration. At the same time they benefit local society by breaking down barriers of ignorance and indifference about life

and work in other countries (Lazaridis and Romaniszyn 1998: 6) In all, the majority of legalized immigrants in Greece earn (according to their statements) between two and four times that which they could earn in their home countries. Immigrants who have been resident longer in the host country tend to be closer to the upper limit, although such comparisons may underestimate other benefits in the home countries. Empirical observations, however, show that an increasing number of legal immigrants earns a reasonable and regular income and try to organize their lives as Greek nationals do.

Effects on the economy: Most studies based on a wide variety of data sources and methodological approaches show that immigrant labor is complementary to rather than a substitute for that of Greek nationals. Therefore the effect of immigrant employment on the economy is positive, although some low-skilled national groups stand to lose by it (OECD 2001a: 182). For Greece, the few relevant econometric studies have also shown that immigration has favored the employment and income of the more qualified section of the Greek labor force but has negatively affected that of unskilled workers. They have further estimated that immigrants contribute to the generation of about 1 per cent of GDP, although part of it is remitted abroad, widening the already large current accounts deficit of Greece.

With the implementation of appropriate policies, immigrant employment could help to meet the challenges posed by rapid technological and economic development and to keep price inflation down. The wage- and job-flexible labor of immigrants, however, may retard efforts to reorganize production and substitute capital and new technology for labor, on which sustainable long-term development depends. It may also reduce the pressure to increase the supply of national low-qualified labor and at the same time reduce seasonal and casual demand for it by extending the tourist period and changing the structure of crops. It has been shown above that an increasing number of Greeks (among them some low-qualified and unemployed) have changed their attitude towards work, and many are led to believe that certain jobs are only for immigrants. Recent research has shown that nearly all wage labor in the Greek agricultural sector is undertaken by immigrants (Kasimis et al. 2002). In addition, the legalizations have given the state the moral ground to continue massive expulsions and to strengthen the sanctions against irregular employment by dissuading employers, mainly in seasonal activities, from resorting to it.

Social security contributions and benefits:

By contributing to social security funds and paying taxes, the legally employed immigrants cover their health care and use of the subsidized part of the social infrastructure (e.g. schools, urban transportation). Because of their low income very few pay income tax, but VAT (value added tax) and other indirect taxes (which in Greece contribute about two-thirds of state revenues) are levied on most of the market products they consume. It is true that legally employed migrants benefit from the fixed-capital accumulation created by older inhabitants but this is largely counterbalanced by the fact that Greek society has not incurred any costs for the migrants' upbringing and professional training.

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The argument that without them Greece would not have achieved its high growth rate since 1997 is an exaggeration. As shown above, economic growth and demographic developments are determined by many more factors than migration of any type. Had it not been for flexible immigrant labor, other wage and employment adjustments would have been made and the structure of unemployment, a large part of which is for unskilled workers, would have been different. In a well-functioning mixed economy the supply of productive services by households corresponds, by and large, to their take-home pay and other indirect benefits. As in all societies, there are certainly unfair income inequalities, referred to in modern parlance as 'structural

violence'. In Greece they seem to be more pronounced due to its large underground economy and weak public administration, though these, of course, affect the indigenous and foreign populations alike. To the extent that discrimination against legal foreigners prevents them from having fair opportunities for professional and social advancement, there would be good reason for Greeks to fight against these practices. The sooner adequate institutions are established for the present multinational society to develop gradually into a multicultural one, the better for the prosperity and higher quality of life of all concerned. In the loose organizational structure of the country, however, there remains the question of whether immigrants, as a working group, benefit from their fair share of social insurance funds.

Policy issues:

The brief critical review of postwar Greek migration policies which follows seeks to explain their idiosyncratic character, which is also reflected in the new law. Three key points are made. Firstly, the policies seem not to challenge Greek national traditions, they seem to be largely unencumbered by demographic concerns and to maintain a minimal commitment to admitting a limited number of refugees and others on humanitarian grounds. This is evidenced by the low acceptance rate of asylum-seekers and the strict pre-requisites for foreigners not related to Greeks in applying for citizenship. Perhaps this may be justified by the approximately 600,000 ethnic Greeks who have settled in Greece since the mid-1950s from Egypt, Turkey, Cyprus, Zaire and the former socialist countries. Together with the high fertility of the first postwar period, these inflows have resulted in a population increase from 7.3 million persons in 1951 to about 10.3 million in 2001 (excluding foreigners). On the other hand, the bitter experience of high structural unemployment throughout most of the twentieth century (which in recent years has been the second highest in the EU after Spain) has enhanced the criterion of labor market needs in migration policy decisions by maintaining the number of work permits issued to foreigners at a very low level. The policies also seem to maintain only minimal accountability to public opinion. This may be due to the geographical position of Greece at the far southeastern end of Europe, with no borders with any EU state, long land borders with Moslem Turkey, and (between 1945 and 1989) with three Marxist socialist states. Greece also lies in the vicinity of politically unstable countries with a pronounced labor surplus and is the only EU state to have experienced full-scale civil war of a Marxist nature since the Second World War. Long-standing historical reasons have also played an important role. The peoples of the Balkan Peninsula have lived for some two and a half thousand years under different but common political rulers--Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Turks—with considerable freedom to move around and choose their place of settlement. Therefore large populations of different creeds and ethnicities found themselves on the 'wrong' side of the borders established early in the twentieth century. Explicit and latent territorial claims have developed among the newly established states and mutual accusations about ethnic and religious discrimination continue unabated, with violent conflict among the numerous ethnicities in the former Yugoslavia since 1988 being another act in that drama.

Finally, fears that foreigners of other races and religious creeds, and especially Moslems, would not be easy to integrate into 'traditional' Greek society also arise. Islam in the minds of many Greeks has been historically associated with Ottoman rule and is today connected with the 'Turkish threat'. Once in the country legally, it would be difficult or impossible to send immigrants home and the difficulties would increase as the time of legal residence became longer. In the event that the law also facilitates naturalization, those ethnic or religious communities that have a higher fertility than the Greeks may challenge the long-established, albeit entirely unrealistic, model of national identity. About 110,000 Greek citizens are Moslems of Turkish origin and many more thousands declare a Slavo-Macedonian ethnic conscience.

In short, up until the mid-1980s, Greek migration policies appear by and large to have been

rational. Encouraging emigration in the first postwar period of high unemployment and capital shortages, and repatriation after 1974 when near-full employment prevailed in the economy and democracy had been restored after the collapse of the 1967-74 dictatorship, seem to have considerable merits. Greece also had to welcome and facilitate the settling-in of ethnic Greeks, many of whom had been compelled to flee their respective countries of origin. Equally necessary was the issuing of work permits to foreign passport holders because many of them were ethnic Greeks, and because foreigners possess useful skills and can satisfy the basic needs of the economy. Greek policy appears to have been late in realizing that, in a world of rapidly decreasing transport costs, increasing circulation of goods and capital, and considerable cross-border movements linked to tourism, tertiary education, professional training and business travel (as well as a large Greek merchant navy), it is anachronistic to conceive of immigration control exclusively in terms of sovereignty (Tapinos 2000: 38). Restricting work permits to a small number of foreigners with specific qualifications and tolerating for many years a large undocumented immigration had many drawbacks, while present fears about the effects of naturalization become increasingly groundless. For example, increasing five-fold the present annual figure of about 500 naturalizations of foreigners with no relationship to Greeks would add up to about 1 per cent of the Greek population in 40 years, and most of them would have resided for decades or even been born in Greece. Equally detrimental is the very little effort made by the state in recent years to promote integration.

Conclusion: new challenges. Policy is presently facing new challenges. In the first round of the local elections on 13 October 2002 the Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) was supported by nearly 14 per cent of the electorate in the Greater Athens and Piraeus area, where about one-third of all Greek citizens vote. The Rally professes its faith to the Greek nation, the Orthodox Church and the family; and blames the rich, globalization, illegal immigrants and the inappropriate (as they call it) behavior of some of the 5,000 Greek Jews in the country for the everyday problems facing citizens. Various opinion polls, however, have shown that the Rally is supported by only 2.0-2.6 per cent of the electorate, so that its success appears to have been mainly a protest vote with no lasting effects. In the second round of the elections, from which the Rally was excluded, most of its voters chose the liberal and the socialist candidates, despite the advice of the Rally leadership to abstain. Its sudden electoral success, however, worries many people from other political persuasions. Three more challenges should be mentioned. Firstly, in the prevailing conditions of persisting high unemployment, some dormant labor market and social antagonisms are likely to develop or re-surface, as more legalized immigrants apply for jobs wanted by the Greeks and tax heavily the already inadequate social infrastructure (hospitals, schools, houses). Driven by economic exigencies and tempted into increased spending through the effects of easily-available credit cards, some low-skilled Greeks may start to look for jobs now undertaken by immigrants. The second challenge concerns the evident long-term effects of the stereotyping as criminals in the late 1990s of Albanians, Romanians and other foreigners. Fed continuously with tales of trafficking, prostitution, exploitation of children and smuggling involving foreigners, many Greeks believe that the majority of immigrants enter Greece to commit crimes; their belief is re-affirmed by the fact that roughly 50 per cent of inmates in Greek prisons are foreigners. Recent opinion polls show that, even among schoolchildren, around 70 per cent believe that there are too many foreigners in the country who do not speak Greek, are of a different religion and are responsible for the increase in criminality and unemployment. Many ask for the police to become more stringent with them.

Total numbers: 1991 census 10,252,580 2001 census 10,939,605

Ethnic Greeks settling in 1991-2001 from:

Albania 40,000-60,000 *

Former Soviet Union around 110,000 *

Foreign passport holders:

1991 census 167,000 **

2001 census 797,000 **

Foreigners with valid residence permits 80,000-120,000 before the 1998 legalization (about one-third ethnic Greeks and Greek Cypriots)

Foreigners with valid work permits before 20,000-34,000 the 1998 legalization (about half ethnic Greeks and EU nationals)

Estimated irregular immigrants before 1988 40,000

Estimated irregular immigrants in 1997 650,000-700,000

Estimated irregulars who did not apply for About 300,000 the 1998 legalization Estimated irregulars who did not apply for Over 200,000 the 2001 legalization.

Legalized foreigners after the 2001. About 580,000 legalization and until 30 June 2003. Annual administrative and judicial 230,000 on average *** expulsions since the early 1990s

Notes: * As Greece avoids naturalizing ethnic Greeks from Albania but instead issues special identity cards giving them all the rights of Greek citizens except the right to vote, few seem to have registered in the census as such. The same applies to ethnic Greeks from the Soviet Union who have kept the nationality of their country of origin.

In 1990-99, 103,000 Greek Pontians from the former Soviet Union were naturalized (official statement in the Greek Parliament on 21 December 2001). The quarterly Labor Force Surveys of the National Statistical Service of Greece classify under the same column Greek nationals and those who have a second nationality as well. The inflow of ethnic Greeks that started in the late 1980s has gradually come to a Standstill.

** Among foreign-passport holders in 1991 there were 35,000 EU nationals and their number in 2001 is put at 45,000. It is also estimated that about 100,000 Greek Cypriots and ethnic Greeks were counted. If these estimates are correct, the non-EU foreigners counted were around 650,000, not many more than the legalized ones until 30 June 2003, when the extension of all non-renewed cards expires. It is obvious that many people are ignorant of or overlook important facts about immigration:

* The productive work of immigrants, especially in seasonal and domestic work;

* The tens of thousands of immigrants, who have the keys to Greek households and visit them regularly to clean, look after the gardens or do maintenance and other work in the absence of their owners, honoring absolutely the trust showed to them;

* The criteria for arresting foreigners and Greeks are by no means the same;

* A much larger section of the foreign population consists of persons in the age group in which, in any country, delinquency is high;

* Most of the foreigners imprisoned have committed petty crimes, largely caused by their insecurity and congested living conditions, while many are embittered and provoked by the abuse of employers against them;

* There is no evidence that, for homicide and other serious crimes, criminality among immigrants is above that among Greeks;

* Many of the serious crimes in the country are committed by organized criminal factions related primarily to international drug dealers and terrorism, while other crimes relate to political conflicts in foreign countries and, like the previous ones, barely involve any economic migrants (see Karydis 1998; Psimmenos 2001; Triandafyllidou 2001).

The third challenge is to implement a systematic policy on integration. Given that, as a rule, the volume of illegal migration depends first and foremost on a government's capacity to set migration regulations and, in accordance therewith, to regulate conditions for the entry and residence of foreigners and for the granting and renewal of residence and work permits, the policy should accept the reality of illegal immigration and try to restrict it as much as possible. Strict application of such laws delineates the borderline between legality and illegality (OECD 2000: 54). Integration is a two-way process of give and take, and does not usually occur voluntarily because people are more inclined to use their rights than to meet their obligations.

A necessary measure for integration is to assist immigrants to acquire equal opportunities in the labor market by offering them Greek language classes and technical and retraining courses, as well as incentives for participating more actively in economic and social developments. What has begun in the educational sector with the establishment of multicultural schools, as already mentioned, should extend to other fields as well. The policy should then offer immigrants selected to stay in Greece the opportunity to plan their lives from a medium--and even long-term perspective. This means that integration should proceed within the framework of continuous but controlled immigration, aiming towards the creation of a multicultural society. This would prevent the marginalization of certain incoming groups and would help immigrants to become self-reliant citizens who feel that they are members of the society in which they live and have reasons for contributing to its development. The relevant experiences of other countries are valuable in this respect (Ministry of Education 2001: 137-8).

These challenges are not difficult to meet if the Greek people are helped to understand that, on both economic and demographic grounds, the positive effects of immigration outweigh the negative ones; and that the fairly prosperous society in which they live is a multinational one, as are all other EU countries. If, however, the number of immigrants increases further, the process of integration decelerates and regularized immigrants start once again to lapse into illegality, the adverse social repercussions from increased irregular immigration seem to be unavoidable.

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*** The large number of expulsions, voluntary migrant travel out of Greece and extensive shuttle migration through its long coastal and mountainous borders show that some of these immigrants form a complex stock and flow pattern.

Sources: Census data for 1991 and 2001; Ministry of Labor and Social Security 2002, 2003 (for valid permits and expulsions). Table 2. Immigrant children registered in primary and secondary schools, 1995-2000

Pupils with parents who are:

School years Immigrants Indigenous Total

1995-96 47,666 1,484,277 1,531,943

1996-97 54,943 1,450,351 1,505,294

1997-98 67,210 1,404,050 1,471,881

1998-99 79,737 1,352,144 1,431,881

1999-2000 86,238 -- --

Source: Ministry of Education (2001: 18-19).

Table 3. Main features of the 1998 and 2001 legalizations. Main features 1998 legalization 2001 legalization. Preparation procedures Over two years Over 18 months Registration period January-May 1998 June-July 2001. Pre-requisites Illegal residence Illegal residence in Greece before Greece before 2 June 23 November 1997 2000 or purchase of 250 Social Security stamps Fees None Drs 50,000 (147 Euros)

Certificates granted White and green Six-month permit and cards green card
Applications * 373,000 367,860 Responsible Ministry of Labor Ministry of the
Interior

Note: * In 1998 about 15,000 double registrations were found and in 2001 351,110 immigrants eventually received a six-month permit.

Sources: For 1998, Presidential Decrees 358,359/1997 and National Employment Observatory; for 2001, Law 2910/2001 and Amendment 2002, Ministry of the Interior.

Table 4. Applications and approvals for the issue and renewal of green cards for the 1998 legalization, April 2001

Applications for issuing a green card 228,211

Approvals 219,024

Applications for renewing the green card 84,621

Approvals 45,700

Rejections for the renewal of the green card 38,921

Source: Greek Ministry of Labor and Social Security,
Employment Department, April 2001.

Table 5. Percentage of unemployment of

Greek and foreigners 1991-2000 (annual averages)

Greek/Greek

Years Total and other Foreign

1991 7.62 7.58 12.50

1995 9.99 9.92 13.98

1997 10.24 10.17 13.23

1998 10.76 10.66 13.33

1999 11.73 11.67 12.93

2000 11.07 11.01 12.37

Source: NSSG Labour Force Surveys.

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Notes

(1) For instance: We must not underestimate the fact that illegal migration to a large extent meets the need for flexibility imposed by the adjustment of the employment systems to the changing economic conditions' (SOPEMI 1989: 86-7). And 'The fact that the United States and some West European states have at times turned a blind eye to illegal immigration indicates an implicit recognition of the economic benefits of undocumented immigration--at least during periods economic boom' (Collinson 1993: 15). For similar reference to Southern EU countries see Baganha (1997), Baldwin-Edwards and Arango (1999) and King et al.

(2000). Empirical observations in many countries often show increases in prosperity for many, without corresponding increases in the official statistics on registered income and employment, while only to a small extent does the labour of undocumented immigrants substitute for that of national ones.

(2) Developed countries offer about 0.2 per cent of their GDP to development aid, against 0.7 per cent asked for by the UN, while emigrants of all kinds amount now to about 175 million persons (of whom about 56 million are in Europe), twice as many as in 1975.

(3) Migration News Sheet, April 2002: 3.

(4) The regulations of Articles 19-22 include the preparation of annual reports by OAED (state

employment agency) indicating existing labor needs by sector and region and estimating the needs which could not be satisfied by Greeks, ethnic Greeks, EU nationals and legal immigrants residing in Greece. A decision is then taken by the Ministries of Labor and Social Security, the Interior and External Affairs as to the number of workers to be invited by labor category, geographical region, and duration and source country. The relevant lists would be sent to Employment Departments abroad (to be established) which would advertise the available vacancies and form lists of persons who wished to come to Greece. These lists would then be presented to interested employers in Greece who would choose from the list the persons whom they want to employ, providing a statutory declaration to the effect that they would undertake to hire them, as well as a bank guarantee for three months' wages and the likely costs of their expulsion. Approvals go back to the state administration and Greek consulates abroad for the issue of entry visas. Once in Greece the immigrants sign a work contract with the employer. To invite foreign workers for seasonal work (six months maximum each year), employers should follow the procedures above and also abide by regulations stipulated by inter-governmental agreements (Art. 24).

(5) Migration News Sheet, November 2002: 7.

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(6) Migration News Sheet, February 2002: 8.

(7) Greece is one of seven EU countries (along with Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Luxembourg) where non-EU immigrants do not have the right to vote or stand for local government, though some groups of them enjoy such rights in Spain, Portugal and the UK. In Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the Netherlands immigrants have these rights after six months to five years of legal residence (Athens News, 20 September 2002: A12).

(8) Migration News Sheet, January 2002: 8, February 2002:8 and July 2002: 11.

(9) See for instance Baldwin-Edwards and Arango (1999); Cavounidis (2002a, 2002b); Fakiolas (1999, 2000); Glytsos and Katseli (2003); Kasimis et al.

(2002); Lianos et al. (1996); Ministry of Education (2001); Sarris and Markova (2001).

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