The Integration of Albanian Immigrants in Greece.
A comparative approach in three specific regions:
Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki and Crete

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Abstract

This paper examines the level of integration of Albanian immigrants in three Greek regions: Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki and Crete. The study focuses only on the period of massive post-communist emigration wave from Albania to Greece, between 1990 and 2010. The study is based on literature on Albanian immigration into Greece between 1990 and 2010, on the examination of the Greek legislation on immigration from 1929 to date, on various theories of integration of immigrants into the society of the host country and on a survey carried out through questionnaires and interviews of Albanian immigrants residing in Greece and more specifically in Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki and Crete. The survey was designed to manifest the levels of integration of Albanian immigrants into the Greek society.

Keywords: integration; Albanian immigrants; statistical & qualitative survey; Greece; immigration policies

Introduction

Historically, Greece has been a country of mass outward migration and this can be confirmed by the great Hellenic communities in countries around the globe. Greeks, from ancient times, were travelers of the world, building state-colonies and developing into good merchants. Over the centuries the colonies disintegrated but some elements of the Greek culture remained. The Greek waves of outward migration form a historically recorded reality both in antiquity and in modern times in Greece.

What came to replace Greek emigration was the gradual immigration since the collapse of the Central Eastern European communist regimes in 1989. Greece soon became a constant receiver of migrants mostly from neighboring countries such as Albania and Bulgaria, and most of the times it was a permanent immigrant destination. Greece’s evolution from a country of emigration to an immigration one can be explained by the new geopolitical challenges in Europe and the Balkans, the
collapse of Communism and the dissolution of the labor market in southeastern Europe. This triggered a massive immigration wave into other European countries. Along with the fact that geographically Greece is considered a passage through to the Western European countries, it took a third migration “identity”, the one of a transit country. However, this paper does not examine the chronological history of immigration into Greece. It focuses on the period of massive post-communist emigration wave from Albania to Greece, between 1990 and 2010 in order to examine the level of integration of Albanian immigrants into the Greek society during these two decades. Firstly, a brief account of the historical background of post-communist Albanian emigration to Greece is given in order to introduce the subject of this study. Moreover, some statistical facts along with the immigration policies the Greek state has legislated are given in order to formulate a necessary basis for the studying and corroboration of the 5 hypotheses that I designed in order to examine the integration of Albanian immigrants in Greece. Furthermore, the theoretical study of integration of immigrants is done in order to understand the idea of it and to support and design my survey through questionnaires and an interview. Finally, the methodology and the findings of my survey are given.

In Chapter III: Immigration Policies and Laws in Greece related to Integration, I only examined the case of aliens of third country nationals excluding “homogeneis”\(^1\) from my immigration policy analysis since for “homogeneis” there is a different legal framework that defines their status and rights in Greece.

I should also mention here that whenever “He”, “His” or “Him” is mentioned, it was only used for the convenience of the reader and it represents both males and females.

\(^1\) For instance “homogeneis” are the Albanian citizens of Greek origin.
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Chapter I: History of post-communist Albanian emigration to Greece

The established political regime of Albania during the period after World War II until the end of the 80s played a significant role in the massive Albanian emigration wave. The communist regime of Enver Honxa followed a political strategy of isolation since the state eventually kept no economic or political contacts either with the West or the East. Albanian citizens could not experience free external movement since it was forbidden and were experiencing strict control of internal movement (King, 2003, pp.284-285). With the collapse of the Eastern Communist bloc in the early 90s, Albania was facing a serious financial crisis. According to Barjaba (2000, p.57), by the end of the year 1990, inflation had reached 350% while the GDP was steadily decreasing. Soon, thousands of Albanians tried to enter several Western embassies in Tirana asking for asylum (Barjaba, 2000, p.57; Vullnetari, 2007, p.31). Small but significant irregular emigration waves started to occur from Albania to Italy and Greece (Vullnetari, 2007, p.32).

After the first democratic national Albanian elections, the first emigration wave to Southern Italy in all kinds of boats occurred. Approximately 25,000 Albanian migrants who entered Italy in March 1991 were eventually accepted by the Italian authorities (King, 2003, p.287; Vullnetari, 2007, p.32). Soon a second emigration wave of 20,000 Albanian migrants arrived in Italy in shiploads but the endeavor was unsuccessful since most of them were deported after their arrival in Italy (King, 2003, p.288; Vullnetari, 2007, p.32). At the same time, a greater but less well-documented number of Albanian people were emigrating especially from the ethnic Greek border areas of Gjirokastër and Sarandë to Greece. Between 1993 and 1996, the Albanian migration movement remained constant due to remittances which resulted in a relative economic growth for Albania. According to Korovilas (Korovilas’ diary as cited in Vullnetari, 2007, p.33), the remittances represented one quarter of the country’s GDP in the mid 1990s. Nevertheless, the emigration movement continued due to the high rates of unemployment\(^1\) and due to the anti-communist political attitude which could bring “potential persecution or humiliation” to those who were in favor of the previous political regime. The estimated number of Albanian migrants abroad in the

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\(^1\) According to King (2003, p.288) the unemployment rate had reached 20% by the mid-1990s.
mid 1990s was approximately 400,000, of whom 90% was living in Greece (Vullnetari, 2007, p.33).

The next massive emigration exodus from Albania to Greece occurred in 1997. The political and economic conditions during 1996-97 started again to deteriorate. The situation got worse when the “pyramid” crisis occurred in 1997. The pyramid investment schemes were an economic phenomenon very important in terms of the social, political and economic turmoil that followed immediately after their collapse. Two thirds of the total Albanian population invested in the pyramid schemes and according to the World Bank, Albanians lost $1.2 billion of savings (half of the country’s GDP in 1996) (King, 2003, p.288). In addition, the largest share of the invested money in the pyramid schemes was the remittances of the Albanian migrants (King, 2003, p.288; Vullnetari, 2007, p.33). This loss triggered violent riots and soon Albania was in complete disorder especially in the south. According to Jarvis (2000, p.16), weapons were stolen from storage places, prisoners escaped and gangs were controlling the southern part of the country leading it to the brink of a civil war (Jarvis, 2000, p.16; Vullnetari, 2007, p.34, Perlmutter’s diary as cited in King, 2003, p.288). The death toll of this chaos was about 2,000 Albanian people (Jarvis, 2000, p.16). The expected result of this economic tragedy was a new massive emigration wave from Albania and especially from the southern part. According to King (2003, p.288) and Vullnetari (2007, p.34), approximately 10,600 Albanians immigrated into Italy and again a larger but undocumented number immigrated into Greece in 1997.

In 1999, a political-social issue triggered again a massive Albanian emigration exodus. Approximately half a million ethnic Albanian refugees from Kosovo arrived in Albania due to the ethnic cleansing of Slobodan Milošević’s regime (Vullnetari, 2007, p.34). This arrival of refugees brought instability mainly in the northern part of the country (Vullnetari, 2007, p.34). Along with Kosovo’s refugees, who were fleeing to EU asylum countries, Albanians emigrated again especially from the northern part of Albania (King, 2003, p.289; Vullnetari, 2007, p.34). Since 2000, the emigration flows from Albania have remained constant although some scholars indicate that Albanian emigration rates remained steady and high during the first two years of the 00s (Vullnetari, 2007, p.34-35). The country’s political and economic situation stabilized during the 00s and this decade was marked by a rather quiet atmosphere. Nevertheless, the poverty rates through the whole 00s were relatively high especially in the country’s rural areas (Vullnetari, 2007, p.35).
The post-communist period of Albanian immigration into Greece is characterized by the phenomenon of great masses of Albanian population fleeing to Greece in a very short period of time and it is a unique emigration case due to its major clandestine character (Vullnetari, 2007, p. 39). Some of the basic features of the “Albanian Model” of emigration, according to Barjaba (2000, pp.60-63) are the following:

First, it has an intensive character since Albania is considered to be the country with the highest emigration rate among the eastern bloc countries. Second, the major emigration reason is the economic one. By the collapse of the communist regime and especially in the early 1990s, the country was going through a serious economic recession with the business sector being constantly slack for most of the decade. Moreover, one major characteristic of the Albanian emigration has been the high level of irregularity. According to Vullnetari (2007, p.40), in a survey conducted in Greece in 1997, it was found that the ratio of regular to irregular Albanian migrants in Greece was 1: 40. Furthermore, another significant feature of the Albanian emigration is the phenomenon of to-and-fro movement and it applies especially in the Greek case (Barjaba, 2000, Vullnetari, 2007, p.41). This back and forth movement was mainly due to the repatriation process by the Greek authorities. Some of my interviewees, indeed, moved back and forth from Albania to Greece mainly due to their irregular status during the beginning of their stay. In two cases, they were caught by the police and were sent back to Albania and then again they entered Greece irregularly. I return to this issue in detail in Chapter VI: Aim and Findings, iia. Profile.

Chapter II: Statistical Facts

Although the inflow of immigrants to Greece in recent years, especially during the 1990s, was at its peak, the data about it are inadequate. According to IMEPO (2004, p.3), the major reasons were the massive irregular character of immigration, the practically non-existent collaboration of several Ministries on immigration issues while each of them maintained a relevant database and the confusion that the three regularization programs created. Greece was totally unprepared to host this significant influx of migrants mainly because it was unprecedented. In Greece, it was only in 1997 that the first regularization program for irregular migrants was launched. Almost
all of the 372,000 immigrants (mainly Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians) who applied for the six-month White Card managed to obtain it and this step was the first official documented data of immigrants in Greece (IMEPO, 2004, p.1). In 2001, a second regularization program was introduced and 220,000 immigrants were eventually regularized out of 368,000 (IMEPO, 2004, p.1).

According to IOM “The Republic of Albania, Migration Profile” (2007, p.14), 860,485 Albanians emigrated from their country i.e. 27.5% of the total Albanian population and 75% of the total population that emigrated from Albania is of male gender and 25% is of female. The following table shows the major destination countries of Albanian emigrants.

**TABLE 1: Major Destination Countries of Albanian emigrants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>434,810</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>348,813</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>113,661</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>14,935</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>11,630</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to IOM (2007, p.14), 14,080 out of the 860,485 total Albanian emigrants were refugees and 2,258 were asylum-seekers. While the above table shows a total number of 434,810 Albanians immigrating into Greece, the census of 2001 in Greece showed a total of 438,036 Albanian migrants residing in the country (Hellenic Statistical Authority, [ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ], 2010, Greek Census of 2001, Usual residence population by country of citizenship and sex). Since the early 1990s, the gap between male and female Albanian immigration has decreased significantly. According to IOM (2007, p. 15), the share of women in the total population of Albanian immigrants
in Greece during the 1990s was 20%. In the 2001 Census, it was shown that out of the total of 438,036 Albanians residing in Greece, 257,149 are men and 180,887 are women (Hellenic Statistical Authority, [ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ], 2010, Greek Census of 2001, Usual residence population by country of citizenship and sex). The 2001 Census in Greece has shown the following with regard to the reason of immigration: For more than half of the total Albanian immigrants in Greece, employment (usually dependent labor) was the only reason for their migration. 65,214 Albanians immigrated into Greece only for family reunification, 7,708 only for studies and 926 were asylum seekers, while only 35 were refugees (Hellenic Statistical Authority, [ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ], 2010, Greek Census of 2001, Usual residence population by country of citizenship and reason of entry in Greece).

According to the Greek Statistical Institute, the 2001 Census showed the following total of Albanian migrants residing in the prefectures of the research regions of this paper (i.e. Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki and Crete): in the prefecture of Thessaloniki, there were 31,611 Albanian residents and in the prefecture of Chalkidiki 5,037. In Crete, in the prefecture of Rethymno, there were 3,028 Albanian residents, in the prefecture of Chania 4,230 and in the prefecture of Heraklion 7,307 (Hellenic Statistical Authority, [ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ], 2010, Greek Census of 2001, Usual residence population by country of citizenship in Greece and in all Greek prefectures). The prefecture of the capital of Greece, Athens, holds the largest concentration of Albanian migrants: 145,544 (Hellenic Statistical Authority, [ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ], 2010, Greek Census of 2001, Usual residence population by country of citizenship in Greece and in all Greek prefectures).

Looking at the data of the 2001 Census TABLE 2 shows male Albanian immigrants’ occupations in Greece. It is clearly shown that the vast majority is working in the construction sector. The principal employment for female Albanian immigrants is “Other Services”. This, in my opinion includes cleaning and housekeeping services and the care of elderly people since many scholars have found evidence of a great number of Albanian female immigrants in Greece working in that sector. I myself have found the same evidence in my research although my sample cannot be considered representative. Second, most common economic activity for Albanian male immigrants in Greece is agriculture and forestry, whilst for Albanian female immigrants in Greece it is the tourist industry i.e. trade, repairs, hotels and restaurants. According to the same Census, with regard to the individual job category, most of the Albanian working immigrants defined themselves as technicians, operators of
vehicles, unskilled workers and small business owners. More specifically, there are 134,905 Albanian male and 36,934 Albanian female immigrants respectively (Hellenic Statistical Authority, [ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ], 2010, Greek Census of 2001, Usual residence population by country of citizenship in Greece and labor activity).

The assessment of the size of irregular migration in a country is an extremely difficult task and procedure. Although the responsible ministries and institutions had a great lack of clear and official data, some serious attempts to gather information on irregular migration in Greece were made by some institutions. In 2008, Greece had almost 200,000 irregular immigrants (SOPEMI, 2010, p.208). The influx of irregular migrants in Greece showed an increasing tendency according to the data available until 2009. In 2008, the number of irregular immigrants in Greece increased by 30% over the year 2007 and 54% the year 2006 (SOPEMI, 2010, p.208). For various reasons (mainly difficulties), the assessment of irregular migrants by nationality in Greece was even harder. Usually, there are only unofficial estimations based on the arrest and deportation data of the Greek Police, the data of the local authorities and the data of immigrants’ associations. According to IOM (2007, p.20, Table 5), in 2003, there were 34,882 Albanian irregular migrants in Greece. According to IMEPO (2008, p.16), 53,424 Albanian irregular migrants were arrested on the Greek-Albanian borders in 2007, while according to Ersida Sefa (2009), 16,032 Albanian irregular migrants were arrested in 2008.
**TABLE 2: Employed Albanian Immigrants by sex and groups of branches of economic labor activity in Greece**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Agriculture, forestry and fishery</th>
<th>Mining and quarrying</th>
<th>Manufacturing industry</th>
<th>Electricity, gas and water</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Trade, Repairs, Hotels and Restaurants</th>
<th>Transport, Storage and Communication</th>
<th>Financial Intermediation</th>
<th>Other Services</th>
<th>Unclear or not stated economic activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male Albanian immigrants</strong></td>
<td>172,135</td>
<td>38,970</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>20,352</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>72,097</td>
<td>20,339</td>
<td>4,029</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>6,039</td>
<td>9,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female Albanian immigrants</strong></td>
<td>54,165</td>
<td>8,089</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4,850</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>10,211</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>27,481</td>
<td>2,560</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Hellenic Statistical Authority (ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ) according to the Greek Census of 2001
Chapter III: Immigration Policies and Laws in Greece related to Integration

In the 1990s, in Greece, there was no recent, coherent and complete legal framework for the entry, work and residence of immigrants. The only relevant existing legal framework was the Law 4310 from 1929 (Hatziprokopiou, 2003, p.1036). This law was the first Aliens Act in Greece that was monitoring the movement and establishment of foreign nationals including the border police passport controls, expulsions and extraditions. The urgency of the tense historical-political atmosphere between Turkey and Greece in the early years of 1920s created this law. After the Greek-Turkish war in 1922 and after being persecuted by the Turkish State, a massive Greek refugee wave from Asia Minor fled to Greece. In order to define and regulate this whole unprecedented issue, the Greek government introduced the L4210/1929 (Emmanouilidi, 2003, p.22).

Since 1990, small and slow steps have been taken in the immigration policy and law area. The decade of 1990 in Greece is characterized by few but important initiatives in immigration policy. Several historical-political and socioeconomic events during the postwar period, such as the end of the Cold War, the oil crisis and especially the collapse of Communism in the former Soviet Union as well as the ensuing collapse of the other communist regimes of Eastern Europe brought about tension and changes in the European population. Due to these global socioeconomic and political events, due to the fact that in the 90s several Western European countries started to strengthen their immigration policies by a more strict logic while Greece had no immigration policy but was already a European member state and due to the complete lack of social mechanisms and governmental provision needed in order to facilitate integration, Greece faced a massive irregular immigration wave in the early 1990s.

The first Law addressing and trying to combat irregular immigration was the Law1975 introduced in 1991. This law basically tried to define the monitoring and controlling of the Greek borders, while according to the article 36, it annulled the L4310/1929. The L1975/1991 defined basic and major immigration concepts such as the definition of an alien and residence with regard to duration and reason for stay. It enabled the Ministry of Public Order to grant the Residence Permit and introduced the unwanted entrants’ list, which actually forbade immigrants of specific foreign nationality to enter the country (FEK A’184, L1975/1991, art.11). According to the articles 13, 14, 15 and 16 (FEK A’184, L1975/1991), the residence permits introduced...
were for work, for family reunification, for studies and for refugees respectively, whilst there was also the provision of short-stay residence permit according to which the foreign national could stay in Greece for 3 months (FEK A’184, L1975/1991, art.12, par.2). With already having a preapproval in order to work, the alien could enter Greece and apply for a one-year residence permit which could be renewed every year up to five years (FEK A’184, L1975/1991, art.13, par.1). After a total of five years, the alien had to either leave Greece or apply for a two-year residence permit and eventually after completing a total of 15 years of regular stay in Greece and social insurance for 120 months, he could apply for a residence permit of indefinite duration (FEK A’184, L1975/1991, art.13, par.2,3,4).

Another interesting issue is paragraph 3 of the article 23, according to which the work permit was valid only for a particular employer, economic labor activity and venue of work, while any change of these conditions without the approval of the Minister of Labor or any empowered authority by him meant the annulment of the work permit. Finally, the most significant element of this law was the sanction on smugglers and owners of the transportation means that carried the irregular migrants, the employers who employed migrants without a work permit and on irregular migrants. The sanctions were pecuniary penalty and imprisonment. The smugglers were subject to imprisonment of at least 1 year and pecuniary penalty of 100,000 up to 1,000,000 drachmas. The employers who employed migrants without a work permit and those who facilitated the illegal stay of a migrant or those who impeded the work of police officers were subject to 3 months’ imprisonment and a fine of at least 100,000 drachmas. Irregular immigrants were subject to imprisonment of 3 months and pecuniary penalty of 100,000 drachmas (FEK A’184, L1975/1991, art.4, 10, 33).

The first serious regularization program came six years after the L1975/1991 was introduced. Racism and xenophobia rose and immigrants became the scapegoats for every criminal act since the L1975/1991 was based on a xenophobic logic with the empowerment of police control and total neglect of social inclusion of immigrants (Emmanouilidi, 2003, p.27). The Presidential Decrees 358 and 359 from 1997 were drafted in order to regularize irregular migrants and actually protect them from being

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1 The Greek Drachma is no longer in use and it was replaced with Euro on 01/01/01. One Euro is equivalent to 340, 75 Drachmas. Therefore 100,000dr \(\approx\) 300€ and 1,000,000 dr \(\approx\) 3,000€.
exploited by their employers. The main purpose of these Presidential Decrees was to first officially attempt to record the existing irregular immigrant population in Greece (which at the time the Presidential Decrees were published had reached an unprecedented number) and the regularization of all irregular immigrants who had been living and working illegally in the country. The Presidential Decree 358/1997 introduced the temporary residence permit card for aliens or the so-called White Card. This card, regardless of the date that it was granted, should expire on 31.12.1998 i.e. almost a year after the commencement of the PD 358/1997 (FEK A’240, PD 358/1997, art.2, par.4). This regularization program could not be characterized strict since in order to convince all irregular immigrants to show up and register, it did not request many obligatory required documents. This was something expected and understandable since it was a common fact that most of the irregular immigrants had no official documents. Therefore, most of the required documents for registration should be submitted only if they existed (FEK A’240, PD 358/1997, art.2, par.2). With this Presidential Decree, apart from the irregular immigrant, the employer of an irregular immigrant had to declare this employment i.e. register the irregular migrant to the responsible department of O.A.E.Δ.¹

At the same time, the PD 358/1997 disregarded any previous claims against employers by the National Insurance Funds that had been made before the date of registration (FEK A’240, PD 358/1997, art.3, par.3). Basically, this regularization program was mandatory and had a character of enforcement since any irregular immigrant who did not apply for the White Card during the five month registration period would face immediate expulsion from the country (FEK A’240, PD 358/1997, art2, par.7). The wife and children (who are minors) of the alien holder of the White Card that resided with him in Greece could not be deported during the duration of validity of the Card (FEK A’240, PD 358/1997, art.2, par.3). The most important issue of this Decree was the fact that the alien holder of the White card had equal labor rights and duties with regard to the salary and working conditions to a Greek worker (FEK A’240, PD 358/1997, art.4, par.1).

The main purpose of the Presidential Decree 359/1997 was the tackling of irregular immigration by providing the Residence permit of limited duration or the so-called Green Card. The provisions of this Decree would apply to those aliens who had

¹ The Employment and Manpower Organization (supervised by the Ministry of Labor).
already submitted the application and documents required by article 2 of PD 358/1997 or to those who had already been provided with the White Card (FEK A’240, PD 359/1997, art.1, par.2). Basic eligibility criterion for the Green Card was the proof of employment. The proof needed for an alien who was a free lancer or contracted was the invoice stamped by the Local Revenue Office that would prove the salary of an unskilled worker of at least 40 working days from 1.1.1998 until the date he submitted the required documents and for the alien who worked for one or more employers was the National Insurance Funds stamps that would as well prove the salary of an unskilled worker of at least 40 working days from 1.1.1998 until the date he submitted the required documents (FEK A’240, PD 359/1997, art.2, par.1). The duration of the Green Card was valid for one to three years and could be renewed once or more times for two years if the applicant met the conditions and requirements (FEK A’240, PD 359/1997, art.3, par.1, 3).

Interesting is the fact that the alien who, at the time of submission of initial application, proved that he had been residing in Greece for at least five years and was able to maintain himself financially, could actually be provided with a five-year residence permit after the Committee’s approval (FEK A’240, PD 359/1997, art.3, par.5). According to paragraph 6 of the same article (FEK A’240, PD 359/1997), the alien who held this five-year residence permit could request his family unification either by his family’s entry into Greece or by his family not being deported. The major difference between the two Presidential Decrees apart from the provision of Different Residence permits was the fact that in the case of the Green Card, if the irregular immigrant failed to acquire it, he could actually appeal against OAEA’s negative decision (FEK A’240, PD 359/1997, art.5, par.2). According to Emmanouilidi (2003, p.30), 212,860 out of 371,641 White Card applicants applied for the Green Card, while approximately 150,000 irregular immigrants did not apply, not even for the White Card. In addition, what is quite impressive is the fact that more than 2/3 of the White and Green Card applicants were Albanian (Emmanouilidi, 2003, p.30).

The next immigration policy step was the issue of the acquisition of the Greek citizenship by means of naturalization and it was introduced by the Law 2910/2001 (Emmanouilidi, 2003, p.32). This law stipulated a number of innovative issues concerning the entry and residence of foreign immigrants in Greece. First of all, it introduced the provision of the “Immigration Committee” in each Greek region which
would have a consultative character by formulating an opinion on the provision or renewal of an immigrant’s residence permit (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.9). A number of reforms included an analytical list of immigrants’ entry reasons: Studies (art. 10-18), dependent employment (art.19-24), independent economic activity (art.25-27), family reunification (art.28-33), and other reasons (art.34-38). The entry of immigrants based on the above reasons required the special entry VISA and those regular immigrants who wished to stay longer had to apply for residence permit two months before the VISA expiration (Emmanouilidi, 2003, p.64).

In addition, this law defined the rights and duties of foreign immigrants and it paved the way for immigrants’ integration. An example of this is the fact that regular immigrants were insured in the National Insurance Funds and enjoyed the same insurance rights as Greek citizens (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.39, par.1). In the same chapter, in article 40 the issue of education for the immigrants’ children who were minors was introduced. According to it all immigrants’ children were obliged to attend minimum schooling even if their parents were not yet regular (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, par.3). It is worth noting that this law obliged aliens’ and migration services as well as municipalities to keep aliens’ registration data (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art., par.1). Moreover, this law stipulated the duties and sanctions more extensively than the L1975/1991 did, by enforcing harder sanctions on smugglers and owners of the transportation means that carried the irregular migrants, employers who employed migrants without a work permit and irregular migrants, but also on civil services and civil servants and notaries and finally on traffickers (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.50-56).

The additional institutional innovations of this law were: the jurisdiction it gave to the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization in order to coordinate the Greek immigration policy; the creation of the Direction of Aliens and Migration and of corresponding Directions in every county of the regions (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.56-56); the recommendation of Employment Agencies abroad that could call interested foreigners to work in Greece (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.19, par.3); the arrangement of deportation issues including the creation of special centers of temporary detention of aliens (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.42-48); the reduction in the length of the required total regular stay of an immigrant in Greece in order for him to obtain the residence permit of indefinite duration (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.22, par.2) One of the most significant elements introduced by this law was the acquisition
of the Greek citizenship by means of naturalization (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.58-64). According to this, an alien could obtain the Greek citizenship by means of naturalization if he were an adult at the time he submitted his application for naturalization, if there was no pending decision for his deportation and if he had not been sentenced to any deprivation of freedom. In the case where the alien has not been born in Greece, he could obtain Greek citizenship if he had lived regularly in Greece for ten years during the last twelve years before the submission of his application for naturalization and if he were adequately knowledgeable of the Greek language, history and civilization (FEK A’91, L2910/2001, art.58, par.1). This time condition did not apply to those who had been born and resided continuously in Greece and for the spouses of Greek citizens who also resided continuously in Greece (FEK A’91, L2910/2001 art.58, par.2, a). The Amendment Laws 3013/2002 and 3103/2003 extended all the residence permits (each one of the laws gave an extension for an additional six month period) i.e. L2910/2001 extended them until 30.06.2002, AL3013/2002 until 31.12.2002 and the AL3103/2003 until 30.06.2003 (Emmanouilidi, 2003, pp.52-53).

The next immigration policy step was the Law 3386 of 2005, which basically repeated and refined basic definitions linked to immigration, procedures for entry control, general conditions for the provision of residence permits and their renewal, general rights and duties of third-country nationals, general duties and sanctions but most importantly it introduced the issue of social integration of immigrants and of the general state of a long-term resident (FEK A’212, L3386/2005). One of the most significant issues of this law was the recommendation of an Inter-ministerial Committee addressing and monitoring immigration policy (FEK A’212, L3386/2005, art.3, par.1). This Committee would consist of the Ministers of the Interior, Public administration and Decentralization, Culture, Development, Education and Religious Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Health and Welfare, Justice, Labor and Social Affairs, Public Order, National Defense, Agriculture, Mercantile Marine and National Economy while its objective would be the treatment of migration issues both regular and irregular and the issuing of guidelines and monitoring the responsible institutions (FEK A’212, L3386/2005, art.3, par.2). The chapter on the social integration recommended the Integrated Action Plan by the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, according to which a number of social rights of regular immigrants were guaranteed and a series of actions were provided. Such
actions included the certified knowledge of the Greek language, courses on history, civilization and lifestyle of Greek society, integration in the Greek labor market and active participation in the Greek society (FEK A’212, L3386/2005, art.66). In addition, this Action Plan takes into consideration the second and third generation immigrants (FEK A’212, L3386/2005, art.65, par.2). In the chapter of the general state of a long-term resident, the required total regular stay of an immigrant in Greece in order to obtain the residence permit of indefinite duration was reduced to five successive years of regular residence in the country (FEK A’212, L3386/2005, art.67, par.1).

With the Law 3536 of 2007, a National Committee for the Social Integration of Immigrants is recommended by the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization and it consists of several Ministers and representatives of public institutions linked to immigration issues. The committee’s task was, firstly, to submit proposals and suggest actions conducive to implementing the social integration of immigrants to the Inter-ministerial Committee of art.3, L3386/2005 and, secondly, to hold social dialogue and dialogue with the community of citizens for the formation of policies that promote the integration of immigrants in all sectors in accordance with the International and European Law. This committee would write an annual report which would record the developments in relation to issues of social integration of immigrants on a national and international scale and this report would be submitted to Parliament (FEK A’42, L3536/2007, art.1, par.1, 2, 4, 5). One of the most significant issues settled by the Greek immigration policy was Law 3731 of 2008 whereby the children of third country nationals who were born and resided in Greece and whose parents still resided regularly in the country, after completing their 18th year of age and primary and secondary education could obtain the status of long-term resident (FEK A’263, L3731/2008, art.40, par.7).

Finally, the last immigration law at the time this research paper is being written is Law 3838 of 2010, which was a great immigration policy step for the integration procedure of immigrants. This law introduced the issue of Greek citizenship in a more detailed, refined and modified way and, more importantly, it eventually gave to regular immigrants, under certain conditions, the right of civil and political participation in Greece. With regard to the citizenship issue by means of naturalization, the children of aliens acquire the Greek citizenship only if both their parents live and reside regularly in Greece and due to birth in Greece or attendance of
Greek school (FEK A’49, L3838/2010, art.1, par.2, Ia., art.1A, par.3). Therefore, an alien’s child who is born and continues to reside in Greece and whose parents still reside regularly in the country for at least five successive years obtains the Greek citizenship at the moment of its birth after his parents register it at the Registry Office of its residence and an alien’s child who has attended at least six years of Greek schooling and lives regularly and permanently in the country also obtains the Greek citizenship at the time it completes the 6th year of Greek schooling after its parents register it at the Registry Office of its residence (FEK A’49, L3838/2010, art.1A, par.1,2).

In the analysis of the Greek immigration policy linked to integration of immigrants, one of the most significant references observed in this law was paragraph 1b of the article 3, 5A (FEK A’49, L3838/2010) according to which:

“He must have integrated normally into the economic and social life of the country. For the confirmation of the normal integration of the applicant into the Greek society, particularly the following elements are considered: The applicant’s familiarity with the Greek History and Greek culture, his professional and in general his economic activity, possible activities for the public good, possible studies at Greek institutions of education or his participation in community organisations or associations, members of which are Greek citizens, possible family relation and relation by marriage to a Greek citizen, regular fulfilment of his tax obligations as well as his obligations to social security organisations, ownership of property for residence and generally his assets.”

Establishing the conditions required for naturalization, the legislators actually defined in a way the integration procedure of an immigrant. With regard to the civil and political participation of immigrants in the Greek society, a great step has been taken with this law. Article 14 declares the right to vote and article 17 the right to be elected though only in the elections of the primary local government (FEK A’49, L3838/2010, art.14, 17). These rights can be exercised only after registering in the special electoral lists and if certain conditions are met. In the case of the right to vote, the applicant should be at least 18 years old, free of any convictions of an offence and be entitled to one of the several regular residents’ categories of aliens in Greece that are mentioned in paragraph 3 of article 14 (art.14, regular residents). In the case of the
right to be elected, the applicant should be at least 21 years old, be knowledgeable of the Greek language, renounce his foreign citizenship and have a valid title of residence in the country (FEK A’49, L3838/2010, art.17).

Finally, after the examination of all these immigration policies in order to check for the state’s initiatives to integrate immigrants, it became clear that the problems emerging during the last two decades with regard to immigration issues pressed the Greek state to realize, although with a great delay, the need for progressive immigration policies. “Integration” of immigrants is legally introduced, although as a concept it still is in at an early policy stage as the above analysis of the Greek immigration policies has shown.

Chapter IV: Integration Theories

This chapter will analyze the concept and content of the integration of immigrants as it is researched and argued by several scholars. In order to proceed to integration policies, it is important to define the meaning and content of integration of immigrants. Generally speaking, according to Esser (2000), social integration consists of four major parts: Acculturation, which is a procedure where a person has all these social and cultural requirements in order to communicate within a society; Placement, which means that a person acquires a status in the society e.g. by his profession or simply by being a citizen; Interaction, which includes all forms of relationships between people within a society and Identification, which means that a person has the feeling of belonging into a society (Esser’s diary as cited in Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.3).

A series of several terms has been given to conceive the general idea of integration of immigrants, such as absorption, adaptation, race relations cycle, assimilation, acculturation, inclusion, incorporation (Heckmann’s diary as cited in Boswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.2). Boswick & Heckmann (2006) argue on what differentiates assimilation from integration. Assimilation has been viewed by many scholars a partial procedure in which the only actors are the immigrants who are expected to abandon their original cultural background and adjust to the new one. While stressing
that assimilation in the past seemed to have a very negative connotation mainly because it became attached to the general suppression of ethnic minorities experienced by totalitarian regimes in Europe during the late 19th and early 20th century, they conclude that although “assimilation means the lessening of social difference between groups” it is still better to use the word integration instead (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, pp.4-6).

The large number of migrants immigrating into Europe has rendered *multiculturalism* a major topic of debate that according to Bosswick & Heckmann (2006, p.7) is linked to integration. Multiculturalism is defined as the “altered ethnic composition of the population” and by giving it a really positive connotation Bosswick & Heckmann argue that what is happening is an exchange of different cultures, customs and habits between the immigrants and the host society. “Cultural changes” in the societies occur since immigrants bring with them their traditions, a certain lifestyle, food tastes and religion practices while they also adjust to the new ones in the host society (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.7). Penninx refers to immigrants’ organizations with a cultural, religious or other character as an extension of individual immigrants and he stresses that they might get integrated or marginalized depending on the receiving society while Bosswick & Heckmann believe that these organizations might be necessary for the immigrants but eventually become an impediment to their long-term integration (Penninx, 2005, p.143; Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.8). Heisler (1992), although admitting that multiculturalism “may be appealing as an ideal” considers it absurd in practice and concludes that it might be dangerous for the cohesion of the society and the political community (Heisler, 1992, p.635) Indeed, *multiculturalism* has been regarded with a lot of doubts and quite negatively by some critics who view it as an obstacle for homogeneity and integration since it brings “problematic, pre-modern, and possibly inhuman practices” by means of the differentiation in customs and Bosswick & Heckmann (2006) conclude that due to the confusion this concept creates around integration, it is better to clarify its meaning before referring to it (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.8).

It took quite some time in Europe until the meaning and content of immigrants’ integration was established as an indispensable process for a society’s cohesion. In 1984, Hoskin makes reference to integration of foreign workers and not immigrants due to the temporary feature of their stay in a country (Hoskin, 1984). From her paper, which actually examines the public opinion on integration or nonintegration of foreign
workers in West Germany in the mid 80s, it seems that the idea of integration is quite blurry while, of course, the integration policies were very poor to nonexistent (Hoskin, 1984, p.669). More than a decade afterwards, Bauböck explains the different or similar reactions to immigration and integration policies by analyzing the formation of a political community in cases of four states/unions (Bauböck, 2001). Therefore, he refers to integration as having a “transnational perspective” since this perspective points out the continuing and evolving process of mixed societies and cultures which eventually might be part of a greater polity with “political authority, bounded territory and historical horizon” (Bauböck, 2001, p.48, 49). By several scholars, integration is not regarded as a concept completed but as a procedure that takes place in different stages between the society and immigrants and takes time (Penninx, 2005; Bosswick &Heckmann, 2006). Penninx especially defines integration as “the process of becoming an accepted part of the society” and simultaneously he criticizes it by arguing that it does not refer to the conditions needed for acceptance while the concept includes only the procedure and not the result of being integrated (Penninx, 2005, p.141). Bosswick &Heckmann (2006, p.11) use the term social integration as for integration of immigrants, which as a process cannot be achieved if it does not work both ways. However, it has a different meaning for the parts involved.

According to them:

“For immigrants, integration is learning a new culture, acquiring rights and obligations, gaining access to positions and social status, building social relationships with members of the host society and forming a feeling of belonging to, and identification with that society. For the host society, integration means opening up institutions and granting equal opportunities to immigrants.”(Bosswick &Heckmann, 2006, p.11)

Penninx also refers to immigrants and the society in which they want to integrate as the actors involved in the integration procedure, with the latter being more dominant and powerful over the former (Penninx, 2005, p.142). Bosswick &Heckmann converge on that by stressing that the relationship between those two actors is unequal and partial with the immigrants being at a disadvantage compared to the host society (Bosswick &Heckmann, 2006, p.11).
According to Heisler (1992), the key factor for integration of immigrants as several social movements had proved until the time of her paper is the right to citizenship, which is very fundamental and it needs to include the immigrants into the context of the already existing social-civil rights or develop “new types of rights or new components of already existing rights” (Heisler, 1992, p.638). As it is claimed by Bauböck (2001) integration of immigrants has three conceptual dimensions: Firstly, it means the immigrants’ “inclusion” into a settled social system; moreover, it expresses the “cohesion” of that settlement and finally it refers to a “federation” procedure, a union among several societies that reminds the “European integration” (Bauböck, 2001, pp.47-48)

Some other scholars created by definition integration typologies that clearly show the domains in which immigrants become incorporated. Penninx (2005) formed an immigrants’ integration typology with citizenship as the main core. He distinguished the citizenship into three categories, the legal/political, the socio-economic and the cultural-religious one (Penninx, 2005, p.139). The first one refers to the immigrant’s residence and civil rights and duties; the second one to the immigrant’s social and economic rights i.e. the level of access into the labor market, employment insurance and benefits and the third one to the immigrant’s possibility of forming his cultural and religious identity (Penninx, 2005, p.139). Furthermore, he emphasizes the importance of the existence of all three categories together mentioned above and stresses that the existence of only the first one (legal-political), which is often the case for many European countries, it is not sufficient but could be the leading way to improvement of the other two equally significant categories (Penninx, 2005, p.140, 142).

Bosswick & Heckmann (2006) created a typology slightly different in form by categorizing social integration into four major types: structural integration, which basically accounts for all the civil rights but also for the admission to the “economy and labor market, education and qualification systems, the housing system, welfare state institutions (including the health system)”; cultural integration, which is the process where people mix each other’s different cultures and basically alter their cultural habits and according to Bosswick & Heckmann (2006) this type reminds the term acculturation of Esser (2000); interactive integration, is a process of “acceptance of immigrants” which basically includes all the forms of relationships between the immigrants and native people of the host society. Finally, the
identificational integration is when the immigrant develops the feeling of “belonging” to the receiving country by identifying his beliefs with the corresponding ones of the host society.

This last type is of great significance since it is often linked to distorted models of identificational integration such as segmented integration. Integration into the host society, can also be obstructed when immigrants as members of their ethnic colony reproduce their own ethnic identity which results in social segregation from the majority culture. Apart from the immigration issue, a society is by itself diverse, often producing social discrimination against certain social groups and thus, marginalizing them. Indeed, it is also possible for immigrants to integrate into those sub-cultural social groups driven by poverty or by exclusion from the main core institutions of the host society and so become isolated not only from the host society but from the ethnic colony, too (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, pp.9-11).

There is convergence among several scholars on the significance of the local government’s role in the integration process. According to Bosswick & Heckmann (2006), the integration process takes place in the society particularly at a local and regional level (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.9). For Penninx, especially the local government is a key factor in creating the opportunity for immigrants’ political participation. It is of great importance to have a common and united European immigration policy towards integration and furthermore, a national framework guided by a European suggestion on the integration issue. However, it is the local level that has a more direct and realistic relationship with immigrants’ needs and problems and thus it should be given more jurisdiction and funds in order to act effectively (Penninx, 2005, p.144, 145, 149).

Penninx by comparing different reactions of immigrants and receiving countries proposes three key points important for integration policies. First of all, the immigrant and especially the long-term one should have a “secure legal position” and have and exercise his civil rights by participating into the political sector. Bosswick & Heckmann agree by stressing that immigrants should be involved as participants in the policy process and they all converge on the idea of a combination of top-down along with bottom-up immigration policy making (Penninx, 2005, p.144; Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.12). Moreover, for Penninx, the content of an integration policy and process should be clarifying by pointing out the substantial sectors in which the immigrant should initially have access to i.e. labor market, education, housing and
health and in the long run to the cultural sector as well. Finally, in the process of integration policies, there should be involvement of several actors both at local and national level creating in this way an open and pluralistic dialogue and a more “diverse” society (Penninx, 2005, p.144).

Bosswick & Heckmann outline, propose and categorize the social integration policies in correspondence with their integration typology analyzed above and their suggestions could best be materialized at a municipal level according to them. Therefore, there are the structural integration policies which include: policies for the labor market, ethnic entrepreneurship and self employment, where several programs could be organized for the training of the unemployed or support of ethnic small businesses in various ways; policies for education and vocational training, where the municipalities could support immigrant children with programs such as language training or mentoring in difficulties with school and in the case of vocational training they could support young immigrants’ transition from school to labor market; policies for housing and the health system, where the authors emphasize the problematic phenomenon of immigrants’ concentration in underdeveloped areas of the cities and propose programs of improvement of the local infrastructure; policies on naturalization which despite being introduced by the national government at the municipal level, could include programs about “citizenship courses and naturalization ceremonies” and policies that would encourage civic participation of immigrants (for which prerequisite is the acquisition of citizenship through naturalization), where the authors propose at a municipal level (if not at a national level) the representation of immigrant communities by an elected body formed by immigrants themselves or their associations and moreover, the general support of immigrants’ associations by any means (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, pp.12-15). Another dimension of social integration policies is the one of cultural integration policies, which includes support with several programs for language learning, religious practice issues, sports activities and generally for immigrants’ cultural activities. Furthermore, there are the interactive integration policies, which cannot do much at a legal level but could “influence the conditions, likelihood and opportunities for people of different ethnic groups to meet and form relationships” (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.15). Finally, the last dimension is the one of identificational integration policies, where the municipalities could encourage immigrants’ identification with the host society’s institutions through a general support and campaign that promote multiculturalism, naturalization
ceremonies and acceptance of immigrants’ religious and cultural associations (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.15).

As it seems, the concept and meaning of integration of immigrants into the societies they have chosen to enter are issues of considerable debate, particularly among scholars, policy-makers and countries themselves which are faced with the impacts of (fast) increasing globalisation and consequently the idea of multiculturalism. For some countries, the idea of integration (of immigrants) constitutes a threat while for others it is the peaceful co-existence of the native population with the immigrants. Regardless of the way a country perceives the meaning of integration, it is a process that requires particular attention. On the whole, integration, whose implementation takes time, is a most necessary process, as it is maintained by most scholars.

Chapter V: Methodology of the research

This paper presents the findings of the fieldwork research on integration of Albanian immigrants in three specific regions in Greece: Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki and Crete. The fieldwork research included questionnaires and in-depth interviews which I designed based on certain initial hypotheses that I wanted to examine (which I will analyze later) and were conducted in the above three specific regions of Greece in May of 2010 and from 01.08.10 to 05.11.10. I distributed 100 questionnaires 60 of which were returned and conducted 8 interviews.

The reason behind the specific choice of the three regions lies in the combination of types of sampling of my questionnaires and interviews. My sample was selected with the use of a combination of “convenience sampling”, “quota sampling” and “snowball sampling” methods. I chose those three regions since Thessaloniki is my hometown, Chalkidiki is where I have spent my summers ever since I was born and Crete is where I lived for almost four years during my studies. Therefore, I am personally affiliated with those regions. In addition, I had the time and the means to visit all three places during the research period but mainly Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki where I had the availability of my own town house and my summer house respectively while in Crete, due to the fact that I stayed for some days at a friend’s house and the rest of the days I had to rent a room, I could not stay long enough and this fact prevented me
from having more questionnaires and interviews from there. At the same time, I limited my sample to those three regions because I wanted to find out any existing differences or similarities among these regions with regard to certain dimensions of integration. Although the dimension linked to the civil/legal/political rights applies in all Greek territories, the social community formation and cultural mentality might vary among these regions due to their different geographical and demographical formation i.e. Thessaloniki is a big city, Chalkidiki is a province and Crete is a big island, and thus the access to specific occupations or cultural and interactive dimensions of integration might differ.

Moreover, the use of the snowball method or chain-referral sampling as Tansey (2007, p.770) mentions it, was the most appropriate due to the fact that I needed a specific sample size in a relatively restricted time frame and I would perhaps need more time to conduct this survey if I did not make use of this sampling method. In addition, as it is claimed by Biernacki and Waldord (1981), this method is “commonly used in sociological studies on hidden populations that may be involved in sensitive issues or illegal activities, such as drug use and prostitution” (Biernacki’s and Waldord’s diary as cited in Tansey, 2007, p.770). Although my case does not fit totally in the above frame, I believe that I dealt with a sensitive issue such as the inclusion in or exclusion of immigrants from the society they are living in and many times I encountered “hidden population” such as the irregular immigrants.

Finally, due to the non-probability types of sampling used for this fieldwork research, it is impossible to draw general conclusions from this sample on a wider population of Albanian immigrants even in these specific regions in Greece of this study. Besides, the purpose of this study is not to make generalizations on a whole population group but to reveal some interesting and important findings which I believe to be rich in qualitative results.

i. **Questionnaires**

The questionnaire consisted of 39 questions most of which in multiple choice and some in open-ended format. In the questionnaire I initially informed the respondents about the purpose of the questionnaire and the content of the research and stated that this research was anonymous. These 39 questions were divided into four thematic categories: General, legal and civil issues, social and economic, and cultural and religious. The procedure of approaching Albanian immigrants to ask them to complete
the questionnaires was the following: I basically distributed them to any Albanian immigrant that I knew and to my friends and relatives who knew some Albanian immigrants, asking them to answer the questionnaires and at the same time to pass them on to other Albanian immigrants they knew (always in these three regions of the study). All questionnaires were in Greek. There was also a 40th question in the end asking if the respondent would like to further participate in the research by being interviewed and I provided my contact details. In most cases, a questionnaire was not followed by an interview.

ii. Interviews

Apart from the questionnaire which was the crucial tool for my results, another important tool for the purpose of this study was the interview. In-depth interviews can be rich in qualitative information and provide, as Crouch and McKenzie (2006, p.487) claim, a better understanding of the respondents’ social conditions of living while at the same time we cannot draw general conclusions on the social living frame out a limited number of individual interviews (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006, p.490). However, the in-depth interview is indeed an important personal experience testimony that cannot be ignored.

The interviews were designed in semi-structure format, allowing the interviewee to talk freely about his experiences within a subject frame. There was no strict time restriction but generally the duration of each interview was approximately half an hour. In the interview, I initially informed the respondents about its purpose and the content of the research and stated that the research was anonymous. It consisted of 11 questions divided into six thematic categories: Language issues, employment, Greek citizenship, housing, marriage issues, socializing and difficulties. All interviews were conducted in Greek, were recorded with the consensus of the interviewee, then transcribed and translated into English. Most of the interviews were conducted face-to-face in the houses of the interviewees and some of them by telephone between me and the interviewee. From an ethnographic point of view, in all the interviews which I conducted in the houses of the interviewees I would say, I had an “observer-as-participant” (Aggrossino, 2007, p.54) role, where, only for ethnographic reasons I observed while interviewing emotional reactions in case they would help me interpret the whole procedure of the interview but I did not take notes as my study’s purpose
did not include pure ethnographic tools. Therefore, in general, most of the interviewees during the interview were relaxed and completely forgot the presence of the tape-recorder, enjoyed the fact that they were being interviewed but they were sometimes nervous when talking about their difficulties (6th category). I also noticed that most of them before, during and after the interview in their house were communicating with other present members of the family in Albanian but also a lot of times in Greek.

iii. Problems

Most of the respondents, if not all of them spoke Greek very well with regard to communication skills needed in order for me to conduct the interviews but also as shown from the answers to the questionnaires, most of which were clear. Unfortunately, I do not know the Albanian language, which would be an asset to my research as a means of approaching the respondents and perhaps making the whole procedure easier for them. Therefore, the issue of the language spoken in the interviews and written in the questionnaires along with the fact that I could perhaps be seen as a member of the “receiving host society”, since I am Greek, might have caused concern about the reliability of the results. Last but not least, I have to admit that although the respondents of the questionnaires and interviewees were very willing to help and participate, I also had a lot of rejections. A lot of the rejections came from both irregular immigrants and regular ones who had no time due to their tight working schedule, as they told me.

Chapter VI: Aim and Findings

i. Aim

The aim of this study is to examine the degree of integration of the Albanian immigrants in Greece and more specifically in the following three Greek regions: Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki and Crete. My questionnaire’s and interview’s design was based on the integration literature I analyzed in the “Chapter IV: Integration theory” of this paper. Concerning all authors’ (who were studied here) frameworks on integration I formed 3 simple categories following a sector of general questions:

- Civil, Political and Legal
The research is based on five general hypotheses linked with the integration of Albanian immigrants in Greece. These are the following:

1. Most of the Albanian immigrants obtain a residence permit of dependent labor. This hypothesis is based on the statistical findings in Chapter II: Statistical Facts about the reasons for entrance of Albanian immigrants into Greece.
2. Most of the Albanian male immigrants have taken jobs in the construction industry. This hypothesis is based on the statistical findings shown in TABLE 2 in Chapter II: Statistical Facts about occupations of male Albanian immigrants.
3. Most of the Albanian female immigrants are working as domestic/cleaning ladies. This hypothesis is based on the statistical findings shown in TABLE 2 in Chapter II: Statistical Facts about occupations of female Albanian immigrants.
4. All of the Albanian immigrants are insured in an insurance fund. This hypothesis is based on the legal framework set by Greek legislation as analyzed in Chapter III: Immigration Policies and Laws in Greece related to Integration.
5. All school age children of Albanian immigrants attend school. This hypothesis is based on the legal framework set by Greek legislation as analyzed in Chapter III: Immigration Policies and Laws in Greece related to Integration.

ii. Findings

Profile

With regard to the general profile of the Albanian immigrants of my total sample, it seems that the male population exceeds the female. In Chalkidiki, which is basically a rural area, except for the summer season when the tourist industry is in operation, the difference between male and female population is greater. (see CHART 1). Moreover, where marriage is concerned there is no intermarriage i.e. Married Albanians have a spouse of their own ethnic group. (see CHART 2).
CHART 1: Sample of Albanian immigrants by region and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Thessaloniki</th>
<th>Chalkidiki</th>
<th>Crete</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of Male aged 15-65 / Total of Female aged 19-45
The majority have children and in most cases they have two. All school age children attend school, (5th hypothesis) half of which attend secondary education while a considerable percentage are at university. (see CHART 3). With relation to the way Albanian immigrants entered Greece, none did so holding a legal work permit although the majority entered the country intending to find some kind of work. (see TABLE 3). The vast majority have been living in Greece for more than a decade i.e. most of them entered Greece during the ‘90s. (see CHARTS 4 & 5). This is a fact to consider when discussing the process of integration. In addition, with regard to the difficulties Albanian immigrants faced both during their entry and stay in Greece, there were two Albanian immigrants who entered Greece irregularly and said they had
been deported soon after their entry but re-entered the country a few months later. According to Christos:

“I first entered Greece in 1995. They arrested me and sent me back to Albania. It was a disappointment but soon I decided to try again. I was more lucky the second time”

Christos, male, aged 40, works in the building construction business

CHART 3: Number of children and their educational status
### TABLE 3: Way of entry into Greece

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Irregularly</th>
<th>Regularly With a tourist VISA</th>
<th>Regularly With forged documents</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkidiki</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHART 4: Date of first entry into Greece

### CHART 5: Length of residence in Greece
Civil, Political and Legal Integration

“No, I don’t have the Greek citizenship. I would like to have it…I believe that if I had it I would have a better life…I mean…I would be more into things if I needed something. I wouldn’t feel a stranger anymore”

Antonis, male, aged 37, works in building construction business

Concerning the issue of Greek citizenship, only a small percentage of my total sample has obtained it. Most importantly, in Chalkidiki, none of the Albanian immigrants of my sample has obtained the Greek citizenship, although it is the region among all three regions with the highest percentage of those who have lived there for over a decade.(see TABLE 4). It is worth noting that all those who were granted Greek citizenship claimed to be Christian Greek Orthodox. Almost all my interviewees expressed their wish to acquire Greek citizenship and all justified this wish as a way to save themselves from the trouble of the procedure of applying and reapplying for a residence permit. Some of them, usually the younger ones, stressed the advantage of becoming as well a European citizen by holding Greek citizenship. Especially, one Albanian girl aged 25 that has been living in Greece for 16 years has already applied and waits for Greek citizenship approval and told me:

“By the way Greece is an EU country and this is something only foreigners appreciate and take advantage of. First of all, I would be able to move freely in many countries and within Greece with certain freedom I would be able to achieve a number of things I want. I mean when you have Greek citizenship you are automatically a European citizen and you have more rights such as freedom”

Mimoza, female, aged 25, works in a fast food restaurant

Almost all Albanian immigrants live permanently in those three regions (see CHART 6) and as far as their residence permit is concerned my survey shows that apart from those who hold the Greek citizenship and those who hold a residence permit of infinite duration, the rest are either irregular immigrants or holders of a document that certifies they have applied for a residence permit of dependent labor or holders of a residence permit of dependent labor with the latter comprising the largest percentage.(see CHART 7). The conclusion drawn is that nearly the total of the
sample pursue a residence permit of dependent labor (1st hypothesis).(see CHART 7). Only in Thessaloniki, which is the largest urban area of the three regions, did part of the sample claim to be irregulars.(see CHART 7). Many of the interviewees faced difficulties with regard to their residence permit due to malfunction of the Greek bureaucracy. Some of them while waiting to receive their residence permit were irregular for a long time. This was the case of Adi, an Albanian boy, aged 24 that has been living in Greece for 11 years. He said:

“I faced difficulties with my regularization during my first 3 years here because when I came to Greece, the law for family reunification had been abolished. It was a very strange situation. When we applied for it, they told us this type of residence permit doesn’t exist anymore. And when we applied for it again, they didn’t respond at all. Until I entered Greek university I was not legal. Only when I was at university, did I obtain a residence permit for studies and now of dependent labor. To give you an example, I firstly applied for a residence permit of studies in January of 2003 and I received my permit in January 2005. But since 2005 all my permits have been granted regularly within 3 months after my application, which is quite fast.”

Adi, male, aged 24, works in a fast food restaurant

### TABLE 4: Greek Citizenship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Hold Greek citizenship</th>
<th>Not hold Greek citizenship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkidiki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 6: Permanent/Temporary character of residence

CHART 7: Current situation of Albanian immigrants in relation to their residence status in Greece
Social and Economic Integration

“During my first days here I didn’t know how to say yes or no in Greek. A week later my children went to school… I couldn’t communicate with their teachers. A classmate of my children who was also Albanian offered to interpret. It was a funny situation…the kid didn’t know very good Greek…but we managed to communicate. Eventually, I learnt the language”

Violeta, female, aged 42, works as a domestic

The survey showed that most of the Albanian immigrants of my sample have social security and health insurance coverage while only a small percentage don’t (4th hypothesis). (see TABLE 5). Half of those who are not insured have a member of their family who is. (see TABLE 5). A similarly large percentage of the whole sample has a savings account in Greece. (see CHARTS 8, 9, 10 & 11). With regard to the Greek language efficiency there is a great variation in the level of knowledge of spoken and written language. First of all, the survey shows that the speaking skills in the Greek language of those asked are, on the whole, better than their writing skills. According to the survey, Albanian immigrants in Chalkidiki and especially in Crete are more efficient in the Greek language (spoken and written) than Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki. Those who speak basic Greek and have no writing skills in Greek at all comprise only a really small percentage. (see CHART 12). All my interviewees confirmed that they speak good and some very good Greek. That was something I witnessed myself during the interview. Those who speak very good Greek were those who had completed Greek secondary education. In addition, two of all interviewees hold a Greek university degree. Most of them confirmed they have good writing skills except a woman and a man aged 42 and 37 respectively who learned Greek by watching Greek television and through their job where they had to communicate with other Greek people. Generally, most of the interviewees told me that in the beginning they were facing difficulties with the language but soon they managed to learn the basics.
TABLE 5: Social security & health insurance coverage of Albanian immigrants in Greece

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Have social security &amp; health insurance</th>
<th>Do not have social security &amp; health insurance</th>
<th>Have a member of their family who is insured (estimated in 100% out of those who do not have social security &amp; health insurance)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkidiki</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 8: Savings account of Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki

CHART 9: Savings account of Albanian immigrants in Chalkidiki
Nearly half of the population of the sample have completed secondary education, a smaller percentage but still a considerable number completed elementary education,
an even smaller percentage but by no means negligible has received university education. Only a small percentage claimed not to have received any formal education. (see CHART 13). This comes as a contradiction to the fact that all those interviewed confirmed that they had speaking and writing skills in their mother tongue and had all attended some form of formal education.

“It is still early days to say what I wish my child to do for a living…but in any case I would like him to get a university degree in any field he wants…”

Antonis, male, aged 37, works in building construction business

Concerning their occupation, most of the male Albanian immigrants of my sample work in the building construction business (2nd hypothesis), while apart from those who claimed to be unemployed, the rest had a variety of jobs such as truck drivers, house redecorators, farm workers and restaurant staff. It is worth noting that the second largest percentage of all the groups is unemployed. Moreover, it seems that the types of occupation available in the three regions differ, i.e. in Chalkidiki none of the male Albanians of the sample worked in the building construction business while in the other two regions, Thessaloniki and Crete, it was the prevalent occupation. In contrast, only in Chalkidiki are male Albanian immigrants working as restaurant staff. Furthermore, Chalkidiki is a summer resort where there is a great demand for restaurant staff. Due to the seasonal character of the jobs offered, one could wonder if these people keep their jobs in the off-season period. I should point out here that my survey was conducted in the summer season. Also, only in Crete was there a considerable percentage of male Albanian immigrants who claimed to be students. (see CHART 14).

More than half of the female Albanian immigrants work as domestics (3rd hypothesis), while the rest work either as clerks or in the tourist industry, minus a considerable percentage who claimed not to work and a smaller one that claimed to be students. Again, we see that the types of occupation available in the three regions differ. For example, there are office clerks only in Thessaloniki, which is the largest urban area of the three regions and only in Crete did female Albanian immigrants claim to work in the tourist industry. Interestingly, the largest percentage of Albanian women both in Chalkidiki and Crete do not work (nor are they looking for a job). (see CHART 15). It occurs that most of the Albanian immigrants of my sample are blue-
collar workers, something that was confirmed by nearly all my interviewees as well. A young Albanian girl aged 20, who has been living in Greece for 19 years and has been working as a waitress since she finished secondary education, aspires to bring up children who will excel in school and eventually study at university “so that they can ensure a better future” as she herself mentions. Another one aged 25, who has been living in Greece for 12 years and has obtained a university degree in Greece works as an office clerk. She said when asked to talk about work (difficulties/experiences/future aspirations):

“No, I have no difficulties…I haven’t done any hard manual work as I work in an office, for example, many of my compatriots clean people’s houses as domestics, and don’t have one employer but many…and there will always be an employer who will cause them trouble. I’ve never had any problems because of my nationality, I’ve never faced racism. I wish my children would never do manual work as is the case for most of my compatriots. I wish my child had the same opportunities as any Greek citizen…I mean if he obtains university education, he should be able to practice the profession he has studied for. If not, then ok, he will have to do manual work.”

Maida, female, aged 25, works in an office

The vast majority of the total number male Albanian immigrants have not changed their occupation when immigrating to Greece while the rest who did change used to work back in Albania in building construction business, trade industry and as clerks.(see CHART 16). Similarly, the large apart of the total female Albanian immigrants have not changed their occupation when immigrating to Greece while the rest who did used to work back in Albania as factory workers, farm workers, clerks and in the services industry.(see CHART 17).
CHART 13: Education

CHART 14: Male Albanians’ occupation
In Total, 26% that have changed occupation when immigrating to Greece used to work in Albania in the building construction business, in the trade industry and as clerks.
In Total, 45% that have changed occupation when immigrating to Greece, used to work in Albania in the industry (mainly in factories), as farm workers, as clerks and in the service industry.

Interestingly, in Thessaloniki, while the largest percentage of male Albanian immigrants have not changed their occupation when immigrating to Greece, the largest percentage of female Albanian immigrants have.(see CHARTS 16&17). Generally, a very small percentage of all Albanian immigrants of my sample are members of a trade union.(see TABLE 6). The vast majority of the total number of Albanian immigrants stated that they had never asked for help from an Albanian union in order to find housing or a job.(see TABLE 7). My explanation for this is either the strong relative and family networks or the lack of information about the existing unions. In addition, it is inferred from the interviews that the choice for housing was determined by the price and peace and quiet of the neighborhood.

As far as their annual income is concerned, more than half of the total number of Albanian immigrants claimed to earn 6,000€ - 10,000€.(see TABLE 8).
### TABLE 6: Members in a trade union in Greece

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Are members of a trade union</th>
<th>Are not members of a trade union</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkidiki</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7: Help from Albanian unions in Greece in order to find housing or a job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Have asked for help from Albanian unions in Greece in order to find housing or a job</th>
<th>Have not asked for help from Albanian unions in Greece in order to find housing or a job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkidiki</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 8: Annual income (unemployed excluded)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>6,000€ - 10,000€</th>
<th>10,000€ - 15,000€</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkidiki</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Cultural and Religious Integration**

Concerning religious beliefs, we see a variety of Christian denominations although the largest group are those who claim to be Muslims. In Chalkidiki, in particular, the largest group are Atheists. Only in Crete are there Albanian immigrants of my sample who claimed to be Christian Catholics who, incidentally, form the largest group there. (see CHART 18). The vast majority of the total number of Albanian immigrants of the sample are not members of a religious group in Greece. (see TABLE 9). The survey showed that over half of the total number of Albanian immigrants have either been baptized Greek Orthodox\(^1\) or have baptized their children Greek Orthodox or have both been baptized and baptized their children Greek Orthodox. It is worth noting that the total number of Albanian immigrants of the sample in Crete is or has baptized their children. (see CHART 19).

What is most interesting here is the fact that 52% out of the total number of Albanian Muslims in all three regions of this study are baptized Greek Orthodox and/or have baptized their children, 64% out of the total number of Albanian Atheists are also baptized Greek Orthodox and/or have baptized their children. All those who claimed to be Christian Catholics were baptized Greek Orthodox and/or have baptized their children. This was one of the most striking findings of my survey since I believe it is related to a distorted idea of integration. I can only assume that those people converted into Greek Orthodox in an effort to become accepted by the Greek society. I am led to this assumption by the fact that although they “converted” into Greek Orthodox, they identify themselves as Muslims, Catholics or Atheists. This may imply a tendency of the Greek society to assimilate rather than to integrate immigrants.

\(^1\) The full name of the denomination is Christian Greek Orthodox.
TABLE 9: Be a member of a religious group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Belong to a religious group</th>
<th>Do not belong to a religious group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkidiki</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 18: Religious beliefs

Out of the total who answered “Other” 40% claims to be affiliated with the sect of “Jehovah witnesses” and the rest 60% does not specify.
“Yes, I could marry a Greek or an Albanian…it makes no difference to me. I have both Greek and Albanian friends. I like to socialize with Greeks, Albanians, Africans, English…I don’t mind.”

Mimoza, female, aged 25, works as a waitress

Over half the total Albanian immigrant population of the sample has asked for help of some nature from Greeks and nearly all claimed to have Greek friends.(see CHARTS 20 &21). Concerning a kind of affinity with Greeks, the survey shows that slightly less than one third of the total number of Albanians of the sample has affinity with Greeks by marriage or by baptism.(see CHART 22). In addition, the vast majority has attended social-cultural Greek events such as weddings, funerals and baptisms.(see CHART 23). My interviewees confirmed that they all have Greek friends and all of them except one like to socialize with both Greeks and Albanians while some of them have established close relationships with Greeks. There was only one young Albanian girl who said that:

“Most of my good friends are Greek. I prefer to socialize with Greeks because I think they are more trustworthy than Albanians and because the Albanians who came to Greece and
especially those who were brought up here have a strange mentality that I don’t like. They don’t respect the country they live in, the country where their parents work and which feeds them…and I don’t like this attitude…generally they swear a lot…”

Kristy, female, aged 20, works in a cafeteria

However, later in her interview, Kristy admitted experiencing some kind of racism during her teenage years in school. She said she felt that her Greek classmates distanced themselves for no reason probably following their parents advice. Another Albanian female who was originally determined to marry an Albanian and who is now engaged to be married to a Greek, said:

“I know of quite a few mixed marriages. No, initially I wanted to marry an Albanian because the idea of returning to Albania was always in the back of my head…that I was here to study only and work for some time. I had that in my mind for a long time but it so happened that my fiancé is Greek…”

Maida, female, aged 25, works in an office

**CHART 20: Asked for help of any nature from Greeks**
CHART 21: Have Greek friends

CHART 22: Have some kind of affinity with Greeks (by marriage or by baptism)
Concerning means of accessing information, television, both Greek and Albanian (satellite), along with Greek and Albanian newspapers are the most popular choice of sources of information. It seems that most of Albanian immigrants of my sample want to keep abreast of both Albanian and Greek current affairs. (see CHART 26). Meanwhile, the majority of Albanian immigrants in all three regions are not members of a cultural or other group of their ethnicity in Greece. However, in Chalkidiki a quite large percentage, slightly less than half, are members of a cultural or other group of their ethnicity. (see CHART 24). Over half of the total sample supports a Greek sports team. However, the majority of those who do not are female. Especially, in the case of Crete only men are interested in sports and support a Greek sports team (65% of those who support a team are all men). (see CHART 25).

“My siblings live in Italy. When once they came here to Greece on holiday, they were excited by the Greek way of entertainment. On the last day of their stay, my husband and I took them to “bouzoukia”…they had the time of their life and wondered why we hadn’t taken them there every evening during their holiday”

Violeta, female, aged 42, works as a domestic

Finally, as far as entertainment is concerned, it is clearly shown that the majority of Albanian immigrants of the sample have adopted Greek ways of entertainment.
However, it should be pointed out that in Crete, the vast majority believe they have not been influenced by the way Greeks entertain themselves as in contrast to what Albanians in Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki believe (see CHART 27). As my interviewees confirmed, they enjoy listening to Greek music and believe that they are influenced by the Greek way of entertainment.

CHART 24: Participation in some Albanian cultural or other group in Greece

CHART 25: Support a Greek sports team
CHART 26: Means of accessing information

In all three regions

- Watch both Greek television & Albanian satellite television and read both Greek & Albanian newspapers
- Watch only Greek television
- Watch Greek television and read Greek newspapers
- Watch both Greek television & Albanian satellite television
- Watch Greek television and read both Greek & Albanian newspapers
- Watch both Greek television & Albanian satellite television and read Greek newspapers
- Watch both Greek television & Albanian satellite television and read Albanian newspapers
- Watch Albanian satellite television and read Albanian newspapers
- Watch Greek television and read Albanian newspapers
- Watch Greek television and inform themselves about Greek and Albanian issues via Internet

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30%
CHART 27: Choice of forms of entertainment

Bar chart showing the percentage of people who believe that the forms of entertainment they choose have been influenced by the way Greeks entertain themselves, and those who believe they have not been influenced. The chart compares Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki, Crete, and a total percentage.
Conclusion

This survey can only be considered from a qualitative perspective and it can by no means represent the whole Albanian immigrant population in Greece in the three regions studied. Thus, conclusive remarks can be drawn with some reservation. There is integration to some extent, which can be inferred from the fact that there are good relations between Greeks and Albanians in many respects as reflected in their opinions. For instance, despite problems and difficulties they faced during their entrance and residence in Greece, especially during the early years in the country, they managed to establish close relations with Greeks both in their social and work environment.

However, many parts of the survey show low integration levels. My 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} hypotheses concerning the types of occupations of Albanian immigrants in the three regions studied were corroborated by the evidence. For example, it was shown quite clearly that the vast majority of this ethnic group, despite their long presence in Greece, have remained, to a large extent, laborers. Furthermore, regarding the large percentage of those who converted to Greek Orthodox but by conviction they were something else, it appears that it was more or less a matter of formality. The 4\textsuperscript{th} hypothesis concerning the state insurance coverage of Albanian immigrants was not fully supported by the findings of the survey while the 1\textsuperscript{st} hypothesis related to the type of residence permit was corroborated by the evidence. Finally, the 5\textsuperscript{th} hypothesis was totally supported by the findings of the survey as all children of Albanian immigrants who are at school age attend school, which is a very positive element for integration.
References


SOPEMI (2010), *International Migration Outlook, OECD*
