

ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

LA NOUVELLE IMMIGRATION GRECQUE THE NEW WAVE OF GREEK MIGRATION

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Chronologies

Volume 21, No 2, Autumn / Automne 2013

2

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Published twice a year (Spring - Autumn) by the **Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research Canada, -KEEK, the University of Crete, Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies-EDIAMME, Department of Primary Education and the University of the Aegean Post-Graduate Program in «Political, Economic and International Relations in the Mediterranean», Department of Mediterranean Studies.**

Articles for publication, books for review and general correspondence should be addressed to **Études helléniques/ Hellenic Studies:**

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and Research Canada-KEEK**

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22Subscription orders, inquires, single orders and back issues should be addressed / could be obtained from this address also. *Études helléniques/ Hellenic Studies* is an interdisciplinary, bilingual (French - English) journal devoted to the study of issues prevailing among Greeks in both Greece proper and the numerous Greek communities abroad.

| Subscription Rates/Frais d'abonnement | One year/Un an | Europe (par virement)* |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Individuals/Particuliers | \$ 50.00 | 50 € |
| Institutions | \$ 70.00 | 70 € |
| Support/Soutien | \$ 100.00 | 100 € |

* Compte chèques postaux à Paris: CCP no 2846134E020
IBAN FR72 2004 1000 0128 4613 4E02 057
BIC PSSTFRPPPAR

Revue publiée deux fois par an (Printemps-Automne) par le Centre de recherches helléniques Canada-KEEK, l'Université de Crète(Centre d'études interculturelles et de l'immigration-EDIAMME du Département d'Education Primaire) et l'Université de la Mer Egée (Programme d'études supérieures de deuxième et troisième cycle, «Sciences politiques, économiques, et relations internationales dans la Méditerranée», Département d'études méditerranéennes).

Tous les articles, les recensions et la correspondance générale doivent être adressés aux **Études helléniques / Hellenic Studies**, C.P. 48571, 1495 Van Horne, Outremont, (Québec), Canada, H2V 4T3, Tel: (514) 276-7333, Télécopieur: (514) 495-3072 (E-mail: k12414@er.uqam.ca). Pour les abonnements, les informations, pour tout numéro courant ou ancien de la revue, prière de vous adresser aux **Études helléniques / Hellenic Studies** à l'adresse ci dessus.

Études helléniques / Hellenic Studies est une revue interdisciplinaire bilingue (français-anglais) consacrée à la recherche: elle a pour objet l'étude de l'hellénisme tant de la Grèce que de la diaspora.

Gutenberg Publishing
Didodou 37
Athens 10680
Tel.: 210-3808334
Fax: 210-3642030
e-mail: info@dardanosnet.gr

Dépôt légal / Legal Deposit
National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec
2e trimestre 2007
ISSN: 0824-8621

Volume 21, No 2, 2013

Autumn / Automne 2013

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La nouvelle immigration grecque

Michael Damanakis*
Stephanos Constantinides**

Les contributions de ce numéro sont divisées en deux parties. La première partie comprend celles se rapportant au mouvement migratoire des populations de la Grèce vers d'autres pays, et la seconde celles relatives à l'entrée et à l'établissement des immigrants en Grèce.

Si nous définissons la migration comme le mouvement des populations d'un endroit à un autre, la diaspora grecque moderne est le résultat des mouvements qui ont eu lieu dans différentes périodes historiques, depuis la chute de Constantinople (1453), à ce jour.

Ces mouvements avaient comme point de départ, jusqu' à 1830, l'Empire ottoman et ont été principalement dirigés vers les centres commerciaux de la Méditerranée, de la Mer Noire et des pays voisins de l'Empire ottoman. Après 1830 et jusqu' à la catastrophe d'Asie Mineure (1922) les populations déplacées volontairement ou involontairement avaient comme point de départ, soit le territoire ottoman, soit celui de l'Etat grec nouvellement créé et comme destination les régions ci-haut mentionnées ainsi que le sud de la Russie et la Transcaucasie. Ces mouvements ont progressivement renforcé la «diaspora historique» déjà existante.

En d'autres termes la diaspora historique grecque, diaspora commerçante, surgit en raison des événements historiques de la deuxième moitié du 15ème siècle jusqu' à la création de l'Etat grec moderne, et celle-ci continue à se renforcer depuis sa création jusqu' à la fin de la première guerre mondiale et la catastrophe d'Asie Mineure.

Jusqu' à la dernière décennie du 19e siècle, les mouvements migratoires de l'Etat grec nouvellement créé vers les communautés grecques commerçantes

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déjà existantes et entre ces communautés avaient un caractère fort commercial. En revanche, la dernière décennie du 19^e siècle a inauguré une nouvelle forme de migration, celle de la main-d'œuvre ouvrière, d'abord en direction des États-Unis et plus tard vers d'autres pays d'immigration. Les travailleurs immigrants grecs s'établissent ainsi dans des pays d'accueil du monde occidental: États-Unis, Canada, Australie, d'abord, et plus tard l'Europe, et créent des communautés d'immigrants, qui sont la base de la création de la nouvelle diaspora immigrante grecque.

Depuis 1890 et jusqu'au début des années 1970 ont vu le jour plusieurs mouvements migratoires, dominés par la migration des années 1952 à 1972, période au cours de laquelle ont émigré environ 1.200.000 Grecs principalement vers les États-Unis, le Canada, l'Australie et les pays d'Europe centrale et du nord.

La restauration en Grèce de la démocratie en 1974, l'adhésion du pays à l'Union européenne et en particulier les taux élevés de croissance jusqu' à la première décennie du 21^{ème} siècle ont créé l'illusion que l'émigration grecque était plus que jamais, un phénomène du passé. En effet, la Grèce un pays d'émigration, se transformait graduellement en un pays d'immigration.

Cette illusion a disparu en 2009, quand la "crise économique" latente a éclaté et que le pays est entré dans une nouvelle phase d'émigration, cette fois-ci principalement vers les pays de l'Union européenne et en second lieu vers les pays d'immigration traditionnels des Grecs, à savoir les États-Unis, le Canada, et l'Australie.

La préférence des pays européens est due à la libre circulation des populations, des opportunités d'emploi et de la proximité géographique, en particulier celles offertes par l'Allemagne économiquement forte et réunifiée.

Nous considérons l'émigration des Grecs dans la période d'après-2009 vers ces pays comme une nouvelle immigration - *neometanastefsi*, non seulement parce qu'elle vient après une «pause» de quatre décennies, mais aussi parce qu'elle diffère des flux migratoires précédents.

Par analogie avec le terme nouvelle immigration - *neometanastefsi*, nous utilisons aussi le terme nouvel immigrant - *neometanastis*, bien que les personnes surtout celles, qui se déplacent vers les pays de l'Union européenne, se perçoivent plus comme des travailleurs qui circulent librement dans le

marché du travail européen unifié que comme des travailleurs immigrants.

L'objet principal de ce numéro est la nouvelle immigration grecque-*neometanastefsi* à savoir, l'analyse du processus de migration, l'installation et l'intégration des nouveaux migrants dans les pays d'accueil et leur organisation et orientation futures.

Plus précisément, *Michael Damanakis* analyse le mouvement des nouveaux immigrants grecs dans les pays de l'Union européenne, en prenant l'exemple de l'Allemagne, qui est la principale destination de ces derniers, non seulement en raison de sa proximité géographique avec la Grèce et l'existence d'importantes communautés grecques dans ce pays, mais surtout en raison des possibilités d'emploi qu'elle offre.

Aris Michopoulos présente la situation de la diaspora grecque aux Etats-Unis en se référant aux divers mouvements migratoires transatlantiques des Grecs, du 16ème siècle à nos jours, et en se concentrant sur les périodes allant de 1900 à 1924 et de 1965 jusqu' à aujourd'hui. Son étude examine plus particulièrement l'immigration au cours des treize dernières années et en particulier dans la période, qui suit la crise de 2009 en Grèce. Paradoxalement, on ne constate aucun changement significatif. A. Michopoulos explore diverses voies pour expliquer ce constat. Il s'agit notamment de l'adhésion pleine et entière de la Grèce à l'Union européenne, la variation de son niveau de vie après 1980, la croissance inexistante de sa population ces derniers temps, et enfin la possibilité d'une "immigration masquée" qui prend la forme de «touristes», d'étudiants et des scientifiques.

Stephanos Constantinides après une rapide référence aux communautés grecques du Canada analyse la nouvelle immigration grecque qui se dirige vers ce pays depuis le commencement de la crise économique en Grèce en 2009. Il constate qu'il s'agit d'une immigration de jeunes constituée de diverses catégories: ceux qui ont la nationalité canadienne rapatriés en Grèce quelques décennies auparavant, et qui retournent à nouveau au Canada, de travailleurs ayant obtenu un permis de travail, de travailleurs acceptés comme résidents permanents et d'étudiants. L'auteur soulève aussi la question de l'organisation de ces nouveaux immigrants en vue de trouver un emploi et de s'intégrer à la société canadienne.

Tassos Tamis se réfère à la vague de la nouvelle immigration grecque qui se dirige vers l'Australie. L'auteur constate que parmi les nouveaux immigrants

grecs un grand nombre ont déjà vécu en Australie et se sont rapatriés par le passé en Grèce. Par conséquent ils disposent de la citoyenneté australienne ce qui facilite leur intégration. L'auteur constate que cet afflux massif d'immigrants grecs enrichit l'Australie d'un point de vue socio-économique et culturel parce que la plupart d'entre eux sont membres de la classe moyenne, comprenant des professionnels, des technocrates, des hommes d'affaires, des scientifiques, des artistes qui avaient atteint le TAFE (*technical and further education*) ou l'enseignement supérieur. Cependant, ni la communauté grecque organisée ni la vie institutionnelle australienne n'ont été préparées à recevoir cet afflux massif de Grecs. Actuellement, il n'y a aucune infrastructure ni de réseaux communautaires en état de les aider à s'adapter et à s'intégrer à la société australienne.

La deuxième partie du volume est constituée par les contributions, d'une part de John Ieronymakis et d'autre part de Theodosia Michelakaki / Dionysia Kontogianni / Efthimia Papalexopoulou. Les deux articles portent sur le groupe d'immigrants Albanais, qui constituent la majorité (52%) de tous les immigrants en Grèce, selon le recensement de 2011.

Ieronymakis présente les résultats d'une étude qui porte sur le phénomène de l'immigration familiale en provenance d'Albanie vers la Grèce au cours de la période allant de 1990 à 2005. Les familles sont examinées par étapes successives de leur parcours d'immigration. L'article de Theodosia Michelakaki, Dionysia Kontogianni et Efthimia Papalexopoulou se concentre sur les élèves d'origine immigrante qui ont suivi l'enseignement primaire et secondaire public en Grèce et qui ont été admis à l'Université de Crète après avoir réussi l'examen national d'entrée. Quinze récits migratoires sont analysés et indiquent que ces étudiants, à travers un parcours ardu de scolarité, d'apprentissage du grec et d'intégration dans la société grecque, ont réussi à s'inscrire à l'université, mais n'ont pas encore la possibilité de se voir attribuer la citoyenneté grecque et de se sentir pleinement membres de la société.

Il convient de souligner que le nombre d'immigrés en Grèce n'est pas limité aux 912.029 personnes recensées (199.201 ressortissants de pays de l'UE, 708.003 ressortissants de pays tiers et 4.825 de nationalité non précisée), mais devrait être proche d'un million et demi.

Le nombre élevé d'immigrants illégaux en Grèce s'explique par le fait que la Grèce est essentiellement un pays d'entrée et non d'accueil d'immigrants.

La Grèce étant à l'heure actuelle en pleine crise non seulement n'a pas besoin de main-d'œuvre étrangère, mais en plus ses propres citoyens sont obligés d'émigrer. Toutefois, le nombre de migrants en situation irrégulière est en augmentation en Grèce en raison du fait que ceux-ci utilisent ce pays comme une porte d'entrée et comme une étape pour leur établissement dans des pays européens plus riches.

Néanmoins, le "Règlement Dublin II" les piège en Grèce et la société grecque se trouve face à un problème qui est en réalité européen. Ainsi la Grèce est obligée d'assumer des responsabilités qui normalement appartiennent à l'Union européenne.

La question de l'entrée «illégal» des immigrants dans les pays d'Europe du Sud (Grèce, Italie, Espagne) et la politique d'immigration de l'UE elle-même constituent un problème complexe qui ne peut être analysé dans ce numéro. Nous nous limitons à décrire la trajectoire et l'intégration des familles albanaises en Grèce, à partir de 1990 jusqu' à aujourd'hui. Le fait que le groupe d'immigrants Albanais n'est pas seulement le plus nombreux mais aussi le plus ancien en Grèce, rend possible l'étude de ce processus d'intégration.

Dans ce contexte, Ieronymakis analyse le processus de désorganisation et ensuite la réorganisation et l'unification des familles albanaises dans les années 1990, alors que *Michelakaki / Kontogianni / Papalexopoulou* dans leur étude analysent l'immigration et l'éducation d'un certain nombre d'enfants de ces familles, qui réussissent à passer avec succès leur scolarité à l'école primaire et secondaire grecque pour être ensuite admis dans les universités grecques.

Les analyses tant de la nouvelle émigration grecque que de l'immigration en provenance des pays tiers vers la Grèce sont par la force des choses indicatives et sommaires. Nous espérons, toutefois, que le lecteur sera en mesure de se forger une certaine idée aussi sommaire soit-elle de la Grèce contemporaine aux prises tant avec le problème de l'émigration qu'avec celui de l'immigration.

The New Greek Immigration

Michael Damanakis *
Stephanos Constantinides **

The contributions in this issue are divided into two parts. The first part includes articles referring to the movement of populations from Greece to other countries, and the second, articles relating to entry and establishment of immigrants in Greece. In other words, the purpose of this issue is, firstly, Greece as a country of emigration, and secondly as a country of immigration.

If we define migration as the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent residence, then the modern Greek diaspora is the result of movements that took place in different historical periods, from the fall of Constantinople (1453) till today.

These movements originated, until 1830, from the Ottoman Empire and were mainly destined to commercial centers in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, neighboring Ottoman Empire countries and led to the creation of the “historical Greek diaspora”.

After 1830 and until the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922), the populations which were voluntarily or involuntarily migrating had as starting points the Ottoman territory and the territory of the newly established Greek state and as a destination the regions as mentioned above, as well as southern Russia and Transcaucasia. These movements gradually reinforced the existing “historical Greek diaspora”.

In other words, the historical Greek diaspora arose on account of historical events from the mid-15th century up to the creation of the Modern Greek State and after its creation until the end of World War I, and the Asia Minor Disaster (1922).

Until the last decade of the 19th century, the movements from the newly established Greek state to the commercial communities of the diaspora and

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between the Communities had a strong commercial character. In contrast, the last decade of the 19th century inaugurated a new form of immigration: labor immigration, first to the U.S. and later in other countries of immigration. The worker-immigrants, settled in host countries of the western world, USA, Canada, Australia, initially, and later Europe, and created immigrant communities, which are the basis of the organized “immigrant Greek diaspora”.

From 1890 until the early 1970s, Greeks made several migrations, dominated by that from 1952 to 1972 during which approximately 1,200,000 Greeks migrated, mainly to the USA, Canada, Australia and into the central and northern European countries.

After the restoration of democracy in Greece in 1974, the accession of the country to the European Union and especially the growth rates until the first decade of the 21st century, created the illusion that the Greek emigration was a phenomenon of the past. Indeed, Greece was transformed from a country of emigration into a country of immigration.

This illusion was dispelled in 2009, when the latent “economic crisis” broke out and the country entered a new phase of migration. The countries of destination being this time, primarily the European Union countries and secondly the traditional immigration countries for the Greeks; i.e., the USA, Canada, and Australia.

The preference for European countries is due to the free movement of populations, geographic proximity and employment opportunities, especially in the economically robust and reunified Germany.

We use the term new migration (*neometanastefsi*) to describe the post-2009 migration of Greeks to these countries, not only because it takes place after a “break” of four decades, but also because it differs from the previous migration outflows.

By analogy with the term new migration (*neometanastefsi*) we use the term new migrant (*neometanastis*), although particularly people with academic qualifications who move in European Union countries, perceive themselves as european workers, within the single European labor market (free movement of workers), and less as immigrants.

The main object of this issue is the new migration (*neometanastefsi*), namely, the investigation of the migration process, installation and integration of new

Greek migrants in the host countries, their organization and future orientation.

Specifically, *Michael Damanakis* analyzes the movements of the new Greek immigrants in European Union countries, taking the example of Germany, which is their main destination, not only because of its geographical proximity to Greece and the existence of large Greek communities there, but primarily because of the employment opportunities that it offers.

Aris Michopoulos deals with the Greek immigration to the United States, its different periods and the creation of the Greek American diaspora. He also examines the immigration during the last thirteen years and especially the period after the crisis (2010) in Greece. Paradoxically, he found no significant change, as there are seemingly low immigration numbers today from Greece. The paper explored various avenues to explain this finding. These include: the full membership of Greece in the EEC, the change in its standard of living after 1980, its non-existent population growth lately, and finally the possibility of a “masked immigration” that takes the form of “tourists”, students and scientists.

Stephanos Constantinides deals with a new Greek immigration to Canada. He refers to the different categories of the new immigrants and the difficulties they face in employment and integration. His article, after a quick reference to the Greek communities of Canada, analyzes the new Greek immigration to this country since the beginning of the economic crisis in Greece in 2009. He noted that it is a migration of young people consisting of various categories: those who are Canadian citizens of Greek origin who returned to Greece and now are returning to Canada; those who have obtained a work permit; those accepted as permanent residents, and students. The author also raises the question of the organization of these new immigrants and their effort to find employment and integrate into Canadian society.

Tasos Tamis deals with the new Greek immigration to Australia noting the massive return in this country of the Greeks having Australian citizenship. These are the Greeks settled permanently in Greece during the period 1980-2008, over 135,000. This massive influx of more than 100,000 actual and/or prospective Australian citizens enriches Australia socio-economically and culturally as most of them are members of the middle class, comprising of professionals, technocrats, businessmen, scientists, and artists who had attained

TAFE or tertiary education. However, neither the organized Greek community nor the Australian institutional structure were prepared to receive this massive influx of compatriots; currently, there are no communal or state infrastructure or networks to absorb, utilize or assist them to conform, adapt and acculturate.

The second part of this volume consists of contributions from John Ieronymakis and *Theodosia Michelakakis*, *Dionysia Kontogiannis* and *Efthimia Papalexopoulou*. Both articles relate to the group of Albanian immigrants, who constitute the majority (52%) of all immigrants in Greece, according to the 2011 census.

It should be stressed that the number of immigrants in Greece is not limited to the 912,029 officially registered (199,201 nationals of EU countries, 708,003 third country nationals and 4,825 with unspecified nationality), but should be close to one and a half million.

The high number of illegal immigrants in Greece is due to the fact that Greece is essentially a country of transit entry for immigrants looking to establish themselves in other European countries.

As Greece is in crisis not only does not need immigrant labor, but its own citizens emigrate because of unemployment. However the increasing number of irregular migrants in Greece is due to the fact that modern economic migrants and refugees simply use Greece as transit entry and stepping stone to a further move to richer European countries.

Nevertheless, the “Dublin II Regulation” gets them trapped in Greece, and the Greek society to feel compromised by a problem that is European, and which is transformed by the “Dublin II Regulation» to a national one. With the responsibility of course of the Greek government which co-signed this regulation.

The issue of ‘illegal’ entry of immigrants in the southern European countries (Greece, Italy, Spain) and the immigration policy of the EU itself is a complex problem that can not be analysed in this issue. We limit ourselves to outline the path of movement and integration of Albanian families in Greece, from 1990 until today. The fact that the Albanian immigrant group is not only the largest one but also the oldest in Greece makes it possible to outline this accession process.

Ieronymakis analyzes the processes of disorganization, reorganization and unification of Albanian families during the 1990s, while Michelakakis, Kontogiannis and Papalexopoulos in their own study deal with immigration and educational narratives of some children of these families, which manage to finish successfully Greek primary and secondary schools and proceed to the Greek universities.

Analysis and developments both of the Greek new emigration (neometanastefsi) of Greeks and immigration from third countries to Greece are necessarily limited. However, they will ultimately help the reader to form at least a rough image of the modern Greek emigration and immigration.

The Greek Neo-migration to Germany

Michael Damanakis*

RÉSUMÉ

La Grèce est entrée à partir de 2010 dans une nouvelle phase de migration de masse en raison de la “crise économique”, les pays de destination étant cette fois principalement ceux de l’Union européenne et en deuxième lieu les pays d’immigration grecque traditionnels tels les États-Unis, le Canada et l’Australie. L’objet de cet article est d’examiner le processus de déplacement, d’établissement et d’intégration des nouveaux immigrants grecs en Allemagne ainsi que leur orientation future dans ce pays. En particulier, l’article porte sur: 1. Le profil des néo-migrants 2. Les raisons et les types d’immigration 3. L’installation et les procédures d’intégration dans le pays d’accueil 4. L’auto-organisation à l’intérieur des réseaux sociaux 5. Les orientations futures.

ABSTRACT

A new phase of mass migration has taken place due to the “economic crisis” that Greece has entered into as of 2010, with countries of destination this time primarily being European Union countries and secondarily traditional Greek immigration countries such as the U.S., Canada and Australia. The purpose of this study is to investigate the process of moving, settling, and the integration of new Greek immigrants in Germany as well as their establishment and future orientation there. In particular the study deals with: 1. The profile of neo-migrants 2. Reasons and ways for migration 3. Settling and integration procedures in the new country 4. Organization, self-organization 5. Future orientations.

Introduction

Until the last decade of the 19th century, movements from the newly established Greek state to the “commercial” Communities, as well as movement among the Communities, had a strong commercial character. In contrast, the last decade of the 19th century inaugurated a new form of migration. That is, labour migration, initially, to the U.S. and later to other countries of immigration.

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From 1890 until the early 1970s various migration movements took place. The dominant one, was from 1952 to 1972 during which approximately 1,200,000 Greeks migrated, mainly to the USA, Canada, Australia and the central and northern European countries.

The restoration of democracy in Greece, in 1974, the fact that the country joined the European Union and especially its growth rate until the first decade of the 21st century created the (false) impression that Greek emigration, as a phenomenon, belonged, to the past. Indeed, Greece transformed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration.

This perception existed until 2010, when the “economic crisis” burst and the country entered a new phase of mass migration with countries of destination this time primarily being European Union countries and secondarily traditional Greek immigration countries such as the U.S., Canada, and Australia.

The preference of European countries dates back to the free movement of populations, to geographic proximity and employment opportunities, especially in the economically powerful and reunified Germany.

The post-2010 migration of Greeks to these countries is characterized as a neo-migration, not only because it takes place after a “break” of four decades, but also because - as it will be further shown - it differs from previous migration flows.

In a similar manner, from the term ‘neo-migration’ the term «neo-migrant», is conventionally used although, individuals with academic qualifications perceive themselves more as free migrant workers in the unified European labor market and less as immigrants.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the process of moving, settling, and the integration of new immigrants in Germany as well as their establishment and future orientation there.

1. The Greek Presence in Germany - Past and Present

Greek labour immigration in Germany began unofficially in 1958 and officially in March of 1960, when the relevant intergovernmental agreement between Greece and the Bunderepublik Deutschland (BRD), Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was signed.

As seen from Table 1 that follows, in the fifteen years 1958 -1973 approximately 600,000 labourers migrated to Germany. If their family members are added to that figure, the size of the Greek presence in this country during that period can be grasped.

Table 1: The Evolution of Greek migration workers to BRD (1958-1973)¹

| Year | Number | Year | Number |
|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1958 | 1.510 | 1966 | 39.742 |
| 1959 | 2.479 | 1967 | 7.605 |
| 1960 | 23.346 | 1968 | 37.248 |
| 1961 | 36.606 | 1969 | 65.126 |
| 1962 | 47.559 | 1970 | 64.026 |
| 1963 | 58.009 | 1971 | 42.000 |
| 1964 | 65.130 | 1972 | 24.666 |
| 1965 | 61.822 | 1973 | 9.548 |
| 1958 - 1973 = 586.640 | | | |

Source: Damanakis 1987, p.37.

During the year 2011 the number of Greeks in Germany amounted to 283.648 individuals (see Table 2). From the total of that number, 85,266 lived in the state of North Rhine Westphalia (NRW), 67,189 in Baden Württemberg and 55,732 in Bavaria.

Table 2: Evolution of the Greek population to Germany

| | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1967: 200.961 | 1982: 300.824 | 2000: 365.438 |
| 1970: 342.891 | 1985: 280.614 | 2003: 354.600 |
| 1973: 407.614 | 1988: 274.973 | 2006: 303.761 |
| 1976: 353.733 | 1991: 336.893 | 2009: 278.063 |
| 1979: 296.803 | 1994: 355.583 | 2010: 276.865 |
| | 1997: 363.202 | 2011: 283.684 |

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012.

The actual figure of individuals of Greek descent are now much higher for two reasons. Firstly, official statistics do not include those who also have German citizenship or only German citizenship. Secondly, the statistics include those who have registered as residents by the responsible government agencies (Einwohnermeldeamt), but not those who, for example, live in Germany, are seeking employment and have not yet registered as permanent residents in Germany.

In 2012 at least 25,000 individuals migrated from Greece to Germany and were thus, added to the 283,684 number of Greeks residing in Germany. According to the German statistical office, the first half of 2012, 15,838 individuals emigrated from Greece to Germany, versus 8,890 individuals in the first half of 2011 (up 78.2%). Overall for the year 2012, the influx of Greeks in Germany rose on average by 43% compared to 2011 (www.destatis.de, Pressemitteilung Nr. 156/07.05.2013).

According to the German service «Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlingen» (2011, p.71 Table II, 2) in the year 2011 a total of 16,258 Greeks arrived in Germany, while according to the OOSA (OECD 2013,256), during the year 2011, 23,000 individuals migrated from Greece to Germany, 6,000 to the UK, 2,400 to the Netherlands and 1,000 to Sweden.

From 2010 until today, the movement of populations from Greece to Germany so as to seek employment presents a dynamic increase. This is apparent not only from the statistics but also from the statements of officials in the Greek Consulates as well as the statements from the Presidents of the Communities, the President of the Federation of Greek Communities in Germany, but also others such as individual academics, social workers and educators with whom we conversed.

2. Research Methodology

The statements, the evaluations and the opinions from the above mentioned departments and the delegated individuals were collected during our fieldwork in *December 2012* in the cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Bonn, but also during the time period from January to July 2013, primarily through Skype interviews.

Specifically, apart from the statistics drawn from the German Federal

Statistics Office and the information and data collected from the daily and periodical German press, statistical data were also collected, from the Greek Education Offices in Germany - and from those in Brussels and London, in regards to changes in student population.

Also, interviews were drawn from:

- Two (2) competent Consular Officers (CO)
- Two (2) teachers (T)
- Three (3) Presidents of Greek Communities (CP)
- One (1) Social Worker (SW)
- Six (6) “neo-migrants” (NM) (2 men 4 women)
- One (1) «older immigrant» the Coordinator of the «Hellenic Bonn», a network consisting mainly of “neo-migrant” academics (CHB)
- One (1) Priest (P)
- Five (5) Education Coordinators (EC) gave us statistics and useful information from structured interviews with them.
- Finally, useful information and viewpoints were provided by a competent member of the Greek Embassy in Berlin and two Consuls General during discussions as regards to the issue of neo-migration in Germany.

In regards to neo-migrants, focus was placed on specialized individuals with university degrees (doctors/dentists/nurses, engineers, lawyers, scholars), because-as we shall see below-this group is quantitatively dominant, but also because access to skilled or unskilled labourers proved difficult due to time constraints. Nevertheless, concerning the aforementioned category of individuals a plethora of information was drawn from the Community Presidents, consular officials, social workers, the priest and teachers.

It should be noted, that our research was far from being thorough nor is the claim made that conclusive drawings will be reached.

With the help of qualitative methods, our goal was to approach the neo-migration to Germany, to outline and attempt to evaluate it through the neo-migrant perspective but also to interpret it as far as possible, within the context of the current European and global socio-economic development.

The process of which these interviews were conducted were as follows:

1. *The profile of neo-migrants,*
2. *Reasons and ways for migration,*
3. *Settling and integration procedures in the new country,*
4. *Organization, self-organization in social networks,*
5. *Future orientations.*

For each of the interviewed individuals, a code was provided that is referred to in the evaluation that follows.

Particularly, the neo-migrants - as we have conventionally termed them, even though they themselves do not always adopt this term – were given the codes from NM1 to NM6, the Consular Officers codes CO1 and CO2, the Community Presidents codes from CP1 to CP3, the Education Coordinators EC1-EC5, the Social Worker SW, the priest P, the Coordinator of Hellenic Bonn Network was provided the code CHB and finally teachers were given the codes T1- T2.

The basic material as regards to the evaluation that follows includes: sixteen (16) interviews with neo-migrants and the previously-mentioned individuals, structured interviewes, as well as other material collected during the time period from January to July, 2013².

3. The Profile of Neo-migrants

The message, or at least the impression given that neo-migration to Germany, other European countries as well as other transatlantic countries is no longer for labour work, but academic work, is typically acknowledged by the media, but also from scientific papers. One such example can be seen from the work of Lambrianidis (2011) “Investing in Flight”. However, this study does not concern Greek “neo-migrants” but in general Greek academics working abroad or having worked abroad and yet subsequently had repatriated.

The view that the Greek “neo-migration” is a “migration of intelligence” is continuously promoted from both the Greek, and German media. A characteristic example is the first schoolgirl who obtained the highest credits on national exams in 2013, and decided to pursue her studies in Germany.

This decision of hers became headlines for both Greek internet and printed news, that were published and became well known by the magazine «DER SPIEGEL» (SPIEGEL ONLINE, 01.07.2013).

The migration flows as regards to Germany, has mainly an academic character. Specifically, according to a study by the «Bertelsmann Stiftung» foundation (2013a, 14) by the year 2009, 43% of new migrants (Neueinwanderer) had a higher education, while the percentage of corresponding higher education native workers, aged 15-65, amounted to 26%.

However, on the other hand, while the percentage of “natives” without professional qualifications amounted to only 12%, the corresponding rate among new migrants (Neuzuwandever) amounted to 25%.

From the above stated, it follows thus, that among the neo-migrants, the dominant group is the one whose members possess higher education qualifications. At the same time, however, there is also a marginal “sub-luben” lacking basic professional qualifications.

This situation is reverse to that of the decades between 1955-1973 in Germany.

Furthermore, the Greek Consulates and Greek communities, depicted the Greek neo-migrants in the exact same way. From the one hand the “educated” and from the other the “desperate”, who “have no future perspective.”

The president of the Greek Community of Düsseldorf - where attempts are being made for a systematic record of the Greek neo-migrants in the region – has indicated the first group to range between 60% -70%, while the second of about 20%.

Based on our experience gained from our field investigation neo-migrants with higher education degrees are differentiated in two groups, depending on the demand and supply of their profession in the German labor market. In particular, those who are characterized by a profession of high demand (mainly doctors, nurses, computer engineers and graduates in applied technology) and those who even though have a background in university education, their area of expertise is not in demand in the job market - these are mainly humanities and social sciences, but also Law School graduates.

Based on the above, and by illustrating the profile of neo-migrants, the following three groups have been reached as a conclusion.

1. *University graduates, with «easy» access to the job market of their profession.*
2. *University graduates, with «difficult» access to the job market of their profession.*
3. *Skilled or unskilled workers, graduates of secondary education.*

The neo-migrants who have requested assistance by the Consulates and Communities, normally belong to the third group, less frequently in the second and never in the first.

What's more, it is also noteworthy to mention that approximately an equal amount of males and females migrate.

4. Reasons and Ways of Migration

The participants of our sample chose migration based on two factors: a) for study and b) for employment purposes.

Moreover, individuals who migrate for employment purposes are differentiated into three categories, b1) those who had never joined the job market in Greece, b2) those who reached unemployment and b3) those who even though employed in Greece due to insecurity factors and lack of future prospects, abandoned their work and migrated.

A separate category refers to those who had previously lived in Germany, moved to Greece and following the year 2010 “return” to Germany due to the Greek economic crisis. The exact percentage of these “returnees” proved impossible to calculate. However, we can definitely state that they only embrace a small group; in contrast, in other countries, such as Australia, they consist of the dominant group.

The lack of perspective in Greece generally causes even those who had initially migrated for postgraduate studies to change their course and to remain in Germany. One such example is the one that follows. The statements of a Law School graduate from the University of Athens with a Masters degree from Germany: *“My goal of course was to return immediately after I had completed my Masters degree. I had an excellent cooperation with the law office I was undertaking my practical experience. I was actively involved in decision making and taking initiatives. I was actively involved rather than passively as is the norm for many young lawyers, and I was even offered a position as a lawyer. So it did at no time, seem that I would continue*

to stay in Germany, but within this year (2012) many things happened in Greece, the circumstances changed a lot”(NM1).

Similar to the above statements are the viewpoints of a literature educator who during 2010/11 worked in a photocopy shop with a wage of 380 euros per month. Her work prospects as she stated were: *“switch from working at the photocopy shop to working at ZARA»* (NM2). Thus, her childhood desire to migrate and become acquainted with other countries, became a vital necessity, *“that was done by my own desire, it became a vital necessity”* (NM2).

Even though for certain individuals migration is imperative, for others migration is a way to prevent the worst to come. According to the statement of a trainee doctor, the reduction of wages, non-payment of compensation for overtime and the general deterioration of the national health system were the reasons that led him/her to resign from his/her position in Greece and seek a position in Germany (NM6).

A computer engineer (NM4) due to a bank merging and the subsequent downsizing of personell made sure to seek a job in Germany ahead of time.

The educational background and the market demand of the destination country was the determinant factor as regards to the way migrants collected information and overcame obstacles when moving from their homeland to the destination country.

That is, highly skilled individuals who are familiar with the use of the internet, so as to collect the necessary information, properly prepare and ensure, as much as possible, a job prior to migrating. Indicative is the following testimony of NM4: *“... I had previously spent a semester in Munich. I had an idea of what Germany was like, so I started sending resumes. I had some interviews until finally a successful interview with the D.P. was reached. This was a position that is directly related with what I did in Greece.”*

Of course, as we will see below, among highly qualified individuals are those who are most likely to find work as doctors, due to the high demand of medical and nursing staff in the German national health system.

In contrast to those who are the well-informed and well-prepared prior to migrating, there are also the “desperate.” As CO1 stated: *“When the crisis hit, that is, two years ago, we received phone calls and email, usually by individuals who so to speak, lack adequate qualifications. They pack a suitcase, get on a plane and, let fate*

decide for the future, they do not speak German, they are unskilled, they don't have a degree, so those that really are desperate!".

What's more, according to the statement of SW, some are in such despair that even risk moving through «Schlepper» (traffickers).

This had been made public through newspapers in Greece: *"We had warned them to watch out, watch out, these are the circumstances, but unfortunately many compatriots are in such need, that even though they are aware that there may be taken advantage of, they think, at least there is some hope"* (SW).

Yes? So they take this risk. So they say, I will take the risk whatever happens? (MD).

"At the very least a chance, I might get lucky. Suppose, I may meet someone or something good might come out. So some are aware of the situation, and nevertheless, fall into the trap" (SW).

Indicative, as regards to labour trafficking, are the statements of an experienced priest at a large Orthodox Community in Germany. *"I am not referring to the academics I am referring to the public"! Well, these are some hundreds, (he means in his own parish MD) some come here after being deceived by fraud realtors, whom they had paid to find them a job. And indeed they arrive and are hired by someone, they work for a week to ten days and then they are told I am very sorry, but as you can see for yourself, we are not busy so you have to leave"* (P).

Apart from labour smugglers, that is, today's "traffickers", who operate in networks with members not only in Greece but also in Germany, there are also official private mediation companies who assist individuals find a job. It was through such a company that a subject from our sample, a nurse, pursued to seek for a job.

In these cases also, the exploitation of the worker is not an exception. This at least is the case during the time period of "subletting" because usually after a six month time period, the employer can directly sign a contract with the employee.

However, during the period of "subleasing" the brokerage company withholds 30-40% from the employee's salary to cover the mediation "costs".

The interested «potential migrants» can draw information from informal networks, such as neighboring networks or local networks of Greek restaurant owners, as well as institutions such as the Greek Communities and the

“Evangelische Diakonie”.

Indeed, the cooperation between the Greek Community of Düsseldorf and Diakon Rheinland-Westfalen-Lippe led to the establishment of a bilingual guide entitled “Living and Working in Germany”, which is available both in print and electronic format and is one of the most valuable information tools in Germany (www.diakonie-rwl.de).

There are also legislated private initiatives that inform and assist interested parties, such as the “Greek-Network: Regions - Local - Citizens. Deutsch-Griechisches Netzwerk Regionen-Städte-Bürger»([www.grde.ev / el](http://www.grde.ev-el)) in Thessaloniki and Berlin.

The Federal Labour Organization - Bundesagentur für Arbeit. Zentrale Auslands-und Fachvermittlung (ZAV), (www.arbeitsagentur.de) should be added with the previously mentioned sources of information. The aforementioned provides systematic and reliable information, based on the needs of the German economy. Equally important is the contribution of the German Embassy in Athens (www.griechenland.diplo.de, Leben & Arbeiten in Deutschland).

A common feature of all agencies and information sources is that the information is provided via the internet, which means that anyone who is not familiar with the internet or does not have access to it is at a disadvantage.

Furthermore, from what it seems, the Greek state does not play a role either in providing information to new immigrants or as regards to migrating to another country. Specifically, the information and support provided by the Greek Consulates relates to the initiatives of Consuls and Consular officers, who are usually responsible for the trade and economy sector, and not to the immigration policy of Greece.

5. Settling and Integration Procedures in the New Country

Prior to outlining the settling procedures of migrants in the host country and into their integration labor market, it should be emphasized that recently, Germany, is a major destination among other European countries. That is, in contrast to other member countries of the OOSA (OECD), where in 2009 and 2010 a decline in immigration was observed, in Germany there was an increase. Specifically, according to the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlingen, the

development of input-output of migrants during the time period 2007-2011 was as follows (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1.: Inflows-Outflows of foreigners in Germany

| Year | Inflow | Outflow | Net (+) Migration |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| 2007 | 574752 | 475749 | 99003 |
| 2008 | 573815 | 563130 | 10685 |
| 2009 | 606314 | 578808 | 27506 |
| 2010 | 683530 | 529605 | 153925 |
| 2011 | 841695 | 538837 | 302858 |

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlingen. Migrationsbericht 2011, p.15, Table 1.1.

According to a statement by the Federal Statistical Office (Pressemitteilung 156/07.05.2013), the year 2012, inflows rose by 13% and net migration reached the number of 369,000-the highest number since 1995.

Note that 60% of the inputs came from member states of the EU, with Poland, Romania and Bulgaria being first. It is also noteworthy to state that for the academic year 2011/12, 192,800 foreign students enrolled at German higher education institutions (OECD 2013, p.254).

5.1. Moving and Settling

The procedure involved in moving and settling in the target country mainly depends on the amount of information in regards to finding employment prior to migrating. Two perspectives guide this procedure.

On the one hand there are the “Academics” who prior to migrating ensure they have signed an employment contract, and in some cases their employer even undertakes the cost of transporting their household possessions from Greece- and on the other hand there are the “desperate” who go to Germany, being unaware and unprepared of what to expect, and end up living in cardboard boxes under bridges, in parks or in train stations.

In regards to the aforementioned, the following statements are shocking:

At some point during the first few months that we dealt with the matter, the phone rang and it was the German police, saying, "Come get your people "out blunt. So we go and what do we see. They had found a couple with two kids sleeping on cardboard under the bridge (CP3).

A year ago we had a gypsy with three children (...) obviously she borrowed money from all the people at the camp and brought three under aged children. We told her: My lady, don't you pity the kids?". They were sleeping in the street. Fortunately the German welfare took care of the situation, at least for the three young children. This shows desperation (CO1).

The social worker stresses that some families are in such "*despair... that they just come, just like that, they take the child and come. The one that came now, the mother with a child of seven years; some young man brought her and then left her.*" (SW).

The phenomenon of neo-migrant "impoverishment" is also observed in other European countries. EC5, wrote that: "*We also had a mother with two children who slept in the park for two nights and was taken by the church; as well as the family of a student who in six months time returned after we had collected the funds for their return tickets through a fundraising event that was organized at the Embassy*".

The priest interviewed also made note of the funds for the return ticket "*We as a church have repeatedly paid for return tickets (...) ten days ago I paid the last ticket as a church. In 2013 (until mid-July M.D.), we have paid for return tickets four times.*" (P).

Those who have relatives in Germany are in a more favorable situation. Not only because they are staying with them, while being in a transitional stage, but also because they feel secure and have actual support from the moment they arrive. As the social worker stated these families "*are the most organized. And the other phenomenon is that these families bring all their household appliances as well... transport it with a truck... actual evacuation*"(SW).

The first settling in the host country seems to be a burden for all new migrants. Even for academics, if one does not take into consideration the minimum of those who are directly supported by the new employer. As we were informed by the Coordinator of the Hellenic Bonn network, which almost exclusively consists of people with academic qualifications and a job

relevant to their qualifications, the questions received from newcomers relate to everyday life. Where and how will I find a home? Where and how will I be registered?

How will I enroll my child in kindergarten? How does the health system work, etc?

The settling process is made even more sufferable for those who do not speak German. Because even though they use English to communicate in the workplace, in everyday life the language of communication is German.

Furthermore, in many cases, the first time settling process is often accompanied by a lack of financial resources, to such an extent, that neo-migrants live below the poverty level, particularly if they are unaware of the welfare benefits of their host country.

If one compares «Gastarbeiter» of the 1960's with the equivalent group of "neo- migrants", that is, of skilled or unskilled employees, one realizes that the «Gastarbeiter» were in a more advantageous position, as migration was based on interstate agreements and was organized, whereas today the immigrant undertakes full responsibility for everything on his own.

Hence, migration from being a collective and organized process during the decades 1950-1970 evolved into a purely private affair. This way, individuals of low educational background and professional status cannot easily manage this situation. This is why it becomes vital to support social services, the Church and the Communities. In housing, for example, the Communities and the Church ensure cheap accommodation or finding "foster" families, where neo-migrants, in need of assistance, could reside during their transitional stage (CP3, P, SW).

5.2. Integration into the Labor Market

Integration into the labor market has its own difficulties, especially if a job has not been secured prior to migrating. Situations of exploitation by employers are not rare even in cases of doctors who easily find work in state hospitals. As it has become apparent through our study, because they are young, and in most cases unskilled doctors, they are in a weak bargaining position. Thus, it is not an unusual phenomenon for them to agree to work transitionally, for some months, as "visitors" without pay or with part-time

pay, even though they are in fact full-time employed. The huge profit of the German health care system is evident in such particular cases. Essentially, Germany employs low-paid doctors without having been burdened for their education. It should be noted that the demand for medical and nursing staff, as well as the employment of thousands of Greek doctors in Germany is based on international mobility. That is due to the fact that German doctors themselves, seek for employment in the Scandinavian countries and in Switzerland, where wages are much higher. So the gap is covered by doctors coming from southern Europe, especially from Greece.

Despite the cases of exploitation, doctors remain a privileged group of employees, especially when they are proficient German speakers. However, this is not the case with individuals who have a university degree, but whose occupation is not in demand in Germany or can be exercised under certain circumstances.

Graduates of non-German law schools, for example, are not allowed to attend court in Germany, which means that they do not seek employment in the field of justice. This complicates their professional settlement and leads them to seek a profession elsewhere. Thus, the two Law School graduates of the University of Athens EK, with postgraduate degrees from Germany, whom we met and spoke to in Germany, engaged in volunteer work at the Greek Consulate in order to gain administrative experience, and ensured their daily expenses by working elsewhere (in Greek restaurants).

Neo-migrants undertake low paid work unrelated to their studies and their profession, with the hope that this way they will find access in the work market and will gradually obtain positions equivalent to their qualifications. It is not therefore, unusual for an experienced engineer to be working at a dry cleaners (Wäscherei), until he learns the language, and for a teacher to work for 400 euros at Düsseldorf Airport, driving or cleaning rental cars.

“... We have an example at the airport, where a Greek individual is the head in a large company which undertakes the service of rental cars, from the time it is delivered by the customer until the time it is delivered to the company clean (...) At the moment non appointed teachers work there. Retired law enforcement officials - young 40 year old individuals who got their pension and came to Germany” (CP3).

The Greek restaurant owners seem to simultaneously be a “blessing” and a

“curse”. As shown from our participant observation and especially by our discussion with the Greek Community presidents, of whom two were also restaurant owners, Greek restaurant owners are viewed as a particular, restricted work market that serves as an introductory stage prior to the main work market.

“... We, here at Romiosini (restaurant chain M. D.) have hired around 15 individuals, Greek newcomers are usually university graduates. What can I offer them, I cannot employ academics. So I say, to them, “Work, at the bar, for example, for a few months, for a year, learn the language,” hopefully they will soon find a better job and climb the ladder” (CP1).

At the same time, however, there are also restaurant owners who are harsh exploiters. *“Yes, they will hire you and keep you for a month, and then they’ll tell you that you are not fitted for the job and to get out. Or they will find a reason for an argument and force you to leave. And then, the next, the next, the next, there is ample supply. And finally, they get away without paying insurance premiums, by having free workers” (CP3).*

A manager and well informed Consular officer denounced extreme cases of exploitation.

“During these difficult times cunning individuals, try to take advantage of these situations. These cunning individuals are restaurant owners that cooperate with some so to speak “employment” offices, and a kind of human trafficking takes place. That is, they bring people to work in restaurants, they pay for their plane ticket, they put them in a warehouse (...). They sleep in the restaurant’s warehouse, like animals, and then what do they do? After a month they fire them without giving them any money. He says, “But why don’t you pay me?” No, they say, “That was to pay for your plane ticket from Greece.” And they come here, one person was sobbing. They also should file a complaint. But no one has done so. Are they afraid? I do not know (...). I, personally, have come across two or three situations. What can we do, we do not have that many capabilities. We somehow contacted their relatives, got them a ticket and sent them back to Greece. And there are people whom I ask: Where do you work? ‘I do not know’ he says. You do not know? Which city do you work at? Did it have sea? Mountain? Where were you? “No, he says, I went to the airport, a car came and got me and I went there”. The man did not even know which city he was working at for one month. I told him. If I show you the map will you be able to show me? He says ‘no’ ” (CO1).

The experienced social worker was aware of both the positive and negative aspects of working in Greek restaurants. After having closely reflected on the matter he concluded that: *“For the moment, we need business owners”* (SW).

He seems to be evaluating the situation correctly, because during the years 2011-12 Greek businesses seem to have acted as a lobby entrance for access to the mainstream labor market, especially for those individuals whose professions were not of high demand in Germany.

Exploitation situations of neo-migransts by both Greeks and other individuals or businesses of the host country were observed in other countries. Expatriate teachers from Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide) highlighted this phenomenon by reporting specific examples.

Apart from the health sector, another area that is of high demand in Germany is that of technology. As the experienced Head of the Trade and Economics Department at the Consulate General in Düsseldorf, repeatedly stressed, demand will continue to grow in technology, particularly in the field of “applied technologies.”

This is supported mainly by two facts. Firstly that the German economy is mainly based on high technology and secondly that based on the evaluations, in 2050 Germany’s population will decline from 83 to 63 million and employees from 45 to 27 million (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2013b, p.4). Therefore, Germany will continue to need highly skilled workforce.

Apart from employees in these two sectors (health and technology) other new immigrants, despite the fact that they have university degrees and postgraduate diplomas, must be prepared to undergo painstaking procedures (learning the language, upgrading their courses, specializations, further training) so as to join the work market.

It may be that these difficulties in entering the work market discourage many new migrants, which is the main reason for leaving Germany. This fact was noted in 2013 by the OECD and reproduced and discussed in the German media (see e.g. SPIEGEL ONLINE,

<http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/oecd-deutschlands-einwanderer-wandern-oft-wieder-aus-a-905446.html><http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/oecd-deutschlands-einwanderer-wandern-oft-wieder-aus-a-905446.html>10.07.2013).

We assume that it is these developments that the specialized academics of Bertelsmann Stiftung, had in mind when recommending the development of a «*welcome culture*» (Willkommenskultur). That is, giving the impression to highly skilled persons entering Germany, not only that they are provided with economic opportunities, but also the feeling of being welcome. (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2013b)

Those who are not able to enter the German work market are the unskilled or even skilled workers, but without a certificate to justify their specialization. This is especially true when these people do not know German. Instead, graduates from Technical Colleges, with degrees, professional experience and German speakers have many employment opportunities.

6. Organization: Self-organization in Social Networks

In contrast to the financial/professional integration, the social and cultural are connected with long term procedures. That is the reason our research did not focus on the social and cultural integration of neo-migrants - who lived in Germany for a few months or two years the most - but was limited to the organization of their social life and possible integration into the existing community of social structures. Specifically, in the Greek Communities that were mainly created during the 1960s by the at that time termed “Gastarbeiter” (guest workers).

Through our research that was mainly based on the interviews with the presidents of the Communities (CP), it was revealed that neo-migrants that come in contact and partly integrate in the existing Greek communities are the ones who seek for help and could attract support from local Communities (CP1, CP2, CP3).

These individuals mainly belong in the group of low educational background and professional status, or a group of academics who do not have easy access to the work market.

Some of these people get lost in the process, while others are integrated in the Communities and contribute to their own cultural renewal. The Community of Berlin, for example, had organized an entire program of events (language courses, IT, theatrical performances, dances, lectures, etc.) by employing newly arrived academics against a nominal fee or even no fee at all

(Hellenische Gemeinde zu Berlin e.v Courses-Seminar in Greek Community, Berlin 2012).

Similar situations can also be seen in other Communities, such as in Düsseldorf. The Community chairman stated: *"We have gathered lots of people. From whom? From those that were helped. I'll tell you about a new actor that came here unemployed from Greece. We gave him a job at a Greek fast food store to cover his daily expenses. He found a house, moved into the house, he found a better job, working an 8 hour day shift, not having to work the night shift like he had at the Greek fast food store. In return to the Community, he set up a theater workshop started directing, created a cast Community."* (CP3)

However, the vast majority of neo-migrants do not even have contact with the Communities. This is especially true in cities where the Communities are not well organized and above all do not have the same premises and therefore no geographical stigma. In these cases, younger and older immigrants usually meet at church.

In general, the impression one gets is that the immigrants of the 1960s, including their children, and neo-migrants are two parallel, at the most adjoined but not intersected worlds.

Neo-migrants do not entirely reject the term "immigrant", because as NM4 says *"I feel like an immigrant when my family is not close to me... when I have a problem with my Internet telephone line, I phone them and they hang up, why can't you speak German... those are the cases where I feel like an immigrant."*

On the other hand, however, they do not accept the term "immigrant" because they associate this term with labor migration with mines, factories, and the restrictions of the pre EU time-period.

Based on these lines of thought, therefore, they consider themselves free movement workers in a unified European market rather than immigrants. Also, they do not identify with the immigrants of the past or their conventions, and to a certain extent not even with the second generation, the children of these immigrants, due to the difference in mentality. The Network Coordinator of «Hellenic Bonn» stated:

- *"Contact is relatively problematic with the older generation of immigrants, those who arrived during the 50s and 60s and their children."*

- In what sense? (M.D.)
- *“Let’s say a simple example, the language. These people do not preserve the language... they have gone to German schools, they have not learned Greek, so the second and third generation have lost contact”* (CHB).

All the young people with whom we spoke to, directly or indirectly indicated that they are not interested in the Communities and thus, have no interaction with them. The younger and generally highly educated neo-migrants seek for information and ways to get organized, via the internet.

Due to time shortage, we were not able to meticulously study the social networks; however, we were able to identify three social networks in the state of North Rhine Westphalia. According to the statements of the CHB, one of them had approximately 300 to 400 members, who were all doctors. It was an informal medical association of Greek doctors who mainly worked in the area between the cities of Düsseldorf and Dortmund, North Rhine Westphalia.

Inclusion in these networks is either solely based on professional criteria, in which case the corporate nature of the network preceeds other criteria. The criteria that *Hellenic Bonn* declared, for example, was residing in the city or the region of Bonn or forthcoming settlement in the area, and the use of the Greek language as a communication tool. A further, not explicitly stated, but active criterion is a University degree. The increasing number of applications from individuals with non-academic degree led to an opening of the network, as for example to nurses. Nevertheless, despite this opening, the network essentially remains a network of academics.

The initial aim of the network was the communication between its members. However, the economic crisis in Greece and the increasing need for information contributed to the function of the network as an informal source of information and support at least towards those who already reside or intend to reside in the region of Bonn and are included in the network.

However, what essentially characterises and differentiates the Hellenic Bonn from other social networks is that it not only operates as a “virtual”, but also as a real, authentic community. Its members occasionally meet in person and are able to strengthen their social connections. What’s more, according to the Network Coordinator’s statements, at times, about one third or more than 140 members are involved in these events. This dual status of the network seems

to be its strong point that essentially, differentiates it from other similar networks.

Furthermore, it is through these forms of social organizations that new networks are created that are in parallel with the older traditional Greek Communities. In addition, even though at least concerning the *Hellenic Bonn* there was concern as regards to the relationship between the network and the Community as well as the possibility of network doctors to assist the “*older immigrants who are here and who might need a Greek doctor to speak to*” (CHB), the impression that one gets is that Social Networks and Greek Communities are parallel, at best tangential, but not intersecting networks.

This of course does not dismiss, at least theoretically, a future meeting and cooperation between the two, for two reasons. Firstly, because the phenomenon of neo-migration is still at a beginning phase and secondly, because historical experience has shown that immigrants during the decades 1950-1970 integrated in the older Communities of Australia, Canada and partly America giving them new structure and life.

Of course, the current mobility procedures, the settling and integration conditions in the host country and especially the profile of migrants themselves has changed. Therefore, it would be unrealistic for anyone to expect a repeat of the phenomenon observed during the 1950s and 1960s. However, we could presume that, following the certain transition time period that neo-migrants would require to adapt, a meeting point will take place, in which interaction and collaboration between the second and third generation of older immigrants and neo-immigrants at the «elite level» this time, will take place. Older and neo-elite will gather, interact, enrich one another and seek joint courses of action.

This, of course, is a hypothesis that remains to be explored and is based on the investigation of new networks. The impression one gets from contact with these networks is that they are characterized by an elitist and corporative nature, are more Greek-centered rather than intercultural, are more closed-natured than open-natured. These however, are just current impressions, as the structure and operation of new networks remains to be analysed along with a substantiated answer to be provided concerning their compatibility with the existing networks in the Greek Diaspora.

As regards to the compatibility between the Social Networks with the older Greek Communities it should be noted that the collective character of these two forms of organizations should first be examined.

Based on our experience so far, we could formulate the position that in comparison to the Communities, which functioned and up to a point continue to function as fighting and demanding Collectives, the Social Networks are now, at least, simply a total of communicating individual biographies and less Collectives with social self-consciousness.

7. Future Orientations

The fact that neo-migrants (as conventionally termed), consider themselves more as being free movement workers in a unified European market and less as immigrants, essentially leads them to plan their future in a different manner compared to that of immigrants during the decades 1950 to 1970. The aforementioned, typically migrated so as to earn as much money as possible, in as little time as possible, and return to their homeland. Such utopian plans are far from the neo-migrant perspective.

Neo-migrants are observed as having two tendencies. The first one deals with the educated, those of high professional status who are open minded and flexible. For example, a lawyer (NE1) who intended to return to Greece, after the completion of his/her Master's degree, views the crisis in Greece from a realistic perspective and seeks for a job in Germany. So does a dentist (NE5) following the completion of his/her intern. The doctor (NE6) that ended his/her intern in Greece, to resume it in Germany, aims to repatriate, and does not rule out the possibility of remaining and working in Germany. A computer engineer (NE4) who abandoned his/her work in Greece for a better position in Germany does not rule out an even more international career.

The second group observed involves neo-migrants of low educational background and professional status, or highly educated, whose profession is not in demand in the German work market, for whom, the idea of repatriation would be utopian. Furthermore, workers of a low educational background seem to consider the situation realistically and to be satisfied with a job that provides a decent quality of life. This is at least what an interviewee of ours stressed, who had experience with neo-migrants based on the context of

his/her line of work in the Greek Consulate. *“I also met three other young people who were excited, I will not forget it. Because apparently, they were unemployed in Greece. And I told the girl. “Oh! we have been here since the summer and have found jobs, we got a car, a house... “. When she said that they had their own car, she sounded so happy. “We have our lives here we are complete, here we have it all: home, work. And you can get used to the cold weather”. That is, I do not think this girl will ever leave, she was between 30-35 years old, not more”.* (NM1)

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that some individuals do not manage to join the work market and end up leaving Germany or other European countries that they had migrated to-for example the UK. EC5 observes in his/her note: *“Two children left from the Kindergarten to return back to Greece. Their mother had only worked for 3 months”.*

Future orientations are undoubtedly affected by the economic crisis and unemployment level in Greece. However, the crisis and unemployment also existed in the 1950s and 1960s. During that time period there was also domination, oppression and restriction of freewill. However, the ultimate goal of those who migrated in European countries at that point was repatriation.

The new generation of migrants does not seem to be trapped in the logic that existed for immigrants of the past that is, to return to their homeland. Perhaps the new generation of migrants is unable to follow this logic as in the «post-modern» world and the world of globalized economy “fixed ideals” that existed in the 1960s no longer exist. The lack of «fixed ideals» compels migrants to be constantly vigilant, to evaluate respective factors and design their own unique path in life.

8. Discussion

Without doubt Germany is the main country of destination for young Greek immigrants. Half a century later, the history of migration is repeated, under new conditions and new protagonists.

In 1960 the migration of surplus labor from the agricultural and farming sector and “workers” from urban centers began. In 2010 a massive migration of excess academic potential began. That is, labour migration in 1960, and academic in 2010.

The common point of the two migration movements is unemployment,

underemployment and the resulting lack of financial resources. However, this is the only common point the two migration movements share as significant differences differentiate the elder and neo-migrant profile. These differences concern the way they migrated/moved, the process they chose to settle in their new country, their integration into the work market, their establishment, the education of their children and their future orientations.

The migration during the decades 1950-1970 took place within interstate contracts and under this concept migration was institutionalized and controlled. The immigrant of that time period was to a certain extent secure, as regards to employment and the settling process. Prospective employers did not only ensure the migrant worker an annual, under certain conditions of course, employment contract, but also housing even if that meant “shacks” or Heim (communes). In the intergovernmental agreement between Greece and Belgium, for example, there was provision for «miners’ boarding», among others: “Each worker will have an individual cabin and mattress (excluding the thatched), bedding...” (Agreement of July the 12th 1957, Article VIII, paragraph 2b).

Perhaps the above statements may seem cynical, however, at the same time some liabilities of the future employer are marked. Today these “provisions” and this kind of “protection” does not exist. That is, the immigrant is responsible to take care of everything on his/her own. That is, to gather information prior to migrating, to plan the moving process, to look for work and housing, to ensure the legal aspects of migration, to ensure Social Security when unemployed, etc. In short, migrants are responsible for their own individual and unique course of action and undertake the relative “risks” it involves, as in any case he/she lives in a society of «risks» and “risk taking”, - in a «Risikogesellschaft», according to the German sociologist Ulrich Beck (1986).

The lack of “fixed ideals”, as highlighted above, and the integration of the European labor market led neo-migrants to making entirely different future plans and following different directions. The key concepts during the decade of 1960-1970 were “interstate contracts”, “committed labor”, “savings”, “temporariness”, “repatriation”. Today’s key concepts are “variability”, “mobility”, “openness”, “individuality”.

The German labor market may still have “collective” contracts, but these usually do not apply to neo-migrant academics. Greek doctors or engineers

make their own “individual employment contract” with the risk of falling into a confrontational situation with German colleagues, who view neo-migrants as the “Trojan horse” to the destruction of the last “collective contract.”

The German government has adopted a policy of attracting highly qualified personnel, particularly in the field of Information and Communication Technology (Information Technologie), arguing that there is a shortage of qualified personnel in Germany (IT-Fachkräftemangel). At the same time, however, it could be argued that there is enough highly qualified personnel, but companies are not willing to pay the equivalent wages (see eg www.gulp.de/kb/org/trashpoll-2512.html). Consequently, it is observed that local engineers and computer scientists are reluctant to work with low wages and vacancies are covered by low, but highly qualified neo-migrants. This phenomenon is also quite common in the health sector (see section 5.2)

Competition among workers is not a new phenomenon. But in contrast to the past where the “share or collective contracts” functioned protectively for the employee, currently in the “free” or “freelance” and “flexible” work markets competition and individual contracts tend to become the norm.

In today’s “free” work market each worker, and even more so every neo-migrant employee is called upon to prove his/her “worthiness”, as Tsoukalas would say, «through a work market recognition of the individuals productive utility (which can only be validated subsequently)» (Tsoukalas 2010, p.91).

This new form of “individuality” has no connection with the modernist individuality. In modernity individuality is associated with rights. The individual is entitled to work, health, education, housing, free expression of opinion, etc. (Wieviorka, 2003).

In the “post-modern” world “personalization” is equivalent to the right of each person to be “different”, construct his/her own distinct biography, to be himself or herself, in the way in which he/she was constructed to be. This self-reference acts as a barrier to the creation of demanding collectivities, as were the older migrant communities, and explains the neo migrant’s tendency to be organized in social networks, which as already mentioned, at best functions as a sum of communicating diversities.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the neo European migration is in full progress and that the dynamics now being developed in the German

work market and generally in German society, due to the new mass migration, require extensive reading.

A typical example in regards to the political and social dynamics that develop through the crisis but also youth unemployment in southern European countries and consequently their migration to Germany, is the attitude of the Left Wing (Die Linke) in regards to the government's proposal to offer "traineeships" (Lehrstellen), in Germany, to unemployed youths from southern European countries. As discussed in major German newspapers in early July 2013, the Left Wing described this proposal as "a slap" (Ohrfeige) for local youth who are unable to find a "traineeship" position, while the Social Democrats (SPD) and the German Federation of Unions (DGB) described it as governmental, communication politics (Symbolpolitik) (see e.g. www.sueddeutsche.de, 1. July 2013).

As to the dynamics of neo-migration and its consequences for both Greece and the Diaspora, we do in fact limit to the following observation. Although we are at the beginning of this development the analysis of the case of Greek neo-migrants in Germany permits the appearance of certain consequences. These are particularly evident in the area of education, where even though a growth in student number and student needs is observed, resources and educational staff are reduced³.

NOTES

1. The figures in Table 1 only refer to laborers who were examined by the German Selection Committee. But because some went as tourists to the BRD, who then worked as laborers, the actual number of Greek immigrants is larger than shown in the table.
2. The material of these interviews was in some areas enriched with the accounts of expatriate educators from Australia, who participated in a training seminar in January.
3. Education is a separate, complex and sensitive area, which was deliberately not addressed in this article. However, it should be emphasized that the increase of student population in European countries is of Greek origin and so high that new educational dynamics are being created. In strictly Greek schools in Germany, Brussels

and London, for which we have reliable statistics, during the school year 2012/13 about one third of the students were children of neo migrants - in primary schools this percentage was generally higher.

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Greek Consulate General in Hamburg

Greek Consulate General in Düsseldorf

Daily and press magazines (print and electronic)

Semi-structured Interviews of 16 individuals

Conversations (organized) with two Consuls General and five Education Coordinators, and occasional conversations with teachers and other individuals.

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The Greek Immigration to the United States: Yesterday and Today

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article traite la question de l'immigration grecque aux Etats-Unis du 16ème siècle à nos jours, en se concentrant sur les périodes allant de 1900 à 1924 et de 1965 à aujourd'hui. Les années 1924 et 1965 sont des dates charnières, vu qu'en 1924 l'immigration a été considérablement limitée, alors qu'en 1965 elle a été libéralisée et est devenue plus ouverte. Lors de la deuxième vague d'immigration importante (1965-1980) environ 150.000 Grecs se sont installés aux Etats-Unis. Il y a par la suite une baisse marquée de cette immigration après 1980, qui continue à ce jour. L'article examine et juxtapose le niveau de vie et les réalisations des premiers immigrants à la situation de ceux arrivés après 1965. Enfin cette étude examine l'immigration au cours des treize dernières années et en particulier la période après la crise de 2009 en Grèce. Paradoxalement, on ne constate aucun changement significatif. L'auteur explore diverses voies pour expliquer ce constat. Il s'agit notamment de l'adhésion pleine et entière de la Grèce à l'Union européenne, la variation de son niveau de vie après 1980, la croissance inexistante de sa population ces derniers temps, et enfin la possibilité d'une "immigration masquée" qui prend la forme de «touristes», d'étudiants et de scientifiques.

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the topic of Greek Immigration to the United States from the 16th century to today. Its focus, however, is the 1900-1924 and the 1965-today period. Both 1924 and 1965 are two landmarks, since the first one drastically limited immigration, while 1965 opened it up. The second major immigration wave (1965-1980) brought about 150,000 Greeks to America. There is a marked drop in immigration after 1980, continuing to this day. The paper also examines and juxtaposes the living standards and achievements of the early immigrants to those after 1965. Finally, the paper examined the immigration during the last thirteen years and especially the period after the crisis (2010) in Greece. Paradoxically, it found no significant change. The paper explored various avenues to explain this finding. These include: the full membership of Greece into the EEC, the change in its living standards after 1980, its non-existent population growth lately, and finally the possibility of a "masked immigration" that takes the form of "tourists", students and scientists.

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1. Introduction

This paper deals with the topic of Greek immigration from the time when the United States was a British colony to today. Its focus, however, is the period of 1900-1924 and then the period 1965-2000. The paper then turns to the examination of the new millennium immigration, i.e. the last thirteen years. The first period, which also discusses the sporadic immigration of the last thirty years of the 19th century, in essence deals with the mass migration of 1900-1924, which ends with the Reed-Johnson Act of 1924. While immigration to the States was free during the first seventeen years of the 20th century, conditions started changing due to internal pressures from the labor unions and thus the first restrictive immigration law was passed in 1917, followed by another one in 1921. Finally the toughest anti-immigration Law was passed in 1924 that was discriminating against South and South-Eastern European countries. From an annual rate of more than 10,000 from 1900-1920, the new law allowed only 100 Greek immigrants per year. Thus only a few thousand Greeks were able to immigrate under various categories from 1924-1965.

The year 1965 was another landmark in the US immigration policy, since the Immigration Law changed again and allowed for a more equitable and better immigration flow. Unlike the Johnson Reed Act of 1924, the new law was fair to all countries and most of them took advantage of it. As a result, we witness a resurgence of Greek Immigration during the 1965-1980-period, when some 150,000 Greeks came to the USA. This new wave of immigrants slowed down during the following decades as data show. Thus for the decade of 1980-89 the number was 37,729, for the next decade, 1990-1999, it went down to 25,403 and for the first decade of the new millennium (2000-2009) it was only 16,841 (2012: Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 2, p. 1)

The reader might wonder about this continuous slow-down of this new immigration wave. There are many explanations for that. First, the 1965-1980 period was a difficult period for Greece and there was also a pent-up demand for immigration from the previous decades. The country was still poor and had a growing population that was looking for the “Promised Land.” America was an excellent solution to this problem, especially for those Greeks who had relatives there and were willing and able to invite them. The significant slow-down for the period after 1980 can be explained with the new situation of Greece within the European Economic Community (EEC), which was later

transformed into the European Union (EU). By becoming a full member of the EEC in 1981, Greece had some new advantages. One of them was the free flow of people, goods and services among member countries. Thus the freedom of the Greeks to move freely within the EEC to get a job, especially in Germany, than to go to faraway places, like America and Australia, was a great incentive. Additionally, the flow of significant funds from the EEC for the development of Greece had the beneficial effect of increasing wages and prosperity and decreasing unemployment in Greece. Thus for the first time in many decades the Greek people were satisfied with their earnings and the economy and they did not feel the need to immigrate to other countries. As a result, only a few of them would attempt to leave the country and in such cases they would mostly choose the EU countries, because of their proximity and the lack of any entrance barriers, such as visas, etc. The few thousands that would choose to go to America had either an invitation from relatives in the States or were students or temporary workers, who decided to stay in the country permanently after their studies or their temporary work assignment.

Finally, the seemingly low immigration numbers today, despite the recent financial crisis in Greece, might have an additional explanation. This explanation may be found in the possibility that a good number of new “immigrants” have come to the US using their green cards or American passports, but are not recorded. These people, who were living in Greece but returned to America because of the crisis, do not show up in the Immigration Statistics, since they are already American citizens or permanent residents. Finally, another possibility of “invisible immigrants” might be found in the rather significant number of Greeks that come to America as tourists. This number has been steadily increasing over the past ten years and in 2011 it was 84,380, while in 2003 it was 51,813 (2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Table 26, p. 68). The same could be also said about the Greek students, an average of 5,000 per year, who come to study in the US, as well as about the Nonimmigrant Temporary Worker Admissions (I-94 visas only), which were 2,748 and 2,882 for the years 2011 and 2012, respectively. If a 15%-20% of the above categories would choose to stay in the US illegally, then the picture changes drastically.

Considering the data from the above categories one could conclude that we will have a much clearer picture towards the end of this decade, when many

of these people will have a Green card or citizenship and their number will show up in the US Immigration Service data. Still those numbers in no way are going to come close to those of Germany or even Canada and Australia, which have a somewhat freer immigration policy.

1.1. The First Greeks in America and the Reed-Johnson Act of 1924

The Greek Immigration to the United States has a history of close to five hundred years, if we take into consideration that the first Greek who set foot on today's U.S. soil was Theodoros the Greek or Theodoro el Griego, in Spanish. Theodoro el Griego was an important member of the Spanish exploration mission under Admiral Panfilo de Narvaez, which departed from the San Lucar de Baraneda port, of Spain on June 17, 1527, and reached Florida months later. Theodoro provided critical support to the Spanish mission by repairing its ships after a terrible storm in the area of today's Tampa Bay, in September of 1528. Unfortunately Theodoro's participation in this exploration came to a quick and tragic end, when he left his ship along with other Spaniards to find provisions for the crew, but never came back (Papaioannou 1985: 25-26). Nobody was able to find out what happened to them, after they followed the local Indians, who promised to assist them in getting food and water. The next important Greek explorer in North America was Apostolos Valerianos Fokas or Juan de Fuca, in Spanish. He was from the island of Cephalonia and in the service of the king of Spain. In 1592 Focas discovered and very carefully mapped the straits that today separate Washington State from the island of Vancouver in the USA-Canada borders and are known as Juan de Fuca Straits. (From the Life of the Greeks in America, Rethymno, University of Crete, EDIAMME, 2008: 151). Still, for some writers, such as Spiro Kateras, Seraphim Canoutas, Demetrios Sicilianos (Papaioannou, 1985: 24-25) and lately Alexander Langkadas, the first Greek that set foot in the New World was none else than Christopher Columbus, who was born on the island of Chios and was a citizen of Genoa, which at that time had under its sovereignty Chios and other islands in the Aegean.

The first organized Greek immigration into the New World took place in 1768 in Florida with the creation of the New Smyrna colony, at a time when the USA did not exist as country. The organizer of the New Smyrna colony

was Andrew Turnbull, a Scottish doctor, whose wife was from a Greek family in London, but with roots from Smyrna, in Asia Minor; hence the name of the colony "New Smyrna". The colony was comprised of close to 1500 immigrants - of which more than 500 were Greeks (Panagopoulos 1978:52) - coming from the area of the Peloponnese and the Aegean Islands and several other countries of South Europe, mainly Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal. The history of this colony was short and a tragic one. A combination of bad climate and living conditions, along with an equally harsh treatment of the colonists by their bosses, led first to a small mutiny and later on, 1777, to the final dissolution of the colony (Panagopoulos 1978: 129-152). Most of its surviving members moved to the nearby city of Saint Augustine (Panagopoulos 1985: 31-35). Among those first colonists was Ioannis (John) Giannopoulos, who along with his main work, also undertook the task of teaching the Greek language to the children of the Greek immigrants. Thus today the house/school, where Giannopoulos was teaching is still standing and bears the title "The Oldest Wooden School in America", while he is celebrated as the first Greek teacher in the USA (Panagopoulos 1978:181-83).

Despite the sporadic immigration of a few Greeks to various States, such as the immigration of Andrea Dimitry and Marianne Celeste Dracos, who got married in New Orleans in 1799 or of John Paradise, who got married to Lucy Ludwell from Virginia in 1787 (Moskos 1990: 5) or of the first Greek, Michael Uri, who became an American citizen in 1725 in the State of Maryland (Papaioannou 1985:28-29), the immigration to the USA, was not substantial. We should not forget that an intercontinental immigration at that time, when travel was expensive, the distances extremely long, and the means of communication almost non-existent, was a tremendous undertaking. Thus the very few Greek immigrants of the 19th century - amounting to 375 for the period 1820-1879, and 209 for the decade of 1870-1879, 1,807 for the decade 1880-89 and 12,732 for the decade of 1890-99 (2011Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 2, p. 6) - that met this challenge were primarily merchants, like Nicholas Benakis in New Orleans, sailors who transported various goods with their ships across the Atlantic coast as wells as inland through the Mississippi and other rivers, and a few more immigrants towards the end of the century, especially in the big cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago.

To the above small numbers, we should also add an equally small but

significant number of young immigrants in the beginning of the 19th century. These immigrants were orphans, whose parents were killed during the Greek Revolution of 1821. These children were adopted by American Philhellenes, who were either in Greece fighting alongside the Greek Rebels or in the USA and wanted to help the Greek Revolution. Some very impressive Greek American personalities emerged from this small group, such as Lucas Miltiades Miller, the first Greek American state and federal Congressman and John Zachos (1820-1898), a multi-talented young man, who studied many sciences, wrote an Ode for the liberation of the blacks during the Civil War (1861-1865) and ended his career as theology professor at the Cooper Union in New York. Another orphan, George M. Colvocoressis, was the first Greek-American, to become captain of an American warship and was the Commander of the famous "*Saratoga*" during the American Civil War. Other famous orphans were also the brothers Konstantinos and Pantias Rallis, who after their studies at Amherst College and Yale University created a commercial "empire" with headquarters in London and operating in India, the USA, and other countries, and finally Christodoulos Evangelides, who established an American-style boarding school on his island of Syros, and others (Papaioannou 1985: 39-47).

Thanks to the efforts of Nicholas Benakis and other pioneers the first Greek Church, the Holy Trinity (1865), was established in New Orleans, with members from other Orthodox Churches, such as Russians, etc. During the same period another three famous Greeks came to the USA. First among them was Evangelinos Apostolides Sophocles (1820-1883), the first Greek professor at Harvard University (1842), the painter Constantino Broumidi (1805-1880), who painted the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., and Michael Anagnostopoulos or Anagnos (1837-1906), who married Julia Romana, daughter of the famous American Philhellene Samuel Gridley Howe. Anagnos succeeded Howe as director of the world renowned Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston and one of his famous students was the writer Helen Keller (Moskos, 1990: 6-7).

As mentioned earlier, towards the end of the 19th century one witnesses a stronger immigration flow whose main cause is to be found in the economic difficulties that Greece faced at that time, but also in the entrepreneurial spirit and activities exhibited by two pioneers from the area of Laconia. The first

one was Christos Tsakonas, also known as the Columbus of Sparta, and the second Eleutherios Pelalas from the area of Vresthaina in Laconia. Pelalas came to New York in 1868 and Tsakonas to Chicago in 1873. Tsakonas returned to his village near Sparta in 1873 and convinced many of his compatriots to immigrate to the “land of many opportunities”. Thus within ten years Tsakonas succeeded to bring to Chicago around one thousand of his compatriots.

This immigration wave, which was the largest after the New Smyrna colony, became front-page news in the Greek press of that time and caused serious concern on both sides of the Atlantic. Greece was concerned about the large numbers of immigrants, while the USA about the excessive number of immigrants and especially those from the South European countries that were considered to be less developed. Both countries funded scientific research to examine the causes and consequences of immigration on the economy and other areas. Thus the Greek research conducted by professor Andreadis of the University of Athens (1917), concluded that immigration had negative results for Greece, especially in the social and defense areas, while the American one, known as the Fairchild Study (1911), came to the conclusion that the main causes of Greek immigration were economic ones and were destined to have negative social and other consequences for the USA, if no immigration control was imposed (Papaioannou 1985:47-52). As a result of this study and the fact that the number of immigrants from Europe and especially Southern Europe was considered excessive, there were several debates in the American Congress. These debates led to the imposition of some light immigration measures in 1917 and 1921 and more severe ones in 1924 with the enactment of the Reed-Johnson Act. While immigration was free until 1917, provided the immigrants were healthy, that position changed to the negative in 1921 and in 1924 the “open door” policy ended for good. Thus while the number of Greek immigrants for the decade of 1900-1910 was 167,514 and the decade of 1910-1920 was 184,201, this number was now reduced to 100 per year! (Papaioannou 1985: 50; Moskos 1990: 32). For a better understanding of this new situation see Table 1, which shows both the tremendous immigration wave during the first decades of the 20th century, as well as the results of the Reed-Johnson Act of 1924.

Table 1

| Decade | Number of Immigrants |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 1881-1890 | 2,308 |
| 1891-1900 | 15,979 |
| 1901-1910 | 167,514 |
| 1911-1920 | 184,201 |
| 1921-1930 | 51,084 |
| 1931-1940 | 9,119 |
| 1941-1950 | 8,973 |
| 1951-1960 | 47,603 |
| 1961-1970 | 85,969 |
| 1971-1980 | 102,000 |

Source: Papaioannou, 1985: 50

This law was in force for over forty years (1924-1965). During this forty-year period the only way for someone to immigrate to the USA was to have relatives that would invite him/her there or if s/he would marry an American citizen or finally, if s/he was a refugee or a victim of the Civil War in Greece (1946-1949). Another favorite way of staying in America for sailors and others was to visit the country as a crew member and then “miss the boat”. Adding up all the above categories of legal and illegal immigration, mainly of sailors, we come up with the number of about 70,000-80,000 people for the period 1921-1950. Moreover, these figures are as follows for the decades 1931-1940, 1941-1950 and 1951-1960 respectively, 9,119, 8,973 and 47,603, as appears in Table 1. These data are in broad agreement with similar data presented by Charles Moskos, who writes that the total of Greek immigrants from the end of World War II to 1965 was around 70,000 (Moskos 1990:53).

2. The New Immigration Law of 1965

As previously mentioned, the 1924 Immigration Law was replaced by a new one in 1965. This new law did not use quotas based on how developed or

underdeveloped the country of origin was, but used a simple and “equal” treatment for all the countries. More specifically, the law provided for an annual immigration of 170,000 people from the eastern hemisphere and another 120,000 from the western hemisphere (Moskos 1990: 54). It also provided that each country was allowed a maximum of 20,000 immigrants per year. Countries with a larger number of candidates would transfer the last applications to the next year. This new law was slightly favoring countries with small populations that in many instances were poorer and needed the immigration. In addition to this number of legal immigration, there was still in force the old provision of “family reunion”, as mentioned earlier, as well as the cases of marriage of an American citizen to a citizen of another country (of a Greek citizen, in our case). A new category was also added, i.e. Category C, which included people “with extraordinary ability/achievement” and later on another category for refugees and people seeking political asylum. The addition of all the above possibilities allows for a significant number of citizens from a small country to take advantage of the provisions of the new law.

The case of Greece offers us a good example of how this new law applies to a relatively small developing country. In 1965 Greece was a rather poor but rapidly developing country. The salaries were rather low and there was high unemployment. The USA on the other hand was a far more developed country with high salaries and a relative ease of finding a job. As the decades passed and the economic gap in incomes decreased, one also notices a decrease in immigration applications. More specifically, while for the decades of 1960-1970 and 1971-1980 the Greek immigration to the USA was 85,969 and 102,000 respectively (Papaioannou 1985: 50), that rate decreased to 37,729 for the following decade (1980-1989) and even lower, i.e. to 25,403, for the decade of 1990-1999. In other words, from an average of 9,350 per annum for the twenty year period of 1960-80, the rate fell down to 2,500 for the decade 1990-1999. This is a great reduction over the previous period. Finally during the first decade of the 21st century (2000-2009) this number fell even further to 16,841, or 1,680 per annum.

What, then, were the reasons for this significant decrease? The most important reasons were again economics and politics. In 1981 Greece became a full member of the European Economic Community (EEC) with many financial and other benefits. One of those benefits was the free movement to

other countries of the EEC, precursor of today's European Union (EU), along with the wages and other benefits offered by these developed countries, which were comparable to those of the USA. For example, there was not a big difference in salaries and benefits between a German and American worker after the 1980s. Even the economic growth rate between the EU countries and especially Germany was comparable to that of the USA. A Greek worker, therefore, did not have any strong incentives to immigrate, after 1981, to the USA or another country outside the EU, especially at a time when even the Greek economy was doing well. Moreover, anyone who faced economic problems would prefer to solve them by immigrating to another EU country, especially Germany, than to look for an "adventure" overseas - be that the USA, Canada or Australia. Last but not least, one should not overlook the fact that a substantial number of the post-1965 immigrants, came under the category of "family reunion". This substantial immigration of close to 200,000 (85,969 + 102,000, see Table 1 above) that took care of most of these "family reunion" cases, might partially explain its rather sharp drop after 1990.

3. Profile of the Immigrants "Yesterday and Today"

3.1. Characteristics of the "Pioneers"

Many books have been written about the life of the early Greek immigrants in the USA. Most of them revolve around the history, life, travails and the "Days and Works" of the "Pioneers." Saloutos, Malafouris, Moskos, Zotos, Burgess and many others provide a vivid picture of their life and chief characteristics. The Pioneers were chiefly young men, many times below twenty, and were coming from large, poor families. A great percentage of them were originating from the mountainous areas of the Peloponnese, i.e. Arcadia, Laconia, etc., which were the backbone of Greece, before the Balkan Wars. As Moskos states, four out of seven Greek Americans claim a Peloponnesian origin (Moskos 1990: 33). After the Balkan Wars and the doubling of Greece, one observes immigration from other parts of the country as well.

The majority of immigrants were going to America for economic reasons and many times to provide for the dowry of sisters in Greece. Their educational level was quite low - most had only a primary education - especially

when compared to that of the Americans. As a result, the employment they would find in America was that of unskilled workers and many times would require manual labor. So a good number of them in the beginning would work laying railroad tracks or in mines and construction. Many of them, however, would soon jump into the area of small business and especially the restaurant business, creating thousands of restaurants all over America and especially in the big cities, like New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Lowell, etc. Thus in a short time the pioneers who were miners and construction workers, became small business owners in various areas. In some exceptional circumstances, such as the one of Alexander Pantages and the Skouras brothers, the “Greek genius” performed miracles, since primary school graduates, such as Pantages, and High School graduates, as most of the Skouras brothers, became within a few decades extremely wealthy by American and world standards, either through the “Pantages Theaters” company during the decade of 1920s or the 20th Century Fox of the Skouras brothers in the 1940s and beyond (Moskos 1990: 45).

The work ethic, entrepreneurship and daring of the pioneers were inculcated to their children. Under the full support of their parents, the children of the pioneers left an indelible mark in the US Educational System. For the first time in the history of American education the children of immigrants had a higher achievement than the children of “Native White Americans”. Especially the study of Bernard C. Rosen (1959) showed that the Greek Americans had “the highest achievement motivation compared to white Protestant Americans and a sample of other ethnic groups in America” (Moskos 1990: 111). This special achievement was confirmed by the results of the 1960 and 1970 US Census, which showed that the second-generation Greek Americans had the highest level of educational attainment among twenty four second-generation nationality groups and trailed only the Jews as far as income was concerned (Moskos 1990: 111). These results on Greek American educational attainment are clearly depicted in Table 2, presented by Moskos (Table 5-1, p. 112) in his statistical analysis of the 1970 Census data.

Table 2: “Fathers And Sons” - Educational Levels
of Native American Whites, Greek Immigrants,
and Second-Generation Greek Americans, 1970

| Educational Level | Native White Males (45 years and older) | Native White Males (25-44 years old) | Male Greek Immigrants (45 years and older) | Male Second-Generation Greek Americans (25-44 years old) |
|--------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| 8 Years of Less | 33.6 | 13.4 | 65.8 | 5.1 |
| Some High School | 21.9 | 17.4 | 11.1 | 13.1 |
| High School Graduate | 26.9 | 36.5 | 14.6 | 31.1 |
| Some College | 8.3 | 13.9 | 3.7 | 19.0 |
| College Graduate | 9.3 | 18.8 | 4.8 | 31.7 |
| Total | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population: 1970. Subject Reports: Educational Attainment, Final Report PC(2)-5B, pp. 3-6; National Origin and Language, Final Report PC(2)-1A, p. 115.

The reader will realize from Table 2 that while 65.8% of the Greek American parents had eight or fewer years of education compared to the 33.6% of the other White American citizens, their children had a much higher educational level than the rest of the White American children. More specifically, while 31.7% of the Greek American children had a college degree, only 9.3% of the American children had such a degree (Moskos, 1990: 111-112). As expected, the very high level of education of the pioneers' children changed the entire picture of the Greek American society after 1940 and especially after 1950. The areas that would draw the attention of these children were medicine, law, education, the sciences and only secondarily the traditional sectors of restaurants, hotels, real estate and business.

Despite the educational difference between parents and children the Greek American family remained strong, united and intact. The divorces during this period were very rare and frowned upon, despite the fact that there was often a big age difference between the two parents. Usually the pioneers were working for many years to support their families in Greece, before they would decide to have their own family in the USA. Thus when they would decide to get married many of them would be close to forty years old, while their spouses were usually below thirty. The well-known motion picture *"The Brides"* affords an excellent idea of this situation. The parents were taking very good care of their children and the children were reciprocating. The work of mothers outside the home was something rare during this period. A study conducted in Chicago in 1909 showed that out of 246 women who were asked that question, only 5 responded positively (Moskos, 1990: 28).

Thus, all together these immigrants created the solid infrastructure that was found by the future generations of Greek immigrants. This infrastructure included hundreds of churches and schools, as well as the various organizations and foundations that the Pioneers created. Among those is the St. Basil Academy in Garrison, NY, the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Pomfret, CT that was transferred to Brookline, MA and evolved into today's Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, the plethora of associations and other organizations, such as the "Philoptochos" Society, AHEPA, GAPAA, the St. Michael's Old Age Home and many other professional organizations and associations. This was the infrastructure that the Greek Immigrants found when they came to the States after 1965.

4. New Immigrants (1965-2000)

4.1. Causes And Ways of Immigration

The Greek Immigrants of the last third of the 20th century were quite different from the "Pioneers." The majority of them were people with a secondary education. Some of them also had some college education or were college graduates, especially those that immigrated to the USA towards the end of the 20th century. In contrast to the Pioneers that were crossing the Atlantic for weeks on such great ships as *"Queen Frederica"* and other, mainly Italian or British liners, that made their trip quite of an experience, the new

immigrants would come to America within one or maximum two days by plane and their trip was often a pleasant one. For many years, when “Olympic Airways” was flying to the USA and Canada, even the food served on the planes was many times Greek, as well as one of the languages used by the crew.

The reasons for immigration by the New Immigrants were to a great extent the same as those of the Pioneers. Many of them did not have good jobs in Greece or were unemployed and all of them felt that they would have a better future in the USA. Most of them, however, did not live in serious poverty, as the Pioneers, nor did they come from large families to the same extent. The Greek family had already started to “shrink” in the 1960s. Another significant difference was the society in which the New Immigrants grew up. While the vast majority of the Pioneers were coming from villages, mainly of the Peloponnese, and were coming to America with \$20 in their pocket (Malafouris 1948: 91-113), the New Immigrants were coming from cities, at least half of them, and various parts of the country. Another significant difference was the composition of the immigrant picture. While over 95% of the Pioneers were young and single males when they came to the USA, the majority of the New Immigrants or *Neometanastes*, were married and many of them had small children. Moreover their urban living in Greece made their adjustment to the new country much easier than that of the Pioneers. As mentioned earlier there was a segment of these immigrants who not only had a higher education, but also a good knowledge of the English language. Another difference between the two categories was the nature of immigration per se. While the Pioneers were coming to the USA for a few years, planning “to make it” and then return to Greece where they would be the village leaders, the New Immigrants were coming with the purpose of living permanently in their new country. This inclination was confirmed by a recent study conducted by EDIAMME of the University of Crete (2007) about the Greek education in the USA. For this reason the New Immigrants came more prepared, knew the language, and two-parent employment was not unknown to them.

4.2. The Settlement Process and Socialization in the New Country

During the period of the Pioneers, that is, until 1924, the immigration to “The Promised Land” was free, provided you were healthy and with no

disabilities. The New Immigrants, however, needed a US Government Visa, before they could buy a ticket for the New World. Many of them already had friends and relatives, who had invited them to come to the USA. Some others were coming to marry a Greek American and for those there were no problems at all. The New Immigrants also had some advantages unimaginable for the Pioneers. If they would go to New York and especially to Astoria, they would find stores with Greek inscriptions and Greek products, as they would find Greek Real Estate Offices to rent a room or an apartment; they would find a Greek School for their children and a church in their neighborhood; they would listen to one or more Greek Radio Stations and could buy or become subscribers to a Greek American daily newspaper, either the *National Herald* or the *Atlantis*, until 1974 when it closed, or the *Proime* and other weeklies, which were usually bilingual.

All these conveniences, amenities and other benefits experienced by the New Immigrants, were making their life much easier compared to that of the Pioneers. The New Immigrants coming to New York or another city with a strong Greek presence, would come across a big network ready to offer them its many and varied services. Services that met their living, social and spiritual needs. At the same time the dynamism and organization of the American economy made their life quite easy and comfortable. Thus in a short period the New Immigrants had solved their housing problem, through friends, relatives, agents or ads in the newspapers, along with the problem of employment. Again through this network of friends and relatives they would be able to either work within a Greek environment or an American one, if they had a basic knowledge of the language. If they had children, then the Greek school in their area, with its low tuition, would solve that problem, too. If there was not a Greek Day School in the area, then the local American school would be the solution. On Sundays and holidays the Greek Church in the neighborhood would be at their disposal. And after the Liturgy there would be a coffee hour, usually at the basement of the Church or at an adjacent building, where they could talk with their friends or get to know other immigrants like themselves and make contacts related to their profession and interests. And if per chance they were single, then they could meet parishioners of the opposite sex.

4.3. Movement, Settlement and Employment

As previously stated, the travel of the New Immigrants was either by air or a combination of airplane-train-car, if they were not going to one of the major Greek centers in the United States. To a great extent their housing problem was solved in advance, if they were going to their relatives. In case they did not have relatives, then the local Greek Community was capable of assisting and supporting them. Many members of the Community had apartments for rent, other members were real estate agents, others had furniture stores, others were car dealers or insurance agents and others were independent owners of business or professionals with their own offices. Finally, many young Greek Americans who were doctors, lawyers, or educators, were ready to support them with their expertise.

This plethora of specializations and professions that were at the disposal of every New Immigrant from the first week in the New World was of significant assistance and made one's decision to immigrate tolerable and profitable. Of course the New Immigrants would experience times of loneliness and nostalgia. And naturally they would remember the many joyous events and other celebrations in the old country and would miss the holy days and festivals, along with the beautiful Greek beaches and the wonderful Greek climate. They knew all these things well and felt a strong nostalgia. At the same time, however, they knew that work in Greece did not pay that well, nor were the jobs plentiful. They knew that the services offered by the government were not of a high caliber. They knew that the material things enjoyed by the average American were many more than those of the average Greek and last but not least, they knew that their future, as well as that of their children, was better in America than in Greece. Moreover, they believed, like the Pioneers, that they would make so much money that they would be able to frequently travel to Greece to visit family and friends. Indeed, a good number of them turned this dream into reality. But for the majority of them things were a bit more difficult. The air tickets were not that cheap, nor the vacations in Greece. If they had not managed to have a business of their own, it was quite difficult with one or even two salaries and expenses for the children, to frequently travel to Greece. Moreover the daily expenses, especially for those who had children, were considerable. And if they had educational expenses for themselves or their children, then things were getting worse. The positive

aspect here is, as mentioned above, that a good percentage of the New Immigrants established their own business, i.e. restaurants, pizza places, travel agencies, dry cleaning, garages, furniture stores or electric appliances stores or became plumbers, electricians and real estate agents. In contrast to the Pioneers a good number of the New Immigrants with college education were quickly acculturated into the American business system and soon their career experienced significant development and progress. Under this category fall the thousands of doctors, engineers and other scientists from Greece, who after their graduate studies in the USA became part and parcel of their respective profession and American Association.

A good segment of the New Immigrants comes also from the large number of Greek students, who either came to study in America or came as small children with their parents and quickly ended up in various American universities for higher studies. More specifically, the number of Greek students and academic exchange visitors that came to the USA in the year 2011 was 4.905, according to the data of the American Immigration Service (2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 28, p. 77). In some of the above instances these young men would graduate from elite universities and would start a distinguished career. As a matter of fact some of them would become professors at their own *alma mater*. For example, the number of Greek Americans and Greeks who study at such universities as Harvard, MIT, Tufts, Boston University, Boston College, Babson College, Lesley University, Simmons College, Suffolk University, the University of Massachusetts, etc. comes to thousands. Perhaps, it should be stated here that the last three Prime Ministers of Greece (Samaras, Papandreou, Karamanlis) are graduates of universities in Massachusetts. In many of these universities these students have created their own Student Associations, which parade along with the other Greeks during the celebration of March 25th. At the same time hundreds of Greek and Greek American professors teach at those universities. For example, MIT employs about thirty Greek and Greek American professors. A similar picture appears at other big universities in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts and other states with big universities. It is also reported that the number of Greek and Greek American professors in the United States is close to that of Greece. A comparison between this picture and that of the Pioneers is really a striking one. While at that time the Pioneers could hardly

speak English, the New Immigrants know the language, sometimes even before they leave Greece for America. While the Pioneers had the Greek *Kafeneion* of their city as the main communication center with friends, colleagues and compatriots, as well as their post-office, the New Immigrants have their Church, the various community and other organizations, the many local and regional societies or their professional and scientific associations. And whenever they wish to communicate with their friends and relatives in Greece, they do not have to write letters as in the “good old times”, but they just pick up the telephone or Skype and get the news right away. Even the newspapers, which in the past were an important source of information for the Pioneers, today play a secondary or tertiary role in the information of the New Immigrants, who have at their disposal the local Greek radio program, the Greek or Greek American TV, and during the last decade the internet, which tends to replace the press, the radio, and TV, since a knowledgeable user of the internet can use it to read Greek newspapers or listen to a Greek radio station in Greece or finally to communicate, through Skype, for free, with his friends and family in Greece.

5. The Immigrants of the New Millennium (2000-2013)

Table 3: Permanent Residents after the year 2000

| | |
|-----------|--------|
| 2000-2009 | 16,841 |
| 2010 | 966 |
| 2011 | 1,196 |
| 2012 | 1,264 |

Source: 2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 2, p. 1.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics.

One might say that the immigrants of the new millennium (see Table 3) are in many respects a copy of the immigrants of the last decade of the 20th century. Their differences may be found in their educational level and the younger age of the new immigrants. For the majority of them the main

reasons for immigration were the many opportunities for advancement and success in the USA. Until 2010 these reasons were the main attraction point for their decision to immigrate. However, the economic crisis that hit Greece in 2010 and is still in full force increased the reasons to emigrate. Thus one main reason today is the extremely high unemployment that has hit all the strata of Greek society, especially the young and even the public employees, who until recently were secure in their jobs protected by law. In addition to the unemployment a host of other negative factors came to the surface, such as the reduction of salaries and pensions, reduction of benefits, the unprecedented increase in taxes, the fall of quality in the health sector, etc. The combination of all the above created an explosive cocktail and for the first time in the last fifty years, one observes such an urgency to leave the country, that someone would have to go back to the decades of the 1950s and 1960s to encounter a similar situation.

The difference between the 1960's and today's immigration situation may be found in the "quality" of the immigrants. The "Millennium Immigrants" are to a great extent individuals with some college or college education, they know foreign languages, some of them have studied outside Greece and returned there, but are now forced to leave again perhaps for good. As was mentioned earlier, most of these people are in the most productive stage of their life, i.e. 25-44 years old, and usually married with one or two children. They are children of the internet era, of the iPhone, the iPod, the iPad, Skype, and the many apps. All these marvels of contemporary technology make their "immigration" rather painless and almost "virtual", since they can communicate with their family on a daily basis, almost for free; they can read Greek newspapers and magazines through the internet; they can listen to Greek music through their computer and watch Greek TV channels through the American TV by paying a reasonable monthly subscription. All this ease of communicating with family and friends significantly decreases the pain of departure and the nostalgia of return, especially when these Millennium Immigrants find a good job abroad and know that their prospects in their own country are dismal, at least for this decade. All the above tend to make these millennium immigrants risk-takers.

This tendency for daring and risk-taking is confirmed today by reports about recent arrivals of Greek "tourists", whose aim is a permanent residence in the

USA. In order to get a better idea of the number of Greek tourists, I present the data (Table 4) of the American Immigration Service for the decade 2002-2012. Their average number during this period is over 60,000 per annum with an increasing rate during the most recent years. We believe that the percentage of these “tourists” that will try to stay in the USA will increase during the current decade. Various educators and administrators of Greek Schools informed this writer of the presence of a small number of children who try to enroll in their schools, while their parents are illegally in the country. Some of the parents even offered to teach in these schools, so that they could earn a small income and at the same time to be able to look for another job, that might offer them permanent and legal employment.

Table 4: Nonimmigrant Admission (I-94 Only) by Selected Category of Admission and Region and Country Greece

| | |
|------|--------|
| 2002 | 48,723 |
| 2003 | 51,813 |
| 2004 | 53,086 |
| 2005 | 58,821 |
| 2006 | 58,282 |
| 2007 | 63,145 |
| 2008 | 74,199 |
| 2009 | 67,984 |
| 2010 | 70,885 |
| 2011 | 74,418 |
| 2012 | 68,362 |

Source: 2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Table 27, p. 2

In addition to the above category there is also the category of Greek students, graduate and undergraduate, at various American colleges and universities, as mentioned earlier, a great number of whom are trying to get a permanent resident status and stay in the country after their graduation. In the past most of them would return to Greece to start their careers there. A perfect example of the daring and persistence of the “desperate” Millennium

Immigrant to stay in this country could be found in the following “tragicomic” incident that took place recently. A young man on his way to the Church to get married was picked up by the Immigration authorities, as an illegal immigrant, and was deported back to Greece!

The category of “Millennium Immigrants” could also be augmented by the immigrants of the 1980-2000 period, who had returned to Greece and were working there. A good number of them, who lost their jobs due to the recent crisis and did not have any other solution, used their green card or American passport and came back to the US. Thus several thousands of them have returned and work in the US but it is almost impossible to estimate their number, since they do not appear as immigrants.

Adding up the data of the above categories one might say that we will have a much clearer picture of the current situation towards the end of this decade, when many of these “immigrants” will have a Green card or citizenship and their numbers will show up in the US Immigration Service data and the next Census. Still those numbers are expected to be lower than those of Germany or even Canada and Australia, which have a somewhat freer immigration policy.

Based on the above analysis we expect that the immigration numbers to the USA will be reversed this decade and will move higher, after the continuous fall of the last three decades. As mentioned earlier the numbers for the decades of 1980-1989, 1990-1999 and 2000-2009 were 37,729, 25,403 and 16,841, respectively. Although the numbers for the years 2010, 2011 and 2012 were 966, 1,196, and 1,264 respectively, as we saw earlier, the probability for a substantial increase in these numbers during the coming years is quite high and this decade might approach the decade of 1980-1989.

6. Organization: Self-Organization in Social Networks “Yesterday and Today”

6.1. Organization “Yesterday”

Saloutos, Malafouris and Moskos, offer a quite vivid picture of the organization and social connections of the Pioneers. Reading them we see, that it was not unusual to find the Pioneers living in a cheap apartment six or more individuals at the same time. The organization of that “small society” shows us the spirit of the time. One of the six room-mates would not work,

but would stay at “home” to take care of its needs that is, cleaning, shopping and especially cooking. The rest of the room-mates were paying his “salary,” as if he were working outside the house, like the rest. The reader is also surprised by the diet of the Pioneers. By today’s standards, we would say, that they were leading a “Spartan” life, since meat was on the menu only once per week, on Sunday, while almost every day included hot dogs, potatoes, soup, beans or lentils. This combination of poor diet and hard work was causing the Pioneers to contract TB with its known negative results, as Moskos points out (Moskos 1990: 19-20).

This Spartan approach to living extended to other areas as well, such as clothing, entertainment, etc. There were many reasons for that: these young people did not earn good wages, they were always running the risk of being unemployed for some time and thus they had to be ready for any eventuality. Foremost, however, in their mind was that they had come to America to earn enough money to help their families in Greece and then return there after having amassed a satisfactory amount for themselves. Their extremely ambitious plan required a lot of sacrifices to be successful.

When they had free time, the Pioneers would go to the local Greek Kafeneion. This place was playing the role of an entertainment center, a match-making place, a post office, an employment office, the center of political discussions and many other activities. There they would develop friendships, would establish professional connections, would speak their own language, they would sip their Greek coffee and play backgammon or some other game of cards and make plans for the future. If there was a Church, that one would cover another big part of their social and other activities. In the big urban centers they could become members of the local AHEPA or GAPA chapter. Finally, on some occasions there was also an association from the old country, which was bringing them closer together and offered them an additional form of socialization, entertainment and solidarity. Until the 1920s their social activities were very limited, since they were working for many hours, six days a week, and the vast majority of them were single men. Thus there were not many opportunities for family or social gatherings, such as weddings, baptisms, funerals, that one can find in a society with deep roots. With the passing of time, however, many things changed and their life took on a more normal rhythm, after 1925 and especially after 1940.

6.2. Organization “Today”

When the New Immigrants or Neometanastes set foot on the USA, they did not encounter the same situations as the Pioneers. Even the society that they were coming from was different from that of the Pioneers. The Greeks of the 1960-1980 period were more educated than the Pioneers, a good number of them spoke English and those who did not know it had a better Greek education that facilitated their learning of English. Finally, extremely few were coming to the States to provide for the dowry of their sisters at home. But also the American environment had changed for the better. As the Pioneers used to say, the New Immigrants “found the table set” and did not suffer like them. They found Greek businesses ready to offer them employment, they found Greek schools for their children, they found offices and professionals of any kind, lawyers, doctors, accountants, and for entertainment they found much more and of better quality than the “Kafeneion” of the Pioneers.

In addition to these favorable factors, the New Immigrants were lucky in another aspect. America itself had changed. The USA of the early 20th century had various organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), who were persecuting the blacks, non-WASP whites and new immigrants and were instilling panic and fear in them. At that time you had to be a WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) in order to advance within the social structure of America. Thus, the main goal of the Greek organizations of AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) and GAPA was to unite the Greeks and protect them from the harassment and attacks of KKK and similar organizations, especially in the South and West (Papaioannou 1985: 157-58).

The Civil Rights Movement that came to its peak in the 1960s, with the demonstrations of blacks and many whites and ended successfully with the abolition of racial discriminations with the Law of 1964, ushered a new epoch. America had become a more open and tolerant society; it had become multiethnic and multicultural and many of its old bigotries and animosities had fallen by the wayside. Thus the New Immigrants came to a different America from that of the Pioneers. All the persecutions that the Pioneers had experienced, as for example the disastrous anti-Greek demonstration that took place in Omaha, Nebraska in 1909 (Moskos 1990: 16) and the armed struggle of the Greek miners who were striking in Ludlow under the leadership of Louis Tikas, which ended up in the “Ludlow Massacre” of Colorado in 1914

(Moskos 1990: 14-15), were things of the past.

All the above mentioned factors helped the New Immigrants to get organized in a very short time and thus be able to devote their time to other areas of interest. Thus they had more time to become members of their local and national associations or become members of organizations that were related to their profession or other specific interests. They could become members of the Philoptochos Society or be elected to the Board of their Church or become members of the AHEPA, GAPAA or the Daughters of Penelope and Sons of Pericles, while their children could join the GOYA or YAL. Those who had higher ambitions could enroll at the local community college or university to get the degree they were dreaming of from their youth. And the most daring of them sometimes would dare enter the American political scene.

At the same time the opportunities for entertainment were plentiful. The New Immigrants had many opportunities to attend weddings, baptisms, birthday celebrations, festivals of their own or of a neighboring church, various festivities and other school celebrations related to OXI Day or March 25th, various theatrical or music ensemble presentations, either from Greece or the USA, and then there were various other cultural activities, such as lectures, recitals, or exhibits at the local Cultural Center, where at times they could also listen to political speeches from visiting Greek politicians or fundraisers for Greek American politicians. And in case they did not have time or interest to attend those activities they could pick up the phone and call family and friends either in the USA or Greece to catch up on the latest news.

In addition to the above forms of socializations, the New Immigrants had also activities of a narrower character. These were activities related more to their professions or careers, i.e. communicating with other colleagues, lawyers, doctors, educators, engineers, real estate agents, etc. In those meetings and interactions they would get more information and insight about their profession, new opportunities and plans of collaboration or of action in the future or related to the structure or elections in their organization. During periods of national crisis, such as in 1974, with the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey, the New Immigrants along with the older immigrants would rush to mobilize their organizations and offer their support to Greece and Cyprus to counteract the Turkish menace.

7. New Immigration and Education

As mentioned earlier the New Immigrants are people of high educational attainment. Those who came after the year 2000 possess an even higher educational level. A good percentage of the 1965-1980 immigrants, who had an average education, have slowly entered the “veteran” stage, i.e. entered their “golden years” period. Their children in their vast majority are college graduates and have become part and parcel of the American society. These immigrants supported a lot the Greek education during this period. Indeed, the majority of the New York Day Schools was established during this period, since 5 out of the 9 Day Schools were established after 1960, including the St. Demetrios High School in Astoria (2013 Yearbook, GOA, p. 109). Something similar took place within the Church as well. About 200 new churches were established during the same period and most of them offered Greek school once or twice a week. More specifically, in 1979 there were 410 churches in the USA (Moskos 1990: 158), while today there are close to 550. At the same time the total of the Afternoon/Saturday Schools is 340 with 22,650 students (2013 Yearbook, GOA, p. 107) and the Day Schools 29 with approximately 4,000 students.

The significant decrease in the number of new immigrants (37,406) during the 1986-2012 period had also consequences for the Greek American Education. Indeed we notice a stabilization, but at a lower level, in the number of students during the last years, both in the Day and Afternoon/Saturday Schools. Thus some Communities saw the creation of the Charter Schools as a solution to the reduction in the number of their students and to their financial problems as well. The case of four Day Schools that closed recently in New York City (The National Herald, June 29-July 5, 2013, p. 1) – two of them were transformed into Charter Schools with a limited Greek program – shows the serious problem facing the Omogeneia. Its economic success during this period, led to its dispersion to expensive suburbs, where there was an insufficient number of children to establish a Day School. Moreover, the New Immigrants (Neometanastes) at times select elite private schools for their children or high quality public schools in the expensive suburbs and leave their children’s Greek education to the Afternoon Schools. Other reasons for the decrease in the number of students and the closing of the schools is the low fertility rate of the Greek Americans, the mixed marriages, as well as the

reduction of the Greek Immigration, as noted above, during the last twenty years. A combination of all the above led to the present situation, which is not the most desirable.

Despite all this one might be able to discern some positive elements in the above mosaic. Such a positive element can be found in the fact that the Charter Schools contribute to the dissemination of the Greek education to wider segments of the American society. In most of these schools the majority of the students are not of Greek origin. Thus we can talk about an “export of the Greek education and culture” to a wider American environment. These Charter Schools train the body and mind of future Philhellenes with beneficial effects for Hellenism. Some of these students will become successful entrepreneurs, scientists, politicians, etc. and will not forget the benefits of the Greek education that they received during the most formative years of their life.

Finally, the Millennium Immigrants are going to bring another change in the Greek American scene in general and its education in particular. They will become the new “blood-donors” of the Omogeneia. They will bring a new “fragrance” from the “old country” and will provide valuable services in many areas. One of them is education. Many of the Millennium Immigrants will become teachers in the Day and Afternoon Schools, now that the immigrants of the 60s and 70s are receiving their pensions and others will assist the Church and its various organizations, such as the Philoptochos Society, the YAL, the Leadership 100, the Faith Endowment, the Old Age homes, etc. Many of them will assist in the preparation and organization of the various activities and festivals and will send their children to the Greek American Schools, advancing thus the Greek American education, as well as the other cultural, political and economic activities of the Omogeneia.

8. Future Perspectives

As discussed earlier, one might divide the immigration to the USA into three large periods: the immigration from 1873 to 1924; the 1925-1965 period; and the period from 1965 to today. During the first period there are 535,000 immigrants, that is 15,000 for the 1873-1899 period and 520,000 for the 1890-1924 period. For the period of 1925-1965 there are 105,000 immigrants and for the 1966-1989, 185,000 (Moskos 1990: 156). The total of all immigrants from 1873 to 1989 comes to 825,000 and from 1990-2009 to 42,244

(25,403+16,841). The grand total of the Greek Americans today is estimated from a minimum of one and a half to three or a maximum of five millions, depending on the various writers and their analyses. The American Census Bureau gives us the number 1,311,844, or 0.4% of the US population. However, many specialists believe that this number is very conservative. Moreover, the Census Bureau does not count individuals beyond the second generation, further distorting the real number. Last but not least, the Census Bureau informs us that 325,747 people were using Greek at home (US Census Bureau, 2009).

As mentioned earlier, the Pioneers faced many difficulties in the realization of their “American Dream”. Not only did they arrive with scant educational and other resources to this highly developed country, but they also faced the enmity and antagonism of other ethnic groups that saw them as competitors and opponents in their own quest for the “American dream”. With their indomitable Greek spirit, their creativity, and hard work ethic, they not only managed to survive, but to also thrive in a very short period of time. They managed to build strong structures, building hundreds of churches and schools, thousands of small and large organizations and to claim the top position in the area of education. Within a generation the children of the Pioneers had climbed to the highest step of college education and the second highest in income, as cited earlier. During the same period some 45,000 of them volunteered and fought for their motherland in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Moreover, for many decades they were assisting their families in Greece and especially the Greek people during the German Occupation (1941-1944).

All the above did not stop them from engaging in the American political scene. Indeed the children of the Pioneers became deeply involved in the American political life with good results. One of them (Spiro Agnew) reached the second highest Office of the land, becoming Vice President of the United States. Another one was almost voted to the highest Office (Michael Dukakis), while three others (Paul Tsongas, Paul Sarbanes and Olympia Bouchles-Snowe) became U.S. Senators. Dozens of others became U.S. Congressmen and many more State Senators and Congressmen. A few others became State Governors in Florida, Maryland and Massachusetts, and many more Mayors in various cities of America. Over a dozen of them became Secretaries or

Undersecretaries under Democratic and Republican Administrations and even more became American Ambassadors to various countries around the world. A few others were drawn to the Armed Forces. Thus while George P. Colvocoressis became the first Greek American US Admiral, the most recent one is James Stavridis, former head of NATO; General William Pagonis, on the other hand, played a key role in the Gulf War, while George Tenet was serving as head of the CIA during the same period.

The great part of Greek Americans, however, turned to the world of business to such an extent that today the Greek American Community hails twelve Greek American billionaires and the 50 richest of them have a combined wealth of around \$40 billion (National Herald, March 2, 2013:1-25). Many others became CEOs of large or Fortune 500 Companies, such as the ABC TV, the Boston Scientific, Merck, Mobil Oil, Sheraton Corp., Dow Chemical, JPMorgan Bank, Raytheon, International Paper and Wall Street firms, such as Blackstone, Calamos Investments, Kynikos Associates, etc.

But the highest rate of success is to be found in the world of academia and education in general. A great number of the children of the Pioneers became scientists of the first order. They entered the world of Academia either teaching or doing research or becoming administrators. Some of them became Presidents of large universities, such as John Brademas at New York University, Constantine Papadakis at Drexel University, Peter Liacouras at Temple University, C.L. Max Nikias at USC in Los Angeles, Peter Diamandopoulos at Adelphi University, etc. Many more became Deans, Provosts or high executives in prestigious universities. Finally, the world of Hollywood drew a lot of the children of the Pioneers – from the famous Andrews sisters during WW II, to Telly Savalas, Jennifer Anniston, Melina Kanakarides, etc. Finally, the Skouras Brothers ushered a new epoch in Hollywood and the film industry in general. The same could be also said about the Greek American presence in the world of sports, music and other areas.

The new immigrant wave that came after 1965 built on the achievements of the previous generations and managed to contribute more in a shorter period of time. It is not a big surprise, for example, to meet a famous Greek American scientist, businessman, artist, or academic, who achieved all this within one generation, i.e. his own generation. Thus, we have cases of Deans or University Presidents, who came to the USA for graduate studies, then became professors

and administrators and finally presidents. When someone adds the children of the Pioneers that became professors to the New Immigrants and their children that became professors, then one comes to a number of Greek American professors that is very close to that of the professors in Greece. In the world of business there is a similar situation, when some top businessmen climbed the ladder of success within one generation. The case of George Hatsopoulos is a good example. He came to the MIT in the 1950s and after his graduation he became a professor and then created two large companies, i.e. Thermo Electron and Thermo Fisher Scientific. The last one had over \$12 billion in sales last year (MSN Money).

Many of these successful people have joined the work of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and its various organizations, such as the Leader100 and the Faith Endowment Fund, mentioned earlier. Each donor of the L100 Fund gives \$100,000 over a 10 year period and the donors to the Faith Endowment contribute \$1 million over the same period. All the proceeds from these funds aim at supporting the many programs of the Archdiocese and the Omogeneia in general, but they also go beyond the needs of the Archdiocese. Of the \$35 million expended so far by the L100 Fund, some millions have gone for philanthropy and projects around the world, including Greece, Albania, Africa, etc.

Moreover, a number of successful Greek Americans have donated money for the creation of schools in various cities or funded Greek Studies Chairs at American universities, or have become great benefactors to museums, universities, etc. Others supported the creation of the two Greek lobbies in Washington, DC, i.e. AHI and UHAC, of the AHEPA and GAPA, and such other organizations as the IOCC and OCMC, the GOYA and the YAL, Orphanages and Old Age Homes. Beside these very successful Greek Americans there are also many other people who assist in the daily running of the many institutions and organizations of the Archdiocese and the Omogeneia. They assist in the smooth running of the 340 Afternoon and 30 Day Schools, of the 550 churches, of cultural and other centers or are employed in businesses that serve the Greek Omogeneia. Finally, this mass of Greek Americans is the backbone of the Greek parades for the March 25th celebration in New York, Boston, Chicago, as well as for demonstrations in support of Greece.

As a result, there is a fairly harmonious cooperation among all the immigrant generations. The most recent ones offer their services as Greek school teachers, translators, bilingual lawyers, doctors, etc. The older ones have their own specialization in such areas as Wall St., banks, financial world in general, large corporations, political and military life, movies and theater. And these generations united, support Greek American candidates for the various public offices, offering volunteer work or their money, without separating the candidates into Democrats or Republicans. When one thinks of the political disputes and in-fights among the immigrants of the first decades of the 20th century, one realizes the great progress that the Omogeneia has made since then. Related to this area of conflict we find that both the old and the new immigrants are law abiding citizens, who very rarely have dealings with the police. Especially for the recent period we have the data of the American Immigration Service, which records the deportations for criminal activities. Indeed the pertinent data for the 2002-2011-period is quite revealing. The average number of Greeks deported from the country for criminal activities was not larger than 25, while countries with the same population had much bigger numbers. But even countries with a smaller population like Albania, Israel, and Lebanon had double or triple the number of deported citizens than Greece (2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Table 41, pp. 107-113).

Despite all these achievements the Greek Omogeneia should not rest on its laurels. The forthcoming Immigration will create new situations and new obligations. The new Immigrants, as the old ones, cannot count on aid from the American Government, as was the case with the Greek immigrants that went to Germany during the 1950-70 period or other countries. The USA never offered strong incentives for someone to immigrate there. On the contrary, the Reed-Johnson Act (1924) that was in force for forty years, sought and achieved the drastic restriction of US immigration. Thus in a way the immigrants to the USA are characterized by a strong dose of risk-taking and independence that assist them in adjusting and overcoming the obstacles they encounter.

For all these reasons the Omogeneia of America should take the right measures for its future survival, since its reinvigoration with “new blood” from this unexpected flow of new immigrants will not be as strong as that one of the 1965-1980 period. Thus, it behooves it to take the appropriate measures

to reduce the negative effects of the all-taming time.

Indeed, slowly but steadily the Omogeneia is losing its language; slowly but steadily the mixed marriages dilute, to a point, its cohesion; slowly but steadily the bonds with the mother country are getting weaker; slowly but steadily the century-old legacies of solidarity, mutual support and philanthropy lose their dynamism. It is not proper, for example, for the Omogeneia, with its tremendous financial resources, to lag in matters of philanthropy and be far behind from the Jewish Community although their financial resources are not much different.

These, then, are some of the areas that the Omogeneia must work hard during the coming decades, if it wishes to pride itself as the “Flagship of the Greeks Abroad”. At the dawn of the new century and the new millennium, it should plan a new course that would maximize the many blessings that God bestowed upon it, along with the products of its own hands. The blessings of its unrivalled educational achievements and economic prosperity, along with the invaluable historic, cultural and spiritual inheritance, press upon it the appropriate, judicious and prudent use of all the above, both for the benefit of the Omogeneia itself, but also for the benefit of Greece that is going through a crisis this moment, for the benefit of Hellenism across the globe and for the benefit of the entire “ecumene”. That would be the best memorial of today’s generations to the heroic memory of the Pioneers, who with scant means and minimal resources laid the solid foundations of today’s educational, spiritual and economic miracle of the Omogeneia.

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La nouvelle immigration grecque

Stephanos Constantinides*

ABSTRACT

This article, after a quick reference to the Greek communities of Canada, analyzes the new Greek immigration that comes to the country since the beginning of the economic crisis in Greece in 2009. It notes that it is a migration of young people consisting of various categories: those who are Canadian citizens returning to Greece a few decades ago, and returning back to Canada, workers who have obtained a work permit and are accepted as permanent residents and students. The author also raises the question of organization of these new immigrants in order to find employment and integrate Canadian society.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article, après une rapide référence aux communautés grecques du Canada, analyse la nouvelle immigration grecque qui se dirige vers ce pays depuis le commencement de la crise économique en Grèce en 2009. Il constate qu'il s'agit d'une immigration de jeunes constituée de diverses catégories: ceux qui ont la citoyenneté canadienne rapatriés en Grèce quelques décennies auparavant, et qui retournent de nouveau au Canada, de travailleurs ayant obtenu un permis de travail, de travailleurs acceptés comme résidents permanents et d'étudiants. L'auteur soulève aussi la question d'organisation de ces nouveaux immigrants en vue de trouver un emploi et de s'intégrer à la société canadienne.

Introduction

Pendant des siècles, la Grèce fut un pays qui envoyait des immigrants dans le monde entier. Dans la période qui a suivi la chute de la dictature et le rétablissement de la démocratie en Grèce en 1974, cette émigration a cessé à la suite de nouvelles politiques et des conditions économiques créées dans le pays. De plus, depuis les années '90 la Grèce est devenue un pays d'immigration, en provenance des anciens pays socialistes des Balkans, plus particulièrement de l'Albanie, puis du Moyen-Orient, de l'Afrique et de l'Asie.

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Avec la crise financière qui a éclaté en 2008 semble émerger peu à peu une nouvelle émigration grecque qui s'étend aux quatre coins du globe. Le fait est que Simultanément on assiste à un paradoxe soit l'afflux d'immigrants en Grèce qu'il s'agisse d'immigrants illégaux, ou de réfugiés politiques et économiques. On avance bien sûr que certains des anciens immigrés ont fui à cause de la crise économique en Grèce. Cependant, le pays a atteint ses limites et le problème de l'immigration préoccupe à la fois l'opinion publique et le monde politique. Nombreux sont les analystes politiques qui attribuent d'ailleurs le phénomène de la montée de l'extrême droite en Grèce au problème d'immigration que connaît le pays ces dernières années.

La nouvelle émigration grecque est très différente de l'ancienne (que nous avons rencontré pendant la période d'avant-guerre, mais surtout dans les décennies qui ont suivi la Seconde Guerre mondiale et) qui était principalement celle de la population rurale et en partie des travailleurs ayant un niveau de vie très bas et un faible niveau d'éducation. Les nouveaux immigrants Grecs (neometanastes) sont généralement jeunes, ayant des qualifications universitaires, des scientifiques de diverses disciplines, diplômés universitaires au chômage. De ce nombre qui quitte la Grèce devrait être ajouté également un grand nombre d'étudiants grecs à l'étranger qui finit ses études et ne retourne pas au pays.

Il est évident que l'émigration prive le pays d'un potentiel scientifique important qui pourrait contribuer à son développement. C'est la fameuse fuite des cerveaux qui prive les pays de la périphérie d'un potentiel scientifique déjà formé et d'une main-d'œuvre qualifiée dans plusieurs secteurs de l'activité économique et souvent culturelle. Des politiciens grecs avaient précédemment caractérisé de bénédiction l'émigration des années '50 et '60 - en regardant les choses dans une perspective à court terme - parce qu'elle aidait ces derniers à résoudre de nombreux problèmes sociaux. Les politiciens d'aujourd'hui, sauf sous forme de vœux pieux, restent le plus souvent silencieux devant l'exode du potentiel scientifique du pays, car ils sont incapables de l'arrêter.

Les Grecs du Canada

Le Canada est un pays construit essentiellement par des immigrants et les Grecs ont également contribué à son édification. L'immigration grecque au

Canada est associée aux conditions générales - politiques, sociales, économiques - qui prévalaient à différentes époques en Grèce ou dans la zone plus large où les Grecs vivaient, e.g. Empire ottoman, Egypte, Chypre, etc. Par ailleurs, cette émigration est liée à partir de la fin du 19^{ème} siècle jusqu' à la Seconde Guerre mondiale à celle - beaucoup plus large - vers les États-Unis. Il est cependant très probable que des marins grecs aient visité les côtes canadiennes bien avant le 19^{ème} siècle. On mentionne par exemple que le premier Grec qui est arrivé au Canada était Ioannis Phocas, un explorateur grec originaire de Céphalonie qui en 1592 a exploré le détroit entre Vancouver et l'État de Washington. Phocas qui est mentionné sous le nom Juan de Fuca - de son vrai nom, selon certaines sources, Apostolos Valerianos - était au service de la couronne espagnole.¹ Il est également mentionné qu'un autre Grec faisait partie du groupe de l'explorateur français Samuel de Champlain à Québec en 1628. Son nom n'est pas préservé, il y est cité simplement comme «le Grec».² Plusieurs autres témoins parlent de la présence grecque au Canada aux 17^e et 18^e siècles. En réalité, cependant, les premiers Grecs à devenir fondateurs de colonies grecques du Canada sont arrivés dans ce pays selon des sources sûres, après la création de l'Etat grec en 1830.³ Il s'agit des marins qui ont abandonné leurs navires et sont restés de manière permanente au Canada, et particulièrement dans la province de Québec. Ainsi, nous rencontrons les premiers Grecs au Canada à partir du milieu du 19^{ème} siècle. Ceci est d'ailleurs confirmé par des témoignages des Grecs qui se sont installés au Canada à partir de 1843 et tout au long du 19^{ème} siècle. Cette présence est aussi confirmée officiellement par le recensement canadien de 1871.⁴ Quoique nous ne disposions pas de données sur la présence des Grecs au Canada avant cette date, il est très probable qu'il y en avait. Il convient de souligner que l'immigration grecque au Canada avant 1900 est sporadique. C'est pourquoi nous ne rencontrons pas de vie communautaire organisée.

Selon le recensement officiel du Canada en 1871, il y avait au pays au total, 39 Grecs, alors que le recensement de 1901 en mentionne 291. Mais d'autres sources indiquent un plus grand nombre pour la même période. Pour Montréal seulement, le centre de l'hellénisme dans les premières années de l'immigration grecque, on mentionne vers 1900 la présence d'un nombre de 300 personnes d'origine grecque.⁵

En général, les premiers immigrants grecs au Canada étaient d'origine rurale, sans qualifications professionnelles. D'autre part, l'ignorance de la langue du pays rendait leur vie encore plus difficile. Ils seront donc obligés d'accepter les emplois les plus difficiles, ils travailleront avec de faibles salaires et dans les conditions les plus dures. Une partie d'entre eux a laissé derrière elle de la famille en Grèce, même si la plupart étaient des hommes célibataires. Beaucoup se sont mariés à des femmes du pays, tandis que d'autres, soit sont retournés pour se marier en Grèce ou ont contracté des mariages arrangés en échangeant des photos avec des femmes en Grèce qu'ils ont ensuite fait venir au Canada. À une époque où la femme en Grèce ne pouvait pas se marier si elle n'avait pas de dot, tandis que la population féminine dans la campagne grecque excédait celle des hommes, ce genre de mariage ne devrait pas surprendre.

Dès le début du 20^{ème} siècle nous rencontrons les premières communautés organisées de Grecs au Canada. La documentation montre que la première communauté a été fondée en 1906 à Montréal, la métropole canadienne de l'hellénisme à cette époque. La Communauté grecque de Montréal va rallier et unir les premiers Grecs. Il est rapporté que la première messe orthodoxe a été célébrée à Montréal en 1905 par un prêtre orthodoxe d'origine syrienne.⁶ En 1907, cependant, la Communauté va acquérir sa propre église et son premier prêtre, soit Agathodoros Papageorgopoulos, diplômé de l'école théologique de l'Université d'Athènes, qui a résidé à Montréal jusqu'en 1916. Mais un autre témoignage recueilli par Ioannis Fouriezios dans ses «mémoires», et confirmé par d'autres preuves, indique qu'en 1906, les Grecs de Montréal ont embauché un prêtre grec nommé James et ont loué une salle sur la rue Notre-Dame, dans le centre de la ville, où était célébrée la messe. Un jour cependant le prêtre a disparu en emportant même les ustensiles sacrés. Il a été arrêté en Angleterre et rapatrié au Canada pour être jugé. Les Grecs, cependant, ont demandé qu'il soit libéré et qu'il quitte le pays après avoir payé ses frais judiciaires et autres parce qu'ils ne voulaient pas voir leur réputation ternie.⁷

C'est à Montréal qu'a été également fondée la première école primaire grecque en 1910 sous le nom de "Platon". C'est sans doute la seule école primaire grecque en Amérique du Nord demeurée en opération de manière continue depuis, avec pour seul changement son nom qui de «Platon» est passé à «Socrates» en 1926.

L' hellénisme de Montréal deviendra un modèle pour la structure organisationnelle des Grecs dans le reste du Canada. C'est ainsi qu'en 1909 sera fondée la Communauté grecque de Toronto.⁸ En 1910, la Communauté de Toronto a acheté sa propre église. Toronto est ainsi devenue le deuxième centre de l'hellénisme au Canada.

Le troisième centre de l'hellénisme, après Montréal et Toronto est Vancouver dans l'Ouest canadien. Cependant, le développement de la communauté grecque de Vancouver, a connu un rythme beaucoup plus lent. En effet il est rapporté qu' avant 1910 «presque tous les Grecs de Vancouver étaient des hommes célibataires»⁹ Toutefois, comme cela s'est produit dans d'autres endroits, nombre d'entre eux se sont mariés à des femmes locales tandis que d'autres sont soit retournés se marier en Grèce ou l'ont fait par - correspondance-échange de photos -. Vers 1920 on compte à Vancouver quelques 50 familles grecques¹⁰ Leurs besoins religieux sont comblés par un prêtre orthodoxe russe originaire de Seattle. En 1927, ils fondent la Communauté hellénique de Vancouver qui aura sa propre église.¹¹

Pendant la période allant de 1910 à 1940, d'autres petites communautés ont été créées dans diverses régions du Canada: Halifax, Québec, Ottawa, Edmonton.

Ces communautés restent cependant plutôt petites jusqu' à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, puis avec la venue d'une vague massive d'immigrants grecs au Canada datant de l'époque de l'après guerre. Cette vague commence dans les années '50, devient plus intense dans les années '60 et s'arrête essentiellement après la chute de la dictature en Grèce. On assiste même après la chute de la dictature à un retour d'un certain nombre d'immigrants vers leur pays d'origine.

Les petites communautés grecques du Canada vont changer radicalement avec la deuxième grande vague d'immigration grecque dans ce pays après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Selon des sources canadiennes, entre 1945 et 1971, 10650 immigrants se sont installés au Canada.¹² Il convient de noter qu'un certain nombre d' immigrants grecs ne viennent pas directement de la Grèce métropolitaine, mais des communautés grecques de l'étranger. Le pourcentage de ces derniers est estimé à environ 10% du nombre total de ceux qui ont immigré au Canada pendant cette période. Il s'agit des Grecs qui, pour des raisons politiques, économiques et sociales ont quitté le pays où ils vivaient

précédemment (Égypte, Turquie, etc), préférant s'établir au Canada. La migration de la Grèce métropolitaine est liée à la situation politique, économique et sociale du pays durant cette période. La Deuxième Guerre mondiale, l'occupation et ensuite la Guerre civile qui ont ravagé la Grèce et détruit l'infrastructure du pays, ont créé des conditions qui ont favorisé la migration massive. Le grand nombre d'immigrants grecs est arrivé au Canada, principalement dans la décennie 1960-1970. L'année 1967 avec l'arrivée de 10.650 immigrants grecs constitue la plus importante en termes d'immigrants Grecs au Canada.¹³ À partir de 1974 on constate une chute constante de l'immigration grecque dans ce pays, alors que depuis 1985 cette migration a pratiquement cessé. Au contraire on assiste à un retour (palinostisi) qui a commencé immédiatement après la chute de la dictature en Grèce en 1974 et a continué de façon plus robuste dans les années '80. La grande majorité des immigrants grecs de cette période (1950-1974) provient de la campagne. Ils possèdent des caractéristiques communes, soit une éducation limitée, l'ignorance de la langue du pays d'accueil, et le rêve d'un retour rapide au pays avec quelques économies. Généralement ceux qui viennent de la diaspora (Turquie, Égypte, Chypre) ont vécu dans des centres urbains, et ont un niveau d'éducation plus élevé, une meilleure connaissance de la langue du pays d'accueil, et une certaine expertise professionnelle.

On devrait également accorder une attention spéciale à un groupe de migrantes vers 1955. Ce sont les femmes grecques qui vont travailler comme domestiques et qui viennent au Canada suite à l'invitation de riches familles soit d'anciens immigrants grecs ou de familles canadiennes et leur sélection est effectuée par des agents spéciaux de l'Immigration. Ces femmes ont travaillé, le plus souvent dans des conditions épouvantables pendant de nombreuses années sans aucune protection.¹⁴

Les immigrants grecs d'après-guerre s'installent principalement dans deux grandes villes canadiennes, Montréal et Toronto. Vancouver demeurera, comme avant la guerre, le troisième centre, tandis que les petites communautés continueront à se développer à Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Halifax, et de nombreuses petites villes de la province de l'Ontario. Un nouveau phénomène qui se produit principalement à partir de 1960, concerne l'augmentation de l'hellénisme à Toronto à un rythme plus rapide qu'à Montréal. Cela tient au fait que Toronto se développe rapidement et devient la

métropole financière du Canada aux dépens de Montréal pour un certain nombre de raisons. Les Grecs ont simplement suivi le courant et en tant qu'immigrants ont été absorbés dans leur majorité par la région la plus développée du Canada. Aujourd'hui, la population grecque de Toronto est estimée à environ 100.000 et celle de Montréal à 80.000.

Comme prévu, les immigrants d'après-guerre ont changé le visage de la communauté grecque du Canada. Cependant, la mobilité au sein des communautés favorisait les anciens immigrants qui contrôlaient les diverses structures organisationnelles (communautés, églises, clubs, écoles, etc.). Les enfants d'anciens immigrants ont accédé à des professions libérales, sont devenus commerçants et enseignants, et ont été intégrés dans la société canadienne. Au fur et à mesure que leur intégration progressait, leur intérêt pour la Grèce faiblissait contrairement à leur intérêt pour le Canada qui devenait plus grand. L'inverse était bien sûr le cas pour les nouveaux immigrants. Cependant, graduellement, on observe aussi dans ce groupe une certaine mobilité, mais néanmoins très lente. En plus des travailleurs on assiste à l'éclosion de petits entrepreneurs, des petits commerçants, des restaurateurs et des artisans. Cependant, les conditions de vie des nouveaux immigrants dans les premières années sont très difficiles. En outre comme les anciens immigrants ne les acceptent pas avec beaucoup d'enthousiasme, l'écart entre eux ira en s'agrandissant créant ainsi un schisme entre les anciens et les nouveaux immigrants. Le coup d'Etat du 21 Avril 1967 et la dictature en Grèce vont aussi approfondir ce fossé. Les notables des colonies grecques et l'Eglise, directement ou indirectement soutiennent la dictature militaire. En revanche, les mouvements anti-dictatoriaux trouvent leurs appuis principalement parmi les nouveaux immigrants.¹⁵

Avec la chute de la dictature l'écart entre les anciens et les nouveaux immigrants commence lentement à se retrécir. Les Communautés (Koinotites), cellule clé de l'organisation des Grecs du Canada dès le début du 20ème siècle, se renouvellent avec l'apport des immigrants arrivés pendant les décennies '60 et '70. Les éléments progressistes, les jeunes, cherchent à promouvoir leur démocratisation et leur ouverture à l'ensemble des personnes d'origine grecque. Deux philosophies s'affrontent, celle de l'Eglise qui veut des petites communautés-paroisses et celle des nouveaux immigrants qui les voient comme des entités laïques. Les grandes agglomérations comme Montréal et Toronto

atteignent un statut semi-laïque, mais sans cesser leur coopération avec l'Église. Les conseils démocratiquement élus des communautés gèrent leurs actifs et sont responsables de l'enseignement de la langue grecque et des activités culturelles et politiques de leurs organisations. L'Église a la responsabilité des affaires ecclésiastiques, mais les églises - les édifices - demeurent la propriété des communautés qui paient également les prêtres.¹⁶

L'Église orthodoxe grecque au Canada était administrativement parlant un diocèse relevant de l'archidiocèse grec orthodoxe d'Amérique jusqu'à 1996 quand elle a été promue au titre de Métropole, relevant directement du Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople.

L'archidiocèse orthodoxe grec d'Amérique, dont le siège est à New York, a été fondé en 1922 sous la juridiction du Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople. Les églises qui fonctionnaient jusque là dans tout le continent américain sous l'égide de l'archidiocèse orthodoxe grec de New York (États-Unis, Canada, Amérique latine), et comme unités semi-autonomes, ont été placées sous la juridiction administrative et spirituelle du Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople.¹⁷

Au début des années '80, le Congrès hellénique canadien a été fondé. C'est une structure qui chapeaute diverses organisations canadiennes grecques et à qui, théoriquement au moins, appartiennent les différentes communautés, les associations et les organismes communautaires. Chaque organisme communautaire a le droit de devenir membre du Congrès. Les premières réunions pour sa mise en place ont eu lieu le printemps 1981 mais officiellement l'institution a obtenu son statut juridique le 27 Avril 1982. Il faut aussi signaler que certaines tentatives pour établir le Congrès hellénique canadien ont été faites au milieu des années '70, mais sans succès. À l'époque la peur de le voir passer sous le contrôle de l'Église s'est manifestée.¹⁸

Le Congrès tente de suivre l'exemple du type de structure organisationnelle connue dans la diaspora juive. Au Canada, les divers groupes ethniques, parmi lesquels les Grecs, ont créé une forme similaire, mais n'ont pas réussi à créer un organe de coordination véritablement représentatif et puissant, comme c'est le cas avec les communautés juives.

L'hellénisme du Canada se trouve actuellement dans une phase transitoire, le passage de la première à la deuxième et troisième génération. La première

génération d'immigrants grecs d'après-guerre délivre lentement le flambeau à ses enfants et petits-enfants. La masse d'immigrants d'après-guerre dans les années '70 et '80 était concentrée dans certains domaines de la vie économique canadienne, les plus importants étant les restaurants, les industries du vêtement, les entreprises de nettoyage d'immeubles, les petits commerces. Les restaurants ont été depuis le début, un domaine de prédilection des immigrants grecs. Déjà, en 1953, on signalait que 64% des entreprises appartenant à des Grecs étaient des restaurants et des cafés. Il s'agissait pour la plupart des entreprises familiales qui employaient tous les membres de la famille travaillant de 10 à 15 heures par jour, y compris de nombreuses fois et les enfants.¹⁹ Il convient de noter toutefois que les Grecs Canadiens de la deuxième génération n'entrent pas en grand nombre dans ce secteur de l'activité économique parce qu'il n'est pas particulièrement apprécié et ne conduit pas à l'ascension sociale.

Chez les Grecs de la deuxième et troisième génération on remarque une mobilité sociale due en grande partie à l'éducation. Une étude récente sur la base des statistiques du recensement canadien de 1996 a montré justement les grands changements qui ont eu lieu dans les communautés grecques-canadiennes. Ainsi, par exemple, dans le domaine de l'éducation, tandis que chez les Grecs qui sont venus comme immigrants seulement 16% des hommes et 17,2 % des femmes avaient un diplôme d'études secondaires, chez ceux qui sont nés au Canada ce pourcentage s'élève à 22,2% pour les hommes et 24,3% pour les femmes. Encore plus spectaculaire est la différence entre les pourcentages de ceux qui ont un diplôme universitaire. Pour les Grecs canadiens qui sont venus comme immigrants ce pourcentage est de 9,6 % pour les hommes et 7,7 % pour les femmes alors que, pour les Grecs Canadiens nés au Canada, le pourcentage est de 23,3% pour les hommes et 29,7 % pour les femmes. Ces différences importantes du niveau d'éducation reflètent la différence de revenu et le statut professionnel dans la société canadienne pour chaque catégorie. Ainsi le revenu annuel moyen des Canadiens d'origine grecque nés au Canada est de 31.160 dollars pour les hommes et 23.046 pour les femmes. Pour les Grecs qui sont nés à l'extérieur du Canada (immigrants), le revenu moyen est de 26.900 dollars pour les hommes et 15.668 pour les femmes.²⁰

Un problème clé de cette période de transition, est que la structure

communautaire et l'organisation des Canadiens d'origine grecque est très faible et en partie déclinante. En effet ce cadre institutionnel communautaire créé pour les besoins des immigrants grecs ne répond plus aux besoins de ceux de la deuxième et troisième génération.

La politique canadienne d'immigration

La politique canadienne d'immigration a été délimitée par la législation introduite par Londres, avant que le Canada ait obtenu son indépendance sur cette question et ensuite par les lois adoptées par le Parlement canadien. La date de naissance du début de la politique d'immigration du Canada est une loi anglaise de 1828 qui délimitait et imposait des règles pour le transport des immigrants de la Grande-Bretagne dans les colonies britanniques, dont l'une était le Canada. En fait, cette loi a imposé des règles aux armateurs pour le nombre d'immigrants qu'ils avaient le droit de transporter et les conditions qui devraient prévaloir sur le navire.²¹

Peu à peu, la responsabilité de la politique d'immigration a été transférée par la Metropole à l'État canadien créé au milieu du 19^{ème} siècle comme "Le Dominion du Canada", sous la suzeraineté britannique, qui était en train de s'affranchir.

La politique canadienne d'immigration a été et demeure la responsabilité du Gouvernement fédéral. Certaines juridictions, cependant, ont parfois été attribuées aux provinces canadiennes, en particulier à la province francophone du Québec.

jusqu' à la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les politiques d'immigration canadiennes étaient teintées d'une discrimination généralisée envers les immigrés non européens. Même à l'égard de certaines catégories d'immigrants européens, la discrimination se faisait sentir. En règle générale, les immigrants en provenance d'Europe du Nord et les Anglo-Saxons ont été accueillis favorablement contrairement aux Européens du sud - Grecs, Italiens, Portugais - qui étaient admis avec des réserves.²²

Aujourd'hui, le Canada accepte des immigrants que l'on pourrait classer dans diverses catégories:

- Travailleurs qualifiés et professionnels: Pour les personnes qui veulent s'établir et travailler au Canada (hors du Québec);

- Travailleurs qualifiés sélectionnés par le Québec: Pour les personnes sélectionnées par le gouvernement du Québec afin de s'établir au Québec et d'y travailler;
- Catégorie de l'expérience canadienne: Pour les personnes qui ont acquis une expérience de travail récente au Canada ou qui ont gradué et récemment travaillé au Canada;
- Investisseurs, entrepreneurs et travailleurs autonomes: Pour les personnes qui veulent démarrer une entreprise au Canada;
- Candidats des provinces: Une des provinces ou un des territoires du Canada peut nommer des candidats pour s'établir et travailler dans cette province ou ce territoire;
- Parrainage: Un résident permanent ou un citoyen canadien peut parrainer certains membres de sa famille.

Le candidat à l'immigration obtient le statut de Résident Permanent à l'issue de sa procédure d'immigration. Ce statut lui permet de vivre, d'étudier et de travailler partout sur le territoire canadien et de bénéficier de la plupart des avantages sociaux auxquels les citoyens canadiens ont droit, notamment à l'assurance-maladie.²³

La plus importante catégorie est constituée d'immigrants permanents que reçoit chaque année, le pays et dont le nombre est déterminé sur la base de ses besoins. Ils s'agit généralement d'une main-d'œuvre qualifiée et d'investisseurs-entrepreneurs.

La deuxième catégorie est celle des réfugiés politiques. Cette catégorie comprend soit ceux qui sont choisis par le pays de diverses régions du monde, soit ceux qui parviennent à arriver au Canada pour demander l'asile politique.

La troisième catégorie d'immigrants sont ceux qui viennent au Canada avec un permis de travail spécial pour une certaine période de temps dans des domaines dont l'économie canadienne a besoin de main d'œuvre au cours d'une certaine période donnée. Dans le passé, ces immigrants ont été employés principalement dans des travaux agricoles. Au cours des dernières années, cependant, l'institution du permis de travail a été étendu à d'autres domaines, pour des activités économiques dans les centres urbains.

La quatrième catégorie d'immigrants est celle issue du parrainage. C'est jusqu'à un certain point une mesure de réunification des familles.

Une première forme de citoyenneté canadienne a été créée en 1910 avec la loi britannique identifiant comme étant Canadiens ceux qui avaient le statut de sujet britannique et résidaient au Canada. Ensuite, la Loi canadienne de 1946 a effectivement créé la citoyenneté canadienne. La loi est entrée en vigueur le 1er Janvier 1947 et ont été considérés citoyens canadiens ceux qui avaient auparavant le statut de sujet britannique, les autochtones du Canada, les Indiens et les Esquimaux et ceux qui jusque-là avaient été admis comme immigrants reçus. C'est pourquoi on considère généralement qu'avant 1947, la citoyenneté canadienne n'existait pas étant donné que les personnes vivant au Canada étaient officiellement considérées comme des sujets britanniques.²⁴

Les nouveaux immigrants grecs au Canada

L'apparition d'une nouvelle immigration grecque au Canada commence à compter de 2009-2010 et devient beaucoup plus intense dans les années subséquentes. On peut diviser ces nouveaux immigrants en deux grandes catégories. La première catégorie comprend ceux qui ont la citoyenneté canadienne, ayant vécu au Canada et qui sont retournés en Grèce après la chute de la dictature. Dans cette catégorie, il y a ceux qui sont nés en Grèce de parents canadiens et donc devenus citoyens canadiens, mais qui n'ont jamais vécu au Canada. Certains dans la même catégorie sont partis du Canada trop jeunes et soit ils n'ont aucun souvenir de ce pays ou une connaissance très limitée. Ces deux sous-catégories présentent des personnes qui même si elles ont la citoyenneté canadienne ne sont pas naturellement au courant des langues officielles du pays, à savoir l'anglais ou le français.

La deuxième catégorie comprend les citoyens grecs qui sont arrivés au Canada soit comme des immigrants légaux, par le biais du processus normal, soit en tant que touristes dans l'espoir de trouver du travail et à chercher plus tard à officialiser leur présence au Canada comme immigrants. Les indications que nous disposons laissent entendre que ceux qui sont arrivés au Canada avec un visa de touriste constituent un large courant. Certains d'entre eux après avoir obtenu une offre de travail ont quitté le Canada afin de soumettre une demande de retour soit à titre d'immigrants permanents ou munis d'un

permis de travail temporaire. Selon la loi canadienne, une personne ne peut pas soumettre sa demande pour devenir immigrant permanent au Canada, ni une demande pour un permis de travail si elle s'y trouve déjà avec un visa de touriste et même si elle a obtenu un emploi. Cette demande doit être soumise de l'extérieur du Canada.

Comme le bureau canadien qui traite les demandes de candidats grecs à l'immigration est situé à l'ambassade canadienne à Rome cela crée de nombreuses difficultés et la communication n'est pas facile. Il faut noter que pour les Chypriotes le bureau respectif est situé à Tel-Aviv.

On pourrait ajouter une troisième catégorie de Grecs qui arrivent au Canada, celle des étudiants, même si en raison du coût des frais de scolarité, elle reste relativement limitée. Dernièrement on a inclus dans cette catégorie un certain nombre d'étudiants diplômés effectuant des études postdoctorales avec la possibilité d'obtenir un permis de travail.²⁵

Cette classification ressort des entretiens que nous avons eu avec des nouveaux immigrants grecs (neometanastes) et avec des personnes occupant des postes de responsabilité au sein des communautés grecques et qui sont donc en contact avec cette nouvelle réalité.

Méthodologie de la recherche

Cette recherche s'appuie principalement sur des entretiens personnels avec les immigrants grecs de différentes catégories mentionnées ci-dessus et deuxièmement sur des témoignages de personnes qui ont connu des immigrants appartenant à ces différentes catégories. Nous avons également pris contact avec plusieurs organismes communautaires qui offrent du soutien à ces nouveaux immigrants. Nous nous sommes aussi référés à des publications, témoignages et des entrevues d'immigrants ou des personnes ayant été en contact avec eux.

En termes statistiques, nous disposons de peu de données et pour cette raison, la recherche se limite à la formulation, dans la plupart des cas, d'hypothèses. Statistique Canada et Immigration Canada disposent de certaines données allant jusqu'à la fin de 2012, mais bien que parfaitement valables, elles ne correspondent pas toujours à la réalité pour des raisons que nous allons expliquer par la suite.

De façon générale, cette recherche utilise des méthodes qualitatives et par conséquent des données qui ne peuvent être mesurées. Nous avons donc étudié les motifs, les sentiments, les réactions et les comportements des nouveaux arrivés. Compte tenu de la nature de la recherche et de nos capacités limitées, il est entendu que l'enquête n'est ni exhaustive ni définitive. Les entrevues et aussi toute la recherche ont évolué le long des axes suivants:

1. Catégories des nouveaux immigrants.
2. Les causes de la migration et sa préparation (son organisation).
3. L'installation au pays d'accueil et l'intégration à la communauté locale.
4. Les perspectives d'avenir.

Sous-catégories des nouveaux immigrants grecs

Les catégories des nouveaux immigrants grecs au Canada sont inclus dans les catégories générales définies par la loi canadienne sur l'immigration dans ce pays. Il y a bien sûr la grande catégorie des réfugiés politiques qui, pour des raisons évidentes, ne concerne pas les Grecs.²⁶ Les catégories générales des nouveaux immigrants grecs ont déjà été mentionnés ci-dessus. Les catégories plus spécifiques - sous catégories - sont indiquées de façon plus systématique ci-dessous.

A. Immigrants permanents

Cette catégorie comprend les individus qui ont demandé de s'installer au Canada en déposant leur demande aux autorités canadiennes de l'immigration. Pour les Grecs cette demande est déposée au Bureau de l'immigration de l'ambassade du Canada à Rome. Les individus dont la demande est acceptée sont inclus dans le nombre total d'immigrants que le Canada accepte cette année-là. Pour l'acceptation de leur candidature, les candidats doivent recueillir un certain nombre de points en fonction de critères spécifiques établis soit par les autorités canadiennes de l'immigration, soit par celles des provinces canadiennes. Le critère le plus important est celui de l'emploi et suivent divers autres critères comme la connaissance de la langue du pays d'accueil, l'âge, la santé, etc. Du moment où ces immigrants sont admis au Canada ils ont le droit de résidence permanente, ainsi que le

droit d'acquérir la citoyenneté canadienne dans un délai de trois ans. Cette catégorie d'immigrants est celle qui fait face à moins de problèmes car elle obtient la résidence permanente au Canada.

B. Les immigrants avec un permis de travail

Cette catégorie comprend les immigrants qui obtiennent un permis de travail auprès des autorités canadiennes. Obtenir un permis de travail implique de s'assurer un emploi au Canada. La recherche d'emploi peut se faire depuis la Grèce d'où il est obligatoire de présenter l'application. Beaucoup de Grecs, cependant, arrivent au Canada avec un visa de touriste et cherchent sur place un emploi. Dans tous les cas, cependant, l'intéressé doit soumettre sa demande en personne en dehors du Canada. Il doit retourner par conséquent en Grèce à cet effet, ou quitter le Canada en destination d'un autre pays à partir duquel il peut soumettre sa candidature. Habituellement, ceux qui ne veulent pas ou ne peuvent pas retourner en Grèce, le font en voyageant aux États-Unis, qui est la destination la plus proche du Canada.

Il existe diverses sortes de permis de travail. Un premier permis concerne les professions annoncées chaque année par les autorités canadiennes comme étant ouvertes et chacun peut soumettre une demande d'emploi pour l'une d'elles. Un deuxième cas est celui où quelqu'un cherche et trouve lui-même un emploi et sur la base de cette offre qu'il a d'un employeur il soumet sa demande. Dans ce cas, l'employeur pour d'offrir un emploi à un étranger doit prouver qu'il ne peut pas trouver un citoyen canadien pour cette tâche spécifique. Un autre cas concerne celui des fonctionnaires Grecs, qui obtiennent un congé sans solde pour effectuer des études supérieures au Canada. Ils peuvent ainsi tout en étudiant dans une université canadienne obtenir en même temps un permis de travail.

On nous a aussi mentionné une autre catégorie d'emploi pour laquelle des citoyens grecs peuvent obtenir un permis de travail dans le domaine des soins aux personnes âgées et aux enfants. Même si il ne s'agit pas du même contexte, cela n'est pas sans rappeler les femmes des années '50 qui sont arrivées ici comme domestiques.²⁷ Ces deux dernières catégories nous ont été rapportées par un professionnel des questions d'immigration du domaine privé dont le bureau traite de telles questions.

C. «Immigrants» avec visa touristique

Un très grand nombre de Grecs choisissent de venir au Canada avec un visa de touriste pour chercher un emploi. En fait, il n'y a pas de visa entre le Canada et la Grèce. Ce que nous appelons ici un visa touristique c'est un permis de séjour jusqu'à six mois, accordé aux aéroports ou autres points d'entrée au Canada. On n'a pas besoin d'avoir un visa pour partir au Canada, mais on a besoin d'un billet aller-retour et pouvoir prouver avoir les moyens de subsistance et d'hébergement.

L'objectif est bien sûr de trouver un emploi durant le séjour au pays, puis présenter soit une demande d'immigration permanente ou une demande de permis de travail. Cette procédure est difficile et laborieuse. À l'expiration du visa touristique, le titulaire doit quitter le Canada. Il peut certes retourner, mais en plus de lui demander de prouver s'il a les moyens financiers de prolonger son séjour au Canada, il commence à éveiller les soupçons des autorités canadiennes si son retour se fait en très peu de temps. Si quelqu'un à la fin de son visa de touriste ne quitte pas le Canada son séjour est illégal et cette personne sera déportée si elle est arrêtée. Dans ce cas il fait partie de la catégorie des immigrants illégaux.²⁸

D. Immigrants parrainés—réunion des familles

Le parrainage doit se faire par un parent au premier degré. D'habitude il s'agit de mariage entre un citoyen canadien et une personne étrangère. Dans d'autres cas, il s'agit de faire venir d'autres membres de la famille. Dans tous les cas il est nécessaire de s'engager à subvenir aux besoins de la personne parrainée pendant cinq ans. Les autorités canadiennes prennent des mesures strictes pour éviter des mariages blancs.

E. Les étudiants

Si quelqu'un est admis dans une université canadienne il obtient un visa d'étudiant valide pour la période de ses études au pays. Il y a des possibilités très limitées pour un étudiant étranger à travailler, en particulier dans certaines professions, comme l'enseignement du Grec aux cours de Samedi des écoles des communautés grecques. Mais même dans ce cas là on a besoin d'un permis de travail. Un étudiant après ses études au Canada a plus de chances d'être accepté comme immigrant ou d'obtenir un permis de travail.

G. Les Grecs ayant la citoyenneté canadienne

Il y a une large catégorie de Grecs qui retournent au Canada et qui détiennent la citoyenneté canadienne. Il s'agit des Grecs, citoyens canadiens qui sont retournés à un moment donné en Grèce. Leurs enfants qui sont nés au Canada ont automatiquement la citoyenneté canadienne. Aussi leurs enfants, même s'ils sont nés en Grèce, ont pu acquérir la citoyenneté canadienne à partir du moment que leurs parents ont fait les démarches requises. Si ces enfants n'ont pas acquis la citoyenneté canadienne et sont encore mineurs leurs parents peuvent toujours la revendiquer en leur nom.

De nos entretiens il découle qu'il est très probable que cette catégorie d'immigrants grecs est la plus importante. C'est une forme de rapatriement. Cela ne signifie pas que les gens de cette catégorie n'ont pas de problèmes pour obtenir un emploi et de la difficulté à se réintégrer dans la société canadienne. On nous a mentionné des cas de personnes dans cette catégorie qui sont retournées en Grèce, soit parce qu'ils ne pouvaient pas trouver un emploi, soit parce qu'ils ne pouvaient pas se réinsérer dans la société canadienne. La position de ceux qui bien qu'ayant la citoyenneté canadienne, ne connaissent pas du tout le Canada soit parce qu'ils sont nés en Grèce, soit parce qu'ils ont quitté le Canada à un âge très jeune est beaucoup plus difficile.

Profil de la nouvelle immigration grecque au Canada

Lorsque nous évoquons les nouveaux immigrants Grecs nous estimons qu'ils sont différents des immigrants de l'après-guerre. Qu'il s'agit en effet du phénomène bien connu de la fuite des cerveaux, des scientifiques, essentiellement des jeunes, qui sont facilement acceptés dans les pays développés, contrairement aux immigrants de l'après-guerre issus des campagnes grecques. En fait, c'est en partie seulement vrai. Il est certain qu'il y a beaucoup de jeunes scientifiques grecs qui sont plus facilement acceptés aujourd'hui. Mais la vague de la nouvelle immigration inclut d'autres catégories d'immigrants qui ne sont pas si facilement acceptées et sont confrontés à de grandes difficultés en essayant de trouver un pays où ils seront admis. Ces catégories, selon ce qui ressort de nos entretiens et des divers rapports (reportages) de presse peuvent ne pas être les immigrants des décennies '50 et '60, qui étaient surtout des agriculteurs avec une éducation limitée, mais ils n'ont cependant pas une formation professionnelle spécialisée.

Et quand ils en ont une elle n'est pas la seule recherchée par les pays qui sont ouverts à l'immigration. Il y a même des catégories entières de scientifiques dans le domaine des sciences sociales, par exemple, dont les qualifications ne font pas des bons candidats à l'immigration. Tous les collègues universitaires de la diaspora avec qui on parle, mentionnent qu'ils reçoivent des dizaines de lettres de la part des diplômés en sciences sociales ou en études littéraires qui souhaitent quitter la Grèce et émigrer. Plusieurs d'entre eux tentent d'entrer avec un visa de touriste, cherchant à trouver un emploi dans des domaines non liés à leurs études, afin d'être acceptés au Canada soit avec un permis de travail soit peut-être même comme immigrants permanents.²⁹

La situation est d'autant plus difficile au Canada en raison de l'existence de puissants ordres professionnels pour certains groupes de professionnels comme les médecins, les avocats et même des techniciens tels que les électriciens qui ne permettent pas leur inclusion dans ces professions. Parce que l'exercice de ces professions implique de s'inscrire dans ces ordres qui ont la responsabilité de protéger le public. Il n'est pas si étrange de rencontrer des médecins immigrants au Canada - non Grecs - qui travaillent comme chauffeurs de taxi!

En outre, ceux qui cherchent à venir comme immigrants au Canada ont généralement indiqué ce pays comme leur "deuxième choix", c'est à dire sont ceux qui ne peuvent pas rester dans un pays européen et surtout en Allemagne. Il s'agit donc soit d'immigrants avec une éducation et une formation professionnelle limitées, ou quand ils ont une bonne formation il y a absence de demande sur le marché canadien pour ces professions. Dans ces conditions, comme nous le disait de façon caractéristique le directeur d'origine grecque d'un bureau d'offre de services aux nouveaux immigrants à Toronto, la grande majorité de ceux-ci sont obligés, même s'ils sont beaucoup plus instruits que les immigrants des décennies '50 et '60 de finir par travailler dans les mêmes domaines d'emploi que ceux occupés à l'époque, par les immigrants Grecs d'alors. Ces domaines sont essentiellement ceux de l'industrie alimentaire (restaurants, etc), de nettoyage des bâtiments et celui des travailleurs non qualifiés dans les domaines du commerce et de l'artisanat.

Cela a été confirmé par nos propres entrevues. Deux exemples: dans un cas, un ingénieur du son avec une expérience dans son domaine dan l'attente de trouver un emploi lié à son métier, travaille dans une chaîne de boulangeries.

Il parle l'anglais et le français. Il a été admis comme immigrant permanent. Sa femme connaissant le français et l'anglais, ayant fait des études en littérature, a travaillé dans une boulangerie grecque et maintenant à temps partiel dans les écoles grecques du samedi. Une femme dont la profession était guide touristique, ayant une connaissance de l'anglais et du français a changé plusieurs professions, ayant travaillé entre autres comme vendeuse dans différentes boutiques jusqu'à enseignante à l'école grecque du samedi. Dans son cas elle avait la citoyenneté canadienne et a vécu au Canada jusqu'à l'âge de 11 ans.³⁰

Pour d'autres la difficulté majeure, même s'ils sont diplômés des universités grecques, est l'absence d'une bonne connaissance du français ou de l'anglais. Même les personnes ayant la citoyenneté canadienne font face à ce problème, soit parce qu'elles ont quitté le Canada très jeunes, soit parce qu'ils sont nés en Grèce de parents canadiens.

Les causes de l'émigration et sa préparation

Certes, la crise économique est la principale raison pour laquelle l'émigration a recommencé à nouveau en Grèce. En distinguant cette raison cependant, nous constatons sur la base d'entretiens individuels, des raisons plus spécifiques qui poussent les Grecs à immigrer au Canada. Il y a une grande catégorie de jeunes qui quittent la Grèce soit parce qu'ils sont en chômage chronique, ou parce qu'ils végètent avec un emploi à temps partiel, ou même s'ils ont un emploi à temps plein ils ont un revenu tellement faible qu'ils n'entrevoient aucun avenir. Il y a une autre catégorie constituée de couples avec enfants, le plus souvent en bas âge, mais aussi à un âge plus grand, jusqu'à 18 à 20 ans, qui même s'ils travaillent, décident d'émigrer pour offrir, comme ils disent, à leurs enfants un meilleur avenir.³¹ Il y a aussi une catégorie de personnes qui avaient leur propre emploi en Grèce, c'est à dire qu'ils étaient soit des travailleurs autonomes, ou commerçants et manufacturiers qui avec la crise ont tout perdu. Il s'agit de gens qui avaient par exemple des boutiques, des restaurants ou même de petites manufactures, artisans, etc.

Toutes ces catégories d'immigrants ne sont pas facilement acceptées à présent alors que le Canada recherche une main d'oeuvre scientifique, des spécialistes (scientifiques) dans divers domaines ainsi que des professionnels qualifiés et des travailleurs qualifiés pour répondre aux besoins de son économie. Ainsi, ces

candidats à l'émigration planifient leur arrivée au Canada à travers des parents ou des amis, ou ils s'aventurent même en arrivant seuls au Canada comme touristes, dans l'espoir de trouver un emploi qui leur permettra de rester dans ce pays. Nombreux sont aussi ceux qui croient que l'élément grec organisé au Canada les aidera à s'y installer. Avec l'arrivée des premiers immigrants au début de la crise, quand il y avait encore une forte composante émotionnelle, les collectivités canadiennes grecques ont tenté de se mobiliser et offrir leur aide. Au fil du temps, cependant, avec l'augmentation du nombre de personnes qui arrivent, de façon totalement imprévue et desorganisée, les communautés de la diaspora, non seulement au Canada mais ailleurs aussi, ne peuvent pas offrir beaucoup de possibilités au-delà d'une forme de charité. Malheureusement, il semble également que peu à peu commence à se répéter ce qui s'est passé entre les immigrants de la fin des années '50 et '60 et les immigrants plus anciens qui se trouvaient au Canada depuis le début du siècle. C'est une sorte de climat conflictuel qui couve en raison des mentalités et des perceptions complètement différentes. Il nous a été mentionné par exemple par une nouvelle immigrante, ayant même la citoyenneté canadienne, qui était partie de Montréal à l'âge de 11 ans et maintenant est de retour après 35 ans:

«Ils ne nous voient pas d'un bon œil. Ils croient que la corruption en Grèce embrasse tous les citoyens. Par conséquent ceux qui fuient maintenant le pays sont des corrompus!»

Le fait est que lorsque on parle avec des anciens de communautés grecques on entend souvent diverses plaintes concernant les nouveaux, du genre: «Ils ne veulent pas travailler. J'ai dépensé 60.000 dollars pour réparer ma maison en Grèce et tout a été payé à des Albanais. Aucun des nôtres ne voulait travailler».

- Quand ils viennent ici, ils font toutes les corvées. Ils lavent- même des toilettes. En Grèce ils n'accepteraient jamais de faire un tel travail...
- Ils n'ont jamais payé d'impôts. Nous payons des milliers de dollars d'impôts sur nos maisons ici et eux dès qu'on leur a demandé de payer, ce qu'ils ne payaient pas tant d'années, ils protestent.
- Les jeunes gens sont assis dans les cafés et ne travaillent pas, ils ne veulent pas occuper les emplois que font les étrangers et préfèrent vivre aux dépens de leurs parents et grands-parents, en dilapidant leur petite pension.³²

Tout de même il faut souligner que les nouveaux immigrants arrivent au Canada à un moment de transition pour les communautés grecques-canadiennes. Leurs institutions traversent à l'heure actuelle une crise profonde. Plus précisément les deux principales communautés grecques, la Communauté grecque de Montréal et la Communauté grecque de Toronto. Les deux communautés sont endettées et jusqu' à dernièrement elles cherchaient un soutien financier même auprès de la Grèce. La Communauté grecque de Montréal prétend même à ce moment que l'Etat grec devrait régler une dette d'environ six millions qu'il avait garanti en sa faveur par le passé. Généralement, le tissu organisationnel des collectivités grecques canadiennes est actuellement en déclin. Beaucoup d'organismes et associations sont fermées et d'autres sont maintenus avec de nombreuses difficultés. Certes, beaucoup espèrent que les nouveaux immigrants d'aujourd'hui, comme ceux des années '60 et '70, sauront inspirer une nouvelle vie aux communautés grecques-canadiennes.³³

Le niveau culturel de nouveaux immigrants est aussi très différent de celui des Canadiens d'origine grecque. Ces derniers entretiennent une culture grecque d'une époque révolue que les autres considèrent obsolète.

- *Nous sommes allés au bal de l'Association de notre région et les gens y dansaient des danses traditionnelles et faisaient des discours pour la patrie, la religion et la famille... nous a été signalé par un jeune couple de nouveaux immigrants.*

Les données statistiques

Les statistiques disponibles sont limitées et pauvres. Elles proviennent principalement de Statistique Canada et Immigration Canada. Nous avons également fait quelques estimations basées sur des informations provenant des entrevues et des contacts avec des responsables des communautés grecques, avec qui nous avons parlé.

Si nous prenons les années 2008-2012 Immigration Canada et Statistique Canada nous donnent les informations suivantes sur le nombre de Grecs qui ont été admis comme immigrants permanents:

Année

| 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|------|------|------|------|------|
| 248 | 205 | 236 | 163 | 211 |

Ces chiffres, 1063 personnes en cinq ans de crise, sont plus élevés que dans les cinq années précédentes. Au cours des cinq années précédentes ont été admis au Canada 861 immigrants permanents.

Outre les immigrants permanents ont aussi été reçus au cours des cinq dernières années également et des Grecs avec un permis de travail. Immigration Canada et Statistique Canada nous donnent les chiffres suivants:

Année

| 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|------|------|------|------|------|
| 133 | 98 | 116 | 141 | 254 |

Dans l'ensemble donc, pour ces cinq années ont été admis au Canada avec un permis de travail 742 personnes. Au cours des cinq années précédentes, le nombre de Grecs qui ont été admis au Canada avec un permis de travail était de 558 personnes. Il y a donc ici une augmentation relative dans les cinq ans de la crise en Grèce.

Enfin pour les étudiants Immigration Canada et Statistique Canada présentent les chiffres suivants:

Année

| 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|------|------|------|------|------------------|
| 43 | 47 | 43 | 51 | 79 ³⁴ |

Nous constatons qu'il ya une augmentation relative les deux dernières années. Globalement, le nombre d'étudiants admis au Canada ces cinq dernières années est de 263. Au cours des cinq années précédentes, le nombre était de 208. Il ya donc ici une augmentation relative dans les cinq dernières années.

La première question qu'il faut se poser, est de savoir si la tendance générale vers l'augmentation du nombre des Grecs admis au Canada au cours des cinq dernières années peut être prise au sérieux car nous sommes confrontés à de petits nombres. Le deuxième problème majeur qui se pose est que probablement un grand nombre de demandes de Grecs candidats à l'immigration au Canada est en attente de traitement vu que leur étude est souvent fastidieuse et dure au moins deux ans. Le député d'origine grecque au Parlement canadien Dimitris Karygiannis a rapporté que pour l'année 2011 quelques 10.000 demandes de candidats Grecs pour immigrer au Canada étaient en attente de traitement. Il rapportait comme source d'information l'Ambassade du Canada à Athènes.³⁵

Un troisième problème que nous rencontrons avec les statistiques, sont les Grecs se trouvant au Canada avec un visa de touriste en quête d'emploi, dont le nombre n'est pas connu. Notre recherche ne nous permet pas de faire une estimation de leur nombre.

Mais sans doute le plus gros problème pour la représentation statistique de l'entrée des Grecs au Canada au cours des cinq dernières années est lié à ceux qui avaient déjà la citoyenneté canadienne et qui, naturellement, lors de leur retour au Canada, en tant que citoyens canadiens, ne sont enregistrés nulle part. Toujours selon notre recherche, le nombre de ces Grecs est important et devrait s'élever à quelques milliers.

A ces chiffres, il faut ajouter les Chypriotes enregistrés séparément par Statistique Canada. En général, même si leur nombre est beaucoup moins élevé que celui des Grecs, toutefois, en vertu des informations dont nous disposons, selon les chiffres d'Immigration Canada et Statistique Canada et en se basant sur nos entretiens ils sont environ la moitié de ceux-ci. Compte tenu de la population de Chypre, le pourcentage des immigrants Chypriotes est donc assez élevé. Encore une fois, cependant, étant donné le petit nombre de ces immigrants, il est difficile de conclure s'il s'agit d'une véritable tendance. Seulement avec le temps, dans les prochaines années, serons nous peut-être en mesure de tirer des conclusions fiables. La même chose est évidemment vraie pour les hypothèses faites sur le nombre d'immigrants en provenance de Grèce.

Selon notre propre recherche, et selon les témoignages de représentants des communautés grecques, ainsi que de diverses publications et rapports, le

nombre d'immigrants grecs au Canada au cours des dernières années, dans l'ensemble, est estimé à environ 20.000. À première vue, cependant, ce nombre semble excessif.

Peut-être avec des chiffres que Statistique Canada fournira pour 2013, serons nous en mesure de mieux apprécier la réalité démographique de la nouvelle immigration grecque au Canada.

L'exploitation des nouveaux immigrants

Dans la presse grecque et internationale les références à des réseaux qui exploitent les nouveaux immigrants sont très fréquentes. Bien que dans le cas des immigrants grecs nous n'avons pas affaire à l'exploitation sauvage des immigrants du Moyen-Orient, de l'Asie et de l'Afrique par des contrebandiers et toutes sortes des circuits dangereux, les références à l'exploitation des immigrants grecs ne sont pas rares. De la presse grecque et internationale, nous apprenons que les réseaux de l'exploitation des immigrants grecs agissent soit en Grèce et à Chypre, soit dans le pays d'accueil. Ces réseaux en Grèce et à Chypre promettent habituellement du travail dans un pays de l'UE ou d'assurer l'immigration dans un pays hors de l'UE.³⁶ Les candidats à l'immigration paient des sommes considérables à cet effet jusqu'à ce qu'ils découvrent qu'il s'agit d'une fraude. Dans les pays d'accueil ces réseaux agissent pour la recherche de l'emploi et en promettant l'immigration légale. Dans la plupart des cas, il s'agit de fraudeurs.³⁷ Dans d'autres cas une certaine aide est fournie cependant contre des sommes disproportionnées d'argent.

Il y a plusieurs cas documentés de l'action de ces réseaux ou individus et dans plusieurs cas, il y a eu intervention de la police et de la justice. Le plus malheureux dans cette affaire est que dans ces réseaux sont impliqués et des Grecs, présentés comme des spécialistes en immigration et prêts à «aider» les nouveaux immigrants moyennant le paiement de sommes considérables.³⁸

Au Canada on constate l'existence de tels cas en se basant sur des articles publiés par la presse et sur des récits des personnes intéressées lors de nos entrevues.³⁹

Il convient toutefois de noter qu'il existe des professionnels qui s'occupent des questions de l'immigration au Canada, que ce soit des cabinets d'avocats, ou des consultants en immigration, de façon tout à fait légale. Tous ces services

sont contrôlés par l'État canadien et sont évidemment payants. Le ministère canadien de l'Immigration avertit cependant que généralement les services des consultants et de bureaux d'avocats ne sont pas nécessaires si quelqu'un est capable de passer lui-même à travers les procédures nécessaires pour immigrer au Canada. Ce n'est pas cependant l'opinion des spécialistes qui tentent d'attirer des clients. Ainsi un avocat écrivait:

Nous croyons fermement que présenter une demande d'immigration soi-même sans l'aide d'un professionnel d'expérience représente un risque réel qui ne vaut pas la peine d'être encouru surtout si vous et les membres de votre famille sont plus que sérieux à propos de la réussite de votre projet d'immigration.

Les lois et règlements encadrant le droit de l'immigration sont très complexes et constamment en évolution. Il est fort probable que vous ayez une compréhension élémentaire des pré-requis établis pour faire une demande de visa. Cependant, à moins que vous soyez un professionnel œuvrant à temps plein dans le droit de l'immigration, il serait extrêmement difficile pour vous de connaître toutes les modifications et mises à jour périodiques qui pourraient avoir un impact sur le résultat de votre demande. De plus, même si vous avez fait votre demande vous-même et obtenu votre visa, il est aussi possible que vous ayez malencontreusement créé des problèmes qui auront un effet néfaste sur votre statut ou sur les possibilités d'immigration des autres membres de votre famille bien après que vous ayez reçu votre visa. Alors que vous avez votre visa en main et que tout semble parfait, il est aussi possible que cette situation parfaite à cet instant devienne un cauchemar pour vos demandes subséquentes.⁴⁰

www.immcanada.com/pourquoi-choisir-bjl.html

Tous les consultants en immigration évoquent la complexité des règlements et les changements apportés souvent à cette réglementation pour persuader les intéressés de retenir leurs services.

En plus de nombreux candidats à l'immigration ont l'impression que leur dossier sera traité plus rapidement par un consultant en immigration ou par un cabinet d'avocats, ce qui n'est pas vrai. Immigration Canada avertit que toute l'information nécessaire est disponible gratuitement à ses bureaux au Canada et aux services diplomatiques du pays à l'étranger. D'ailleurs, toutes ces informations sont disponibles en ligne sur le Web.

Malheureusement, il est à noter que, parce que beaucoup de Grecs sont habitués à ce qui se passe en Grèce, ils pensent que ces bureaux de consultants

en immigration sont capables de “soudoyer” les services d’immigration du Canada et c’est une des raisons pour laquelle ils ont recours à ces derniers. Il n’est pas exclu que certains consultants laissent fuir indirectement des informations assurant qu’ils ont des liens au niveau des services à l’immigration, en exploitant la psychologie qui imprègne certains immigrants.

Lors de nos entrevues certains nous ont mentionné qu’il leur a été demandé de payer des montants exorbitants allant jusqu’ à 10.000 dollars pour leur faire remplir les formulaires pertinents sur les motifs qu’ils savaient «faire les choses», et que si ils le faisaient eux-mêmes leur demande leur serait retournée pour des erreurs qu’ils auraient commises, leur faisant ainsi perdre un temps précieux. Pour illustrer cela voici un exemple extrait d’une entrevue:

Moi et mes enfants ont la citoyenneté canadienne, pas mon mari. Pour remplir les formulaires nécessaires pour devenir immigrant permanent, il s’est adressé à un bureau qui lui a demandé dix mille dollars américains. Il a refusé de payer parce que nous estimions qu’il s’agissait de l’exploitation. Nous les avons rempli nous-mêmes en demandant de l’aide auprès des responsables du service de l’immigration qui étaient très polis. Dès la première fois que nous sommes arrivés au Canada, nous avons reçu des offres d’avocats et des bureaux de consultants grecs à prendre en main la cause de mon mari. Ce qui s’est passé d’après ce que l’on apprend avec d’autres candidats à l’immigration.⁴¹

Il faut noter que des services gratuits sont fournis aux nouveaux immigrants par diverses organisations non gouvernementales. Le problème bien sûr avec ces organisations qui ne sont pas grecques, est la difficulté de la communication.

Cependant, nous devons faire la distinction entre les services offerts légalement aux immigrants qu’il faut certainement payer si on les retient et les réseaux qui les exploitent frauduleusement. Une certaine confusion est causée par le fait que de nombreux immigrants se plaignent seulement après l’événement qu’ils ont payé cher certains services, qui étaient parfaitement légaux et personne ne les avait forcé à les chercher et les accepter. Il se peut cependant que même des fournisseurs de ces services légaux fassent miroiter aux immigrants des objectifs irréalisables. En tout cas, l’admission de quelqu’un comme immigrant au Canada est fondée sur des critères fixés par le pays et il est impossible de contourner les règlements. S’il les remplit il sera accepté, sinon sa demande sera rejetée. Donc, la clé est que le candidat à l’immigration dispose d’informations adéquates et correctes et il peut les

obtenir auprès des autorités canadiennes compétentes sans l'intervention d'intermédiaires.

Problèmes d'installation et d'intégration

L'installation des nouveaux immigrants dans un pays est toujours une tâche difficile et les nouveaux immigrants grecs au Canada ne font pas exception. Habituellement, cela prend du temps pour surmonter les difficultés. Cependant, il y a des cas où l'intégration dans la nouvelle société est très rapide.

Ceux qui entrent au Canada comme touristes ont les plus de problèmes parce qu'ils vivent dans l'incertitude et ils ne savent pas si ils vont rester.

Ceux qui entrent au Canada soit en tant qu'immigrants permanents ou avec un permis de travail ont moins des problèmes. Pour ces derniers l'intégration se fait en fonction du niveau de leur éducation, de leur connaissance des deux langues officielles du Canada - anglais, français - le type de travail qu'ils exercent, l'âge, etc.

La connaissance de l'anglais et en plus du français pour la province de Québec est l'un des facteurs les plus importants qui permettent aux nouveaux immigrants de faire face à leur nouvelle vie avec moins de problèmes, d'avoir des contacts avec la réalité de la nouvelle société dans laquelle ils s'insèrent et pour pouvoir faire face à ses exigences.

Les jeunes immigrants s'acclimatent généralement beaucoup plus facilement aux nouvelles conditions du pays d'accueil. Par ailleurs, ceux qui n'ont pas encore créé de famille ont plus de flexibilité dans leurs mouvements. Les familles avec enfants, au-delà de leur propre adaptation, font face à l'adaptation de leurs enfants dans le nouveau système scolaire. Il y a bien sûr quelques facilités prévues pour cette intégration mais cela prend vraiment du temps, surtout si les enfants n'ont pas connaissance de l'anglais ou du français. Le type de travail de leurs parents, surtout si les deux travaillent, est un facteur qui facilite ou entrave l'adaptation des nouveaux immigrants.

D'après nos recherches la majorité des nouveaux immigrants Grecs fait face autant à des problèmes liés à la langue que de problèmes d'emploi stable. On nous a mentionné des cas de personnes qui même avec la citoyenneté canadienne ont des problèmes d'installation et d'intégration dans la société

canadienne parce qu'ils ne connaissent pas l'anglais ou le français. Il s'agit des enfants d'anciens immigrants Grecs qui sont soit partis du Canada très jeunes avec leurs parents soit des individus qui sont nés en Grèce et sont devenus citoyens canadiens.⁴²

Le climat rude de l'hiver canadien ajoute une difficulté supplémentaire pour les Grecs et tous les immigrants en provenance des pays avec des climats plus cléments. Même ceux qui n'ont pas rencontré des difficultés dans d'autres domaines, y font souvent référence.

Dans un journal électronique de Thessalonique a été publié un texte d'un couple avec un séjour de deux ans à Montréal, abordant en termes positifs leur installation et intégration dans la société canadienne - québécoise, sauf pour ce qui est de l'hiver! Il s'agit d'une vision positive et donne un aperçu des problèmes et des avantages de la société canadienne - québécoise par rapport à la Grèce. Leur description est parfois idyllique ! Mais cela s'explique dans une certaine mesure par ce qu'ils disent-leurs propos:

Nous avons déménagé ici parce qu'un de nous avait décroché un emploi, très bien payé pour les standards de la Grèce et décent comparé à ceux du Canada.

D'après nos recherches, nous avons constaté que l'homme dans le couple est physicien et a été engagé dans un programme de recherche post-doctorale à l'Université de Montréal et l'épouse travaille comme architecte dans le bureau d'un ingénieur Grec canadien en génie civil. Par conséquent, il n'est pas le type représentatif de l'immigrant grec qui arrive au Canada et est forcé de travailler comme serveur, même s'il est muni d'une panoplie des diplômes universitaires, parce qu'il ne trouve pas un emploi dans son domaine ou ne connaît pas l'anglais et le français.

Dans une entrevue, cependant, que nous avons eu avec eux beaucoup plus tard après la publication de leur article, ils ont été plus nuancés dans leurs évaluations de l'environnement de la société canadienne - québécoise. Ils ont même mentionné qu'à la fin de leurs contrats ils ne feront pas de démarches pour rester au Canada parce qu'ils préfèrent s'installer dans un pays européen pour se rapprocher de la Grèce et de leurs proches. Ils sont venus au Canada nous ont-ils dit, parce qu'ils ont eu une offre d'emploi intéressant en attendant de trouver quelque chose en Europe et ils ont pensé que ça constituerait une bonne expérience.

Bien sûr, cela montre que l'Europe est toujours le premier choix de ceux qui émigrent aujourd'hui, à l'exception sans doute des cas particuliers et surtout de ceux qui ont la citoyenneté canadienne. Cela montre également que certains détenant des qualifications et une spécialisation, dans certains domaines, ont un plus vaste choix de pays ou de continents pour immigrer.⁴³

Les perspectives d'avenir

Les perspectives pour les nouveaux immigrants ne sont peut-être pas roses pour tout le monde mais en comparaison à celles des immigrants de la fin des années '50 et '60 elles sont certainement meilleures. La raison principale réside dans un niveau d'éducation beaucoup plus élevé que celui des immigrants de cette époque. En outre, la plupart sont des immigrants qui ont vécu en milieu urbain en Grèce et peuvent beaucoup plus facilement s'intégrer à la société locale. Même s'il est certain que leur établissement initial au Canada sera difficile, ils vont probablement réaliser une ascension sociale beaucoup plus rapide à celle des immigrants antérieurs avec leur niveau d'éducation élevé. Cette ascension sociale est toujours possible au Canada, alors que le pays fait face à beaucoup moins de problèmes dans le domaine de l'économie à la plupart des autres pays développés.

Bien sûr, le Canada est touché aujourd'hui par la crise économique mondiale au point où il y a un taux de chômage relativement élevé dans certaines régions, un déclin de l'État-providence et une plus grande concentration de la richesse dans les mains d'une minorité. En ce sens, et dans cette perspective, le Canada actuel offre peut-être moins de possibilités que celles offertes après la Guerre, dans les années '50 et '60, à l'ère de la croissance économique rapide, centrée sur le modèle keynésien. L'intégration des nouveaux immigrants grecs dans la société canadienne dépendra aussi grandement de leur adaptation aux réalités de ce pays - le travail, les conditions climatiques, les attitudes envers l'État, etc - qui ne coïncident pas nécessairement toujours avec les normes auxquelles sont habitués dans leurs pays d'origine.

En conclusion, il y a sans doute des bonnes perspectives pour l'avenir, mais il faudra travailler dur pour s'adapter au nouvel environnement social. Mais à en juger par le passé des anciens immigrants grecs, les nouveaux immigrants, en dépit de toutes les difficultés, réussissent leur intégration dans la société du pays d'accueil.

Savoir si les nouveaux immigrants seront en mesure de contribuer à la revitalisation des collectivités canadiennes grecques est difficile à prédire. Une possibilité est de rester à l'écart des structures organisationnelles des collectivités canadiennes grecques s'ils pensent qu'elles ne répondent pas à leurs besoins. L'autre possibilité est qu'ils soient intégrés dans ces structures et essaient à les faire muter comme le faisaient leurs prédécesseurs de la fin des années '50 et '60. Pour y réussir, cependant, leur nombre doit être significatif. Pour l'instant, il ne semble pas y avoir la masse critique qui engendrera des changements radicaux. Il y a aussi la possibilité, en raison des différentes mentalités et cultures qu'ils restent à l'écart des communautés gréco-canadiennes organisées. De toute manière ils n'en auront pas tellement besoin pour leur ascension sociale, à l'exception peut-être des écoles de langue grecque, s'ils veulent que leurs enfants restent en contact avec la langue grecque. Seul le temps nous dira dans quel sens les choses vont évoluer.

NOTES

Cette recherche a été basée principalement sur une vingtaine d'entrevues personnelles avec des nouveaux immigrants grecs, dix au Québec et dix en Ontario. Deuxièmement nous avons recueilli les témoignages de personnes qui ont fréquenté ces nouveaux immigrants.

Nous avons aussi recueilli les témoignages du Consulat général de Grèce à Montréal, du Consulat général de Chypre à Toronto, de la Communauté grecque de Montréal, de la Communauté grecque de Toronto, de l'Ambassade du Canada à Athènes, et des enseignants des écoles grecques du Canada, qui accueillent les nouveaux élèves, les enfants de neo-immigrants. Nous avons également parlé avec le directeur d'un bureau de consultants en immigration, un Canadien grec, dont nous avons obtenu des informations pertinentes. Les entrevues ont eu lieu de septembre à décembre 2013.

1. Les témoignages se référant à Juan de Fuca (Ioannis Phokas ou de son vrai nom Apostolos Valerianos) sont d'une source incertaine. Ils sont mentionnés par George Vlassis dans son livre *Les Grecs au Canada*, Ottawa, 1953 p.79 -82, qui se réfère également aux sources incertaines. Il paraît que les chercheurs qui ont suivi et dont les recherches ont porté sur les Grecs du Canada et qui se réfèrent au cas de Phocas, se sont basés sur le témoignage de Vlassis qui s'appuie sur les rapports précédents auxquels il fait référence.

2. *Les Voyages de Champlain*, Editions Laverdière, Montréal 1870, Editions du jour de 1973, p.170-171. Les historiens Jacques Lacourcière et Hélène-Andrée Bizier y font également référence dans leur livre *Nos Racines, histoire vivante des Québécois*, no 5, Montréal, Les Éditions Transmo 1979, p. 99.
3. Stephanos Constantinides, *La présence des Grecs au Canada*, Rethymno, EDIAMME, Université de Crète, 2004, pp. 1-2.
4. Stephanos Constantinides, *op. cit.*, p. 10
5. *Ibid.*, G. Vlassis, *op. cit*, p. 137.
6. Il s'agit des témoignages oraux recueillis et publiés au début du 20ème siècle dans des journaux locaux et des albums, soit sous forme d'articles, soit comme des références à l'occasion d'un évènement ou d'une célébration quelconque. Mais il y a aussi des documents écrits, tels que des statuts et des actes administratifs des autorités locales qui ont autorisé la création de premières organisations grecques.
Tina Ioannou, *La Communauté grecque du Québec*, Montréal, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1983, p. 20.
John Constantine Halkias, «L'église et la communauté» in Leonidas Bombas, *L'hellénisme de Montréal*, Montréal 1985, p. 37. Ce témoignage existe également dans les "mémoires" inédits de Ioannis Fouriezios que nous avons déjà mentionnés. Mais Fouriezios indique que la première liturgie célébrée par un prêtre orthodoxe syrien, a eu lieu le premier dimanche d'Août 1897. Il confirme toutefois qu'en dehors de cette première et unique liturgie qui s'adressait à tous les orthodoxes, et non seulement aux Grecs, en août 1897, les liturgies orthodoxes ont été répétées sur une base plus permanente en 1905, encore une fois par un prêtre syrien.
7. Ioannis Fouriezios, *Mémoires*, (inédits) Montréal, 1979. Archives du Centre de recherches helléniques-KEEK.
8. Athénagoras de Elaia, *L'Eglise grecque au Canada*, Toronto 1961, p. 17.
9. James Patterson, *The Greeks of Vancouver, A Study in the preservation of Ethnicity*, Ottawa, National Museum of Man, Centre for Folk Studies, 1976, p. 16.
10. Yianna Lambrou, *The Greek Community of Vancouver, Social Organization and Adaptation*, MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1976, p. 62.
11. Yianna Lambrou, *op. cit.* p. 62-63.
12. Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1945-1971, P. Chimbos, *op. cit*, p. 29.
13. Stephanos Constantinides, *Les Grecs du Québec*, Ed. O METOIKOS-LE METEQUE, Montréal, 1983, p. 184.
14. St. Constantinides, *La présence des Grecs au Canada*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

15. St. Constantinides *op. cit.*, p. 30.
16. St. Constantinides, *op. cit.*, p.19-20, Peter Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey, The Greek Experience in Canada*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1980, pp. 91-94.
17. Stephanos Constantinides, *Les Grecs du Québec, op.cit.* pp. 96-97.
18. St. Constantinides, *La présence des Grecs au Canada, op. cit.*, p. 51.
19. St. Constantinides, *op. cit.* p. 91-92, *op. cit.*, p.18-19, G. Vlassis, *op. cit.*, p. 221-254, Peter Chimbos, "Ethnicity and Occupational Mobility, A comparative Study of Greek and Slovak Immigrants in Ontario City", *International Migration Review*, Vol. XV, 1974, pp. 58-66.

Stephanos Constantinides, "Secteurs d'activités et conditions de travail des Grecs du Quebec", *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies*, vol. 1, no 2.
20. Peter Chimbos, Stephanos Constantinides, «L'image de la deuxième génération des Canadiens d'origine grecque: l'éducation, l'emploi et les revenus», in M.Damanakis, B. Kardasis, Th.Michelakakis, A.Hourdakis, *Histoire de la diaspora grecque moderne*, Volume II, Rethymnon, Université de Crète, EDIAMME, 2004, pp. 113-119 (en Grec).
21. Le vécu des immigrants: l'expérience canadienne des immigrants - "Droit de passage" à Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, *Loi visant à réglementer le port de passagers en navires marchands*, 1828.

Moving Here, Staying Here: The Canadian Immigrant Experience - "Right of Passage" at Library and Archives Canada, *An Act to Regulate the Carrying of Passengers in Merchant Vessels*, 1828.
22. Peter Chimbos, *op. cit.*, p. 37, Donald H. Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and Alien Ouestion, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1973, p. 104.
23. Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada,
<http://www.cic.gc.ca/francais/immigrer/index.asp>
Lois de l'immigration (1866 - 2001) - Canadiana
www.canadiana.ca/citm/specifique/immigration_f.htm
24. *Loi sur la citoyenneté*
laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/fra/lois/C-29/page-2.html
Une brève *histoire de la citoyenneté canadienne*
<https://www.k12.gov.sk.ca/evergreen/francais/.../8e/.../document2a.html>
25. Cette typologie ressort des entretiens que nous avons eus tant avec des neo-

immigrants grecs (neometanastes) qu'avec des responsables des organismes grec-canadiens qui sont en contact avec eux.

26. Ibid.
27. Les deux dernières catégories ont été portées à notre attention par un spécialiste en immigration qui traite de la question professionnellement.
28. Cette catégorie comprend 1. ceux qui ont des parents au Canada et comptent sur leur aide, 2. Ceux qui viennent tenter leur chance et ont espoir de trouver de l'aide auprès des Grecs d'ici. La recherche d'emploi est faite généralement auprès des entreprises grecques.
29. Même les gens qui ont étudié dans le domaine scientifique ne sont pas facilement acceptés. L'acceptabilité est très limitée, surtout s'il s'agit des sciences non appliquées.
30. Entrevues réalisées à Montréal de juin à décembre 2013.
31. Dans deux entrevues que nous avons réalisées, les enfants étaient âgés de 12 à 20 ans. D'après les informations que nous avons recueillies, il y a un certain nombre d'enfants de nouveaux immigrants qui sont inscrits dans les écoles de langue grecque.
32. Des références qui proviennent de différentes entrevues que nous avons menées.
33. Les entrevues que nous avons menées auprès de neo-immigrants ne semblent pas suggérer quelque chose en ce sens. Le fossé culturel semble assez large parmi les neo-immigrants et les Grecs du Canada.
34. Canada, FAITS ET CHIFFRES, Aperçu de l'immigration, les Résidents permanents et temporaires, 2012.
Recherche et évaluation, Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada
[www.cic.gc.ca / francais / ressources / Statistiques / menu- faits.asp](http://www.cic.gc.ca/francais/ressources/Statistiques/menu-faits.asp)
35. Le député fédéral gréco-canadien Jim Karygiannis: «10.000 Grecs vont tenter de fuir au Canada». Voir plus: Greek-Canadian MP Jim Karygiannis: "10,000 Greeks will Try to Flee to Canada" <http://canada.greekreporter.com/2012/07/15/greek-canadian-mp-jim-karygiannis-10000-greeks-will-try-to-flee-to-canada/#sthash.FGD DuuY5.dpuf>
36. Un tel réseau avec des bureaux à Chypre promettait de transférer vers la Belgique et la France des travailleurs du bâtiment.
Ποινική έρευνα www.sigmalive.com/news/local/65109
www.cyprusnewsportals.com/...news...news/116333
37. Au Canada, on nous a rapporté le cas d'un jeune immigrant qui a été victime de réseaux - non grecs - qui lui ont promis de lui garantir l'asile politique ! Il a payé 15.000 \$. En fin de compte, il a été expulsé du Canada.

38. Dimitris Galanis, “Des Grecs exploitent des Grecs en Allemagne”, *To Vima*, 20/05/2012, (en grec). On trouve des références similaires dans la presse internationale.
39. Les Grecs néo-immigrants victimes d’exploitation, *Politis*, journal de Hania, Crète, le 30 Décembre 2011 (avec des références à des sources canadiennes et des témoignages de personnes qui ont été victimes d’exploitation).
- Victimes de fraude par de “marchands de faux espoirs”, *Elliniki Gnomi*, journal grec de Berlin, 31 octobre 2012, www.elliniki-gnomi.eu/archives/38239 (En grec).
40. www.immcanada.com/pourquoi-choisir-bjl.html
41. Entrevue avec une neo-immigrante à Toronto, 12/11/2013.
42. Les références à des problèmes d’intégration dans la société canadienne sont basées sur des entrevues que nous avons réalisées, mais aussi sur des évaluations et des analyses plus générales qui font leur apparition dans la presse canadienne, mais aussi sur la littérature scientifique portant sur les immigrants admis au Canada. Naturellement, les groupes d’immigrants avec de caractéristiques particulières peuvent rencontrer des difficultés plus spécifiques.
43. L’ article de ces deux néo-immigrants a été publié en août 2013 dans le magazine électronique de Thessaloniki *Parallaxi* (www.parallaximag.gr) sous les noms fictifs Maria et Yiorgos Kyritsis et l’entrevue avec eux a été réalisée le 5 Novembre 2013.

The Return of Ulysses: 80,000 Australian Citizens Repatriate Home

Anastasios M. Tamis*

RÉSUMÉ

La Grèce a été le deuxième meilleur choix comme pays de rapatriement après le Royaume-Uni pour les Australiens d'origine ethnique. Au cours de la période 1980-2008 plus de 135.000 citoyens australiens d'origine grecque se sont installés de façon permanente dans les grands centres urbains de la Grèce. Suite à la crise économique européenne et l'effondrement de l'économie grecque en 2009, un grand nombre des Grecs ayant la citoyenneté australienne a commencé à retourner en Australie. L'exode avait deux visages différents: (a) Le rapatriement en premier lieu d'environ 80 000 Grecs citoyens australiens avec leurs membres de famille à charge, les enfants et les conjoints jusqu' à la fin de 2013, soit un total estimé à 110 000 personnes et (b) L' immigration d'environ 10 000 nouveaux immigrants grecs économiques vers l'Australie en utilisant différentes formes de visas. Cet afflux massif de plus de 100 000 Grecs, citoyens australiens, enrichit l'Australie d'un point de vue socio-économique et culturel parce que la plupart d'entre eux sont membres de la classe moyenne, comprenant des professionnels, des technocrates, des hommes d'affaires, des scientifiques, des artistes qui avaient atteint le TAFE (technical and further education) ou l'enseignement supérieur. Cependant, ni la communauté grecque organisée ni la vie institutionnelle australienne n'ont été préparées à recevoir cet afflux massif de Grecs. Actuellement, il n'y a aucune infrastructure ou de réseaux communautaires en état de les aider à s'adapter et à s'intégrer à la société australienne.

ABSTRACT

Greece had been the second, after the U.K. most popular recipient country of the world Australian Diaspora.¹ During the period 1980-2008 over 135,000 Australian citizens settled permanently in the major urban centres of Greece. Following the European Economic Crisis and the collapse of Greek economy in 2009, a huge repatriation of the Australian Diaspora commenced. The exodus had two different characters: (a) The repatriation in the first instance of approximately 80,000 Australian citizens with their dependent members, children and spouses until the end of 2013, giving a well-estimated total of 110,000 persons within the period 2009-2015; and (b) The immigration of approximately 10,000 new economic Greek settlers to Australia utilizing different forms of visas. This massive influx of more than 100,000

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actual and/or prospective Australian citizens enriches Australia socio-economically and culturally as most of them are members of the middle class, comprising (of) professionals, technocrats, businessmen, scientists, artists who had attained TAFE or tertiary education.² However, neither the organized Greek community nor the Australian institutional life were prepared to receive this massive influx of fellow compatriots; currently, there are no communal or state infrastructure or networks to absorb, utilize or assist them to conform, adapt and acculturate.

1. Current Demographical Characteristics of Greeks in Australia

In 1947 Australian's newly appointed Minister for Immigration A. A. Calwell signed in Lausanne the *International Refugee Agreement* for the acceptance by Australia of displaced persons as immigrants. Australia's Hellenes numbering then 17,000 and the Greek leaders of the *Homogeneia* were totally unprepared to receive the thousands of displaced Greek children scattered in Eastern Europe, resulting in having the world ecclesiastic organizations to care for the arriving of the abandoned children. Then in 1952, when the bilateral immigration agreement between Australia and Greece was signed and the massive immigration of 270,000 Greeks and Cypriots began, the Greek community leaders were again unsuspecting of the consequences (Tamis, 2000 and 2005; Tamis and Gavaki, 2002). During the years of robust Greek settlement that followed (1952-2008), it became apparent to Greek community leaders given the economic euphoria in Greece following the restoration of Democracy in Greece (>1980), that any chance of a neo-migration was unfeasible. As a matter of fact, historians and political scientists were predicting the shrinking of the Greek community's cultural and linguistic vitality (Tamis, 1992:1) as a result of the termination of Greek emigration.³ Hence, community leaders, social welfare organizations and the Greek Orthodox Church were seized completely unwary of the Greek neo-migration (2009-2013) that provoked the repatriation of almost 75,000 Australians of Greek descent residing permanently in Greece with their dependent spouses and children as well as a cohort of over 20,000 immigrants arriving as dependents of these Australian citizens (spouses and children) as well as economic migrants by means of sponsored working visa, tourist's or student's visas (*see below*). "*Most definitely I was not expecting these neo-migration trends in my time but obviously the*

situation was risen in Greece and people felt that they needed to recount and make the decision to emigrate.”⁴

According to consistent statistical data,⁵ individuals of Greek ancestry demonstrated the highest integration and citizenship rates into the Australian community and played a key role in the socio-economic and cultural development of Australia. However, during the inter-census period between 2006 and 2011 significant demographic changes occurred altering both the size and character of the Greek community as well as the role of its networks and institutions. In 2006, the ABS recorded 109,980 Greece-born immigrants and 365,145 individuals of Greek descent living in Australia (based on country of birth of parents). Following additional cross-tabulations involving the variables of religion, place of birth and language spoken at home and the prevailing political limitations⁶ the total number of Australia’s Greek community, including the Cypriot Greeks, stood at approximately 506,000 (*see Table One below*).⁷

The latest 2011 Census recorded 99,939 Greece-born individuals in Australia, a reduction of 9.1 per cent from the 2006 census (*see above*). The 2011 distribution by State and territory showed Victoria had the largest number with 49,992 people followed by the New South Wales (31,546), South Australia (9,756), Queensland (3,441), Western Australia (2,652), Northern Territory (1,012), ACT (963) and Tasmania (476). From *Table Two* below, it becomes apparent that although the number of Greece-born was reduced by almost 10 percent, the recorded overall number of Greeks in Australia was increased by more than five percent from 365,145 in 2006 to 378, 276 as a result of the repatriation of thousands of Australian citizens from Greece and other financially affected European countries.

The median age of the Greece-born in 2011 was 67 years compared with 45 years for all overseas born Australian and 37 years for the total Australia population. However, the more than double median age of the Greece-born individuals is expected to be reduced sharply with the repatriation of those Australian citizens of Greek descent from Greece and Cyprus to Australia and the anticipated young neo-immigrants arriving from Greece with student and or tourist visas.

Table 1: Number of Individuals of Greek Ancestry in Australia (2006)

| <i>Nation.</i> | <i>Birthplace</i> | <i>Vic</i> | <i>NSW</i> | <i>Qld</i> | <i>S.A.</i> | <i>W.A.</i> | <i>Tasman</i> | <i>N.T.</i> | <i>ACT</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|---|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>Greece</i> | 61,894 | 41,135 | 4,295 | 12,640 | 3,434 | 621 | 1,096 | 1,406 | 126,521 |
| <i>Greek</i> | <i>Australia</i> | 148,783 | 91,769 | 11,568 | 29,932 | 7,852 | 1,586 | 2,467 | 3,212 | 297,169 |
| | <i>Egypt & M.East</i> | 2,874 | 656 | 152 | 302 | 201 | 18 | 17 | 9 | 4229 |
| | <i>Turkey</i> | 1,212 | 367 | 112 | 145 | 109 | 12 | 12 | 14 | 1983 |
| | <i>Other (S. Afric. U.K., F.S. Union)</i> | 2,012 | 486 | 95 | 367 | 690 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 3679 |
| <i>Cypriot Greek and Turkish Speaking</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| | <i>Cyprus</i> | 9,382 | 7,965 | 1,043 | 1,535 | 356 | 53 | 231 | 127 | 20,692 |
| | <i>Australia</i> | 23,345 | 18,568 | 2,456 | 3,978 | 789 | 116 | 487 | 286 | 50,025 |
| | <i>Other</i> | 704 | 611 | 72 | 94 | 11 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 1,506 |
| <i>Total</i> | | 250,206 | 161,557 | 19,793 | 48,993 | 13,442 | 2,418 | 4,335 | 5,069 | 505,804 |

Source: Cross-tabulation of ABS (2006); also A. M. Tamis, Steve Petrou and Terry Stavridis.

The 2011 age distribution showed 0.8 per cent were aged 0-14, one per cent were 15-24, 5.5 per cent were 25-44 years, 33.6 per cent were 45-64 years and 59.2 per cent were 65 years and over. Of the Greece born in Australia, there were 48,812 males (48.8 per cent) and 51,126 females (51.2 per cent). The gender ratio was 95.5 males per 100 females.

In the 2011 Census, the top ancestry responses⁸ that Greece-born people reported were Greek (92,787), “Macedonian”⁹ (3,342) and English (682). A total of 378,276 Greek ancestry responses were recorded in Australia amongst a reported total of 300 different ancestries. The main languages spoken at home by Greece-born individuals in Australia were Greek (87,920), English (7404) and Macedonian Slavonic (2,977).

Table 2: Number of Greeks by Ancestry, Birthplace of Parents and Gender According to the “Problematic” 2011¹⁰

| State/ Territory | | Both parents born overseas | Father only born overseas | Mother only born overseas | both parents in Australia | Not stated | Total responses |
|---------------------|-----|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| ACT | (M) | 1277 | 278 | 119 | 624 | 41 | 2339 |
| | (F) | 1182 | 249 | 112 | 633 | 38 | 2214 |
| NSW | (M) | 37606 | 6274 | 2886 | 15339 | 1420 | 63,545 |
| | (F) | 37925 | 6266 | 2671 | 15177 | 1329 | 63,368 |
| NT | (M) | 1127 | 280 | 84 | 445 | 46 | 1982 |
| | (F) | 828 | 255 | 93 | 415 | 58 | 1649 |
| QLD | (M) | 5742 | 1960 | 793 | 5066 | 275 | 13,836 |
| | (F) | 5385 | 2060 | 809 | 5299 | 309 | 13,862 |
| SA | (M) | 10920 | 1883 | 810 | 4911 | 413 | 18,937 |
| | (F) | 10871 | 1936 | 713 | 4815 | 414 | 18,749 |
| TAS. | (M) | 576 | 158 | 40 | 362 | 15 | 1151 |
| | (F) | 489 | 152 | 48 | 324 | 27 | 1040 |
| VIC | (M) | 51744 | 7196 | 3261 | 16563 | 1748 | 80,512 |
| | (F) | 53263 | 7276 | 3019 | 15591 | 1753 | 81,262 |
| WA | (M) | 3165 | 952 | 441 | 2208 | 113 | 6879 |
| | (F) | 3188 | 971 | 419 | 2255 | 112 | 6945 |
| OTHER | (M) | 3 | NIL | NIL | 3 | NIL | 6 |
| | (F) | 0 | NIL | NIL | 0 | NIL | 0 |
| Total | | 225,291 | 38,146 | 16,318 | 90,039 | 8,111 | 378,276 |

Source: *Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2011. Elaboration by A.M. Tamis and T. Stavridis.*

Of the 92,534 Greece-born who spoke a language other than English at home, 63.8 per cent spoke English very well or well and 35.2 per cent spoke English not well or not at all. It is significant to note, however, that the actual

language shift from Greek to English within the Greece-born settlers increased from one per cent in the early 1990s to almost eight per cent. This is mainly DUE TO the excessive aging and biological exodus of the older immigrants. It is also significant to note that the number of people who are using Greek regularly at home increased by also nine per cent compared with the number of Hellenophones recorded in 2006. The increase is strongly related to the repatriation of tens of thousands of Australian citizens from Greece and to a lesser extend to neo-migration trends. According to the *Australian Early Development Index* study surveying the teachers of 47,000 children about the language their pupils spoke at home, it found that Greek was the third most commonly spoken language other than English at home in Australia with 4.3 per cent after Arabic (11.8 per cent) and Vietnamese (8.4 per cent).¹¹

Table 3: Number of Users of Greek by Gender and State/ Territory (2011)

| State/ Territory | Male | Female | Total |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Australian Capital Territory | 1393 | 1383 | 2776 |
| New South Wales | 42,251 | 44,271 | 86,522 |
| Northern Territory | 1562 | 1326 | 2,888 |
| Queensland | 5800 | 5998 | 11,798 |
| South Australia | 12,373 | 12,760 | 25,133 |
| Tasmania | 638 | 577 | 1,215 |
| Victoria | 56,781 | 59,719 | 116,500 |
| Western Australia | 2663 | 2718 | 5,381 |
| Other territories | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Total | 123,464 | 128,755 | 252,219 |

Source: *Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2011. Elaboration by A.M. Tamis and S. Stavridis.*

Among Greece-born individuals aged 15 years and over, the participation rate in the labour force was 28.1 per cent and the unemployment rate was 4.7

per cent. The corresponding rates in the total Australian population were 65 per cent and 5.6 per cent respectively. Of the 25,757 Greece-born who were employed, 44.8 per cent were employed in either a skilled managerial, professional or trade occupation. The corresponding rate in the total Australian population was 48.4 per cent.

2. Neo-migration and Repatriation Patterns

During the years of massive immigration (1952-1974), the 270.000 Greek and Cypriot immigrants that settled in the major urban centres of the state capital cities and the vast hinterland were protected to a large degree by the Australian government which was responsible to secure for them employment, the Greek community organizations, the numerous Greek brotherhoods which swiftly began to emerge, as well as their compatriots, relatives and friends. However, the conditions of mutual dependence and survival, the solidarity enforced by chain migration and the inevitable type of sharing residence facilities assisted one another to endure the hardships and outlive the difficulties. It must be clarified that there were also then deficiencies in systemic and well-thought community strategies; apparent was a clear need for infrastructure and a weakness by the leaders of the then historic Communities, the Greek Orthodox Church as well as the ecclesiastic organizations to realize the size and the persistence of the incoming almost epidemic Greek immigration.

It must also be taken into account that the early post-WW II immigrants were vastly small farmers of a neglected countryside and proletarians of the urban centres with very limited education; their expectations from their settlement in the new country were grossly limited; their prospects of being treated lordly or with dignity were also narrow; their anticipation of direct employment in their trade, if any, non existent. They were prepared to adapt and to adopt the harshness of the new cultural and socio-economic environment. This gave rise to altruism and acts of compassion and selflessness, having to sleep on the floor or share a bathroom or a kitchen with another twenty people under a small roof and still be happy and content.

During the second large wave of immigration to Australia or repatriation of thousands of Australian citizens of Greek descent and their spouses and

children following a long stay in Greece (2010-2014), the organized Greek Communities, community organizations, brotherhoods, the Greek Orthodox Church and secular social welfare organizations, even the friends and relatives were caught unprepared and ill-equipped. Since the rising of the economic crisis in Greece (2009) more than 90,000 individuals set foot in Australia seeking employment, accommodation, welfare and education for them and their dependents. Australia's Hellenes remained unwary of the size as well as the expectations and prospects of their compatriots; the latter were not small farmers or proletarians as we shall see. Like their compatriots in the 1950s and 1960s they were the essence of the production sector of the market; however, by contrast, they were well educated, highly skilled middle class people with upgraded ambitions and highly advanced expectations, unable to undergo the hardships of their parents. After all, they had emerged from an affluent Greece, having grown in a prosperous economy for decades and enjoying one of the best thirty socio-economic standards of living in the world.

There were several spasmodic and sporadic initiatives by certain community groups; a number of community leaders as we shall see undertook a campaign to assist the incoming immigrants with a professional approach, engaging trained and highly-qualified experts;¹² a couple of lightly-minded diplomats even dared to use the radio studio for a buzzer interview announcing inter-government agreements which were never realized,¹³ numerous articles of serious and/or dubious style and accuracy appeared in the Greek and Australian media describing the various aspects of the crisis of repatriation and neo-migration, boosting the expectations and inflaming the anticipation of prospective immigrants;¹⁴ even a number of charlatans and self-interest moving individuals entered the arena to exploit the incoming desperate immigrants.

The European financial crisis brought back once again the institutions of migration agents in Greece and Australia to cater with the immigration needs of thousands of prospective new immigrants.¹⁵ Government registered migration agencies appeared in the large urban cities of Melbourne and Sydney enriched with fully qualified legal personnel on migration issues. Charging fees from \$1,000 to \$10,000 the agents were responsible to submit visa applications, to advise and direct their clients on their employment, accommodation and other vital issues.¹⁶ The mediation of agents was not

always successful;¹⁷ hence many immigrants experienced hardships and losses. A number of arriving immigrants fell victims of exploitation as in many instances they were forced to receive remuneration much lower to the standard awards.

According to reliable government sources¹⁸ in 2012 a total of 1,749 Greeks arrived in Australia as permanent economic immigrants and students, representing an increase of 21 per cent from 2011. During the first eight months of 2013 their number increased to 2,150.¹⁹ To this number we must also add a percentage of approximately 45 per cent of the total number of 7,938 Greeks arriving as tourists, who changed their visa status and applied to stay as settlers.

In 2012, a total of 300 Greeks, mainly males (90 per cent) secured an employment sponsor who offered them employment for a period between one to four years under different types of visa.²⁰ An additional number of 1,112 Greeks aged between 23 to 40 years old (79 per cent male and 21 per cent females) arrived as regular immigrants (*see below*) with one of the various skilled immigrant Visa (175 Visa) or long stay employment visa (Visa subclass 457) securing permanent employment and the presuppositions for permanent residence. Most of the newly arriving Greek immigrants settled in Melbourne (55 per cent) the fast growing city in Australia,²¹ followed by Sydney (30 per cent), Perth, Darwin, Adelaide and to a lesser extend in Brisbane or Hobart.²² According to credible sources²³ a percentage of 14 per cent of incoming Greek migrants were Greek citizens of foreign ethnic background, mainly Albanians born in Greece (78 per cent) or Greeks from Northern Ipeiros.

Greek occupational patterns were seriously affected as a result of the aging of the Greek community (*see Table Four below*). The existing current employment situation will define to a larger extend the presuppositions of socio-economic integration of the incoming Greek neo-migrants within the next few years.

Table 4: Employment type of Greece-born Settlers by Gender (2011)

| State/ Territory | | Employed not owning business | Owner of Incorporated enterprises | Unicorpor. enterprises | Contributing family workers | Employment not stated | Total |
|---------------------|-----|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| ACT | (M) | 104 | 38 | 39 | 10 | 0 | 191 |
| | (F) | 115 | 26 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 157 |
| NSW | (M) | 2660 | 791 | 1082 | 140 | 49 | 4722 |
| | (F) | 2220 | 226 | 407 | 104 | 32 | 2989 |
| NT | (M) | 177 | 77 | 90 | 10 | 8 | 362 |
| | (F) | 63 | 11 | 16 | 3 | 6 | 99 |
| QLD | (M) | 405 | 124 | 146 | 34 | 4 | 713 |
| | (F) | 219 | 47 | 40 | 11 | 6 | 323 |
| SA | (M) | 680 | 247 | 357 | 82 | 17 | 1383 |
| | (F) | 654 | 74 | 88 | 45 | 17 | 878 |
| TAS | (M) | 29 | 26 | 18 | 10 | 0 | 83 |
| | (F) | 27 | 5 | 11 | 3 | 0 | 46 |
| VIC | (M) | 4388 | 1385 | 1226 | 176 | 83 | 7258 |
| | (F) | 3725 | 425 | 431 | 138 | 53 | 4772 |
| WA | (M) | 275 | 73 | 101 | 18 | 7 | 474 |
| | (F) | 201 | 16 | 31 | 12 | 0 | 260 |
| Total: | | 15,942 | 3,581 | 4,093 | 799 | 285 | 24,710 |

Source: *Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2011. Elaboration by A. M. Tamis and S. Stavridis.*

A significant percentage of incoming Greeks with tourist visa (17 per cent), upon their arrival to Australia, attempt to amend its status into a student visa. This is encouraged by the fact that Greece is enlisted as a category A' country of preference by the Australian authorities. The citizens of the countries enlisted in category A' have a direct and more economic procedures to enter

into the country as students. More specifically the candidates of a student visa who wish to study in Australia are not obliged to attest or verify their financial status; neither are they compelled to formally apply in Greece prior to coming to Australia; they may arrive first as tourists and then apply. Other Balkan countries, including Albania comprise part of the group countries in category C; hence they must first prove their financial adequacy to study in Australia and are required to apply from their country of origin.

Table 5: Number of Greek citizens entering Australia in 2012²⁴

| Type of Visa | Male | Female | Total |
|----------------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Tourist visa | 4 775 | 3 163 | 7 938 |
| Student visa | 407 | 180 | 587 |
| Migration program visa | 204 | 121 | 325 |
| 457 Long Stay visa | 90 | 70 | 160 |
| 457 Temporary visa | 140 | 77 | 217 |
| 457 Inter-business visa | 10 | 10 | 20 |
| 175 Skilled Immigrant Visa | 26 | 7 | 33 |
| Illegal Immigrants | | | 440 |
| Total | 5 652 | 3 628 | 9 720 |

Source: *Australia's Migration Trends 2011-2012*, Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

The lack of a bilateral agreement between Australia and Greece on issues of employment and visas and recognition of qualifications remains a serious problem, generating immense social problems and throwing in disarray and despair thousands of individuals, including returning Australian citizens. Australia has signed similar inter-government agreements with the USA and certain European countries offering a smooth transition to incoming immigrants. It was within this framework of traditional mutuality that the Greek community leaders decided to act by February 2011, almost one year after the commencement of the massive repatriation of Australian citizens from

Greece and Cyprus. The GOCMV and the AGWS jointly invited the representatives of the Greek community organizations to assemble at the community premises to discuss the inflating problem of neo-migration. Almost eighty representatives attended this crucial assembly on 28 February 2011.²⁵ Then on 15 June 2011, the president of the Community, Bill Papastergiadis, referring to the historical ties between Australia and Greece invited the Minister of Immigration and Citizenship Chris Bowen,²⁶ to convene to discuss the possibility of arranging for Greek immigrants the reciprocal working holiday visa between the two countries.²⁷ Following the meeting between Chris Bowen and the leadership of the Hellenes, despite the numerous diplomatic interferences and the exchange of amicable personal eulogies,²⁸ as well as a number of misleading newspaper reports,²⁹ the stance displayed by the Australian government could be assessed as rather negative or at least idle to say the least. The Greek community leaders were pushing the Commonwealth to accommodate their claims, namely the acceptance and socio-economic integration of the newly arriving Greek immigrants under the *Working Holiday Maker Visa-subclass 462*, the increase of their numbers and their consolidation within the employment market in Australia. It should be noted that citizenship in Australia is acquired mainly by conferral to immigrants. Other modes are *by descent* (for those born overseas to an Australian citizen); *by adoption* (for those adopted to an Australian citizen); *by resumption* (for those who previously lost or gave up their Australian citizenship).

Following the jointly invited forum on migration at the premises of the GOCM (February 2011) between the AGWS and the Community, as we have already noticed, an interim committee was appointed to compile an Immigration Report to be submitted to the Department of Immigration.³⁰ The Report recognized that as a result of the economic crisis in Greece, thousands of highly skilled and educated Greek nationals were seeking opportunities outside Greece. However, the Report failed to identify that the vast majority of the incoming individuals were as a matter of fact returning Australian citizens of Greek descent with their dependent family members; nevertheless, the purpose of the Report was to “*outline the ways in which Greek nationals can make a valuable contribution to the economic and social fabric of Australia society and to suggest practical reforms to the Australian immigration process to facilitate entry of Greek visa applicant to Australia.*”³¹

Since mid 2010, when larger waves of repatriating Australians hit the main urban centres of Australia the organized Greek community,³² unable to canvass the volume of exerted pressure was making a formidable and systemic effort to rally the support of the Commonwealth. Greek leaders were pursuing changes to the Australian visa application and the processing system, so that the incoming individuals could be able to easily and effectively enter Australia to meet skills shortages and make a positive impact to the socio-economic and cultural landscape of Australia. The authors of the Report were even prepared to claim that “Australia’s migration legislation, policies and procedures were non-discriminatory in nature. *“We are not seeking any special or preferential treatment for Greek visa applicants. Rather, we are suggesting some small scale practical reforms to the current system to allow Greeks to more easily apply for the visas for which they are eligible.”*³³ The advocates of the Greek cause were pushing the Australian government to adopt a policy of attracting more Greeks to Australia under the *General Skilled Migration Program, Employer Sponsored Visa Program, Working Holiday Program and Student Visa Program*. They were also asking the Commonwealth to provide increased assistance to repatriating Australian citizens who were seeking entry of their partners, children and other family members to Australia. Following a number of public meetings, the Greek leaders stipulated a changing role and function of a much inactive and cumbersome Australian Embassy in Athens; they insisted on ensuring adequate staffing and resources to the Embassy to meet the needs of emigrating Greek and repatriating Australian citizens.

During the period 2011-2013 the Greek community vigorously recommended to the then Minister for Immigration Chris Bowen, seeking funding to establish a taskforce in assisting skilled Greeks to make contact with perspective Australian employers. The taskforce was to establish an on line hub whereby Australian employers and community organizations could communicate with interested Greeks about job and study opportunities. Nevertheless, the commonwealth government failed to provide funding towards the establishment of a hub or any migrant assisting scheme towards the GOCMV or the AGWS; however, Bowen honoured his promise to hold a Skills EXPO in Greece.

The *Australian Skills EXPO* to be held in Thessaloniki, “the Balkan centre”, similar to conventions in Berlin and London, providing an opportunity for

skilled and qualified Greeks interested in working in Australia to speak to potential employers and the representatives of DIAC about work and visa options, was finally staged in Athens (October 2011); yet its five sessions attracting 773 participants³⁴ in Athens at Hilton Hotel proved to be a disappointment, as potential employers from Australia took no interest to be present. The Skills Australia Needs EXPO and information sessions organised by the Australian Government's Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) was attended by three exhibitors: the South Australian government, the Victorian government and WA Health. *Froniditha Care* was the only private organisation to attend. Nevertheless, the president of the GOCMV, Bill Papastergiadis claimed³⁵ that in the space of two weeks more than 13,000 medical and building professionals applied to attend a recent Australian Government expo in Athens. Most of them were having difficulty in finding gainful employment in Greece. But the people who are mostly making contact with us are predominantly educated, people with a number of degrees, people who have mostly studied abroad. Here is how Sakis Zafiropoulos, AO, the sole "potential employer" from Australia described the derailing nature of EXPO.

"When DIAC organized the Athens EXPO, I was in Athens on a private capacity. The CEO of Froniditha, George Lekakis called me from Melbourne asking me to represent our social welfare organization at the EXPO. Indeed, I was the sole potential employer; the only one. As a Greek migrant, and the only exhibitor with a Greek background, I was able to discuss aspects of the Greek community in Australia with those attending. Many were asking about bilingual schools, orthodox churches, newspapers, and community groups and the difficulties of employment. Absent from the EXPO was also the Australian ambassador. There was a DIAC representative from London. Amongst those registered participants were many medical specialists; they wanted to escape Greece to secure a better place for their children; they felt socially unsecured. For them the drive was not related to the country's economy. It was rather funny to have in front of the audience the representatives of the government exhibitors one each for the three states and next to them a table with me "representing"...Australia's employment potential..."³⁶

Nevertheless, prospective Greek immigrants and repatriating Australian citizens continued to experience long delays and to remain with insufficient

briefing; the visa application by Greek nationals continued to be processed by the Australian Embassy in Berlin, not in Athens for reasons of “economic rationalism”.³⁷ Similarly the applications for Citizenship by Descent were processed in London. Despite the severe impetus of the crisis and the petitions of the Australian Hellenes the Embassy in Athens remained grossly inadequate in staff and resources throwing in long delays and jeopardy the rights of thousands of Australian citizens residing in Greece to repatriate without fuss or bureaucratic ordeal with their family members.

Australia’s Hellenes put a strong case for the operating and counter hours of the Australian Embassy in Athens to be extended in order to deal with the increase in enquiries for Australia visas, reaching more than 15,000 per annum.³⁸ Responding to numerous complaints of deficiency and absence of due information escalating by prospective immigrants and repatriating Australians, the Greek community leaders demanded that the role and function of the Australian Embassy in Greece ought to be adapted to ensure that it became responsive to the needs of Greeks and the repatriating Australians.³⁹ Certain community leaders went as far as to claim that Australia’s attitude in obstructing free and easy rapport with prospective migrants and repatriating Australians in Athens could be interpreted as a systematic attempt “*to save the Commonwealth with additional expenses incurred as a result of their settlement in Australia- allowances, Medicare expenses...*”⁴⁰ The same leaders also stated that the Australian Embassy’s website in Athens should be in both the English and Greek languages, “*as it is for all other non-English speaking European countries*”,⁴¹ hence terminating middling and substandard treatment for Greece.

On 20 February 2012, the president of the GOCMV, B. Papastergiadis wrote to Minister Chris Bowen asking him about the fate of the reciprocal working holiday visa between Australia and Greece, which they had discuss almost one year ago. Papastergiadis did not stop short of even considering the fiasco of the Athens Skills EXPO a “huge success”.⁴² The laconic ministerial reply regarding the reciprocal working visa for the Greeks and the political play staged as Athens Skills EXPO did not allow much room for further negotiations.⁴³ The ministerial letter informed Papastergiadis that indeed in February 2010, “*the Government decided to recommence/advance negotiations for capped Work and Holiday (subclass 462) agreements with a small number of countries. Greece was not amongst these countries. While there are currently no immediate plans to*

commence Work and Holiday negotiations with Greece that matter is still under active consideration. I will advise you if there is a change in the status of negotiations with Greece. Should negotiations be opened, the support of the Greek community in Australia will no doubt pay a very positive role in the process of establishing an agreement." Minister Bowen had also some additional comments about the failed *Skills Expo*: *«The Skills Expo recently held by my Department in Athens, in October 2011, highlights the valuable contribution that Greek migrants have made, and will continue to make, to the Australian economy and community, through the wide range of existing visa pathways available to them...»*. The Minister of Immigration was excluding Greece and its prospective citizens from the list of European countries with whom Australia had signed the *Working Holiday- subclass 417*,⁴⁴ he was also excluding Greece even from the *Work and Holiday- subclass 462*, which was offered to countries of the pacific and Asian regions, including Turkey.⁴⁵ For example, the *Working Holiday- subclass 417* which is valid for Cyprus and other European countries was signed by the then Minister of Immigration and Indigenous Affairs, Philip Ruddock, and by the High Commissioner of Cyprus in Australia, Sotos Liassidis (25 June 2002)⁴⁶, refers to Australian and Cypriot youth aged between 18 to 30, healthy, not accompanied by depended children, possess a valid passport and a return travel ticket or sufficient funds with which to purchase such a ticket have a good health and a sound background to work for two years.⁴⁷

Despite the diplomatic blissful outcries in Australia and Greece, the well-organized campaign undertaken by the Greek community leaders in Melbourne was left without substantial gains for and on behalf of the returning Australian citizens of Greek descent and the Greek neo-immigrant. The well-planned proposal to establish for the latter a ***Skilled Greek Migrants and return Residents Taskforce-Hub*** in Melbourne under the responsibility of the GOCMV and the Australian Greek Welfare Society did not receive the support of the Commonwealth either. The objective was to operate a reception centre *«to assist and connect Greek migrants and return residents with Australian employers and community organizations to assist with information in relation to employment, study opportunities, migration/visa advice and settlement within Australia»*. Through this centre the incoming immigrants and repatriating Australia Greeks would have the human resources and the advice to find employment, accommodation, familiarization with the institutions, schools for themselves and their children,

and to be accustomed with the Australian practices and traditions.

By contrast to the prevailing characteristics of the 1952-1974 massive Greek immigration period, where 86 per cent of incoming immigrants were either illiterate or primary school leavers, during the 2011-2013 period of the 15,500 individuals that expressed the desire to return or to migrate to Australia, the vast majority (63 per cent) were graduates of tertiary institutions of Greece, of whom at least 14 percent accomplished postgraduate studies in Greece/Cyprus or Europe; a total of 18 per cent were graduates of equivalent to TAFE colleges and 17 per cent completed their secondary studies.

In an effort to canvass the large waves of neo-migrants and repatriating Greek Australians Greek community organizations in Melbourne developed mechanisms of close collaboration with the Australian migration authorities. The AGWS established and maintains in service despite the lack of monetary support from the Commonwealth the *Greek Migration Agent Service* in response to the demand for information and assistance in immigration and visa matters by many returning residents and new arrivals. This service is closely related to the *Migration Agents Registration Authority (MARA)* operated by the Australian government. The latter provides information for neo-migrants about their rights, outlines the obligations of the migration agents under the code of conduct, outlines the complaints process and provides contact details for registered migration agents.

In 2012-2013, the AGWS has had contact with 310 Greek neo-immigrants requesting immigration / visa information and settlement needs, via casework services. Of this number 218 individuals accessed the *Greek Migration Agent Service*. According to collated specific data related to the 218 individuals-recipients of this service, 55 per cent were males and 45 per cent females; 46.3 per cent were married/defacto and 13.76 per cent single; only 23 per cent were Australian Citizens; 23 per cent had student visa, 33.48 per cent arrived with tourist, 3.6 per cent with working visa, six per cent with bridging visa, 1.8 per cent with partner visa and 2.2 per cent sponsor visa. According to the AGWS's data 17 per cent of the incoming neo-migrants had no English, 41.7 per cent low level English, 25.7 per cent Good level English and 10.5 per cent excellent English language. It is important to note that 46.8 per cent had no income, 8.7 had only access to government allowances, namely the Centrelink payment; 10 per cent had some part time employment, 5.9 had full time

employment, 7.8 per cent casual employment

Those individuals who attended AGWS offices for assistance presented with multiple needs/issues relating to migration and settlement. Their main concerns were directly relevant to their visa status (71.10 per cent); next was their agony regarding their immigration eligibility and procedures (67.4 per cent); their prospects for employment and survival was also acute (55 per cent), as indeed was their distress to identify the new cultural environment seeking relevant information (43 per cent). One in every three neo-migrants was seeking access to services (29.35 per cent) and an equal proportion expressed anguish for the education of their children (29.3 per cent). Their accommodation was only relevant to 19 per cent of the incoming neo-migrants.

The AGWS has been providing casework services (not funded) to the newly arrived Greek migrants. This support includes practical assistance, financial support, short term counselling, referral to services (accommodation, emergency relief, health, education, employment amongst others), and advocacy. AGWS's aged care programs has provided employment opportunities for new arrivals including direct service delivery such as case managers and support roles, community care workers in respite programs and team leader positions. To date AGWS has found employment for approximately thirty people in the last year who are newly arrived from Greece. Many others are undertaking training to enter into the aged care field of employment.

As we have already noticed, the recommendation submitted to Minister Chris Bowen regarding the Working Holiday Visa program to be expanded to include Greece was met with reluctance, confusion and controversial politicking by both sides, Athens and Canberra. On 23 August 2013, more than two years after the initial approach in Melbourne and in Canberra, Australia's Immigration Minister, Chris Bowen, has repeated that Australia is ready to sign the agreement on granting visas to Greek young people from 18 to 30 years old for vacation and work. The Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Akis Gerontopoulos, in an interview to the daily broadcast of the Greek State Radio and Television of Australia SBS, also confirmed in early November 2013 that Greece is ready to sign the agreement. In reply to persistent inquiries by the GOCMV, Chris Bowen informed the President of the Greek Community

of Melbourne Vassilis Papastergiadis, prior to the September 2013 elections, that the file is in Athens waiting for Gerontopoulos's consent.

3. The returning Australian Citizens

According to elicited data, from the records of community and ecclesiastic organizations, social welfare entities, Greek consular representatives and migration agencies,⁴⁸ during the period 2010-2013, from the total number of 135,000 members of the Australian Diaspora residing in Greece until 2009, approximately 80,000 Australian citizens of Greek descent repatriated with their spouses and dependent children to Australia. This number also includes approximately 10,000 returning Greek settlers who had previously repatriated to Greece or Cyprus for permanent residence.⁴⁹ According to the Greek Consul General in Northern Territory, John Anictomatis and the government minister Constantine Vaskalis⁵⁰ more than 10 to 12 individuals are returning to Darwin per week "*prior to bringing soon their spouses and dependent children*". During the period under study according to government sources⁵¹ the number of returned individuals in Darwin was 2,100. According to Greek consular and community sources at least 450 Greek families returned and settled in Perth during the said period. Most of them are well-educated professionals, engineers, architects, solicitors and small businessmen. Most of them returned for economic reasons; there are also many who were well off in Greece, however, there are also those who returned as a result of a self-perceived lack of security and even safety in the prevailing socio-economic environment in their cities of settlement, mainly in Athens, Thessaloniki, Patra and Volos. Upon arrival, those returning Greek Australians seek refuge and advice from existing relatives, the Hellenic Community's resources and the Greek Consulate. Perth was also a strong recipient urban centre of 1,200 Greek immigrants who fled South Africa, particularly from the area of Johannesburg and settled as high-skilled tradesmen, professionals and small business, since 1990.

Most of the repatriating Australians of Greek descent settled in Melbourne (58 per cent), a city that remains the ethno-linguistic hub of Australia's Hellenism, followed by Sydney (34 per cent), Darwin, Adelaide and Perth. The returning Greek Australians maintain a loose rapport and communication with the Greek community organizations, relying more on their relatives and

their own knowledge of the socio-economic environment for support. More specifically from an estimate total of over 40,000 returned Greek Australian in Melbourne, the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria, Greek welfare organizations, Greek educational institutions as well as other ecclesiastic communities and parishes attracted inquiries by 16,500 individuals. The GOCMV alone received over 10,000 inquiries until October 2013 by means of electronic correspondence, numerous applications for employment attaching impressive curriculum vitae and requests for accommodation.⁵²

The vast majority of the returning Greek Australians (64 per cent) are secondary school graduates; most of them administrative officers, service industry attendants and proprietors of small business. The percentage of those who had attained tertiary education was 33 per cent (*see Table Six below*), most of them (68 per cent) graduates of the so called “privileged” faculties of studies; mainly civil, constructing, electric and mechanical engineers, architects, geologists, medical doctors, specialists and general practitioners, dentists and legal practitioners; an additional seven per cent were highly-skilled tradesmen and highly-trained personnel, mainly public administrators, corporate and executive personnel, bank officials, social workers, agriculturalists, experts in tourism and other service industries, health related occupations, journalists and graduates of gymnastic academies. Approximately nine per cent of the returning Greek Australians as a result of the economic crisis were skilled labourers in the building and construction industries, motor mechanics, technicians and experts in pipeline constructions, natural gas and mines.⁵³

Table 6: Type of employment possessed by repatriating Greek Australian citizens and Greek economic migrants from 820 cases in Melbourne (2013)

| Type of Employment | Males | Females | Total |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| Military Schools | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Bank related jobs | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| Business Executives | 18 | 3 | 21 |
| Directors of corporations | 9 | 1 | 10 |
| Civil Engineers | 47 | 2 | 49 |
| Electrical Engineers | 11 | 0 | 11 |
| Mechanical Engineers | 8 | 1 | 10 |
| Other engineers | 18 | 1 | 19 |
| Architects | 21 | 3 | 24 |
| I.T. expertise | 18 | 3 | 21 |
| Marketing expertise | 15 | 6 | 21 |
| Tourist officers | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Journalists | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Ecclesiastic Academies | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Theologians | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Health occupations | 19 | 6 | 25 |
| Medical practitioners | 11 | 2 | 13 |
| Chemists | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Nurses | 15 | 7 | 22 |
| Dieticians | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Humanities/Arts graduates | 52 | 14 | 66 |
| Teachers (secondary) | 42 | 21 | 63 |
| Teachers (primary) | 32 | 11 | 43 |
| Social Workers | 14 | 4 | 21 |
| Gymnastic Academies | 7 | 2 | 9 |

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Solicitors | 17 | 7 | 24 |
| Agriculturalist/forest experts | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Developers | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| Plumbers | 19 | 1 | 20 |
| Car mechanics | 22 | 0 | 22 |
| Panel Bidders | 14 | 0 | 14 |
| High Skilled labourers | 39 | 5 | 44 |
| Natural Gas installation experts | 11 | 1 | 12 |
| Thermic installation experts | 13 | 1 | 14 |
| Small and medium business | 39 | 14 | 53 |
| Merchants and producers | 27 | 1 | 28 |
| Economists | 38 | 7 | 45 |
| Transport experts | 12 | 3 | 15 |
| Total | 667 (81%) | 153 (19%) | 820 (100%) |

Source: Archives and Records of the Greek Community of Melbourne; Australian Greek Welfare Society; Records of the Hellenic Community of WA; Records of the Greek Consulate general in Northern Territory (2013).

Most of those who sought the support of the Greek community organizations were mainly males (71 per cent), who used to live in large urban centres of Greece (87 per cent). The majority of the remaining individuals were Greeks who, as accompanied children of their repatriated parents, settled mainly in Western and central Macedonia and Thrace.

4. Integration and adaptability

Greek Social welfare leaders acknowledge that there is a need within the community of supporting the newly arriving Greeks immigrants and the returning Australian citizens, home. They assess their adaptability in the new employment market, their social environment and evaluate the available mechanisms and strategies for their smooth integration into the Australia realm. Here is how a talented social worker expert, Tina Douvos-Stathopoulos

assesses the current situation in Australia.⁵⁴

*“We had contact with over 300 individuals or families who approached us the last months requesting advice and assistance. We developed the Greek Migration Service within the Greek Australian Welfare Society, a service which is not funded by the Commonwealth offering support on issues of settlement and visa migration. The families that came to us came under various types of visas, namely for tourist, partner, student, working sponsored visas. Normally we receive people with no financial standing; with limited connections within the Greek community and those families experiencing serious problems.”*⁵⁵

Currently there are legitimate and expertise organizations and offices that provide assistance and they are qualified people to perform such duties. Some of the settled cases that we came across are related to accommodation, employment, financial support, education and even psychological and family related support assistance.

Most of the contacted individuals see their migration experience from a different perspective; we have worked with a number of different organizations, including Centre Link, with housing accommodation services, with financial counsellors to support people and provide services; we even dealt with migration agencies and the Commonwealth health and welfare services for those repatriating Australian citizens of Greek descent. Most of those returning Australian citizens from Greece are naturally Australia-born; however they have now with them their partners and their children born in Greece. Hence the existing services applicable to them are not to their dependent members. Those arriving on a sponsorship arrangement are the fewer.

We collaborate with Migration Agency Registration Authority, the entity which provides us with a list of the registered migration agents which provide services to incoming Greek immigrants, both economic as well as the dependents of returning Australian citizens. They have to act on behalf of the immigrants; we are not allowed to partake on the transactions leading to various status of residence.”

As it was already noted, certain individuals and families experience difficulties in obtaining information through the Australian Embassy in Athens

in finding what the migration laws are and there was a language barrier; most of them were rather encouraged to find information through the internet sites of the Immigration department. The Australian Greek Welfare Society (AGWS) the largest secular welfare society of the Hellenes was not asked to play a substantial role in the discussions between the GOCMV and the Department of Immigration in formulating a policy on the returning Greek Australians. The AGWS did not have any role in the October 2011 Athens Skills EXPO. However, it was important that the AGWS and the GOCMV collaborated in February 2011 in organizing an assembly of over seventy representatives of community organizations to form an awareness of the problems arising from the massive Greek neo-migration. This forum demonstrated that Greek community organizations were united in canvassing the migration problem and its consequences. Yet, it is also significant to note, that the well-advertised hub for services for the incoming immigrants was never implemented and the anticipated services were offered on a non-systemic way, by means of volunteer services.

It is a well-known fact amongst the social welfare and community organizations⁵⁶ that the incoming immigrants once in Australia establish their own assemblages, their own clusters to canvass their problems of settlement and survival. Douvos summarised her vast experience in dealing with those repatriating and neo-immigrants as follows:

“The repatriating and neo-immigrants feel that they understand the migration experience; their settlement appears vastly different from the older stocks of immigrants. They also understand that there are sharp differences with the established community here of what their needs are, so they form their own networking, their own grouping; naturally there are people that arrive and mix well with the settlers, the existing clubs and church groups, Greek schools; however the youngest amongst the incoming immigrants opted for different networking groups and assistance. Most of the individuals and families that approached us, especially the younger groups, believe that in five or six years they will be able to return to Greece. However, this was also the trends in the 1950s and 1960s when they were coming in large numbers. The entire corpus of individuals who sought our support were Greek or Cypriot citizens of Greek descent. We have no resources or funding to expand our current services to in coming Greek

immigrants.⁵⁷The burden is that many of those individuals are coming back for the third and fourth time. We are dealing with very complicated issues and there is no financial support from the Australian government. We have a number of people who volunteer their time; they are migration professional agents who offer their services for free, every fortnight. We also liaise with the Migrant Resource Centre, with private migration solicitors who are working for a fee and provide advice and information; I also believe that MARA is also offering services and advice on migration issues. An area of exploitation that came to our knowledge from the complaints that we received from the recipients of our services is related to under award payment making the cost of living agonising. There were also some issues around the education for their children. Certain community schools ought to perceive their needs with more understanding and the school fees ought to be seen with more leniencies.

“Broadly speaking, the newly arriving Greeks possess different cultural concepts and values of the community and the society if compared with us. They conceive their experience differently from our own assessment of the social environment. They have a different understanding of the community as such. Hence there are some people who would claim that they have not properly or adequately supported upon arrival, by their friends or their relatives or the broader community at large. There were also different anticipations amongst those who were arriving from Greece or Cyprus and their expectations were not properly communicated hence creating a conflict. We must understand that first generation of Greek immigrants are aging fast; they don’t have the ability or the stamina to be energetically supporting the incoming new immigrants. These aging immigrants do not have the gasp in understanding systems and institutions themselves. The incoming neo-immigrants have also to understand and realize the prevailing trends in their immigration”.

Sakis Zafiroopoulos had an experience on migration issues working several years ago in the department of Immigration. *“The GOCMV approached me in May 2011 to compile an Immigration Report; there were more than one thousand newly returning Australian citizens and Greek immigrants, most of them well-educated, professionals who sought assistance. I have also been advised that a large number of neo-immigrants were caught in the nest of certain “migration experts” who were*

exploiting them, promising visa arrangement and services in exchange of ludicrous amounts of money". Zafiroopoulos as president of the *Fronthitha* and an administrative officer of the Department of Immigration had experienced over the last few years an increasing tendency towards exploiting the newly arriving immigrants from Greece: *"There is also a tariff for given services. Certain stranded neo-migrants approached me personally. They inquired the accuracy of the advice that they had received claiming that they had been asked to pay large sums of moneys ranging from \$1,000 to even \$15,000 to obtain a visa"*. On several occasions, he also volunteered to assist the new arrivals from Greece at the GOCMV's premises. His experience with the workings and the deliberations of the Australian Embassy in Athens are clearly stated:⁵⁸

"I personally met and explained to Mrs. Bloomfield that I am receiving many complaints from individuals, who protest that have no access to the Australian Embassy resources in Athens. They argue that there is no telephone response and the embassy transfers their inquiries to Berlin or even to London depending on the issues, claiming lack of resources in Greece. The last few years it became apparent that Australia needed skilled labourers and professionals, especially nurses, specialists in mines, engineers. Greece has a large pool of experts. Hence, it is necessary for the Australian authorities to change their attitude on the affirmative. Unfortunately, following long negotiations with government authorities and despite the promises given we managed to bring only one qualified nurse from Greece. We currently employ 500 individuals of non-Greek language background and spent tens of thousands of dollars to improve their linguistic adequacy."

In conclusion, it should be noted that following the European Economic Crisis and the collapse of Greek economy in 2009, a huge repatriation of the members of the Australian Diaspora in Greece commenced. The exodus from Greece had two different characters: (a) the repatriation and settlement in the first instance of approximately 80,000 Australian citizens with their dependent members, children and spouses until the end of 2013, mainly in Melbourne, Sydney, Perth and Darwin. If the current trends will persist, it is expected that a total of 110,000 persons will repatriate within the period 2009-2015; and (b) the immigration of approximately 10,000 new economic Greek settlers to Australia utilizing different forms of visas. This massive influx of more than

100,000 actual and/or prospective Australian citizens will substantially reinforce the aging Greek Community of 505,000 linguistically, socio-economically and culturally as most of them are members of the middle class, comprising of professionals, technocrats, businessmen, scientists, artists who had attained TAFE or tertiary education. However, neither the organized Greek community nor the Australian institutional life were prepared to receive this massive influx of fellow compatriots; currently, there are no communal or state infrastructure or networks to absorb, utilize or assist them to conform, adapt and acculturate. The lack of a bilateral agreement between Australia and Greece on issues of employment and visas and recognition of qualifications remains a serious problem, generating immense social problems and throwing in disarray and despair thousands of individuals, including returning Australian citizens.

NOTES

1. Hugo, Graeme, Dianne Rudd and Kevin Harris (2003), "CEDA Information Paper 80: *Australia's Diaspora: Its Size, Nature and Policy Implications*. CEDA (Committee for Economic Development of Australia).
2. The main sources of data for this study included: The Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Australia's Migration Trends 2011-2012, the Community Information Summary of Immigration and Citizenship [DIAC]; interviews with the heads of Greek social welfare societies and organizations including, Constantinos Markou of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria; Tina Douvos-Stathopoulos, deputy director, manager Family and Community Services of the *Australian Greek Welfare Society* in Melbourne; social workers Athanasios and Penny Anagnostou from the Greek community of Adelaide; the Greek Consul General and former Governor in the Northern Territory, Ioannis Anictomatis; the president of the Greek social welfare institution *Frontidha*, Sakis Zafiropoulos, AO; the directors of the VET and ELICOS Colleges in Melbourne P. Iasonidis of ITHEA and M. Koumidis of the Akademia; managers and migration consultants of two migration agencies operating in Melbourne and in Sydney. The Archives and records of the Greek orthodox Community of Melbourne; the Archives and Records of the Greek Community of Sydney; interviews with thirty six newly arriving and settling economic migrants and repatriating Australians.

3. Tamis and Gauntlett in their study (1992:1) had argued: “*Barring the unthinkable (eg. a pan-Balkan conflict), it is unlikely that members of Greek –speakers in Australia will ever increase substantially again through immigration. The future of Greek in Australia has therefore to be seen in the context of maintenance within the established local community and extension of ties of trade, tourism, cultural exchange between Australia and Greece, Cyprus and the numerous communities around the globe, where Helenophone enclaves are established...’*”.
4. Interview with Tina Douvos-Stathopoulos Deputy Director of the Australian Greek Welfare Society, File 850144, 14 November 2013.
5. The Australian bureau of Statistics ABS clearly defines that since the early 1980s Greek Australians possess the highest rate of integration into citizenship in Australia.
6. Over 3,800 people who were born in Greece and arrived as Greek citizens refrained from revealing that Greek was the language spoken at home; instead they declared fraudulently that their only language was Slavonic “Macedonian”. They also failed to record their ancestry as Greek. Similar political senaria emerged from Greek citizens who were born in Thrace declaring as their religion “Muslim”.
7. See Tamis (2005). For reasons of political convenience Greek Orthodox Church authorities and records estimate the total number to 700,000 or even to 900,000, whilst the estimates of the June 2011 Immigration Report compiled by the GOCMV (p. 4) suggests 600,000.
8. It is possible and expected that a number of individuals concealed or decided not to state their identity for political reasons or as a result of the Negating Identity Syndrome.
9. There was a persistent campaign by the Macedoslav community and its leaders encouraging Macedoslavs born in Macedonia, Greece to state as their ancestry the “Macedonian” and for their Slavonic dialect to state “Macedonian”.
10. It should be stated that the 2011 Census took place during August, when tens of thousands of Greek Australians were spending their vacations in their native lands, in Greece or Cyprus. During that year the Greek language newspapers were encouraging their readers to spend their time and savings in Greece, thus rallying their support to the ill-fated Greek economy.
11. *Adelaide Advertiser* newspaper, p. 49, April 16, 2012. Needless to say that Arabic accounts as the language of at least 17 different ethnicities in Australia and the Vietnamese is spoken by tone of the most recently arriving ethnicity in Australia.
12. This is particularly true for the AGWS, the GOCMV, the *Froniditha*, the Greek communities in W.A and NSW.
13. During the 2011-2013, the controversial Consul General of Greece in Victoria used to frequently appear in radio 3XY and various social functions of the Greek community claiming that as a result of her efforts and co-ordination a bilateral

agreement between Greece and Australia was imminent or had been materialized. Quoting even sources from the Greek MOFA she was informing her audience that an inter-government agreement was signed allowing into Australia young Greeks to utilize the fruits of the Working Holiday visa. Until early November 2013 no bilateral agreement was ever signed between the two countries. The Greek Consul General also used to frequently intercept as a host various broadcasting segments providing data which were rather inaccurate to say the least. Unfortunately, these diplomatic appearances in the Greek language programs and the socials of Australia's Hellenes, also exposed some of the joined public appearances of the Australian Ambassador to Greece, J. Bloomfield, because they were disseminating the impression of a common approach. These theatrical appearances were aiming at reinforcing the diplomatic status of the said Greek diplomat in the Greek MOFA and feed her ambitions rather than resolving the true problems which were emerging from the repatriation and the immigration of the Greeks in Australia.

14. Numerous articles appeared in the Greek language and English language sections of the newspaper *Neos Kosmos* applying pressure to the Australian government regarding the incoming migrants and their nebulous settlement experience. The ABC television broadcasted a documentary on 11 October 2013 under the title "Return to OZ: the new wave of Greek immigrants" referring to the thousands of repatriating Australians. (<http://www.abc.net.au/news.2013.10.11/return-to-oz-th-new-wave-of-greek-immigrants/5017742?section=nsw>); see also articles in Australian media on repatriation and immigration including: www.smh.com.au/business/more-greeks-apply-to-migrate-as-their-economy-collapses-20120316-1valp.html

www.smh.com.au/business/more-greeks-apply-to-migrate-as-their-economy-collapses-20120316-1valp.html; also in <http://www.cnbc.com/id/47808864> under title "Greeks Flock to Australia as Recession Hits Hard" dated 14 June 2012; also in www.abc.net.au/news/2012-05-27/greek-crisis-sees-new-wave-of-immigrants, 27 May 2012, also <http://thebrooklynink.com/2013/04.07/52147-a-greek-tragedy-starting-over-in-brooklyn>, dated 7 April 2013; also

<http://www.onair24.gr/news/category/1/content/99343> dated 20 September 2013 under the title "Australia is the Land of Paradise for the Greeks; see also <http://au.greekreporter.gr/?p=8339> dated 24 September 2013; see also http://news247.gr/eidiseis/kosmos/oi_ellines_omogeneis_epistrefoun dated 17 October 2013

15. During the Inter-War period (1918-1938) a large number of travel agents operated in the main urban centers of Florina, Thessaloniki and Athens who acted as unofficial and illegal migration agents leading to emigration of thousands of individuals, primarily male, to the neighbourhoods of Latin America, North America and Australia. These migration and travel agents used to promise their victims secured employment upon settlement subtracting large amount of money (Tamis, 1994, 1997, 2002 and 2005).

16. Registered migration agents appeared in large numbers amongst the Greek communities in the state capital cities representing a large number of agencies, including, *Orana Migration Group, Hellas Australia Visa Services, BWP Consulting*.
17. According to credible sources from the GOCMV, the AGWS and other social welfare sources it was possible to ascertain that there are currently over 30 individuals and agencies having as their exclusive profession the provision of services to incoming immigrants charging fees.
18. The DIAC sources, including the Community Information Summary data (2013).
19. *Australia's Migration Trends 2011-2012*, p.164, Department of Immigration and Citizenship.
20. The main type of visa used was the one called 457 visa.
21. Melbourne is being increased by 1,700 immigrants daily.
22. Hundreds of prospective immigrants sought refuge and assistance at the offices of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria and were treated with compassion and care by its staff and the secretary General Kostas Markou; an additional 300 neo-immigrants and repatriating Greeks sought the counselling of the Australian Greek welfare Society in Brunswick, Melbourne.
23. Interview with the Secretary of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria (GOCMV) Kostas Markou, 15 October 2013. Markou and the special secretary of the Community processed over 12,000 electronic and printed letters written by interested prospective migrants from Greece who wished to gain entry into Australia utilizing a legal type of visa.
24. Until June 2012 the department of Immigration and Citizenship maintained 107 different types of visas for permanent residence and delivery of citizenship to immigrants. There were types that were referred to spouse, children, parents, family, dependent aging relatives, business, the business talent, return of immigrants who had lived previously in Australia and so on.
25. A delegation of the Greek Community of Melbourne comprised of V. Papastergiadis, Kostas Markou, Elisabeth Hatziefremidou, Saki Zafeiropoulos and Panagiotis Iasonidis as co-ordinator of the Australian Hellenic Council in Victoria visited the office of Chris Bowen in Canberra (17 June 2011) and submitted a Memorandum of Policy requesting also federal funding to operate an office catering for the needs of the incoming migrants.
26. Chris Bowen was presented with an award by the GOCMV under the guidance of the Greek Consul General in Melbourne
27. The GOCMV submitted a concise memorandum under the title *Immigration Report* (17 June 2011).

28. Consul General Eleni Lianidou in her public statements made several references to Ambassador J. Bloomfield presenting a rather romantic overview of the achieved tasks and the progress of an ever impending bilateral agreement, hence concealing from the people the negativity or idleness of the situation.
29. Newspaper publications and radio segments presenting statements made by the Greek Consul General, H. Lianidou were disseminating the notion an agreement was already signed and “the road to Australia was already open for thousands of unemployed youth who will have the opportunity to work in Australia...”
30. GOCMV’s Immigration Report, p.4, June 2011.
31. Reference is made here to the historic Greek Community organizations of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, the AGWS, Social Workers’ entities and to a lesser extend Greek Orthodox Church institutions.
32. See amongst numerous articles in the Greek newspapers NEOS KOSMOS, KOSMOS, HELLENIC HERALD and TA NEA, also GOCMV’s Immigration Report, pp. 4-5, June 2011.
33. Similar EXPO sessions in Berlin attracted only 93 highly skilled labourers; most of them easily found their way to Australia.
34. Australian Broadcasting Corporation, by Mary Gearin Broadcast (10/11/2011).
35. See in particular S. Zafiropoulos’s statement in *Neos Kosmos*, “Greeks look to Australia for salvation” article by Penni Pappas, p. 1, 16 October 2011 stating that “hundreds of Greek professionals desperate to migrate attended the Athens Skills expo last weekend in a bid to find out what Australia has to offer”.
36. According to *Australia’s Migration Trends 2011-2012*, p. 5 ff., the Australian immigration authorities in 2012 cancelled the visas to 67 Greek immigrants (60 males and 7 females) for a variety of reasons.
37. Interview with Sakis Zafiropoulos, File 850145, 14 November 2013.
38. The GOCMV Immigration Report, pp. 17-18, June 2011 strongly suggested to the Minister for Immigration, Chris Bowen, for “*persons who are eligible for Australian visas or citizenship should be able to more easily obtain information from the Embassy about these matters...*”
39. Reference is made here to the interview with the Secretary General of the GOCMC, Mr. Kostas Markou.
40. *Ibid.* p. 18.
41. Letter by president Bill Papastergiadis of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria to Minister Chris Bowen, 20 February 2012.
42. Letter by The Hon. Chris Bowen, Minister for Immigration and Citizenship to Bill Papastergiadis, President, GOCOMV, 23 February 2012.

43. The partner - countries of Australia with whom the *Working Holiday - subclass 417* was signed included: Belgium, Holland, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malta, Norway, Sweden, Taiwan and United Kingdom.
44. The partner - countries of Australia with whom the *Work and Holiday - subclass 462* was signed included: Argentina, Bangladesh, Chile, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Thailand, Turkey and USA.
45. The relevant bi-lateral agreement signed on behalf of Australia, Minister Philip Ruddock and for Cyprus, its High Commissioner, Sotos Liassidis.
46. *Memorandum of Understanding* between the Government of Australia and the Government of the Republic of Cyprus Relating to Working Holiday Visas, 25 June 2002.
47. The institutions, government offices, community and welfare entities that were consulted and researched included the Australia DIAC, the officer-in-charge for the statistics, Peter Vardos, the Greek Communities in NSW, WA, Adelaide and Melbourne, the AGWS, the *Fronitha*.
48. The senior administrator of the DIAC, Peter Vardos, clarified that it is not possible to ascertain with accuracy the exact number of repatriating Australian citizens given the fact that the returning citizens on their entry can not be registered.
49. Sun newspaper, 27 May 2012, under the title “Greek crisis sees new wave of migrants”, where Consul General, John Anictomatis states that “on average about 10 new arrivals a week are coming back to Darwin, before they bring their families back to Australia”.
50. Minister Kostas Vaskalis from Northern Territory asked from the Commonwealth government to introduce a special permit for the new Greek immigrants to work in the natural gas project in Northern territory which were to begin in 2013. See *Sun newspaper*, 27 May 2012, under the title “Greek crisis sees new wave of migrants”.
51. The secretariat of the GOCOMV comprised of the secretary Kostas Markou and the special secretary Stavros Messinis received more than 10,000 letters and messages for support from Greece. Over 300 CVs were posted as attachments by professionals and scientist with postgraduate qualifications, seeking employment.
52. The data derived from the records of the GOCMV and the AGWS and a sample of over 2,200 electronic e-mails received by interested individuals.
53. Interview with Tina Douvos-Stathopoulos, 14 November 2013, File: 850144; Douvos is Deputy Director, Manager Family and Community Services unit of the AGWS.
54. 30-year-old Michael Kampatsidis a qualified graphic designer from Serres in Greece’s north. Facing 50 per cent unemployment in that region, he’s now

contemplating work as a cleaner in Melbourne as he pursues new studies. He's one of the many people now being hosted by that previous generation of Greek Australians, and Greek radio host Kostas Papakostas says he can't sleep for the night-time phone calls asking for help.

55. Interview with Tina Douvos-Stathopoulos Deputy Director of the Australian Greek Welfare Society, File 850144, 14 November 2013.
56. On 20 November 2013 the AGWS in conjunction with Oakleigh Grammar organized a public lecture in Oakleigh under the topic *Immigration law and Visa*, presented by solicitor Ioannis Kotsifas an expert on Migration law. Seminars and lectures were also organized by the GOCMV and other welfare organization. The AGWS organized in 2013 two seminars, attended by 250 people, one involving the issue of visas and the other one presented by an immigration agent.
57. Interview with Sakis Zafiropoulos, 14 November 2013, File 850145.

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Systemic Consideration of Family Immigration Results of Empirical Research

John Ieronimakis*

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente les résultats d'une étude qui porte sur le phénomène de l'immigration familiale en provenance d'Albanie vers la Grèce au cours de la période allant de 1990 à 2005. Les familles sont examinées par étapes successives de leur parcours d'immigration. En particulier on distingue trois étapes: a) l'étape de l'émigration initiale, b) la phase de perturbation et c) la phase de réorganisation. Le contexte théorique de cette recherche est celui de la théorie systémique.

ABSTRACT

In this article are presented the results of a research, which deals with the phenomenon of family immigration from Albania into Greece during the period of 1990-2005. The families are examined in successive stages of their immigration course. In particular, there are three stages: a) the stage of initial emigration, b) the stage of disruption and c) the stage of reorganization. The theoretical background of our research is based on systemic theory.

1. Introduction: Setting Limits - Methodology of Research

With the change of Greece from an emigration country to an immigration one - especially after the second half of the 90s - a more systematic approach of immigration issues begins on a scientific level. The interest of academic research is focused on social, cultural, psychological, educational and generally human parameters of immigration and not only on financial or legal-institutional ones. The study of family extensions of immigration is integrated in this hypothesis and analyzed below.

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In particular, the results of a research are presented in this article in the framework of our doctoral thesis, under the title "*Families in immigration environment. The case of Albanian families in Greece*". The present research, which was conducted in the prefecture of Rethymno in 2006 (May-September), deals with the phenomenon of immigration of families from Albania to Greece during the period 1990 to 2005. The sample consists of thirty six (36) families - a "purposive sample" (Kyriazis, 1999, 118). As a means of collecting research data the "semi structured" interview was used (Robson, 2007, 321). The technique which was chosen to having access to those being interviewed was the technique of "snowball" (Miller, 2000, 79).

The families are examined in successive stages of their immigration course. In particular, there are three stages. The *first stage* is the stage before the emigration, when the members of the family live together in the country where they come from. In this stage for the first time there is an attempt for the immigration to be discussed and developed because of the different financial and social difficulties faced by the family.

The *second stage* is the stage of "disruption" of the family, when one or some members immigrate (the husband-father alone or both parents together) and the other members of the family live in the country they come from, that is the members of a previously united family live separately. The *third stage* is the stage of family "reorganization" and "balance", when the members of the family meet each other again and live together, but this time in Greece. Between the second and the third stage there is the "rejoining", which is a legal and practical process of rejoining.

The theoretical background of our study is focused on the systemic theory. According to the specific point of view, the family as a social system undergoes the influences of the environment, elaborates and transforms them into alternatives so that they can adjust successfully to the demands of reality. We use the systemic terminology in order to understand the communication of the family with the environment outside and the inner interactions.

In relation to the above, the following passage is structured. In the theoretical part, the systemic tools are clarified and the searching questions are expressed. In the next chapter there is an analysis of results and we finish with a total assessment and certain thoughts for further research.

2. Systemic Consideration and its Application

In our study we examine the family as a system in successive stages (initial emigration, disruption, reorganization) and the members as subjects that act within the framework of the system.

On the one hand, we focus on the structures and among them we integrate the societies they come from and the welcoming societies, social factors of immigration (institutional, financial, social, cultural etc), the family as an institution (system), and on the other hand, the equally important dynamics of people who intervene in the structures and give them a meaning is examined.

The systemic speech can reflect the above multiplicity and complex reality of the family, on condition that it “develops brief meanings-keys, which present the total view of phenomena, without losing the ability of focusing, the exact and thorough description of operations in any stage of procedure it is thought to be worthwhile.

This means that we can examine the different entities on the basis of their common characteristics, which concern the determination of relationships among the parts of their inner organization, as well as their relationship with the environment” (Katakis, 1996, 41).

At this point we think we should discuss specific systemic terms, such as “system”, “parts” of the system, “environment”, “complexity”, “reduction” of complexity, “potentiality”, “reflection”, “limits” and “self-reference”, on the basis of which we understand the communication of families with the outside environment and the inner interactions of their parts-members.

A. “System”, “Environment”, “Parts” of the System

The systemic theory considers the society as a group of systems, which make up the environment. At the beginning of this consideration we can find the variability of systems and moreover of the environment. This is a basic principle in order to understand the system of family and the way of changing within the environment.

The characteristic of systems to develop, to adjust and to be active will be discussed in relation to the family of immigrants, who emigrate, get disorganized and reorganized that is a change as systems, together with structural changes (diversification of financial, social, political circumstances).

The systems change, which is considered as a result of their relation to the wider environment (Luhmann, 1995). The system comes out of the communication with the environment. From the interaction between system and environment a different system turns up in comparison with the previous one. What changes is the image of the system towards itself and the environment. This “image” will be searched in the immigrants’ families.

Let’s consider that the systems develop competitions in the environment and their position in the systemic hierarchy depends on their power against others. Within this framework the systems attempt to smooth out the control of the environment against them, something that will be of our concern in case of a family immigration. Their aim is to have as much access as it is possible to the available material or non material resources and in order to respond, they can change their organization or their function.

Apart from the interactions of systems in the environment, externally, the systemic theory refers to the relations of the parts of the system. In the system of a family each member or more members together in groups are considered to be parts (e.g. the child with a parent). There are three levels concerning the processes among parts.

The *first level* concerns the organization and function of the system in relation to the hierarchy of positions-roles among the parts. The *second part* concerns the processes of decision making and generally the communication in the system. The *third level* refers to the emotional field and concerns the psychological extensions of the inner systemic relationships. Twofold interactions, agreements-disagreements, cooperations-competitions are detected in the system (Morin, 1998). What is left is to detect the character of the interactions within the immigrants’ families.

To the question, if the parts as active subjects are superior to the system as an entity during the communication with the environment or finally the system as an entity is beyond the parts, the answer is that both these elements are examined in correlation with each other. The system consists of parts, classified as an entity. But the entity is comprehended and is involved in systemic parts.

The entity is comprised of parts, which through their action make the system a field of action (Craib, 1998). The systems, on the other hand, as entities of

these interactions, give meaning to every action. They connect the actions of the parts, which do not concern each one of them individually and separately, but they result in the system.

Extending the above acceptance to our own research, there is an interest in the formation of a balance of entity-parts in the system of family. We should point out that the “whole” differs as a magnitude from the total, that is the family as a system-entity is something different from the simple sum of its members. In this case the “difference” is qualitative and not quantitative.

B. “Complexity”, “Reduction”, “Potentiality”, “Reflection”

The term “complexity” (Komplexität) suggests the complex, problematic or inconsistent reality in the environment of a system (Willke, 1996). In each case recipient of complexity is the system, in some cases as an outside recipient of the environmental influences and in other cases as a recipient of inner and equally important processes among its parts. They concern immigrants’ families, who are exposed to successive environment and undergo complexity.

In parallel, systems develop mechanisms of restriction of the accumulated complexity. Their aim is to make it approachable. This process of bringing the environment under control is called “reduction” of complexity” (Reduktion der Komplexität) (Willke, *op. cit.*).

Bringing back the system into the environment leads to new data, when complexity cannot be reduced in the given framework and there is a demand for structure and not ad hoc solutions. The alternative choices of the systems as a response to complexity are printed in the meaning of ‘potentiality’ (Kontingenz) (Luhman, *op. cit.*). The above process is equally complex and produces new complexity, which must be reduced and be transformed into partial ways of action by the system.

The previously mentioned processes are not automatic and it is likely to bring the system into a difficult position. Its care is to predict the repercussion of its actions to the other systems. By the term “reflection” we mean the general characteristics of systems to estimate the repercussion of their initiatives in the environment and on the basis of this estimation to act (Willke, *op. cit.*).

In combination with the above, we can distinguish complexity, reduction, potentiality of a system on certain levels.

Family *complexity* is divided and examined on four levels. The *first level* concerns complexity of the inner environment. The *second level* has to do with the inner acceptance of the outer complexity (what complexity means for the family). The *third level* concerns complexity which is created by potentiality (in relation to the result of a potential choice, as well as in relation to the division of this choice into partial and additional decisions). The *fourth level* refers to complexity of the parts of the system or, otherwise, the inner-family complexity and it concerns the processes of decision making, the hierarchies of relationships and roles and generally the way of viewing complexity by members.

The levels of *reduction* are four. The *first level* refers to the understanding of complexity of the environment and the transformation of complexity to complexity of the system. The *second level* refers to ad hoc processes of complexity supervision, so that the system will be able to adjust to the given conditions that prevail. The *third level* refers to the control potentiality complexity, which is achieved through a definition of criteria and presuppositions concerning decision making. The *fourth level* refers to the reduction of inner systemic complexity among its parts.

The *potentiality* of the system of the family is analyzed on three levels. The *first level* refers to the alternative choices against complexity, which lead the system to structural changes - the decisions concerning emigration, rejoining and the development of family staying in the recipient country are placed and discussed on a certain level. The *second level* refers to the decisions and choices of the system on the basis of primary and already clarified potentiality (secondary potentiality). The *third level* of potentiality refers to the parts of the system and their choices in relation to the decision making, the hierarchy of roles and the inner systemic negotiation of potentiality.

C. “Self Reference”

Despite the difficulties, the family manages to keep the unity and inner balance with a bigger or less success. Consequently, there is a question, how can the family keep the balance under conditions of intense disturbances as the members live separately for long. The answer has to do with the ability of systems to handle their outer-systemic or inner-systemic relationships. It also depends on the possibility of reproduction, perpetuation or renewal of the

system structure. The characteristic of the system to self reproduce is printed in the term 'self-reference' (Willke, *op. cit.*).

In other words there are some invariables and on the basis of them a system focuses on things, employs them and encodes them. The meaning refers to these constants. The meaning refers to existential or identifiable substance of the system. The existential substance refers to the value core of the system and the bonds of its parts. The acceptable way of the life, commitments, rules and "moral" values are involved in the value-core, and on the other hand, paternal relationships and generally psychological functions are involved in the bonds.

In brief, the self referred system, reproduces its cohesion and in this way *self reference* is examined on two levels: The *first level* refers to value - moral models of the system. The *second level* refers to emotional functions of the system.

D. "Limits"

In order to understand the "limits" we focus on the system family. The following five pieces of acceptance contribute to our analysis. The first one is that the environment is comprised of different systems, which are structured in various ways: a) the person is integrated in the family, which is integrated in a particular cultural or socioeconomic group, which is integrated in the total system of social formation, b) the family is horizontally related to other systems and c) the parts of the family interact.

The second piece of acceptance shows the existing relations of hierarchy among systems. A system interacts with others and their hierarchy depends on the power difference concerning financial, social and institutional environment. On the other hand, on the basis of positions-roles distribution among parts, it is possible for us to approach limits from an inner-systemic point of view.

The third piece of acceptance concerns the cognitive frame of system reference (see family) - in which there are codes of behavior, convictions, assessments and suggestions for "self" and "others" who equally regulate limits (Katakis, *op. cit.*).

The fourth piece of acceptance is that the limits change during the life circle of the system.

Concerning the fifth piece of acceptance, the efficiency of limits is connected

with their flexibility of being “open” or “closed” to the influx of information from the environment.

On the basis of the previous criteria, the *limits* of the family system are divided into two levels. The *first level* refers to the outer limits of the system - environment. The *second level* refers to the inner limits among the parts.

E. Systemic Research Questions

Following the above classification during all stages of family immigration, we expressed the following questions:

- a. What things constitute economic, social and institutional complexity of the environment before emigration, during the period of disorganization and during the period of family reorganization?
- b. How is the above outer complexity been accepted by families, what it means for them and which processes of reduction are followed?
- c. Which parameters influence the potential choices of emigration, rejoining and continuation of family staying in the recipient country and which are the family strategies that are connected with potentiality?
- d. Which are the inner systemic processes in combination with complexity, reduction and potentiality?
- e. How are the family limits set against the remaining systems in the outer environment and in their inner environment what self reference constants govern them as systems?

3. Discussion of Results per Stage

3.1. Stage of Initial Emigration

During the period before emigration the family lives together in the country of origin and as a system undergoes the economic, political and social complexity of the environment (*1st level of complexity*). In particular, the economic complexity reflects problems concerning work, income and consumption (low wages, high unemployment, restricted value of money due to gradual increase of cost of living). From a political - social point of view complexity equals to political manipulation and it leads to prolonged social instability (systematic violation of human rights, disruption of the social fabric,

crisis of confidence in institutions-nepotism, intense class structure of society).

The family tries to understand the complexity of outer environment and to rank their extensions in the inner part of the system (*1st level of reduction*). We are talking about the inner intake of other complexity (*2nd level of complexity*). On the basis of economic criterion there are two categories of families: a) families of “survival”, who are not able to survive (households without financial sources) (Markova, 2001, 252) and b) families of “living”, who cover only basic financial demands (simple upkeep of the house). Common characteristic of the above families is the financial insecurity, with the indicative following statement: *«From the financial point of view don't discuss, even the person who has a job...and he doesn't feel very well. Now think of a family, when there is no employment. Others don't have money at all. A family with children cannot manage. Every night you sleep anxious for the next day. It is terrible what I've been through, the insecurity that everybody has, what the next day will bring.»*

On a political-social level complexity is considered to be institutional social exclusion (control of family life in communism, discriminations and unequal treatment depending on each one's ideology, absence of social welfare in capitalism), social isolation (citizens' sluggishness) and uncertainty for the prospect of society in the future.¹ The following disappointment was expressed in a family: *«When a society is broken up and I don't have any kind of help from the state what else can somebody hope for when society is broken up? Everybody left then. Society has collapsed financially. We live in a society and I don't know what the next day will be like with so much confusion that existed. Will I be unemployed? I couldn't know.»*

Under these conditions the family tries to manage and to reduce complexity (*2nd level of reduction*). Among these reduction procedures exhaustion of employment seeking, inner immigration, cooperation with network are also included etc. On the basis of economic crisis, the family tries to find alternative solutions outside the system. In this case emigration is considered to be the most appropriate solution (*1st level of potentiality*). From now on the family has to rethink on the basis of this decision-potentiality.

The choice of emigration produces new complexity for the family, which is analyzed on three levels (*3rd level of complexity*). The first one concerns the inhibitive factors of emigration - financial, social, psychological. The financial factors have to do with the financial viability of immigration (results concerning work, income, saving and possibility of keeping two households). The social

factors have to do with several issues of immigrants' adjustment to the environment (integration into supporting mechanisms in order to face possible difficulties). The psychological factors have to do with obvious, implications of disorganization in the family unity (isolation).

The second level of complexity concerns the following strategies of the family (which members are going to move, which will be the destination country, how long this emigration will last) and the third one concerns organization practices and emigration (awareness of the labor market and generally social-economic condition in Greece, regulations of some issues for the members who do not leave Albania, overcoming some legal obstacles of moving).

The reduction of certain complexity refers to the evaluation of objectionable and attractive parameters of emigration (possible benefits-damages for the family), the hierarchy of priorities and the examination of existing possibilities (*3rd level of reduction*). The following passage is a representative narration concerning complexity that families had to manage:

A coin has two sides, everything together, you can't. You don't go abroad and it is over. If something goes wrong? Will you be so sure? I don't know a lot of things about jobs. I'll save all this money my family needs...The idea of what I'll meet in this foreign place I'll visit frightened me. All of us left the place where we had lived for the first time and it frightens you. And how about your own people! I left and you left my wife alone with three children. Is there anything worse than that? I don't have passports, such papers, we had to pay some money. What will the wife do, the children, the problems, all, all they required a program. I, myself how long will I stay with you? Would they come later?

Through these processes of reduction the family ends up in certain decisions and choices in relation to emigration (*2nd level of potentiality*). Concerning the people who move, either one spouse moves or both of them. The direct immigration of the family is rejected because of the legal state, lack of sufficient presuppositions of members staying in the recipient country, temporary duration of emigration (the immigrant who intends to come back directly to the country of origin moves without his family) or various other parameters (e.g. difficulties of children's moving).

The choice of Greece as a country of destination and not as a country of

another european country is due to legal, economic, social, psychological and mainly geographical factors (short distance from Albania, easy border crossing, getting information from already settled immigrants, quick return in case of failure, facilitation of contact with the family).

Concerning the long term prospective of the family in the recipient country, we can see that there are three tendencies. First of all, it is the temporary staying of the immigrant or his family in Greece and his return to Albania after a shorter or longer period of time (they cannot imagine their life far away from their place and their relatives, they expect improvement of economic, social and political conditions in Albania, they have connected their socio-economic progress with a successful returning). Secondly, the permanent staying of the family in the recipient country after rejoining (they face insurmountable economic problems, all their hopes have been frustrated and they connect immigration with more favorable conditions for children). Thirdly, an obscure family planning on a more restricted scale (they don't discuss the specific subject at the present stage or they don't attribute the appropriate meaning to it).

The legal state leads to legal or illegal emigration. Consequently, the final moving is planned and takes place individually or in groups, in rings or not. The last one in relation to the immigrant's available means.

Concerning the further living of the members who do not immigrate, there are three cases: in the first one, the immigrant's family live together with relatives, in the second one no change is predicted in the family organization and function and in the third case there are some intermediate forms of family living together (e.g. occasional visits to the families of origin).

Making all the above decisions creates an inner-systemic family complexity, which is interpreted as disagreements and arguments between husbands and wives or between prospect immigrants and their relatives (*4th level of complexity*). About this it was said: *«My wife didn't want. You won't go she said, you won't leave us alone. And then I don't leave, you can't talk to the wife or to my own dad, because we are close to the family. Nobody wanted it, but what to do. All these fights there existe, tooke place, not only once, many times we fought for these things and they were right, I saw it when we got ready, I felt sorry and I do too. My mother cried, she cried when they told her.»*

The reduction of the inner systemic complexity is achieved through a minimum communication among the members of nuclear or extended family,

the support of the family from near systems (relation) and reasoning of choices (*4th level of reduction*). In the majority of families the decisions constitute common resultant of spouses' views or close relatives' views.

On the other hand, there are cases of one-sided determination of choices from husbands: they announce their decisions the last minute or they immigrate without warning (*3rd level of potentiality*).

In parallel to the above processes the family limits vary. The outer limits transform from closed (fear of exposure to the social environment) to open (thinking about immigrating), which serves the need of family system balance. In the same way the inner limits move from closed (strict hierarchy of roles and relationships) to open (talks in the family framework) or the opposite.

Apart from these the family has the ability to self-reproduce as a system in order to adjust to the requirements of the environment. In the value system of the Albanian nuclear or extended family there is the already mentioned self-reference dimension. In addition, the family recovers from mental bonds and psychological orders that keep the system together.

3.2. Stage of Disorganization-Rejoining

The emigration of one or both spouses leads the family to a stage of disorganization. The living conditions of immigrants in Greece and of the rest of the family members in Albania reflect the complexity of the environment (*1st level of complexity*). The complexity of immigrants refers to the initial problems of adjustment after the arrival in the recipient country (e.g. many of them don't speak the language), the intense insecurity due to illegal entry and staying and generally the legal state (they "hide" to avoid arrest), the disorders from work (permanency, low wages, exploitation), the difficult conditions of accommodation (accommodation in rundown neighborhoods), in a social displacement whether it concerns restricted social relationships or weakness in access to social goods, services or institutions and finally the psychological consequences of disorganization (sense of isolation from the family). The following experience of an immigrant is indicative of the above discovery: «*The borders are something terrible that I don't want to remember, what we went through and what I saw. When I came for the first time, apart from this trouble so far on foot, I ran out of money. Conditions that you say now...There is no work every*

day, I ran everywhere I could work. I have worked in Athens for a few months, I went to Trikala, go around because of work. And what we haven't done! Building, olive oils, restaurants, petrol stations, paints, if there was work I didn't care, celebrations or Sundays. The money I got I sent to my wife who wanted it because she didn't have. (...). I will accept exploitation and I accept everything because I can't read. I haven't taken any money I have worked for, what I could say though. Most people didn't know who I am and what I do. They didn't do you a favor to speak to you after we came most of us. The people don't love us! Who do I trust. (...). Today they have now changed, then what we have been through, I have been through something that cannot be forgotten. I have slept even outside an awning when I came or then five people have stayed in a room. You don't call it a house. You are afraid of the police, because I don't have a permit. We had always been worried. (...). You miss your children so much that what I can say, I came back tired from work, I am thinking of them at night until I fall asleep».

The complexity of wives in the country of origin has to do with experience of husband deprivation (feelings of melancholy, anxiety and disappointment), the social control from the extended family as well as on the social level (prejudice against immigrants' families), the multiple responsibilities they take as workers, housewives and parents and the difficulties they have to face in the role of the only parent (problematic interactions of a mother and children). In this framework we can see the consequences of father's absence to the children. According to what mothers have said, children sometimes cry and miss their father and sometimes they forget him or they consider his absence as abandonment. The statement that follows, shows the reality of wives: «*When my husband left, there was no more difficult moment in all my life, I lost everything under my feet. I missed my husband and I cried for hours, I said what he is doing now? We couldn't talk, at that time we didn't have mobile phones, we were talking just for a while. When I went to give birth, when I gave birth to the second child, he didn't know it at all. (...). Everything, the children, the household chores, everything was on me. Once the baby got sick, so high fever that he started shivering! At that time you need your husband, I need my husband. And as the children grew up they ask where dad is, when dad will come. I got very tired with the children, a child doesn't grow up in the right way only with mum or only with dad, he needs both parents. (...). So many things happen and I got frightened, the world isn't good. And what I have heard, he will never come back, he will leave the money somewhere else, he has found another woman, yes, and I don't want anyone, I stay inside with the children.*»

Members' complexity, which refers to the economic, social and institutional environment and the coincidence of disorganization, transforms into family complexity that is complexity of the system (*2nd level of complexity*). This process is achieved through a hierarchy of economic, social and psychological consequences of emigration and their projection to the family itself (*1st level of reduction*). Concerning economy, our research showed that the family report was inferior to their initial expectations. There may be a financial improvement in the family in comparison with the near past (sending money), however, there is no spectacular change (saving or better living conditions). The previous categorization of families continues to exist in families "living" and "survival" showing cases of less or nonexistent economic progress.

The social complexity is presented by the family as a social control and prejudice and as a social pressure by the close family or wider environment to respond to the targets of emigration. The psychological dimension refers to the isolation of the members of the family and as a result its cohesion is tested. In other words the family is presented to be in difficult financial conditions, socially weak and isolated or disorganized concerning relationships.

Understanding complexity keeps up with the processes ad hoc of overcoming the existing difficulties (*2nd level of reduction*). The reduction is a result: a) of a redefinition of roles and action of subjects (the immigrants are interested in work and collecting money, develop essential adjustment mechanisms (language) and are gradually integrated in networks with employers and people of the same nationality, and on the other hand, the wives sources, organize household and try to substitute the emotional gap of fathers' absence, b) relatives' support to the immigrants in Greece and their family in Albania (psychological, financial and social support), c) the communication among members (the immigrants often return to the country of origin and they are together with the family). Through the above inner and outer reorganization of the family there is the first adjustment of the system in the stage of disorganization.

The extension of emigration and the following disorganization brings back the reduction of financial situation of the family and the psychological parameters of disorganization. The question is, if the immigrant returns to Albania and comes back to his family or if the family moves to Greece. The potentiality of the family's rejoining in the recipient country comes from the

answer to the dilemma (*1st level of potentiality*). The following statement reveals the content of such a process:

In the end even your children wouldn't recognize you, first of all you go for six months, the month becomes three years. The children will forget you. You can't anymore, we are people and the heart can't stand it the family to be separated for so long. What shall we do with the money, which is not as we thought in the beginning, what do you want all these. I collected some money, but this doesn't make the difference. I have a target from the beginning, I have a target we will stay until we make a house for the children, but the house doesn't make and we are forced to stay, that's why we decided and we brought our families. I couldn't do anything else. We are staying for a better life. Others are even worse. There isn't anything left. It is better the whole family in case you do something in five years, you fell bored to leave and come back. Let alone there is nothing left. And the wife can't. And I personally wouldn't like to go back and start from the beginning, empty hands you don't come back easily.

The choice of rejoining produces new complexity in the inner part of the family, which it concerns the different factors of rejoining - institutional, socioeconomic, psychological (*3rd level of complexity*). When there is no, for example, a permanent job, home, minimum income which covers the needs of the whole family, social network of facilitating settlement etc, rejoining is really difficult from the beginning. The majority of families don't fulfill the legal criteria of rejoining (five years of waiting as minimum time for the beginning of the process of rejoining on the basis of law 1975/91 and two years with the law 2910/01, strictly income and economic criteria, delay in examining applications which in some cases was more than one or one and a half years. The exclusion of children from rejoining prolongs disruption. Also, the time of rejoining can't be predicted.

The family has to balance the cost-benefit of each decision, to rank priorities and to determine pursuits at the present stage (*3rd level of reduction*). Ending up to certain choices is considered to result from reflection (*2nd level of potentiality*). In relation to time reference, there are two types of family potentiality: the one is of the brief or temporary staying of the family in the recipient country after rejoining and the other of the permanent staying. Comparing to the period of the initial emigration, we can understand firstly, that although families tend to live longer in the recipient family, there is a tendency to come back in the country of origin, secondly, the number of

families that are thinking of permanent staying in Greece has been increased and thirdly, families with more specific goals show their intention to a more lasting rejoining, which depends on the result of their emigration.

Concerning the legal state there is either legal rejoining or rejoining after 'temporary staying' of a member (immigrant's wife) or illegal rejoining - possible with the greatest frequency. In relation to the order of members' moving, we consider the potential of immediate rejoining of all family members, nuclear or extended, wife's rejoining and later on children's or relatives' arrival (gradual rejoining). In relation to the time period which follows until final rejoining, we can see the following family differentiation: families that wait for four or five years in order to be together, families that are together after a time period of two or three years and some family cases in which the time period of waiting may extend or diminish.

In the state of disorganization inner systemic balance is also influenced. Complexity of parts relies on psychological implications of separation and family members' absence, role conflict and hesitation during decision making (*4th level of complexity*). It was said: *«It is not easy to decide. You are far away from your family, they don't even want it, who would like it. Then we wouldn't go no matter how I want it, I could see it and from others. Psychologically you aren't ready for such a big step, you are pressed psychologically.»*

Reduction is a consequence of reasoning of reality and family choices, adjustment to new roles and maintenance of family cohesion through temporary contacts or even through symbolic means (*4th level of reduction*). Consequently, families are distinguished on the basis of inner systemic potentiality (*3rd grade of potentiality*). Families differ according to the frequency of contacts and the content of communication, familiarization or not of the members with their roles and decision making (spouses' agreement or disagreement).

The examination of family limits refers to the attribute of the system or its parts to reflect and then to act in the environment. Examining the immigrants, their outer and their inner move from closed to open or the opposite. Immigrants seem to be extrovert to work and financial sources seeking and introvert to the social field (self-protection from the police). Their inner limits are closed (self-isolation) or open (relationships). Immigrants' wives either keep their outer and inner limits closed (self-protection - self-isolation) or

widen them (responsibilities-roles). In relation to the family as a system, there is a distinction of closed-open limits, having the outer limits closed (social and economic restrictions of the environment) or having them open (decision of rejoining) and having the inner ones move to closed ones (self-protection) or open (communication) depending on the circumstances.

The self-reference of the system is determined mainly by the psychological functions of the family and the reproduction of emotional bonds of members. The value models of the family develop their own dynamics. So despite the removal of members and the difficulties of disorganization, the family unity is not threatened: *«And five and ten years the family remains strong, the Albanian family doesn't break up. Something that keeps you is the inner power of the family, for a father to love his children the same although he doesn't see them and so do they.»*

3.3. Stage of Rejoining-Reorganization

After rejoining a new chapter starts for the family on the basis that the disorganized members meet again in the recipient country. The family has to adjust to the new environment and the disorganization is examined in relation to the outer complexity (*1st level of complexity*). In this stage we can see economic, social and institutional complexity, which refers to difficult economic circumstances and to a non familiar and sometimes hostile social and institutional system (offer and demand of work, income, expenses, cost of living, institutional and social disruption).

The family assesses the above problematic reality (*1st level of reduction*) and through this process we can realize the implications in the inner part of the system (*2nd level of complexity*). According to data, complexity of the family concerns: a) accommodation (small houses and generally insufficient living conditions), b) household finances-standard of living (frugal family life-weakness in saving, restricted professional mobility with consequences on income and consumption, any kind of financial improvement keeps up with the parallel widening of needs and social obligations of family and a high cost of life), c) children's attending school, d) socio-cultural attitude of the family (racism, prejudice and xenophobia, restricted or weak social relationships, withholding data of national cultural identity), e) the legal and institutional treatment (obstacles to legalizing, time consuming and costly processes of permit renewal, citizenship problems, nonexistence of political social welfare etc).

The psychological repercussion of the settlement of family members is related to the above mentioned ideas. The first touch of new coming women with the social environment is associated with skepticism or disappointment because of the new living conditions, fear of the unknown and generally with insecurity, alienation and frustration of expectations. The children have been influenced by the previous period of disorganization and show mixed feelings to parents and introversion to the environment (e.g. school). The settled immigrants have difficulty in establishing communication with their children and get adjusted to the requirements of common life. Complexity is also created by the absence of family members, who have not yet rejoined. An immigrant mentioned the following in relation to the family disorganization:

I got used here very late. I don't know what it meant to me, it means something negative to me and I always cry. Once I said I will leave, nobody had told me what I will meet. When I saw this house, two rooms that have a bed and a small wardrobe, I tell my husband shall we stay in this house? I didn't know anyone to speak to, I spoke only a few words, nobody understands what I say and we didn't know the basic things. Everything unknown the first months! Psychologically I'm getting through it not easily, staying in I am looking at the walls. It was difficult for children until they get used to their father. It was as if they had forgotten him. Then the girl was close to her father while the little boy wasn't. He isn't close to his dad. And at school the same things until they get used. He came home and cried, the other children bullied him. As the time passes children and I got used, problems are something else, they existed and it will exist, it isn't the same though. We have a better place, we paid something more of course, when you have you will give it, the first house let it go! We both worked then, when there is work I will work because children's obligations don't leave you relax. Expenses, rent, school, food, work. Children are missing things...we miss a lot. You keep money as long as you can, then after a month we buy something, clothes for children, a sofa, a cooker, television, mobile phone, DVD, we bought a second hand car, not from the beginning, you start with two three things and then you think of something more. First you start with the essentials, two forks and a spoon, the children wear two pieces of clothes, I wash one of them and he wears the other. When we came my husband didn't have a permit and

we were illegal until we got our papers ready. We had a problem with children and hospital so when I gave birth to the third child I ran in the street and I don't know if the police stops me and arrests me. Perhaps the world or the others don't accept you, we have experienced racism when somebody doesn't behave very well, but when he knows you the ice breaks. They didn't look at you favorably at the beginning, it depends on the person. The boss a very good person, he has helped us, we owe to him a lot. He has people whom he helps. We keep company to each other, I had my sister or if know somebody, you must know well though. What if he is an Albanian, all Albanians are good?

Reduction of complexity has the aim of consolidating changes in the stage of disorganization (*2nd level of stage of reduction*). In this framework certain initiatives appear from families: a) they help with the members' adjustment (husbands' contribution, wives' social adjustment and the wife's contribution to diminish the 'distance' between immigrant's father and children), b) they try to increase incomes and attempt to adjust as realistically as possible the economic situation of the family (integration of women into production, steps towards professional field - self-employment, abandonment of initial plans and emphasis on reorganization of household), c) they integrate into social networks (communication in the neighborhood, contact with employers, with people of the same nationality, native people, children's relationships at school), d) they get legal-institutional security (legalization).

The decision on all these issues and their results in the process of reorganization, show the corresponding types of families (*1st level of potentiality*). In reference to the standard of living, the first type concerns families with improved standard of living (moving to a better house, imitation of local consuming models, possibility of saving in some cases) and the second type concerns families with continuous living problems, but not as previously - «*not, you are not as before, we aren't on something that you are comfortable, the children grow up and obligations never stop. I have been in Greece for almost ten years and I am not safe. My son has told me, dad, he says, why we are so poor! Why, I say, my son? Dad we don't have a lot of money, the child said so.*» And in both cases the financial status of Albanian families is inferior to the Greek one and we are talking about families of medium and low socioeconomic status.

Concerning social relationships, there are the following categories of

families: a) families who attempt an opening to the social environment and they are satisfied with their communication (they are invited to various festivals, native people christen their children, develop social network with nationals or of the same country people), b) families who talk about xenophobia, prejudice and racism, c) families who rely their social contacts on the cost they bring.

We should see the potential management of national cultural identity from the part of families in relation to social extensions. The majority shows a tendency to keep their national-cultural characteristics, without restricting social relationships apart from some exceptions. On the contrary, certain families seem to be tied up to negative stereotypes and they end up behaving, as it is expected by 'others' (withholding their origin - instead of "Albanians" they come from Northern Epirus, withholding their religion, use of Greek names). Other families use selectively their national-cultural identity or its meaning is considered to be unimportant in order for them to avoid the conflict with the dominant group and to manage social accession. It was said: *«I personally have a good time with the local people here, because they helped us and me and my family. Mind your own business, take care of your family, why shall I argue with you? I am not interested in what others believe, people are the same. Everybody who christens children we do it because we believe. You speak Albanian in the house, you speak Greek outside. The other accepts you well? We forget everything else. I know what I am.»*

The legal state doesn't differentiate families in this stage, based on the fact that they are all legal and nobody has Greek citizenship. Another last issue has to do with children's arrival or family members' arrival. There are families who think about children's rejoining and other, who apart from children are interested in a wider rejoining (parents or other relatives).

Albanian families' tendencies towards their staying in the country of origin or the recipient country have been discussed in previous stages. The specific subject comes up in the stage of disorganization where families don't seem to make their plans clear. According to the available data, we can find the following family cases (*1st level of potentiality*): a) families, who tend to live in the recipient country permanently, b) families, who tend to return home and c) families, who consider the meaning of the whole thing unimportant and have a vague or "open" orientation.

The decision making is influenced by inconsistent financial, institutional and psychological factors. Such complexity is produced and issued by potentiality (*3rd level of complexity*). Families mention for example, that their financial expectations were not fulfilled and at the same time they discover the existence of non favorable circumstances of returning to Albania (e.g. unemployment). A lot of families consider that they have been familiar with the local way of life and the social condition in Greece and that they point out discrimination phenomena of legal and institutional exclusion. If we add psychological parameters (nostalgia for the country, for the parents or immigrant's feelings), the result is reduction of complexity in relation to potentiality (*3rd level of reduction*).

On the other hand, the family has to assess the advantages and disadvantages of emigration and reorganization, and on the other hand, to carry out decision-choices of potentiality. A family which extends staying in the recipient country has to face the potential rejoining of the family members (parents), the redefinition of economic situation (buying a house in Greece or investment in Albania), security, institutional equality (citizenship) and equal social participation. Similar issues arise for all families regardless of orientation.

The inner family processes are examined in relation to the outer ones, which we have already referred to. Apart from adjustment, difficulty of the family members and the restoration of mental bonds, we can see three more parameters of complexity (*4th level of complexity*). The first one has to do with decision making (e.g. continuation of emigration or not), which can cause conflicts between husbands and wives. The second one extends to the hierarchy of roles with the wives to claim a more equal position. And third, the communication between parents and children constitutes another kind of potentiality, which is influenced by inner-family and outer-family factors. The inner-family factors relate to the perennial perceptions about family (control of children's life) and the outer family factors have to do with social influences factors, which according to parents threaten Albanian family's identity (they react to children's company, disagree with their attachment to local socio-economic models, talk about language change etc). Sometimes conflicts between children and parents result from the generation gap and they are simply reinforced by complexity of emigration and disorganization.

The management of family problems is achieved through several processes (*4th level of reduction*) such as role distribution (the woman is integrated into

production, men take on traditional women's roles - e.g. taking care of children), relatives' contribution to problem solving of the family (creation of social network and relationships), reasoning of decisions and family cooperation (difficulties to bring members together and reduce difference), gradual balance of system and the family ending up in a model of organization-function, which responds to influences of the environment and family principles.

Therefore, we distinguish potentialities in relation to inner-family organization- function (*3rd level of potentiality*). In most families we can see a transition to more equal roles than in the past, without changing hierarchies in the family. In a small number of families traditional roles are kept. The inner family processes of decision making agree with the above during these decisions; men don't force their views but uncontested solutions are found. On the contrary, the gap between parents and children will continue, although social influences seem to lead families to a readjustment of interactions. An immigrant wife and mother of two children said:

We discuss everything, we have become modern now. I can see my husband who has changed. I have two friends I am talking to, you will call her, she will call you. I don't want to go to the other end, I listen to my husband, I won't do anything else. And the children the same, they will listen to parents. How can a parent of this child will sleep well, when his child isn't at home and he doesn't know what time he will return? I would be really annoyed if my daughter went out fourteen years old, it would annoy me! It isn't of my character. When children learn this way, they don't learn to listen to what you are saying. And my own children. Then my husband shouts what are you doing? And he is right, the children are out of control, we are foreigners here. The older one more. Once he started shouting at him in case he understands, because and the girl must stay in, tomorrow she will get married, she will have her own family and she should learn the good way, and this respect, she will pass it to her children. And shouting though doesn't make sense, whether we want it or not she has become modern.

To sum up, we can say that the communication between husband and wife and generally family members' communication tend to a balance between

modern way of life and contemporary outlook on family nature and identity.

During the reorganization time period the family changes limits from closed into open or the opposite depending on its position in the environment and the inner balance. For example, we can mention that during the first time period after rejoining the outer limits are closed, which allows members a more restricted exposure to the social system and leaves them space to establish their relationships. In the process limits widen, which is something imposed by economic and social needs of family (employment, accommodation, social network, school). In parallel, the closed inner limits keep national-cultural identity and support members psychologically and the outer ones cover the need for family familiarization with the way of life in the country.

From the above analysis we have come up with self-reference characteristic of family, which contributes to the reproduction structural components. At first, emotional bonds among members through living together and some psychological functions and, secondly, value models of the family group. In other words members draw satisfaction and have a sense of security from their relationships and at the same time obey to values and rules of the family as the least contribution to keep the family unity.

4. Summary and Thoughts for Further Research

From the above analyses the analytical power of the tools of systemic theory becomes obvious. It presents a common practice during all stages of family immigration: from the initial emigration to disorganization, rejoining and family reorganization. At first, the family as a system is in contact with the remaining systems of the environment and is influenced by them. At the same time the parts become active and they develop their own communication in the family system.

In the first stage the family attempts to understand the implications of the outer environment so that the members can realize their roles. At the same time they attempt to reduce the consequences of the environment. But if complexity is not reduced to the desired extent and family problems continue, the family may be led to decisions which totally put the system again in the environment.

The choice of emigration, rejoining and extension of staying in the recipient country constitute different alternatives of the system (see potentiality). The choice whatever it is, is connected with new pending issues concerning the purpose of decisions, plans and realization. Complexity which is produced by potentiality must be reduced, because otherwise there will not be clear decisions and choices or potentialities.

The limits of the family determine the position of the system in relation to other systems. The family can differentiate limits and restrict or widen interactions in the environment. Opening or closing limits may have positive or negative extensions in the family and their extension depends on the ability of the family to predict the effects of their actions on the other systems (see reflection).

Finally, there is one more function, which determines the system as an existence and in contrast with the environment. This is self-reference or reproduction of family through inner processes. Some of them are self renewal of mental bonds of members, self renewal of value models of family and principles that determine relationships and roles.

According to the above the family is kept in a dynamic and not static balance. In other words they move from balanced conditions to conditions of balance disruption and restoration of new balances in the outer environment. The question is, if a balancing theory such as systemic way can be applied to conditions of balanced disruption. In some families, for example, the couple get a divorce and a different type of family appears. As a consequence, there is a question related to interpretative limits of systemic theory and on the other hand a need for a different aspect of the object appears.

In addition, the research of the family can be extended and include the development of staying and strategy of the family in the recipient country, planning of the second generation and the importance of social network relative to the family's adaptation. Also, the psychological consequences in the family require a much more specialized study and another methodology. Therefore, the research field is open to new cases such as families, whose all members move directly and continue to live illegally. Finally, the choice of another nationality as a target group offers the possibility of comparison of results between families of different national origin.

NOTE

1. This has been confirmed by other theoretical and empirical studies on social, economic and political situation in Albania (Vickers & Pettifer, 1997).

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Students with Migration Background in the University of Crete: A Biographical and Factional Analysis

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article se concentre sur les élèves d'origine immigrante qui ont suivi l'enseignement primaire et secondaire public en Grèce et ont été admis à l'Université de Crète après avoir réussi l'examen national d'entrée. Quinze récits migratoires sont analysés et indiquent que ces étudiants, à travers un parcours ardu de scolarité, d'apprentissage du grec et d'intégration dans la société grecque, ont réussi à s'inscrire à l'université, mais n'ont pas encore la possibilité de se voir attribuer la citoyenneté grecque et de se sentir pleinement membres de la société. La contradiction entre l'acceptation d'élèves immigrants dans le système éducatif et de leur privation de tous les droits résultant de la citoyenneté grecque est soulevée et discutée dans cet article.

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the students of immigrant origin who have followed mainstream primary and secondary education and have entered the University of Crete through the national examination. Fifteen migratory biographies are analyzed qualitatively and indicate that the students, through a rough course of schooling, learning Greek and being integrated into the Greek society, have succeeded to enroll to the University, but they still lack the opportunity of being granted citizenship and feel full members of the society. The contradiction between accepting foreign schoolchildren into the education system and depriving them from full legal rights is an uprising issue to be dealt with by the state.

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Introduction

Exploring the issues relating to migration and the reality created in societies as a result of this population movement involves primarily the clarification of the way in which these phenomena, are approached each time. This is because the mobility of populations is associated with important aspects of multidimensional economic, social, demographic, political, cultural and psychological phenomena. According to recent analyses of the migratory movements worldwide, about 214 million people live outside their home countries in their pursuit for a better life.¹ In the European Union (E.U.), according to the data collected by Eurostat for the year 2012, of the total population of E.U. (503,7 millions) the 33 million were migrants.² Focusing on the case of Greece, immigration was greatly affected by not only the collapse of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 but also by the successive E.U. enlargements in the last twenty years. These developments shaped the migratory flow to Greece from the Balkans as well as from the Central and Eastern European countries, while at the same time, the processes of social and economic globalization have facilitated the development of migratory flows from the Asian countries and Africa (Triantafillidou, 2010).

According to the results of the population Census in 2011, the total number of foreigners living permanently in the country was 911.929 people.³ At the same time, according to the Eurostat data, with reference to the year 2012, the immigrants who lived in Greece amounted to 975.000 of whom 151.000 came from E.U. countries, while 824.000 came from non E.U. countries.⁴ Of course the demographic censuses use as a reference point the migrants living permanently in the country that is, (those who gave a residence permit or those who have already applied together with all the necessary documents, but the permit is still pending). In order for the population of the illegal immigrants to be estimated, Maroukis by combining different data sources (demographic census, workforce statistics data on residence permits, Greek police arrest records and school registrations) estimates that number of illegal immigrants for the year 2007 to be 280.446.⁵

Therefore both the rapid increase in migratory flows in the 90s as well as the crystallization of a permanent and stable migration number of about 10-12% of the country's population, created a new reality (Kontis, 2009). For this reason, within the E.U., the transition was attempted away from a defense

policy towards the migratory phenomenon such as the control of migratory flows and towards an effort to address the issues of discrimination and exclusion (Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006). The terms inclusion, integration,⁶ insertion, assimilation, constitute the basic analytical tools both in joint scientific discourse and in terms of political design. These terms are products of social policy interpretation and negotiation depending on the political, social and economic circumstances as well as the peculiarities of each society. However, a key point of differentiation is that the processes of assimilation and inclusion require no modifications, or changes in the structure of societies of migration unlike the process of integration or inclusion (Baubock, 1996). Sayad (2004) discussing these terms, points out that their differences are principally based on the integrity of the individual. During the process of assimilation, individual integrity that comprises the unique characteristics of the migrant becomes less prominent and disappears, something that seems not to be true with the process of integration. Through the multiplicity of definitions ascribed to the terms of integration or inclusion (Markou, 2001, Papadopoulou, 2006, Kontis, 2009), can be concluded that the migrant will become a member of the new society through a complex and dynamic process (Sambatakou, 2009).

However while the integration is associated with the recognition of cultural diversity, the conditions under which this integration will take place vary and often are proportionately opposed. This is why in every society what is or is not accepted is the product of political interpretation (Papadopoulou, 2006). In this way, the dual character governing the process of integration or inclusion is indicated as it relates on the one hand to the migrants who desire to have access to the structures of the host society and the creation of social and cultural relations with members of the broader community and on the other hand in the field of the host society by creating equal relationships and providing equal opportunities⁷ for migrants with nationals (Borkert et al 2007). Therefore, we could say that the degree of integration or inclusion of a person or group in a society is a function of the degree of «absence of economic, social and political distinction between migrant and domestic population groups» (Kontis, 2009).

However, a number of key questions arise: Based on which indicators, which criteria and evaluative processes, the norms and standards are selected in

order to investigate the inclusion and integration of migrants into host societies? In an attempt to answer these questions at a convention organized by the Council of Europe in 1995, was mapped an initial context for the criteria of inclusion.⁸ The E.U. and the Lisbon Treaty in 2000 set the cornerstone in building a common model of immigrant integration which concerned the integration into the labor market in 2004. The Hague Programme bounded common basic principles to enhance integration of legal migrants to the country of settlement.⁹ In the context of European Institutions indicatively, the Zaragora Declaration adopted by the Ministers of E.U. member countries, for migration policy in April 2010 mapped the immigrant integration indicators (key areas of employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship).¹⁰

Access to education constitutes a basic pillar for the integration of migrants in host societies and primarily relates to the existence of support programs referring to the learning of the dominant language and at the same time the preservation of the cultural assets of their native land. However, different approaches concerning the educational policy emerge which are based on the ethno-cultural diversity that they map differently and develop different management strategies.¹¹

In the case of Greece the institutional interventions which deal with the issue of integration of students with an immigrant background¹², are divided into those which were implemented during the years 1975-1980, 1980-1995 and a new approach adopted in 1996 with the enactment of law 2413/ 1996 (Damanakis, 1997 a). Imprinting the Key benchmarks of these institutional interventions, Damanakis states: In the second half of the 70s educational policy had an intense «philanthropic», «privileged» character (leniency and reduced requirements) while at the beginning of 1980s some compensatory measures were taken (the introduction of intensive language courses and compensatory classes) that aimed at helping students to adjust in the Greek educational system¹³. Since then, the establishment and operation of intensive language courses classes as well as coaching classes are governed by laws and government degrees, and also the controls of this function are identified. However, these legislative interventions are dominated by the logic of assimilation since the educational background of the students is totally ignored and the logic of total assimilation seems to imply the loss of ethno cultural

reports relating to the country of origin of the students. It is clear that the prevailing idea is that of the «case of deficit». A new season opens with the enactment of Law 2413/1996 with which is attempted a transition from the logic of deficit and assimilation to the intercultural approach. The purpose of intercultural education is defined in Article 34 as «...the organization and operation of primary and secondary schools to provide education to young people with special educational or social characteristics». In line with this transition, intercultural schools are founded. From 1996 to date 26 intercultural schools have been established all over the country (13 elementary schools, 9 junior high schools and 4 high schools). However, the fact that these special schools were organized to cater for the special educational needs of a particular group of the student population delineates a separation logic. The ethno cultural specificity discriminates towards management in terms that are far from the content, goals and methodology of intercultural education, whose basic principle is the inclusion of native and foreign students (Damanakis, 1997, Markou 2001). Thus, otherness has its own place in separate educational institutions and not a place in the existent structures which could be enriched by it, if of course there would be room for something else. Alongside, these legislative intervention by the Ministry of Education in 1997 already included under the Second Support Framework (Operational Program for Education and Training), four projects under the title «Programs of intercultural education»¹⁴ aiming at improving the integration in the educational system of people of special categories. These integration programs for pupils with cultural and linguistic diversities in the educational system which are implemented to date are as follows:

1. Education for repatriated and foreign students
2. Education for Roma children
3. Education of children of the Muslim minority
4. Greek-language primary and secondary intercultural education in the Diaspora.

However, these programs seem to be moving in the logic of distinction as they refer each time separately to a target-group and the potential application of innovative actions often proposed, limit themselves into distinct types of education that refer to special forms of education provided for the above target

groups such as, host support courses in intercultural and Minority schools.

Focusing on mapping the current situation in Greece, according to the records of the Ministry of Education, the foreign students for the school year 2012/13 amounted to 127.933. Analytical data, for the school years 2011/12 and 2012/13 are presented in Table 1.

Table1: Foreign students in every level of Education and academic year

| Level of Education | Foreign Students in every Academic year | |
|---------------------------|---|----------------|
| | 2011/12 | 2012/13 |
| Kindergarten | 21.033 | 18.811 |
| Elementary School | 76.977 | 68.654 |
| Junior High School | 34.347 | 30.617 |
| High School | 12.958 | 9.851 |
| TOTAL | 145.315 | 127.933 |

(Source: Ministry of Education)

At this point, it should be noted that the transformation of educational policy in applied educational practice is neither obvious not easily manageable. The intention of educational policy does not equate practice. According to Eurostat statistics relating to Greece with reference year 2011, the rate of school dropouts (early leavers from education and training) in the total population was 13%, while 44,9% of students who leave school are foreign students¹⁵. These results are confirmed by the results of a research on indicators of immigrant Integration Policy MIPEX)¹⁶ according to which the education of immigrants in Greece is not provided by a series of systematic and targeted measures, while at the same time the intercultural dimension is limited only to the migrant populations rather than to all the students in the country (see Godovos, 2007).

However, to have a better mapping of the factors and conditions that have influenced the educational and social progress of children with a migrant background in Greek society, the quantitative and qualitative approaches become important that focus on how the immigration experience is

experienced by them. This is because the experience through the unlimited decoding and interpretations can neither be univocal nor integrated into pre-sorted modes of explanation whether they involve the same migration flows or relate to integration processes in institutions and structures of the host society. For example, the integration of students in intensive language courses, if and when there are such classes constitute the starting point in the investigation of their educational trajectories. Moreover, the way that the migrant student decodes and interprets his educational course can emerge, if one focuses on the subject itself through a qualitative research approach.

Methodological Planning and Sample Formation

This research seeks to explore University students with migratory background account of their immigrant biography and their educational course through the Greek educational system. It looks for aspects of social integration of these students through the study of the way in which the subject experiences any ethno-cultural distinctiveness, having as main points of reference, educational-academic frames and social context. Of course it is for subjects who, at least in a descriptive level, had a «successful» course after graduating from Greek University.

Furthermore, the descriptive information about the sample, such as their attendance at the Greek schools and Universities, determine to some extend the range of descriptive criteria of their membership structures of Greek society. But the empirical findings will be those that will shed light on their integration and most importantly will give them their qualitative characteristics. This is because the way the students themselves experience and narrate their «successful course», can only be answered if one focuses on «setting the gaze of the subject» on aspects of his own path (Tsiolis, 2006).

Therefore, the main aim of the research is to investigate the qualitative terms that constitute the narrative of the migration experience and how these conditions are associated with the accession structures of Greek society. The narrative of the experience, in essence relates to the investigation of the discourse, of the underlying meaning and their place in it. This in turn means that the main aim of the present study is first to outline the way in which the students with migratory biography have received and decode immigration and educational trajectories and to examine the factors that shaped with their

presence or absence the individual narrative parts of their migration experience. In this direction there is a three-dimensional approach, targeting our wider research:

1. Investigate the way in which the subject narrates (the narration is of great interest), his transition in the Greek context, by highlighting the focal points of his migration course.
2. Investigation of the educational path of the subject, with emphasis on how the subject narrates his integration and course in the Greek educational system of primary, secondary and tertiary level.
3. Attempt to correlate the individual narrative parts with the accession structures of the Greek society, the presence or absence of institutional interventions. By that we mean exploring the interface of institutionalized education policy for these students and the way they themselves experienced the Greek educational reality.

This targeting dictated the axes of investigation which are the following:

- a. Family biography (arrival in Greece, elements of family and linguistic socialization in family, friends and relatives networks, contact with the country of origin.
- b. Educational course (conditions under which the transition to the Greek education reality was achieved, learning Greek language, use of the native language, data concerning school socialization, participation or not in the intensive language courses.
- c. Academic framework (selection criteria for attending Greek Universities, factors that facilitated or hindered their admission to Universities, interaction with fellow students, professors and future expectations after graduation.
- d. Social networks (interaction with the Greeks, social connections and ties, discrimination issues with reference to ethnicity.
- e. Integration framework of the Greek society (institutional measures concerning education and naturalization.
- f. Ethno cultural self-placement (management of intercultural records, narration of the national and cultural self, expectations and objectives).

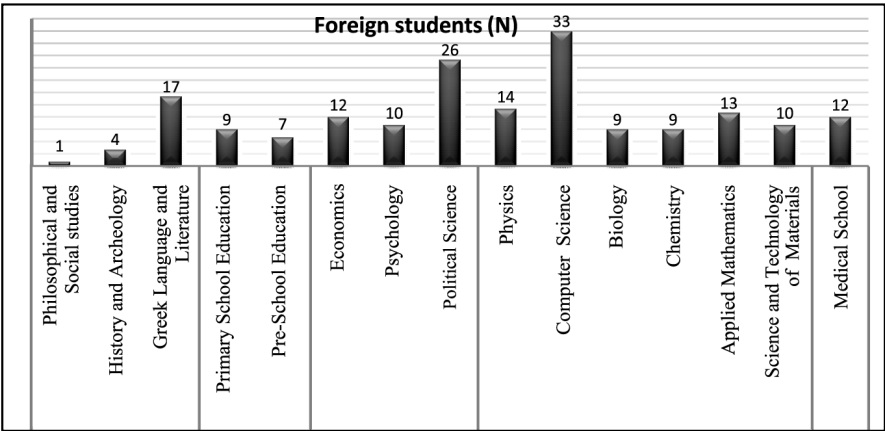
With a starting point the multilevel structural analysis model of Damanakis, on the levels, dimensions and the agents of socialization concerning people who live in multicultural environments,¹⁷ this research focuses primarily on the individual level and at the micro level, while only at the level of interpretative analysis of the findings, it attempts to interface with the process that relates to the mid level.

Therefore, the main research question is: which are the qualities of the narrative of the migration experience of foreign students, as they are displayed by them? Namely how they decode their social and educational course in Greece? The resulting question aim at investigating the way these subjects dealt with and managed the intercultural records and not at measuring and qualifying the integration and, inclusion indicators in Greek society. In the present article, we confine ourselves to present and analyze the findings which relate to the family environment and school progress of the subjects and highlight those factors which the individuals themselves consider that played a decisive regulative role in their course.

The population group of reference in the present study are students with migratory biography at the University of Crete. According to the information we received from the secretary offices of the University departments, a total of 186 students of non Greek origin are currently enrolled at the University, which means that they comprise 1,09% of the total student population. (For the year 2012-2013 the number of undergraduate students of the University of Crete was 17.050 people).

However, it should be noted that two departments did not provide the relevant information and therefore the statistical data are incomplete, even though they appear to reflect to a great degree the ethnic background of students with migration biography. Moreover, it was impossible to control and cross-check the statistical information as the Computer Service of the University receives this information from the secretaries of each department.¹⁸

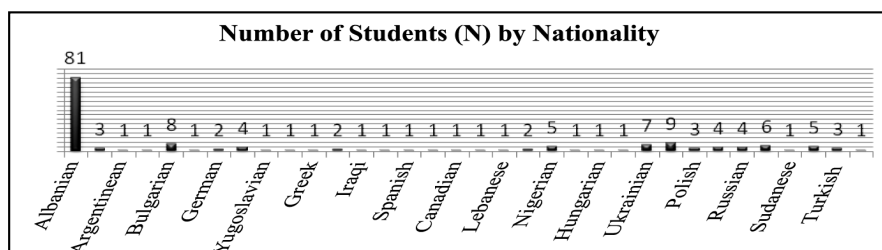
Diagram 1: Allocation of Foreign Students in the University Departments



More specifically, as shown in Diagram I, the highest concentration of students with migratory background is in the school of Sciences and Technology. Since 47 students attend, they constitute 3% of the total population of foreign students of the University of Crete. At the same time, in the department of Computer science 33 students are enrolled, while in the department of Social Sciences 25,8% of the total number of foreign students is enrolled. However, it is worth noting that in the Department of Literature and Letters 17 foreign students are enrolled, which makes it the third Department in the preference of these students. Even though the field of study and the study program of this department have specific requirements regarding the knowledge and use of the Greek language, the number of the foreign students (17) is considered quite high, if we also take into consideration that they are all active students in their attendance of the program.

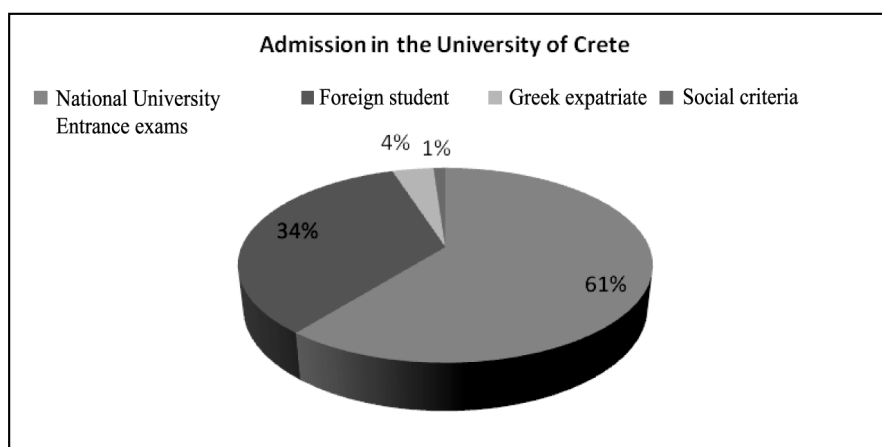
Regarding the ethnic composition of students under study and based on the evidence of nationality the vast majority are of Albanian origin, as shown in chart 2.

Diagram 2: Allocation of Students with Migratory Background by Nationality



Concluding this brief overview of some descriptive information of the reference population group, it should be noted that 61% of these students are admitted to the University of Crete through the National University Entrance Exams, while 34% of them was admitted on the status of foreign students according to the provisions of the law concerning the entrance in the University of students belonging to special categories (foreign students, students who have graduated from high schools of E.U. countries and non E.U countries and are not of Greek origin) as determined by G.G. 272/2007 and its amendment G.G. 1307/2011. These data are analytically presented in figure 3.

Diagram 3:



In the process of setting up the sample under investigation, the element of availability of population groups played a crucial role in the purposive sampling. Thus the sample has been built on both the availability and certain characteristics of the individuals with the basic being graduates of Greek secondary schools and not high school graduates outside or inside the E.U., who have entered Greek University through special examination.

Therefore, the sampling was targeted so that of all the subjects under investigation attending the University of Crete only those who were graduates of Greek schools and who constitute the majority (61%) of this population, were selected. However, it should be noted that the sampling process was based on the method of “avalanche” in which the sample of a subject leads to another and this was because the question of privacy arose.

The sample of the study consisted of fifteen (15) students (4 males and 11 females). Only one subject was born in Greece, while the remaining were born in the countries of their parents and migrated to Greece at young school age. It should be pointed out that of the 15 subjects, 11 are immigrants of Albanian descent and that the migration from Albania took place in the late 90s. Of the total number of the students, six (6) had become Greek citizens, while the remaining nine (9) had not begun the process of citizenship acquisition or their naturalization procedure was pending. Regarding the technique of data collection we should say that the demands and the targeting of the research dictated the choice of the interview as a key methodological tool. This choice of methodology was based on the systematic approach to the migratory experience on the part of the subjects as they required investigation of the discourse as they formulated it and experience on themselves.

This analysis requires both active and methodical «hearing of their narrative» and access to the perceptual filters of the talkers (Patton, 1990). The semi-structured interview as a research tool provided the opportunity of a dialectical search on these data. It should be noted that even though it was not a biographical narrative interview, the students themselves presented some biographical facts, that illustrated the crucial role of the subjective aspect of their migratory and educational biography through the process of registering these experiences mostly on a memory level.

The survey was conducted between the months of April and July 2013 in the University of Crete with the collection of the statistical data from the

services of the University as well as interviewing a subject of the students under investigation (excluding Cypriots).

The present article used data from 15 interviews taken by students with migratory background having as a common ground that they have attended Greek schools and that they are presently admitted into a Greek University. The sample of the study along with its characteristics dictates a set of assumptions and methodological limitations. It should be initially noted that there was a difficulty in the collection of the data that became worse with the inability to collect relevant data from two university departments. Moreover, the analysis of the aspects of the migratory experience, through the exploration of family and school biography is based on analyses which obviously do not have the details of generalization and universalization.

However, it appears that they depict different aspects of the migratory experience and could be used as working hypotheses. However, the discourse that is articulated by the people with migratory background, is often cited as a default reducible to specific criteria relating to integration processes taking place in the host society. However, the discourse analysis that is articulated by these populations and concerns the decoding of their migratory experience is objectively a multidimensional and constantly evolving reason.

Finally, among the subjects of the sample a variation was not detected concerning their integration into the Greek educational system, in that none individuals of the sample attended an intensive language course nor received any form of preferential intervention by the educational system. The only such case was that of a female student from a repatriated school who describes her experience rather as negative, since it followed even there according to her, a systematic way of teaching the Greek language which would meet the needs and expectations of the students in these schools, so that they could better adapt in the Greek society. The language of instruction was English and as she says "*the teachers were more relaxed, more lenient with us but did not significantly help us in learning Greek*" (S.12). (Kontogianni, 2002).

Migratory Biography

The gradual decline of the social / communist regimes in the Eastern European countries during the 80s was the main reason that forced the families

of the students to migrate. Especially with the liberation of the countries of the Eastern block from the Varsovia Treaty (1989) and the free choice of domestic or foreign policy, the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the unification of the Eastern and Western Germany, the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991) and the existence of independent countries, led to the opening of the borders and the transition from the communist system to a more liberal one.

A ripple effect of this transition is the political, economic, social and educational breakdown and bankruptcy of these countries that in some cases came close to the state of anarchy and civil war (e.g. 1997 Albania,¹⁹ Jarvis, 2000).

The idea that the students of the sample group have for their country of origin during the time that their parents chose to immigrate is quite negative. Especially the students of Albanian descent characterize their country «*as a closed conservative society, very poor*» (S6) where «*the government was the large factory and everybody else was the worker in it*» (S1). On a social level they said that the state did not give citizens opportunities for education either as a result of the general economic situation (S2) or due to political beliefs: «*because my grandfather was a political prisoner, my father was not allowed to study at the university even though he was an excellent student*» (S1). Due to the conditions of political instability, high unemployment, inflation, social insecurity and moral degradation that were prevalent in the countries of the former Eastern Block the majority of the students stated that their parents immigrated «*in search for a better life*» (S2). Of course, one of the primary reasons was for a financially «better life as the student (S8) from Armenia stated: «*Our country was fine, but in order for someone to live this is not enough, you need something to eat. We left in order for our parents to find work*». Furthermore, the search for a «better life» was not only for financial reasons, as many fathers of our sample had work in their countries before they left. The search for a «better life» meant a politically, socially, culturally and morally better life «as» for years they were trapped and deprived of their basic needs (S6).

The immigration to Greece of the families of the students took place in most cases in two phases (11 out of 15). For the initial phase a member of the family immigrated and then the rest of the family followed. It is obvious that this happened as it was a novel experience for the people from the countries of the Soviet Union and Albania. It was usually the case that the father left first,

investigated the existing conditions and found a place for the family to settle down before they were reunited (Ieronimakis 2010).

According to the students with Albanian descent, the phases through which the migration for the family members was completed, were in accordance with the general movement of the Albanian migration. Initially, with the opening of the borders between 1989-1990 (A', migratory phase) the father of the family left first and the rest of the family followed during the years 1997-2001 (B' migratory phase) (Maroukis 2010). An interesting point here is that the reunion of the family occurs in 1997 probably due to the socio economic crisis of the time (The fall of "Pyramid Schemes") which worsened the social unrest and crime rates (Alia 2000, Vickers, 1995) and worked as a catalyst for the family decision to immigrate²⁰. Invoking the family reunion, the students explain as «a natural outcome» (S2) the reason why they immigrated. Characteristically they say: *«My mother wanted that we all come here, so that our father was not alone»* (S6) while S8 expressing the emotional void that the absence of one parent creates says: *«this absence was not worth not all the money of the world. We wanted to be all together, that is why we all came to Greece»*.

With reference to the four families of the students that immigrated, we should note that their immigration took place since 1997 and after. It is obvious that these parents took such a decision having information and support from older immigrants. In essence, it was the result of the influence of migratory networks that exist between the country of origin and the country of migration²¹. In the literature, there are references for the family networks and the links of migration (Maroukis, 2010, Iosifidis, 2009).

The way the parents of the students chose to bring their children to Greece was not always legal. The parents who immigrated legally to Greece used taxis or other means of transport to enter the country. In the cases which the legal migration was impossible, the students narrate in an emotional way their trekking through the mountains and the secrecy under which this was accomplished: *«It wasn't easy to decide to flee from our country. After having tried all the legal ways we travelled through the mountains. We came on foot. There were many men who helped up. My mother and my sister were walking, but a man carried me as I was 4 years old. I don't know if I remember these things on my own, or if they have been narrated to me. We had made another attempt, but the police had stopped us, as we didn't have any legal documents. In Athens, an uncle was waiting for us who*

told us not to speak a lot because the police will hear us and will send us back. I was very young and I don't remember many things, but my sister was nervous and very stressed. We were in danger of sending us back. Finally, we have managed to reached Heraklion».

During the first days of their arrival to Greece, the students present a positive picture for their interaction with the native population. In some case, they talk about the active support they received from the locals after their arrival to Greece. More specifically S4 says: *«In the beginning they welcomed us with open arms. Greece is a very hospitable nation»*. S1 adds: *«my parents left in secret. They followed the railway tracks and arrived at some village in Veria. There a lady approached them and offered them accommodation, and work. They worked in the fields for 15 days picking peaches, they got paid and left. Their destination was the island of Paros. Moreover, many students talk about support they experienced as children from their neighbors. A neighbor helped us a lot. Without any arrangements she looked after my sister together with her grandchildren, when our parents were out to work»* (S6). Additionally, they talk about the strong relationships that were forged between them and the local people. *«As soon as we arrived in Argos, we met the neighbors who eventually became my grandparents and helped us a lot»* (S3).

Generally, what seems to be clear is that the locals on the interpersonal level were supportive to the migrant families and in various ways showed their solidarity and help, as these families were trying to integrate into the Greek society. Moreover, according to literature (Voulgaris et al, 1995, Tzortzopoulou, 1999) the locals treated the first wave of immigrants, that is those who migrated in the 90s with tolerance and stood by them in their attempt to adapt into the new society.

As far as the employment of the parents of the students from our sample group is concerned, the findings of our research are identical with those of other studies (Lamprianidis & Limberaki, 2001, Fakiolas 2000, Psimenos 1999, Sarris and Zografakis, 1999).

The main sectors in which the fathers found work were construction, farming, in some cases the tourist sector, while the mothers worked as cleaning ladies and in the care of children or older people. Of course, as time went by, and the economics of the family improved, the mothers stopped working outside the house, and some fathers opened their own businesses, such as cafeterias, or buildings' construction.

The Conditions of the Students' Integration

We attempted to investigate in the interviews concluded the environment in which our students and their families grew up, as well as the values that defined their upbringing. A dimension which became very clear, according to the opinion of the students was the high expectations of their parents for them. To this vein, S3 told us: *«There were expectations, there always were and then after they are expressed, they become your own and this is a good thing, because if I didn't have any goals, I don't know where I would be now. I am grateful to my mother that I got the Proficiency diploma in English because if it wasn't for her I would never find the time to do it. S5 mentions that his father never reprimanded him nor refused things to him // he just advised his children: Always remember where we left from and what we went through in order to come here. (They walked through the mountains to Greece). Remember the hardships so that you never give up or get lost in strange situations»*. Moreover S6 pointed out that her parents considered her being admitted in the University as a one way street for her future and her sister's, as well *«they used to tell us that if we didn't get into the University, and because we live in a foreign country, we wouldn't be able to do anything with our lives. They always motivated us to study and be good students»*.

The students of our sample group believe that if it wasn't for their parent's high expectations and demands they wouldn't have entered University, and they owe this to them.

Another dimension that emerged from the interview was that the children grew up listening all the time from their parents the words: *«we are foreigners here»*. The parents wanted their children to realize this fact and reminded them every chance they had. As a result when their parents talked to them about manner or behavior, they said to them: *«look here, we are foreigners in this place and you will never be treated fairly, so be careful with your behavior»* (S3). In addition, when they referred to the issues of performance and meritocracy they said: *«because you are a stranger here, you must try harder. You need to try more in order to succeed than you would need to do if you were Greek. If there is a selection between someone from another country and someone who is from the country, the foreigner must try harder»* (S2). Thus the students defining their parents attitude as a *«phobia»* stated that even today some parents have the fear that they are strangers and they may be deported (S6).

This attitude of the families who migrated to Greece is directly connected /

related to the belief that the students expressed *«that there is a general sense of racism around them»* (S2). This discrimination that they claim that it is present in the Greek society, they believe that it is enforced by the legislature and the government which *«are against immigrants»* according to them(S3). They characteristically stated: *«the children feel as strangers due to the strict laws and please note that it is a matter of laws, there is a legal dimension»* (S5).

The students of our sample group reach this conclusion only because of the bureaucracy they had to face in their attempt to become Greek citizens, which even though they had every right to receive, they had a hard time to obtain.

Moreover, some of the students had to recount a negative experience for their dealing with the public services. Relatively, they said *«if they realize that you are from a foreign country, they will treat you very badly»* (S3). *«There were cases that they made me feel bad and degraded»* (S2). Another one added: *«my sister, when she said her name was not helped. Only when she showed her Greek ID did they pay attention to her»*.

Consequently, the students see discrimination mainly on an institutional level rather than on a social one. Moreover, the positive interaction they had with the locals makes them relate to us only by positive experiences of support and help. On the other hand, some students tried to explain the discriminatory behavior sometimes of the local population, by saying that this was the result of the misconception the Greek society has for the immigrants *«that they didn't leave any money in the country and they didn't pay any taxes»* (S1). Several other students attributed this attitude to the fact that the Greek society is an ethnically homogeneous society and *«when something different appears that is other from the accepted, it is understandable that a discriminatory behavior will emerge»* (S4).

It is furthermore clear that the effort the migrant family made to *«integrate»* its children to the Greek society moved in the following direction: to realize that they should put up with any discrimination and they should try even more than the locals to gain the right qualifications in order to have *«a better life»*, which was the reason why the family migrated to Greece. We believe that the parents chose this form of upbringing in order to *«protect»* their children due to their own experience of discrimination when they came to contact with the Greek legislation.

School Biography

As we have already seen from the existing literature, every child's transition from the family environment to the school setting or from one school setting to another, may result in changes in his/her personality or in difficulties depending on how competent or different the environment is (Magnuson K.A. & Waldfogel, J. 2005). The accounts of the students bear witness that this transition to the Greek educational system was a difficult and usually traumatic experience most of the time.

At first, it seems that the age at which the children migrated to Greece influenced to a high degree the way the students, as children experienced the adaptation procedure in the Greek educational system. The students who were born in Greece, or came to the country at a very young age had attended one or two grades in their country of origin and then they continued in their primary grades in the Greek schools, do not seem to have very strong memories from the time they entered the Greek educational system. Moreover, they can not remember how and when they started speaking Greek. According to them, they didn't face any special difficulties as someone mentions: *«in a few months I was able to speak Greek. I remember learning the Greek alphabet and quite quickly indeed»*.

On the contrary, for the children who were older and from higher primary or secondary education, their attending Greek school is accompanied by very vivid memories and their stories illustrate the difficulties they faced during the adaptation period. One student said: *«The transition to school was hard. In the beginning this was the case due to the language problem and because I was older than my classmates»* (S10). Another student adds: *«In the beginning, I felt I came from an outer space, I felt lonely and the other children didn't play with me»* (S2). Moreover, in cases where the schooling of the children was successful in another educational system, the transition to Greek schools is characterized as a traumatic experience. A student (S15) remembers: *«In Albania I was a good student. When I came to Greece I had a very hard time at school. I couldn't learn the language, as there were neither classes nor lessons not even teachers. I went to school and the only words I knew were "yes" and "no". Nothing else. This was very hard for me, as I was no longer the good student I was once»*. In the same vein a student (S12) adds: *«In Nigeria, I was a very good student. For this reason, I finished elementary school at 8 and I would have gone to junior high school, but when we came here I started school from fourth grade.*

I had difficulties with the language and I was frustrated because I was always a good student. This event ruined my psychology and I felt insecure».

As these children arrived in Greece they entered an organized educational system. When they are asked how they learned the Greek language they don't talk about the special school facilities that were established for the children with migratory background, and as the students of our sample group informed us, no one attended a reception class or a tutoring group. This happened because in most cases this infrastructure was not available at the school that these students went to. But even the one or two cases that the students mentioned the existence of such classes in their schools, they did not belong to the cases of children who received this extra language support. For this reason, every child mentions different mechanisms which worked towards the learning / mastering of the Greek language and it seems that this was achieved not always through the school system. Some students mention the systematic help they received from adults outside school. As S2 said an elderly couple used to help her: «*we had lessons and I had a notebook*» and S7 remembers that a veteran teacher helped her and she is still even today important to her: «*without this teacher, I don't know what I would have done*».

Some other students, as in the case of S4 talk about their peers and their social interaction with the neighborhood children through games such as football: «*I quickly learned Greek and in few months I was able to speak*». Another important mean in the learning of the language, that was mentioned, was television (S6).

There were cases that the learning of the new language was laborious and lonely, as the only mean available was reading, as S11 told us: «*Many times the children made fun of the way I spoke and so I made a big effort and I studied countless hours in order to learn Greek*». Similarly S14 said: «*I had a notebook and I wrote the words I didn't understand and I asked my cousins who were born in Greece and were 4-5 years old to tell me what these words meant. But how such young children could help me? How much do they know? My speaking and writing was very bad. I would read fairytales, when I was 15 years old that were written for 3-4 years old children. This was a mistake. I didn't want to miss a year at school and so as soon as we came here, I immediately started it. However, I should have learned the language first and then go to school. My parents are to blame for this. But how would they know?...they weren't educated. When I entered University I paid for this, as the level was high and I didn't*

have the required background to attend the lectures in Medical school».

Furthermore, several students talked about the role some teachers played in their attempt to adapt to Greek schools. As there seems not to exist a specific educational policy, the teacher as the students say, appear to have a very different attitude in the management of the ethnocultural difference of these students. In that way some teachers helped the children adapt, as they worked not only with the foreign students but also with the Greek students in order to encourage them to come to contact and include them in their group of friends. Student (S2) mentions: *«in the fourth grade I had a teacher who tried hard to teach me how to read and other things like that. She was very nice. After the first trimester, I learned the language. I adapted and I was even invited to parties»*. Student (S3) adds: *«The teachers were encouraging. I still remember the encouraging words of my teacher when I gave the correct answer»*.

Of course, there were behaviors on the part of the teachers that communicated indifference to the students, a fact that they believe that hindered their school, and social integration as a student remembers: *«I withdrew to myself and I spent hours reading all the books of the library»*.

Finally some other students talked about some teacher behaviors that affected their personalities and confirmed once again how unprepared some educators were to handle students who were ethnically and culturally different and found themselves in the Greek schools. Some teachers considered it appropriate to change the names of these students so that they are more Greek, as in the case of student (S8), while student (S3) remembers that it was a small torture every time that in the beginning of the year, the teachers asked which students came from another country. There were also cases where when the students performed well, their teachers handled it badly and clumsily, and made the students feel awkward, while talking to the Greek students.

They would say: *«look at a foreigner who is doing better than you»* (S2). As a result the students from other countries experienced discrimination again. Consequently, we should say that the inclusion of the students into the Greek school system didn't follow a structured procedure, but in most cases it was a personal issue. As a result, depending on the age they migrated and if there was a supportive person in their lives, an educator or not, the students describe their experience of entering the Greek system of education by connecting the adaptation procedure with learning the Greek language.

Discussion

The cases of the students that were studied and presented in the present study were obviously “*successful*” courses of students with migratory background, which seem to be characterized by an effort to become socially included, mainly at a family level. Essentially, it is about the children of the families which have been integrated into the Greek society and have been supported in their efforts to enter University. However, achieving this “*successful*” course is accompanied in most cases by personal routes which become interconnected in the management of a presence and an absence.

By presence, we mean that the ethnocultural characteristics of their country of origin, either as self-determination or as being defined by others, seem to directly or indirectly affect their everyday lives. By absence, we mean that both the students and their families try to manage their integration into the Greek society by the absence of systematic and institutionalized structures for these populations.

- On the Role of the Family

The security valves of the family in the protection of the children are directed towards instilling the sense of “foreign” and that they should strive to pursue and achieve their goals. These goals are mostly connected with their successful performance at school and with being admitted to the University. The continued study of children in tertiary institutions seems to be for most parents a kind of vindication of their migration to Greece and of their choice to come here in search for better conditions for their life and their children’s lives. In some cases, admission to University is an opportunity to escape from the social stereotypes that characterize immigrants, such as low educational level and manual labor.

- On the Role of the Educational System

At the same time, it appears that the Greek educational system, even with gaps and omissions, enables foreign students to partake of Greek education. According to their words, when it comes to public services and institutions they still experience institutional racism as upon their graduation they will be forced to leave the country, especially in the case that they have not been naturalized as Greek citizens. The efforts of the students with migratory

background focus on the way they would better deal with the absence of institutions on an educational level and on a social level as well. More specifically:

- The lack of documentation on their migration to Greece (illegal immigration).
- The lack of structures for learning the Greek language (Most of them were helped by the social environment or it was a solitary individual effort and not through the school system.
- The absence of structures for learning and further maintaining their native language.
- The lack of recognition of Greek citizenship by the relevant services (not granting citizenship).

It has become clear that beyond the narrative of the students for their migratory and educational biography in this study, it is imperative for them to become accepted by the Greek society and also to be institutionally integrated in it. The recognition by the Greek state and the provision of Greek citizenship to foreign students is a prerequisite for accession. As there has been a delay on this particular issue, the students feel that they are left hanging, while they try to live their lives on the borderline between their country of origin and the country they lived most of their lives to become socialized and educated.

The educational policy of Greece is characterized by both a contradiction and an inconsistency. It creates the conditions for accession / integration of foreign populations / students, while at the same time neglects their ethnocultural identity and refuses them to become citizens of the country and fully participate in the mainstream society. In essence, the question that arises is:

Does the success of the students in the Greek education and generally their integration in the Greek society comes with /presupposes a price, which is no other than the loss of their ethnocultural characteristics that relate to their country of origin? Finally, after having paid such a price, they complete their studies and find themselves to have to deal with a limbo situation and this is because, while the Greek state invested in their education, it does not recognize them as «belonging» to this country.²²

These contrasting, often contradictory situations create a new dynamic in the contemporary, multicultural societies and confirm once again the need for renegotiation of the relationship of each state and in our case the Greek state,

with the people who live in its territory and the redefinition of the terms that govern this relationship. In the light of the new data, the concept of ethnic identity should now cease to be defined on static and biological conditions determinally affecting the life and behavior of the people. As a result, many people lack an institutional identity at the level of the subjective self-identification they have conquered. The ethnic identity should now be understood in the context of the historicity of values (Damanakis, 1997, 102) as a result of individual and collective bargaining, as social construct that will evolve and vary in time and space, adapted to the current socio-cultural conditions of each society (Govaris, 2001). So the national self should be seen as an opportunity to enrich and strengthen its position whenever you are given the opportunity to integrate into the group of all those formally «national others».

At the time of writing this text, the issue of long term residence permits or even granting citizenship is discussed, without the framework to be elucidated. It is however, indicative that the issue is of concern to the Greek state and perhaps a solution will be given to the deadlock that is in force until now.

NOTES

1. United Nations Human Rights Office (OHCHR), *Migration and Human Rights*, Report by OHCHR 2012,
http://www2.ohchr.org/english/ohchrreport2012/web_en/allegati/6_Migration.pdf.
2. <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00178>
3. Greek Statistical Authority, demographic and social characteristics of the resident population according to Census Population- residencies 2011.
http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/A1602/PressReleases/A1602_SAM01_DT_DC_00_2011_03_F_GR.PDF
4. http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php?title=File:Foreign_and_foreign-born_population_by_group_of_citizenship_and_country_of_birth_1_January_2012.png&filetimestamp=20130315154514
5. CLANDESTINO Country Report: Greece, <http://clandestino.eliamep.gr>
6. The term integration was mainly used by the Chicago school. Thomas William and Znaniecki with their book *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, pointed out

that the fragile situation of immigrants is not due to biological factors, but to the change in their daily lives due to immigration.

7. In the field of educational policy often the concept of integration is perceived as part of the cultural homogeneity of society. So equality of educational opportunity is paraphrased in the ability of children of immigrant groups to ignore their own needs and to meet the requirements of a school that is designed to meet only the needs of the children of the dominant group (Markou, 2001, 225-226).
8. A first record of integration indicators based on the findings of the conference is the study: Council of Europe (1997): measurement and indicators of integration. According to these findings, the indicators could be distinguished as indicators of the situation of migrants in areas such as education, and labor market indicators, and attitudes of immigrants, such as personal aspirations e.t.c. See Kontis Antonis (2011). "The economic integration of immigrants in the host country", in Amitsis Gabriel, Gabriella Lazaridis (eds) *Legal and Economic Dimensions of Migration in Greece*, Parazisis, Athens pp. 191.
9. This is the legalization of an integration model aimed at reshaping the domestic social institutions so as to include immigrants in their operations.
10. The main objective of this declaration was the effort to harmonize data from E.U member states based on common indicators to assess the political integration of immigrants. In key areas for the integration of immigrants, individual indicators are included which consider the participation in economic activity, employment, self-employment and unemployment. Moreover, the correlation between qualifications and employment, educational adequacy, school performance and school abandonment, the average disposable income and the risk of poverty, the state of personal health and finally granting citizenship- naturalization and performance status of long term resident immigrants are also considered. See: Huddleston Thomas, Niessen Jan, Dag Tjaden Jasper (2013): Using E.U indicators of immigrant integration, Final report for Directorate-General for home Affairs, European Commission Brussels.
(http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/doc1_37216_243039941.pdf),
Indicators of immigrant integration, A pilot study (2011): Eurostat, European Commission, Luxembourg,
(http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-RA-11-009/EN/KS-RA-11-009-EN.PDF).
11. Note that within the European countries the first steps involving the education of foreigners although occasionally adopted by individual countries, it nevertheless gradually led to a crystallization of educational policy. The first basic setting of the Union for the education of migrant children is the Council Directive of 25 July 1997, which related only to children of migrant workers from countries within E.U. According to it, specific measures are implemented to integrate children into the

- educational system of the host country, while lessons are introduced in the native language and culture within the school. See Damanakis M. (1997 a). “Research for an Educational Policy for Immigrant Children in Europe”, in A. Christidis & Karatzola E. (ed), *The Linguistic Education of Greek immigrants in Europe*. Athens: Centre for the Greek language pp. 33-34.
12. Damanakis notes that the term “students with an immigrant background” includes repatriated students, students from E.U countries and those who came from countries outside the E.U. See: Damanakis Michael (2011): “The Education of Students with Migratory Background in Greece Educational Politics and Pedagogical Discourse (logos)” in Damanakis Michael, Costantinides Stephanos, Michelakaki Theodosia (ed.) *L’ education en Grèce et dans la Diaspora. Education in Greece and in Diaspora, Études helléniques / Hellenic Studies*, Vol 19 (1).
 13. Law 1404/83, No 45, Law 1894/90 No 2, P.D 494/83, P.D 435/84, PD369/85. For an extensive analysis of these legislative interventions see: Damanakis Michael (ed) (1997b): *The education of repatriated and foreign pupils in Greece. An intercultural approach*, Gutenberg, Athens.
 14. These programs were financed under 75% by E.U funds and 25% from national resources. Supervised by the Special Secretariat of Diaspora Education and Intercultural Education and the Special Management Service of the Community Support framework, Ministry of Education.
 15. http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc/monitor12/leavers_en.pdf
 16. Migrant Integration Policy Index, <http://www.mipex.eu/greece>
 17. See Damanakis Michael (2007) *Identities and Education in the diaspora*, Gutenberg Athens.
 18. It should be noted that generally a few problems emerged with regard to the data collection not only at the level of the University of Crete (where we noticed that there was not a systematic and uniform way of gathering and recording of these data. Thus we hold some reservations about their accuracy), but also at the level of the Ministry of Education. More specifically, although records exist, relating foreign students in primary and secondary education, there doesn’t seem to be a statistical representation of this population at a level of higher education. That is, no aggregated data on the numbers of foreign students taking part in the national exams and success rates for admission to tertiary institutions in the country. Therefore it is not a comprehensive survey of educational progress of immigrant students.
 19. The large waves of immigrants from Albania to Greece came in two phases.
 - a) In 1990 the socialist regime collapses and the state issues passports to citizens, and
 - b) In 1997 with the financial collapse of the country and the bankruptcy of the savings system of the citizens, which became known as “the fall of the pyramids”.

(Maroukis, 2010: 174, Jarvis, 2000).

20. The period 1992-1996 was for Albania a time of economic growth which raised the hopes for the country's economic stability (Jarvis, 2000). This framework was overthrown in 1997 with «the fall of the pyramids».
21. Indeed as Portes & De Wind (2004, 831) pointed out, these networks can support the conservation of flows even when the initial economic causes have been removed.
22. It is known, moreover, that social rights are insecure when not supported by civil rights.

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Livres Reçus/Books Received

*Le Luth d'ébène de Panagiotis Agapitos**

Traduit du grec par Constantin Kaïteris

Panagiotis Agapitos a écrit en 2003 son premier livre, *Le Luth d'ébène*, une intrigue policière, qu'il situe en mai 832 dans l'Empire byzantin. La traduction en français en 2013 de cet ouvrage est une bonne occasion de revisiter cet ouvrage d'un genre peu commun - un roman historique - dont l'auteur, Professeur à l'Université de Chypre, est un Byzantologue très réputé.

C'est à Césarée, ville de Cappadoce, que Léon, envoyé par l'Empereur Théophile auprès du Calife Al-Mamun de Bagdad pour négocier la paix, est amené à enquêter sur le meurtre d'une jeune fille de 13 ans, dont le père exerce la fonction de juge. Léon, qui s'adonne à la musique sur un luth d'ébène de facture arabe, mène ainsi des investigations sur d'étranges faits criminels en fouillant les tavernes et les bordels de Césarée. P. Agapitos dépeint les bas-fonds d'un univers où sont enlacées les traditions de Byzance et de l'Islam.

Un glossaire à la fin de l'ouvrage évite au lecteur de se sentir un peu dérouté par les multiples références empruntées au vocabulaire byzantin. Dans une utile postface P. Agapitos livre les clés de son roman. L'auteur indique ainsi qu'il a choisi le IX^{ème} siècle pour situer l'action de ses personnages car à cette époque l'accent était mis sur la théorie du droit et la recherche de solutions concrètes dans l'application de la justice. Il explique aussi avoir utilisé des sources écrites variées - en particulier la grande chronique de Théodose et la chronique ecclésiastique de Georges le Moine - pour reconstituer la société byzantine du IX^{ème} siècle.

L'auteur fait comprendre au lecteur le style de ses descriptions de la vie byzantine et le sujet de son roman policier en conclusion de sa postface: "Dans le monde médiéval, le temps était lent, les distances très longues, la vie très courte, et la mort très rapide".

La traduction élégante de Constantin Kaïteris, lui même écrivain et auteur de nombreuses traductions de romanciers grecs, rend attrayante la lecture du *Luth d'ébène*, qui permet d'aborder de façon originale le monde byzantin.

Jean Catsiapis

* Paris, Editions Anacharsis, 2003.

Poètes Chypriotes / Cypriot Poets

Dimitris Lipertis

Les yeux noirs

Viens, jeune fille, que je regarde tes yeux noirs
Qui jettent ces flammes que produit le feu
Et s'ils réduisent mon malheureux cœur en morceaux
Ne t'en fais pas, ma belle, laisse-les le dévorer.

Mais si par hasard je brûle et deviens bois mi-brûlé,
Plante - moi dans ta cour, mets - toi dans un coin
Parce qu'en te voyant jour après jour
Il se peut que je pousse, que je trouve consolation.

Et une fois bien enraciné, je grimperai haut et fleurirai
J'étendrai des branches pour que tu viennes dessous,
Pour t'inonder de ma beauté, de mes fleurs
A cause de la douceur de ces yeux-là.

Pantelis Mechanikos

Une chanson pour Rimaho

Qui donc égalait en bravoure
Rimaho
qui s'inclina et embrassa la terre
qu'avait foulée sur son passage son aimée?
Et elle, elle marchait emplie d'orgueil et de mépris;
et les autres le traitèrent d'idiot,
et lui de nouveau s'inclina et embrassa la terre;
il savait pourtant bien que les autres le traitaient d'idiot.
Et sa poitrine était emplie de joie.
Emplie de joie.
Qui égalait Rimaho en bravoure?
Sept mille fois il aurait sacrifié sa vie
pour défendre la terre
qu'avait foulée sur son passage son amour.
Qui égale Rimaho en bravoure?

Kleopatra Makridou-Robinet

Toute une vie

Toute une vie tu cherchais une feuille d'arbre
pour écrire tes attentes
peindre l'espoir
sur les arbres
dissimulant ainsi tes blessures
au seuil de la maison.

C'est pour ça que tes projets
ont déménagé jusqu'à l'exil
et ton évasion

est juste sur les feuilles.

La patrie t'a offert
juste un billet jusqu'au terminus...sans retour
alors que toi tu la portes sur tes épaules
dans un voyage sans arrêts
pour te reposer.

Toi tu ne fais que pleurer pour elle
et bêtement tu te demandes
comment est-ce possible que les indigènes
oublient même la « ligne verte »
alors que toi tu pleures encore
les cordes vocales pétrifiées.

la fente dans la terre
montre le chemin qu'a suivi le petit serpent
comment il est devenu adulte
à travers le temps
comment il a troublé les esprits
tenant prisonnière dans la coquille
la mémoire.

Chronologies

Chypre: 1er mai -31 octobre 2013

5-8 mai: Visite de travail en Israël du président Nicos Anastassiades en vue d'accélérer les négociations avec ce pays portant sur l'exploitation du gaz naturel.

6 mai: Anders Fogh Rasmussen, le Secrétaire général de l'OTAN déclare que la solution de la question chypriote faciliterait le rapprochement de cette organisation avec l'Union européenne. Ses propos selon lesquels l'exploitation du gaz naturel au large des côtes de Chypre ne devrait intervenir qu'après la réunification de ce pays sont condamnés par les dirigeants des partis chypriotes grecs mais approuvés par Dervis Eroglu le chef de la communauté chypriote turque.

30 mai: Première rencontre du président Anastassiades avec Dervis Eroglu au cours d'un diner organisé à Nicosie par des représentants de l'ONU. Il faut pour de nouvelles négociations une sérieuse préparation déclare le président chypriote.

12 juin: Le président Anastassiades est reçu à Paris par François Hollande, qui l'assure du soutien de la France dans la crise financière et économique, que traverse Chypre.

13 juin: Démission du «Premier ministre» chypriote turc Irsen Kuçuk renversé le 5 juin par une motion de censure. Il est remplacé par Sibel Siber présidente du «Parlement chypriote turc», qui assure l'intérim du Premier ministre.

9 juillet: La Cour pénale de Larnaca juge coupable d'homicide l'ancien ministre de la Défense nationale, Costas Papacostas après la mort de 13 personnes dans l'explosion - en juillet 2011 - d'une cargaison d'armes à Mari et lui inflige, le 2 août, une peine de 5 années de prison. Relaxe de l'ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères Markos Kyprianou.

28 juillet: Nette victoire de la gauche aux élections législatives en zone occupée de Chypre pour désigner les 50 députés de son "Parlement". *Le parti turc républicain* (CTP, gauche) avec 38,49% obtient 21 députés et devance *le parti de l'unité nationale* (UBP, nationaliste), formation du gouvernement sortant,

qui avec 27,16% remporte 14 sièges. *Le parti démocrate* (libéral) obtient 12 députés et le *Parti de la démocratie communale* (TDP, gauche) 7 ,41% des voix.

29 juillet: La Banque centrale de Chypre a accepté des ponctions de 47,5% sur les dépôts de plus de 100 000 euros à la *Bank of Cyprus* pour satisfaire les exigences de la troïka (FMI, BCE, Commission européenne), qui a effectué un premier audit de l'économie chypriote portant en particulier sur la restructuration du système bancaire du pays.

30 juillet: Le navire italien *Odin Finder*, qui devait participer à une opération d'immersion de fibres optiques sous marines reliant Chypre à d'autres pays de la Méditerranée a été bloqué par un navire turc et obligé de se retirer. Nicosie a dénoncé cet acte auprès des ambassades américaine et italienne. C'est le troisième incident de ce genre en 3 mois.

1er août: La Banque Centrale Européenne prévoit pour Chypre une récession de 8,7% en 2013 et de 3,9% en 2014.

30 août: La Russie assouplit les conditions du prêt de 2,5 milliards d'euros consenti à Chypre en 2011 en ramenant le taux d'intérêt de 4,5 % à 2,5% et en acceptant un remboursement en 8 fois.

2 septembre: Le Tribunal suprême de Chypre approuve l'extradition vers la Grèce de l'ancien ministre Dinos Michaélidés impliqué dans l'affaire de corruption concernant l'ancien ministre grec Akis Tsohatzopoulos.

16 septembre: Chypre obtient un satisfecit de ses créanciers, qui débloquent une partie du prêt de 10 milliards d'euros promis en mars: le FMI accordera 84,7 millions d'euros et l'Eurogroupe 1,5 milliard d'euros.

15 octobre: Le Président du Conseil européen, Herman Van Rompuy, en visite à Nicosie déclare que Chypre est sur la bonne voie pour surmonter la crise économique et pourra compter sur la solidarité de ses partenaires européens.

29 octobre: La troïka des bailleurs de fonds internationaux entame une semaine du deuxième audit pour vérifier si Chypre respecte les conditions draconiennes de son plan de sauvetage. Nicosie doit présenter des garanties sur son intention de procéder à une réforme de la fonction publique et à une privatisation des compagnies de télécommunications et d'électricité.

31 octobre: Selon Eurostat le chômage à Chypre en septembre 2013 s'élevait à 17,1% de la population active (12,7% en septembre 2012).

Grèce: 1er mai– 31 octobre 2013

2 mai: Le ministre des Finances Ioannis Stournaras déclare qu'il espère que la Grèce pourra retourner sur les marchés financiers à la fin de 2014.

6 mai: Un rapport du FMI indique que la Grèce fait des progrès dans un contexte de très sérieuse et très douloureuse récession.

15-19 mai: Visite en Chine du Premier ministre Antonis Samaras, qui déclare, le 17 mai: "La Grèce peut devenir une véritable porte d'entrée pour l'investissement et le commerce entre la Chine et l'Europe".

30 mai: La Coalition gouvernementale ne parvient pas à se mettre d'accord pour soutenir le projet de loi anti -raciste préparé par le ministre de la Justice Antonis Roupakiotis.

11 juin: Le gouvernement ferme brutalement la télévision et radio publiques ERT, qui entraîne le licenciement de 2 656 personnes.

13 juin: Grève générale de protestation contre la fermeture de ERT.

25 juin: Remaniement ministériel après le départ du gouvernement du parti *Dimar* (Gauche démocratique) ; Evangelos Vénizélos, président du *Pasok*, devient Vice Premier ministre et ministre des Affaires étrangères.

8 juillet: La Grèce reçoit l'assurance de l'Eurogroupe d'obtenir - moyennant des efforts redoublés de redressement - un prêt de 5 milliards d'euros (4 milliards fin juillet et 1 milliard en octobre). De son côté le FMI accordera à Athènes un prêt d'environ 1,8 milliard d'euros.

10-14 juillet: Congrès de *Syriza* (Gauche radicale) qui se transforme de confédération de partis en parti unifié, afin de bénéficier de la prime de 50 députés accordée au parti arrivé en tête aux élections législatives.

25 juillet: Le Parlement grec vote une réforme fiscale et une réduction de 150 000 du nombre des fonctionnaires d'ici 2015.

26 juillet: L'Eurogroupe débloque 4 milliards d'euros pour la Grèce.

29 juillet: Le FMI accorde 1,72 milliards d'euros, cinquième tranche de son prêt à Athènes porté ainsi à 8,24 milliards.

1er août: Baisse de la TVA de 23 à 13% sur la restauration.

8 août: Le président Obama reçoit à la Maison Blanche le Premier ministre A. Samaras qu'il encourage pour sa politique économique.

28 août: La Chancelière Angela Merkel déclare au cours de sa campagne pour les élections législatives du 22 septembre que la Grèce n'aurait jamais dû être admise dans la zone euro.

16 septembre: Début de la semaine de grève dans le secteur public pour protester contre le plan de réorganisation du statut de 7 000 fonctionnaires.

17 septembre: Assassinat au Pirée du rappeur Pavlos Fyssas, activiste antifasciste, par un membre du parti néo nazi *Aube dorée*.

25 septembre: 10 000 personnes manifestent à Athènes contre le parti *Aube dorée*.

27 septembre: Arrestation de Nicos Michaloliakos chef d'*Aube dorée* et de 5 députés de ce parti pour participation à une organisation criminelle.

7 octobre: L'ancien ministre de la Défense nationale (*Pasok*) Akis Tsohatzopoulos est condamné à 20 ans de prison pour corruption.

8 octobre: Visite en Israël du Premier ministre A.Samaras, accompagné de 8 de ses ministres. Dans une déclaration commune A. Samaras et B. Netanyahu saluent la relation stratégique entre la Grèce et Israël.

9 octobre: La Commission européenne donne son feu vert au rachat d'*Olympic Airways* par *Aegean Airlines*.

15 octobre: Levée de l'immunité parlementaire pour 6 députés d' *Aube dorée* accusés de faits délictueux et criminels.

22 octobre: Le Parlement par 235 voix sur 269 votants décide de priver le parti *Aube dorée* de son financement public pour 2013 qui se monte à 873 000 euros.

23 octobre: Accord de programme entre Antonis Samaras et Evangelos Venizelos: les chefs de la *Nouvelle Démocratie* et du *Pasok* ont pour objectif de

sortir la Grèce des contraintes du Memorandum, décident de refuser l'imposition de charges nouvelles sur le peuple grec et sont d'accord pour mener à son terme le mandat de 4 ans du gouvernement afin d'assurer la stabilité politique du pays.

30 octobre: Le ministre russe des affaires étrangères Serguéï Lavrov, en visite à Athènes, se félicite de l'intention de la Grèce de promouvoir les relations entre la Russie et l'Union européenne durant sa présidence de cette organisation pendant le premier semestre 2014.

Marios Vaianos, an Ambassador of Greek Letters

Marios Vaianos was born in 1905, in Cairo, where his father, a Chios cotton merchant, had settled. When Marios was only 3 years old, the Vaianos family left for Chios. Marios completed elementary school and part of his secondary education on the island before moving to Piraeus at age 17. He arrived in the port city in 1922 along with thousands of refugees fleeing the Asia Minor Catastrophe. After finishing high school, Vaianos enrolled in pharmacy at the University of Athens. He soon began his many cultural activities, however, and did not finish a university degree.

Early in 1923, Marios Vaianos started the Acropole, a cultural association. He then began to frequent the Athenian literary crowd of the day. One of the personalities, Tellos Agras, put Vaianos in touch with the Educational Association (Ekpaideutikos Omilos), a progressive group which played a vital role in reforming Greek education. Soon after Vaianos founded the literary magazine, *New Art* (Nea Techni) which also had a progressive and modernizing mission. Along the way, Tellos Agras introduced him to the poetry of Constantin Cavafy, an Alexandrian poet as yet unknown in Greece. Another intellectual, I.M. Panagiotopoulos furthered Marios' appreciation of Cavafy by showing him the poems printed on the single leafs that circulated in those days. At that time, Vaianos also happened to read the important and prophetic article about Cavafy by Grigorios Xenopoulos in the cultural magazine *Panathinaia* (1903).

Vaianos' admiration for Cavafy's poetry incited him to write to the poet at the end of 1923. Cavafy replied and thus began the correspondence between the young Marios Vaianos and the Alexandrian poet. Vaianos did all he could to promote Cavafy's work. He went to meet him for the first and last time in 1932, when the poet came to Athens to be treated for the cancer that was slowly ravaging his body.

Now, Cavafy has become not just a great Greek poet but an internationally well-read and acknowledged poet. Marios Vaianos has been forgotten while others claim to have helped Cavafy earn his status as one of the immortal writers. There are, however, a few authors such as Stratis Tsirkas, a fellow member of the Greek-Egyptian diaspora, who have recognized Vaianos'

efforts to promote not only Cavafy but also other Egyptian writers working in Greek.

Many of Cavafy's letters to Vaianos were printed in a variety of magazines such as the *Philologiki Protochronia* (1964). Others were presented to the public in an exhibition that Vaianos organized in April 1964, at the Cultural Cooperation Agency (*Praktoreio Pneumatikis Synergasias*) which he had founded.

Vaianos' cultural activities are obviously not limited to Cavafy. Once he had created the above-mentioned agency, he undertook to meet and promote writers throughout the diaspora. His agency served as a crossroads between the diaspora and mainland for many artists. Dozens of diaspora authors would pass through the doors of his agency where they found what they needed to promote their work. Cypriot writers also received a warm reception at Vaianos' agency. Among the well-known Cypriots who visited the agency are Kostas Montis, Kypros Chrysanthis, Antis Pernaris, Yiannis Katsouris. During the sixties, Kyriakos Charalambidis, Anthos Lycavgis and Stephanos Constantinides were among the many young Cypriot students in Athens who frequented Vaianos' agency. Other regulars were Loukis Akritas, Melis Nikolaidis, Pavlos Krinaios, and Avgi Shiakalli - all Cypriot authors living in Athens. Also in attendance were Greek authors such as Yiorgos Theotokas, Stratis Myrivilis, Ilias Venezis, Alkis Thrylos, Evangelos Papanoutsos, Photis Kontoglou, Kostas Varnalis, younger ones like Vassilis Vasilikos to name but a few and painters such as Kontoglou, Tsarouchis, Gounaropoulos, Bouzianis and others. The same agency occasionally served also as a gallery.

More than a meeting place for literary types, Vaianos' agency was a hub for actors, reporters, politicians, professors and even ecclesiastics. The most famous man of the cloth was Georges Pirounakis, a progressive priest who was subsequently tried for his ideas by both the official Church and the Junta.

Throughout the years, Vaianos was in touch with several neohellenists around the world. They were able to have books by Greek authors through his agency. In this respect, he created an international network for the promotion of Greek letters around the globe. With his limited means and frugal existence, Marios Vaianos managed to succeed where the Greek state had failed. Indeed, to survive Vaianos worked occasionally as a journalist and turned part of his agency into an art gallery. A few benefactors also helped

him get through particularly hard times.

Although he was a poet himself, Marios Vaianos focused on the work of others rather than on his own. Various texts by Vaianos may be found in newspapers and literary journals in Greece and the diaspora. Some say that he was going to draw upon his rich archives to write a book on Cavafy; however, no such manuscript was found after his death. He did claim to be preparing his own “Literary Memories”, but only a few scattered notes were ever found. Vaianos’ vast, rich archives also scattered after his death in 1976. Perhaps it would be fitting if the dozens of writers in Greece and the diaspora who benefited from his generous spirit could honour his memory with testimonials and the publication of the correspondence that he maintained with them.¹

Stephanos Constantinides

NOTES

1. This short piece was prepared by someone who knew Marios Vaianos from 1960-67. In fact, during those years, he was a young student warmly received by the generous man of letters. He has based this text on his memories of that period. Some of the biographical details do come from the book by E.I. Moschos, *K.P. Cavafy Epistoles sto Mario Vaiano* published by Estia, Athens, 1979. The letter from Cavafy to Vaianos put as an appendix, do come also from the same book.

APPENDIX

Letter from Cavafy to Vaianos

4 'Ιουλίου 1925

Αλεξάνδρεια

10 Rue Lepsius

Φίλε Κ. Βαϊάνε,

Σας έρωαζέω ούτω αντίστοιχα
εύκολον λυν σοι ποιημάτων μου —
"Τὸ 25^{ον} ἔτος τοῦ βίου σου" καὶ
"Εἰς Ἡγυμνὸν παραχρῆαν" — ἐὰ
οἷσθα ἐβύβωτα τὴν περικομμένην
Τετλ.

ἔδωκα τὴν ἐβρυμμένην "Ἀθήναι"
(21 καὶ 29 'Ιουλίου)
* σοι ἔδωκα τοῦ Κορομυλλᾶ περὶ
ἡμῶν τῶν ποιημάτων μου.

Σας ἔγραφα λεχενταῖον τὴν
25^{ην} 'Ιουλίου.

Με πολλὴν ἐκτίμηση,
Κ. Π. Καβάφης.

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Remerciements / Thanks to

Panayiotis Constantinides

Jean Catsiapis

Thalia Tassou

CONCEPTION GRAPHIQUE / GRAPHIC DESIGN: Iraklis Théodorakopoulos

COMPOSITION / MISE EN PAGE: Constantina Metaxa

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