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**IMMIGRANTS IN GREECE: CHARACTERISTICS**

**AND ISSUES OF REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION**

*by Martin Baldwin-Edwards*

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# 1 Introduction – datasources and limitations

This research document was prepared with the intention of providing detailed information, from all available sources, on the characteristics of the immigrant population of Greece. In particular, we have sought to analyze the situation in the different regions, prefectures, and in some case even municipalities of Greece. Such a disaggregated approach is deemed essential for informed government policy-making, and is a normal practice in developed countries.

As is well-known, there are relatively few datasets available on immigrants in Greece. This lack of data is only compounded by the ever-changing nature of immigrants and immigrant behaviour in a country – not least, when so many of them are (for various reasons) either undocumented or semi-documented. Nevertheless, there are some datasets available. Those which have proven the most important are: the 2001 Census, the residence permits database of the Ministry of the Interior, and the Labour Force Survey. We should like to thank the institutions responsible for these datasets (namely, the National Statistical Service of Greece, and the Ministry of the Interior) for providing the data which have been analyzed and processed in the preparation of this report.

Regrettably, though, the Greek state has yet to appreciate the importance of permitting full access to anonymized microdata, for the purpose of preparing policy advisory material. Thus, the data which have been provided were fraught with gaps, inconsistencies, anomalies and in many case plain unusability. The priority accorded by the Greek state authorities to the concept of data protection, such that nobody has access to the data for policy and planning, effectively dooms Greece to policy mismanagement in perpetuity. Our pragmatic response to the refusal to supply microdata, but instead providing sanitized or small samples of datasets, was to manage as best we could. In most cases, this was nowhere near good enough – and the results demonstrate this claim. Nevertheless, we believe that some small progress has been made in this report in comprehending the complex and difficult phenomenon of mass immigration into Greece. Our regret is that this research was hindered and severely constrained for no real reason, other than what appear to be common ideological beliefs about what “should be” in Greece.

## 2 Trends in immigrant numbers in Greece

### (a) *Nationality and gender*

The 2001 Census identified 762,191 immigrants residing in Greece, but with considerable confusion over whether *homogeneis* were recorded as Greek nationals or as foreign nationals. The latest available data on residence permits show large reductions in the numbers of immigrants from countries with *homogeneis* (e.g. Albania, Georgia and Russia), making comparison with the Census data rather difficult. Table 1 shows summary data from 1990 to 2006, with detailed figures for valid residence permits as at 15 January 2006, giving separately males, females and children under 16.

TABLE 1 TRENDS IN IMMIGRANT STOCKS IN GREECE 1990-2006

Country of origin	1990 Resid. Permits new+renewals	1991 Census	1997 legalizn.	2001 Census	2006 Residence Permits				
					M	F	Child	TOTAL	
All countries (total)	57,113	167,276	371,641	762,191	288,761	189,627	108,086	586,474	
Albania	855	20,556	241,561	438,036	191,557	86,370	90,698	368,625	H
Bulgaria	2,984	2,413	25,168	35,104	14,631	27,460	4,023	46,114	↑
Romania	2,013	1,923	16,954	21,994	12,716	11,203	2,543	26,462	↑
Ukraine	--	61	9,821	13,616	3,452	15,646	1,185	20,283	↑
Pakistan	1,014	1,911	10,933	11,130	15,082	183	213	15,478	↑
Georgia	1	--	7,548	22,875	4,141	8,465	890	13,496	H
India	813	1,720	6,405	7,216	8,960	863	874	10,697	↑
Egypt	4,452	4,012	6,231	7,448	8,156	1,121	1,352	10,629	↑
Republic of Moldova	--	--	4,396	5,716	2,722	6,804	1,035	10,561	↑
Russian Federation	--	--	3,139	17,535	1,698	7,943	443	10,084	H
Philippines	4,300	3,605	5,383	6,478	1,358	4,845	660	6,863	→
Syrian Arab Republic	1,284	2,104	3,434	5,552	4,533	948	1,163	6,644	↑
Bangladesh	42	--	3,024	4,854	5,188	149	95	5,432	↑
Armenia	--	--	2,734	7,742	1,914	2,593	638	5,145	
Yugoslavia	758	1,334	2,335	3,832	1,485	2,057	510	4,052	↑
China (excluding Taiwan)	150	106	326	554	1,190	720	160	2,070	↑
United States	2,201	13,927	83	18,140	745	978	44	1,767	
Nigeria	407	503	1,746	2,015	1,059	444	144	1,647	
Poland	3,864	9,624	8,631	12,831	325	1,130	56	1,511	
fYR Macedonia	--	--	436	747	763	593	137	1,493	↑
Kazakhstan	--	--	297	2,256	277	814	44	1,135	H
Belarus	--	--	100	350	111	954	46	1,111	↑
Iraq	796	2,131	2,833	6,936	834	138	82	1,054	R
Ethiopia	508	1,100	931	1,163	271	624	73	968	→
Turkey	1,356	11,088	149	7,881	523	400	39	962	
Uzbekistan	--	--	156	802	166	680	49	895	→
Sri Lanka	774	--	820	852	277	511	90	878	→
Lebanon	2,110	1,856	246	1,277	513	227	110	850	
Other countries	26,431	87,302	5,821	97,259	4,114	4,764	690	9,568	

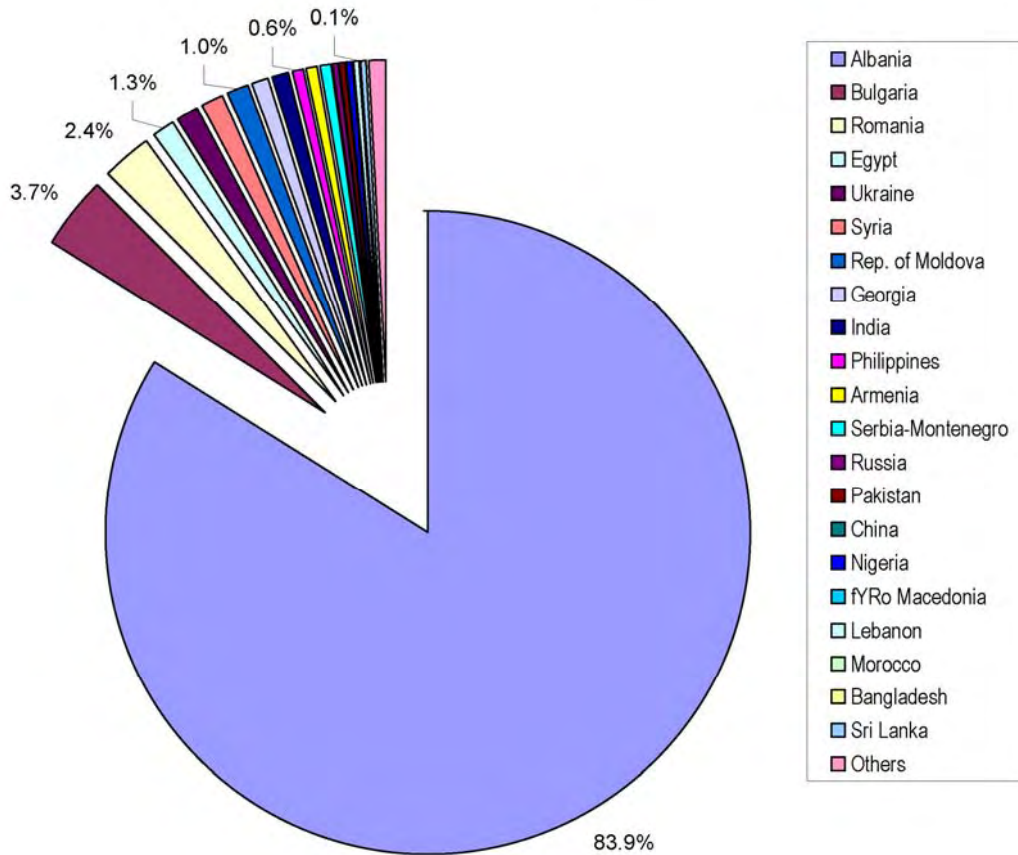
SOURCES: Ministry of Public Order; National Statistical Service of Greece; Ministry of the Interior

If we add to the 2006 data, estimated data for Albanian *homogeneis* permits and EU permits (200,000 and 70,000), the total reaches 856,000 as compared with the 762,000 found in the 2001 Census. Our 2006 figure, however, does not include any illegal migrants or those with expired permits. The number of permits issued 2003-2006 is recorded as 1,039,686 – leaving a residual of about 450,000. Clearly, many of these will have remained in Greece.

Figure 1, below, shows the distribution of nationalities according to residence permit data (*homogeneis* and EU nationals are not included).

**FIGURE 1**

**Immigrant nationalities in Greece, 2006, with valid permits**



In comparison with the Census, Albanians are a much higher proportion of the immigrant population (84% compared with 55%): this is largely the result of excluding *homogeneis* and EU nationals from the picture.

Looking at changes by nationality, we can see from Table 1 (extreme right column) that there have been increased total numbers for 7 out of the top 10 nationalities; the remaining three (Albania, Georgia and Russia) have large numbers of *homogeneis*, who escape our datasources. Smaller national groups, such as Syrians, Bangladeshi, Serbians, Chinese and "Macedonians"<sup>1</sup> also show significant increase in their numbers.

A more careful examination of data by gender shows that the most important increases are of Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Romanian and Moldovan women; and of Pakistani, Indian, Bulgarian and Egyptian men. Some of these apparent increases are illusory, as the Greek immigration law insists on giving residence permits to seasonal workers (mostly from Balkan countries and Egypt), without showing them as non-residents in the data. Nevertheless, the increased female numbers from Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, and the increased male numbers from Pakistan and India, can be taken as correct. There is also a small increase in the recorded number of Indian females.

<sup>1</sup> There is no international terminology for citizens of the fYRo Macedonia; the usual Greek epithet of "Skopians" is legally unacceptable, and I am obliged to use the name "Macedonian" in quotation marks.

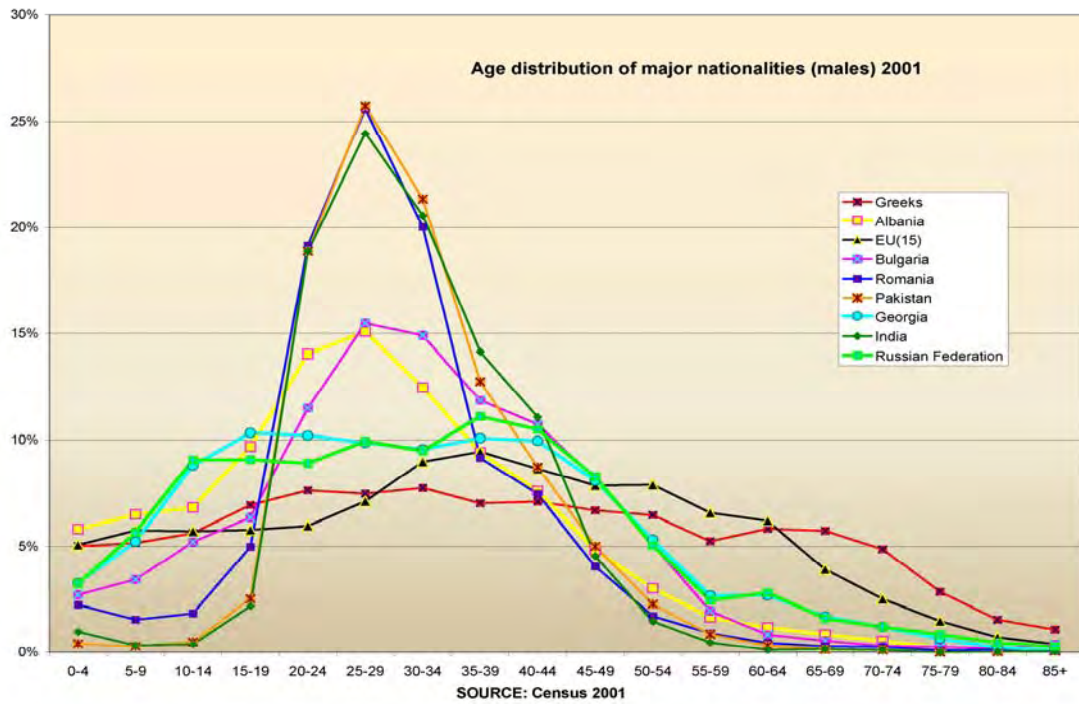
(b) *Age distribution*

In theory, the residence permit dataset has recorded dates of birth: in practice, these cannot be extracted from the database. We are therefore largely reliant upon the 2001 Census for information concerning the age profile of immigrants in Greece.

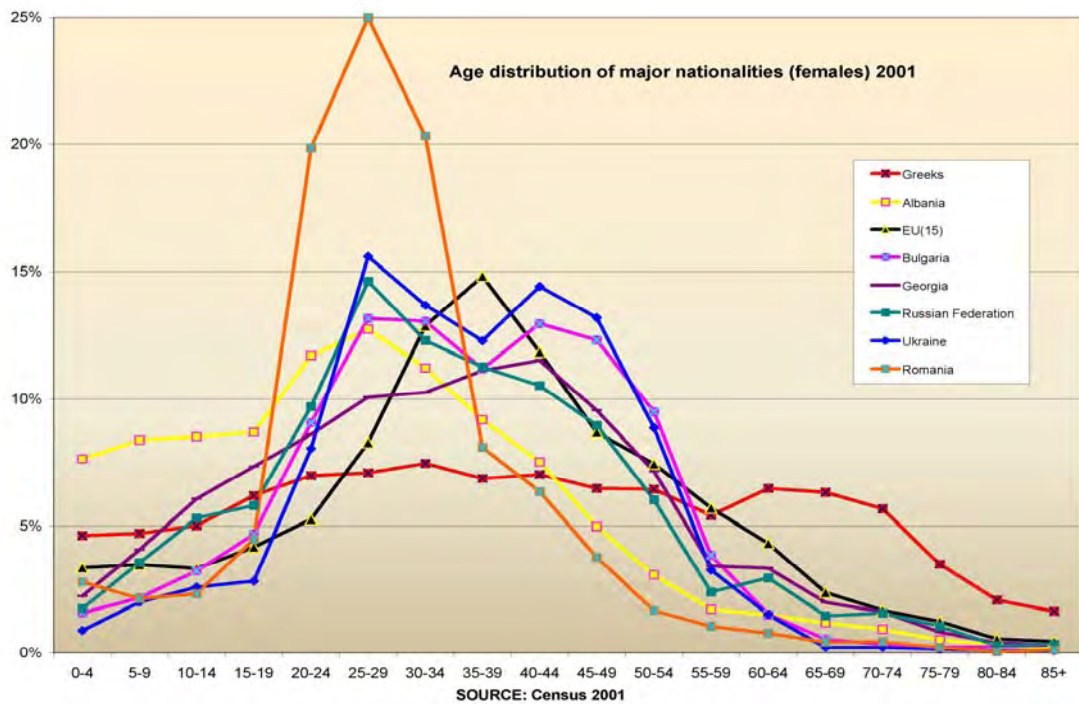
Figure 2, below, shows the age distribution of the 7 top male nationalities in the Census, along with Greeks and EU nationals. Three nationalities (Indian, Pakistani and Romanian) show a pronounced peak in the 25-29 age bracket, typical of guestworker migration. Albanians and Bulgarians show a much smaller peak in this age range, suggesting that more complex migration patterns are occurring – Bulgarians with older migrants, and Albanians with younger (0-19 ages). Georgians show no clear peak, and Russians have a small peak in the age bracket 35-39 (which might suggest skilled worker migration), both with rather high representation of ages 10-19: these nationalities, along with the EU(15), are close to the demographic profile of Greeks.

The overall age distribution of female immigrants (see Fig. 3, below) is rather different, except for Romanian women who (like Romanian men) show the usual guestworker peak for the 25-29 age bracket. For Albanian women, the profile is also similar to that of Albanian men, with a very large proportion of children. For EU nationals, there is a small peak at 35-39, which may indicate migration of skilled workers for employment. Two nationalities (Ukrainian and Bulgarian) exhibit a double peak – in the age brackets of 25-29 and also 40-44; this unusual pattern reflects two different sort of migration. It is known from survey and other data that older Bulgarian and Ukrainian women, usually with grown-up families or divorced, migrate to Greece looking for employment later in life. There exist also the more usual types of family migration and single guestworker, for these two migrant groups. Russian women show a small peak at 25-29 which indicates some guestworker type migration, whereas Georgian women have a very subtle peak at 40-44, which suggests a limited degree of the older female migration pattern discussed above.

**FIGURE 2**



**FIGURE 3**



Another source of information concerning the age structure of immigrants in Greece, is derived from the residence permit data, with a specific category of children under 16

who are covered by the permit of a parent. These data are shown in Table 2, below, for 6-monthly intervals over the period 2004-6.

**Table 2 Children (<16) covered by parental permit**

Nationals of:	15/01/2004	15/07/2004	15/01/2005	15/07/2005	15/01/2006	av. annual increase	as % of nationals
Albania	71,547	85,742	87,974	88,763	90,698	3.9%	24.6%
Bulgaria	3,537	3,845	3,890	3,878	4,023	3.1%	8.7%
Romania	1,951	2,375	2,447	2,464	2,543	4.7%	9.6%
Egypt	878	1,315	1,350	1,338	1,352	1.9%	12.7%
Ukraine	873	1,082	1,123	1,138	1,185	6.3%	5.8%
Syria	782	1,099	1,134	1,147	1,163	3.9%	17.5%
Rep. of Moldova	868	1,009	1,019	1,031	1,035	1.7%	9.8%
Georgia	741	860	876	865	890	2.3%	6.6%
India	545	749	840	848	874	11.1%	8.2%
Philippines	494	635	651	659	660	2.6%	9.6%
Armenia	511	614	639	623	638	2.6%	12.4%
Serbia-Montenegro	463	506	519	496	510	0.5%	12.6%
Russia	345	395	408	419	443	8.1%	4.4%
Pakistan	155	205	205	218	213	2.6%	1.4%
China	125	145	154	152	160	6.9%	7.7%
Nigeria	103	149	149	141	144	-2.2%	8.7%
fYRo Macedonia	77	104	113	120	137	21.2%	9.2%
Lebanon	86	108	111	112	110	1.2%	12.9%
Morocco	59	95	99	96	97	1.4%	15.8%
Bangladesh	64	84	93	95	95	8.7%	1.7%
Sri Lanka	64	95	95	93	90	-3.5%	10.3%
Others	1,039	1,242	1,111	1,053	1,049	-10.4%	5.7%
Grand Total	85,307	102,453	105,000	105,749	108,109	3.7%	18.4%

SOURCE: Ministry of the Interior

Overall, children under 16 constitute around 18% of documented immigrants. The extreme right column of Table 2 gives the ratio of children to the total for each nationality. Albanian children have the highest ratio at 25% of permissions; Albanian children also constitute 84% of foreign children, in these data. Egyptian and Syrian children are present in larger numbers than might be expected from the size of each national community in Greece.

Disregarding the data for 15/01/2004 (which, for various reasons, are unreliable), the biannual data show an implied annual increase of 3.7% for all immigrant children over this period, and particularly significant proportionate increases of "Macedonian" (21%), Indian (11%), Bangladeshi (9%), Russian (8%), Chinese (7%) and Ukrainian (6%) children under 16. Numerically, the only important increase is that of Albanian children, calculated at 4% or around 3,500 persons per year.

### (c) Regional distribution

The 2001 Census data on regional distribution of immigrants in Greece have been available for some time, and are published elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Residence permit data are also available by periferia, and are published here for the first time. Figure 4 shows total valid residence permits as of 15 January 2006.

<sup>2</sup> For immigrant/total population by municipality, see the maps in Baldwin-Edwards (2004). For major nationality distributions, see also Rovolis and Tragaki (2006).



Immigrants by periferia of Greece, residence permits 2006

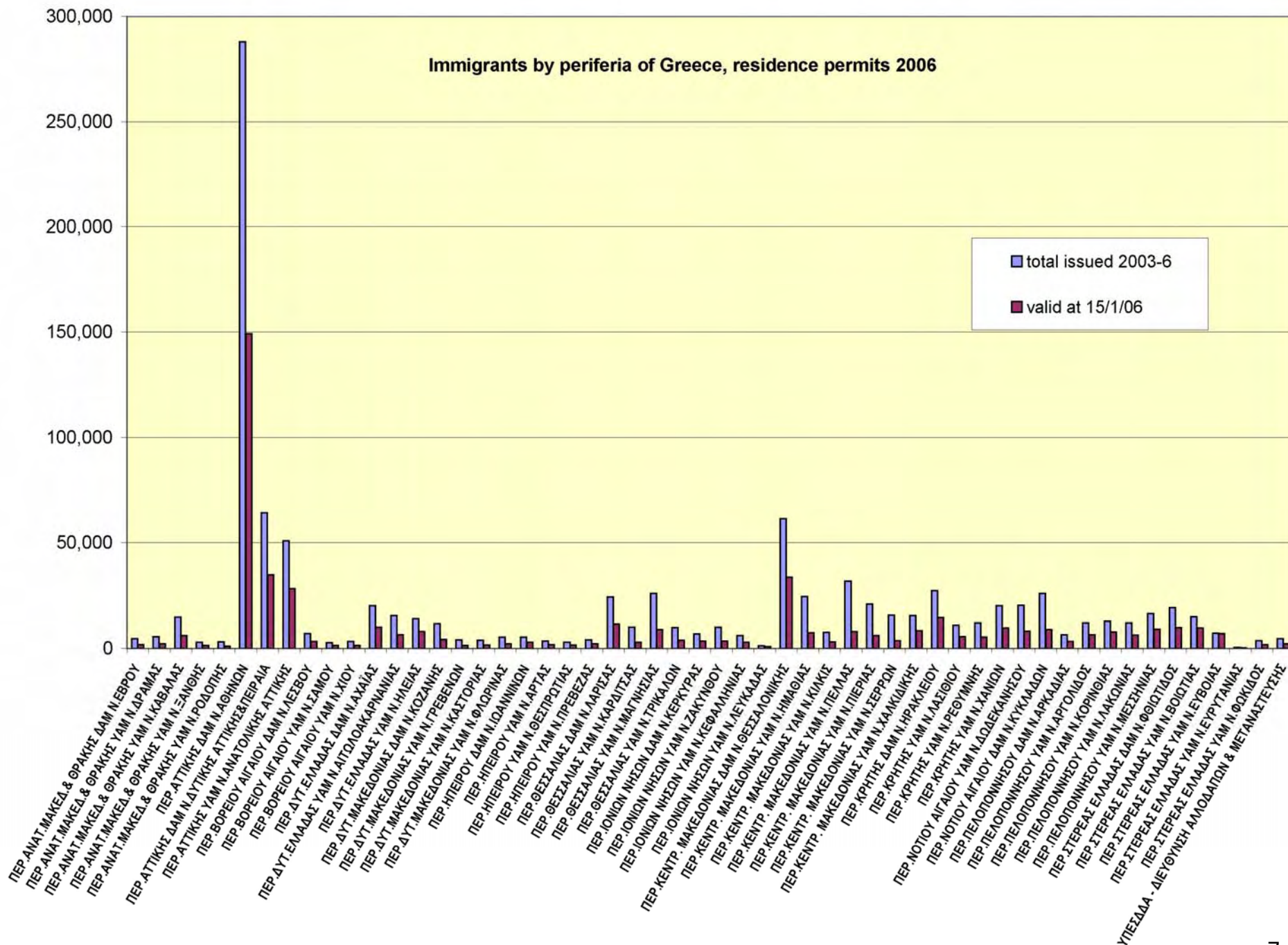


Figure 4 shows that the great majority of permits are issued for work within Attica (i.e. the three periferia around Athens) – some 43% of the total. This is a figure very similar to the Census figure for those residing in the region. Distribution of different nationalities deviate from this overall picture, as was also shown in the Census. Figures 5-9 show the regional distributions of Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Ukrainians and Pakistanis by periferia<sup>3</sup> and gender.

**FIGURE 5**

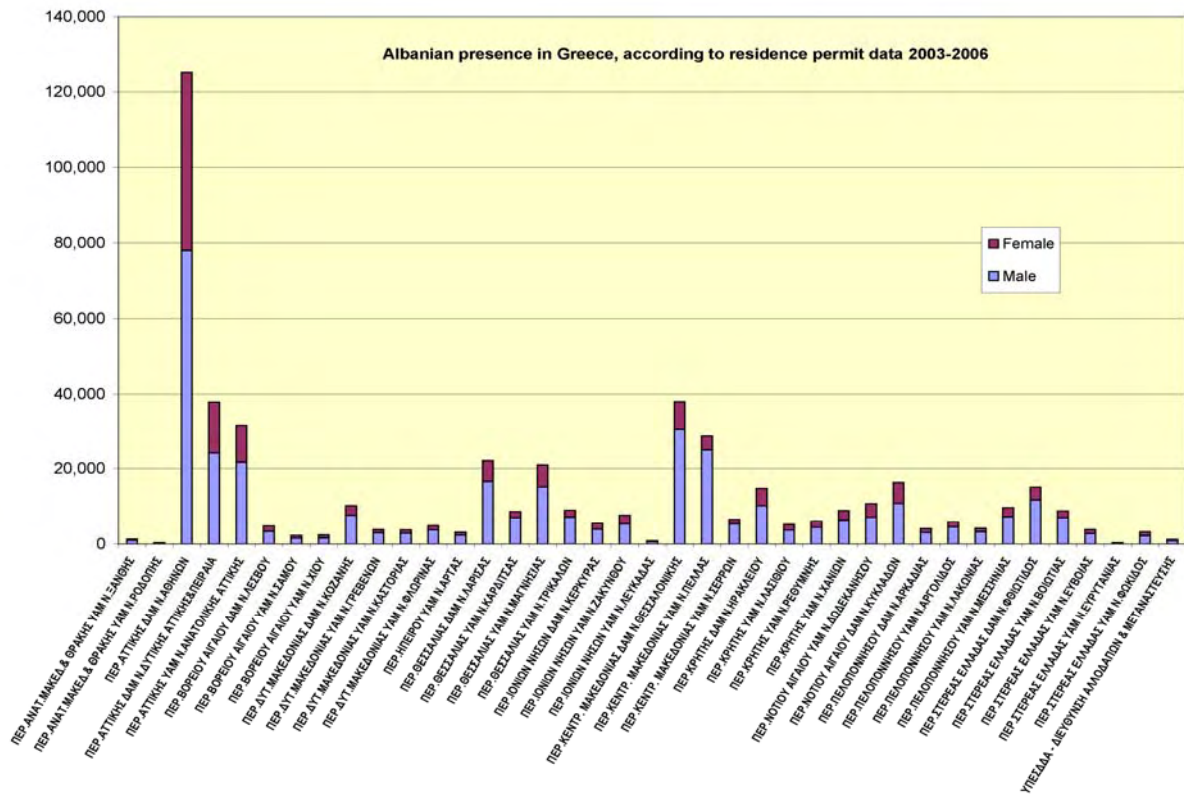


Figure 5 shows that Albanians have a presence throughout Greece, but with a particular emphasis on Attica. Other significant loci are Thessaloniki, Pellas, Larissa, Magnesia, the Cycladic islands, Fthiotida and northern Crete.

Figure 6 (below) shows the pattern for Bulgarians across Greece. Despite a similar appearance of preponderance in Attika, it is mainly focused on Athens. More surprisingly, the second and third places are Serres and Iraklio, with Thessaloniki coming in at fourth place. Bulgarians seem to be quite concentrated in Northern Crete, the Cycladic islands and Macedonia – much more than appeared from Census data. The gender ratio (2 female for every male) is not generally visible, other than in a few places such as the Dodecanese and Cyclades islands: Attica’s Bulgarian population is overwhelmingly female, with some other regions showing higher proportions of male Bulgarians.

<sup>3</sup> For some unknown reason, the Ministry data on nationalities by periferia are incomplete, with far too few periferia – at least in the case of Albanians, who are present throughout Greece.

FIGURE 6

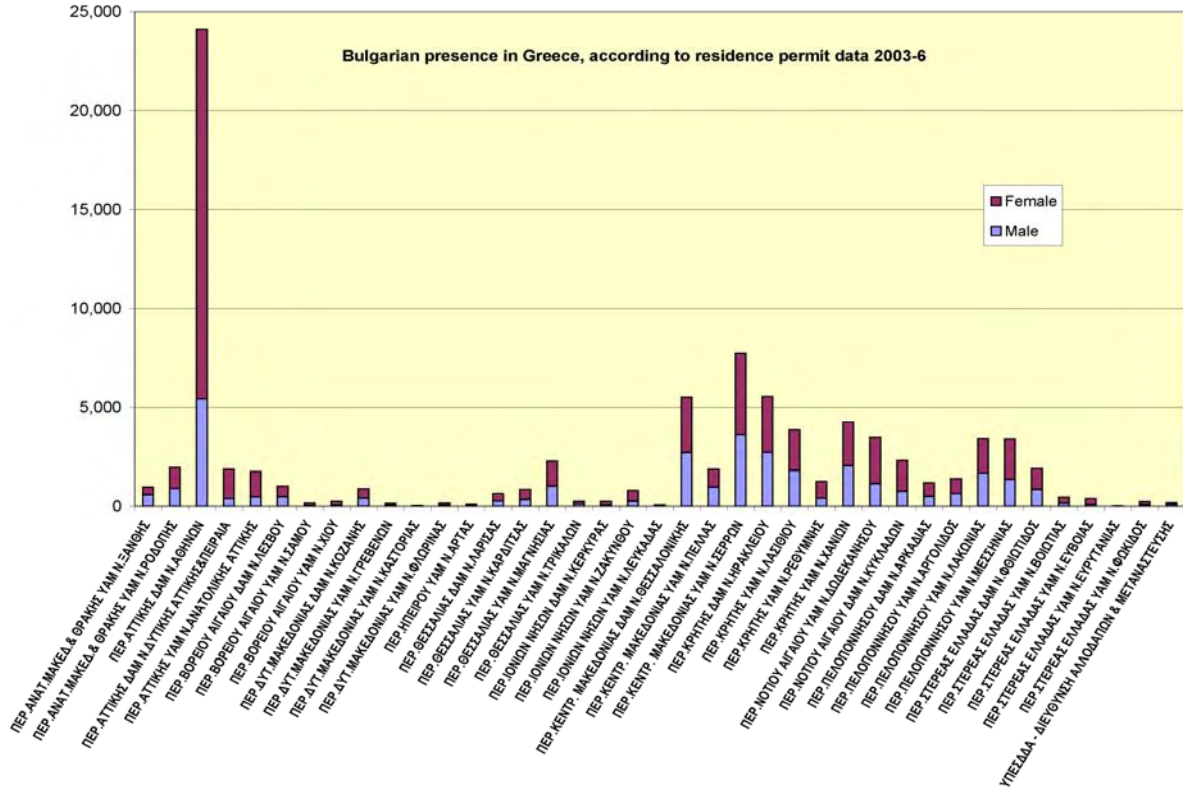


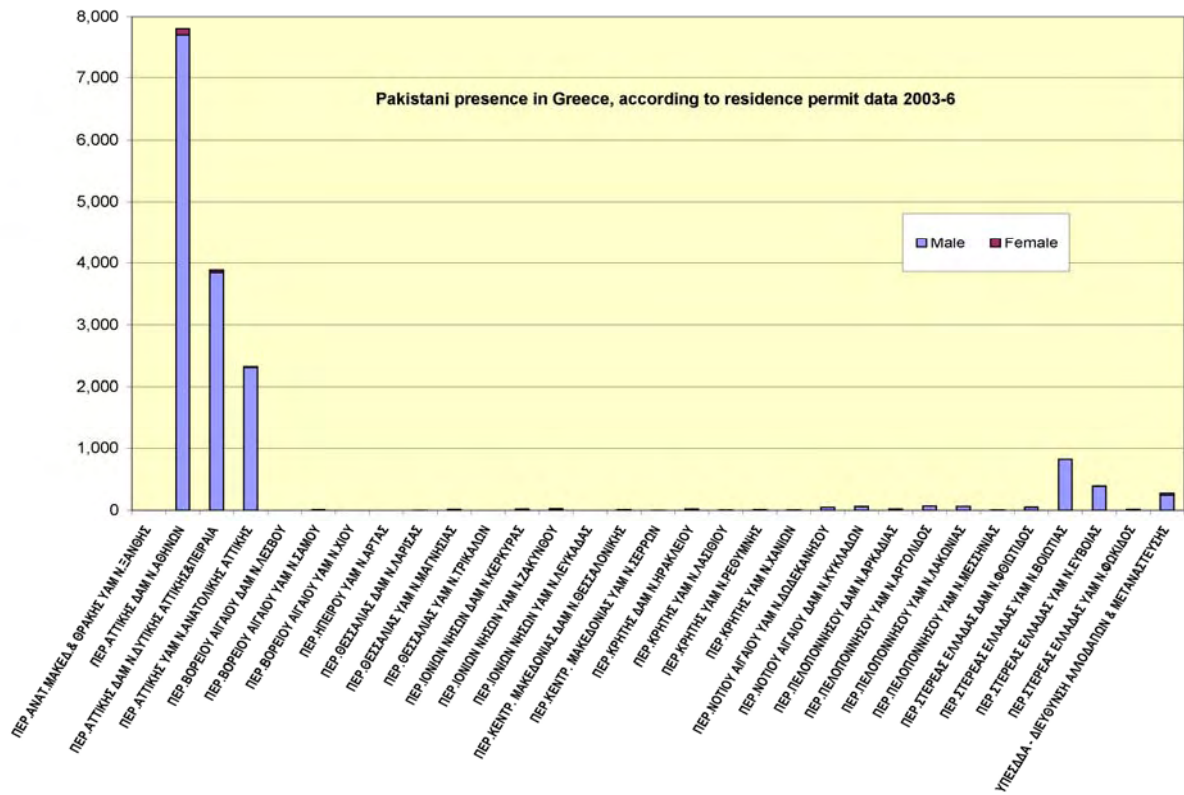
Figure 7, below, shows the data for Romanians. This time, there is a massive focus on Attica (especially Athens), with Thessaloniki looking almost irrelevant. The gender balance in Attica is slightly inclined towards males, which is typical of this immigrant population in Greece in recent years: the Census shows a much larger proportion of males in Greece. After Attica, the second and third favoured locales are Lakonia and Iraklio.

The data for Ukrainians are shown as Figure 8, below. In contrast to the other nationalities examined so far, the Ukrainians are almost completely concentrated in Athens and are preponderantly female, even across other parts of Greece.

The last nationality we shall examine by region, is that of the Pakistanis. Since the Census, Pakistanis have grown in number to become the fifth largest registered foreign community in Greece. Figure 9 shows their distribution across Greece. They are located primarily in Attica, although less focused on Athens than all except Albanians. They have also a small presence in Viotia and Evia. As has always been the case, the Pakistani community in Greece is almost entirely male, although there is a small number of families in the country.



FIGURE 9



### 3 Family structure

#### (a) *Family living arrangements*

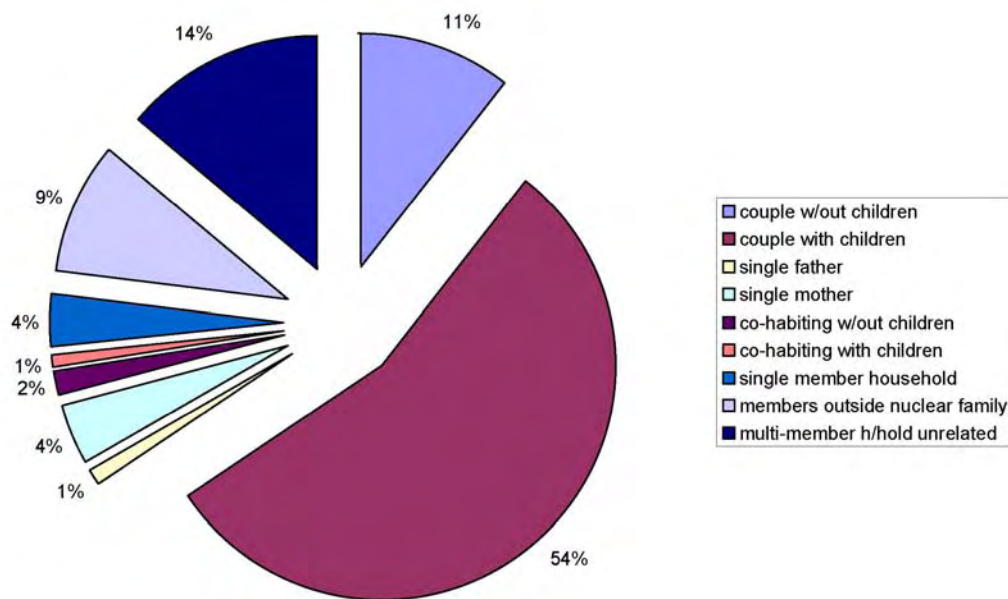
Recent academic literature<sup>4</sup> notes that policy-makers and researchers have failed to take account of the diversity of forms of migration, in particular with regard to family migration. Most countries – and Greece is no exception – continue to regard migration as an individual act which takes place outside a social or familial context. In reality, the family has always played a central role in decisions of emigration, return migration, family migration, family reunification, etc. This fact is all the more obvious, since most emigration occurs from developing countries where, unlike most of Europe and the USA, the family is still the locus of social life.

Thus far, little attention has been paid to the family in studies of Greek immigration. For the first time, data from the Census are presented here, which give some important preliminary indications of the role of the family in immigration into Greece.

#### (i) types of living arrangements of immigrants in Greece

The 2001 Census gives an overall picture of immigrant living arrangements across Greece which is shown as Figure 10, below.<sup>5</sup>

**FIGURE 10**  
**Living arrangements of immigrants in Greece (all nationalities, all regions)**



<sup>4</sup> E.g. Kofman (2004); Heering et al. (2004); Bailey and Boyle (2004). There is also a concurrent EU-funded cross-country project on family migration, directed by the *International Centre for Migration Policy Development*, Vienna.

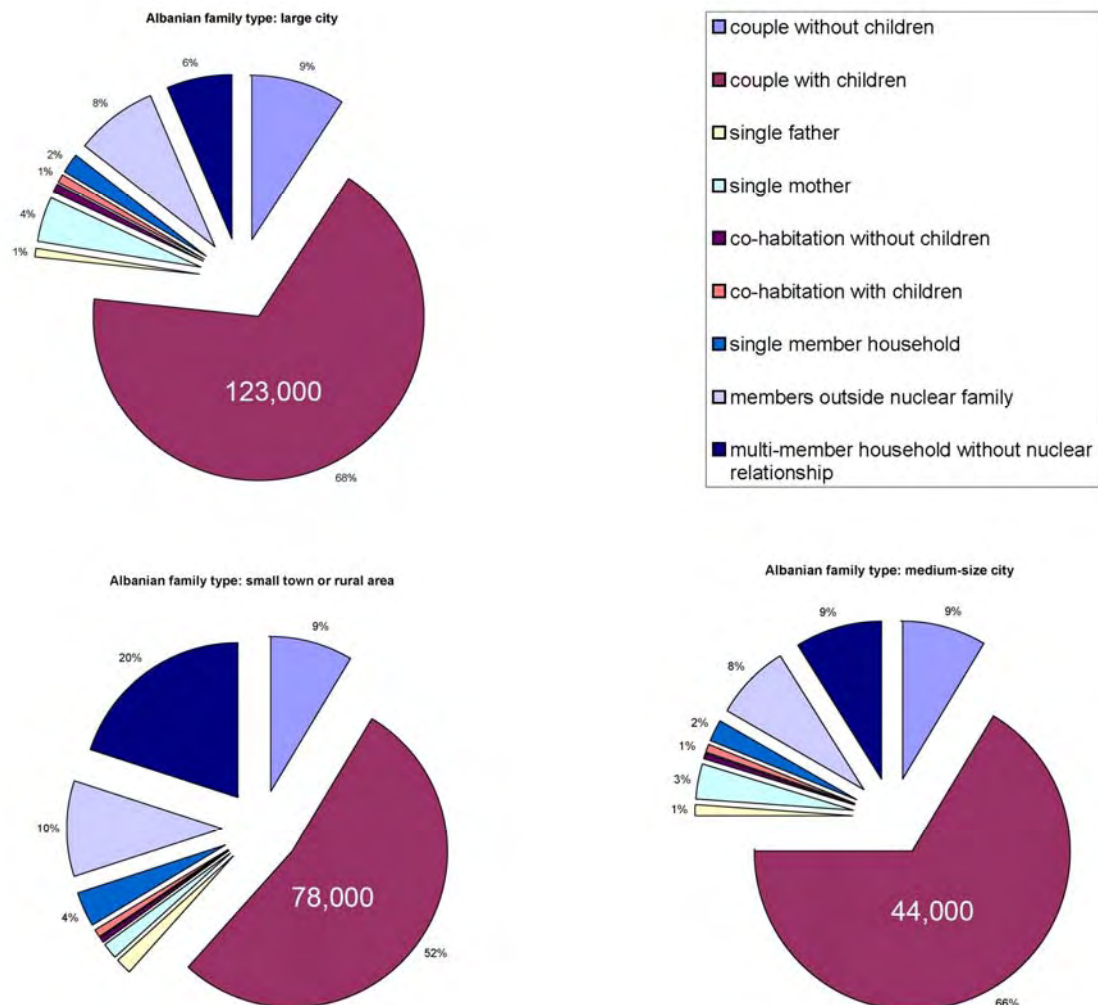
<sup>5</sup> These figures are derived from a 10% random sample of the Census dataset, as provided by NSSG. Owing to data limitations, it was possible to use the data only for the most visible nationalities – namely, Albanian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Pakistani and Turkish.

As can be seen from Figure 10, 54% of adult immigrants were in a traditional “nuclear family” (married couple with one or more child), another 11% were couples without children, 9% were co-habiting with other relatives, and 14% were in multi-member unrelated households. The remaining categories are insignificant and can be ignored, for our purposes. Thus, we can conclude that some 65% of immigrant adults in Greece are in some conventional sort of family living arrangements, and maybe another 9% in extended family relationships (such as elderly parents). Only 14% have living arrangements which we would associate with temporary guestworkers – multi-member households.

(ii) types of living arrangements by locale

We might expect to see some differences between regions of Greece and also between different nationalities. Taking Albanians as the predominant immigrant group, Figure 11 shows their living circumstances for three different types of region in Greece – large cities (Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki), medium-size cities, and small towns or rural areas.

**FIGURE 11**  
Albanian family type by locale

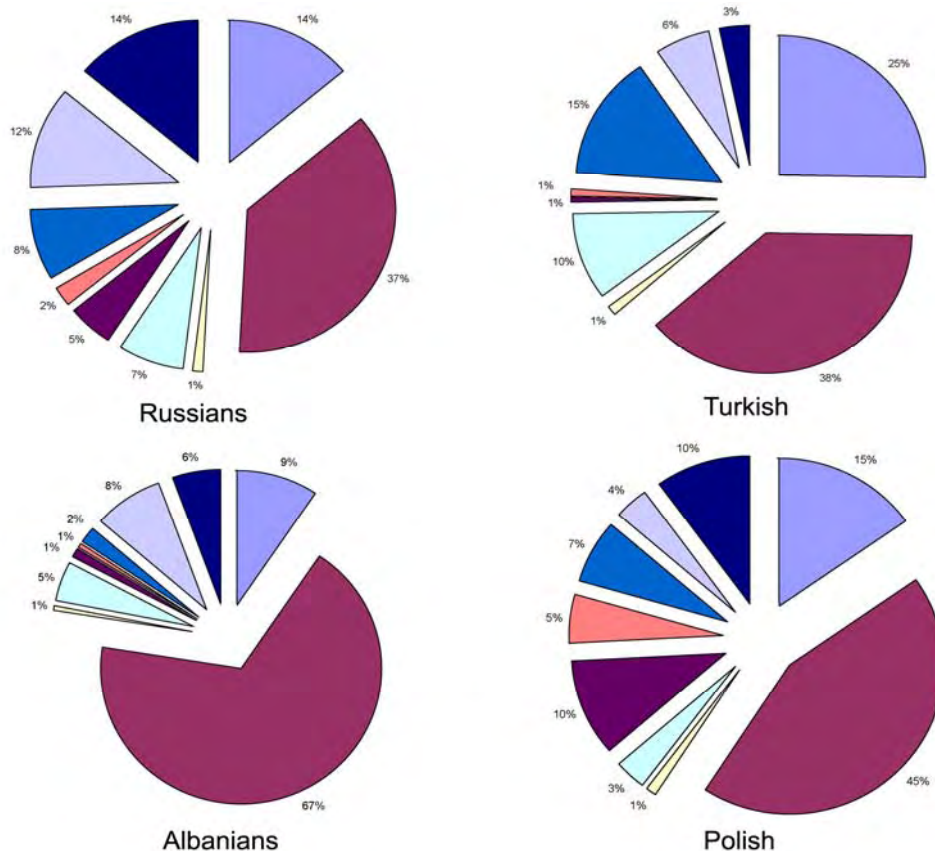


From the above, we can see that there are indeed great differences between different locales in Greece. Albanians in large cities are predominantly in nuclear families (68%), with another 9% as couples, and only 6% in multi-member households. For medium-size cities, the ratios are very similar, with slightly fewer in nuclear family units and slightly more (9%) in multi-member households. It is in rural and semi-rural areas where the multi-member households are more important – at 20% of the total – but even so, the ratio of nuclear families is still over 50%. Thus, for all sorts of locale across Greece, the proportion of Albanians who are in a married relationship, with or without children, ranges from 61% in rural areas to 77% in major cities. Furthermore, these figures exclude those who live with extended family – around another 10%.

(iii) types of living arrangements by nationality

Using data from the prefecture of Athens, as the area with the greatest number of all immigrant groups, it is possible to identify major differences between the living arrangements of the major nationalities. They fall broadly into two types: those which emphasise the nuclear family, and those which emphasise the multi-member household. In the first category lie Albanians (the pre-eminent nationality for the nuclear family), Turkish, Polish and Russians. In the second category, of multi-member households, lie Pakistanis (the pre-eminent group), Bulgarian, Georgian and Ukrainian. Romania has a class of its own, exhibiting the characteristics of both types.

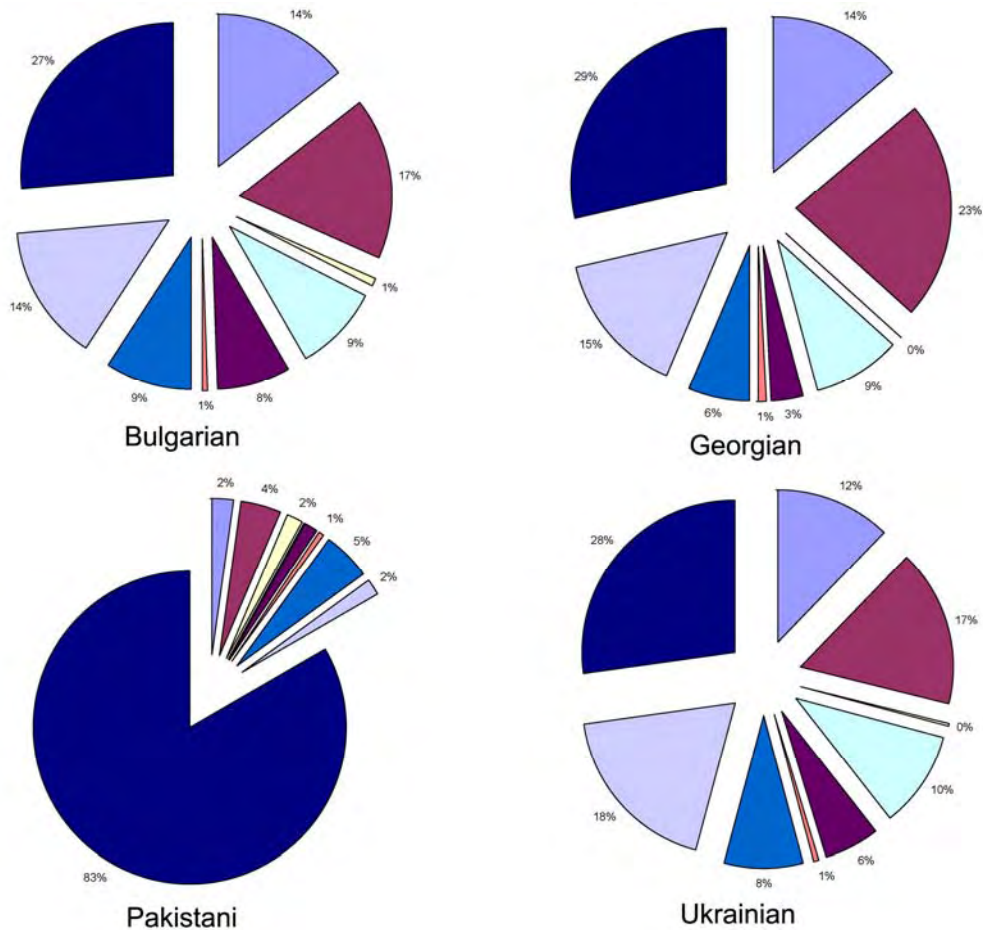
**FIGURE 12**  
Family types in Athens, by nationality: “nuclear family” type





Although there is quite a bit of variation between these nationalities' family living arrangements, the common feature is an emphasis on the married couple (ranging from 76% to 51%) and a de-emphasis on M-M households (3-14%). These form a marked contrast with the second group, shown below in Figure 13.

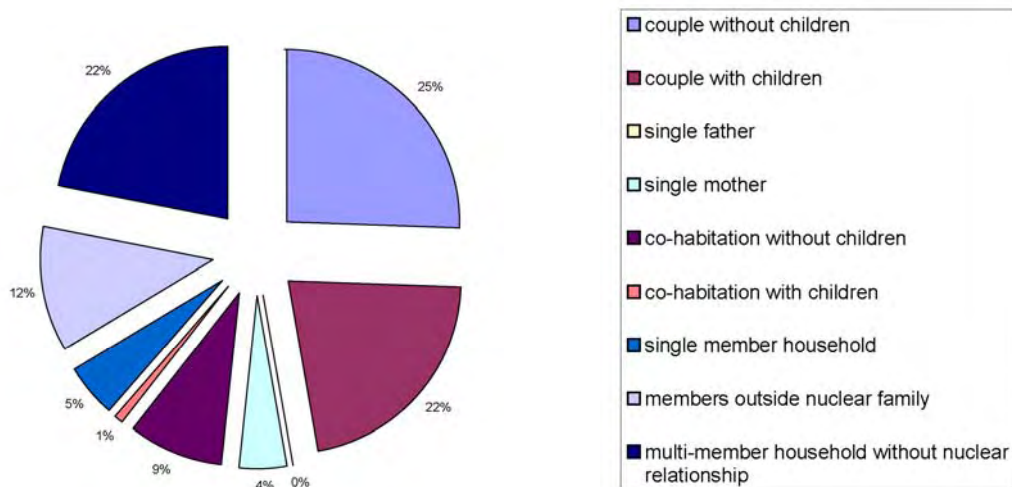
**FIGURE 13**  
Family types in Athens, by nationality: "Multi-member household" type



In the above figure, the emphasis on M-M households ranges from 83% (Pakistanis) to 27%, and the proportion in marital arrangements ranges from 7% to 37% (Georgians). This latter figure is well below the lowest figure of 51% in marital relationships in the first category, and indicates a prevalence of single guestworker migrations for the four nationalities above.

Finally, the nationality which evades categorization (Romanian) is shown below in Figure 14. Here, the proportion in marital living arrangements is 47%, intermediate between the two types. The proportion in M-M households is at 22% – again, intermediate between the two types. Presumably, this reflects different migration types in similar proportions, i.e. roughly equal family migrations and single guestworker migrations by Romanians.

**FIGURE 13**  
**Family types in Athens, by nationality: the ambiguous Romanian case**



(b) *Family reunification issues*

With the operation of the 2001 immigration law, Greece belatedly began to accept the right of family reunification of immigrants in the country. No estimations of numbers or nationalities have ever been formally announced by the Ministry of the Interior, but the IMEPO advisory report<sup>6</sup> published such data for the period 2003-4. These are re-published with some more nationalities added from the database, as Table 3, below.

Several things stand out from this table. Over 2003-4, some 12% of all permits issued were for family reunification reasons, with Albanians taking around 80% of such permits. As a proportion of permits by nationality, the highest was Lebanese, but with a trivial number: again, Albanians dominate the figures with the ratio of 15% of all permits awarded to Albanian nationals being for the reason of family reunification. In fact, all other nationality groups have an insignificant proportion or absolute number of such permits, with the partial exception of Serbs. Thus, family reunification policy in Greece almost exclusively involves Albanian citizens and families.

<sup>6</sup> Baldwin-Edwards (2004)

**TABLE 3**  
**Permits issued for family reunification 2003-4, by nationality and gender**

Country of citizenship	Total	as % of total permits	M	F
<i>Total</i>	81,216	11.9%	23,760	57,456
Albania	66,563	15.4%	19,599	46,964
Bulgaria	4,189	6.3%	1,487	2,702
Romania	1,690	5.8%	450	1,240
Ukraine	1,399	6.1%	361	1,038
Georgia	915	6.0%	251	664
Russian Federation	862	8.5%	151	711
Republic of Moldova	700	6.1%	228	472
India	620	5.9%	162	458
Egypt	608	5.5%	190	418
Poland	564	8.3%	99	465
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	537	11.5%	170	367
Armenia	408	8.0%	87	321
Syrian Arabic Republic	407	7.3%	49	358
Lebanon	149	17.9%	13	136
China (including Hong Kong)	130	4.9%	55	75
United States	114	6.3%	35	79
Philippines	107	1.8%	24	83
Pakistan	103	0.6%	49	54
Others	1,151		300	851

Source: Ministry of Interior

## 4 Housing issues

### (a) Ownership versus rentals

Greece has a very high extent of home ownership, by European comparison, at about 80% across the country, although with a slightly lower ratio of 70% for the Attika region. Normally, immigrants could be expected to rent rather than purchase property, and this is borne out by the data in Table 4, below.

Of immigrant populations, only the wealthier (mostly older) nationals of the USA, Canada and Australia have high property ownership rates; even these national groups, in certain regions, have rates well below those of the Greek population – as in Thessaly and Evros, for example. Other nationality groups with significant rates of property ownership are those from the Eastern European “new” EU countries (excluding the last enlargement) in Central Greece, Peloponnesus and the Ionian islands; Russians in Epirus; Ukrainians in Western Greece, the Ionian islands and the North Aegean islands; and Bulgarians in Western Macedonia. The lowest property ownership rates are held by Albanians, generally: the exception is in Epirus, where property ownership is at 18% and above that for most other foreign nationals.

Thus, the typical pattern for Greeks, is about 80% home ownership and 12% rented (70% and 20% in Attika); immigrants show a mirror image, of 16% own homes and 68% rented (19% and 75% in Attika), although with major differences between different nationalities. Overall, immigrants take up some 25% of all rented housing, according to the 2001 Census data. This has probably increased since.

Table 4  
Extent of home ownership in Greece, by nationality and region  
nationals of:

	Greece	total	aliens	Albania	Bulgaria	USA-CA-AUS	Georgia	Romania	new EU	Russia	Ukraine
Western Greece	84%	25%	18%	20%	79%		23%	20%	38%	51%	
Central Greece	85%	20%	15%	25%	88%	20%	21%	67%	42%	38%	
Peloponnese	83%	23%	13%	22%	76%	23%	17%	58%	19%	38%	
Ionian Islands	83%	30%	13%	49%	83%		37%	52%		56%	
Epirus	82%	23%	18%	15%	86%		11%	6%	50%		
Thessaly	85%	18%	12%	25%	54%	8%	27%	31%	47%	49%	
Western Macedonia	85%	29%	17%	67%	83%					21%	
Central Macedonia	80%	20%	10%	25%	79%	15%	26%	26%	18%	23%	
Evros	81%	20%	12%	21%	58%	9%	32%	23%	16%	23%	
Southern Aegean	75%	31%	10%	23%	74%	12%	11%	47%	29%	29%	
Northern Aegean	79%	34%	12%	19%	81%	21%	22%	29%	39%	53%	
Crete	79%	21%	11%	20%	62%	10%	16%	25%	13%	24%	
Attica	70%	19%	10%	32%	65%	33%	15%	42%	38%	31%	

Key:  
  >70%  
  50-69%

Source: Census 2001

*(b) Housing characteristics*

One of the most important aspects of housing is the actual living space per person. Table 5, below, shows this as aggregated data for specific immigrant groups<sup>7</sup> – Albanians, Bulgarians, Polish, Romanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Pakistanis and Turkish. As can be seen from the Table, around 12% of these immigrant groups have personal living space of less than 10m<sup>2</sup> per person, and 1% with less than 6m<sup>2</sup> per person. (These data have been calculated only for single household accommodation, and therefore exclude multimember households and other living arrangements, where the personal living space is expected to be very small.)

Table 5  
Personal living space of major immigrant groups [Alb, Bul, Pol, Ro, Ru, Ukr, Geo, Pak, Tur] in single family households, 2001

m <sup>2</sup> per person	2 - 3	4 - 5	6 - 7	8 - 9	10 - 11	12 - 16	17 - 21	22 - 30	31 - 50	51 - 100	101 - 200
%	0.1%	1.0%	3.8%	6.6%	11.1%	31.9%	18.9%	15.7%	8.0%	2.5%	0.3%

Source: Census 2001

Looking at national groups by prefecture level, great variation can be seen. Table 6, below, shows this for significant numbers of each of these nationality groups by gender for each relevant prefecture. In absolute terms, and unsurprisingly, the greatest number is to be found in Athens, of Albanian males and females, but with a ratio of only 4.6% of Albanians resident. The proportions in small living spaces increase for Albanians in East Attika and Thessaloniki, but the ratio jumps to 18% for Pakistanis in Athens. Other incidences of very high proportions with little living space are Albanian males in Arta (33%) and Pakistani males in East Attika (23%), followed by Albanian females in Chalkidiki (16%) and Albanian females in Lassithi (18%)

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<sup>7</sup> These were selected primarily by group size, as the 10% Census sample does not cope well with smaller immigrant groups by subregion of Greece.

Table 6

<b>Personal living space of &lt;8m2 per person in single family households, largest clusters of major nationality groups, by prefecture and as % of gendered nationality group</b>			
ATHENS	ALB	male	4.6%
ATHENS	ALB	female	4.6%
EAST ATTIKI	ALB	male	8.0%
THESSALONIKI	ALB	male	6.2%
EAST ATTIKI	ALB	female	9.3%
ATHENS	PAK	male	17.6%
THESSALONIKI	ALB	female	5.5%
FTHIOTIDA	ALB	male	9.3%
PIREAS	ALB	female	5.5%
PIREAS	ALB	male	4.6%
MAGNISSIA	ALB	male	10.3%
KYKLADES	ALB	male	12.9%
MESSINIA	ALB	male	11.2%
ILIA	ALB	male	10.3%
LARISSA	ALB	male	6.4%
EVIA	ALB	male	8.9%
IOANNINA	ALB	male	10.5%
DODEKANISSOS	ALB	male	9.5%
LASSITHI	ALB	male	17.5%
ARGOLIDA	ALB	male	13.4%
WEST ATTIKI	ALB	female	12.8%
IRAKLIO	ALB	male	6.8%
CHALKIDIKI	ALB	male	9.8%
ETOLIA & AKARNANIA	ALB	male	9.4%
MAGNISSIA	ALB	female	8.6%
WEST ATTIKI	ALB	male	8.4%
ARTA	ALB	male	32.8%
CHALKIDIKI	ALB	female	15.7%
KYKLADES	ALB	female	12.1%
KERKYRA	ALB	male	7.3%
VIOTIA	ALB	male	7.3%
ACHAIA	ALB	male	4.4%
PIREAS	PAK	male	14.3%
LARISSA	ALB	female	5.4%
LASSITHI	ALB	female	18.3%
DODEKANISSOS	ALB	female	9.5%
EAST ATTIKI	PAK	male	23.1%

Source: Census 2001

KEY

9-14.9 %

15-21.9 %

&gt;22 %

## **Other indicators of housing conditions of immigrant groups:**

### Access to electricity, running water and shower facilities

1% live in accommodation without electricity (mainly Albanians, both sexes, in Athens, East Attica and Piraeus). 96.6% have running water inside the building, but the ratio drops below 90% for some nationalities across Greece – particularly affecting Albanian and Pakistani males, and all nationalities and genders on Cycladic and other islands. Access to a shower inside the building exists for 90%, but 3.5% have *no access of any sort* to a shower; this non-access affects all nationalities and genders across Greece, and in some cases is as high as 50% of a particular nationality group in a prefecture. Bulgarians in Magnissia, Georgians in Drama, and Albanians in Xanthi are amongst the worst cases.

### Heating

16% of immigrant groups have no heating of any sort in their residence: this reaches 50-70% for many nationality groups on parts of Crete, and islands of the Dodecanese and Cyclades. Although all nationalities and genders are affected, male Albanians and Pakistanis are more visible: some 24% of male Albanians in Thesprotia have no heating, and similar ratios can be found for Albanian males across northern Greece.

### Accommodation type

97% live in a normal household, according to the Census declarations. Only 0.5% live in a collective household, whereas 1.2% are living in a space not intended for domestic residence. This occurs throughout Greece and mainly affects male Albanians and Pakistanis, although there is a small number of all nationalities and genders in such accommodation.

## 5 Employment

### (a) *Labour market participation*

Data from the Labour Force Survey show high participation of male immigrants in Greece, other than Europeans. Figure 14 shows male participation rates of principal nationalities aged 15-64 (own calculations). Albanian males have not such a high participation rate, in comparison with Bulgarians, Romanians and Bangladeshi, but is nevertheless considerably above the Greek rate. (The rates of 100% shown are caused by too small a sample size, and should not be taken literally.)

Figure 14  
Male participation rates by nationality (15-64), 2006

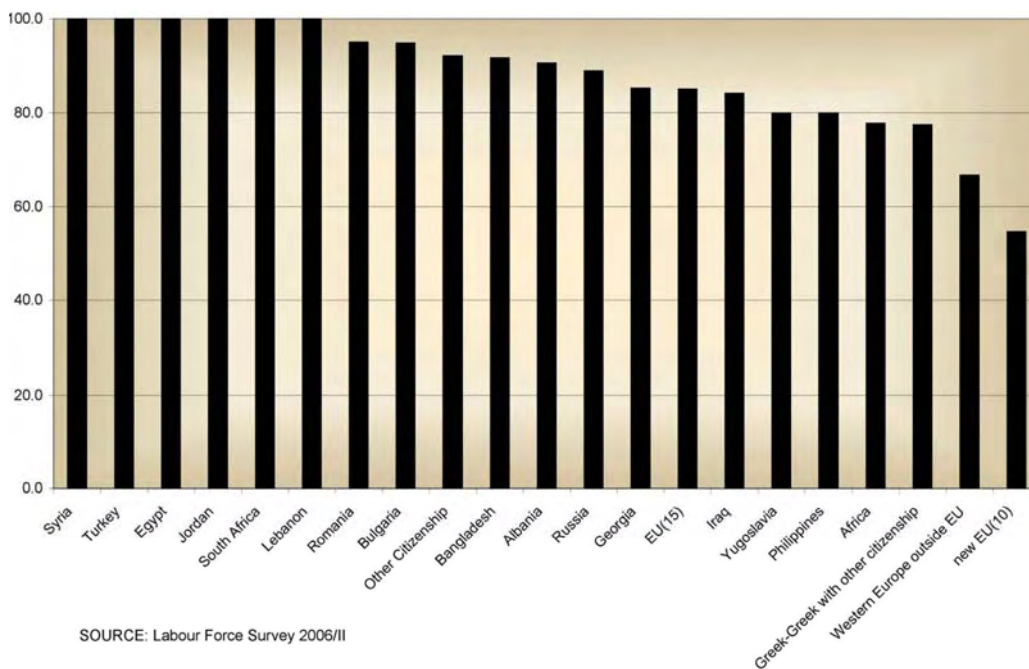
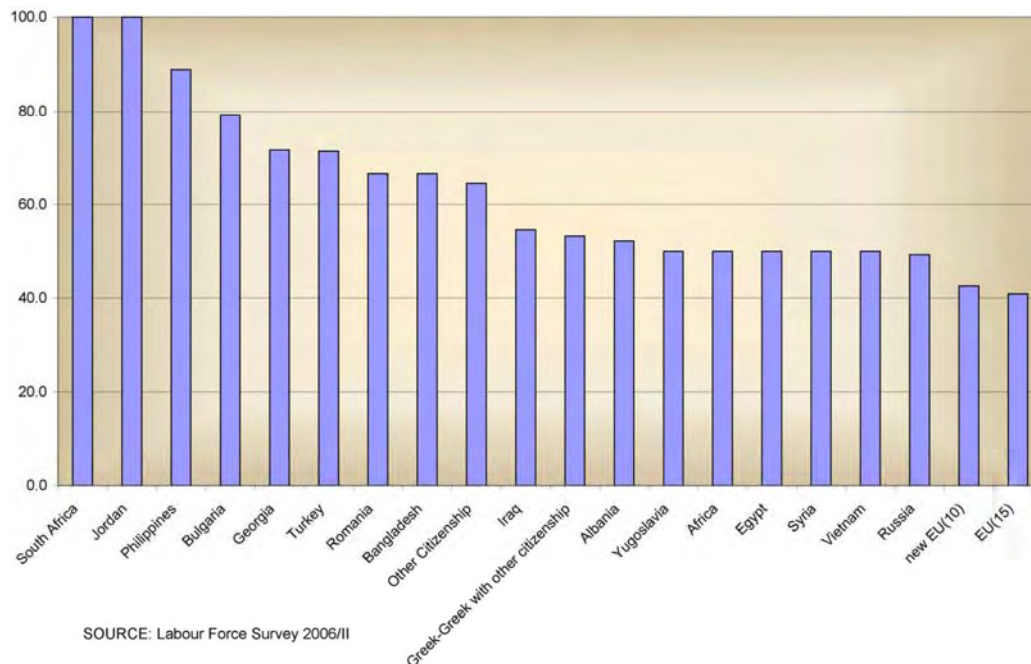


Figure 15, below, shows female participation rates by nationality. These are high for Filipina, Bangladeshi and Balkan migrants, except that Albanian women have a participation rate rather similar to that for Greek women. The low rates of many nationalities (including Albanian) reflect their role as part of family units, rather than as workers.



Figure 15  
Female participation rates by nationality (15-64), 2006



*(b) Employment by economic sector*

Detailed empirical studies of Albanian immigrants in Greece have suggested that there has been a significant shift away from manual agricultural employment in the early 1990s, towards some diversification of employment patterns and even upward mobility (Labrianidis & Lyberaki, 2001; Lyberaki & Maroukis, 2005). This finding might also apply to other nationalities, although in the case of Albanians was to be expected owing to their high number in Greece and the limited opportunities for specific sectoral employment.

The only sources of data for comparison of sectoral employment of immigrants are the Census 2001 and recent LFS data.<sup>4</sup> These are shown for principal nationalities in Figures 16-24. Assuming that the LFS sampling is good enough for comparison with the Census data, we can make the following observations:

**Albanians**

Decrease of 50% in agriculture  
Increases of 15% in construction, 40% in hotels/restaurants, 20% in households  
The construction sector, which was always the largest, has increased in importance.

**Bulgarians**

Decrease of 40% in agriculture  
Increases of 80% in construction, 40% in households  
Household employment is now the primary employment for Bulgarians.

<sup>4</sup> There is discontinuity with older LFS data, which sampled immigrants very poorly. Even the current LFS has only 4.9% of its sample as immigrants, whereas it needs to be over 12%, and has no data on Ukrainians, Pakistanis, Indians, Egyptians or Moldovans.

**Romanians**

Decrease of 80% in agriculture

Increases of 100% in hotels/restaurants, 100% real estate, 60% households.

Construction is now the single biggest sector, previously equal with agriculture.

**Ukrainians**

*No comparisons possible, because not sampled in LFS.*

Households are the largest sector of employment in 2001.

**Pakistanis**

*No comparisons possible, because not sampled in LFS.*

Manufacturing is the principal sector (around 50%) in 2001.

**Georgians**

*Serious data problem with comparisons, probably through award of Greek citizenship such that different communities sampled in 2001 and 2006.*

Decreases in real estate, agriculture and manufacturing

Increases of 100% in wholesale and retail, and 40% in households.

Primary sector of employment is households, previously was construction: this actually suggests a gender shift in the immigrant group composition, as mainly women work in the household sector and men in construction.

**Indians**

*No comparisons possible, because not sampled in LFS.*

Principal sector of employment is agriculture, in 2001.

**Egyptians**

*No comparisons possible, because not sampled in LFS.*

Principal sector of employment is construction, in 2001.

**Russians**

*Serious data problem with comparisons, probably through award of Greek citizenship such that different communities sampled in 2001 and 2006.*

Sectors of agriculture, education, healthcare, community services have all vanished in the 2006 data. Real estate declined by 80%.

Increases of 120% in hotels and restaurants, 20% in construction.

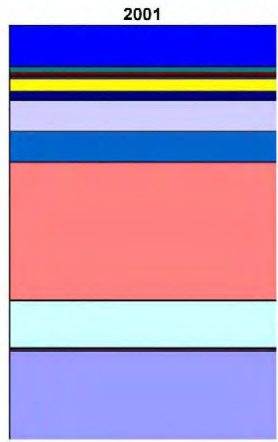
The primary sector of employment is hotels and restaurants, followed by construction, in 2006.

***Some overall conclusions***

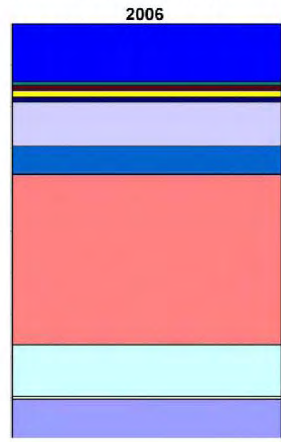
- There has been a major shift out of agriculture since 2001 for all immigrant groups.
- There has been increased employment in construction, households and tourism for most nationalities.
- Construction is now the most important sector for immigrants generally: for Albanians, it constitutes some 45% of total employment
- There are serious data problems with 5 nationalities excluded from the LFS – Ukrainians, Pakistanis, Indians, Egyptians and Moldovans. Census data suggest a crucial role of Pakistanis in manufacturing, Indians in agriculture and fishing, and Egyptians in fishing.
- There are serious data problems with Georgians and Russians (also, to a much lesser extent with Albanians) because of Greece's homogeneous and citizenship policy.

**Figure 16**

**EMPLOYMENT OF ALBANIANS**



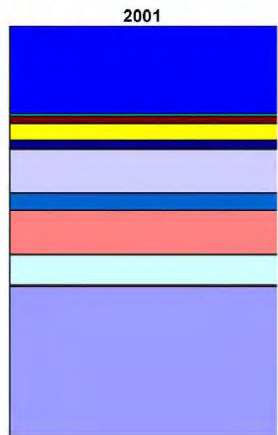
**BY ECONOMIC SECTOR**



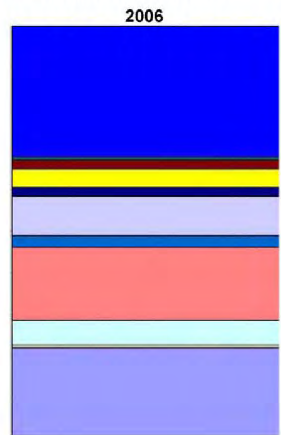
- Extra-territorial organizations and bodies
- Activities of households
- Other community, social and personal service activities
- Health and social work
- Education
- Public administration and defence
- Real estate, renting and business activities
- Financial intermediation
- Transport, storage and communication
- Hotels and restaurants
- Wholesale and retail trade; repairs
- Construction
- Electricity, gas and water supply
- Manufacturing
- Mining and quarrying
- Fishing
- Agriculture, hunting and forestry

**Figure 17**

**EMPLOYMENT OF BULGARIANS**

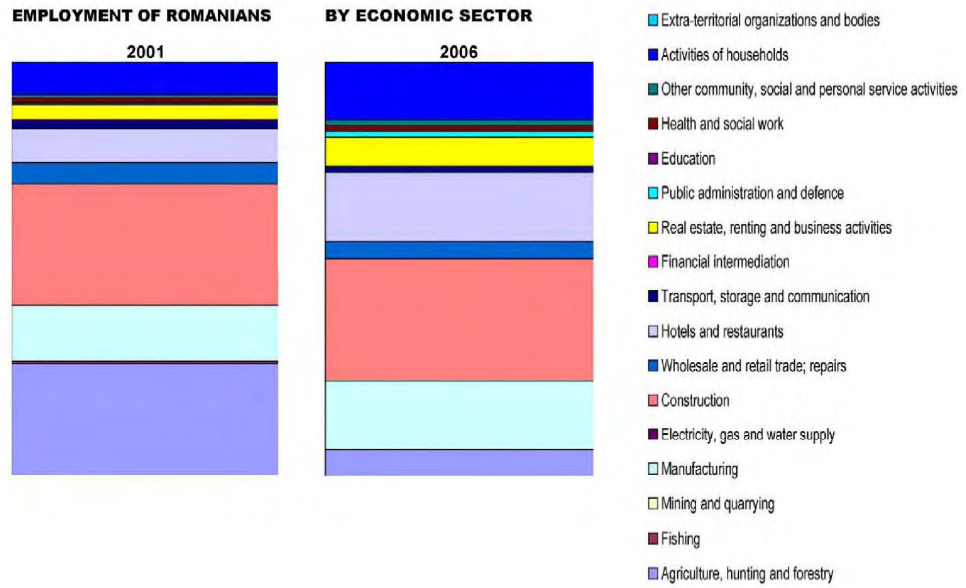


**BY ECONOMIC SECTOR**



- Extra-territorial organizations and bodies
- Activities of households
- Other community, social and personal service activities
- Health and social work
- Education
- Public administration and defence
- Real estate, renting and business activities
- Financial intermediation
- Transport, storage and communication
- Hotels and restaurants
- Wholesale and retail trade; repairs
- Construction
- Electricity, gas and water supply
- Manufacturing
- Mining and quarrying
- Fishing
- Agriculture, hunting and forestry

**Figure 18**



**Figure 19**

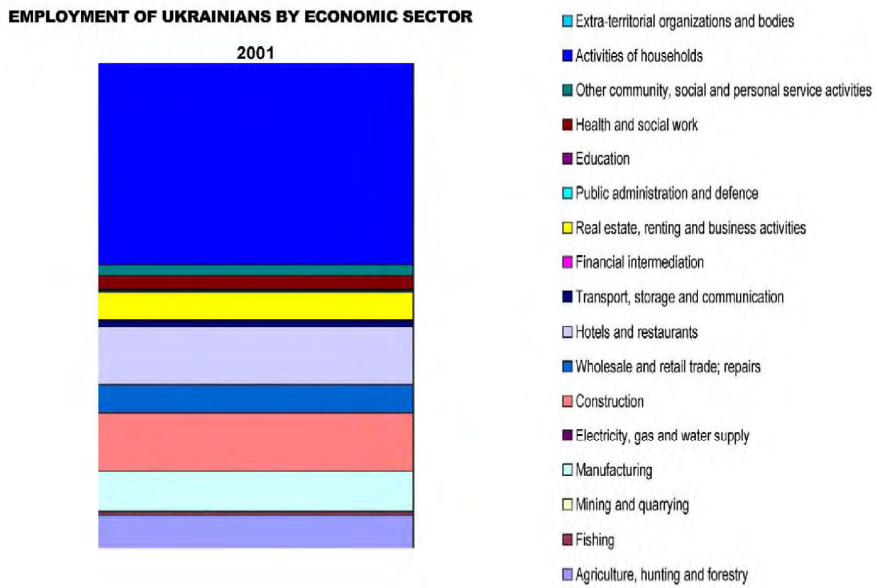
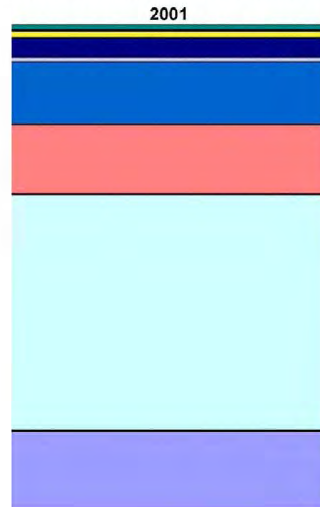


Figure 20

**EMPLOYMENT OF PAKISTANIS BY ECONOMIC SECTOR**

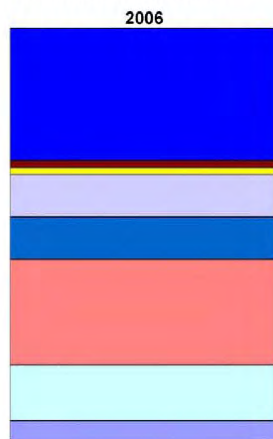
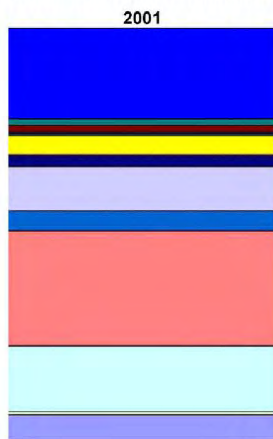


- Extra-territorial organizations and bodies
- Activities of households
- Other community, social and personal service activities
- Health and social work
- Education
- Public administration and defence
- Real estate, renting and business activities
- Financial intermediation
- Transport, storage and communication
- Hotels and restaurants
- Wholesale and retail trade; repairs
- Construction
- Electricity, gas and water supply
- Manufacturing
- Mining and quarrying
- Fishing
- Agriculture, hunting and forestry

Figure 21

**EMPLOYMENT OF GEORGIANS**

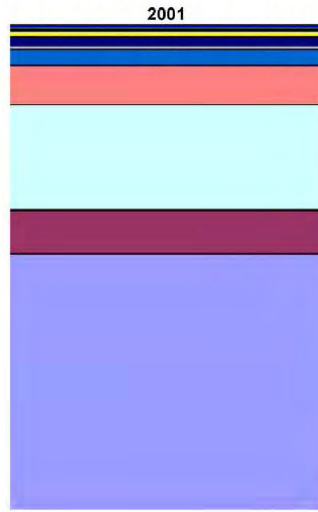
**BY ECONOMIC SECTOR**



- Extra-territorial organizations and bodies
- Activities of households
- Other community, social and personal service activities
- Health and social work
- Education
- Public administration and defence
- Real estate, renting and business activities
- Financial intermediation
- Transport, storage and communication
- Hotels and restaurants
- Wholesale and retail trade; repairs
- Construction
- Electricity, gas and water supply
- Manufacturing
- Mining and quarrying
- Fishing
- Agriculture, hunting and forestry

Figure 22

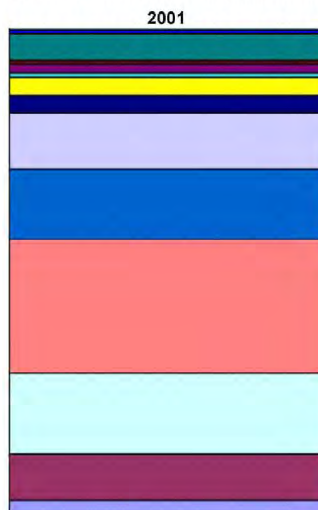
**EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS BY ECONOMIC SECTOR**



- Extra-territorial organizations and bodies
- Activities of households
- Other community, social and personal service activities
- Health and social work
- Education
- Public administration and defence
- Real estate, renting and business activities
- Financial intermediation
- Transport, storage and communication
- Hotels and restaurants
- Wholesale and retail trade; repairs
- Construction
- Electricity, gas and water supply
- Manufacturing
- Mining and quarrying
- Fishing
- Agriculture, hunting and forestry

Figure 23

**EMPLOYMENT OF EGYPTIANS BY ECONOMIC SECTOR**

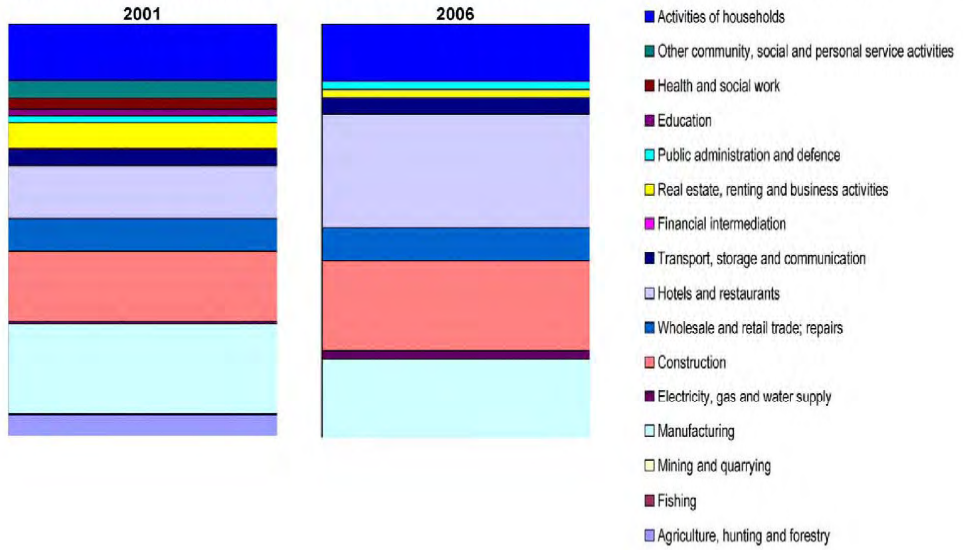


- Extra-territorial organizations and bodies
- Activities of households
- Other community, social and personal service activities
- Health and social work
- Education
- Public administration and defence
- Real estate, renting and business activities
- Financial intermediation
- Transport, storage and communication
- Hotels and restaurants
- Wholesale and retail trade; repairs
- Construction
- Electricity, gas and water supply
- Manufacturing
- Mining and quarrying
- Fishing
- Agriculture, hunting and forestry

**Figure 24**

**EMPLOYMENT OF RUSSIANS**

**BY ECONOMIC SECTOR**



## 6 Religious affiliation

Greece keeps no publicly available records of the religious affiliation, languages spoken or ethnic group of its residents. The last official Census to openly deal with these issues was in 1951, but the Greek Central Intelligence Agency is known to have carried out secret surveys since 1954, and the Foreign Ministry claims to have such knowledge derived from the 1991 Census (Kostopoulos, 2003: 60).

Given the lack of any available information at all, we are forced to use proxy measures to estimate the characteristics of immigrant groups in Greece. The most pressing question on religious affiliation, given the historic ban on mosques outside of Thrace, is the matter of how many practising Muslims there are in the immigrant population. The only available proxy measure is nationality, with serious limitations to its utility.

Table 7, below, gives aggregate data on some nationality groups selected as the principal Muslim population groups in Greece. There are two data sources – the 2001 Census and the Residence Permit database of the Interior Ministry. The Census data are derived from a 10% sample, in order to identify locations in Greece, and the nationality totals appear to undersample all immigrant groups by 10-15% compared with published data. The residence permit dataset used is of cumulative permits, as opposed to valid permits, and may slightly overstate some nationality groups.

Three nationalities are marked with asterisks: Turkey, Egypt and Kazakhstan. The appearance of people with Turkish citizenship is most likely to be the result of Greeks who lost their Greek citizenship under the infamous Greek citizenship law; or alternatively, they may be ethnic Greeks who migrated to Greece after 1945 and were refused Greek citizenship, as was the policy for most of the twentieth century. It is, therefore, unclear what might be the religion of those residents with Turkish citizenship (7,881 in published Census data) but most of whom have not held residence permits (only 1,248). In the case of Egyptians, the higher figure (13,000 extra) with residence permits is doubtless the result of the Greek policy of giving residence permits to seasonal workers: these 13,000 additional persons should not be counted as residents of Greece. In the case of Kazakhstani, only 50% of citizens of that country are Muslim: it is not clear what religion those in Greece profess. Finally, we exclude Albanians from this proxy measure, on the grounds that it is impossible to know what religion (if any) is professed, and attempts to estimate this would involve massive errors owing to the very large number of Albanians resident in Greece.



Table 7

Estimates of migrants in Greece with Muslim religious affiliation, from Census and residence permit data (excluding Albanians)		
	Census 2001	Res. Permits 2006
Pakistan	9,290	28,746
Turkey*	7,230	1,248
Iraq	5,810	1,127
Egypt*	5,720	18,013
Syria	4,950	10,030
Bangladesh	3,340	10,365
Kazakhstan*	1,930	1,178
Nigeria	1,840	2,684
Iran	880	510
Jordan	620	917
<i>Total</i>	<i>41,610</i>	<i>74,818</i>

Sources: NSSG and Interior Ministry

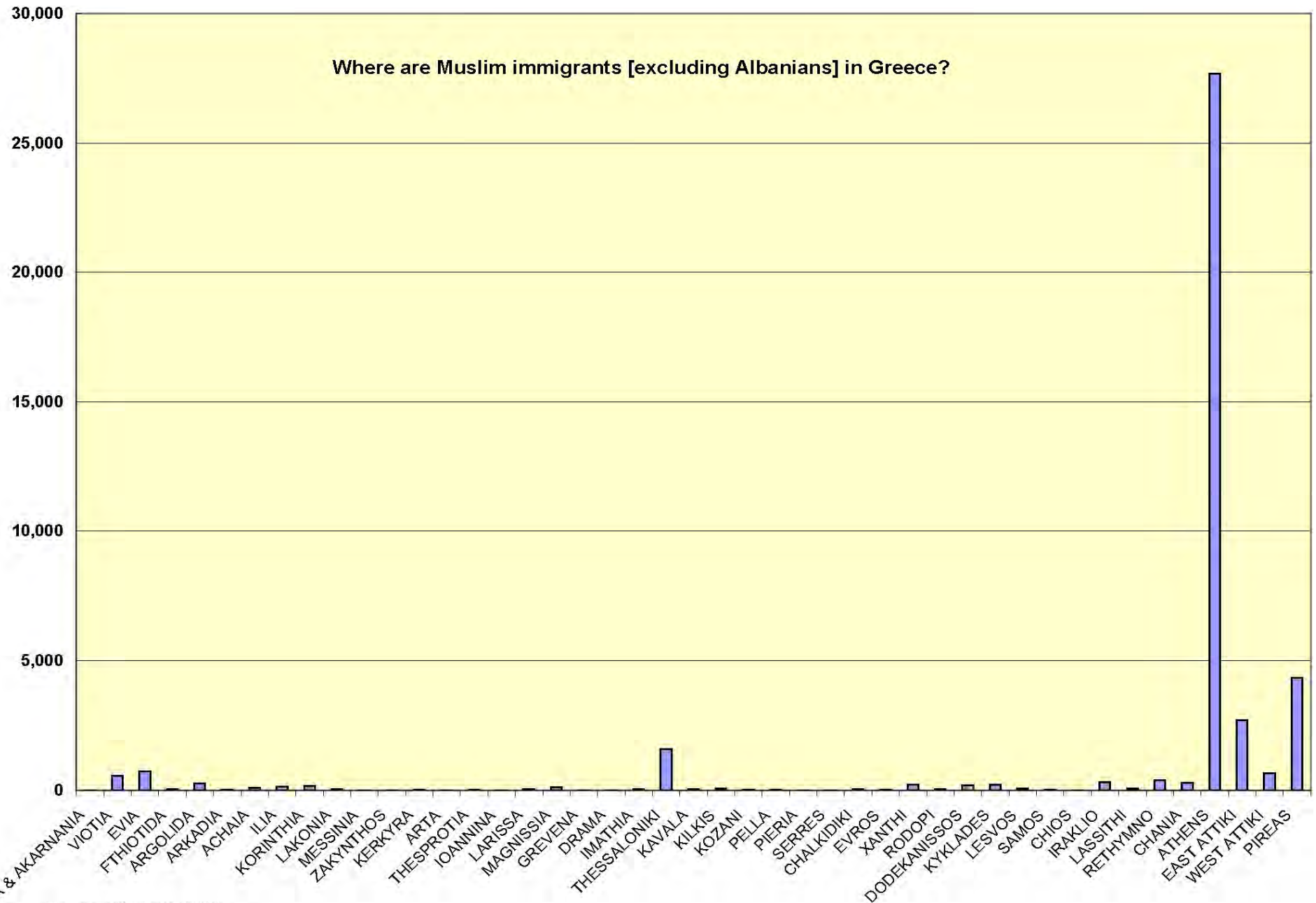
NOTE: \* indicates overestimate, in some cases [see explanatory text]

Allowing for the overestimations noted above, Table 7 indicates an important increase of Muslim populations since 2001, mainly caused by the increased number of Pakistanis, Syrians and Bangladeshi. Smaller national groups, such as Moroccan, Indonesian and Algerian, have been omitted from the table, but in total will be no more than a few thousand.

Figure 14, below, shows the location of the immigrant groups shown in Table 7 by prefecture (from the sample Census data). The primacy of Athens is evident (with over 25,000), followed by Piraeus, East Attika and Thessaloniki (each of which, with less than 5,000).

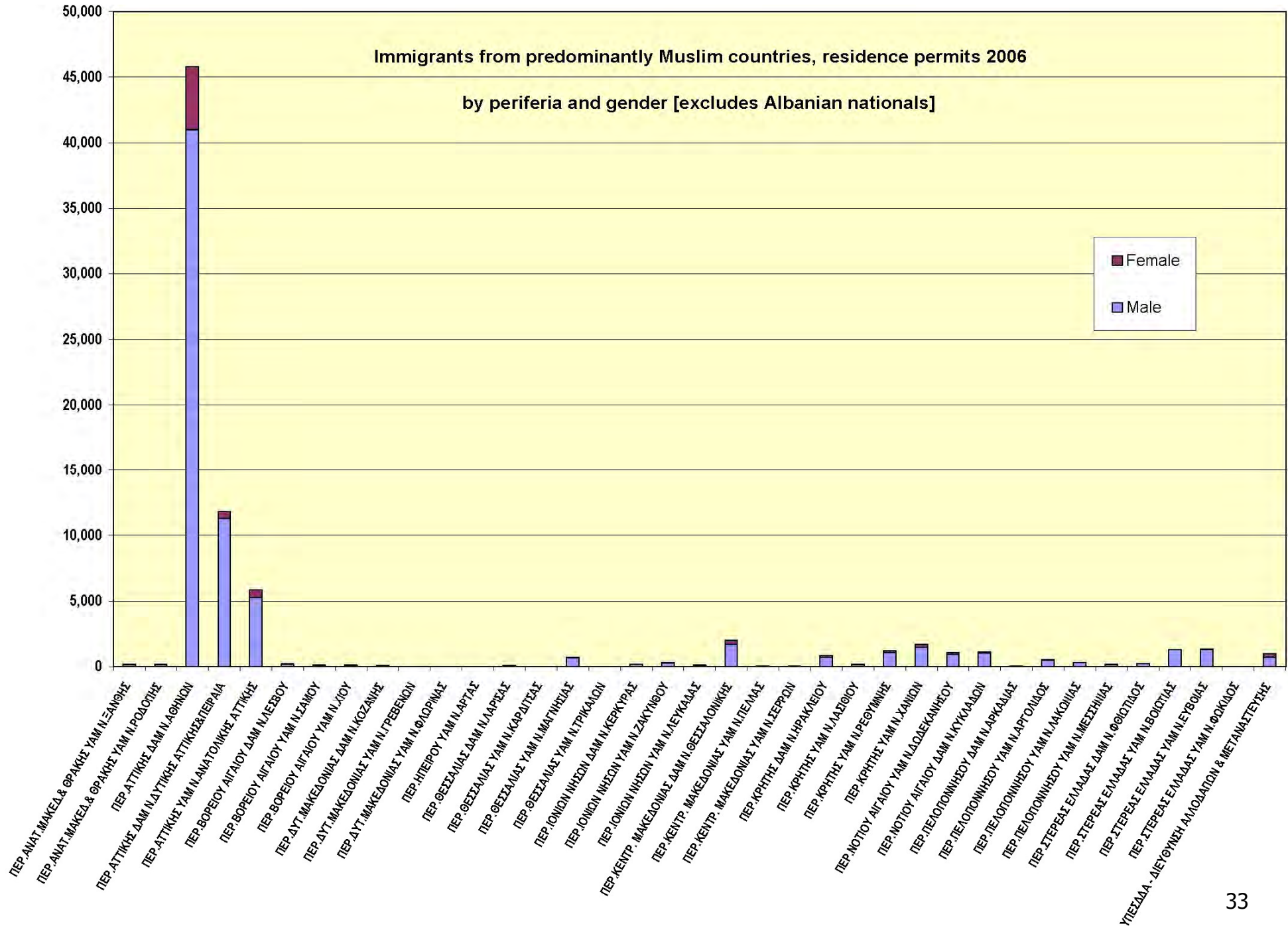
Figure 15, derived from residence permits, shows a similar pattern of location by periferia, with Athens (35,000), Piraeus-West Attika, and East Attika as the primary locations. However, there are also smaller numbers (not visible in the Census data) of Muslim nationalities on Crete, the islands of the Dodecanese and Cyclades, Viotia and Evia, as well as Thessaloniki. Also shown in this graphic is the gender distribution, which is very heavily weighted toward male. Only in Athens is there any significant proportion of women, which suggests possible family formation in that region.

Figure 25: Location of Muslim immigrants in Greece (Census 2001)



Source: Census 2001

Figure 26: Location of Muslim immigrants in Greece (Residence permits 2006)



## 7 Educational level

The only available information on skill levels of immigrants consists of the data on educational level from the 2001 Census, therefore no comparison can be made over time. Table 8, below, gives summary data for the nineteen major nationalities, along with a comparison for the Greek adult population. Overall, the data show immigrants as not being significantly different in educational profile from the Greek population, with the exception of more illiterate<sup>1</sup> persons (9 per cent compared with the Greek 4 per cent) and a much lower proportion of immigrants who failed to complete high school (34 per cent compared with the Greek 44 per cent). By individual nationality, there are striking differences.

The USA and UK have a very high proportion with postgraduate university education, and Ukraine, Cyprus, UK, Germany, Russia, Egypt, Armenia, Georgia and USA with first degrees. These nationalities are significantly more skilled than the Greek population. A similar, but less pronounced, pattern can be observed with higher vocational training.

A second group of nationalities can be identified, which has a high proportion who completed lyceum education: these are Romania, Cyprus and Poland (around 50 per cent compared with the Greek 27 per cent).

The third group of nationalities consists of those contributing large proportions who failed to progress beyond primary school (including those classed as illiterate). Greece itself is in this class, with 44 per cent of the population falling within the classification. Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and Iraq have just over 50 per cent with this educational level; slightly below Greek levels are Turkey, Syria, Albania and Australia.

Thus it seems reasonable to talk about a polarisation of economic migration, with the USA and UK providing highly educated workers, and the other countries in the first category also providing university educated workers. The medium-skilled category consists of Romanians, Cypriots and Polish – although it is likely that many of the Polish are actually skilled craftsmen. The unskilled category has many similarities with the Greek population, and numerically is dominated by Albanians, but it also includes significant numbers of factory workers from Bangladesh, Pakistan and India.

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<sup>1</sup>Judging by the surprisingly large proportions of 'illiterate' Germans, British and Americans – at circa 6 per cent – these data seem unreliable. Possibly, the question was misinterpreted by some census enumerators as meaning literacy in the Greek language.

**Table 8: Educational level by nationality (%)**

	Masters and PhD	Higher Education	Higher Vocational Training	Higher Secondary (Lyceum)	Lower Secondary (High School)	Primary School	Incomplete Primary School	Dropped Primary School; literate	Illiterate
<b>Total Greece</b>	0.8	11.3	4.4	27.4	11.8	31.8	0	8.7	3.8
<b>Total immigrants</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>29.3</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>21.9</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>9.2</b>
Albania	0.1	5.0	1.2	25.9	19.8	24.8	9.6	2.6	11.2
Bulgaria	0.3	10.1	2.6	32.0	18.1	23.9	4.2	3.4	5.4
Georgia	0.2	16.9	3.1	28.6	14.5	19.3	7.7	3.2	6.6
Romania	0.3	6.6	2.4	50.5	15.5	15.0	2.5	1.9	5.3
USA	5.2	15.9	6.4	26.0	9.3	22.1	6.2	2.9	6.0
Russia	0.5	19.2	4.6	30.3	13.4	16.1	6.8	2.6	6.4
Cyprus	2.9	23.5	4.4	53.3	4.5	7.7	1.5	0.7	1.5
Ukraine	0.4	25.9	7.0	35.9	10.9	11.2	4.5	1.0	3.2
UK	4.9	22.1	10.7	32.8	7.7	10.3	4.9	1.1	5.6
Poland	0.5	9.7	4.9	48.5	13.0	9.6	5.1	0.8	8.0
Germany	2.2	20.6	6.6	33.0	11.0	13.5	5.4	1.8	5.9
Pakistan	0.2	1.8	2.3	21.2	21.6	30.6	0.6	8.0	13.8
Australia	0.9	11.2	5.5	27.3	12.8	27.9	5.3	4.7	4.6
Turkey	0.7	9.4	3.2	32.4	10.6	30.3	1.8	6.0	5.4
Armenia	0.2	17.0	3.2	31.8	13.4	16.3	9.6	2.3	6.1
Egypt	0.6	18.5	4.7	31.2	10.2	15.2	2.7	4.3	12.5
India	0.3	1.6	1.2	22.9	21.1	35.8	0.6	5.7	10.7
Iraq	0.3	5.4	2.2	19.0	14.6	27.9	7.4	7.2	15.9
Philippines	0.4	10.5	11.7	41.1	13.3	10.9	3.1	1.9	7.2

Source: Census 2001

## 8 The second generation of immigrants in Greece

The international literature accommodates a wider view than simple “second generation” immigrants, with such concepts as 1.25, 1.5 and 1.75 generations [i.e. foreign-born children arriving at the ages of >12, <12 and <6 respectively] (Rumbaut, 1997). Although we shall confine our analysis to the “true” second generation (those born in Greece), it is important to note that probably large numbers of non-Greek schoolchildren have arrived in their early lives (i.e. 1.75 or 1.5 generation) but nevertheless will be completely acculturated into Greek society by their teenage years.

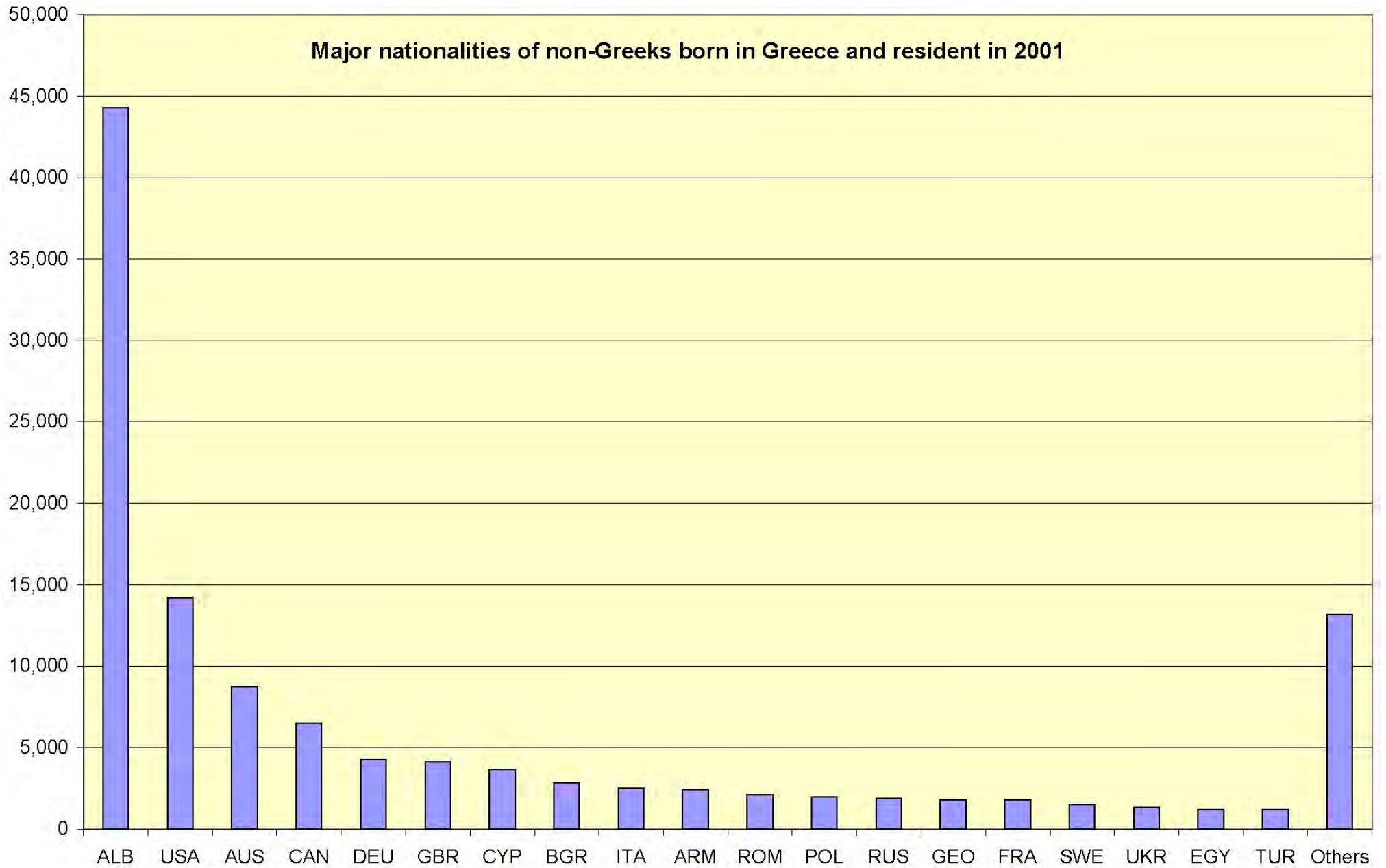
The Census provides otherwise unavailable information on birthplace and citizenship (nationalities) of residents of Greece, although with the limitation of not recording ethnicity (as previously noted) or with reliable data on legal changes of citizenship or multiple nationality holding. Figure 27 shows our calculations from Census data, of those born in Greece who did not acquire Greek citizenship through *ius sanguinis*, and presumably had not taken it through naturalisation procedures by 2001. The total is of about 120,000 non-Greek citizens resident in 2001 who had also been born in Greece. Of these, the most numerous are Albanians (44,000), Americans (14,000) and Australians (9,000). It is possible that some of these are *homogeneis*, but the Census data do not confirm that hypothesis, with almost none declaring themselves as *homogeneis* without Greek citizenship.<sup>1</sup>

This record of a stock of foreign nationals born on Greek territory is not overly helpful, as it does not indicate the ages of respondents in the data available. However, the stock data can be supplemented with recent data on foreign births in Greece. Only since late 2006 have data been collated for births and deaths of foreign nationals within the territory. Table 9 below shows the unpublished data for 2005. Immigrant births (as defined by maternal nationality, which might overstate the extent) constituted some 16.5 per cent of all births in 2005. Of these alien births, the majority (60.3 per cent) were to Albanian women, and over 70 per cent were to women from four neighbouring countries – Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine. Thus, the birth rates are in proportion to immigrant population group sizes. This is slightly surprising, as the more youthful immigrant population has an aggregate birthrate apparently similar to the very low birthrate of Greeks. Recently published research (Bagavos *et al.*, 2007) confirms the very low birthrate of Albanian women in Greece, in comparison with the fertility rate in Albania.

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<sup>1</sup> There is serious confusion, both by the NSSG and the general public, about the meanings of the different concepts of citizenship, nationality and ethnicity. This confusion, which apparently will not be remedied in the 2011 Census, makes the data probably meaningless when trying to distinguish between these categories.

Figure 27



Source: Census 2001

**Table 9**  
**Births in Greece of foreign nationals and Greek nationals in 2005**

<b>Nationality of mother</b>	
<i>Greek</i>	89,812
Albanian	10,690
Bulgarian	1,025
Romanian	982
Ukrainian	506
Russian	439
Georgian	403
Polish	368
Moldavian	293
Syrian	265
Egyptian	200
Others	2,562
<b>Total aliens</b>	<b>17,733</b>

Source: NSSG: private communication

The data for foreign births in 2004 are similar to those of 2005; there are no data available for previous years. Assuming that the foreign birthrate has been more or less constant over the period 2001-2007, the total number of persons born in Greece since 2001 should be about  $(6 \times 18,000) = 108,000$  – with Albanians forming the majority at 64,000.

To obtain some idea of the total foreign population, of all ages, born in Greece we can combine the two sources of data. This leads to a total figure of 220,000 persons, with Albanians at around 110,000. Thus, excluding the in-between generations, the “true” second generation in Greece constitutes around one third of third country nationals with valid residence permits [i.e. excluding EU nationals] and second-generation Albanians are around 30% of Albanian residence permit holders, or 20% of estimated total Albanians in Greece [allogeneis + homogeneis].<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> As with all data in Greece, it is unclear what nationality would be recorded for the children of *homogeneis*. Given that the birth data record only the nationality of the mother (whereas a child born of a Greek father and foreign mother would acquire Greek nationality automatically), all of these data are suspect.



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