

FINAL PROJECT REPORT

Maximising the Benefits of Migration in a Small Island Economy: the case of the island of Rhodes

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Executive Summary

Introduction

1. The main objectives of the study were to: (a) establish the broad nature of migrant population living and working on the island of Rhodes; (b) explore the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrants; (c) examine the sectors of migrant employment; (d) establish the profile of accommodation used by different migrant groups, and the extent to which they are able to access health and training services; (e) analyse pay and working conditions of migrants in the island; (f) test the validity of some previous findings that migrants and locals compete for jobs in the informal economy thus triggering local conflicts; (g) provide an understanding of the kind of services offered to migrants, and the efficiency of such services; and (h) document the experiences of local residents with the immigrant communities living with them on the island

2. The study examines these questions in a setting of a small island economy. Such economies present a number of idiosyncratic characteristics, including their remoteness, reduced accessibility, smallness, relative self-containment, and cohesiveness. These characteristics make small island economies distinctive from other local economies found in the mainland; but they also allow for more clarity and transparency in the effects that are studied here. Migrants in small island economies are more visible. This creates greater scope both for increased frictions with the local community and for a more organic integration. They are also more relevant for resolving labour market bottlenecks accruing from the weaker quantitative adjustments (e.g., commuting) thus increasing the scope for both greater contributions to the local economy and greater dumping-down effects through competition.

3. The literature identifies both of these effects operating in the large labour markets of Greece, in which most of the empirical research is focused. Among the identified effects of immigration are the compression of wages for low-skilled jobs, the filling of skill gaps and shortages, the strengthening of labour supply for specific sectors and occupations, the increase of locals' labour force participation especially of females, the strain on local resources (e.g., public services, housing, etc) and social cohesion, and others.

4. In this study, 'new' or 'economic' immigrants are defined as foreign born individuals who came to Greece after 1989 from countries of a lower level of development than Greece, with the purpose of looking for work. 'Leisure' migrants are those foreign-born who have come to Rhodes from the developed world, typically to buy a property, retire and/or start a family with a local person. These are usually citizens of Western Europe, the Scandinavian countries, USA and Australia.

Methodology

5. In-depth interviews based on a questionnaire were conducted with 40 economic immigrants coming from 14 countries: Abkhazia, Afghanistan, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Pakistan, Nigeria, Colombia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Egypt, and the neighbouring Bulgaria and Albania. A separate questionnaire was used for interviewing 'leisure' immigrants. Another 40 semi-structured interviews approximately were conducted with local residents, policy officials, and figures of authority, using detailed topic guides. A focus group of local residents was also formed. Interviews were conducted between June 2008 and January 2009. Slightly more men than women were interviewed. A snowball sample using multiple entry points was used to identify immigrants while local residents were interviewed on the spot. This was not a representative sample so findings are only indicative.

6. Interviews with local policy officials included the Mayor of Rhodes, the Archbishop, the Chief of Police for the Dodecanese, the director of the Office in Rhodes for Emergency Policy Planning (PSEA), some social workers at the Centre for Employment Support (vulnerable groups) 'Kallipatira', the Manager of the Statistical Services for North-East Aegean in Rhodes, the Director of the Rhodes Labour Centre and the Manager of the Immigration Office on the island.

The choice of Rhodes

7. A significant proportion of the immigrants from outside the EU and the new EU member states are in Rhodes to find employment. Rhodes also hosts a disproportionately large number of 'leisure' immigrants while the wider Dodecanese region is also an entry point for undocumented migrants smuggled from Turkey.

Thus, there is a significant diversity in the composition of the migrant communities in the island.

8. Rhodes exhibits many of the attributes identified as characteristic of small island economies. It moreover has a diverse production base, combining an outward-oriented tourism sector with more traditional agriculture activities and some light manufacturing (food processing). It also combines urban and rural areas and thus also traditional and modern socio-cultural characteristics.

9. Family and friends already on the island was the main reason for most immigrants choosing to settle in Rhodes. Its natural and social amenities are a significant pull factor, while the island was also attractive with its high employment opportunities (at least during the summer months) and relatively high wages in the touristic businesses.

Size and characteristics of migrant population in Rhodes

10. The immigrant community of Rhodes is sizeable, accounting for over 9% of the total population, a figure which is well above the national average for Greece. The evidence on the temporal evolution of migration in the island is limited and subject to significant data quality problems. However, according to LFS figures, if anything, there appears to be a small upward trend of immigrants in the last decade – continuing at a lower pace the trend observed in the late 1990s.

11. As elsewhere in Greece, Albanians account for a large part of migrant population in the island. As a share, however, they are much less significant than elsewhere in the country. In contrast, proportionally immigrants from OECD countries, especially the USA, Australia and some Scandinavian countries, are significantly over-represented. Other significant migrant communities in the island of Rhodes include migrants from the UK, Canada, Bulgaria, Germany, Holland and Ukraine.

12. The region has above-average shares of female migrants of working age population, both for 'economic' and for 'leisure' migrants. In contrast, for males Rhodes has a higher incidence of migrants of retirement age, although this is mainly due to migration originating from OECD countries – male immigrants from transition and less developed countries are typically of a young age (45 years old or younger).

13. The region has also a relatively small share of migrants with a refugee status or claiming asylum. Despite Dodecanese being a significant entry point for immigrants smuggled into Greece, in Rhodes there is a general perception that there are very few undocumented immigrants in the island. The fieldwork research was able to locate some undocumented immigrants (who were citizens of the former Soviet republics), although these were only a small fraction of the migrants interviewed.

14. Patterns of living arrangements and family status vary significantly across ethnic groups (country of origin). Over half of the immigrants interviewed were married with children. Bulgarian, Albanian and Vietnamese migrants had their families in Rhodes. Egyptian, Pakistani and Nigerian migrants, with an average of three children, had their spouses and children in the origin. Most migrants were living in rented accommodation. As elsewhere in Greece, over-crowding was mainly associated to specific migrant communities (Pakistanis).

15. Most of the interviewed had resided in Greece on average for 11 years while in Rhodes they had been on average for eight years. Over half of the immigrants had lived elsewhere in Greece (Athens and Northern Greece) before settling on the island. Immigrants were spread everywhere on the island but the highest concentration was in the suburbs of the city of Rhodes where accommodation was more affordable.

Experiences in the labour market in Rhodes

16. Based on Census 2001 data, unemployment in Rhodes appears particularly high, for both locals and immigrants (LFS data are not available and/or reliable at this level of spatial aggregation). Given the extent of Rhodes' seasonal employment, however, it is possible that the Census over-estimated the extent of unemployment in the island. This is consistent with our fieldwork research, where most of the immigrants reported the employment opportunities offered in Rhodes as a significant pull factor. In our sample, levels of migrant employment were very high, with only one in forty migrants interviewed being out of employment (unemployed).

17. Migrants were concentrated in four sectors: hotels, restaurants, sales and cleaning. This is consistent with data available from the 2001 Census, where the main employment destination for migrants is services. Service-sector employment is particularly prevalent for females, with over 80% of females employed there. In

contrast, male migrants are predominantly employed in the industrial sectors (29% compared to less than 20% for Greece). Employment in the primary sector is similar with that of locals. Nationality differences in sectoral employment destinations appear quite significant, with immigrants from Africa being over-concentrated in the industrial sector and immigrants from transition countries and Asia being under-represented in the services and in the industrial sector, respectively.

18. As with the rest of Greece, migrants appear much less likely to be working in skilled occupations (by up to a factor of 3, compared with the locals), although their shares in Rhodes and the Dodecanese are much higher than those for Greece as a whole. The incidence of unskilled employment is some 3.5 times higher for migrants than for Greek nationals and, as with the rest of Greece, over 50% of them are employed in such occupations. The incidence of unskilled employment for females is some 75% higher than the corresponding figure for males. African immigrants appear to have higher concentrations in skilled occupations relative to the group's share in the national economy while for OECD immigrants the opposite is observed.

19. Our empirical findings indicated a moderate degree of competition for jobs between locals and migrants in some sectors. Local residents working in construction and hotels felt threatened by the presence of immigrants, who were willing to accept lower wages. More widely expressed were concerns about the wage compression effects of immigration, with migrants bidding-down wages for locals – although we found evidence of more or less equal pay between locals and legalised foreign workers. Lower wages may have displaced some locals out of employment (into inactivity), although possibly they have also contributed to a closing in the gap of sectoral wage premia for locals.

Migrants' needs, access to services and perceptions by the locals

20. Acquiring and sustaining legal status was identified as the main issue for migrants on the island. Ambiguity with their legal status and delays in renewing their residence permits had spill-over implications on many aspects of their working and living, including their ability to secure better working conditions and employment arrangements as well as more permanent forms of accommodation (being property). Problems with their legal status also increased the potential victimisation and

exploitation of immigrants, through either discrimination (e.g., in the workplace) or corruption (e.g., paying extra-normal fees to lawyers).

21. Besides the legal status issue, the main problem faced by immigrants was language. Although most migrants we interviewed had a descent or above level of spoken Greek (in fact, all East European in the sample were fluent in spoken Greek), practically none of them could read or write in Greek. Asian men faced the most acute language problems. Linguistic barriers were found to have a significant bearing on the prospects of migrants' integration. In some cases they directly lead to the insularity and segregation of migrant communities. In others, they have similar effects as those mentioned with respect to the legal status (discrimination and exploitation).

22. Language was also a critical factor affecting access to services. For the African and Asian communities dealing with the public administration was hindered by lack of translators and documentation in the migrants' language. But also in cases where information is available in other languages, the quality of service is judged particularly low – especially with regard to local authorities in the case of issuing / renewing residence and work permits. This was attributed not only to bureaucratic inefficiency (which is a characteristic affecting similarly Greek nationals) but also to a racist mentality, both by the administration at large and by the public servants staffing the relevant offices.

23. Access to other services was judged more satisfactory, especially with regard to hospitals and schooling. But more broadly use of public services by migrants appears rather low relative to the locals. Also low is the level of their collective representation – through migrants' associations, trade unions, or cultural associations. There are a few migrants associations in the island of Rhodes, but generally participation is constrained by the migrants' working patterns (e.g., long hours). Regarding union representation, it was suggested in the interviews that this is hindered by the fact that unionisation would make it very hard for a migrant to find employment.

24. While these experiences provide some evidence of discrimination against migrants, in general attitudes towards the immigrants in Rhodes are reasonably positive. On balance there was relatively little concern about job competition and wage dumping and practically no concerns expressed about segregation, crime, or any other cultural and social effects. Attitudes towards migration, however, tended to vary significantly depending on the migrants' country of origin and socio-economic status and the locals' previous experience with migration. Local residents who

themselves had been migrants in other countries tended to be more positive towards immigrants. Local residents who had not experienced migration themselves were more likely to show discriminatory preferences towards wealthier foreigners on the island. All locals tended to feel more positively about migrants with families, citing the increase in the share of this group as one of the key reasons for the declining concerns about crime and the smooth integration of the migrants into the island.

Conclusions

25. The migrant population of Rhodes is both sizeable and diverse. It covers a range of circumstances, from well-off individuals who were attracted to the island for its amenities, to economic migrants that came to the island with little choice. Some of its migrants are indifferent to integration, preferring or being pushed to insularity. Others make significant efforts to integrate, often facing important problems from bureaucracy, corruption and discrimination. Although the question of legal status was the more frequently expressed concern, language appears to be the main barrier to integration – especially as, despite instances of discrimination, local's attitudes to migration are perhaps more positive than in other parts of Greece.

26. Besides the legalisation issue, the problems that the migrants and their communities face are situational, i.e., they vary by location, personal characteristics and circumstances, sector of employment, etc. They thus call for local-specific solutions and initiatives targeting migrants' personal circumstances, with the implication that the design and implementation of policies for migrant integration should be devolved and personalised. But they also call for demand-side interventions, i.e., policies that seek to improve the receptive environment for migration (such as the extent of labour market slack, the availability and affordability of housing, and the openness of the local communities), which comparison of the results of this study with those obtained from other studies in Greece has shown to be important.

1 Introduction

Migration movements have characterised Greece throughout its modern history and have impacted on its economic, social, political and demographic development. In the last two decades Greece has completed about a century-long cycle of emigration and repatriation and has entered a new era of net immigration, as the collapse of the communist regimes in its northern borders brought mass waves of immigration into the country.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, Greeks emigrated initially to the United States and Australia, and later on to Europe. The first wave of overseas emigrants headed to transoceanic destinations. Many departed from the islands or the rural areas of mainland Greece where incomes were low and the prospects bleak, at a time when domestic alternatives for making a living outside the farm were very limited. This was the time when the national boundaries of Greece were gradually widening as previously occupied territories were re-annexed (Ionian Islands, 1864; Thessaly, 1881; Macedonia and Epirus, 1914, and Thrace, 1920) expanding the Greek population and labour force. Employment opportunities were scarce; pressures in the labour market were further exacerbated by the entry of 1.2 million Greek refugees from Asia Minor in 1922, and following the 1929 economic crisis, when more than half of the immigrants from USA returned home. In the aftermath of World War II, overseas emigration was resumed and Greek emigrants headed mostly to Western Europe, especially to Germany where jobs were created as part of the pos-war reconstruction.

At the same time, Greece itself began to grow fast via mechanisation and the reconstructing of its economy, partly financed by Marshall Plan transfers. Following the end of the WWII, and the British military administration in Rhodes and the other Dodecanese islands in March 1948, Greeks islanders resumed emigration mainly to Australia and USA, and to a lesser degree to Western Europe. These trends continued until the late 1970s, when the repercussions of the two oil shocks led to a reversal in the migration policies of many migrant recipient countries (including the USA and Germany).¹

After the fall of communism in 1989 in Eastern and Central Europe, increasing flows of legal and illegal migrants from these countries entered Greece in search for jobs

¹ For a comprehensive historical review of migration processes from, to, and via Greece, see Glytsos and Katseli (2003).

and better living standards. According to 2001 Census data, the number of foreign born individuals in Greece was 762,000, which comprises 7% of the Greek population. Of them, 413,000 had come to Greece for work, corresponding to 9% of the total workforce of the country. Today the figure is believed to be somewhat higher, reaching 8% of total population and 10% of the total labour force, under conservative estimates. The economic and social impacts of such a significant migration influx have generated great interest to social scientists and policy makers in Greece and have led to a growing literature on the topic and heated policy and public debates.

Despite the large and intense migration movements, which quickly covered most parts of mainland Greece, some areas remained rather unaffected by the new immigration for a number of years since this migration wave started. The island of Rhodes was clearly one of these areas. Given its geographical position and its distance from mainland Greece and the Balkan borders, Rhodes only became the recipient of large economic migration (mainly from Albania, as everywhere else in Greece) relatively later, sometime in 1995 onwards. Despite this, the island of Rhodes had already a significant experience with migration and notable cultural openness and interaction with non-Greek nationals. Foreigners have been visiting the island in large groups at least since the proliferation of leisure tourism in the 1950s and 1960s. Through the repatriation of old emigrants (e.g., returning from Australia, bringing back their half-Greek families and spouses) as well as through the permanent settlement of foreign nationals (mainly from the developed world), who were attracted to the island by its amenities and were able to settle there after marrying a local person, the population of Rhodes experienced not only relatively high *interactions* with foreign nationals but also a high degree of *integration* with them.

These, however, were qualitatively different foreigners and different migration experiences. The western foreigners were typically coming from richer countries, with incomes higher than the average of the local population, and they were coming to the island to retire rather than to look for work. They were not economic migrants but rather 'leisure' ones. Moreover, they were coming in small numbers and through some form of a 'local' connection (e.g., through their spouses). When in the mid-1990s the new migrants from the former communist countries started arriving in large numbers, the immigration experience changed dramatically for the population of Rhodes and of the Dodecanese more generally. These migration inflows were also

combined with increased numbers of mostly illegal immigrants arriving from Asia (e.g., the middle east, due to the instability of countries such as Iraq, or China, due to this country's opening-up of its borders), who were increasingly being smuggled into the country through the Turkish coast. As happened in most other places in Greece, the new migrants brought pressures to the local labour markets –often squeezing wages (especially for low-skilled occupations) and possibly displacing some domestic workers from such occupations– as well as to the local societies (by upsetting the local social equilibria and allegedly increasing dramatically crime rates in the country). Although today it is widely accepted that the overall economic (and social) impact of the immigration experience of the 1990s has been positive², the scale, intensity and character of the flow created significant room for friction and antagonism between the local and migrant communities.

The way these antagonisms, as well as the wider positive and adverse social and economic effects of migration, developed in the last 15 years has been examined to a reasonable extent in the Greek literature. Unsurprisingly, however, the focus of this research has been disproportionately (and, from an analytical point of view, unjustifiably) concentrated in the Attica region and to a smaller extent in Thessaloniki. Given the openness, density, fragmentation and segregation of the large metropolitan areas, and the impersonal nature of many of the social relations developed there, the disproportionate focus of the relevant research in these two areas is particularly problematic. This is because migrant integration is predominantly a social phenomenon (although its economic and especially labour market dimension is undeniably very important) and as such it should be better studied in an environment that allows for the full development of social relations.

The island of Rhodes presents an interesting example of such an environment. This is not only because of its diverse historical experience with migration and interaction with foreigners, already discussed. As we argue later, there is a unique analytical value in examining issues of migration and migrant integration in the context of a remote, small island economy, where social relations are more traditional and more transparent, and where the demographic and economic structures put more pressures to both the migrant and local communities. The island of Rhodes was selected as the case study of this project because it combines the analytically

² Among others, migration is believed to have contributed to resolving some important skill and supply shortages; to have allowed the country to achieve fast non-inflationary growth (due to wage restraint instigated by the inflow of migrants); to have strengthened demand for local products (as low-wage immigrants have very low import intensities); and to have helped maintain remote rural communities that were in a chronic decline for decades.

important characteristics of smallness, peripherality and diversity with the empirically necessary attribute of data availability. Rhodes is sufficiently large in size for statistical data to be available (and meaningful) and sufficiently small for the process of migrant integration to be a community-wide issue – and thus for a series of questions concerning migration and migrant integration to be successfully addressed through a small-scale fieldwork research.³

Despite this claim, interestingly, as has been observed already, most of our knowledge about migrant integration in Greece comes from studies in Athens and other mainland urban centres. In this project we sought to partly fill this gap by utilising the distinctiveness of Rhodes as a small island economy and as a diverse migrant destination in order to examine whether and *to what extent migration in Rhodes is qualitatively and quantitatively different than elsewhere in Greece*. We investigated this question along three inter-linked dimensions: (a) migrants' socio-demographic composition and attitudes; (b) local's receptiveness and competition for jobs and services; and (c) migrants' integration and employment / life-course destinations.

Although our analysis does not allow us to derive specific policy recommendations, as we have not sought here to evaluate specific policy measures, we build on the wealth of the information that we have collected and collated in this report, seeking to explore, albeit somewhat tentatively, what are the distinctive policy implications that derive from the insights offered by the study of Rhodes and what are the lessons to be learnt for Greek migration policy at large. There are three key dimensions that we consider in particular. First, the distinction between, on the one hand, migration policy as a means of controlling and directing migration flows and, on the other, migration policy as a tool for integrating the migrants to local communities without raising adverse distributional implications and group-specific welfare losses (i.e., by promoting inclusion and achieving positive outcomes for migrant and resident communities alike). Second, the question about whether migration policy should be predominantly designed and implemented at the national level, or whether a more decentralised policy structure (at the regional or sub-regional levels) would make more sense given the variations in local needs and potentials across the country. Third, and to some extent related to the previous point, whether migration policy should be designed along ethnic-origin lines (e.g., Europeans, Asians, etc), need-based principles (e.g., refugees, economic migrants, leisure migrants, etc), or wider

³ To date, the most detailed study of migrant integration in Greece is the 2004 study of the Labour Institute of the Greek General Confederation of Workers, which has concentrated on the Attica region.

sectoral-occupational policies and objectives (i.e., with respect to identified labour market needs and problems).

We discuss these issues in the final section of this report. The remainder of this report is structured in two parts, as follows. Part I comprises of three chapters, which give the wider context of the study. Chapter 2 offers a brief literature review, which highlights the key findings of relevant research on migration and migrant integration in Greece and follows the historical evolution of this literature. Chapter 3 sets out the wider theoretical and conceptual context by examining the distinctiveness of small island economies and linking it to the issue of migration. Chapter 4 explains in more detail the choice of the study area (Rhodes) by reviewing some of its key features and characteristics; it elaborates on the research questions that are addressed in this study; and discusses the fieldwork techniques used and the methodological challenges faced – together with the lessons learnt from them.

Part II contains the empirical analysis of the project and comprises of four chapters. Chapter 5 looks mainly at secondary statistical data (from the 2001 Census and other sources) seeking to sketch a picture of the extent and main characteristics of migration in the Rhodes island and the Dodecanese region more generally. Chapter 6 uses a combination of statistical (Census-based) and qualitative (fieldwork-based) information to provide a profile of immigration on the island, focusing on the main socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants and on how and why those interviewed had come to live in Greece, and specifically in Rhodes. Chapter 7 examines the experiences of migrants in the local labour market, their employment destinations, pay characteristics and working conditions. In turn, Chapter 8 examines the social circumstances of migrants in Rhodes and their relations with the locals, with a specific focus on migrants' housing and health (section 8.1), their use of local/public social services (section 8.2) and the local populations' attitudes towards the immigrant communities (section 8.3), especially in relation to the links between and across these groups on the island. The report concludes with a final chapter which summarises the findings and, as mentioned above, offers a policy discussion concerning the questions of community cohesion and of migration policy.

PART I – CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

2 Literature review – research on migrants in Greece

Given the small size of migration to Greece prior to 1990 and the fact that the limited immigration flows (from the developed West, from parts of Africa and the Middle East) did not seem to pose significant problems of cohesion and integration, migration phenomena have received little attention in policy and academic analyses of Greece before this period. Since the beginning of the 1990s, however, the scale and intensity of the migration flows have generated a lot of attention and have sparked lively policy debates and a growing academic research onto the study of the patterns, destinations and integration of economic migration into the country.

Research studies that have examined the effects of migration in the last 15 years have been utilising data from the two legalisation programmes in 1998 and 2001, the Labour Force Surveys, the Population Census of 2001 and other government sources such as the Ministry of Public Order and the Ministry of Justice. Most of these studies have been predominantly of descriptive nature providing data on migrants' countries of origin, their age, gender, etc – together with some sporadic estimates of the direct migration effects on the Greek economy and society.

However, most of these studies encountered severe data limitations and thus their measurements were of questionable accuracy. Also the methods employed and the research questions addressed were of limited value to the estimation of the general equilibrium effects of immigration on Greece's economic development, on its labour market (employment, displacement, wages, etc), on its crime rates, as well as on the extent of xenophobia and racism in the local population. More recent research has focused on issues such as migrant integration, second-generation migrants' employment and educational needs, and impacts on the social insurance funds. Some of the most recent studies include Baldwin-Edwards et al (2004), Cavounidis (2003), Cavounidis (2006), Kasimis et al (2003), Lianos (2003), Lianos and Benos (2003), Sarris and Zografakis (1999), Kanellopoulos (2006), Zografakis et al (2006), Demousis et al (2006), Hletsos et al (2005) and Lianos (2008).⁴

Studying data from 1997, Sarris and Zografakis (1999) found that the total migration influx corresponded to 3.2% of the workforce and it was occupied primarily in

⁴ For a recent review on migration research in Greece, see the two-volume publication by Cavounidis et al (2008) that summarises a variety of papers presented at the migration conference organised by IMEPO in November 2006.

agriculture and construction. At that time, some 37% of the Greek population had allegedly experienced a decrease in their income because of migration, and some 50,000 jobs were lost to migrants.

Some 12 years later, it is estimated that migrant workers comprise 10% of the country's workforce and 8% of the population. Today, it is argued, migrant consumption has created 115,000 new jobs – 100,000 of them were for local people and 15,000 for migrants. Sectors that appeared to have benefited most from migration are construction, agriculture and the manufacturing of household goods such as electric appliances, air-conditioning etc. Zografakis et al (2006) estimate that the effect on the real incomes of poor Greek families was a decline of some 3.5%, while for medium and high income families there was an increase of about 1% and 0.2%, respectively. Demousis et al (2006) gauge that there is still a considerable gap in wages between migrants and local workers, with Greeks earning about 40% more; their research assesses that some 88% of foreign workers are employed in the private sector compared to 63% Greeks and the share of migrants who are not insured (9%) is significantly higher than the corresponding share of Greeks (2%). Moreover, migrants are concentrated in manual, unskilled jobs while Greeks are occupied in service provision as businessmen and specialized technicians. It is exactly this “asymmetric” access to the labour market of migrants and locals –the researchers argue– that explains the persistent difference in their wages.

Cavounidis (2006a) examines another migration impact previously ignored by researchers. With the migrant presence in Greece, work formerly performed in the context of the family has been transformed by migrants for pay. This substitution of family labour by migrant labour has been of two types: the one occurring in family enterprises and the other one occurring in the home, with respect to domestic work and the care for dependents. In the case of Greece, it was precisely the presence of migrants willing to work for relatively low wages that made the employment of domestic assistants affordable for many households. In a survey of newly regularised migrants in 1998, Cavounidis (2003) revealed that some 80% of the migrant women worked in various cleaning, domestic and personal service occupations. Specifically, 42% of all women were domestic workers, an occupation that usually included care of children or elderly in the home; 18% of women were occupied with the cleaning of offices, hotels and other spaces except homes and another 7% were waitresses.

In a recent study of female employment participation using data from the Survey on Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), Lyberaki (2008) has argued that

the availability of cheap migrant labour that was willing (and capable) to take on household tasks traditionally performed by women (such as child care and care for the elderly), has allowed the re-entry into the labour market of a large segment of Greece's female population. This has, on the one hand, generated valuable labour supply injections in the economy allowing it to maintain high and non-inflationary rates of growth, and on the other hand created more incomes for many Greek households, which in turn fuelled consumption and supported the consumption-led growth model of the country.

Besides the attempts to measure the direct economic impact of migration, research has argued that the full impact of migration on host economies and societies depends on the mutual capacity of receiving communities and migrants to achieve integration (Cavounidis, 2006b). These capacities can not be considered fixed as they can be enhanced or hindered by the policy framework of migration and by the very process of migrant integration.

Penninx (2006) offers a basic but quite comprehensive definition of integration: 'the process of becoming an accepted part of society' (p.101). This definition formulates integration as a process rather than an end situation. It implicitly suggests that any integration process or policy should involve three domains: the legal/political domain, the socio-economic domain, and the cultural/religious domain. The definition is also flexible because it does not prescribe specific requirements for acceptance by the receiving societies. This flexibility makes the definition more useful not only for the empirical study of integration but also for policy making in divergent national and regional contexts.

For Greece and other migrant receiving countries, successful integration in the labour market has been identified as the key to achieving benefits both for the host society and the migrants themselves. Lianos (2008) emphasizes migrant wages and their experience in Greece as the most significant factors affecting their integration into the host labour market. The author suggests that the process of migrant integration is enhanced, amongst others, through vocational training, Greek language classes, recognition of foreign diplomas and skills, and the publicity of accessible information on the labour market. This is because, 'not only does the utilisation of migrants' qualifications and skills benefit the national economy, but the economic well-being of migrants is also crucial for the prevention of marginalisation and social exclusion' (Cavounidis, 2006b, p. 118). The most obvious way of utilising migrant skills and qualifications is through better knowledge of the Greek language. As noted in an

OECD report, 'language barriers appear to comprise the most important single factor limiting labour market integration of immigrants (for given skills)', rendering language programmes 'the most obvious specific intervention that might be useful' (OECD, 2002, p. 18).

The implementation of the regularisation legislation in Greece in 1998 was the first policy step undertaken towards migrant integration into the Greek labour market and the utilisation of their skills. A survey of regularised migrants in 1998 revealed the difficulties faced by migrants in securing legal employment. The main problem of regularised immigrants was not of finding work, as there were plenty of jobs available, but that of finding *legal* work. It appeared that employers were reluctant to hire migrants formally (Cavounidis, 2003).

Migrants in Greece today appear to fare relatively well along some dimensions of labour market integration such as the high proportion of the population in employment – but along other dimensions, such as access to employment in the formal sector, skills matching (access to occupations corresponding to prior training), integration seems hindered. Cavounidis (2006b) alarms of the urgent need to adopt policy measures that will prevent the return of regularised immigrants to illegal or semi-legal employment.

Immigrant civic participation in the host country can be considered as another dimension of the integration process. Three years ago, Gropas and Triandafyllidou (2005) examined migrant civic participation in Greece and concluded that immigrant activism in mainstream associations, such as trade unions or political parties, was almost non-existent. The authors explained it with, on the one hand, the inadequate Greek immigration policies that focus on enforcement measures, and on the other, the lack of a comprehensive policy framework that includes not only the regularisation of foreigners but also aims towards their integration in all sectors and areas of the host society.⁵ And, the main prerequisite for such a successful integration to take place is achieving legal status. This is the main concern and priority for any migrant in Greece, the authors argue. Hence, it was no surprise that

⁵ It is worth mentioning that in 2004, all EU member states agreed on the need to develop clear indicators and evaluation mechanisms on migrant integration into the host societies. For this reason, the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) was created. MIPEX measures policies to integrate migrants in 25 EU Member States and three non-EU countries. It uses over 140 policy indicators to create a multi-dimensional picture of migrants' opportunities to participate in European societies. MIPEX measures six integration domains: labour market access, family reunion, long-term residence, and political participation, access to nationality and anti-discrimination policies. For Greece, in 2007, MIPEX showed favourable rights associated with long-term residence and unfavourable labour market integration measures and eligibility for family reunion – while critically unfavourable (0%) were migrant electoral rights and the conditions/rights for securing Greek nationality (Niessen et al, 2007).

the main civic engagement of migrants was in ethnic migrant associations that were dealing with providing information and advice and facilitating the acquisition of legal status for their members.

A study by the GSEE Institute of Labour and the Attica Prefecture (2004), sampling over 500 migrants living in Attica, measured migrant social integration along several criteria such as migrant duration of time in Greece; participation in legalisation procedures and the time a migrant had been residing legally in Greece; language competence; employment; family reunion; type of accommodation and duration of habitation in it; cultural and religious peculiarities; migrant relations with public services; migrant relations with associations; informal social relations; relations with locals; and, main problems experienced by migrants in Greece. The study revealed bureaucratic procedures and delays with obtaining residence permits (67%) as the main obstacle to normal life in Greece, hindering the integration process altogether, followed by work related problems (19%) and, racism and differential treatment by authorities and local Greeks (6.3%).

In summary, there has been a bulk of research on the socioeconomic effects of migration and migrant integration in Greece, produced since the beginning of the 1990s. Nevertheless, most of the available studies are geographically confined to the big metropolitan centres and the surrounding areas of Athens and Thessaloniki with only few exceptions (Kasimis et al, 2003), and some of them focusing exclusively on the two biggest migrant groups in Greece, Albanians and Bulgarians (Labrianidis and Lyberaki, 2001; Labrianidis et al, 2004; Hadziprokopiou, 2003; Hatziprokopiou, 2004; Markova, 2001; Sarris and Markova, 2001). To our knowledge, no such research has been conducted in Rhodes in particular or the other islands. Yet, recent data published by the IMEPO reveals that islands in Greece have turned into important recipients of large numbers of migrants, particularly Crete, Rhodes, Kerkyra and Zakinthos (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004). This is perhaps not unrelated to a number of characteristics and features that are unique to the social and economic structure of island economies. Our project is designed to contribute towards filling this gap.

3 Researching small island economies – theoretical considerations and implications for migration

As explained above, the motivation to examine the issue of migrant integration and performance for the island of Rhodes was related to two main reasons. On the one hand, the majority of studies of migration in Greece are geographically focused on large urban areas (mainly Athens/Attica and Thessaloniki), which is to some extent natural, as these areas exhibit the largest migrant concentrations, at least in absolute terms. On the other hand, and perhaps more importantly, island economies exhibit a number of characteristics that affect the extent and quality of the processes related to immigration, migrant integration and migrant economic performance. As these characteristics are drastically different from those present in large metropolitan areas, it is important to examine here what these characteristics are and how they impact on the ability of island economies to attract, retain and integrate migrants.

There are two key features that account for the distinctiveness of island economies and their social structures. First, island economies are normally (and particularly in the case of Greece) *peripheral*, in other words they are distant from the political and economic centre. Peripherality has itself two dimensions: remoteness and accessibility. Although in the case of Rhodes remoteness is indeed a significant issue, it should be emphasised that this is not a feature necessarily associated to all island economies. In Greece, the islands of the Saronic Gulf constitute the obvious example of this.⁶ It is thus important to note that peripherality is an issue which is very often independent of physical geography, relating specifically to the question of accessibility. Accessibility denotes a separation from the centre which is not physical but, rather, economic. In this sense, it describes all island economies. This is particularly so in the case of Greece, where (land, water and air) transport infrastructures are underdeveloped and problematic. Second, island economies are characterised by what is known in the literature as '*islandness*', i.e., a certain disposition of the island economies to be insular and relatively small in size.⁷

Peripherality and islandness create two fundamental 'handicaps' to island economies. On the one hand, they experience obstacles to communication with the main centres. Distance to large and diversified markets translates in significant transportation and/or transaction costs, with the implication that island economies

⁶ Note, however, that there are numerous examples that could be used here. Evoia is in some respects an extreme case; but other cases of partial remoteness are the Sporades and Cyclades islands.

⁷ This is not an argument about the mentality or culture of the islands or about the structure of their economies – these are explained later in this section. Rather, the argument is that insularity and smallness ('islandness') is an inherent characteristic of being an island.

become more self-contained and that they find it more expensive to acquire the range and quality of products, as well as factors of production, that may be standard in other (mainland) regional economies. On the other hand and partly related to the above, island economies have a smaller market. The implication of this is that they can enjoy less the benefits of agglomeration economies and of economies of scale. This in turn implies that island economies operate at lower efficiency than similar mainland regions – a factor which comes to contribute further to their economic remoteness – and they are forced to maintain a greater degree of self-sufficiency (relative to their size⁸) in their production base.

There are a number of obvious but rather important implications emanating from the above (peripherality/islandness and inefficiency/self-sufficiency). With regard to market structure, there are two conflicting forces in operation. On the one hand, self-containment and high transaction costs, which necessitate a higher degree of self-sufficiency, push towards greater diversity in production, which in turn create the need for more (and more diverse) skills and thus less specialisation in the labour force.⁹ On the other hand, the small market size and the limitations to exploiting a wide range of agglomeration economies pushes these regions towards extreme specialisations (monocultures), especially in the tourism and fisheries industries (or in specific financial sector activities). The reason for this is the obvious presence of comparative advantages that the island economies need to exploit in order to overcome the handicaps created by high transaction and transportation costs. A consequence of this, however, is that their dependence on the centre increases, not only because they rely more on the external market to sell their products but also because supplies to their market are more conditioned on exogenous factors, such as weather conditions (sensitivity to imports).

A further implication is that local production is disproportionately reliant on local sourcing (supply chains). This raises, on the one hand, issues of quality and price-setting and, on the other, issues that have to do with local informal networks and the relationships that develop around them. Concerning the former, islandness (insularity and smallness) implies that there are fewer available suppliers for any given

⁸ That is, self-sufficiency does not imply that island economies will produce the full range of products found in the national economy. Rather, the expectation is that they will have greater variety in their production bases compared to *similar* economies (in terms of size, endowments, etc) found in mainland regions.

⁹ For example, workers occupied in the industrial or construction sectors during the winter and in the catering or agricultural sectors during the summer.

intermediate product and thus the quality of production is low.¹⁰ Similarly, the limited number of local producers for any given product category and the relatively high transportation costs (again, insularity and smallness) generate an oligopolistic environment, leading potentially to non-competitive price-setting and thus to an uneven distribution of market power. Concerning the issue of networks, it is clear that islandness allows more potential for developing local social capital. Whereas, however, social capital can have a range of positive aspects and beneficial effects, in the case of local sourcing, where market alternatives are minimal, there is an increased chance that the adverse types of social capital will dominate, leading to informal networks that limit entrepreneurialism and 'innovation'.

This brings us to the wider issue concerning the socio-cultural advantages and disadvantages characterising island economies. One of the key weaknesses of 'islandness' is its relation to the negative form of social capital, what in the literature is referred to as the 'bonding' type. This is related to the existence of old, rigid informal networks which rely on, and perpetuate, clientelistic and nepotistic relations. Such networks and relations, in turn, are linked to socio-cultural backwardness (traditionalism) and conservative attitudes towards the 'new' or the 'other'. This is further reinforced by the general tendency of young people and of females to have a higher propensity to migrate – leaving the socio-demographic structure of remote islands more skewed towards older and more male-dominated structures. The implications of all these in relation to the issue of migration in general and migrant integration in particular are potentially tremendous.

On the other hand, island economies and societies are also characterised by a range of positive aspects of social capital. First, the insularity of these localities and the relative demographic stability that is associated with it, create a strong sense of belonging and of relative homogeneity.¹¹ This increases the transparency of social relations at the local level and helps with building trust and creating a community. In some cases, this may lead to more consensual / less confrontational politics in the local communities and thus also to more efficient decision-making (at least in the sense of maintaining continuity). More importantly, however, these aspects of 'bridging' social capital can stimulate the local (island) economy to build on its

¹⁰ This can be either a statistical effect (some version of the 'law of averages') or, more probably, a competition effect, where fewer competitors lead to lower incentives for qualitative upgrading of production.

¹¹ Note that the sense of homogeneity can be perceived rather than real. The stereotypical example here would be of a non-islander who, if successfully integrated in an island's local society, becomes a 'local' him/herself. This sense of complete integration is generally absent from large urban centres and their wider hinterlands in the mainland.

distinctive identity from a 'branding' sense: the self-perception of homogeneity and distinctiveness can be translated into a local brand, which then becomes a tradable attracting resources from the mainland (e.g., through exporting a traditional local produce or by stimulating tourist flows and investment into the island).

On the other hand, the ability of island economies to capitalise on their community ties and identity may be hampered by some characteristics that have to do with the policy environment and the size and role of local administrations. The 'smallness' of island communities means that, on the one hand, they have a disproportionately high share of local administration and bureaucracy and, on the other, they have limited control over policy-design, as a significant part of policy initiatives comes from larger centres (e.g., the central or regional administrations) which are normally based outside the island. Thus, in the specific case of migration policy in Greece, island communities have no real control over the design and character of the policies implemented while their local bureaucracy is insufficiently equipped to deal with any particular issues arising without resorting to the administrative centre in Athens. On the other hand, central policy (at both the national and European levels) seems to assign elevated importance to the development and support of peripheral regions, including island economies.¹² Although this may be enabling the implementation of specific policies at the local level, it may also be responsible for the development of pathological characteristics related to aid dependence and rent-seeking (corruption). This links back to the issue of 'bonding'-type social capital and the informal networks associated with it, which may resist adaptation and socio-economic change.

All these features and characteristics –regarding the design and delivery of policy, the development and functioning of social networks, the structure of the economy, and so forth– create a distinctive environment also in the labour markets of small island economies. First, such labour markets are characterised by a more 'permanent' detachment of their mobile parts of the workforce. Thus, while in mainland economies a part of job-search and labour mobility can take the form of commuting (both inward and outward), for island economies, especially peripheral ones, such as the island of Rhodes, commuting flows are effectively equivalent to migration (permanent or 'repeat' migration). The corollary of this is that, for the workforce that remains in the island, labour market attachment is stronger and more

¹² For example, the EU has a series of special measures for island economies, including some special provisions in the Fisheries directives and exemptions from state aid regulations. Tax subsidies and transfers (e.g., through maritime policies) accruing from the national government are also higher for island / peripheral economies.

'localised'. This creates thicker (more concentrated) and more self-contained labour markets, with the implication that, in labour-economics terms, labour market sorting becomes more prevalent. The meaning of this is that in economic downturns the local economy does not adjust by outflows (into unemployment or into labour markets in other localities) of workers employed in the affected industry or occupation but rather by a bumping-down mechanism, where the most skilled workers of the affected sector/occupation displace the less skilled workers in a sector/occupation which is located further down the hierarchical ladder of skills (thus pushing *them* into unemployment). This in turn elevates the importance of generic (transferable) skills and informal networks (for job-search) for determining the degree of employability of any given worker in the island. As a consequence, job- and firm-specific skills become less important (and they do so also due to the relatively weaker market competition, as discussed earlier), thus creating potential bottlenecks in local production due to skills depletion and skill shortages. But perhaps the most important consequence of all this is the much more extensive prevalence of labour market flexibility, from both the supply (workers having more transferable skills and showing greater sectoral and occupational mobility) and the demand side (employers favouring flexible employment patterns to overcome the cost implications of skill-shortages and to facilitate occupational upgrading and downgrading over the economic cycle).

It should be evident from the discussion thus far that island economies present a number of features, processes and characteristics that make them distinctive when it comes to the study of the effects and implications of migrations (for the migrants and for the local communities). With some unavoidable danger of generalisation, it could be argued that island economies are less dynamic, relying too much either on a set of traditional inward-looking activities or on too few exporting activities (including tourism). Their size and insularity necessitates some degree of substitutability across jobs and sectoral activities, which in the Greek context is most evidently expressed in the particularly high incidence of seasonal employment in the islands. The level of skills they require is thus in relative terms low, and its type is more often than not that of transferable generic skills – skills such as those that migrants hold in relative abundance. In this respect, small island economies appear to be particularly suitable destinations for migrants. On the other hand, labour markets in small island economies are insular and particularistic (as discussed above with regards to the bumping-down mechanism) and rely perhaps disproportionately on informal and, one could expect, nepotistic relations (local favouritism), which tend to exclude

'outsiders'. One could take this argument further and argue that the societies of small island economies are more 'closed' (more traditional) and thus more xenophobic. However, they are also less antagonistic (more transparent) and rely more on informal modes of interaction and association (networks). Thus, they can be more responsive to stimuli coming from immigration, whether positive or negative. The implication of this is that a migrant with the suitable attributes (including skills, but also a range of other characteristics as we discuss immediately below) may be much more easily integrated in the local community.

Seen from the side of the migrants, island economies present higher transaction costs, both in terms of pure transport costs and in terms of the costs of integration. For them, migration to a remote area should thus be seen as a greater commitment or 'investment' and thus should have a more permanent character. In other words, one should expect, all else constant, to see migrants arriving in a small island economy to have a higher probability to settle there than similar migrants arriving in otherwise similar mainland economies. The incidence of migration itself should be relatively high though, despite the high 'entry' costs, since island economies offer perhaps more flexibility in employment (e.g., seasonal employment and more plentiful opportunities for occupational upgrading, at least during upswings) and perhaps more opportunities for social integration. However, given the high transparency and smaller size of island economies, it should also be expected that the incidence of undocumented migration should be lower – but also that those undocumented migrants who actually move there will be faster and more smoothly integrated into the local society and economy compared to the situation in the mainland. Finally, given the set of unique amenities offered by small island economies (typically, lower pollution, better environment, less stressful lifestyles, lower population densities, less dense built environment, as well as sea-views etc), but also the cultural distinctiveness and 'branding' of at least some island economies, it should be expected that such economies will attract a disproportional share of non-economic immigrants, i.e., 'retiree' or 'leisure' migrants.

All these observations raise interesting questions about the attraction and integration of migrants in the small island economies of Greece in relation to the patterns observed in the main urban centres of the mainland as already revealed in the sparse Greek literature on the topic. These questions constituted the main motivation for the present analysis, which due to its size had to focus on one only of Greece's many (and rather diverse) small island economies. The next section explains the

rationale for selecting Rhodes as the case-study for this research, discusses some of its unique features and characteristics, and explicates the objectives of the study and the details of the fieldwork research.

4 Researching immigrant communities on the island of Rhodes

4.1. The choice of Rhodes as a study locality

The island of Rhodes is in some respects an atypical Greek island. It is larger in size than the average Aegean island, it is served by an international airport and it is host to a large and, in places, vibrant tourist industry. It has a large proportion of non-nationals coming from developed countries (such as the USA, Australia, Germany, Canada, Sweden, Finland) and given its specialisation in the tourist industry it attracts a disproportionately high share of non-native employment (in the hotel and catering sector). It is located at the south-eastern edge of Greece, effectively at the Turkish coast and some 400km away from Athens (straight-line distance). It is the largest and most populous island in the Prefecture of the Dodecanese, which comprises of a total of 163 islands, only 26 of which are inhabited. The island hosts 10 of the 27 Local Authorities that comprise the Dodecanese Prefecture and has over 60% of the prefecture's total population (approximately 180,000 people according to the 2001 Census).

The City of Rhodes, located at the north-eastern coast of the island, is the largest city of the region and the prefecture's capital and administrative, economic and financial centre, with some 55,000 residents (approximately 80,000 people live in the wider metropolitan area of the city of Rhodes). Its GDP per capita is above the national average but GDP per capita for the region as a whole (i.e., the Dodecanese Prefecture) is close to the national average, having varied between 95%-110% in the period 1995-2005. The main economic activity in Rhodes is tourism, accounting for about 20-25% of total employment, followed by public sector employment (including local administration), which accounts for about 20% of total employment in the region (see Table 3.1). Other important activities include trade (19% in the Municipality of Rhodes and 15% in the Prefecture of Dodecanese), construction (9% and 12%, respectively) and transport (9% and 8%, respectively). Manufacturing accounts for just over 6% of total employment, which compares particularly unfavourably to the national figure (13%), with the main manufacturing activity being food processing. Agriculture and fisheries is also a significant activity for the island (but not for the City of Rhodes), while real estate and financial intermediation, although not insignificant, are well below the corresponding national values.

Table 4.1. Sectoral employment in Rhodes, the Dodecanese and Greece

Activity	Greece	Dodecanese	Rhodes
Agriculture	14.8%	5.0%	0.8%
Fisheries	0.5%	1.9%	0.2%
Mining	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%
Manufacturing	12.7%	6.1%	6.5%
Energy	1.0%	1.4%	1.1%
Construction	9.0%	11.8%	9.1%
Trade	15.6%	15.3%	18.8%
Hotels and catering	6.0%	20.6%	22.5%
Transport	6.9%	7.8%	8.7%
Financial services	2.7%	1.7%	2.0%
Real estate	6.1%	4.6%	5.4%
Public administration	8.3%	9.6%	9.1%
Education	6.4%	5.1%	5.9%
Health	4.8%	4.3%	3.7%
Other services	3.5%	4.0%	4.8%
Personal services	1.5%	0.7%	1.2%
Other organisations	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Source: Own calculations from the 2001 Census of Population.

Although, as mentioned above, some of these characteristics can be seen as atypical, in conjunction they seem to engulf the full range of characteristics typifying the Greek islands: some degree of economic duality; skewed economic specialisations towards the service and tourist industries; weak industrial base and low value-added manufacturing activities, geographical remoteness (which in the case of Rhodes is more due to its peripherality than due to accessibility constraints – although the latter are also important); a combination of mountainous/sparse and urban/densely-populated areas; large but localised inflows of international tourism; high levels of incomes combined with above-average unemployment, strong patterns of seasonal employment and low inactivity rates; and a very strong local identity (despite the cosmopolitan character of some parts of the island) and corresponding brand name.

The combination of these characteristics, together with the relatively large population size of the region, which allows to overcome some, at least, of the many problems concerning data availability and quality (as is discussed in the next Chapter), make the island of Rhodes a very suitable case for the study of the process and extent of immigrant integration in the Greek island economies. A number of other features, which are specific to migration in Rhodes, are also important in this respect.

The Dodecanese region is a significant smuggling point for illegal migration (from the Turkish coast). Although the island of Rhodes is almost unaffected by smuggling of

undocumented immigrants, as it is perhaps too well-policed to be part of the formal smuggling route, perceptions about 'the migrants' and attitudes towards migration in the island may well be shaped by the higher visibility that undocumented migration and smuggling attract in the local media (compared to media of national-wide circulation). Rhodes itself is a significant destination of non-economic migrants, especially 'leisure' or 'retiree' migrants from North America, north/western Europe and Australia. While it hosts large migrant communities from former communist countries, as well as from south Asia, in relative terms these communities are smaller than in other parts of Greece (especially Athens, where most of the research has concentrated). Thus, the profile of the 'average' immigrant in Rhodes is much more diverse, both ethnically and in terms of socio-economic status (and reason for migration).

This in itself raises important and research-worthy questions, as it allows to examine the extent and process of integration not only of the typical post-1990 migrant (typified in Greece by the 'Albanian', similarly to the British and western-European stereotype of the 'Polish worker') but also for migrants who clearly have different needs, different histories and different expectations from the local community, the public administration and their own presence in the island.

Importantly, the island of Rhodes is also vastly exposed to various types of tourist flows, and the associated employment flows from non-nationals working in the seasonal industry, from the excessively vibrant (if not turbulent) resort of Faliraki to the much smaller and laid-back environment of Lindos. As a big part of the island relies on tourism for its annual income, and as interaction with non-nationals is an unavoidable part of everyday life, attitudes towards foreigners should be less xenophobic than in other parts of the country. This should also be the case as a result of the fact that large parts of the population of Rhodes are themselves exposed to the experience of emigration (mainly to Australia), either through family or by being themselves return migrants of Greek origin (first or even second generation). On the other hand, local attitudes could also be more hostile, if local residents felt that the large seasonal employment flows of non-nationals (e.g., gap-year employment, holiday reps, etc) have 'over-crowded' the island and are crowding out locally-sourced employment. These are interesting questions for which the island of Rhodes offers a unique fieldwork for study.

4.2. Fieldwork in Rhodes

Objectives of the study

The preceding discussion has suggested a number of reasons that make the island of Rhodes a particularly interesting case for the study of migration and migrant integration in Greece. Given the fact that the bulk of research on the issue in Greece concerns studies in the Athens region, developing a similar research for a different geographical region is in itself important and adds to the existing literature. The specific nature of island economies, however, with the characteristics of peripherality (remoteness) and islandness, as well as other idiosyncrasies that derive from these, makes this case study informative also from a methodological and analytical sense. Examining migrant integration in a small island economy allows for the identification of processes that are in many respects diluted in larger, more accessible but also less socially cohesive settings (e.g., the Athens region) through the operation of other adaptation processes such as commuting, migration, segregation, labour pooling and others. Rhodes in particular sticks out as a unique but very illuminating case for study, as it combines the typical 'island economy' characteristics with high exposure to foreign flows (both tourism and migration), a very heterogeneous migrant population, with high representation of both 'economic' and 'leisure' migrants, and an economy that has both service-oriented and traditional elements.

Given these advantages of the study case, this project sought to examine the experiences and expectations of immigrants with regard to working and living in the island of Rhodes – as well as how their presence affects life on the island for the locals (i.e., the experiences of local people with the immigrant communities). To achieve this, the research strategy of the project was centred around the following axes:

- establish the broad nature of migrant population living and working on the island of Rhodes
- explore the range of countries of origin and languages spoken on the island, as well as provide a broad estimation of the geographical distribution of migrants within the island, their length of stay, and their main socio-demographic characteristics

- examine the sectors within which migrants work and their occupations there
- establish the profile of accommodation used by different migrant groups and the extent to which they are able to access health and training services that are necessary to safe living and working in the island
- analyse pay and working conditions of migrants in the island
- test the validity of some previous findings that migrants and locals compete for jobs in the informal economy thus triggering local conflicts
- provide an understanding of the kind of services offered to migrants, and the efficiency of such services
- document the experiences of local residents with the immigrant communities living with them on the island

These axes were explored in a series of structured and semi-structured interviews and research with a focus group that were conducted in the island of Rhodes in three periods: June 2008, October-November 2008 and January 2009.

Definitions and methods

Given the heterogeneity of migrant communities in the island of Rhodes, a distinction had to be drawn between different types of communities and especially between migrants of different origins and migration statuses. Analytically, one distinction was between 'new' or 'economic' migrants on the one hand and 'leisure' migrants on the other. As 'new' immigrants we defined those foreign-born residents who came to Greece after 1989 and originate from new migration origins, such as the former communist countries of Europe and Central Asia and the countries of the Middle East and South Asia. Most of them came to the country with the purpose of looking for work and are thus classified as 'economic' immigrants. 'Leisure' migrants are those foreign-born who have come to Rhodes to buy a property, retire and/or start a family with a local person. These are usually citizens of Western Europe, the Scandinavian countries, USA and Australia. While some immigrants from these countries also come to the island with the purpose of starting their own businesses and/or do some other investment, these cannot be classified as 'economic' immigrants, since their financial situation and their market position is drastically different from the types of immigrants included in this category. Instead, they can be seen as a special category

within the 'leisure' group. This is best facilitated by drawing a distinction between 'active' and 'inactive' leisure immigrants.

Drawing on these distinctions, for the part of the fieldwork research that was based on interviews with immigrants, we developed two types of questionnaires: one for the 'new' economic migrants and one for the 'leisure' migrants. The questionnaire addressed to the 'economic' immigrants was translated into Greek and all interviews were conducted in that language.¹³ The one addressed to the 'leisure' migrants was available in English, but in the interviews both English and Greek was used. The questionnaire designed for economic migrants contained a detailed section on immigration status transitions, which was omitted in the questionnaire for 'leisure' migrants as it was considered irrelevant. Thus, the economic migrants' questionnaire was slightly longer, containing 90 questions (64 for the leisure migrants). Given the length of the questionnaire, interviews with immigrants were rather time-intensive, normally lasting for up to an hour each. In contrast to practices in parts of the European literature,¹⁴ immigrant respondents were not offered any cash incentives to participate in the research. On rare occasions, they would accept coffee or sweets taken to their homes. However, this did not affect the success rate of the interviews. The participation of 'economic' immigrants in the fieldwork research was very positive and the use of cash or other incentives was deemed unnecessary and possibly counter-productive.¹⁵

In addition to migrant interviews, a number of semi-structured interviews were held with local residents and policy officials or representatives of the local community. For the semi-structured interviews two detailed topic guides were developed – one for local residents and the other for the policy officials. The local residents' topic guide contained 24 indicative questions while there were 17 such questions in the local officials' topic guide. Interviews with local residents took on average around 30 minutes, while interviews with officials were normally longer, lasting closer to 45 minutes. The full list of questions and topics included in the two questionnaires and two topic guides is presented in Appendix 1.

¹³ As explained later, some interviews were also conducted in the immigrants' mother-language, when possible due to the fieldwork researcher's knowledge of the language (Bulgarian), or with the help of influential people from the communities who agreed to help with the interviews or with family members and friends of the interviewees.

¹⁴ For an example, and a discussion of the issue, see the study of Markova and Black (2007).

¹⁵ Note, however, that - for reasons that are explained later in this report – only one 'leisure' migrant was successfully interviewed. Of course, the use of cash incentives in the case of 'leisure' migrants would not have affected their decision to participate in the fieldwork research.

Twenty-one local residents were interviewed in detail about their experiences with the foreign residents on the island. They were mainly residents of the town of Rhodes while some of them were from the surrounding areas of Petaloudes, Falirakia, Kasta and Kallithies. In addition, a focus group was organised with several local women working in a hotel in Rhodes.

Among the officials that were approached, it was possible to conduct full interviews (semi-structured) with ten of them, including the Mayor of Rhodes, the Archbishop, the Chief of Police for the Dodecanese, some social workers at the Centre for Employment Support (vulnerable groups) 'Kallipatira', the Manager of the Statistical Services for North-East Aegean in Rhodes, the Director of the Rhodes Labour Centre and the Manager of the Immigration Office on the island. In-depth interviews based on the 'economic' immigrants' questionnaire were conducted with 40 economic immigrants coming from 14 different countries: Abkhazia, Afghanistan, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Pakistan, Nigeria, Colombia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Egypt, and the neighbouring Bulgaria and Albania.¹⁶ Most of the immigrants were interviewed in the city of Rhodes while a small fraction was surveyed in the villages of Paradisi and Kallithies.

Despite the interest in 'leisure' immigrants, which formed part of the motivation for this project, it proved impossible to interview a similar number of non-economic migrants originating from OECD countries. While various such immigrants were identified and contacted, at the end we were only possible to conduct one full interview with a 'leisure' migrant. This was with a British national who had migrated to Rhodes under a decision to invest on the island. While 'leisure' migrants did not show hostility to our research (indeed, some of them were happy to speak informally on various aspects), they showed a clear aversion to actively participating in our structured interviews. After intensive enquiries from the fieldwork team, it became clear that 'leisure' migrants were experiencing a 'research fatigue', as they felt that the issue of migration (and of 'leisure' migration into the island in particular) was over-researched and they seemed to believe that academic research on the topic can have no bearing on policy design with the implication that it is ill-equipped to address the issues that are of concern for their communities. The extent to which this is in fact the case or, more importantly, the exact nature and intensity of these 'issues of concern' was not possible to be examined in this study, despite the best efforts of the field researcher.

¹⁶ A synoptic presentation of the profile of all the interviewees who participated in the fieldwork research is available in Appendix 2.

Challenges, facilitators and lessons learnt

A key challenge of the current study was the fact that the field researcher was an outsider to the island and to the communities studied. Nevertheless, one way of introducing 'insiderness' was through speaking Greek and Bulgarian (as well as English) in the case of approaching Bulgarian migrants. However, help provided by personal contacts –two influential people in the Albanian and Bulgarian communities– proved invaluable in accessing a variety of migrant communities living on the island, including the Bulgarian, Albanian and Egyptian. The Albanian person served as a guarantor thus reducing the time for building trust with the potential respondents. He had lived on the island for over 10 years. He was fluent in Greek and had many friends amongst the migrants (across many 'economic' migrant communities) and locals. An innovative element of the research was the involvement of an immigrant researcher in the last stage of the fieldwork process. The immigrant researcher was selected primarily to have an excellent degree of integration not only into his own immigrant community but also across most of the immigrant communities on the island – as well as to have good command of one of the immigrant languages spoken on the island as well as Greek.

Despite the support of local facilitators and the use of a local migrant as an interviewer, some of the 'economic' migrant communities had to be approached through other methods and interviews were conducted with little linguistic support. The Vietnamese community was accessed through a cold call at a Chinese restaurant. The interviews with them were conducted in a combination of basic Greek and more advanced English. The Afghan interviewees were people who had been recently smuggled from Turkey into the island of Simi. From there, they were taken by the Greek Border Authorities to Athens and later on to Rhodes. They had been in Greece for 6-7 months and in Rhodes for just over a month. At the time of the interviews, they were feeling quite disorientated, with no job, no regular food and sleeping in a derelict former military base building near the harbour of Rhodes. Interviews with them were in English, facilitated through the owner of a nearby kiosk. Access to the Filipino respondents was facilitated through the Rhodes Labour Centre that hosts the first Filipino Migrant Association.

Local residents were interviewed on the spot and without intermediation by a facilitator. These were mainly shop/business owners or employees in businesses in

the central areas of the city of Rhodes. Some of them were personal contacts in the villages of Kallithies and Paradisi. For the interviews with policy officials and other stakeholders, we benefitted from the support of a number of institutions and individuals in Athens and in the island of Rhodes. The assistance provided by the Migration Policy Institute (IMEPO) of the Interior Ministry in Athens and the Rhodes Council was decisive in securing access to stakeholders. The Director of the Rhodes Labour Centre and the Manager of the Immigration Office on the island responded to us without any prior introduction.

Migrants on the island proved very cooperative and willing to participate in the research at short notices and without much introduction by facilitators or the research team. They showed to be very trusting and quite generous. They were usually happy to talk. This can partially be explained by the fact that no one before us had shown interest in studying them, listening to their problems, life expectations or needs. Our respondents were generous. They would not accept any financial incentives to participate in the research. They would not even accept hospitality from the fieldwork researcher during the interviews (e.g., offer of a coffee or beverage); instead, they would keenly offer their hospitality to the researcher.

On the other hand, the Western European communities were not willing to participate in our research. The Director of the International Association of the Dodecanese explained that their members had participated in numerous documentaries for Greek TV channels, which did not improve their lives the slightest. For this reason, they felt they were 'over-researched' and were not interested in participating in other projects.

Local people were generally friendly and willing to participate in the research. However, business owners were more willing to talk to us in the summer period than in the autumn, when they felt dissatisfied with the economic outcome of the tourist season and the bleak prospects for next year. To an extent, this shows how situational (juncture-specific) are attitudes towards the issue of migration. This issue formed part of our enquiries made in our empirical research, the presentation of which follows.

PART II – EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

5 Estimating the size of the migrant population in Rhodes

5.1. Quantitative evidence

As it is well documented (e.g., Baldwin-Edwards, 2008), the data available from official sources regarding the extent of the migrant population in Greece are particularly poor. Thus, it is very difficult to derive reliable and confident estimates for the extent of migrant population in specific localities in the country. The 2001 Census offers the best and more detailed source of data; however, this is now rather dated. The two other official sources, data from valid residence permits and from the Labour Force Survey, respectively, are much less reliable and provide much less informational detail. They are also not fully compatible or directly comparable to the Census data. Data from the Labour Force Survey have significant sampling problems, as the data in general lose their accuracy when we move to smaller geographical areas. Moreover, the probability of sampling is lower for migrant communities more generally (irrespective of geographical scale), due to the sampling and interview methods of the survey. Data from residence permits suffer from significant self-selection problems and biases originating from the administration of the regularisation schemes. On the administration side, the problem arises from the skewed geographical distribution in the supply of permits and from procedural aspects (e.g., eligibility criteria) which seem to discourage or exclude specific segments of the migrant population. Concerning the self-selection issue, it is clear that the probability to apply for a permit is correlated with specific characteristics and attributes of the migrants. Thus, whereas according to the 2001 Census Albanians represented some 55% of the total migrant population in Greece, according to residence permits data their share was about 65% (this was relatively constant in both the 1998 regularisation and the permits issued in 2006 and 2008).

Census data

It is clear that in terms of quality and accuracy, by far, the best data on the extent of migrant population in Greece still come from the 2001 Census. According to this source, the South Aegean islands have the highest shares of migrant population outside the greater Athens region (including Attica and Voiotia). Specifically, the shares of migrant population in 2001 were 9.5% in the Municipality of Rhodes, 9.2%

in the Prefecture of the Dodecanese and 9.4% in the region of the South Aegean (9.9% in the Prefecture of Cyclades). In comparison, the central Census estimate for the country as a whole was 7%. As this figure is widely believed to be grossly underestimated by a factor of as much as 3 percentage points, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that the actual migrant population of Rhodes and the wider Dodecanese region is closer to 12-13% of total population. On the other hand, due to the nature of the industries prevailing in the island (disproportionately high tourist activity), it is reasonable to expect that the proportion of *settled* migrants in the region will be somewhat lower than this estimate – as a reasonable number of non-nationals, especially from Europe, only come to the island on a seasonal basis.

Regarding the ethnic composition of the migrant population, as is the case in the rest of Greece, the largest migrant community in the Dodecanese is the Albanian. However, in proportional terms Albanians are under-represented within the total migrant population in the Dodecanese. In contrast, the Australian, Finnish, Swedish, Danish and Dutch communities are over-represented – and to a lesser extent so are the communities from the USA, Canada and the majority of the western European countries (see last column in Table 5.1). The fact that the islands of the Dodecanese constitute a significant destination for migrants from EU and other OECD countries accounts for the fact that most of the typical economic migrant communities (Filipinos, Georgians, Bangladeshi, etc) are relatively under-represented in the islands' migrant population and that, despite their smaller size, the Dodecanese islands show greater diversity in the ethnic mix of their migrant populations. Clearly, the profile of the EU/OECD migrants and their reasons for migrating are radically different from those of eastern European, Asian and African migrants. This is a point to which we return later, both in the presentation of the detailed Census results and in the discussion of the fieldwork research.

Similar –and in cases even more emphatic– are the ethnic composition patterns identified in the case of the island of Rhodes (see Table 5.1). In the Municipality of Rhodes, however, the extent of concentration of different migrant communities exhibits some notable differences. The Scandinavian communities are heavily concentrated within the City of Rhodes while also larger is the concentration of some migrant communities from eastern European and Asian countries, which are associated with economic migration, such as Bulgaria, the Philippines, Moldova and Turkey. These patterns are probably reflecting, broadly speaking, the age and occupational structure of the migrant communities concerned, an issue which we examine in more detail later.

Table 5.1. Top-25 immigrant nationalities: shares, ethnic and geographical concentration

Greece			Dodecanese			Island of Rhodes			Municipality of Rhodes		
Nationality	Share	Cumulative	Nationality	Share	Ratio	Nationality	Share	Ratio	Nationality	Share	Ratio
Albania	57.5%	57.5%	Albania	40.9%	0.7	Albania	40.9%	0.71	Albania	46.6%	0.81
Bulgaria	4.6%	62.1%	Australia	10.5%	9.1	Australia	10.5%	8.72	Bulgaria	5.3%	1.16
Georgia	3.0%	65.1%	USA	8.2%	3.5	USA	8.2%	3.45	Australia	4.8%	4.15
Romania	2.9%	68.0%	UK	5.8%	3.4	UK	5.8%	3.41	USA	4.5%	1.89
USA	2.4%	70.4%	Germany	4.2%	2.7	Germany	4.2%	2.69	UK	3.6%	2.11
Russian Fed.	2.3%	72.7%	Bulgaria	3.7%	0.8	Bulgaria	3.7%	0.80	Germany	3.4%	2.20
Cyprus	2.3%	75.0%	Canada	2.1%	2.7	Canada	2.1%	2.68	Finland	3.1%	31.77
Ukraine	1.8%	76.8%	Holland	2.0%	6.0	Holland	2.0%	5.87	Sweden	3.0%	10.17
UK	1.7%	78.5%	Sweden	1.9%	6.5	Sweden	1.9%	6.42	Cyprus	2.1%	0.94
Poland	1.7%	80.2%	Ukraine	1.6%	0.9	Ukraine	1.6%	0.92	Holland	1.9%	5.80
Germany	1.5%	81.7%	Finland	1.6%	16.5	Finland	1.6%	16.30	Ukraine	1.9%	1.11
Pakistan	1.5%	83.2%	Italy	1.5%	1.9	Italy	1.5%	1.90	Italy	1.8%	2.31
Australia	1.2%	84.3%	Russian Fed.	1.4%	0.6	Russian Fed.	1.4%	0.61	Romania	1.6%	0.56
Turkey	1.0%	85.4%	Cyprus	1.3%	0.6	Cyprus	1.3%	0.57	Turkey	1.4%	1.35
Armenia	1.0%	86.4%	Romania	1.3%	0.5	Romania	1.3%	0.45	Moldova	1.3%	1.75
Egypt	1.0%	87.4%	France	1.2%	1.8	France	1.2%	1.79	Philippines	1.2%	1.36
India	0.9%	88.3%	Belgium	0.8%	4.8	Belgium	0.8%	4.98	Denmark	1.1%	9.73
Iraq	0.9%	89.2%	Denmark	0.8%	7.0	Denmark	0.8%	6.93	Canada	1.0%	1.26
Philippines	0.9%	90.1%	Switzerland	0.8%	4.8	Switzerland	0.8%	4.56	Russian Fed.	1.0%	0.42
Canada	0.8%	90.9%	Georgia	0.7%	0.2	Georgia	0.7%	0.25	France	0.9%	1.29
Italy	0.8%	91.6%	Moldova	0.7%	1.0	Moldova	0.7%	0.99	Norway	0.9%	3.45
Moldova	0.8%	92.4%	Egypt	0.7%	0.7	Egypt	0.7%	0.72	Belgium	0.7%	4.21
Syria	0.7%	93.1%	Turkey	0.7%	0.7	Turkey	0.7%	0.66	Yugoslavia	0.7%	1.50
France	0.7%	93.8%	Poland	0.6%	0.4	Poland	0.6%	0.37	Switzerland	0.7%	4.12
Bangladesh	0.6%	94.4%	Philippines	0.6%	0.7	Philippines	0.6%	0.67	Poland	0.7%	0.40

Source: Own manipulations from the 2001 Census of Population.

Registration data

As stated already, a complimentary source of information about the extent of migration in Rhodes, which provides a much more up-to-date picture, albeit at the cost of less accuracy, comes from the official registry data on valid residence permits. According to these, in January 2008 there were just over 7,500 individuals on a valid residence permit living in the Dodecanese¹⁷, representing 1.5% of the total number of valid residence permit holders in the country and around 4% of the population permanently residing in the Dodecanese.

Table 5.2. Distribution of valid residence permits by permit type

Permit type	Dodecanese		South Aegean		Greece		% to total
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	
Indefinite leave		0.0%		0.0%	5	0.0%	0.0%
Own right (αυτοτελής)	52	0.7%	194	1.1%	5497	1.1%	0.9%
Special certificates (E.B.N.Δ.)	146	1.9%	151	0.8%	1095	0.2%	13.3%
Long-term (επί μακρόν)		0.0%	0	0.0%	3	0.0%	0.0%
Seasonal employment		0.0%	0	0.0%	972	0.2%	0.0%
Employment (type A)	4327	57.0%	10531	57.5%	287705	58.2%	1.5%
Employment (type B)	41	0.5%	94	0.5%	1634	0.3%	2.5%
Employment, other	3	0.0%	9	0.0%	476	0.1%	0.6%
Employment, personnel		0.0%	0	0.0%	1546	0.3%	0.0%
Researchers		0.0%	0	0.0%	28	0.0%	0.0%
Other	5	0.1%	41	0.2%	1656	0.3%	0.3%
Family members, EU	173	2.3%	260	1.4%	6811	1.4%	2.5%
Family members, EU (spouse)	926	12.2%	1561	8.5%	45976	9.3%	2.0%
Family members, other (YTX)	1827	24.1%	5226	28.5%	135125	27.3%	1.4%
Legalisation 3386 91.11	19	0.3%	19	0.1%	419	0.1%	4.5%
Legalisation 3536 18.4	37	0.5%	154	0.8%	1686	0.3%	2.2%
Legalisation KYA11702	20	0.3%	25	0.1%	231	0.0%	8.7%
Temporary permits		0.0%	0	0.0%	45	0.0%	0.0%
Studies	14	0.2%	47	0.3%	3023	0.6%	0.5%
Studies, other	4	0.1%	13	0.1%	292	0.1%	1.4%
Grand Total	7594	100.0%	18325	100.0%	494225	100.0%	1.5%

Source: IMEPO database, Ministry of Interior, Greece.

In comparison to the population share of the Dodecanese (1.7% of total population, according to the 2001 Census), this suggests that the share of migrant population in the region is below the national average. This is consistent with the data reviewed above, from the 2001 Census, but as before hides the true extent of migration in the region due to the fact that the issuance of residence permits is over-represented in the dense urban centres and especially the regions in and around Athens. In fact, outside these regions, Dodecanese presents one of the highest shares of valid permits, as it does with regard to reported migrant population in the 2001 Census.

¹⁷ Compare that with the 17,251 migrants residing in the Dodecanese according to the 2001 Census.

The review of the residence permit data allows us to examine the differences between the Dodecanese region and the whole of the country in relation to the types of permits issued. As is depicted in Table 5.2, migrants in the Dodecanese have an over-representation, relative to the national, in terms of 'Special Certificates' (Ε.Β.Ν.Δ.), non-professional employment (Εργασία Β), family reasons (Μέλη οικογένειας πολίτη Ε.Ε.), and various legalisations (Νομιμοποιήσεις 3386 91.11, 3536 18.4 και ΚΥΑ11702). As expected, the vast share of these permits (89.4%) have been issued to nationals from transition countries (European and Central Asian), while permits for OECD nationals concern only 1% of the total number of permits (results not shown). The shares of permits to other Asian and African nationals are 4.5% and 4.2% respectively. Just over half of all residence-permit holders are Albanian (52%), with around 17% coming from Bulgaria, which as we showed earlier, is only the sixth largest migrant community in the region. A notable share (5%) concerns Ukrainian immigrants who are in their vast majority predominantly females (around 80% of all Ukrainian immigrants in the region). Other groups are much less populous, but they concern mainly Romanians, Pakistanis, Indians, Vietnamese and Iraqis. Clearly, western migrants are under-represented in this data source, as they either do not require a residence permit (EU nationals) or they have a settled status already (retiree immigrants from other OECD countries).

Labour Force Survey data

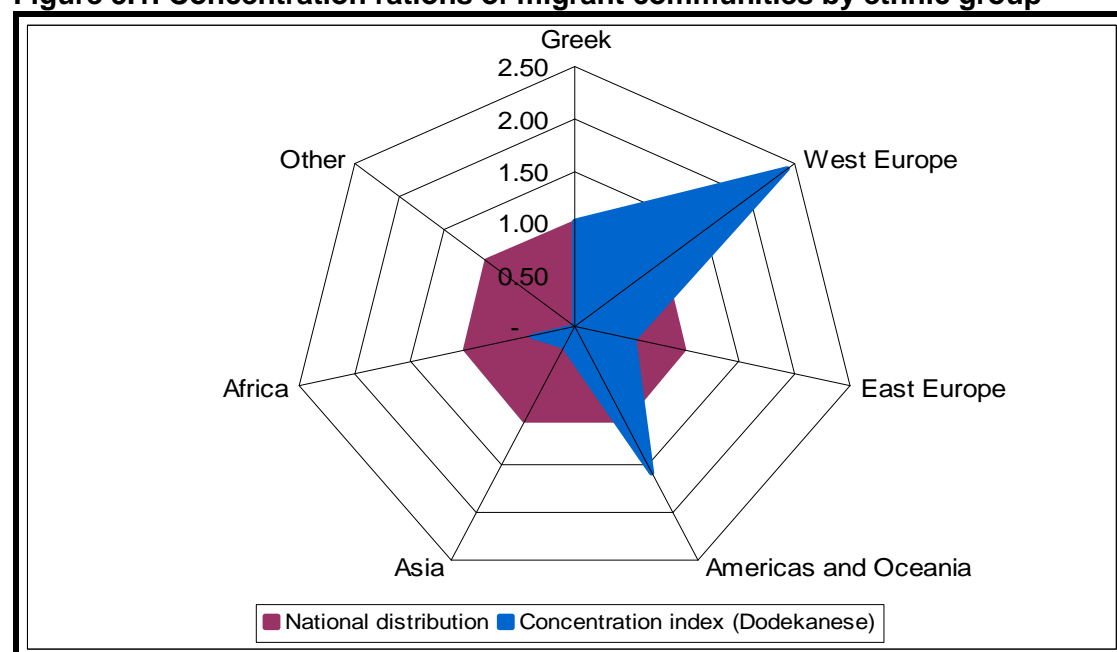
The third source of information is the Greek Labour Force Survey (LFS). Deriving information on migration from this source is problematic for at least three reasons. First, the LFS is known to suffer from sampling problems and under-reporting, especially of non-OECD immigrants. Second, it does not provide information on migration per se, but rather on ethnicity. This means that it may classify wrongly some Greeks that have been born abroad, while it increasingly fails to capture a large part of second- and third-generation immigrants who are born in Greece. Third, due to its sample size, it is not suitable for deriving information for very small geographical areas. The central estimates that it provides for small areas have very high standard errors and thus they are not, strictly speaking, reliable. Nevertheless, this is the only source of historical (and temporally consistent) information on the migrant population in Greece and thus it is important to examine the information provided there, even though this information cannot be taken as anything other than suggestive, at best.

Table 5.3. Ethnic and geographical distribution of migrants (LFS estimates)

Average 2004-2008	Greek	West Europe	East Europe	America / Oceania	Asia	Africa	Other
Greece							
Population shares	94.5%	0.4%	4.6%	0.1%	0.4%	0.1%	0.0%
Migrant shares	-	6.5%	83.4%	1.3%	6.4%	2.1%	0.3%
Dodecanese							0.0%
Population shares	96.4%	0.9%	2.5%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	
Migrant shares	-	24.1%	69.5%	3.1%	2.0%	1.3%	0.0%
Regional population share	2.8%	6.7%	1.5%	4.3%	0.6%	1.1%	0.0%
Ethnic concentration index	1.0	2.4	0.5	1.6	0.2	0.4	0.0

Source: Own calculations from the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, various waves.

Figure 5.1. Concentration ratios of migrant communities by ethnic group



Source: Own calculations from the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, various waves.

Table 5.3 presents various pieces of information concerning the migrant population in the Dodecanese for the period 2004-2008. The LFS figures suggest that migrants make only 3.6% of the total population in the region, a figure significantly lower than the corresponding estimate for Greece (5.5%) and well below the Census estimate (9.2%). West Europeans account for a quarter of the migrant population in the Dodecanese. The largest group is the eastern Europeans while migrants from the Americas and Oceania, although over-represented in relation to the national figure, constitute only a small fraction of the total migrant population in the region (3.1%).

Figure 5.1 presents more graphically the ethnic concentration of migrant communities in the Dodecanese by geographical region. As can be seen, in line with the evidence obtained from the Census data, the Dodecanese region has a disproportionately high share of nationals from western Europe and, to a lesser extent, America and Oceania. In contrast, communities from less developed countries are largely under-represented, especially so the African and Asian communities.

Concerning the temporal dimension, it appears from the information obtained from the Labour Force Survey that the share of foreign-born individuals to the total population has seen a somewhat upward trend over the last decade, growing from somewhat below 5% to above 6% nationally and from around 3% to 4% in the Dodecanese. Nationally, the share of western European migrants (EU15) is very low (around 0.4% of total population or 6.5% of the total migrant population) while in the Dodecanese it is higher but appears, if anything, to be declining (as the share of eastern European increases). There are very few other patterns that can be identified from the available information. If anything, the main conclusion is that there is great year-to-year variability, largely reflecting the quality problems with this data source, as discussed above (sampling, etc).

To conclude, a few general patterns can be identified. Migration in Rhodes and the Dodecanese is well above below the national average. The island of Rhodes –and the Dodecanese region more generally– has one of the highest shares of immigrants outside the greater Athens region. It also has amongst the highest shares of immigrants from OECD countries, in some cases having concentration ratios over ten times (e.g., for Australians) that of the national distribution. Consequently, eastern European, Asian and African immigrants are under-represented in the region, although there is some tentative evidence to suggest that this pattern has been reversing more recently. Given the different ethnic structure of migrants in the region, also distinctive are their age distribution and the reasons for which they migrate (e.g., retirement, family reunion, etc). We examine later in more detail the age, gender, occupational and activity composition of the migrant population in the region. Before that, in the next sub-section we review the perceptions concerning the extent of migration in Rhodes as revealed from our fieldwork research in the island.

5.2. Fieldwork research

Our fieldwork research was not designed to address the issue of measurement of the migrant population in Rhodes and to derive reliable estimates of the size of the migrant communities in the island. Instead, the objective was to measure – given the official estimates on the *actual* size of the migrant population as presented above – the *perceptions* of locals regarding the extent of migrant population working in the island. This was achieved through in-depth interviews using snowballing as the sampling method, which allow the identification of perception and the extraction of other relevant information through a combination of self-reporting and participant observation.

The evidence from the interviews concerning the locals' perceptions suggests that the extent of migrant population in the island is perceived to be sizeable but not excessive. This is in contrast to perceptions elsewhere in Greece while, importantly, it underestimates the extent of migrant population in the island. Most locals acknowledged that migrants are visible in all facets of the local economy and society but only in one or two cases did the respondents claim that the numbers of migrants were an issue. In the cases that such claims were made, these had to do solely with the competition for jobs and in no case was this linked to either some form of pressures to the social/racial mix of the local communities (including segregation and crime) or to any form of strain to local resources and the provision of public services (schooling, housing etc). Some evidence of a differentiation in the locals' perceptions depending on the nationality of the migrant communities (less positive for new migrants from non-EU transition countries) as well as in the perceptions of different immigrant communities about the impact of migrants from other communities (especially perceptions of old/new Albanian immigrants), was however unveiled.

Concerning the perceptions of local officials, these were largely in line with those of the local population. Overall, the picture derived from the in-depth interviews suggested limited pressures emanating from the presence of migrants on the island. However, serious concerns were expressed by local authorities about the dramatic increase in undocumented migrants from Asia and Africa into the Dodecanese at large. Because of their geographical position, Kalimnos, Kos and Simi appear to be the main entry points for smuggled foreigners arriving in small boats from Turkey. Only in May 2008, the local authorities registered some 1,922 undocumented

migrants smuggled into Kalimnos, 71 into Kos and 75 into Simi.¹⁸ Palestine and Afghanistan were the main origin countries. In the summer of 2008, the number of smuggled migrants in Leros and Patmos reached dramatic, unprecedented heights, leading to calls from local officials for the personal involvement of the Prime Minister in protecting the sea borders of Greece.¹⁹ Agathonisi and Farmakonisi also registered a significant increase in the number of undocumented migrants arriving on their shores. According to officials, this exerted significant strains on the budgets of local authorities.²⁰

Local boarder authorities believed that Turkey was not cooperating with Greece to stem people smuggling or rather it was selectively deciding on the number of people to be smuggled into Greece thus putting pressure on the EU about the country's membership. This seems to conform to a wider perception in Greece about the role of Turkey in border management issues. For example, on 10 June 2008, speaking to a special meeting at the Greek Parliament, the Greek Interior Minister attributed much of the problems of smuggling of undocumented immigrants that Greece faces on Turkey's non-compliance with the bilateral repatriation agreements it had signed with Greece concerning undocumented immigrants and the lack of similar agreements between Turkey and the EU.²¹

Thus, it appears that while the extent of migration in Rhodes is sizeable, local perceptions about this are much more modest. At least partly, this can be attributed to two things: on the one hand, the greater heterogeneity of the migrant population in the island; on the other, the large tourist flows that the island receives from abroad, which perhaps can explain why migrants may be less singled out – even if, as was reported, they appear highly visible. Local perceptions about the quality and impacts of migration (e.g., the perceived link between origin of immigrants and crime) did in cases resemble those reported elsewhere in Greece, although much less frequently. The main issues where those related to policy, especially to ones that go beyond the control of the local community and authorities, such as the issue of border management and trafficking, which is important (although less so in Rhodes than in the rest of the Dodecanese) because of the geographical location of the region.

¹⁸ It is estimated that the number of migrants who entered illegally the country in 2007 was 112,364 people, an increase of 93% since 2002 (<http://www.in.gr/news/article.asp?lngEntityID=908874>).

¹⁹ Source: <http://www.in.gr/news/article.asp?lngEntityID=940388>.

²⁰ The cost of daily subsistence for a smuggled person has been estimated by the director of the Rhodes office for Emergency Policy Planning (PSEA) at about €22 (€15 for accommodation and €7 for food). This does not include administrative and other costs.

²¹ Source : <http://www.in.gr/news/article.asp?lngEntityID=908874>.

6 Profile of the migrant population in Rhodes

6.1. Descriptive results from the 2001 Census

The age and gender profile of migrants in the Dodecanese region exhibits some marked differences compared to the national pattern. First, females make a significantly larger proportion of all migrants in both the Dodecanese and in the Municipality of Rhodes (e.g., 53% in Rhodes compared to 45% in Greece as a whole). The higher incidence of female migrants is solely accounted for by migration rates in the working-age cohorts (25-59 year-olds), whereas the region shows below-average shares of females in the young and retirement-age categories. This clearly confirms a recent trend in the migration literature indicating an increase in the women migrants mainly coming, as indicated earlier, from the countries of the former Soviet Union. The age distribution of male migrants mirrors this pattern to some extent. On the one hand, male migrants are disproportionately of working-age, as is the case with females. On the other hand, they have a higher incidence, compared to the national total, of young dependent males (ages 0-14) and, for Dodecanese, a higher incidence of male retirees.

Table 6.1. Age and gender distribution of migrants by ethnicity and region.

Gender	Age-group	Greece	Dodecanese	Rhodes	OECD	Transition	Other
Both	All	761812	2.3%	0.7%	34.4%	60.2%	5.4%
	0-14	16.6%	17.1%	17.1%	17.0%	18.2%	5.7%
	15-24	20.1%	16.7%	17.0%	12.6%	20.1%	10.7%
	25-44	45.6%	44.8%	46.6%	42.8%	47.9%	55.2%
	45-59	12.3%	14.2%	13.7%	18.3%	10.8%	17.4%
	60+	5.3%	7.1%	5.6%	9.3%	3.0%	11.0%
Males	All	54.5%	48.4%	47.0%	36.5%	52.5%	53.7%
	0-14	16.0%	18.5%	18.8%	23.4%	18.3%	4.0%
	15-24	21.7%	18.9%	20.1%	15.7%	22.7%	11.9%
	25-44	46.6%	41.8%	44.6%	32.4%	48.6%	53.6%
	45-59	11.0%	13.0%	10.8%	16.1%	8.0%	18.5%
	60+	4.6%	8.0%	5.6%	12.5%	2.4%	11.9%
Females	All	45.5%	51.6%	53.0%	63.5%	47.5%	46.3%
	0-14	17.4%	15.9%	15.6%	13.4%	18.0%	7.7%
	15-24	18.1%	14.7%	14.2%	10.8%	17.3%	9.2%
	25-44	44.3%	47.7%	48.3%	48.8%	47.2%	56.9%
	45-59	13.9%	15.4%	16.3%	19.6%	13.8%	16.2%
	60+	6.2%	6.4%	5.5%	7.4%	3.7%	10.0%

Source: Own calculations from the 2001 Census of Population.

Overall, however, these differences are not very large. Much larger are the differences by ethnic group. The last three columns of Table 6.1 break down the

age/gender shares for the Municipality of Rhodes by three broad nationality groups, defined as OECD (developed countries), Transition (former socialist countries), and Other (mainly underdeveloped Asian and African countries). As can be seen, variations across ethnic groups are much greater than variations between Rhodes and the country as a whole. OECD nationals appear to have a much higher frequency in the post-retirement cohort, as do, quite counter-intuitively, migrants originating from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Migrants from transition countries are younger as they are over-represented in all age groups below the 45+ categories. Interestingly, the aggregate finding of a greater incidence of female migrants in Rhodes is largely confined to the OECD group; in both other ethnic categories, males dominate as they do in Greece as a whole.

Another distinction that can be drawn is that concerning the reasons for migration. Table 6.2 reports the incidence of migration by gender, nationality group and reason for migration (work, asylum/refugee, study, etc). Migrants originating from OECD countries have a much lower probability of migrating to find employment (24.7%), much lower than the corresponding figure for Greece. This mainly applies in the case of male migrants while for females the differences to the national averages are much lower. The highest incidence of employment is observed for migrants originating from transition countries. Although, however, for males the incidence is almost identical to that of the country nationally, it appears that females have a much higher probability of coming to the Dodecanese to work. To some extent, this may be reflecting the specific patterns of employment opportunities in the region (employment in consumer services). In contrast, the refugee and student categories are under-represented in the Dodecanese relative to the country. While for the study category this probably reflects the lower educational opportunities that are available in the Greek periphery, for the refugee category it suggests that much of the flows of undocumented migrants and/or refugees that are passing through the region are subsequently redirected to the much denser areas of mainland Greece. The limitations in the availability of social and legal services to the migrant population in the region, as discussed later, are perhaps a factor explaining this trend: migrants have in general a higher probability of receiving refugee status (as well as support from NGOs) in Athens than in the Dodecanese. The differences concerning family reunion are less pronounced. One important observation is that in the Dodecanese this share is higher for females than for males – and it is above the corresponding national figure. Albeit quite heuristically, this suggests a possible route for migration from transition countries into the region: female migrants are attracted to the region for employment

purposes as, apparently, demand for female migrant labour is higher in the region relative to the Greek average; subsequently, the spouses and family of these female migrants are also migrating to the region, accounting for a notable share of total migration (some 13% of the total).

A final note concerning the information depicted in Table 6.2 has to do with the incidence of migration for other purposes and especially for retirement. The OECD nationals are vastly over-represented in this group, for both genders, while differences in the other nationalities are insignificant, with the exception of male migrants from Asia and Africa. Interestingly, the Dodecanese host some 8.5% of all OECD migrants that came to Greece for retirement, a figure which is almost four times higher than the region's share of migrant population. In contrast, the incidence of retirees amongst migrants from transition countries is lower than the corresponding figure for Greece.

Table 6.2. Distribution of migrants by reason for migrating, gender and origin

	Work		Asylum/refugee		Reunion		Study		Other	
	GR	DN	GR	DN	GR	DN	GR	DN	GR	DN
Total										
OECD*	30.18%	24.69%	1.82%	0.23%	10.78%	10.80%	7.07%	0.74%	46.5%	60.0%
Transition	52.98%	56.13%	0.55%	0.47%	13.52%	14.50%	1.69%	0.97%	24.3%	22.4%
Other	57.01%	50.15%	7.54%	6.80%	6.97%	10.36%	2.66%	1.73%	20.3%	25.3%
Total	50.06%	41.76%	1.61%	0.72%	12.30%	12.61%	2.62%	0.91%	27.1%	39.4%
Males										
OECD	30.77%	21.63%	1.56%	0.16%	10.84%	11.16%	6.90%	0.57%	46.3%	63.2%
Transition	57.08%	56.98%	0.40%	0.39%	11.92%	14.24%	1.56%	0.99%	22.8%	22.0%
Other	64.74%	51.92%	7.26%	7.85%	4.93%	7.66%	2.95%	2.11%	15.0%	24.1%
Total	54.99%	43.27%	1.53%	0.77%	10.79%	12.66%	2.41%	0.90%	24.5%	37.7%
Females										
OECD	29.72%	26.82%	2.03%	0.29%	10.74%	10.54%	7.21%	0.86%	46.7%	57.8%
Transition	47.90%	55.11%	0.74%	0.56%	15.50%	14.82%	1.85%	0.95%	26.2%	22.9%
Other	43.90%	48.16%	8.02%	5.62%	10.42%	13.39%	2.18%	1.30%	29.2%	26.6%
Total	44.14%	40.34%	1.71%	0.69%	14.10%	12.57%	2.87%	0.92%	30.3%	40.9%

* Includes new EU member states

Source: Own calculations from the 2001 Census of Population.

6.2. Migrants' profile from the fieldwork research

The majority of the interviewed immigrants were coming from Albania and Bulgaria, which are the two more populous migrant communities from countries outside the OECD. However, interviews were also conducted with migrants from Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Russia, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Egypt, the Philippines, Vietnam,

Pakistan, Colombia as well as the autonomous region of Abkhazia. Most of the interviewed belonged to the 35-45 age group. Slightly more men were interviewed. Over half of them reported being married with children. Bulgarian, Albanian and Vietnamese migrants had their spouses and children living with them in Rhodes. This was not the case for the Egyptian, Pakistani and Nigerian migrants, who had on average three children, living with their partners in the origin countries. Although it is possible to try to draw a pattern for migrants of different origin countries having different family arrangements and thus possibly also different intentions with regard to the permanency of their migration move, in most of the cases migrants who had their families back home reported that the reason for this was that they could not qualify for a family reunion because of their large families.

From those interviewed, only a fraction was undocumented. The majority were either holding special temporary certificates or had obtained legal permits for residence and employment. Bulgarians, because of their newly acquired EU citizen status, reported a longer duration of permits; some had even an indefinite leave to remain.²² Most citizens of the former Soviet republics, however, had much more limited legal routes of entry into the Greek labour market, even if some were holding valid residence permits. Some 65% of those interviewed had legalised their immigration status during the 1998, 2001 and 2005 legalisation programmes. Some Egyptian migrants had acquired an indefinite leave to remain in the country, granted to them after 10 continuous years of legal residence. However, incidents of illegality were also located. A Pakistani, who managed to legalise his immigration status in 2001, had slipped back into illegality because of forged payments to the Agricultural Social Security Fund (ΟΓΑ), facilitated by a bogus lawyer. Another interviewee was residing on a forged passport. Two Vietnamese reported no citizenship, neither Vietnamese nor Greek. Their children who were born in Greece had no citizenship either. They were given temporary travel documents. Clearly, in many of these cases illegality was not entirely attributable to the 'supply side' (i.e., migrants evading the law) but was also triggered by problems of administrative and policy nature.

Most of those interviewed had resided in Greece for over 10 years. Some Albanian immigrants had been in Greece since the early 1990s and had circulated between the two countries until settling permanently in the second half of the 1990s. Some 58% of the interviewed immigrants had first lived elsewhere in Greece before settling in Rhodes. Most of them had previously lived in Athens or in Northern Greece

²² Since January 2009, Bulgarians and Romanians are not legally restricted to the labour market in Greece.

(Thessaloniki, Veria). They had left the previous place of residence because of an end of a seasonal job, a new job offer on the island or to improve the quality of their life moving to a 'beautiful and wealthy island' like Rhodes. The reference to the natural amenities offered by the island was one important non-economic reason quoted by some of the interviewees – but almost exclusively only from those that had been living elsewhere in Greece previously. Most of these migrants reported that their main reason for coming to the island was 'family or friends already in Rhodes'. These were, in relative terms, 'old' migrants, as they had been living in Rhodes on average for eight years. For other migrants, however, Rhodes was not a choice. The smuggled Afghan and Pakistani migrants, for example, were caught in Simi by the boarder guards and then sheltered by the police in Rhodes until it's decided whether they will be deported. They were given temporary, six-month certificates on humanitarian grounds. A couple of Filipino women did not choose Rhodes either. They were sent to Rhodes by an employment agency in Philippines.

Fifty eight percent (N=23) of those interviewed had completed secondary education in their origin countries and nine were University or College graduates; eight had primary education only. None of them received higher education in Greece. All interviewed immigrants but one reported no knowledge of the Greek language on arrival. One had only basic knowledge. While most of the migrants that were interviewed had by now acquired a satisfactory or better knowledge of Greek, a disturbing reality surfaced from the interviews with the Vietnamese migrants. Vietnamese started coming to Rhodes in 1981 fleeing civil war. Locals described them as very quiet who never created problems and worked in their small businesses. The Vietnamese we interviewed had lived on the island for almost 21 years. Nonetheless, they hardly spoke any Greek. They mentioned the segregation in the Vietnamese community in Rhodes – those who had Greek friends and had already acquired Greek citizenship and the others, like the ones we talked to, who barely spoke any Greek and had no citizenship.

Turning to the locals' perceptions, it appears that the local population has a rather accurate picture (in relation to the available official data) about the profile of the migrants residing in the island. However, some stereotypical aspects were also surfaced. For example, one of the local residents estimated that 80% of the wealthy foreigners who settle more permanently on the island were coming from the Scandinavian countries of Sweden and Denmark. This does not appear consistent with the evidence presented in Table 5.1, where it is shown that in 2001 Swedish and

Danish migrants accounted for less than 3% of the total migrant population of Rhodes. On a separate interview, the Immigration Office Director estimated that 99% of the undocumented migrants on the island were Albanians and 1% was coming from Russia or the African countries.²³ This was clearly a very rough estimate with very little relevant evidence to support it.

In general, locals made reference to Albanians and Asians much more often than they did for migrants of other origins, even in relation to their population shares. One of the local residents gave a description of the recent Asian migration, which was quite consistent with our findings: “Those who come from Asia are mainly men. They are smuggled into the island. They do not learn the language and are kept by the authorities in military bases.”

²³ He also mentioned the problem discussed earlier, that all extradition expenses were to be paid by their local office. This made them very selective as to who and how many of the undocumented migrants to remove from the island. Another problem reported, concerning undocumented migrants, was that, arguably, locals protect undocumented migrants because they needed them (e.g., as cheap labour cost or to perform tasks that the locals dislike).

7 Experiences in the labour market in Rhodes

7.1. Descriptive results from the 2001 Census

Given the important differences in the profile of the migrant population in Rhodes and the Dodecanese (gender, ethnic and age structures, reasons for migration), it is reasonable to expect some significant differences in the employment characteristics and performance of the migrants located in the region. One of the main objectives of this project was to use contemporary information deriving from the Labour Force Survey to measure the employment destinations, working conditions and employment patterns of the migrant population in the region, in comparison both with the local population and with the migrant population across Greece. This proved to be technically impossible (or methodologically dubious) as the preliminary analysis of a subset of relevant data that was made available to us by the National Statistical Service showed that small sample sizes, measurement/reporting inaccuracies and sample representation are not just significant, but effectively insurmountable, problems. Thus, the analysis that follows is based solely on the 2001 Census. One implication of this is that there is no information on more qualitative aspects of the employment patterns of migrants, e.g., the incidence of multiple-job holdings, of overtime, of irregular or unregistered employment, etc. Nevertheless, the information derived from the Census is in some respects sufficient to show the different conditions concerning employment patterns and opportunities facing the migrant population in Rhodes and the Dodecanese.

Table 7.1 presents the distribution of migrants by activity, sector of employment and occupation, comparing the patterns in Rhodes, the Dodecanese and in Greece (in parentheses are the corresponding shares for Greek nationals). A few observations can be made. The majority of migrants in Rhodes and the Dodecanese are employed in the Services sector. This is particularly so for females, over 80% of which are employed there, in a sector which overall attracts less than two-thirds of total employment. In contrast to female migrants, male migrants are predominantly employed in the industrial sectors (29% compared to less than 20% for the total economy). On the other hand, employment in the primary sector is similar to that of locals (although it is expected that the type of tasks performed will be different) while public sector employment is significantly lower (by a factor of 3 – similar to the national figure). Relative to how migrants elsewhere in Greece fare in relation to

public sector employment, however, migrants in Rhodes – and especially male migrants – appear to have a higher probability of working in this sector.

Table 7.1 Distribution of migrants by sector and occupation

Variable	Total			Males			Females		
	Rhodes	Dodecanese	Greece	Rhodes	Dod/se	Greece	Rhodes	Dod/se	Greece
Sectors									
Primary	1.4%(1.4)	6.9% (6.9)	17.7% (15.2)	1.7%	7.6%	20.1%	0.9%	5.6%	12.4%
Industry	29.1%(17.8)	28.5%(19.5)	37.1% (23.0)	46.0%	44.0%	49.7%	4.1%	2.9%	8.9%
Services	57.5%(58.6)	52.4%(55.1)	33.6% (42.8)	41.5%	37.8%	20.1%	80.9%	76.5%	63.8%
Public	6.7%(22.1)	6.9% (18.5)	5.6% (19.0)	4.8%	4.6%	3.8%	9.6%	10.6%	9.8%
Occupations									
Skilled	10.5%(31.6)	11.5%(30.0)	7.4% (30.6)	9.2%	9.9%	6.4%	12.4%	14.2%	9.9%
Semi-skill	31.3%(53.6)	35.4%(53.4)	36.1% (54.6)	44.2%	47.1%	45.7%	12.4%	16.0%	14.7%
Unskilled	52.6%(14.8)	48.5%(16.6)	51.7% (14.8)	40.7%	38.3%	43.0%	70.0%	65.3%	71.3%
Activity									
Unempl.	15.1%(15.7)	20.0%(17.8)	9.3% (11.1)	11.7%	17.5%	8.1%	19.8%	23.8%	12.0%
Inactivity	38.5%(46.5)	42.1%(50.8)	36.6% (53.2)	24.1%	27.8%	21.1%	51.0%	55.6%	55.3%

Note: Figures in parentheses show the corresponding percentages for the Greek population.

Source: Own calculations from the 2001 Census of Population.

As with the rest of Greece, migrants appear much less likely to be working in skilled occupations (again, by up to a factor of 3, compared with the locals), although their shares in Rhodes and the Dodecanese are much higher than those for Greece as a whole. This applies to both males and females. In contrast, migrants are more likely to work in semi-skilled and especially unskilled occupations. The incidence of unskilled employment is some 3.5 times higher for migrants than for Greek nationals and, as with the rest of Greece, over 50% of them are employed in such occupations. As is the case elsewhere in Greece, the incidence of unskilled employment for females is some 75% higher than the corresponding figure for males.

Interestingly, migrants in Rhodes and the Dodecanese do not fare particularly well also in terms of unemployment and inactivity. Whereas nationally, in 2001, unemployment amongst migrants was some 20% lower than for Greek nationals, in the Municipality of Rhodes unemployment rates were effectively the same and in the Dodecanese region unemployment was more prevalent amongst migrants than amongst locals. To some extent this clearly reflects the fact that the region is characterised by widespread seasonal employment and higher shares of self-employment (own account or employer status) for locals (not shown here). As elsewhere in Greece, unemployment rates were much higher for females but it was especially high for female immigrants outside the Municipality of Rhodes.

Table 7.2 Economic characteristics of migrants by region of origin

Shares	Total			Males			Females		
	Rhodes	Dod/se	Greece	Rhodes	Dod/se	Greece	Rhodes	Dod/se	Greece
OECD countries									
Primary	1%	6%	5%	1%	6%	5%	2%	7%	6%
Industry	10%	10%	13%	18%	17%	18%	4%	3%	7%
Services	63%	62%	45%	54%	58%	45%	70%	67%	45%
Public	18%	15%	29%	17%	12%	23%	18%	18%	35%
Skilled	30%	28%	48%	34%	28%	47%	28%	27%	48%
Semi-skilled	25%	30%	24%	27%	34%	23%	23%	25%	24%
Unskilled	36%	38%	21%	28%	33%	21%	42%	43%	22%
Unemployment	21%	24%	13%	17%	25%	12%	24%	24%	14%
Inactivity	55%	55%	59%	46%	44%	49%	60%	63%	66%
Transition countries									
Primary	2%	7%	20%	2%	8%	22%	1%	5%	14%
Industry	37%	39%	40%	55%	57%	53%	4%	2%	9%
Services	54%	47%	32%	36%	29%	16%	87%	86%	66%
Public	3%	2%	3%	2%	1%	2%	5%	4%	6%
Skilled	3%	2%	3%	3%	1%	3%	4%	2%	4%
Semi-skilled	35%	39%	38%	51%	53%	49%	7%	8%	13%
Unskilled	58%	56%	55%	42%	41%	44%	86%	85%	79%
Unemployment	13%	18%	9%	10%	14%	7%	18%	24%	12%
Inactivity	29%	30%	34%	16%	16%	18%	43%	46%	53%
Other Asian countries									
Primary	1%	7%	13%	1%	10%	16%	0%	0%	2%
Industry	13%	28%	41%	17%	35%	47%	3%	9%	9%
Services	73%	57%	34%	69%	47%	26%	84%	83%	77%
Public	7%	4%	4%	6%	4%	3%	9%	3%	6%
Skilled	11%	9%	7%	11%	11%	7%	9%	6%	7%
Semi-skilled	17%	27%	35%	19%	37%	40%	9%	0%	10%
Unskilled	66%	59%	52%	63%	48%	47%	75%	89%	77%
Unemployment	10%	14%	10%	9%	13%	11%	14%	17%	8%
Inactivity	30%	25%	25%	13%	11%	14%	53%	47%	53%
African countries									
Primary	0%	9%	8%	0%	9%	10%	0%	8%	3%
Industry	19%	55%	29%	24%	60%	34%	10%	8%	6%
Services	71%	25%	48%	71%	21%	42%	70%	58%	73%
Public	3%	3%	8%	0%	2%	7%	10%	17%	13%
Skilled	23%	9%	11%	24%	8%	11%	20%	17%	12%
Semi-skilled	35%	54%	31%	38%	60%	36%	30%	0%	10%
Unskilled	35%	31%	53%	33%	25%	48%	40%	75%	73%
Unemployment	14%	7%	9%	13%	6%	8%	17%	14%	13%
Inactivity	41%	20%	28%	27%	11%	16%	57%	56%	55%
Rest of the world									
Primary	0%	5%	8%	0%	9%	7%	0%	0%	9%
Industry	25%	26%	22%	60%	36%	36%	9%	13%	6%
Services	69%	42%	48%	40%	36%	36%	82%	50%	62%
Public	6%	11%	17%	0%	0%	14%	9%	25%	20%
Skilled	25%	16%	25%	20%	9%	27%	27%	25%	23%
Semi-skilled	13%	37%	26%	0%	45%	34%	18%	25%	17%
Unskilled	56%	32%	43%	60%	27%	32%	55%	38%	56%
Unemployment	30%	21%	13%	38%	31%	12%	27%	0%	14%
Inactivity	43%	45%	51%	20%	33%	29%	50%	60%	63%

Source: Own calculations from the 2001 Census of Population.

With regard to inactivity, it appears that the incidence for migrants, especially males, was higher in Rhodes and the Dodecanese than in the rest of Greece – although relative to the local population, the incidence of inactivity for migrants was lower for both genders. This however hides significant differences in inactivity rates and particularly in the reasons for inactivity (old-age, household activities, early retirement, etc), among migrants of different nationalities. We turn to these differences next.

Table 7.2 presents the occupational and sectoral distribution of employment and the incidence of inactivity and unemployment for different migrant nationalities in Rhodes and the Dodecanese. Nationality differences across all variables appear quite significant. The incidence of primary employment is similar to that of the country average for most groups with the exception of migrants from Transition and Asian countries, especially for males. Asian migrants are also under-represented in the industrial sector, relative to the Asian communities elsewhere in Greece, while this sector seems to be a main destination for African migrants in the region. Similarly, migrants from transition countries are relatively under-represented in the services sector, although this applies solely for males – in fact, as was mentioned earlier, female migrants from transition countries have a very high incidence of employment in this sector.

Concerning the occupational distribution, Table 7.2 confirms in part the expectation that the incidence of skilled employment is much more prevalent in the OECD group (30% of employment within this group is in skilled occupations). However, the incidence of skilled employment among OECD migrants in Rhodes and the Dodecanese is much smaller than the corresponding figure for OECD migrants across Greece. In contrast, OECD migrants in the region have a much higher incidence of employment in unskilled occupations – presumably in the hotels & catering industry (for example, young temporary migrants working as bar-tenders). Interestingly, particularly high is also the incidence of skilled employment in the region (generally and in relation to the national figure) for African migrants, but only in the Municipality of Rhodes. For migrants originating from transition and Asian countries the patterns in the region are very similar to the ethnic patterns in Greece as a whole, with the exception of semi-skilled employment for Asians, which is very low for males in Rhodes and very low for females in the rest of the Dodecanese region. Gender differences in these patterns are generally large and perhaps more significant than the observed nationality patterns themselves – reflecting largely the specialisation of

male and female migrants from different origins in specific sectors and occupations throughout Greece.

Importantly, nationality and gender differences are also very notable in the case of employment participation and unemployment. As expected, the OECD group exhibits very high inactivity rates, although the figure is not dissimilar to the group's national figure. More surprising are the very high unemployment rates experienced by this group, relative both to the locals and to the other migrant communities. The other high-unemployment migrant group is the 'other' category while for all other groups unemployment rates are below the regional average, with the exception of migrants from transition countries (mainly females) who experience a rather high incidence of unemployment in the Dodecanese region (outside Rhodes). Concerning inactivity, besides the OECD group, very high rates are also observed for the African and 'other' groups. With the partial exception of the OECD group, female inactivity rates are significantly higher, especially in the cases of migrants from transition, African and Asian countries – although females in the 'transition countries' group have much higher activity rates in the Dodecanese region than in the country as a whole. For males, inactivity rates are much higher for Africans in the Municipality of Rhodes, but all other patterns are very similar to those observed at the national level.

Overall, there seems to be a significant variation in both the sectoral-occupation distribution and the employability of migrants depending on their country of origin, gender and area of residence. OECD migrants are mostly skilled but experience higher unemployment and inactivity rates. In contrast, migrants from transition countries and from Asia are located disproportionately in unskilled occupations, but have much lower incidence of unemployment and inactivity. Females of all origins appear to be over-represented in the service sector not only in relation to the national average or the employment patterns of locals but also in relation to their male counterparts. Similarly, migrants from transition countries and Africa have a higher incidence of employment in the industrial sectors relative to other migrants and locals in the region and relative to their counterparts in the country as a whole. Broadly, however, the patterns of employment of the migrant communities in Rhodes do not appear to be particularly different from the patterns observed for the local population, with two main exceptions: the very low incidence of public sector employment for migrants and the very uncharacteristic distribution of occupations amongst them (skills). In both cases, however, these patterns characterise the whole of Greece and are not in any way specific of Rhodes or the Dodecanese. We turn again to our

fieldwork research for more information on the actual experiences of migrants and the locals with regard to employment in the island.

7.2. Evidence from the fieldwork research

Employment participation and sectors of employment

Levels of current employment were found to be very high among the immigrants interviewed, with only 2 percent unemployed. Local residents mentioned that immigrants would always have jobs because they accepted any job on offer regardless of pay and conditions. “Migrants are the ‘loukoumi’ for local employers, who can pay them very little, even nothing if they are undocumented; they are willing to work just for some food”, said one 38-year-old local Greek man. Another local resident mentioned that migrants were usually happy to work additional hours, something that locals had long stopped doing.

Indeed, most of the interviewees were in low-skill jobs even after 15 years of residence in Greece, signalling very low promotion/advancement opportunities as well as opportunities for skills acquisition. A Greek-American woman in her late 20s explained this with the prejudice of Greek employers: “It is still not possible for an Albanian to be promoted to a manager in a business no matter how good his/her Greek is or how skilled he/she is or how long he/she had worked for the business”. She talked about the second generation Albanians who grew up in Greece and had better opportunities for advancement in the labour market. “They are accepted like Greeks”, she said. The same was valid for young and educated migrant women who were married to Greeks.

A certain degree of deskilling was observed among East European women who held University diplomas and had worked as teachers and accountants in their origin countries. In Rhodes, the best job they could do was in an estate agency or in a shop as sales assistants. A local hotel manager attributed the attitudes of locals towards Bulgarians and Russians as ‘second-class citizens’ to the deskilling they were experiencing in Greece. He felt it was difficult to respect someone who had been a teacher in their country and had accepted to work as an elderly carer abroad. This of course shows the circularity of the problem, as deskilling is itself the result of unequal access to job opportunities. But it also shows that such forms of labour market and wider societal discrimination are evident also in more open labour markets and

societies, such as that of the City of Rhodes. References to discrimination were also made from migrants running their own businesses, who reported unfair treatment by local authorities when needed permits for their businesses.

Concerning sectoral patterns, migrants in the sample were concentrated in four sectors: hotels, restaurants, sales and cleaning. This is largely consistent with the statistical evidence reviewed above. The incidence of self-employment was also high, with six of the interviewed migrants (Albanians, Bulgarians and an Egyptian) reporting having their own businesses – mainly taverns but also a photographic shop. Only one of the interviewed women was working as live-in in a household. Legal status and longer duration of stay in Greece have significantly reduced the number of women working as au pairs or live-in elderly carers. These jobs are usually taken by recently arrived migrant women with poor Greek and no regular work documents. It appears that in Rhodes this practice is less prevalent than elsewhere in the country (see Lyberaki, 2008). Migrants in the sample found their current job mainly through friends or relatives from their ethnic community, followed by ‘Greek friends / acquaintances’ and ‘friends from other ethnic communities’. For a couple of Filipino women, the job was allocated prior to migration by an agency in the Philippines.

Some of the local residents interviewed spoke about Bulgarians and Romanians as being in a better socio-economic position than those from Ukraine, Moldova and Albania. Asian men who were smuggled into Rhodes were found to be in the worst position. Being undocumented and ‘hidden’ in the black market; they could only work illegally.

Working conditions

Lack of a day off during the summer months, between May and October, was stated as the main problem for most of those interviewed. This however seems to be an issue for all employed in the seasonal industry, almost irrespective of ethnicity. Those working in bars and coffee shops were satisfied with their monthly wages, ranging between €1,000-€1,500 including tips. A couple of the interviewed Albanians mentioned that they would have preferred to live in Northern Greece where people were friendlier but they were staying in Rhodes for the higher wages.

However, low pay was an issue for some of the interviewed Bulgarians working at a petrol station. They complained of unfair treatment by the employer who would pay

them neither for their social security nor for the actual hours of work. This was an example of inconsistency between migrant legal status and their employment conditions. “Employers do not care if you have the right papers; they would always try to save money by paying you less”, said a 32 year old woman from Bulgaria. Again, evidence of discrimination was clear. But these interviews also suggested that, rather than discrimination being strictly along ethnic lines, it seemed to be more related to specific jobs: in sectors with low profit margins and outside the tourism industry employers seemed to seek more intensively for opportunities to discriminate or to compress pay. Unsurprisingly, over half of the immigrants in our sample reported doing several jobs to make ends meet, particularly in the summer; only the primary job would be insured while the others would be cash-in-hand. Indisputably, working excessive hours poses serious health and safety risks and puts strain of the migrants’ work-life balance.²⁴

Some of the working legalised migrants in the sample reported no social insurance coverage from their jobs. Others, desperate to make up for employers not paying social insurance contributions that were much needed for the renewal of their work permits, were contributing unlawfully to a social fund that was unrelated to their sector of employment. For instance, an Albanian man reported having to hide every time IKA inspectors visited the coffee shops where he worked because he was insured with OGA even though he was not employed in agriculture. His employer would not register him with IKA because of high costs for the business. According to recent media reports, this is not atypical for most places in Greece and anecdotally also applies to Greek nationals. Similarly, a research on migrant integration in the Attica region, in 2004, showed that over a fifth of the working legal migrants in the sample were not insured (see GSEE Institute of Labour and the Attica Prefecture, 2004).

Many of the immigrants, who had legalised their work and residence status in Greece since 1998 or 2001, reported no changes in their working conditions after legalisation. “Nothing has changed; even the money we are getting is still the same”, mentioned a 31-year old Albanian man. In order to save money, some employers were making unlawful deductions from workers’ wages in order to cover for their IKA insurance. For others, the main change of being legal was more in their thinking. “I

²⁴ For instance, a migrant in our sample had reportedly fell asleep on the wheel of his car, crashing on the main road to Rhodes airport after not sleeping for over 20 hours, working night shifts at the lugging section of the airport and cleaning windows during the day.

am not scared anymore to talk in Bulgarian in public places”, said a 28-year-old Bulgarian man. However, it emerged that legalised migrants, some 10 years after legalisation, still had no equal rights with local workers. This was valid only theoretically, in the papers. One man, who had just opened his photographic shop, said that in order for him to open the shop, he was asked to declare €30,000 to the Tax Office. He claims that the respective amount for Greeks is only €12,000. He also mentioned about the bank requirement to have a Greek guarantor if he applied for credit. Although unfair treatment and semi-legal working arrangements are also prevalent in the case of Greek nationals, in the case of immigrants it appears that regularisation of status contributes unexpectedly little in ameliorating their conditions of work and pay.

Some migrants mentioned that in case of a problem, they would turn to local politicians as the only people who can actually help them. These were migrants who were fluent in Greek (Bulgarians, Albanians). Some of the migrants who were not fluent in Greek and had no Greek friends will turn to bogus middlemen from their communities (Pakistani). Others would pay Greek lawyers. For the Vietnamese migrants working in construction and with very poor English, it was their employer that they would ask for help. The recently arrived Afghan migrants, who had been in Rhodes for just over a month, spoke no Greek and had no idea where to ask for help. They needed a job in order to survive, find an accommodation and something to eat – so they could not afford to be selective or assertive.

Competition for jobs between migrants and locals

Two of the interviewed local women complained that immigrants take their jobs. The majority of the locals interviewed, however, did not feel this was an issue – consistent with the patterns regarding unemployment differences as depicted in Table 7.1. On the other hand, some migrants believed that locals were unqualified for the jobs that migrants were taking, mentioning for example the high illiteracy of Greek women from the villages. A 30 year old man, from a mixed family background (Scandinavian mother and Greek father), working at his father’s business, thought that the problem was with young Greeks in particular, who were not willing to learn new skills. “The Greek would not try to learn a new job; he is a bit lazy; wants it the easy way”, he said. He spoke of his friend who was really in despair to find money to pay his rent

but did not accept a temp job in construction; preferred to go to the café and wait for someone to offer something better.

A Bulgarian man, a photographer, spoke of locals' prejudice towards migrants. Whenever a local person introduced him to new clients they will start with "The Bulgarian and later on will mention how good his work is". Another migrant spoke of the 'economic racism' on the island. He thought that locals were blaming migrants for the lack of employment opportunities being envious that migrants manage to run own businesses and make more money than them. This also emerged in an interview with a local bar-owner in his early 40s who believed that even though Greece was going through hard times, migrants had no problem because they would do any job and earn even more than locals.

One of the interviewed local people, a retired man in his 70s, thought that migrants did jobs that Greeks would not do. "Greeks, with the support of trade unions, want to work less but to be paid a lot", he said. Just a small percentage of migrants (15%) were estimated to work in the black market. "If employers could find locals for a job they will not call the foreigner. Some migrants do work in the black market but that's exactly what I am doing even though I am Greek", he added.

A Greek woman working as a hotel maid was certain that migrants were taking jobs from locals especially from men. "We have our local people who have not found jobs. I heard that one Albanian girl was given a job in a bank while our girls can't get such a job", she said. She believed that employers were taking migrants for their cheap labour. She gave an example with local women who were not willing to do certain jobs like housework because of the low pay and the hard labour required. "A migrant woman would iron clothes for €5/hour while a Greek woman won't do this job for so little money", she said. There is a clear conflation here between direct competition for jobs and displacement based on preferences. Although the possibility was offered in some of the semi-structured interviews to explain whether locals believed that migrants actually bid-down wages, this did not emerge as a common answer.

Some evidence of this was nevertheless obtained. A local hotel manager in his mid-30s was convinced that there would not be many jobs opened to foreigners if it was not for the low pay they were accepting. "The big mistake that Greek employers do is to employ foreign workers because they are cheap. They are not only cheap but also emotionally disconnected from the job they are employed to do; they are not committed", he said. "Besides, foreign workers do not offer the same quality of

service as Greeks do; not only that they are not proficient in the Greek language but they are only interested in money. They are not interested in representing Greece but their home countries”, he added when asked if he would employ foreign receptionists in the hotel he was managing. Some of the interviewed migrants opposed such statements, however, emphasising the importance to them of kind words and good treatment rather than high payment. “It is not only the money. We are humans. I don’t mind working overtime but I don’t want to be mocked at, treated like an idiot and verbally abused”, said a 34-year old Egyptian working in a fish shop.

Generally, a rather conservative view of the impact of migrants on local wages emerged. Most locals believed that while initially, in the 1990s, migrant workers had indeed a dampening effect on wages, as they were illegal and were paid much less than locals for the same jobs, this was much less so the case today. A primary school teacher thought that immigration helped in fact rationalise pay scales and resulted in a more equal spread of wages across sectors and occupations. He recalled that in the 1980s, while a student, he was earning 200,000 DRH per month as a barman, when salaries for teachers were about 50,000 DRH. “Clearly, this was abnormal” he said. “Migrants brought wages down to their natural levels”, he added. Others spoke of equal payment between local and migrant workers for the same jobs. However, a coffee shop owner in his 30s emphasised the persistent wage differences in construction: an undocumented foreign painter would charge €20-25 per hour while the Greek would ask for €40. “Greeks are lazy; foreign workers would work 10 hours a day and be happy”, he added.

While it is difficult to tease a confident conclusion from these experiences, especially as the views of locals and migrants alike seem divergent, it is nevertheless possible to deduct that job competition and wage compression –or at least concerns about these– are not as intense as they reportedly are in other places in Greece. The nature of the Dodecanese labour market, with its opportunities for irregular income generation, unregistered and seasonal employment and high profitability in parts of the hospitality sector, may be at least partly accounting for this.

8 Migrant's access to services and local perceptions

8.1 Main needs of migrants in Rhodes

Outside the labour market, one of the key issues for migrant integration is access to housing and their position in the housing market more generally. In spite of patterns broadly documented across the country, of some migrant groups being fairly integrated in the property ladder, in our fieldwork research all but two of the interviewed immigrants lived in rented accommodation. Both of those living in own accommodation, an Egyptian man and a Colombian woman, had local spouses. However, local residents reported that some Bulgarian and Romanian families had started buying flats and houses on the island. At the time of the interview, the smuggled Afghan migrants lived in a derelict former military base, in unsuitable for habitation conditions. In their case, however, emphasis was given on the fact that they survived the long journey and their main concern was, naturally, to avoid deportation. Accommodation conditions for the Pakistani migrants were similar to those documented elsewhere (over-crowding), with three or four males sharing a room.²⁵ However, they seemed to enjoy the communal life, cooking and playing cards together. Their Greek neighbours were impressed that so many men can share a two bedroom house and live happily and quietly without causing any trouble in the neighbourhood.

Local residents estimated that immigrants were spread everywhere on the island but the highest concentration was in the suburbs of the city of Rhodes, where accommodation was cheapest. However, there was little evidence of large-scale spatial segregation. A local resident pointed out the difference between Athens and Rhodes. In Athens migrants would tend to form ghettos while this was not happening in Rhodes.

Some of the interviewed local residents identified accommodation and language as the main needs for migrants. However, East Europeans were believed to learn spoken Greek very quickly. The main problem was with people who come from far away, like Asia. Most of the interviewed immigrants reported satisfactory knowledge of the spoken Greek language. However, and despite the obvious need for this, especially in relation to the issue of deskilling and occupational downgrading, none of them had benefited from any language classes. They had learnt the language by

²⁵ As mentioned earlier, most of these immigrants were married but their spouses and children had remained in their countries of origin.

watching TV or trying to communicate with employers. “Need teaches you”, said a 44-year-old Albanian man, who had just started working his own business (a tavern). Despite this adaptation, it emerged that none of the interviewed immigrants could write in Greek – even after more than 10 years in Greece, confirming the findings of a similar study in Attica region in 2004 (see GSEE Institute of labour and Attica Prefecture, 2004). Here, the lack of support for language acquisition was crucial – and its implications pervasive. Migrants needed to pay lawyers for filling-in basic application forms. This was a particular problem for those who had opened their own businesses. They needed to pay accountants for completing invoices or other documentation. Besides the obvious pecuniary costs of this, it also raised a wider problem concerning access to various other benefits and opportunities that would otherwise be available to them.

Egyptian migrants complained that there were no services on the island that would help them to fill-in applications in Greek or translate documents from or into Arabic. They were even willing to pay private services if such were available. Even the Immigration Office in Rhodes translates announcements into Bulgarian, Albanian, Russian and English only, but not in Arabic. The same problem was encountered when applying for a driving licence. The language problem appeared most acute with some of the Vietnamese respondents: one of them was a Chinese restaurant owner that spoke some English and very basic Greek. He and his brother had lived on the island for 21 years. They spoke of their bitterness with the local authorities who would always get annoyed with them as they could not understand what they were told. They spoke about going to public hospitals where the doctors will ask them to leave because of language barriers but would suggest continuing the examination in their private surgeries. “If you pay, doctors will understand your problem; they won’t bother though if you don’t pay”, one reported.²⁶ The Vietnamese respondents talked about their teenage children born in Rhodes who could not speak any Vietnamese. “When we sit for dinner, my teenage children will talk in Greek at one end of the table, I and my wife will speak Vietnamese at the other end. We are a family but separated by different languages. It’s quite sad”, said a father of four. He also spoke of the difficulty in making plans to return home as his children won’t be able to speak the language there. Although this may be taken to suggest significant progress with the integration of second-generation immigrants, it obviously raises important

²⁶ Evidence for this feeling of lack of engagement from the side of the local community and authorities was also found in the fact that they felt quite emotional that the fieldwork researcher was making the effort and actually understanding their stories. This, however, was a particular issue with the Vietnamese community, which have been living in relative isolation for a long period of time. The extent to which this isolation is the cause or the effect of the language barriers is of course difficult to establish.

questions about the cohesion and sustainability of their communities and can be seen instead as a process of forced Hellenisation.

The issue of second-generation migrant children who do not speak their parents' language emerged also amongst the Albanian community. A local primary school teacher talked about his Albanian pupils who would learn only Greek while their parents will continue communicating in Albanian at home. In the case of Albanian families, however, this appeared to be a more deliberate choice for Hellenisation, presumably as a strategy to avoid discrimination for their children – a strategy which has not always been successful.²⁷ For the Vietnamese, this was not a matter of choice – rather, they reported that they did not have the time and knowledge or resources to teach their children their mother-tongue. It has always been a contentious issue in Greece whether migrant children should be supported to learn their mother tongue and if so who should provide the support (the country of origin or Greece). Nonetheless, it is widely recognised that knowledge of the home country language can facilitate the choice of return but can also strengthen the cohesion of the migrant communities.

Besides these issues, country of origin also determined the migrants' problems and needs due to the different legal status that it implied. With the exception of Bulgarians, for most of the interviewees the main issue was their legal status – the issue of 'documents'. Even for those eligible for work and residence permits, there was a widespread sense that these take an excessively long time to be issued or renewed. There was also a feeling of unfairness due to ethnic discrimination. One Albanian man wondered why he could not acquire equal rights with Greeks even after 10 years of legal residence in the country while people from Northern Epirus were given rights straight way.

More specific problems with 'documents' were also reported, however. For some Albanian migrants the main problem was with the recognition of their driving licences issued in Albania. This appeared to be a rather trivial issue from an administrative point of view, but it had significant implications for the employment and social status of some of the immigrants. For some of the Vietnamese, the main issue was the lack of any citizenship. This was an awkward situation particular to this group. In the current economic climate, it intensified their concerns about securing employment.

²⁷ A couple of Albanians in the sample had changed their names to Greek with the hope that this can improve their chances for a better acceptance into the local society. They reported that many other Albanians did the same. Nonetheless, they felt that this was rather futile, as their life did not improve at all. "It is all words but no action", one said.

For North African migrants who had acquired permanent residence in Greece, the main issue was their inability to satisfy government requirements for reunion with their families. For instance, the official requirement for a migrant worker to be allowed to bring into the country a spouse and one child was a minimum annual income of €11,000. As most of the African migrants had large families at home (four children) the actual declared income required to qualify for family reunion was up to €17,000. Given the employment conditions (under-pay, seasonal employment, undeclared incomes due to unregistered employment), this was considered particularly excessive. Reportedly, this figure would be prohibitive even for many local workers.

The President of the Rhodes Labour Centre (RLC) spoke of the difficulties in organising migrants on the island. Whereas similar difficulties were reported for locals, for migrants the fact of lacking collective organisation and representation meant that often they would have to resort to paying lawyers privately to try to solve any issues, even simple problems related to not knowing the language. For instance, some Pakistani migrants were undocumented even after acquiring legality because they were supplied with forged documents by middlemen. The trade unionist explained the difficulties in organising migrants with the small labour market on the island. "The market is small, the community is small. If you report an employer for unfair treatment, you won't find any other job; the word will spread. Everybody knows everybody. People are scared. Migrants are even more scared. It's better in Athens for organising", he said. This obviously raises an issue that is particular to small and self-contained (island) economies. While the transparency resulting from the small size of the market may raise employment probabilities for the migrants (e.g., through the operation of informal networks), on the other hand it may be restricting their ability to secure better working conditions or employment relations. Migrants would report an exploitative employer only if the exploitation (e.g., not making the statutory social security contributions) threatened the renewal of their work permits. Despite the report of lack of collective representation, however, migrant associations were present in the island. The RLC hosts the first Filipino migrant association in Rhodes. Other migrant associations include the Association for Serbian-Greek Friendship; an Albanian Association (probably established by the Albanian embassy in Athens); a Bulgarian Association; and the Association of the People of Northern Epirus.

8.2 Service provision

Previous research in Greece has recognised the importance of the relationship between migrants and public services in Greece for their social integration (see GSEE Institute of Labour and Attica Prefecture, 2004). In our fieldwork research, migrants' opinion about the quality of services provided by local authorities depended very much on their country of origin and their respective immigration needs. All immigrants in the sample had used public services in Rhodes when applying for their residence and work permits. They had gone to OAED, the police, the hospital and IKA. However, satisfaction with the standards of service provision was clearly sub-standard. A large share of the interviewed migrants (41%, N=16) described their level of satisfaction with the services received as 'bad' and another 36% thought the service provision was 'average'. Only seven people thought the services were actually good or even very good. Bulgarian migrants were more likely to be satisfied with the public services in Rhodes –possibly because of their relatively stable immigration status– while Albanians, Russians, Ukrainians and Moldovans were more likely to think of the public services as bad. Migrants from the Asian and African communities were more often than not evaluating the level of service provision as 'average' – perhaps indicating a combination of low satisfaction and low expectations. An Egyptian migrant, however, who had lived over a decade in Athens, thought that in comparison service provision in Rhodes was much better organised and waiting queues were significantly shorter.

Albanian migrants spoke of their dissatisfaction with the local authorities responsible for issuing and renewing their residence permits and the high fees that they needed to pay ever so often. Some thought that these services were neither efficient nor helpful. An Albanian man in his mid-30s, when asked if he had any problems in Greece, said: "We do not have any problems with anybody here, not even with racism, but our only problem is documents. Public services are not helpful; we wait long hours in queues; we ask what's going on; no one answers; no one explains anything - they bring us to the edge and we react; they then call the police". Particular reference was made by some interviewees to the fact that the local Office for Migrants was temporarily closed in the winter of 2007, causing much trouble to immigrants, who had lost direct access to relevant services. A couple of migrants reported that, on a few occasions, local authorities had lost their application forms; as a result, they could not travel home for two years. More generally, migrants felt that the bureaucracy was not helpful, as they could not clearly explain which papers were

needed and as a result immigrants were wasting time and money without getting the service they were after. Some interviewees suggested, however, that local services are similarly inefficient even to local Greeks, so this was not always perceived as an issue of discrimination or unequal treatment.

However, such concerns also surfaced from the interviews. Problems with service provision, besides bureaucratic issues, were reported in areas such as local officials' attitudes (discrimination) and problems of corruption. One of the migrants surveyed suggested that local officials needed to show better manners and humanity. A man from Abkhazia, who fled civil war in 1991, was forced to live on a forged passport even after 17 years of residence in Greece because the authorities never recognised his refugee status. He spoke of other migrants applying for Greek citizenship that had paid €2,000 to lawyers and never got citizenship. He believed that this was one way that local authorities made money from foreigners. Inefficient local authorities and clumsy migration legislation gave rise to lawyers who, according to some migrants, can supply with legal documents even outside legalisation programmes.

There were, however, other views on the level and quality of services available to migrants. As mentioned above, more positive attitudes were reported by Bulgarian migrants, who seemed to be treated more favourably by the local administration. A Bulgarian couple said that they believed local institutions actually helped them stand up for their rights. "These are good institutions but we do not do what we are supposed to because we still do not know what our rights are". Although the sense of failures in the accessibility / provision of local services is still identifiable in this quote, the responsibility of this is shifted more to the migrants than to the authorities. It is difficult to explain why this is, but perhaps the status of Bulgaria as an EU member state must play a central role in this.

An Englishman in his 50s gave a different perspective on the effectiveness of local services and on the problems facing the 'leisure' migrants in the island. He spoke of problems with ownership when buying a property or land and the black market there, where the contract price is different from the actual price paid for the property (the actual price is being paid through lawyers 'under the table' and a lower transaction price is declared for tax avoidance purposes). These were clearly issues of informality but less so of corruption or discrimination particularly targeting migrants. "English people are not used to that way of doing things", he said. However, other examples were also indicating discrimination and corruption. The same interviewee reported that his bank was charging him for bank statements when these should be

provided free of charge. On another occasion, he had hired an accountant to prepare his tax return statement. The accountant told him that his UK-earned income could not be included in the tax return, but that for a 10% fee 'it could be arranged'.

In all these examples, the pervasiveness of corruption, informality and bureaucratic inefficiency in Greece appears to impose significant financial and other costs to the immigrant population. Interestingly, however, the responses to this vary across different migrant groups. Some groups (e.g., the Vietnamese) are pushed to further isolation and segmentation. Some others (e.g., Albanians) seem to be directed towards a more active engagement at the societal level (either within their communities or with the local community) to overcome the barriers that they encounter. For 'leisure' immigrants, it appears that the response is again one of 'disengagement' and detachment. The fact that this group of migrants can in many respects afford to sustain this disengagement (e.g., due to their relative income security vis-à-vis, for example, the Vietnamese) goes perhaps a long way in explaining the unwillingness of people from this group to participate more extensively in our fieldwork research.

8.3 Experiences of local residents with the immigrant communities in Rhodes

Most of the surveyed locals thought that migrants were needed on the island – although, rather sadly, the main reason given for this was for the low pay that they were willing to accept. In a rather extreme, but indicative statement, a trade unionist said that "locals love immigrants for as long as they can be useful". In none of the interviews did any of the locals insist on the wider social and cultural benefits of migration – although some seemed to acknowledge implicitly such benefits in the less structured parts of the interviews.

On the other hand, for the small fraction of the interviewed local people that felt negative about the presence of economic immigrants on the island, the key issues also appeared to be mainly economic and much less so socio-cultural. The main issue raised was that of an outflow of wealth through remittances. For these interviewees, economic migrants were 'extracting' money from Rhodes and sending it home, without much local spending and thus without much benefit to the local economy. One migrant mentioned that this was true for Bulgarians and Romanians but not for Albanians, who had been trying hard for a long time to settle in the island

and get recognition from locals – although still to no avail. Another local person suggested that a limit has to be introduced on the amount of money that each foreign worker can remit back home. He contrasted the current situation to that of the Yugoslavs who came to work on the island in the 1970s and 1980s, and who had saved all their money in Rhodes. Interestingly, issues of job competition, wage compression, displacement, and the like, while discussed in some length when prompted to talk about the labour market effects of immigration, did not regularly come up in the discussions (e.g., in the focus group) when the question was concerning the wider impacts of migrants and the locals' perceptions of them. This could be showing some bias in the self-reported attitudes and beliefs of locals towards immigrants – but our interpretation is that the problems of competition and displacement identified are not too severe so as to resurface in every relevant occasion in the discussions.

At least part of the explanation for this has to do with temporal adaptation, perhaps from both sides (migrants and locals). Some locals reflected on the times when migrants first started coming in big numbers to the island some 15 years ago. They were mainly criminals escaping prison in their home countries – or, at least, that was the perception and reported experience of the locals we interviewed. Naturally, locals were very negative towards the initial migrant influx. “However, things have changed now that migration has become mainly of families. We don't have any problems with them”, commented a 70 year old retired man. Similarly, another local businessman in his early 40s commented that at the beginning Albanians did create problems (‘they were stealing even shoes left outside your door’, a young woman mentioned) but now they were all working and “they have all joined the club”. Locals who themselves had been migrants in other countries, mainly Australia and Germany, were most positive towards new immigrants on the island. Besides the issue of temporal adaptation, the above observations bring up two other issues. On the one hand, the fact that own experience with migration is an important factor influencing attitudes (and perceptions) towards migrants. On the other, that the reception and perception of immigration is at least partly contingent on the type of the migration move – migrants aiming at a more permanent settlement (e.g., coming with their families and having the legal prospect of acquiring a resident status) tend perhaps to integrate more to the local community but, more importantly, tend to cause less disruptions and frictions to the local society.

In turn, the size and type of the receiving economy also appears to influence the profile of immigrants arriving and their propensities to settle. This was more emphatically put to us by the Chief of Police of Rhodes, who insisted that none of the migrants on the island were trafficked and that very few migrants were involved in criminal activities in Rhodes. This was effectively attributed to the size of the community in the island, to its relative insularity, as well as to the transparency of social relations that insularity and 'smallness' imply. "The small community makes it difficult for criminals to survive here", he said; "criminals, both migrants and locals, need big metropolises to hide".²⁸ This appears to be consistent with the vast majority of immigrant experiences in the island of Rhodes. None of the locals that we interviewed mentioned any serious problems with migrants at the personal or wider (neighbourhood, workplace, etc) levels. They did not think migrants were involved in criminal activities – as most of them were 'family people'.

Furthermore, the interviewed locals did not think that migrants had any negative impact on public services either. "Even if migrants affected hospitals, or schools, it would not be for the migrants to blame; it is the Greek state that has to build bigger schools, bigger hospitals. But, this should be done for the legal migrants only", warned a 57 year old taxi driver. The issue that emerges is one of fairness and universalism – consistent with wider public attitudes in Greece about the eligibility structure for the provision of public services (e.g., universal coverage for the health system, access for all to free education at all levels, etc). For some locals, the socio-cultural impact of migrants was actually strictly positive – as some of the local interviewees mentioned that migration into Rhodes has made locals more open towards foreigners.

²⁸ Another explanation for the low crime rates in the island that was offered in this interview was the fact that there were apparently no opportunities for a sex market in Rhodes, which is often associated with trafficking and a host of other illegal activities.

9 Conclusions

9.1. Summary

This report has explored the experiences of immigrants living on the island of Rhodes, focusing on their characteristics, their employment conditions, their use of public services, their accommodation and training needs, and their interactions with local residents. Although this is primarily a qualitative study and the sample chosen cannot be considered as representative in a statistical sense, it is the first to empirically examine explicitly the issue of migrant integration on the island, seen from the viewpoint of these new immigrant groups. The statistical information that is available (from the 2001 Census of Population, the Greek Labour Force Survey and official data on residence permits) was also for a first time collated in such a systematic way for the area. The descriptive analysis that was thus presented highlighted a number of patterns and dimensions that were not necessarily fully visible through other sources (e.g., media reports).

The study suggests that a significant proportion of the immigrants from outside the EU and the new EU member states are in Rhodes to work, and they have been quite successful in finding employment, even if this is in relatively low-skill sectors, with little upward job mobility to date. The statistical information, however, shows that this finding should not be exaggerated. First, Rhodes hosts a disproportionately high share of 'leisure' migrants and a disproportionately low share of economic migrants from transition countries – this is broadly consistent with wider perceptions about the type of migration in Rhodes. Secondly, aggregate unemployment rates for migrants in Rhodes appear similar to those for locals and probably higher than these for similar migrant groups in other parts of the country – although this probably reflects to a large extent the patterns of seasonal employment observed in the region due to its tourism industry.

Thus, as the fieldwork research showed, the island was attractive for migrants due to the high intensity, rather than a higher overall level, of employment opportunities. More important, however, as an economic 'pull' factor, was the availability of relatively high wages in tourist businesses compared to other parts of Greece. But the main 'pull' factors turned out not to be economic. While this was to a large extent expected for 'leisure' migrants, it was a rather surprising finding for the 'economic' migrants. The beauty and natural amenities of Rhodes was recognised by some as

one of the pull factors. However, the main reason for most immigrants choosing to settle in Rhodes was the presence there of family and friends.

Immigrants were spread everywhere on the island but the highest concentration was in the suburbs of the city of Rhodes where the accommodation was more affordable. This contrasts to the situation in Athens and Thessaloniki where migrants, especially from specific ethnic backgrounds, tend to form clusters, thus leading to significant spatial fragmentation and possibly intensify the extent of social segregation facing the migrant communities.

The immigrants interviewed in this study were working across a range of sectors but in line with existing literature, there was quite a concentration in areas with low skill requirements such as hotels, restaurants, sales and cleaning. This was also consistent with the results of the descriptive analysis of the available statistics, which show a high concentration of 'economic' migrants in low-skilled occupations and specific sectors of the economy. While this is a pattern observed everywhere in Greece, the examination of the data for Rhodes showed that sectoral specialisations and concentrations are very different among migrant groups of different ethnic/geographical backgrounds as well as of different gender. Ethnic differences in the gender specialisations are also significant. Thus, although on average immigrants in Rhodes do seem to specialise, it appears that immigrants from transition countries seem to engage disproportionately in agricultural and industrial jobs, while Asians and Africans were more over-represented, in relative terms, in service-sector jobs. This, however, was not the case for female migrants from transition countries who had the highest concentration in service-sector employment amongst all groups examined.

Given the relatively high unemployment of the migrant population in Rhodes, it was perhaps not so much of a surprise to find in the fieldwork research that perceptions about immigrants' effects on job competition and pay were not as strong as found in other studies for mainland Greece. An alternative interpretation, that we favour, is that the dampening and competition effects of migration are actually lower than perceptions about them would suggest. If this was not so, then such perceptions should be more intense in a region such as Rhodes, with above-average concentrations of immigrants and a relatively small and self-contained labour market, which almost necessarily implies higher visibility and transparency of labour market processes (e.g., of wage-dumping effects). Admittedly, some locals, especially in the construction and hotel industries, felt threatened by the presence of immigrants. But

the more commonly expressed concerns about immigrants were related to their remitting of significant parts of their incomes back home, rather than to them displacing domestic workers. More important than displacement issues were the concerns about migrants compressing wages in some particular occupations. Interestingly, however, with regards to this a finding was obtained which is largely overlooked in the literature. It was argued that immigration facilitated a rationalisation of pay scales across different activities in the island – meaning a decline or convergence in the sectoral and occupational wage premia. If true, this would be a development in the direction of increased labour market fairness – in which migrant labour could play an important role, presumably substituting for the low sectoral-occupational mobility of the domestic workforce.²⁹

Outside the labour market, acquiring and sustaining legal status was identified as the main issue for migrants on the island. “Documents” was their key word for peaceful life and a more permanent settlement. The disproportionately low incidence of residence permit holders in the region may be contributing to this – although perhaps more plausible is that the anxiety concerning the issue of ‘documents’ has to do with the ability of the authorities in the island and in the Dodecanese more generally to provide the relevant services as needed (speed, red-tape, etc). Migrants in the sample felt dissatisfied with the local authorities dealing with their residence and work permits, attributing much of the problem to the authorities’ inefficiency and racist mentality of their employees. Knowledge of the Greek language was the second most significant issue. Greek was easily spoken by East Europeans who had spent on average 10 years in the country – despite never having attended language classes. The most acute language problems were experienced by Asian migrants. Vietnamese, even after two decades in Greece, hardly spoke any Greek. Pakistani migrants had also made very basic improvement in their language skills since arrival. Language proficiency is a major factor impacting integration – although some evidence from second-generation migrants, who are fluent in Greek, suggests that aspects of discrimination and access barriers may persist besides linguistic constraints. Immigrants with only basic or no knowledge of Greek tend to live in isolation and make friends within their ethnic communities only. Egyptians, Albanians, Bulgarians and others were all proficient in spoken Greek but could not read or write. Access to services for them, however, was facilitated by the fact that most relevant local authority announcements would be regularly available in their

²⁹ On the extent of regional, sectoral and occupational mobility in the various regions of Greece see Monastiriotes (2009).

mother languages. African and Asian migrants were in a worse position, as announcements were not translated in their languages and thus they would normally not be able to take up the relevant services. This is perhaps not much of a surprise. Research in the international literature suggests that, particularly where the migrant workforce from a particular country is numerically small, or is perceived as small (e.g., when it is more insular and thus less visible), provision of important information relating to immigration rules or health & safety is very limited.³⁰ On the other hand, direct (non-language-based) barriers to access to such local services as schools (for the children of regularised immigrants), hospitals and other basic services, were not reported in our fieldwork research.

Clearly, one of the main findings deriving from this is that there is a great need for language education for all immigrant groups in the island. Whereas the vast majority of our migrant interviewees were reasonably integrated into the island's labour market, it became clear from our fieldwork that labour market participation is not sufficient for the full integration into the local society and thus for the full participation in its activities and the full use of its resources (including public services).

Migrant country of origin and locals' previous migration experience appeared to be the most significant factors impacting on local attitudes towards immigrants. Local residents who themselves had been migrants in other country were most likely to be positive towards immigrants. Others, with no such experience, tended to show more discriminatory preferences towards wealthier foreigners on the island. Nevertheless, on balance, attitudes towards immigrants were not particularly negative. In fact, none of the interviewees amongst the local residents was able to mention a specific example of personally experienced friction with any member of the migrant community.

9.2. Some implications for policy

It is perhaps possible, if not tempting, to draw on the above and try to systematically record the differences in the process of integration and in the patterns of work and living observed between immigrant communities in Rhodes (i.e., from this study) and immigrant communities in other parts of the country (especially in Athens). Nevertheless, the general feeling obtained from the present study is that regional

³⁰ See for example the work of Winkelmann-Gleed and McKay (2005) for the East of England region.

differences in these patterns and processes are not too large. Indeed, although Rhodes is found to have, for example, a disproportionate number of 'leisure' immigrants, some key patterns observed there closely resemble those found elsewhere in Greece. Asian and African immigrants are predominantly male and live in overcrowded accommodation –partly as a life-style choice, albeit clearly a conditional one. Activity rates are high for all immigrant communities, but variations among ethnic and geographical lines exist. Females are disproportionately employed in the service sector while male employment is more dispersed across agriculture, industry and services. Ethnic differences are again very significant.

Instead, what is more important is the observation that these patterns seem to persist even in localities with very different economic structures and characteristics. Despite its 'smallness', its 'islandness', its intimacy and transparency, the local economy of Rhodes exhibits the same characteristics of sectoral specialisations, occupational downgrading, (instances of) exploitation, and so forth, observed in the large urban areas of the country. What this study was able to reveal is that these patterns persist despite the lack of significant spatial segregation, racial discrimination, or pressures from commuting and other mechanisms for quantitative adjustment associated with open economies. In this sense, it was possible to pin down with more clarity the sources of the processes that block the full integration of migrants into the local society and economy.

As mentioned already, the single most important problem facing migrants is the issue of legal status. This clearly affects access to a range of services as well as employment opportunities, working and living conditions, etc. It would be easy to conclude from here that this calls for a general legalisation of all migrants, especially as this would be expected to have a significant impact on lowering crime rates among immigrants (by raising the opportunity costs of illegality) and raising government revenues (through taxation and social insurance receipts). However, this is largely an issue of national policy and it interacts in many ways with a series of other policy issues and areas.³¹ Nevertheless, in most cases the main issue with legal status concerned the renewal of permits. Thus, from a policy perspective the main question is not that of new legalisations but rather of the sustainability of previous legalisations – for legalised people to not slip back into illegality. It was suggested by our research that shorter periods of document renewal –and thus of continuity in legal status– could be reached if staff were more efficient, better trained

³¹ More importantly, full legalisation may have wider implications with regard to future migration waves and thus future pressures from migration. The issue is thus more complex than it may seem at first.

in migration law, more communicative with migrants, giving clear, if possible in their languages, explanations as to what is required by migrants, and being less prejudicial and racist.

So, besides the issue of legalisation as such, it appears that a major barrier to migrant integration, even for legally residing migrants, is language. The policy responses that can be of relevance in this field are much more straightforward and probably much less costly than those required in the case of legalisation. Moreover, the policy responses do not have to be designed (and definitely not implemented) at the national/central level. They can be delivered, perhaps more efficiently, at the local level, with the support of a combination of local and central partners including local authorities, NGOs, migrants' associations, employers' associations, unions and local residents, as well as the state authorities.

An important observation here is that language is not only a problem of integration in its own right but it also acts as an intermediating factor affecting how other aspects of migrants' engagement impact on their ability to integrate. A clear example here has to do with employment opportunities and the patterns of occupational downgrading, exploitation, sub-standard working conditions and pay, weak representation, etc that were observed. But other examples are also present. They include access to legal and public services, access to accommodation (particularly home-ownership) and, more generally, participation in the range of social activities taking place at their new locality of residence. Linguistic barriers, to the extent that they are present, do not allow immigrants to assert their rights, be it in the employment sphere or in the social sphere at large. In some cases, knowledge and understanding of what exactly these rights are is also hindered by language constraints.

Of course, the identification of these issues is only a small step towards developing the structures for the provision of the necessary services and interventions or for the addressing of the problems facing immigrants and host communities alike. Specific policy proposals should be developed based on a deep and systematic understanding of the context and circumstances under which migrants arrive, engage with and integrate into local communities. As this study did not seek to engage in an evaluation of specific policies and policy processes, it is not possible to derive here such proposals and specific recommendations regarding how the issue of migrant integration should be addressed – in Rhodes and in Greece more generally. However, a few observations can be made.

Foreign workers will continue to come to the island of Rhodes to work, to retire, to enjoy the amenities offered by the island, perhaps to study, and, perhaps increasingly so, to join their families or even to seek protection as refugees. While some may stay for just a few months, others will decide to settle indefinitely. The socio-economic and cultural contributions that migrants can make to the receiving localities are well recognised in the literature – some instances of this have also been identified in this study. However, in order for these contributions from migrants –in Rhodes and elsewhere in Greece– to be maximised, migrants will need to have a clear legal residence status and full employment rights.

Besides the legal aspects, however, they will also need access to jobs, accommodation and services, as well as the opportunity to interact with local people and participate in community life. These processes of enabling migrants to participate in a community, economically and socially, are often captured by the term ‘integration’. In this sense, integration should be seen as a two-way process in which, on the one hand, society needs to provide opportunities for migrants to engage with the local community and, on the other hand, migrants need to have the drive and incentives (and expected payoffs) to engage with the local community. Two issues appear essential in achieving this. First, there is a clear need for the provision of advice and support to migrants, particularly when they first arrive. Second, there is an equally strong need for education provision to migrants, both in the form of language tuition and in the form of access to formal education.

Whereas the present study does not qualify us to propose specific policy interventions in the field of education provision for migrants, the information derived here allows us to consider, albeit rather tentatively, three key questions for migration policy – which, however, have not always received adequate attention in similar studies in Greece. These are as follows:

- Objective: is migration policy a means for controlling migration flows, or is it a tool for inter-communal integration and social cohesion?
- Level of delivery: should migration policy be designed and implemented at the national or at the local level?
- Content: should migration policy be designed along ethnic-origin lines, need-based principles, or along wider policy objectives?

Policy objective. It is clear from our review of the official data on migration and the interviews conducted in Rhodes that undocumented immigration and human trafficking are pervasive at least in some parts of the country. This is not a new phenomenon and, despite the normalisation of the political and economic conditions in the Balkans, which have reduced the pressures coming from countries such as Albania, flows of illegal migration continue and are perhaps expected to grow larger in the future. On the other hand, Greece faces a significant challenge concerning its aging population and its below-reproduction birth-rates. A response to these challenges would indeed be a more aggressive migration policy aiming at tightening border controls and increasing deterrence (deportations, non-legalisation, etc). This however would raise significant costs for the administration and obvious social and personal costs for the migrants concerned. Moreover, it is questionable how effectively such a policy could be applied in Greece, not least given its weak administration tradition. A different response would be to seek to combine a policy of border controls that are focused on issues of security with a policy of positive migrant integration.³² Such a policy framework would allow population injections in the country while reducing the incidence of illegality and thus many of the problems associated with it (crime, exploitation, fragmentation, etc). Consequently, it would minimise the frictions between migrant and local communities and would thus strengthen the local communities and their social and economic base. The question that arises is how such a policy can be delivered.

Level of delivery. The importance assigned to the positive integration of migrants and the suggestion for a shift away from the present emphasis on containment and control (e.g., through deportations and obstacles to legalisation) imply necessarily that responsibility for the delivery of such policy should be devolved at the local and regional levels. Containment policies require strong central administrations, which will be responsible for overseeing and managing migration flows in various parts of the country. Instead, positive integration policies require local knowledge and sensitivity and are thus better delivered and managed at the local level. As has been revealed in our fieldwork research, local actors (state-based, voluntary or private) have a very good, almost intimate, knowledge of the profile of the migrant communities residing in their areas as well as of the specific needs of their members. Since immigration implies a loss of social networks (and positive integration requires the building of new

³² By positive integration we mean integration processes that allow (or even encourage) immigrant communities to maintain their cultural heritage (including language) and their ethnic and religious identity. This is in contrast to notions of integration that are based on the assimilation of migrants into the domestic society and culture (i.e., Hellenisation).

ones), it is important that local communities and organisations are involved directly in the policy initiatives targeting migrants. This calls for an enhanced role played by local businesses, trade unions, residents associations and other organisations at the local and regional levels. But how should migrants be targeted?

Content. There are a few options for policy concerning how migrant integration should be focused. A seemingly obvious approach would be for policy interventions to be designed along ethnic lines. As we have showed, migrants' integration experiences vary significantly by the origin of migrants. Albanians seem to be keener to adapt or to be assimilated (Hellenised) in order to avoid the discrimination they have experienced in the past; western Europeans are less concerned with discrimination and seem to prefer keeping some relative distance from the local community; Vietnamese are most segregated and isolated, with severe difficulties in making use of even basic public services; Africans are pressurised by the costs associated to family reunion, which are imposed by the administration; while Pakistanis seem to live in challenging accommodation conditions. Each of these groups experiences different conditions and has different needs and probably different potentials. An origin-sensitive migrant integration policy seems thus warranted. In reality, however, the ethnic-origin patterns described form brute generalisations which fail to capture the full diversity of migrant's experiences. Many of the aforementioned groups include within them migrants who fair very differently in the labour market and more generally. The Bulgarian gas-station workers in our study seemed to be facing problems more similar to those of their African and Pakistani counterparts than of their compatriots employed in other parts of the economy. Problems of discrimination, corruption and administrative inefficiencies were felt differently for dependent employees than for own-account workers. And, above all, gender differences in the migration experiences were in cases more emphatic than ethnic differences. Taking these observations into account, it would seem that a more appropriate targeting of positive integration initiatives would require a needs-based policy design, which almost necessarily implies an emphasis on the person (personal circumstances) at least as much as on the community to which the person belongs. The effectiveness of such a policy approach, however, is also not guaranteed. The problem here is in the implicit assumption that the problems facing migrants (concerning employment, living conditions and integration) can be dealt with exclusively with 'supply-side' interventions that seek to change the circumstances of the migrants. In fact, our fieldwork research and our analysis of the available statistical information have both shown that an equally big part in the process of

migrant integration is played by 'demand' conditions, in other words by the wider environment into which the migrants are seeking to integrate. Strong demand conditions and a strong economy, availability of affordable housing, a cohesive and open social environment, are all important factors for the positive integrations of immigrants. To ensure such conditions for positive integration are present, an active migration policy should go hand in hand with wider policies that seek to locate specific labour market and demographic needs (such as skill gaps, sectoral and occupational supply shortages, markets with low wage flexibility and labour mobility, depopulation, etc) that the inflow of migrants can address. By providing incentives for migrants to direct themselves in areas where such needs are more acute, policy can ensure, not only that the needs of migrants are catered for, but also that migrants are attracted into environments where their presence resolves existing social and economic bottlenecks and thus produces the least social, economic and cultural frictions possible. This seems to us to be a more complete strategy for migrant integration and social cohesion.

Clearly, the suitability and relevance of these policy considerations cannot be taken for granted and should rather be scrutinised through further research and analysis, focusing specifically on the evaluation of alternative policy initiatives, perhaps in a comparative perspective that will seek to draw lessons from the experience of other countries. In this respect, it should be stressed that the present study is only a small step towards this strategy for evidence-based policy. Even our systematic attempt to constructing a representative profile of the characteristics of immigrants to Rhodes constitutes simply a guide towards areas of more detailed exploration rather than a definitive statement about migration and integration even in a small island such as Rhodes. The question of migrant integration is a complex issue that cannot be fully covered in a small study combining elements of fieldwork and desktop-based research, such as this. Both phenomena of migration and integration –in Rhodes and across Greece– deserve further study, as well as further discussion on policy implications.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaires and topic guides

1.1 Questionnaire to immigrants from OECD countries

Place of interview.....

Date.....

QUESTIONNAIRE

This research is financially supported by the Latsis Foundation. The information obtained will be used for academic purposes only. The identity of the respondents is strictly confidential. Thank you in advance for your patience and co-operation.

PERSONAL DATA

- 1) Sex: Male Female
- 2) Year of birth.....
- 3) Country of origin.....
- 4) Area of last residence in the country of origin
 Urban Rural Capital
- 5) Nationality.....
- 6) In the last 10 years, how many countries have you lived in including Greece?.....
- 7) Family Status:
 Single Divorced/separated without children
 Married with children Divorced/separated with children
 Married without children Widowed with children
 Widowed with children
 Co-habiting Single parent
- 8) Number of children.....
- 9) Place of residence of children
1st Child
Greece
Home Country
Somewhere else.....
2nd Child
Greece
Home Country
Somewhere else.....
- 10) Which is the highest level of your education?
 No formal education
 Primary
 Secondary
 College
 University
 Post-graduate education
- 11) Where did you complete your education
 Greece Somewhere else.....
 Home country
- 12) When you first arrived in Greece, what was the level of your spoken Greek?
 Fluent
 Adequate
 Basic
 None

CHOICE OF RHODES AS A PLACE OF RESIDENCE

- 13) How long have you been in Greece? (total months or years).....
- 14) How long have you been in Rhodes? (total months or years).....
- 15) Have you lived in another place in Greece before coming to Rhodes?
 Yes No
- 16) If Yes, where else in Greece have you lived?.....
- 17) If Yes, why did you leave the previous place?.....
- 18) Why did you choose to live in Rhodes?

*Why do you think foreigners choose Rhodes?.....

- 19) What were the main problems you've encountered during your initial settlement in Rhodes?.....
- 20) Do you plan to settle permanently in Rhodes?
 Yes No
- 21) If Yes, why would you settle permanently in Rhodes?.....
- 22) If No, why would you leave Rhodes?.....
- 23) If No, when would you leave Rhodes?
 Very soon
 By the end of this year
 In two years
 More than two years
 Do not know
- 24) Do you believe that Rhodes is a place tolerant to foreigners?
 Yes No
- 25) If Yes, why?.....
- 26) If No, why?.....
- 27) Most important problems you've experienced in Rhodes?.....

WORK EXPERIENCE IN GREECE

Employment history

- 28) What was the last job in your country of origin?.....
Employment in the public sector
Employment in the non-public sector
- 29) Have you worked in another foreign country? [the country with longest duration of stay there)
 Yes No
- 30) If Yes, where
- 31) If Yes, what was your job there?.....
- 32) Are you working now?
 Yes No
- 33) If Yes, what's the type of work you do?
 Seasonal work
 Casual work
 Fixed-term
 Permanent
 Other.....
- 34) If Yes, what's your employment status
 Assistant in a family businesses
 Self-employed with employees
 Self-employed without employees
 Salaried, paid per month or per hour
- 35) If No, why don't you work
 Unemployed, looking for work
 Retired

- Looking after home/family
 - Only Studying
 - Never worked in Greece
 - Other.....
- 36) What is your current/last job?.....
- 37) Nationality of current employer.....

CURRENT LIVING CONDITIONS

- 38) Where do you live now?
- own house/flat
 - rent a house or a flat
 - rent a room
 - hotel
 - live in the employer's house
 - live in friends' house
 - abandoned house or dwelling ('squad')
 - somewhere else.....
- 39) Who do you live with? *[tick all relevant answers]*
- partner/spouse
 - children
 - father
 - mother
 - in-laws
 - brother
 - sister
 - cousin
 - other relatives
 - friends
 - alone
 - other....
- 40) If your family is with you in Rhodes, when did they join you?
- Before my arrival
 - Arrived with me
 - After my arrival:
- 41) In case you have any problems (with public institutions, with locals etc.), who do you ask for support?

INTEGRATION

- 42) What is the level of your spoken Greek now?
- Fluent
 - Adequate
 - Basic
 - None
- 43) If you've improved your Greek since arrival, how did you do that?
- Myself, studying/talking to Greek people/TV
 - Attended Greek classes
 - Other way....
- 44) If you have a partner/are married, what is their nationality?.....
- Greek
 - My ethnic origin
 - Other.....
- 45) Have you ever used any public services in Rhodes?
- Yes No
- 46) If Yes, which services have you used? *[click all relevant answers]*

- OAED
 - Police
 - IKA
 - Hospital
 - Other social funds.....
 - Other...
- 47) What do you think of the public services in Rhodes?
- Very Good
 - Good
 - Average
 - Bad
 - No opinion
- 48) Do you think that public bodies in Rhodes help foreigners' integration into the Greek society?
- Yes No
- 49) If Yes, how do you think public bodies help immigrants' integration?.....
- 50) If No, what do you think is the problem?.....
- 51) Are you a member of an Association in Rhodes?
- Yes No
- 52) If Yes, which one?.....
- 53) Do you know your neighbours?
- Yes No
- 54) If Yes, who are your neighbours?
- My ethnic community
 - Local Greeks
 - Other.....
- 55) If Yes, what kind of relationship do you have with your neighbours?
- Just greeting each other
 - Visiting each others' homes
 - Helping each other with goods
 - Helping each other in another way (baby-sitting)
 - Other way.....
- 56) Have you ever had problems with your neighbours?
- Yes No
- 57) If Yes, how serious was the issue?.....
- 58) Have you ever had problems with local people?
- Yes No
- 59) If Yes, what was the main issue?.....
- 60) Have you ever had problems with institutions in Rhodes/Greece? (banks, Inland Revenue etc.)
- Yes No
- 61) If Yes, what were the main issues?.....
- 62) If Yes, how were they resolved?.....
- 63) Who are most of your friends in Rhodes?
- No friends
 - From my country of origin
 - Local Greeks
 - Other.....
- 64) Do you make friends with local people?
- Yes

Many thanks for your patience and cooperation!

1.2 Questionnaire to immigrants from developing and transition countries

Τόπος συνεντεύξεως.....
Ημ/νία.....

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ Σχετικά με τον Μεταναστευτικό πληθυσμό στην Ρόδο

Αυτή η έρευνα υποστηρίζεται οικονομικά από το Ίδρυμα Λάτσης. Οι πληροφορίες που θα συλλεχθούν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για ακαδημαϊκό σκοπό και μόνο. Η ταυτότητα των ερωτηθέντων είναι αυστηρώς απόρρητη.

Ευχαριστούμε εκ των προτέρων για την υπομονή και την συνεργασία σας.

I. Προσωπικά Στοιχεία:

- 1.Φύλο: Άνδρας Γυναίκα
- 2.Ημ/νία γέννησης.....
- 3.Χώρα καταγωγής.....
- 4.Περιοχή τελευταίας κατοικίας στην χώρα καταγωγής
 Αστική Επαρχιακή Πρωτεύουσα
- 5.Εθνικότητα.....
- 6.Τα τελευταία 10 χρόνια, σε πόσες χώρες έχετε κατοικήσει;.....
- 7.Οικογενειακή κατάσταση:
 Άγαμος Χωρισμένος/ Διαζευγμένος χωρίς παιδιά
 Παντρεμένος με παιδιά Χωρισμένος/ Διαζευγμένος με παιδιά
 Παντρεμένος χωρίς παιδιά Άγαμος γονιός
 Χήρος με παιδιά
 Συγκάτοικος
- 8.Οικογενειακή δομή
 Κατοίκηση με γονείς
 Παιδιά σε άλλη χώρα
 Σύζυγος/ Ανάδοχος με τα παιδιά σε άλλη χώρα
 Σύζυγος/ Ανάδοχος χωρίς τα παιδιά σε άλλη χώρα
 Παντρεμένος /εν συγκατοίκηση με παιδιά που ζουν μαζί
- Αριθμός παιδιών.....
- Τόπος κατοικίας των παιδιών
 Ελλάδα
 Χώρα καταγωγής
 Κάπου αλλού
- 9.Ποιό είναι το υψηλότερο επίπεδο εκπαίδευσης;
 Καμιά επίσημη εκπαίδευση
 Πρωτοβάθμια
 Δευτεροβάθμια
 Ανώτατου ιδιωτικού εκπαιδευτηρίου
 Πανεπιστήμιο
 Μεταπτυχιακή εκπαίδευση
- 10.Πού ολοκληρώσατε τις σπουδές σας;
 Ελλάδα
 Χώρα καταγωγής
 Κάπου αλλού.....
- 11.Όταν πρωτοφτάσατε στην Ελλάδα, πόσο καλά μιλούσατε ελληνικά;
 Άνετα
 Επαρκώς
 Τα βασικά
 Καθόλου

II. Επιλογή της Ρόδου ως τόπο κατοικίας

12. Πότε ήρθατε πρώτη φορά στην Ελλάδα; (έτος, μήνας).....
13. Βρίσκεστε συνεχώς στην Ελλάδα από τότε;
 Ναι Όχι
14. Πόσο καιρό διαμένετε στην Ελλάδα;(συνολικά οι μήνες/ χρόνια).....
15. Πότε ήρθατε πρώτη φορά στη Ρόδο;(έτος, μήνας).....
16. Πόσο καιρό διαμένετε στη ρόδο;(συνολικά οι μήνες/ χρόνια).....
17. Έχετε διαμείνει σε άλλη περιοχή της Ελλάδας πριν έρθετε στη Ρόδο;
 Ναι Όχι
18. Αν ναι, πού αλλού στην Ελλάδα έχετε διαμείνει;.....
19. Αν ναι, γιατί φύγατε από τον προηγούμενο τόπο διαμονής;
 Οικονομικοί λόγοι(έλλειψη προοπτικών εργασίας/ χαμηλοί μισθοί/ υψηλό κόστος ζωής)
 Οικογενειακοί λόγοι
 Προβλήματα με τους κατοίκους της περιοχής
 Προβλήματα με την τοπική Αστυνομία
 Δυσκολίες που αφορούσαν την κοινωνική αίγλη
 Άλλοι λόγοι.....
20. Γιατί επιλέξατε να ζήσετε στη Ρόδο;(βάλτε στη σειρά τους λόγους ξεκινώντας από το 1 για τον πιο σημαντικό)
 Υπήρχαν ήδη μέλη της οικογένειας εκεί
 Υπήρχαν φιλικά πρόσωπα ήδη εκεί
 Πληροφορήθηκα ότι θα έβρισκα δουλειά εκεί
 Πληροφορήθηκα ότι θα έβρισκα δουλειά εκεί ακόμα και χωρίς χαρτιά
 Η ζωή θα ήταν φθηνότερη/ δυνατότητα οικονομίας
 Άλλοι λόγοι.....
- *Γιατί πιστεύετε ότι οι αλλοδαποί διαλέγουν τη Ρόδο;
21. Ποιά είναι τα κύρια προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίσατε κατά την αρχική σας εγκατάσταση στη Ρόδο;
 Εύρεση κατοικίας
 Εύρεση εργασίας
 Ανικανότητα επικοινωνίας/ άγνοια γλώσσας
 Άλλα προβλήματα.....
22. Σχεδιάζετε να μείνετε μόνιμα στη Ρόδο;
 Ναι Όχι
23. Αν ναι, γιατί θα μένατε μόνιμα στη Ρόδο;
 Νομιμοποίηση της παραμονής
 Εύρεση εργασίας
 Καλύτερες συνθήκες ζωής
 Συνήθισα τον τρόπο ζωής
 Έχω την οικογένειά μου εδώ
 Οι συνθήκες στην χώρα καταγωγής μου είναι περιοριστικές
 Άλλοι λόγοι.....
24. Αν όχι γιατί θα φεύγατε από την Ρόδο;
 Δεν υπάρχουν δουλειές
 Δεν μπόρεσα να νομιμοποιήσω την παραμονή μου/ όχι προοπτικές νομιμοποίησης
 Η οικογένεια είναι στην χώρα καταγωγής
 Νοσταλγία για την χώρα καταγωγής
 Άλλος λόγος.....
25. Αν όχι πότε θα φεύγατε από την Ρόδο;
 Πολύ σύντομα
 Στο τέλος αυτού του χρόνου
 Σε δυο χρόνια
 Σε περισσότερο από δύο χρόνια
 Δεν γνωρίζω
26. Πιστεύετε ότι η Ρόδος είναι περιοχή φιλική προς τους μετανάστες;
 Ναι Όχι
- Αν ναι, γιατί;
 Χρειαζόμαστε για τις χειρονακτικές εργασίες
 Υπάρχουν πολλοί αλλοδαποί στο νησί
 Είναι τουριστική περιοχή ,οι άνθρωποι έχουν συνηθίσει στους αλλοδαπούς
 Άλλος λόγος.....

27. Αν όχι, γιατί;
- Γιατί δεν μιλάμε ελληνικά
 - Γιατί δεν είμαστε νόμιμοι μετανάστες
 - Λόγω ρατσισμού
 - Δεν υπάρχουν αρκετές θέσεις εργασίας στην περιοχή
 - Άλλος λόγος.....
28. Ποια τα πιο σημαντικά προβλήματα που έχετε βιώσει στην Ρόδο;
- Εγκληματικότητα
 - Ρατσισμός/ διακρίσεις
 - Η γλώσσα
 - Αδύνατο να ενωθεί η οικογένεια ξανά
 - Υψηλό κόστος ζωής/ κατοικίας
 - Έλλειψη κοινωνικής ασφάλισης
 - Δυσκολία εύρεσης εργασίας
 - Δυσκολία νομιμοποίησης της παραμονής/ δεν υπάρχουν χαρτιά
 - Άλλο πρόβλημα.....

Νομική κατάσταση

29. Συμμετείχατε ποτέ σε πρόγραμμα νομιμοποίησης στην Ελλάδα;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
30. Αν ναι, πότε.....
31. Αν ναι, έχετε μείνει δίχως άδεια παραμονής από τότε;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
32. Αν έχετε μείνει δίχως άδεια παραμονής από την πρώτη σας νομιμοποίηση, πότε συνέβη (έτος).....και για πόσο (μήνες).....
33. Αν έχετε άδεια παραμονής τώρα, τι διάρκεια έχει;
- Ως 6 μήνες
 - 6-12 μήνες
 - 1-3 έτη
 - 3-5 έτη
 - 5-10 έτη
 - 10 έτη
34. Έχει αλλάξει η ζωή σας από τότε που εκδόθηκε η νόμιμη παραμονή σας στην Ελλάδα;
- Όχι, δεν άλλαξε
 - Ναι, θετικά
 - Ναι, αρνητικά
35. Ποια ήταν η θετική αλλαγή(αριθμείστε τις προτάσεις)
- Κοινωνική ασφάλιση
 - Δυνατότητα ταξιδιών
 - Καλύτερη πρόσβαση
 - Γενικά καλύτερη ποιότητα ζωής
 - Ίσα δικαιώματα με τους Έλληνες
 - Άλλο.....
36. Ποια ήταν η αρνητική αλλαγή (αριθμείστε τις προτάσεις)
- Δύσκολο να βρεθούν εργοδότες πρόθυμοι να πληρώσουν κοινωνικές εισφορές.
 - Δύσκολο να βρεθεί εργασία
 - Πολύ μπερδεμένη διαδικασία ανανέωσης
 - Έπρεπε να περιμένω αρκετό διάστημα για την κανονική άδεια
37. Εάν έχετε καταφέρει να νομιμοποιηθείτε, έχετε κάποιο από τα ακόλουθα έγγραφα;
- Κανένα έγγραφο
 - Πιστοποιητικό
 - 10 ετών κάρτα διαμονής
 - Άδεια διαμονής
 - Άδεια εργασίας
38. Εάν δεν έχετε κάποιο από τα παραπάνω έγγραφα, είστε στη διαδικασία απόκτησης κάποιου;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
39. Εάν ναι, ποιου;
- Άδεια διαμονής και Άδεια εργασίας
 - 10 ετών κάρτα διαμονής
 - Άδεια διαμονής

- Άδεια εργασίας
- Άλλο έγγραφο

ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

Ιστορικό εργασίας

40. Ποια ήταν η τελευταία επαγγελματική σας απασχόληση στην χώρα καταγωγής σας;
- Εργασία στο δημόσιο τομέα
 - Εργασία στον ιδιωτικό τομέα
41. Έχετε εργαστεί σε κάποια άλλη χώρα του εξωτερικού; (τη χώρα με τη μεγαλύτερη διάρκεια διαμονής)
- Ναι
 - Όχι
42. Εάν Ναι, που;...
43. Εάν Ναι, ποια ήταν η εργασία σας εκεί;...
44. Εάν Ναι, είχατε άδεια εργασίας εκεί;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
45. Εργάζεστε αυτή τη στιγμή;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
46. Εάν Ναι, τι τύπου εργασίας κάνετε;
- Εποχιακή δουλειά
 - Περιστασιακή δουλειά
 - Συγκεκριμένου διαστήματος
 - Μόνιμη
 - Άλλη
47. Εάν Ναι, ποιο είναι το εργασιακό σας status
- Βοηθός σε οικογενειακή επιχείρηση
 - Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας χωρίς εργοδότη
 - Ιδιωτικός υπάλληλος (με εργοδότη)
 - Μισθωτός ,με τον μήνα ή ωρομίσθιος
48. Εάν Όχι, γιατί δεν εργάζεστε;
- Άνεργος, αναζητώ εργασία
 - Συνταξιούχος
 - Ασχολούμαι με τα οικιακά
 - Είμαι μόνο φοιτητής
 - Ποτέ δεν εργάστηκα στην Ελλάδα
 - Άλλο
49. Εάν δεν εργάζεστε, πόσο καιρό έχετε μείνει χωρίς εργασία:(σε μήνες).....
50. Εάν δεν εργάζεστε, έχετε λάβει/ λαμβάνετε κάποιο επίδομα ανεργίας; Ναι Όχι
51. Ποια ήταν η πρώτη εργασία σας στη Ρόδο
- αγροτική
 - καθαρισμός γραφείων, καταστημάτων κ.τ.λ
 - πωλήσεις
 - οικιακό καθάρισμα/ οικιακές δουλειές
 - φροντίδα ηλικιωμένων / φροντίδα μωρών
 - οικιακή βοηθός και φροντίδα ηλικιωμένων / μωρών
 - οικοδομική/ κατασκευαστική εργασία
 - ξενοδοχειακή εργασία
 - εργασία σε εστιατόριο/ μπαρ
 - διοικητική εργασία σε γραφείο
 - εργασία σε εργοστάσιο
 - άλλο(συγκεκριμενοποιήστε)
52. Ποια ήταν η εθνικότητα του πρώτου σας εργοδηγού;.....
53. Ποια είναι η τωρινή σας απασχόληση;
- αγροτική
 - καθαρισμός γραφείων, καταστημάτων κ.τ.λ
 - πωλήσεις
 - οικιακό καθάρισμα/ οικιακές δουλειές
 - φροντίδα ηλικιωμένων / φροντίδα μωρών
 - οικιακή βοηθός και φροντίδα ηλικιωμένων / μωρών
 - οικοδομική/ κατασκευαστική εργασία
 - ξενοδοχειακή εργασία
 - εργασία σε εστιατόριο/ μπαρ

- διοικητική εργασία σε γραφείο
 - εργασία σε εργοστάσιο
 - άλλο(συγκεκριμενοποιήστε)
54. Ποια είναι η εθνικότητα του τωρινού σας εργοδηγού;.....
55. Πως βρήκατε την πρώτη σας εργασία;
- Συγγενείς από την εθνική μου κοινότητα
 - Φίλοι από την εθνική μου κοινότητα
 - Φίλοι/ κοινωνικές επαφές από άλλες εθνικές κοινότητες
 - Έλληνες φίλοι/ κοινωνικές επαφές
 - Εφημερίδα
 - Ίντερνετ
 - Άλλο μέσο
56. Έχετε κάποια κοινωνική ασφάλιση;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
57. Εάν Ναι, ποιος είναι το κύριο ασφαλιστικό σας ταμείο;
- ΙΚΑ
 - ΤΕΒΕ
 - ΟΓΑ
 - Άλλο
58. Για πόσους εργοδηγούς έχετε εργαστεί;.....
59. Πόσα χρήματα κερδίζετε το μήνα;.....
60. Λαμβάνετε κάποιου είδους επιδόματα από την εργασία σας;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
61. Εάν Ναι, λαμβάνετε
- Φαγητό
 - Διαμονή
 - μπονους
 - δώρα
 - κάτι άλλο.....
62. Ποσες μέρες άδεια λαμβάνετε το μήνα;.....
63. Τι είδους προβλήματα αντιμετωπίζετε στον εργασιακό σας χώρο; (αξιολογήστε τα προβλήματα με 1, 2, 3, αξιολογώντας με 1 το πιο σημαντικό πρόβλημα)
- δεν έχω κανένα πρόβλημα
 - δύσκολη χειρωνακτική εργασία /αφόρητες συνθήκες εργασίας
 - πολύ δύσκολο να εργαστείς για τον εργοδότη
 - εχθρότητα από τους ντόπιους ανθρώπους προς τους μετανάστες
 - εχθρότητα από άλλους μετανάστες
 - οι εργοδότες δεν είναι πρόθυμοι να μου προσφέρουν κοινωνική ασφάλιση/ να με εγγράψουν
 - άλλο (συγκεκριμενοποιήστε)

ΤΩΡΙΝΕΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΕΣ ΔΙΑΒΙΩΣΗΣ

64. Που διαμένετε αυτή τη στιγμή;
- Νοικιάζετε σπίτι η διαμέρισμα;
 - Νοικιάζετε δωμάτιο;
 - Ξενοδοχείο
 - Διαμένετε στο σπίτι του εργοδηγού σας
 - Διαμένετε σε σπίτι φίλων
 - Σ' εγκαταλειμμένο σπίτι ;ή με γκρουπ
 - Κάπου αλλού
65. Με ποιον διαμένετε μαζί; (σημειώστε όλες τις σχετικές απαντήσεις)
- σύντροφο/ σύζυγο
 - παιδιά
 - πατέρα
 - μητέρα
 - πεθερικά
 - αδελφός
 - αδελφή
 - ξαδέλφια
 - άλλους συγγενείς
 - φίλους

- μόνοι
 - άλλο...
66. Εάν η οικογένεια σας βρίσκεται στη Ρόδο, πότε σας αντάμωσαν;
- Πριν την άφιξη μου
 - Έφτασαν μαζί μου
 - Μετά από την άφιξη μου
67. Ήταν μετά από την απόκτηση της άδειας διαμονής σας; Ναι Όχι
68. Σε περίπτωση που έχετε κάποιο πρόβλημα (με την αστυνομία, με τον εργοδότη σας, με τους ντόπιους κ.τ.λ), από ποιον ζητάτε υποστήριξη; (αξιολογήστε με 1, 2, 3; με 1 αξιολογήστε το άτομο από το οποίο ζητάτε πιο συχνά υποστήριξη)
- κανέναν
 - Έλληνες φίλους
 - Φίλους από την εθνική μου κοινότητα
 - Άλλους ξένους μετανάστες φίλους
 - Συγγενείς στη Ρόδο
 - Τον εργοδηγό μου
 - Ένωση Μεταναστών
 - Μη κυβερνητικούς οργανισμούς (Ελληνικούς, Διεθνείς)
 - Κάποιον άλλο

ΔΙΕΙΣΔΥΣΗ

69. Ποιο είναι το επίπεδο Ελληνικών σας όσον αφορά τον προφορικό σας λόγο;
- απταίστως
 - Ικανοποιητικό
 - Βασική γνώση
 - καμία γνώση
70. Εάν τα Ελληνικά σας έχουν βελτιωθεί από την άφιξη σας, πως το επιτύχατε αυτό;
- Μόνος μου, διαβάζοντας/ μιλώντας σε Έλληνες/ TV
 - Παρακολουθώντας Ελληνικά μαθήματα
 - Άλλο τρόπο.....
71. Εάν έχετε σύντροφο / σύζυγο, ποια είναι η εθνικότητα του;
- Ελληνική
 - Ίδια με τη δική μου
 - Άλλη
72. Έχετε χρησιμοποιήσει ποτέ κάποια δημόσια υπηρεσία στη Ρόδο;
- Ναι Όχι
73. Εάν Ναι, ποια δημόσια υπηρεσία έχετε χρησιμοποιήσει; (σημειώστε όλες τις σχετικές ερωτήσεις)
- ΟΑΕΔ
 - Αστυνομία
 - ΙΚΑ
 - Νοσοκομείο
 - Άλλες κοινωνικές παροχές
 - Άλλο
74. Ποια είναι η γνώμη σας για τις δημόσιες υπηρεσίες στη Ρόδο;
- Πολύ καλή
 - Καλή
 - Μέτρια
 - Ασχημη
 - Δεν έχω γνώμη
75. Πιστεύετε ότι οι δημόσιοι φορείς στη Ρόδο βοηθούν την διείσδυση των μεταναστών στη Ελληνική κοινωνία;
- Ναι Όχι
76. Εάν Ναι, πως πιστεύετε ότι οι δημόσιοι φορείς βοηθούν την διείσδυση των μεταναστών;
- Εργασία
 - Διαμονή
 - Ασφάλεια κατοικίας/ άδεια εργασίας
 - με ότι αυτοί χρειάζονται
 - επιμόρφωση για εμένα /τα παιδιά μου
 - Ελληνική γλώσσα
 - Άλλο τρόπο

77. Εάν Όχι, ποιο πιστεύετε ότι είναι το πρόβλημα;
- Χρειάζεται μια αλλαγή στη μεταναστευτική νομοθεσία
 - Η νομοθετική διαδικασία θα πρέπει να γίνει απλούστερη
 - Χρειάζεται να μάθουν να κάνουν την δουλειά τους καλύτερα
 - Χρειάζεται να μάθουν καλύτερα τις αλλαγές στη μεταναστευτική νομοθεσία
 - Χρειάζεται να γίνουν λιγότερο ρατσιστές
 - Άλλο
78. Είστε μέλος κάποιου μεταναστευτικού συλλόγου;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
79. Εάν Ναι, ποιου;.....
80. Γνωρίζετε τους γείτονες σας;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
81. Εάν Ναι, ποιοι είναι;
- Η εθνική μου κοινότητα
 - Ντόπιοι Έλληνες
 - Άλλοι....
82. Εάν Ναι, τι είδους σχέση έχετε με τους γείτονες σας ;
- Απλώς χαιρετιόμαστε
 - Επισκεπτόμαστε ο ένας τον άλλον
 - Βοηθάμε ο ένας τον άλλον με αγαθά
 - Βοηθάμε ο ένας τον άλλον με άλλους τρόπους (φροντίδα μωρών)
 - Άλλο τρόπο....
83. Είχατε ποτέ προβλήματα με τους γείτονες σας;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
- *Σ' αυτό το σημείο θα εξετάσουμε την σοβαρότητα των προβλημάτων
84. Έχετε ποτέ αντιμετωπίσει /αντιμετωπίζετε ρατσισμό εξ' αιτίας της εθνικής σας καταγωγής;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
85. Αποκτάτε φίλους έξω από την οικογένεια σας;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
86. Εάν Ναι, είναι κυρίως από την εθνική σας κοινότητα;
- Ναι
 - Όχι
87. Εάν δεν είναι κυρίως από την εθνική σας κοινότητα, από πού προέρχονται;
- Ντόπιοι Έλληνες
 - Άλλοι μετανάστες
 - Άλλοι
88. Πόσο συχνά συναντιέστε με τους φίλους σας;
- Κάθε μέρα
 - Τις περισσότερες μέρες της εβδομάδας
 - Μια φορά την εβδομάδα
 - Τις περισσότερες μέρες του μήνα
 - Μια φορά το μήνα
 - Μια φορά στους τρεις μήνες
 - Ακόμα σπανιότερα από τρεις μήνες
89. Ποιες είναι οι δραστηριότητες που μοιράζεστε πιο πολύ με τους φίλους σας;
- Διασκέδαση και ελεύθερο χρόνο
 - Εργασία
 - Διαμένετε μαζί
 - Αγροτικές δραστηριότητες
 - Θρησκευτικές δραστηριότητες
 - Άλλες....
90. Αποκτάτε φίλιες με τους ντόπιους;
- Ναι
 - Όχι

1.3 Topic Guide for interviews with local residents and officials

Ντόπιοι κάτοικοι

1. Παρακαλώ δώστε μου κάποια βασικά στοιχεία για σας: φύλο, ηλικία, επάγγελμα, μορφωτικό επίπεδο, περιοχή κατοικίας στη Ρόδο
2. Πιστεύετε ότι η Ρόδος χρειάζεται οικονομικούς μετανάστες; Αν ναι, γιατί; - Αν όχι, γιατί;
3. Πιστεύετε ότι στη Ρόδο (στον τοπικό πληθυσμό και τις τοπικές αρχές) είναι ευπρόσδεκτοι οι μετανάστες;
4. Τι πιστεύετε ότι οδηγεί (ή ελκύει) τους μετανάστες στη Ρόδο;
5. Θα επιθυμούσατε να εγκαθίστανται περισσότερο ή λιγότερο μόνιμα στο νησί; (παροδική ή μόνιμη μετανάστευση); Αν ναι, γιατί; - Αν όχι, γιατί;
6. Πιστεύετε ότι οι μετανάστες έχουν κάποια επίδραση στα ακόλουθα:
 - κοινωνικές παροχές / δημόσιες υπηρεσίες
 - σχολεία / εκπαίδευση
 - αγορά εργασίας
 - εγληματικότητα / παραβατικότητα
7. Θεωρείτε ότι τέτοιου είδους επιδράσεις διαφέρουν ανάλογα με την χώρα προέλευσης των μεταναστών; Αν ναι, (α)γιατί; (β) προς ποια κατεύθυνση; (γ)για ποιες εθνικότητες;
8. Πιστεύετε ότι η κατάσταση στην αγορά εργασίας στη Ρόδο έχει βελτιωθεί ή χειροτερέψει εξαιτίας της μετανάστευσης;
9. Αν διαπιστώνετε κάποια μεταβολή, πού εντοπίζεται αυτή; (π.χ.: το επίπεδο των μισθών, το επίπεδο / ευκαιρίες απασχόλησης (ανεργία), τις συνθήκες εργασίας (ασφάλιση, υπερωρίες, κλπ), ή άλλο)
10. Έχετε εσείς ή κάποιο άτομο στο νοικοκυριό σας (άμεση οικογένεια) υποστεί κάποια επιδείνωση της επαγγελματικής σας κατάστασης κατά (α)τον τελευταίο χρόνο, (β)τα τελευταία δύο χρόνια, και (γ)τα τελευταία δέκα χρόνια;
11. Αν ναι,
 - a. είχε να κάνει αυτή η επιδείνωση με την αμοιβή σας από την εργασία (μισθός), το επίπεδο απασχόλησής σας (ανεργία, υποαπασχόληση), τις συνθήκες εργασίας σας, ή άλλο;
 - b. πιστεύετε ότι αυτή η επιδείνωση είχε άμεση σχέση με την εισροή μεταναστών; (π.χ.: επειδή οι μετανάστες εργάζονται για χαμηλότερες αμοιβές, απορροφούνται σε θέσεις εργασίας που παλαιότερα καλύπτονταν από ντόπιους, κλπ)
12. Κατά πόσο έχει η εισροή μεταναστών επηρεάσει τον όγκο της απασχόλησής σας / τον κύκλο εργασιών της επιχείρησής σας; (αρνητικά, θετικά, καμία ουσιαστική επίδραση)
 - a. Ποια είναι η επαγγελματική σας κατάσταση; (άνεργος, αυτοαπασχολούμενος, εργαζόμενος στον ευρύτερο δημόσιο τομέα, εργαζόμενος στον ιδιωτικό τομέα (υπηρεσίες), εργαζόμενος στον ιδιωτικό τομέα (βιομηχανία) – αν ‘άνεργος’, τότε δηλώστε επίσης την κατάσταση κατά την τελευταία απασχόληση)
13. Έχετε αλλάξει κλάδο ή/και τύπο επαγγέλματος (συμπεριλαμβανομένων και μεταπηδήσεων από και προς την αυτοαπασχόληση) κατά την τελευταία πενταετία, ως αποτέλεσμα την παρουσίας αλλοδαπών μεταναστών στην Ρόδο; (π.χ.: αυξανόμενος ανταγωνισμός στην αγορά εργασίας)
14. Αν ναι,
 - a. ήταν αυτή η αλλαγή προς την κατεύθυνση βελτίωσης του κλάδου ή της επαγγελματικής κατηγορίας στην οποία απασχολήσατε;
 - b. Παρακολούθησατε κάποιο σεμινάριο επαγγελματικής κατάρτισης / μετεκπαίδευσης και πώς χρηματοδοτήθηκε αυτό; (από ιδίους πόρους, από κάποιον εργοδότη, από κάποιον κρατικό/δημόσιο φορέα)

15. Πιστεύετε ότι η μετανάστευση αλλοδαπών έχει κάνει τη Ρόδο πλουσιότερη ή φτωχότερη και γιατί / υπό ποια έννοια;
16. Ποια νομίζετε ότι είναι τα κυριότερα προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν οι μετανάστες στη Ρόδο; Θεωρείτε ότι τέτοιου είδους προβλήματα διαφέρουν ανάλογα με την χώρα προέλευσης των μεταναστών; Αν ναι, (α)γιατί; (β) προς ποια κατεύθυνση; (γ)για ποιες εθνικότητες;
17. Πιστεύετε ότι οι τοπικές αρχές βοηθάνε τους μετανάστες να εγκατασταθούν (μόνιμα) στη Ρόδο;
18. Θεωρείτε ότι τέτοιου είδους προβλήματα διαφέρουν ανάλογα με την χώρα προέλευσης των μεταναστών; Αν ναι, (α)γιατί; (β) προς ποια κατεύθυνση; (γ)για ποιες εθνικότητες;
19. Γνωρίζετε (προσωπικά) κάποιον/κάποιους μετανάστη/ες στη Ρόδο;
20. Αν ναι, πώς θα χαρακτηρίζατε τις σχέσεις σας με αυτούς; (π.χ.: φιλική, επαγγελματική, τυπική, ψυχρή, ή οτιδήποτε άλλο)
21. Αν όχι, πώς θα χαρακτηρίζατε τις σχέσεις σας με τους μετανάστες γενικότερα; (π.χ.: θετική, αρνητική, ουδέτερη, ή οτιδήποτε άλλο)
22. Μπορείτε να αναφέρετε κάποιο συγκεκριμένο πρόβλημα που είχατε μαζί τους πρόσφατα;
23. Οι μετανάστες στη γειτονιά σας, σε σχέση με την Ρόδο συνολικά, είναι περισσότεροι, λιγότεροι ή περίπου το ίδιο;
24. Πιστεύετε ότι οι μετανάστες στη Ρόδο συγκεντρώνονται σε μερικές μόνο περιοχές;
25. Αν ναι, ισχύει το ίδιο για τους μετανάστες όλων των εθνικοτήτων;

Τοπικοί φορείς

1. Σκιαγράφιση του προφίλ των μεταναστών στη Ρόδο: παρακαλώ περιγράψτε το προφίλ του 'μέσου μετανάστη' στη Ρόδο
2. Τι νομίζετε ότι οδηγεί (ή ελκύει) τους μετανάστες στη Ρόδο; «Γιατί νομίζετε ότι έρχονται εδώ;»
3. Ποια είναι τα κύρια προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν οι μετανάστες στη Ρόδο και ποιοί είναι οι συνήθεις τρόποι με τους οποίους προσπαθούν να τα ξεπεράσουν;
4. Ποια είναι τα κύρια ζητήματα για τους μετανάστες σε σχέση με το καθεστώς νομιμοποίησης, την κοινωνική ασφάλιση, την κατοικία, και τις άδειες εργασίας;
5. Ποια είναι τα κύρια προβλήματα για τους μετανάστες στην αγορά εργασίας, σε σχέση με
 - (α) τους εργοδότες,
 - (β) τους ντόπιους συναδέλφους τους,
 - (γ) την παράνομη/ανασφάλιστη απασχόληση, και
 - (δ) τις συνθήκες/όρους εργασίας;
6. Η σχέση των μεταναστών με τους ντόπιους συναδέλφους τους στην αγορά εργασίας είναι ανταγωνιστική ή συμπληρωματική;
7. Τι προβλήματα αντιμετωπίζουν οι μετανάστες σε σχέση με την γνώση, χρήση και εκμάθηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας;
8. Ποια είναι τα κύρια ζητήματα σε σχέση με την (μετ)εκπαίδευση των μεταναστών, την εκπαίδευση των παιδιών τους (π.χ.: πρόσβαση στην εκπαίδευση), και την επαγγελματική τους κατάρτιση;
9. Τι δικαιώματα και τι ευκαιρίες έχουν οι μετανάστες σε σχέση με την επανένωση των οικογενειών τους; Ποια είναι τα κύρια προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν σχετικά με αυτό;
10. Ποια είναι τα κύρια προβλήματα και ανάγκες σε σχέση με ζητήματα υγείας, (πρόσβασης σε) υγειονομική περίθαλψη, και κοινωνική ασφάλιση;
11. Κατά πόσο, και με ποιούς τρόπους, νομίζετε ότι ενημερώνονται οι μετανάστες για θέματα που σχετίζονται με τα κοινωνικά και επαγγελματικά τους δικαιώματα;
12. Ποια είναι τα κύρια ζητήματα σε σχέση με την πρόσβαση των μεταναστών σε υπηρεσίες παρεχόμενες από δημόσιους φορείς και υπηρεσίες;

13. Ποια είναι τα κύρια ζητήματα όσον αφορά στις σχέσεις των μεταναστών με τους ντόπιους; Υπάρχουν σημαντικά προβλήματα και εντάσεις;
14. Ποια είναι τα βασικά μέτρα ή/και προγράμματα που αποσκοπούν στην (κοινωνική και οικονομική) ένταξη και ενσωμάτωση των μεταναστών στη Ρόδο; Είναι επαρκή; Είναι ευρέως διαθέσιμα/προσβάσιμα;
15. Πώς θα περιγράφατε την στάση των ντόπιων κατοίκων απέναντι στους μετανάστες;
16. Πώς θα περιγράφατε την στάση των δημόσιων και άλλων φορέων απέναντι στους μετανάστες;
17. Έχετε κάποιες προτάσεις που κατά τη γνώμη σας θα μπορούσαν να βελτιώσουν την (κοινωνική και επαγγελματική) ενσωμάτωση των μεταναστών στη Ρόδο;

Appendix 2. Profile of migrants and local residents interviewed

Table A2.1 Migrant personal characteristics

No:	Age	Gender	Current occupation	Country of origin	Legal status	Place of residence
1.	32 yrs	M	Labourer, airport/ window cleaner	Albania	Work/Resident Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
2.	23 yrs	M	Builder	Albania	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
3.	37 yrs	F	Bar woman	Bulgaria	EU Residence card	Town of Rhodes
4.	26 yrs	F	Waitress	Bulgaria	EU Residence card	Town of Rhodes
5.	35 yrs	M	Petrol station attendant	Bulgaria	Work/Residence permit – 5 yrs	Town of Rhodes
6.	31 yrs	F	Worker in a warehouse	Bulgaria	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs	Town of Rhodes
7.	58 yrs	F	House helper	Bulgaria	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs	Town of Rhodes
8.	29 yrs	M	Photographer (self-employed)	Bulgaria	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs	Town of Rhodes
9.	41 yrs	M	Farmer	Abkhazia	Undocumented	Paradisi
10.	44 yrs	M	Restaurant owner	Albania	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Paradisi
11.	38 yrs	F	Restaurant owner	Albania	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Paradisi
12.	28 yrs	M	Barman	Albania	Residence	Town of Rhodes
13.	34 yrs	M	In a fish shop	Egypt	Indefinite Leave to Remain	Town of Rhodes
14.	42 yrs	M	Chinese restaurant owner	Vietnam	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs; no passport	Town of Rhodes
15.	34 yrs	F	Manicurist	Vietnam	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs; no passport	Town of Rhodes
16.	52 yrs	M	Builder	Vietnam	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs; no passport	Town of Rhodes
17.	44 yrs	M	Restaurant owner	Egypt	Work/Residence Permit-5 yrs	Town of Rhodes
18.	50 yrs	F	Housework	Moldova	Work/ Residence Permit – 2yrs	Town of Rhodes
19.	42 yrs	F	Carer and housework	Philippines	Indefinite Leave to Remain	Town of Rhodes
20.	45 yrs	F	Baby-sitter & housework	Philippines	Indefinite Leave to Remain	Town of Rhodes
21.	42 yrs	F	Free lance language teacher	Colombia	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs	Town of Rhodes
22.	39 yrs	F	Last job: waitress in a Thai	Philippines	Work/Residence Permit-2yrs	Town of Rhodes

			restaurant			
23.	36 yrs	M	Carpets seller	Albania	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
24.	38 yrs	M	Jewellery maker/seller; window cleaner; barman	Pakistan	Undocumented	Kalithies
25.	45	M	Labourer, super market	Ukraine	Work/Residence Permit-2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
26.	47	F	Accountant	Bulgaria	Work/Residence Permit – 5 yrs	Town of Rhodes
27.	41	M	Builder	Albania	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
28.	32	F	Sales assistant	Russia	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
29.	41	M	Sales	Egypt	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
30.	35	M	Cleaning	Bulgaria	No need of a permit as new EU citizen	Town of Rhodes
31.	20	F	Sales assistant	Albania	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
32.	21	M	NA	Pakistan	Undocumented	Town of Rhodes
33.	39	M	Unemployed	Nigeria	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
34.	34	M	Admin in private company	Albania	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes
35.	29	F	Housework & child care	Georgia	Undocumented	Town of Rhodes
36.	22	M	Unemployed	Afghanistan	6 months certificate	Town of Rhodes
37.	21	M	Unemployed	Afghanistan	6 months certificate	Town of Rhodes
38.	24	M	Unemployed	Afghanistan	Undocumented	Town of Rhodes
39.	33	F	Estate agent	Georgia	Citizenship (half Greek)	Town of Rhodes
40.	27	F	Unemployed	Moldova	Work/Residence Permit – 2 yrs	Town of Rhodes

Table A2.2 Local residents' personal characteristics

Local Residents	Age	Gender	Occupation	Education	Place of residence
1.	23 yrs	M	Trainee/ student	TEI	Town of Rhodes
2.	22 yrs	F	Hotel maid	Primary	Town of Rhodes
3.	62 yrs	F	Hotel maid	Primary	Town of Rhodes
4.	50 yrs	F	Hotel maid	Primary	Village near Petaloudes
5.	68 yrs	M	Hotel receptionist	University (Germany)	Town of Rhodes
6.	38 yrs	M	Unemployed but rents out apartments	Secondary	Town of Rhodes
7.	41 yrs	M	Bar owner	Secondary	Town of Rhodes
8.	70 yrs	M	Shop owner	Primary	Town of Rhodes
9.	30 yrs	M	Barman, family business	Secondary	Town of Rhodes
10.	28 yrs	F	Staff in a photocopy shop	University (UK)	Falirakia
11.	55 yrs	M	Bar owner	Primary	Town of Rhodes
12.	36 yrs	M	Hotel Manager	University (UK)	Kasta, outside town of Rhodes
13.	63 yrs	M	Carpenter	Secondary	Town of Rhodes
14.	57 yrs	M	Taxi driver	Primary	Outside Rhodes
15.	41 yrs	F	Secondary school teacher	University	Kalithies
16.	34 yrs	M	Shop owner	Secondary	Kalithies
17.	55 yrs	F	Shop owner	Secondary	Town of Rhodes
18.	35 yrs	M	Coffee shop owner	Secondary	Town of Rhodes
19.	41 yrs	M	Primary school teacher	Post-Graduate	Town of Rhodes
20.	52 yrs	F	Shop owner	Primary	Town of Rhodes
21.	62 yrs	F	Retired	No formal education	Town of Rhodes (from Karditsa)