

# Migrants' experiences of discrimination in Greece

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# 1 Introduction

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This survey studies the forms and the extent of discrimination to which people of foreign origin are subjected. It was carried out on a representative sample of migrants coming from four different geo-political (national and geographical) contexts living in the cities of Athens and Rethymnon in Greece. The results are based on a sample of 863 respondents who filled out questionnaires with the help of data collectors of the same origin in March 2004. The sample offers a relatively good representation of the groups concerned.

The groups were selected on a multi-criteria basis. The first concern was to cover as far as possible an extended geographical scale of places of origin in order to have a relatively representative image of provenances. So, the groups included were selected from the Balkan Peninsula, the former ex-Soviet Union and all of Arab countries. Secondly, immigrants from the areas above represent 72 percent of migrants in total. Albanian migrants represent by far the largest migrant group in Greece 58 percent according to the last census, 2001). Romanians constitute the fourth national group 3 percent) while migrants from former Soviet Union and Arab countries represent 8 percent and 3 percent respectively.

There is a clear underreporting of experiences of racism and discrimination, even when the recording authorities exist, leading to a lack of data on migrants. Therefore the EUMC finds it necessary to conduct studies in order to describe the extent of racism and discrimination. For the EUMC, it is also of great importance to find comparable data and be able to develop recommendations on a European level. Therefore this survey and other comparable studies initiated by the EUMC will combine two objectives:

- Developing knowledge on migrants and minorities and
- Building comparability of data by using a similar methodology.

The approach used in this survey followed a methodology that has been developed in Sweden, Denmark and Finland for measuring migrants' experiences of racism and discrimination. This methodology included a quantitative study for data collection and data processing, using a questionnaire directed at random and stratified samples of migrant groups, and using basic quantitative methods for the compilation of data. For reasons of comparability the questionnaire used in this survey kept as close as possible to the original one used by Lange.<sup>1</sup> One major difference with the original methodology was the data collection. Questionnaires were not distributed by mail: interviewers from the same ethnic and language background did face-to-face interviews with the interviewees and filled in the questionnaires. To make international comparisons easier we followed the layout of the Italian report.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lange, A. (1997) Immigrants on Discrimination. Stockholm: CEIFO, Centre for Immigration Research at the University of Stockholm

<sup>2</sup> Maneri, M. (2003). Migrants' experiences of discrimination. Milano: Università di Milano-Bicocca.

## 2 Executive summary

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The sphere in which discrimination is perceived most frequently is that of economic activities. Trying to buy or rent a house often leads to a refusal, which is perceived as being determined by their foreign background by two third of the respondents who tried to. Refusal of a job and insults or harassment at work are also very common (half of the cases), as is the refusal of a promotion (one third of the cases). In addition, credit was refused to half of those who tried to obtain it.

Another sphere that appears to be problematic involves contacts with public agencies and institutions. Half of the respondents that had contacts with immigration services faced problems. One third of the respondents that had contact with social insurance or employment agencies reported bad treatment. In addition, 43 percent of those who came into contact with the police were badly treated. It is important to note here that the percentage of those who perceived discrimination by police would be far higher if the time restriction of the question to one year was not imposed.

A third major sphere of discrimination consists of insults and harassment by neighbours and in the street or public transport (each was reported by more than a quarter of *all* respondents).

### Areas of serious discrimination deserving particular attention

- The majority (66 percent) of those who tried to rent or buy a house in the five years preceding the survey, experienced a refusal they attributed to their foreign background. For migrants from the former Soviet Union and Romania, this percentage very high (81 percent and 78 percent respectively).
- Not getting a job one applied for within the last five years was reported by 52 percent-of the people who applied for a job, with ex-USSR migrants reporting this most frequently (66 percent).
- Missing a promotion or being made redundant because of ones ethnic background was reported by 34 percent. This percentage was higher for the Romanian and ex-USSR migrants (42 and 41 percent).
- Insults and harassment at work were reported to the same extent (52 percent) and also most by ex-USSR migrants (66 percent).
- Credit was refused to half of those who tried to obtain it. Romanians were the group refused credit most frequently (71 percent).
- Among forms of negative treatment by institutions, the immigration service was mentioned in 53 percent of the cases of contact, especially by Romanians (70 percent)and migrants from ex-USSR (61 percent). The social insurance office was mentioned in 33 percent of the cases, particularly by ex-USSR migrants (45 percent). Employment agencies were mentioned in 30 percent of the cases.
- Nearly half of those who came into contact with the police the last year had been treated badly (43 percent), especially the Romanian people (50 percent).
- One third of the interviewees that were enrolled in education had been badly treated in education institutions in particular migrants from the ex-USSR (41 percent).  
More than one quarter of the people were subjected to harassment by neighbours (28 percent) or on the street and public transport (27 percent).  
Migrants from Albania and the former Soviet Union endured the most harassment by neighbours (34 percent in each group) and migrants from the former Soviet Union suffered harassment on the street and public transport much more than the others (45 percent).

### Differences between migrant groups

Migrants from the former Soviet Union reported discrimination most frequently, closely followed by the Romanian migrant group. Migrants of Arab background report the least experienced discrimination. A relatively small percentage of respondents were subjected to violence or other crimes because of their ethnic background (9 percent), though quite higher for the ex-USSR migrants (17 percent). An even lower number of migrants reported refused entry to a restaurant or a shop or bad treatment in such places (7, 2 and 8 percent). It is important to note that in the latter three situations the ex-USSR migrants reported the least discrimination of all groups, in contrast to the situations above, where the ex-USSR group generally report the most discrimination.

### **Other Factors Related to Discrimination**

With regard to gender, several significant differences were found in the frequencies of perceived discrimination. However, most differences were not substantial and if they were, it was obvious gender discrimination: women report more harassment in the streets than men (33 versus 22 percent), less denied entry in a restaurant or bar (1 versus 11) and less bad treatment in a restaurant or shop (4 versus 10 percent). A few significant differences were found between different age groups. However, these differences were not consistent as in the case of differences between migrant and minority groups. In some situations, the older groups reported more discrimination, in other situations, it was the younger group. The same inconsistency applies to period of arrival, education, profession and religion.

### **Neighbourhood Composition**

The ethnic composition of the neighbourhood where people live is of great importance with respect to the discrimination they experience. People living in the predominantly migrant neighbourhoods (i.e. Athens) experience significantly more discrimination than those who live in non-migrant or mixed neighbourhoods. This goes for all discrimination situations with only a few exceptions (no differences in treatment at school, harassment by neighbours, and refused entry in restaurant or shop)

### **Language skills**

Language skills appear to be of significant influence for the experienced discrimination in half of the situations questioned. Those who do not master Greek as well as their own language report much higher frequencies of discrimination than those who master Greek better: e.g. refused job (65 versus 33 percent), refused promotion (45 versus 17 percent), insults or harassment at work (63 versus 35 percent), in the streets or public transport (31 versus 14 percent) and by neighbours (33 versus 26 percent), denied a house (69 versus 51 percent) and denied a credit (57 versus 43 percent). In short, language skills seem to be of influence on discrimination experienced particularly at work and in the form of insults and harassment.

### **Ethnic background of perpetrator**

The vast majority of perpetrators is Greek for all migrant groups except the ex-USSR migrants. The latter group reported considerable less Greek perpetrators (40 percent against 79, 77 and 78 percent respectively for the Albanian, Romanian and Arab group).

### **Actions undertaken**

In the domain 'work', nearly half of the total sample had reported been subject to discrimination at work. Of this group, more than one-third quitted their jobs, which is quite serious, considering the importance of having a paid job. Of the Arabian group, even 58 percent quitted. A small minority took a sick leave (8 percent). Half of the discriminated-at-work respondents asked for transfer, in particular the ex-USSR migrants (65 percent). When asked whether people had denounced occurrences of discrimination, three-quarter did not undertake any action, a minority went to a confidentiality point at work (18 percent). Only a very small percentage went to the police, a lawyer, an anti-discrimination agency or another official body. In the case of discrimination in public places, even less action was undertaken. The vast majority (89 percent) of those who had been subject to discrimination at least once did not report this discrimination. A very small proportion went to the police, to a lawyer an anti-discrimination agency or another official body.

With regard to discrimination in contacts with the authorities, the same conclusion as in public places can be drawn. Of the total sample 69 percent reported occurrences of discrimination. The vast majority (89 percent) Of those who reported discrimination percent) did not denounce this discrimination. Almost no one went to the police, a small proportion went to a lawyer or an official body.

### **Opinions on racism and xenophobia**

On the question whether Greece is a racist/ xenophobic country, respondents answer in between 'a little bit racist/ xenophobic' and 'fairly racist/ xenophobic', where the Albanian group is the most pessimistic. When asked about a change in racism and xenophobia in Greece most groups feels that the increase in racism and xenophobia in Greece is only marginal, the ex-USSR group even notices an *decrease*.

### **Subjective integration**

The majority of all respondents find it easy to make Greek friends. However, it is not at all equally easy for all four migrant groups involved in this study: half of the Albanians and one-third of the Arabs indicated that it was difficult for them to make Greek friends. The majority of the respondents socialise with people with the same ethnic background, but most respondents seldom socialise with people from a different migrant background.

The sense of belonging in Greece of people from the former Soviet Union is stronger than that of the other groups, the sense of belonging in Greece is a little stronger for migrant women than for men, while those who use another language more easily than Greek also reported less affiliation to Greece.

Almost half of the respondents feel most at home in their country of origin. One third feels at home in both countries. A relatively small proportion identified more with Greece and an even smaller proportion felt at home nowhere. It is clear that the sense of belonging to the country of origin is far stronger than the sense of belonging in Greece for all groups except for the respondents from the ex-USSR.

In contrast to the sense of belonging in Greece, the sense of belonging to the country of origin is reported to be somewhat stronger by men than by women. Those who use another language more easily than Greek have a stronger sense of belonging to their country of origin.

### 3. Methodology

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In this chapter we describe the selection of the target groups, the sampling procedure, the migrant and minority groups themselves, the questionnaire design, data collection and the representativeness of the sample.

#### 3.1 Selection of target groups

Greece has been known as a traditional country of emigration. In fact, almost two million Greeks emigrated from 1890 to 1974 to countries of Northern America (especially the USA) and Northern Europe. In 1974 though, the migratory balance becomes positive for Greece. Mostly, this change has to do with the return of a large number of Greek migrants but, in addition, the first 10 waves of foreign immigrants arrive in the country. Certainly, the great boom occurs in the early 1990s, just after the fall of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe. In 1993, Greece is placed in third position of western countries – just behind and Switzerland – as far as the proportion of immigrants in the total population is concerned.<sup>3</sup>

However, a more attentive look at the history of the Greek state results in the assumption that immigration to Greece always existed since the foundation of the country in the early 1830s. The formation of the Greek nation-state spread over a period of time, stretching from the first third of the 19th Century until after the Second World War when it took its final territorial form. This nation formation was undertaken with the continuous addition of various ethno-linguistic populations within its expanding borders. The incorporation of various ethno-linguistic populations has thus been a constant feature of the New Greek State since its origin and is not a recent historical phenomenon of the recent decades in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As is easily observable from the general population censuses over the past 40 years, Greece has experienced immigration for several decades.

**Table 1** Population increase and migration flows in four recent decades in Greece  
Source: Drettakis<sup>4</sup>

	Increase in (net) real population	Natural increase	Migration flows
1961-1970	380.088	839.425	-459.337
1971-1980	971.776	637.368	334.408
1981-1990	519.483	272.441	247.042
1991-2000	679.871	21.617	658.254

In contrast to the 1961-1970 period (emigration flows of Greeks, mainly to other European countries) the subsequent three decades showed a net inflow into the population: in 1971-1980, this was due to people of Greek origin repatriating (Diaspora) and Greek migrants returning from Europe. During the decade of 1981-1990; this was mainly caused by the repatriation of political refugees, Pontians and other people of Greek origin, as well as migrants from various countries. The decade of 1991-2000 was marked by an increase in the real (net) population of the country by 679,871 persons, virtually all the result of migration.<sup>5</sup>

The recent waves of migrants in Greece have been classified by researchers under the general scheme of *new immigration in Southern Europe*. The characteristics of this new immigration are in a great part common for all the Mediterranean European countries and can be summarised as follows:

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<sup>3</sup> Tsoukala, Anastassia, Le contrôle de l'immigration en Grèce dans les années 90, *Conflits*, 26-27, [http://www.revues.org/conflits/article.php3?id\\_article=213](http://www.revues.org/conflits/article.php3?id_article=213)

<sup>4</sup> Drettakis M.(2000a). The increase in the population only thanks to the migrants. *Eleftherotypia*, 28/3/2001. (in Greek)  
Drettakis M.(2000b). The children of the Diaspora and foreigners are over 5% of pupils. *Sykhroni Ekpaidefsi*. Vol. 113 (July-August), 38-44 (in Greek)

<sup>5</sup> See also the figures of the births to Greek and Albanian mothers by M. Drettakis in *Eleftherotypia* 24/8/1999.

- *New Immigration* occurs in the countries of Southern Europe after the petrol crisis of 1974 and the eventual 'immigration stop' which the north-western countries have imposed. More particularly, a net inflow of migrants is observed in Greece and Spain in 1975, in Italy in 1972, and in Portugal in 1981.<sup>6</sup>
- There is a great variety of countries of origin, although, in every case, there are some that dominate; in the Greek case the dominant nationality is by far Albanian but there are immigrants from a wide range of geopolitical areas.
- Until recently, the vast majority of immigrants were undocumented, because of the substantial lack of migration policy. The first regularisation programs were implemented in Spain in 1985, in Italy in 1987, in Portugal in 1992, while in Greece only in 1998.<sup>7</sup>
- Another common characteristic of new immigration in Southern Europe, which affects the type of work practised by migrants, refers to the fundamental role of the *informal economy* as well as the prevalence of flexible post-fordist models of organisation of production – especially in the sense of flexible work relations and practices, a much less important role of trade-unions, new forms of individualisation and reduction of state intervention<sup>8</sup> and work relations in the southern countries.
- Finally, *gender migration*, that is autonomous female migration, gradually gains importance – as it does in other geographical contexts too – affecting a series of economic and social sectors of host societies.

Today, migrants constitute a significant part of the population, although Greek society doesn't seem ready to admit it. According to the *Census* of the National Statistical Service of Greece, in 2001 migrants represented 7.3 percent of the total population, that is 797.091 persons. More than a half of these came from Albania (58 percent), while the remainder came from a wide range of countries especially in Eastern Europe. Amongst these, approximately two third are men (Vovou, 2001)<sup>9</sup>. Almost all belong within the category of economic migrants and thus are mainly drawn from younger age groups.

### Target groups

As mentioned in the introduction, the target groups for this study were selected and designed on a multi-criteria basis. Apart from the differentiation of the geopolitical areas, there is a significant differentiation as far as cultural backgrounds are concerned between the areas of origin and the interior of these areas. Another significant factor was undoubtedly the numerical importance of the groups chosen. More precisely, the size of the groups selected can be seen in table 2.

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<sup>6</sup> King, R., Fielding, A. and Black, R., The International Migration Turnaround in Southern Europe, in King, Russell & Black (eds.), *Southern Europe and the New Immigrations*, Sussex Academic Press, 1997, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Baldwin-Edwards, Martin, An Analytic Commentary on the Greek Immigration Bill, 2000, *Mediterranean Migration Observatory (MMO) Working Paper No. 1*, February 2001, \_ 3, <http://www.uehr.panteion.gr/pdf/migbillfinal.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> See Bonefeld, Werner & Holloway, John, *Post-Fordism and Social Form*, Conference of Socialist Economists, 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Vovou, S. (2001). A feminist approach to migration. In: Marvakis, A., Pavlou M., & Parsanoglou D. (eds) *Migrants in Greece*. Athens: Ellinika Grammata/ Nikos Poulantzas Association on policy Issues. (in Greek)

This is not true for all ethnic groups, such as those from the Philippines where the gender balance is opposite MW (Canete, L.Y. 2001. „The community of Philipinos in Greece at the end of the 20th Century“. In: Marvakis, A., Pavlou M., & Parsanoglou D. (eds) *Migrants in Greece Athens*, Greek Letters/ Nikos Poulantzas Association on policy Issues. (in Greek)

**Table 2** Size and gender of migrant groups in Greece  
Source: National Statistical Service of Greece, Population Census 2001

	number	male% / female%	% of total migrant population
Albania	438.036	59 / 41	58
Romania	21.994	57 / 43	3
Ex-USSR	61.229	43 / 57	8
Arab countries	23.559	74 / 26	3
Total	762.191	55 / 45	

The cities where the research took place were Athens and Rethymno on Crete, that is, a metropolitan urban area and a semi-urban area. This choice reflects the general distinction, which characterises and polarises the Greek socio-spatial formation and contains a large number of contradictions that traverse the overall social dynamics.

### 3.2 Sampling procedure

As explained above, Athens and Rethymno were chosen for the survey to represent the differentiation which governs – among other differentiations – the Greek social formation: a metropolitan urban area where almost half of the migrants are concentrated (for some nationalities, e.g. Pakistanis, the percentage is over 95 percent) and urban jobs are predominant; and a semi-urban area where there is a relatively high concentration of migrants, with a remarkable variety of nationalities, who are also employed in the tourist industry and in agriculture in addition to the sectors which are globally occupied by migrants (e.g. the construction industry, domestic work etc.).

### 3.3 Short description of the target migrant groups

#### Albanian group

Albania is the country from where the largest number of people migrates to Greece (58 percent of the total migrant population in Greece). Albanian migrants began to arrive en mass in the early nineties just after the fall of the socialist regime. They are characterized by a relative balance between the sexes (59 percent males and 41 percent females), that is, if we take the general predominance of male migration into account. The religious and cultural background of the Albanian population in Greece represents a greatly diverse group as there are Christian Orthodox, Catholics and Muslims. There is predominance of the juveniles among the Albanians: 44 percent are younger than 24 years, 26 percent 25-34 year-old, 17 percent 35-44, 8 percent 45-54 and 5 percent 55 years or older. This predominantly productive population works in a variety of sectors, the most important being the construction industry and in rural areas the agricultural industry.

#### Romanian group

Romanians constitute the fourth largest national migrant group in Greece with 21.994 individuals (3 percent of the total migrant population). The vast majority is of Christian orthodox religion, which is the dominant religion in the host society too. With regard to gender composition, males have a slight prevalence with 57 percent. With this nationality, the young also dominate: 65 percent of the Romanian population is 20-34 years old. Most of them work as agricultural workers in rural areas, in the construction industry and in the tertiary sector (services).

### Former Soviet Union group

Migrants from this area began to arrive in Greece just after the dismantling of the Soviet Union. The re-partition per countries of migrants who come from the republics of the former Soviet Union, as well as the male-female ratio is presented in table 3.

**Table 3** Countries of origin of former Soviet Union migrants\*  
Source: National Statistical Service of Greece, Population Census 2001

	number	male% / female%
Azerbaijan	106	53 / 47
Armenia	7.742	47 / 53
Georgia	22.875	43 / 57
Kazakhstan	2.256	42 / 58
Kyrgyzstan	46	35 / 65
Latvia	37	30 / 70
Byelorussia	350	24 / 76
Lithuania	121	24 / 76
Moldova	5.716	30 / 70
Uzbekistan	802	39 / 61
Ukraine	13.616	25 / 75
Russian Federation	17.535	37 / 63
Tajikistan	10	40 / 60
Turkmenistan	17	47 / 53
Total number	61.229*	43 / 57

\*8% of total migrant population in Greece

As table 3 shows the largest migrant groups from the former Soviet Union, are the Georgian, the Russian and the Ukrainian. A remarkable characteristic of the migrant population from the former Soviet Union is the predominance of female migration (57% overall), in particular from Moldova (70%) and Ukraine (76%). The presence of mostly female migrants affects the professional orientations. Thus, many of these migrants work in domestic jobs, as well as cleaning and caring jobs and in the service sector in general.

## Arab group

In Greece, there are migrants from a wide range of Arab countries. They constitute 3 percent of the total migrant population and the main countries of origin are Egypt, Iraq and Syria, as can be seen in table 4. Migrants from Arab countries, who began to arrive in Greece earlier than the other groups selected, represent a net predominance of male population (74 percent). The most important nationalities are by far the Egyptians, the Iraqis and the Syrians who represent 85 percent of all migrants with Arab backgrounds. A considerable number of them arrive in Greece officially for educational purposes, whereas a number of Iraqis are asylum-seekers.

**Table 4** Countries of origin of Arab migrants\*  
Source: National Statistical Service of Greece, Population census 2001

	number	male% / female%	
Egypt	7,448	76 /	24
Algeria	267	67 /	33
Gaza	243	78 /	22
West Sahara	2	50 /	50
United Arabian Emirates	14	71 /	29
Jordan	672	71 /	29
Iraq	6,936	70 /	30
Kuwait	17	82 /	18
Lebanon	1,277	64 /	36
Libya	196	67 /	33
Morocco	526	59 /	41
Mauritania	2	50 /	50
Saudi Arabia	159	72 /	28
Syria	5,552	79 /	21
Tunisia	231	69 /	31
Yemen	17	77 /	23
Total number	23,559*	74 /	26

\*3% of total migrant population in Greece

## 3.4 Questionnaire design and data collection

Data collection has been realised by individual interviews using the on the questionnaires mainly developed by Lange (1997). The questionnaire was translated into Greek as well as into the language of the groups concerned: Albanian, Romanian, Russian and Arabian. Questionnaire distribution and data collection was assigned to interviewers with the same migrant background as the interviewees. This procedure was chosen in order to avoid large-scale refusal to respond, to clarify difficult points, as well as to be able to formulate as many methodological considerations as data collectors could spot during the interviews. Each individual could fill in the questionnaire in the language of preference, either in Greek or in the language of her/his country of origin. The vast majority answered in the language of origin.

The research was realized during March 2004 and finally 863 individuals responded: 215 from Albania, 201 from Romania, 241 from Former Soviet Union and 206 from Arab countries. The repartition between the two cities chosen was as follows: 126 Albanians from Athens and 89 from Rethymno; 120 Romanians from Athens and 81 from Rethymno; 151 from Former Soviet Union in Athens and 90 in Rethymno; and 134 from Arab countries in Athens and 72 in Rethymno.

General difficulties reported from data collectors concerning the attitude of respondents to the questionnaires could be summarised as follows:

- Distrust toward interviewers and the purpose of the survey. Many individuals wonder what the interviewers would gain from the survey or even what *they* would gain from it.
- Some individuals claimed their right to privacy: they didn't want to respond in front of the interviewer.
- The majority of interviewees wanted to know exactly what institution organised the survey and showed distrust many times.
- Some of them, especially Arabs and Romanians, interviewed in public places, refused to answer the questions.
- Data collectors also reported that some individuals of Arabian background refused to answer because they claimed that these data are used by Americans in order to know how migrants of this origin think and act.

## 4 The respondents

In this chapter, background characteristics of the groups investigated are described. Also the 'subjective integration' of the groups is discussed here.

### 4.1 Background characteristics

#### *Gender*

The sample is relatively representative of the general gender distribution in each group examined, see table 5. That is, in the case of migrants from Albania and Romania, there is a slight predominance of male respondents, whereas for the former Soviet Union, female respondents outnumber the male respondents. Likewise, respondents from Arab countries are predominantly males.

**Table 5** Ethnic background and gender in survey sample (column%)

	Albanian N = 213	Romanian N=201	USSR N=241	Arabian N=203	Total N=858
Man	55	54	34	80	55
Woman	45	46	66	20	45

#### *Age*

As far as the age groups are concerned, the major categories belong to the productive age groups, as is common with the migrant population in Greece, see table 6.

**Table 6** Ethnic background and age in survey sample (column%)

	Albanian N=213	Romanian N=201	USSR N=241	Arabian N=206	Total N=861
24 years or younger	26	23	11	31	22
25-34 years	31	47	43	49	42
35-44 years	18	20	23	16	20
45-54 years	16	9	12	3	10
55 years or older	9	1	11	1	6

It is important to note, though, the relatively high percentage of Arabs younger than 24 years old (31 per cent). This is due to the fact that the official reasons of immigration are educational. Another remarkable point is that a relatively high percentage of respondents older than 55 years is observed among migrants from Albania and the former Soviet Union. This can be explained, firstly, by the existence of family networks within these migrant groups and, secondly, by a considerable number of ethnic-Greek migrants who are considered to be 'repatriated' – even though they have never lived in Greece before – and who obtained Greek citizenship.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Neighbourhood Ethnicity*

As can be seen in table 7, the majority of the respondents live in a neighbourhood with nearly all or mostly Greek people. Only one quarter of the respondents live in a mixed neighbourhood or more migrant neighbourhood.

<sup>10</sup> This reality reminds of course the *Spätaussiedler* in Germany.

**Table 7** Ethnic composition of neighbourhood (column%)

	Albanian N=210	Romanian N=195	USSR N=237	Arabian N=203	Total N=845
Nearly all Greeks	19	20	31	32	26
Mostly Greeks	57	43	36	53	47
Fifty/fifty	16	10	14	11	13
Mostly migrants	7	24	11	3	11
Nearly all migrant	1	3	8	1	3

The main criterion for the choice of neighbourhood remains the access to cheap rent. In general, the responses indicate that migrants mainly live in mixed areas with a smaller or larger concentration of migrants. Eight percent of respondents from the former USSR who answered that they live in a 'nearly all migrant' neighbourhood can be explained by the existence of an official policy of settlement for ex-Soviet ethnic-Greek citizens. Why a relatively high percentage of Romanians live in neighbourhoods with mostly migrants needs further and deeper analysis.

### *Language skills*

As we can easily observe in table 8, half of the respondents indicated that they master Greek as well as another language. A minority of the respondents master Greek better than another language.

**Table 8** Language skills: language best mastered (percentages).

	Albanian N=213	Romanian N=197	USSR N=240	Arabian N=205	Total N=855
Greek	19	18	5	17	14
Other language	36	35	41	40	38
Both languages equally	45	47	54	43	48

### *Period of arrival*

As far as the period of arrival is concerned, the sample is representative of the migrant population in Greece, see table 9. More precisely, the respondents began to arrive in a relatively more massive way in the early 1990s. A slight exception is the arrival of some Arabs in the 1970s and 1980s (10 percent of Arabs overall). 1990-1991 can be considered as the beginning of the massive immigration of Albanians (16 percent of Albanian respondents entered the country then) as well as for respondents from the former Soviet Union (9 percent).

**Table 9** Immigration into Greece (column%)

	Albanian N=212	Romanian N=195	USSR N=235	Arabian N=204	Total N=846
2003-2004	2	7	7	8	6
2001-2002	3	12	14	22	13
1999-2000	5	24	18	21	17
1996-1998	42	38	27	24	32
1992-1995	32	14	21	11	20
1987-1991	16	2	11	4	8
1980-1986	0	1	0	5	2
1975-1979	0	1	1	2	1
1972-1974	0	0	0	0	0
1960-1971	0	0	1	0	0
1951-1959	0	0	0	0	0
Born in Greece	0	1	0	3	1

*Education in country of origin*

The sample verifies a reality that is very often ignored or overlooked: the new migrants are not uneducated or unskilled. As table 10 shows, more than 70 percent of the respondents had acquired education at high school level or even higher. Particularly impressive is the educational level of ex-USSR migrant group: more than half had attended university/higher education.

**Table 10** Highest education completed in (parents') country of origin (column%)

	Albanian N=215	Romanian N=200	USSR N=240	Arabian N=202	Total N=857
None	3	2	2	6	3
Elementary school	20	11	3	9	11
Occupational training	15	24	10	8	14
High school	45	44	29	52	42
University/ higher (professional) education - no degree	4	6	17	10	10
University / higher (professional) education with degree	13	13	39	15	20

### Education in Greece

Table 11 shows that the vast majority of the sample had no education in Greece with the exception of Arabs and Romanians who attend(ed) university.

**Table 11** Highest education completed in Greece (column%)

	Albanian N=213	Romanian N=200	USSR N=236	Arabian N=206	Total N=855
None	76	69	82	59	72
Elementary school	1	4	2	0	2
Occupational training	6	5	1	2	3
High school	9	2	4	1	4
University/ higher (professional) education - no degree	4	18	3	29	13
University / higher (professional) education with degree	4	2	8	9	6

### Employment

The vast majority of the respondents works, as table 12 shows, including an unknown number of people who still attend school (a considerable percentage for Arabs and Romanians) and also work but cannot declare it and therefore are not registered in the Social Insurance institutions.

**Table 12** Employment (column%)

	Albanian N=215	Romanian N=199	USSR N=241	Arabian N=203	Total N=858
Yes, employed	85	79	83	67	79
No, retirement or pension	0	1	3	1	1
No job, e.g. housewife/-man	5	4	6	8	6
No, no work permit	3	4	1	2	2
No, still attending school	7	12	7	22	12

### Profession

Table 13 shows that half of the sample works as labourers. This is in contrast to their general educational level, indicative of the downward mobility in the domain work. It is clear that they occupy lower positions in the work hierarchy. The relatively high proportion of the sample which reported 'unknown' professional level (29 percent overall, 50 percent for those who came from ex-USSR) as well as the impressively large proportion of ex-USSR citizens who reported 'managers' can be explained by independent economic activities, self employment etc.

**Table 13** Profession (column%)

	Albanian N=204	Romanian N=190	USSR N=226	Arabian N=150	Total N=770
Labourer - unschooled	21	40	5	38	24
Labourer - schooled	35	27	14	32	26
Office employee	14	5	6	12	9
Manager	3	0	16	3	6
Scientist /executive manager	0	8	9	4	6
Unknown	27	20	50	11	29

### Religion

The religions of the respondents are presented in table 14. As far as migrants from Romania and ex-USSR are concerned, there is a remarkable homogeneity regarding religion, which is also the dominant religion in the country of residence. For those from Arab countries a large majority is of Muslim religion, but there is a considerable Christian Orthodox minority as well. A great variety of religions, which reflects the variety of the population, is manifested in the Albanian group. Christian Orthodox and Muslims – the ‘other Muslim’ refers to the Muslim community of Bekhtasi – are equally large groups within the Albanian sample and in this group there is by far the largest percentage of individuals who practises ‘no religion at all’. Research and everyday experience show a tendency among the Albanians to Christianisation/“Greekisation” (even with baptism) of names in order to be considered ethnic-Greek Albanians by Greek society.

**Table 14** Religion (column%)

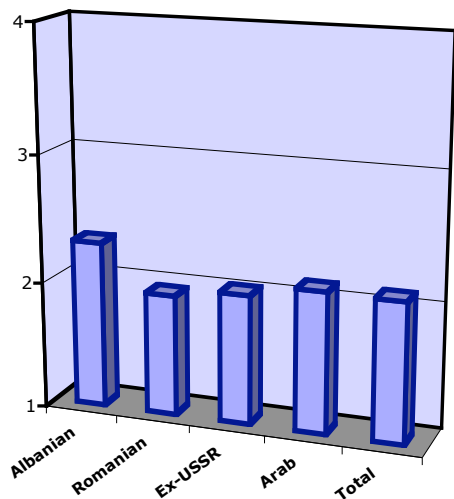
	Albanian N=215	Romanian N=199	USSR N=241	Arabian N=206	Total N=861
Muslim - aleviit	11	0	0	2	3
Muslim - shiite	1	0	0	6	2
Muslim - suniit	3	0	0	68	17
Muslim - other	22	0	0	1	6
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0
Christian - catholic	7	1	3	2	3
Christian - evangelic	1	0	0	0	0
Christian - orthodox	39	99	90	17	62
Christian - other	1	0	5	2	2
Buddhist	0	0	0	0	0
Other religion	0	0	0	1	0
No religion	15	0	2	1	5

## 4.2 Subjective Integration

Subjective integration, as Lange states, is a relevant and important aspect when studying experiences of discrimination. Subjective integration has to do with social relations, making friends and feeling at home in a country. To get an idea of the subjective integration, the same questions were asked as in Lange's original questionnaire: difficulties in making friends from the host country and the three questions about the frequency people socialise with other people (same ethnic background, another migrant background or without a migrant background). Also the three questions on sense of belonging / feeling at home were asked.

Undoubtedly, socializing with others is a rather important indicator of social integration. The ease or difficulty of socialising with local people and/or the preference or the confinement to people from the same ethnic background are crucial aspects of the social capital of migrant individuals.

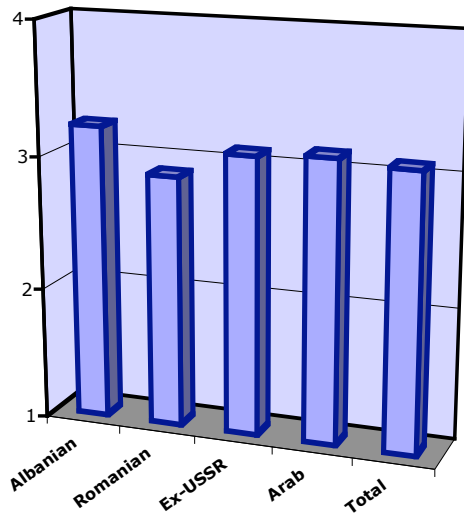
**Figure 1** Do you consider it to be easy or difficult to make Greek friends?  
(question 38, mean value)



1= Very easy, 2= Rather easy, 3= Rather difficult, 4= Very difficult

Two-third of the respondents find it easy to make Greek friends. Nevertheless, it is not at all equally easy for all four migrant groups involved in this study. Half of the Albanians and one-third of the Arabs indicated that it was difficult for them to make Greek friends, whereas 'only' a quarter of the Romanian and the ex-USSR migrants reported such difficulty.

**Figure 2** How often do you socialise with people of the same ethnic background as you? (question 39, mean value)

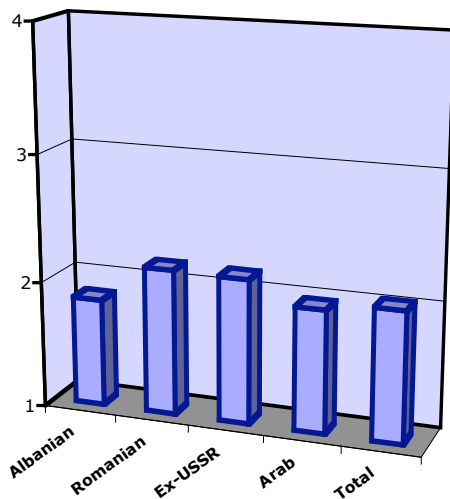


1= Never, 2= Seldom, 3= Often, 4 =Always

The majority of migrants questioned socialise with people with the same ethnic background. Here, respondents from Romania socialise somewhat less frequently with migrants of the same background as themselves as the other three groups. Nevertheless, that still means very frequent: 70 percent of the Romanians socialize often or always with people from the same migrant background (compared to 80 to 90 percent in the other migrant groups that do so).

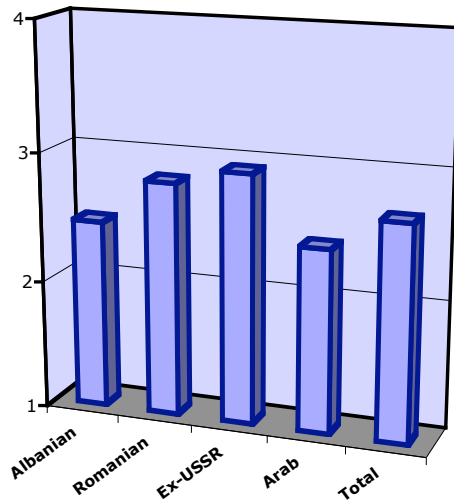
Most migrants seldom socialise with people from a different migrant background. In particular the Albanian and Arabian groups reported that (84 and 80 percent respectively). The Romanian and ex-USSR groups indicated somewhat less (70 and 66 percent).

**Figure 3** How often do you socialise with people of a different migrant background to yourself? (question 40, mean value)



1= Never, 2= Seldom, 3= Often, 4 =Always

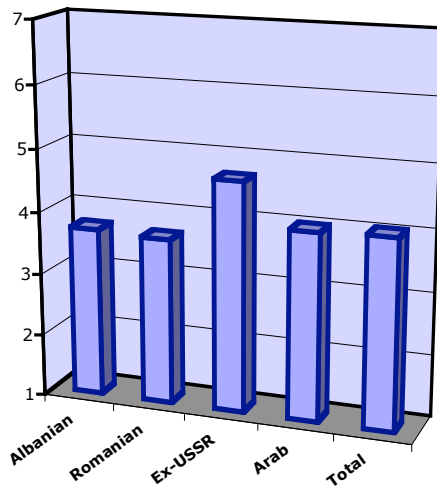
**Figure 4** how often do you socialise with white Greek people without a migrant background? (question 41, mean value)



1= Never, 2= Seldom, 3= Often, 4 =Always

Migrants from Romania and the former Soviet Union seem more apt at socialising with Greek people (respectively 63 and 82 percent said to socialise often or always with Greek people), while a smaller percentage of Albanian and Arab respondents reported socialising with Greek that often (46 and 43 percent respectively).

**Figure 5** To what extent do you feel at home in Greece? (question 41, mean value)



1= no sense of belonging 7 = very strong sense of belonging

People from the former Soviet Union seem to be the most affiliated to Greece. Their sense of belonging in Greece is stronger than that of the other groups, something that can be partly explained by the existence of Greek citizens in this migrant group. There are no significant differences between the other groups.

From a further statistical analysis, we can draw the conclusion that the sense of belonging in Greece is a little stronger for migrant women than for men (Males 3,9 versus Women 4,3) while those who use another language more easily than Greek also reported less affiliation to Greece (mean value 3.3 versus 4.6).

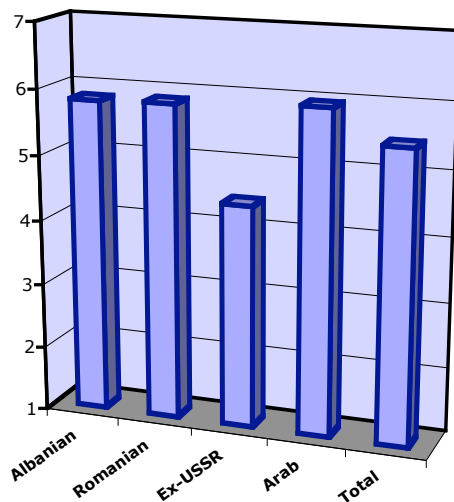
Another factor, which seems to be significant here, is the age of migrants: the younger they are, the stronger the sense of belonging they reported. Finally, another interesting correlation is that of neighbourhood composition and sense of belonging in Greece, in which migrants living in neighbourhoods with a mostly Greek population reported a stronger sense of belonging to the country of residence.

**Table 15** Where do you feel most at home? (column%)

(N=861)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Country of (parent's/-s') origin	61	46	26	63	48
Fifty/fifty	27	35	36	23	31
Greece	6	15	23	6	13
Nowhere	6	4	15	8	8

Almost the half of the respondents feel most at home in their country of origin. One third feels at home in both countries. A relatively small proportion identified more with Greece and an even smaller proportion felt at home nowhere, with a peak from the ex-USSR (15%).

**Fig 6** To what extent do you feel at home in your (parents') country of origin? (question 44, mean value)



1= no sense of belonging 7 = very strong sense of belonging

It is clear that the sense of belonging to the country of origin is far stronger than the sense of belonging in Greece for all groups except for the respondents from the ex-USSR. Thus, while there are no significant differences between Albanians, Romanians and Arabs who report a rather strong sense of belonging to the country of origin, these three groups differ very significantly to the migrants from the ex-USSR.

In contrast to the sense of belonging in Greece, the sense of belonging to the country of origin is reported to be somewhat stronger by men (mean value 5.7) than by women (mean value 5.2).

those who use another language more easily than Greek have a stronger sense of belonging to their country of origin (mean values 5.9 versus 4.8).

## 5 Experiences of discrimination

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A factor analysis on the original set of 17 questions was done to find out what underlying structure to the various kinds of discrimination would appear.<sup>11</sup> In the Greek case, the following four factors emerged.

- 'Authorities': people being badly treated in contacts with the Employment Agency (V24<sup>12</sup>), the Social Insurance Office (V25), Healthcare Services (v26) and Social Services (v28).
- 'Work and housing': people being denied a job they applied for and which they were qualified for (v11), being refused a promotion or made redundant (v12), insults or harassment at work (v13), and being denied to rent or buy a house or apartment (v14).
- 'Public places': refused entry to restaurant, pub or club (v19), refused entry to a store (v20), bad treatment in a restaurant (v23), refused credit card (v21) and bad treatment by the police (v26).
- 'Direct environment': bad treatment at school (v15a), insults or harassments by neighbours (v16), threats or harassment in the street or public transport (v17), and violence, robbery or theft (v18).

The underlying structure found resembles the structure such as originally found by Lange or in the other studies. Lange distinguished three domains of discrimination: (1) in contacts with the authorities and institutions, (2) public places, in the private sphere and in public arena, and (3) working life.

In the current study comparable factors were found. The largest difference with Lange's finding is that the factor 'public places, in the private sphere and in public arena' in this study splits up into two separate factors: 'direct environment' and 'public places'

The results on experienced discrimination will be ordered in this chapter according to these three original domains of discrimination as distinguished by Lange: Authorities, Public places and Work.

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<sup>11</sup> Principal Component Analysis, Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

<sup>12</sup> Numbers V11-V28 refer to the question numbers as in Lange's original questionnaire.

## 5.1 Perceived Discrimination

An overview of the results is presented in table 16. The data were dichotomised for purposes of statistical testing (chi-square). For every situation (refused job, promotion etc.) data were recoded and dichotomised in two categories: 'Never' and at 'At least once'. Percentages were calculated. Where applicable, answers such as 'not applied for a job last five years' were regarded as missing data, so percentages are computed only for situations where people could possibly have experienced discrimination (see appendix for original data).

**Table 16** Experiences of discrimination (at least once) in different situations (column%)

%	N	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
V11 Refused job	584	53	53	66	28	52
V12 Refused promotion	701	33	42	41	15	34
V13 Insults/ harassment at work	707	55	58	66	18	52
V15a Badly treated in school	351	32	31	41	29	33
V16 Insults/harassment by neighbours	862	34	23	34	19	28
V17 Insults/harassment in street	861	27	14	45	17	27
V18 Subjected to violence/robberies	861	7	3	17	7	9
V19 Refused entry restaurant/bar etc.	788	9	5	0	13	7
V20 Refused entry in shop	858	2	2	0	3	2
V23 Badly treated in restaurant/shop	859	8	13	4	6	8
V26 Badly treated by police	677	44	50	43	35	43
V14 Refused house	603	62	78	81	46	66
V21 Refused credit	467	51	71	39	34	48
V24 Badly treated employment agency	373	35	30	32	21	30
V25 Badly treated by social insurance	547	29	36	45	16	33
V27 Badly treated by health services	732	28	24	20	17	22
V28 Badly treated social services	404	19	18	10	27	19
Badly treated immigration service	661	49	70	61	35	53
At least on(c)e experienced a situation of discrimination	863	83	84	91	76	84

The second column (N) in Table 16 shows that the vast majority of the respondents have indeed encountered situations where they could have been subject to discrimination. Only in the case of three situations did more than half of the respondents indicate that they had not been in that situation: at school during the last five years, and in contact with the Employment Agency or with the Social Services the last year. In the domain 'public places' the answer 'did not have contact' was not possible, as we assumed everyone must have been in public places more than once, an exception was made for 'been treated badly in contacts with the police'.

Table 16 shows also clear differences between different forms of discrimination as well as between the groups. Discrimination occurs in all domains - work, public places and authorities.

Working life yields a substantial number of discrimination experiences. Being denied a job one applied for and thought to be qualified for happened to half of the respondents at least once during the past five years. In addition, half of the respondents were confronted in their job with insults, or were harassed at work because of their ethnic background. Missing a promotion or being made redundant due to one's ethnic background, finally, was mentioned by one-third.

Being in public places can make one vulnerable to discrimination, especially when it concerns the direct environment. More than one-third of *all* respondents reported to have been subjected to insults or harassment because of their ethnic background by neighbours, and/or threatened on the street or in public transport. A large part of the respondents that run into contact with the police (43 percent) reported to be badly treated by them.

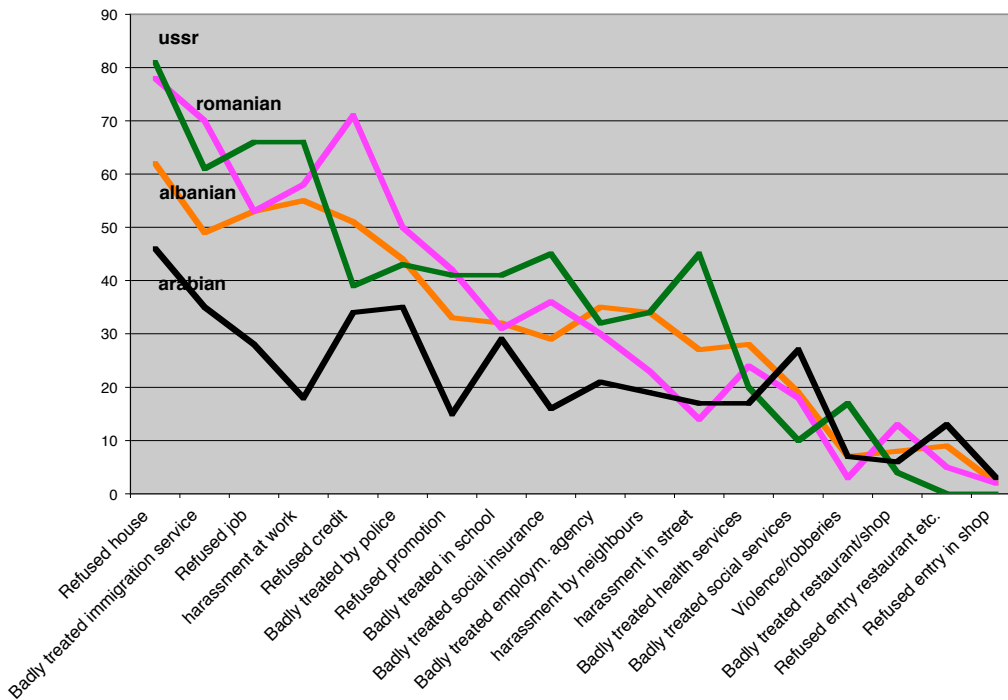
In addition, one-third of those who still attend school or any other educational institute reported to have been treated badly there at least once during the past five years because of their ethnic background.

Formal authorities and in particular financial institutions are mentioned too by a substantial part of the migrants.

The situation in which discrimination is perceived most frequently (of all the situations in this study) is that of trying to buy or rent a house. It often leads to a refusal, which is perceived by two-thirds of the respondents who tried to as a result of their foreign background. Likewise, being denied the possibility to hire or buy something by credit card (e.g. a car) or to loan money from a bank because of one's ethnic background happened to half of the respondents at least once during the last year.

The Immigration Service is the most infamous with the migrants. Half of the respondents that had contact faced problems. Further, one-third of the respondents that had contact with the Social Insurance Office or Employment Agencies reported bad treatment.

**Figure 7** Experiences of discrimination (at least once) in different situations. Ordering by means per situation.



As can be seen clearly in table 16 and figure 7, the areas where an important proportion of the respondents have experienced discrimination are the workplace, in contacts with police, in house renting, in buying with credit and in contacts with immigration services. In contrast, just a small percentage of respondents reported having been subjected to violence or robbery, having been refused entry to a restaurant or a shop or bad treatment in these places.

Significant differences<sup>13</sup> were found between the migrant groups in this study. In general, the group from the former Soviet Union reported more discrimination than the other migrant groups, mainly with respect to work, school, insults and harassments in the streets, and even plain violence.

The second most discriminated migrant group in this study is the Romanian group. They even share this first (worst) place with the former Soviet Union migrants on the following issues: refused housing, bad treatment by the Immigration Service and missed promotion at work. The Romanians are most discriminated when it concerns issues of financial credit, treatment in restaurants and stores and, last but not least, in contacts with the police.

The Albanian group is discriminated significantly less than those two groups on all these issues. Nevertheless, the least discriminated of all is the Arabian group, in all the situations mentioned here.

It is important to note, though, that significant differences are observed in several situations .

## 5.2 Other factors related to perceived discrimination

By means of cross tabulation, we analysed the relationship between several background variables and perceived discrimination. By using the chi-square, we tested for differences in perceived discrimination by gender, age, ethnic composition of the neighbourhood, language skills, period of arrival, education level, and profession. Several characteristics appeared to be of significant influence for the discrimination experienced. For two-third of the situations the differences between the four migrant groups were significant.

With respect to gender, few solid differences were found. Several significant differences were found in the frequencies of perceived discrimination. However most differences were not substantial and if they were, it was obvious gender discrimination: women report more harassment in the streets than men (33 versus 22 percent), less denied entry in a restaurant or bar (1 versus 11) and less bad treatment in a restaurant or shop (4 versus 10 percent).

A few significant differences were found between the various age groups. However, these differences were not consistent as in the case of the four migrant groups: in some situations the older groups reported more discrimination, in other situations it was the younger group. The same inconsistency goes for period of arrival, education, and profession.

Two variables stood out however, they appeared to have a straightforward effect on experienced discrimination, namely ethnic composition of the neighbourhood the respondent lives, and language skills.

Table 17 shows that most discrimination is reported by people living in the predominantly migrant neighbourhoods. The ethnic composition of the neighbourhood where people live is of great importance with respect to the discrimination they experience. People living in the predominantly migrant neighbourhoods (i.e. Athens) experience significantly more discrimination than those who live in non-migrant or mixed neighbourhoods. This goes for all discrimination situations with only a few exceptions (*no* differences were found with respect to treatment at school, harassment by neighbours, and refused entry in restaurant or shop) .

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<sup>13</sup> Chi-Square Test, two sided,  $\alpha = .05$

**Table 17** Neighbourhood composition and experiences of discrimination (at least once) (column%)

Discrimination at least once	N	nearly all white	mostly white	fifty/fifty	mostly migrant	nearly all migrant	total
Refused job	574	43	44	54	82	91	52
Refused promotion	685	26	30	36	60	38	33
Harassment at work	691	48	46	51	77	59	51
Badly treated in school	346	32	31	38	46	43	33
Harassment by neighbours	844	31	26	25	28	40	28
Harassment in street	843	28	22	30	32	60	27
Violence/robberies	843	8	7	10	13	23	9
Refused entry restaurant	772	6	7	12	1	4	7
Refused entry in shop	840	2	2	3	1	0	2
Badly treated restaurant/shop	841	6	5	9	19	10	8
Badly treated by police	661	38	39	43	66	78	43
Refused house	587	38	39	43	66	78	43
Refused credit	458	44	48	46	65	13	47
Badly treated employment agency	367	17	24	43	75	71	29
Badly treated social insurance	535	30	26	37	50	65	32
Badly treated health services	718	17	19	26	37	39	22
Badly treated social services	398	19	13	25	38	50	19
Badly treated immigration service	646	49	43	61	85	78	53

Language skills appear to be of significant influence for the experienced discrimination in half of the situations questioned. Those who do not master Greek as well as their own language report much higher frequencies of discrimination than those who master Greek better: e.g. refused job (65 versus 33 percent), refused promotion (45 versus 17 percent), insults or harassment at work (63 versus 35 percent), in the streets or public transport (31 versus 14 percent) and by neighbours (33 versus 26 percent), denied a house (69 versus 51 percent) and denied a credit (57 versus 43 percent). In short, language skills seem to be of influence on discrimination experienced particularly at work and in the form of insults and harassment.

### 5.3 Ethnic background of perpetrator

Respondents who reported discrimination in the domain of public places and leisure time were asked to indicate the ethnic background of the perpetrator(s). The vast majority of perpetrators is Greek for all migrant groups except for the ex-USSR migrants. The latter group reported considerable less Greek perpetrators (40 percent against 79, 77 and 78 percent respectively for the Albanian, Romanian and Arab group).

### 5.4 Religion

For the migrants of the sample who come from Romania and the Former Soviet Union, that is to say from an orthodox background, there is no problem in practicing their religion. On the other hand, 40 percent of Albanian respondents and 32 percent of Arabs report that practicing their religion in Greece is a problem for them. Albanian data collectors reported that some cannot even express their religious faith because they fear discrimination by the Greeks

### 5.5 Actions undertaken

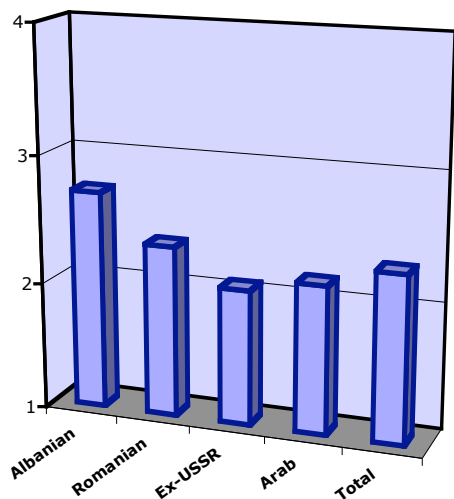
For each of the three domains of discrimination (work, public places, authorities), questions were asked about how people reacted after experiencing such discrimination.

In the domain 'work', nearly half (46 percent) of the total sample had reported 'been subject to discrimination at work' (two questions: missing promotion and harassment). Of this group, more than one-third (37 percent) quit their jobs, which is quite serious, considering the importance of having a paid job. Of the Arabian group, even 58 percent quitted. A small minority took a sick leave (8 percent). Half of the discriminated-at-work respondents asked for transfer, in particular the ex-USSR migrants (65 percent). We also asked whether people had denounced occurrences of discrimination. A quarter of the total sample had experienced discrimination at work (this time also including not been offered a job). Three-quarter did not undertake any action, a minority went to a confidentiality point at work (18 percent). Only a very small percentage went to the police, a lawyer, an anti-discrimination agency or another official body. In the case of discrimination in public places, even less action was undertaken. A majority of the total sample (62 percent) did report 'been subject to discrimination at least once'. Of this 62 percent, the vast majority (89 percent) did not report this discrimination. A very small proportion went to the police, to a lawyer an anti-discrimination agency or another official body. With regard to discrimination in contacts with the authorities, the same conclusion as in public places can be drawn. Of the total sample 69 percent reported occurrences of discrimination. The vast majority (89 percent) did not denounce this discrimination. Almost no one went to the police, a small proportion went to a lawyer or an official body.

### 5.6 Opinions on racism and xenophobia

In addition to the questions on perceived discrimination, two questions were added: whether respondents think Greece is a racist/ xenophobic country and if racism and xenophobia in Greece have increased. As figure 8 shows, answers (means), of the four groups are in between 'a little bit racist/ xenophobic' and 'fairly racist/ xenophobic', where the Albanian group is the most pessimistic.

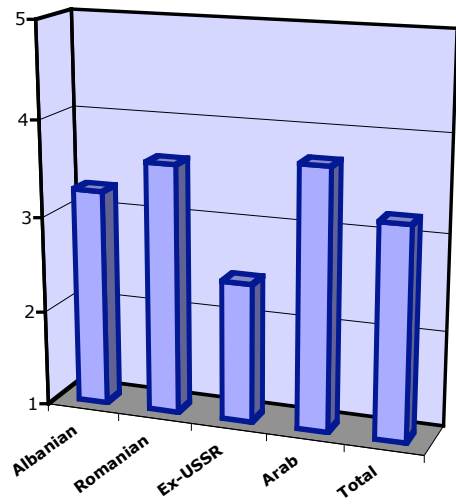
**Figure 8** Do you think Greece is a racist/ xenophobic country?



1 = Not at all racist/ xenophobic, 2= A little bit racist/ xenophobic  
 3= Fairly racist/ xenophobic, 4= Very racist/ xenophobic

When asked about a change in racism and xenophobia in Greece (figure 9) it's clear that most groups feels that the increase in racism and xenophobia in Greece is only marginal, the ex-USSR group even notices an *decrease*.

**Figure 9** Do you believe that racism and xenophobia in Greece have increased, decreased, or remained unchanged during recent years?



1= Decreased considerably, 2= Decreased somewhat  
3= Unchanged, 4= Increased somewhat, 5= Increased considerably

## 6 Analysis of results in comparison with previous studies

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One recommendation of Lange, in his comments on five previous studies, concerns a cross-national comparison. Lange recommends that two target groups should be common to all studies, even if they do not belong to the largest and/or most discriminated groups in a particular country. This would, as he pointed out, 'create an interesting condition for cross-national comparisons, provided the difficulties in sampling are tackled satisfactorily.'<sup>14</sup>

Besides difficulties in sampling, there is another practical problem. In the - now eight - studies involved<sup>15</sup> no particular group is common to all studies. A group that is closest to this criterion is the group of Black people, which was included in six of the eight studies. This makes a comparison of the results of a particular study with the results of other studies rather complicated. Differences in socio-economic status of the same group in different countries make a comparison even more complicated. The Senegalese group in the Italian study for instance, which counts a large number of people with professions such as street vendor, is quite different from the Surinamese group in the Dutch study with an established middle class and which, as stated in the Dutch study, managed '...to obtain the same average occupational level and participation as the majority population.'<sup>16</sup> Despite these complications an attempt was made to compare the results of the Greek study with the results of the seven other studies. As not all the results of the different studies are presented in terms of percentages of experienced discrimination per situation (the UK study for instance gives only mean scores of discrimination by each group), for each separate study, a rank order of the groups involved was computed, based on the answers of respondents to the original set of 17 questions from the Swedish study. In most cases, the rank order was based on the tables with the percentage of respondents who had experienced discrimination at least once. In other cases, for instance in the Belgian study, the rank order was based on a combination of the 17 separate tables for each question. In UK study, the rank order had to be based on the table with mean scores of discrimination as this was the only available source (table 4.5 page 35).

The results are presented in table 18. Where possible, groups are combined. It should be noted when combining the different groups of black people /people of colour that the Surinamese group in the Dutch study includes other ethnic groups such as Hindustani and Javanese people, besides Creole people of African origin. Table 18 shows that is rather difficult to relate the results of the Greek to the results of all the other studies. First, no group of black people /people of colour was included in the Greek study as this group was not relevant in the Greek situation. Next, the Romanian and Russian groups are unique to the Greek study, the Albanian groups is only also included in the Italian study and the Arab groups was only also subject in the UK Study.

If we compare the results of the Greek study with the results of the German study<sup>17</sup> (which was done in the same period) on basis of percentages of experienced discrimination per situation, it is obvious that the different groups in Greece do experience discrimination much more than the groups in the German study. The average percentage of all respondents that experienced discrimination at least once was 57 percent in Germany, whereas the same percentage in Greece was 84 percent. The conclusion of the German study that '...it is rather reassuring that in most situations the vast majority of Turkish, Italian and Yugoslavian groups interviewed report never to have been subject to discrimination' is in the Greek study only true for a limited number of situations.

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<sup>14</sup> Lange, A. (2003). Evaluation of the five national studies of migrants' experiences of discrimination and recommendations for future studies. Stockholm: University of Stockholm,

<sup>15</sup> These are, the Scandinavian countries excluded: Austria (AT), Belgium (BE), Germany (DE), Greece (EL), Spain (ES), Italy (IT), the Netherlands (NL) and the United Kingdom (UK).

<sup>16</sup> Ter Wal, J. (2003). Migrants' experiences of discrimination. The Netherlands. Utrecht: ERCOMER.

<sup>17</sup> Westenberg, M.R.M. & Abell, J.P. (2004). Migrants' experiences of discrimination in Germany. Amsterdam: EGA HRM consult

**Table 18** Rank order<sup>1</sup> of experienced discrimination (at least once) by migrant/ethnic group in eight studies

	EL	DE	IT	UK	BE	ES	AT	NL	mean rank
Black people /people of colour <sup>2</sup>		1	1	1	2		1	3	1.5
Ecuadorians						2			2.0
Russians	2								2.0
Moroccans			2		4	1		2	2.3
Turks		2			3		3	1	2.3
Pakistani				2.5					2.5
Albanian	1		4						2.5
Asian <sup>3</sup>			5	2.5	1			5	3.4
ex Yugoslavian		3					2	4	3.0
Peruvians			3						3.0
Roma						3			3.0
Romanian	3								3.0
Colombians						4			4.0
Indian				4					4.0
Italians		4							4.0
mid-eastern/other 'Arab' groups	4			5					4.5

<sup>1</sup> The lower the rank number, the more discrimination experienced: 1 = most discrimination, 5 = least discrimination

<sup>2</sup> This category includes the following groups: people from predominantly Black African descent in the German (DE) study, Senegalese people from the Italian (IT) study, a combined group of Black African, Black Caribbean and 'Black Other' people from the UK study, people from the Congo in the Belgian (BE) study and Surinamese people from the Dutch (NL) study.

<sup>3</sup> This category includes the Philippine group from the Italian study, the 'Asian other' group from the UK study, the Chinese group from the Belgian study and the Indonesian group from the Dutch study.

## 7 Harmonising data and methodology in the EU Member States

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In his evaluation of the five previous national studies, Lange suggests a large number of recommendations on the subject of harmonising data and methodology.<sup>18</sup> We agree with most of them, such as keeping the set of 17 questions from the Swedish study as intact as possible, his recommendation to describe the samples extensively as well as the various methods of collecting samples and the procedures employed in selecting and contacting the respondents. The same goes for his recommendations when it comes to the presentation and analysis of the results. In this study where applicable, active note has been taken of his recommendations.

However, some recommendations were hard to carry out. Concerning the selection of target groups, one problem regards the selection of a 'reference group, which, according to one of Langes recommendations should be selected in each country in order to improve assessments of the validity of results by providing a kind of "baseline". A reference group could be valuable to provide a baseline, but one must realise that even if such a reference group is 'close to the indigenous population in terms of geographical, cultural and – if possible – linguistic distance, phenotypical similarity and position within the international rank order of status, ' this does not necessarily imply that such a group does not experience discrimination. In the case of the Netherlands for instance, such a group would be the Germans. This group meets all of the criteria mentioned by Lange but is, due to the occupation of the Netherlands during the Second World War by Germany, a group that is (still) being discriminated. Germans experience things like swastikas or SS signs painted on their cars, have their cars damaged, or, more seriously, are refused housing etc.

Another question concerning the selection of target groups regards Lange's recommendation that 'two target groups should be common to all studies, even if they do not belong to the largest and/or most discriminated groups in a particular country. In the five studies evaluated by Lange there is no group that is common to all studies. A group that is closest to this criterion is the group of Black people; this group is common to six studies (see chapter 6, table 14). Meeting this demand in future research is impossible.

Given the differences in underlying structure which appear after a factor analysis in each national study, one can seriously question the use of factor analysis and factors scores when representing the results, as this make a cross-national comparison more complicated. A description of the results in terms of the original three spheres is in our view sufficient.

Most of Langes recommendations concerning the design of the questionnaire, presentation of results and analysis of are clear and relevant. For future research the EUMC should provide researcher with a format with clear instructions on issues such as coding of answers to questions in the questionnaire, presentation of results, format of tables, which descriptive measures or the order in which the results are presented.

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<sup>18</sup> Lange, A. (2003). Evaluation of the five national studies of migrants' experiences of discrimination and recommendations for future studies. Stockholm: University of Stockholm

## 8 Recommendations

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To the recommendations already given by Lange and the authors of the previous studies, we would add the recommendation that surveys like this would be most valuable if they are held in each EU member-state within the same short time period. The Swedish and other Scandinavian studies for instance were carried out as soon as 1995, the other ones in 2002. Events such as 9/11/ (2001), the murder on Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands in 2002 lie in between these studies, and will certainly have a negative impact on the attitudes of the majority towards ethnic minorities and migrants in general and muslims in particular and will without doubt effect migrants' experiences of discrimination, national and international.<sup>19</sup> This makes the Scandinavian on the one hand and other, more recent EUMC studies in some respects hard to compare. The same goes for the assault in Madrid in spring 2004 that might have negatively effected the attitudes of the majority in the EU towards ethnic minorities and migrants.

Another issue we would like to point out is the issue of 'objective' discrimination, referred to in the Italian study. As experienced, and not actual discrimination is subject of this and the other EUMC studies, people could question the reliability of the results and trivialize the scale of discrimination in daily life. In this respect Lange states that '...although the objectivity of this information (about police checks in the Italian study, mw/pa) is a matter of opinion, the basic idea is very good and should be incorporated in future studies'. This point has also been stressed in the Belgian study.<sup>20</sup> In the report of the Belgian study the researcher states that '...among the discriminations addressed by the questionnaire, we are inclined to believe that not all are on the same ground as far as reliability of reports are concerned. When an immigrant is insulted, for instance, there is little doubt, from the "words" used, that it's an experience of discrimination... but in many other circumstances, the interpretation of the situation is the key. The researcher points at applying for a job and states that it '...is s likely that there are competitors for it, and the importance of the result, both on the concrete side (income) and the symbolic one (self-esteem) make it easy to impute to a bias by the recruiter the failure in getting the job. In such a case, we would expect felt discrimination to be higher than objective one.

Objective discrimination could be studied by means of situation test as Bovenkerk developed in 1978 and repeated for the ILO in 1992 (with the same results).<sup>21</sup> By for instance sending couples of different ethnic origin to disco's and restaurants or to let these couple try to get a job, rent a flat or get a loan. In this way discrimination can be assesed in an objective way in an experimental setting under controlled circumstances.

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<sup>19</sup> The Dutch Monitoring Centre (DUMC) reported a sharp increase in the number of anti-Islamic events shortly after 11 September 2001.

<sup>20</sup> Italiano, P. (2003). Final report on the Belgian survey on Experience of Racial Discrimination. Liege: Universite de Liege.

<sup>21</sup> Bovenkerk, F. (ed.) (1978). *Omdat zij anders zijn: Patronen van rasdiscriminatie in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Boom. Bovenkerk, F. (1992). *Testing Discrimination in Natural Experiments: A Manual for International Comparative Research on Discrimination on the Grounds of "Race" and Ethnic Origin*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

## 9 Appendixes

### APPENDIX A Sample Descriptives per Ethnic Group<sup>22</sup>

<b>Gender</b>	Albanian N = 213	Romanian N=201	USSR N=241	Arabian N=203	Total N=858
Man	55	54	34	80	55
Woman	45	46	66	20	45

<b>Age</b>	Albanian N=213	Romanian N=201	USSR N=241	Arabian N=206	Total N=861
24 years or younger	26	23	11	31	22
25-34 years	31	47	43	49	42
35-44 years	18	20	23	16	20
45-54 years	16	9	12	3	10
55 years or older	9	1	11	1	6

<b>Living Area</b>	Albanian N = 215	Romanian N=201	USSR N=241	Arabian N=206	Total N=863
Rethymnon	46	40	38	35	40
Athens	54	60	62	65	60

<b>Neighbourhood Ethnicity</b>	Albanian N=210	Romanian N=195	USSR N=237	Arabian N=203	Total N=845
Nearly all Greeks	19	20	31	32	26
Mostly Greeks	57	43	36	53	47
Fifty/fifty	16	10	14	11	13
Mostly migrants	7	24	11	3	11
Nearly all migrant	1	3	8	1	3

<b>Language skills</b>	Albanian N=213	Romanian N=197	USSR N=240	Arabian N=205	Total N=855
Greek	19	18	5	17	14
Other language	36	35	41	40	38
Both languages equally	45	47	54	43	48

<sup>22</sup> All data in the table bodies are column percentages

### Period of Arrival in Greece

	Albanian N=212	Romanian N=195	USSR N=235	Arabian N=204	Total N=846
2003-2004	2	7	7	8	6
2001-2002	3	12	14	22	13
1999-2000	5	24	18	21	17
1996-1998	42	38	27	24	32
1992-1995	32	14	21	11	20
1987-1991	16	2	11	4	8
1980-1986	0	1	0	5	2
1975-1979	0	1	1	2	1
1972-1974	0	0	0	0	0
1960-1971	0	0	1	0	0
1951-1959	0	0	0	0	0
Born in Greece	0	1	0	3	1

### Educational Level acquired in country of origin

	Albanian N=215	Romanian N=200	USSR N=240	Arabian N=202	Total N=857
None	3	2	2	6	3
Elementary school	20	11	3	9	11
Occupational training	15	24	10	8	14
High school	45	44	29	52	42
University/ higher (professional) education - no degree	4	6	17	10	10
University / higher (professional) education with degree	13	13	39	15	20

### Educational Level acquired in Greece

	Albanian N=213	Romanian N=200	USSR N=236	Arabian N=206	Total N=855
None	76	69	82	59	72
Elementary school	1	4	2	0	2
Occupational training	6	5	1	2	3
High school	9	2	4	1	4
University/ higher (professional) education - no degree	4	18	3	29	13
University / higher (professional) education with degree	4	2	8	9	6

### Employment

	Albanian N=215	Romanian N=199	USSR N=241	Arabian N=203	Total N=858
Yes, employed	85	79	83	67	79
No, retirement or pension	0	1	3	1	1
No job, e.g. housewife/-man	5	4	6	8	6
No, no work permit	3	4	1	2	2
No, still attending school	7	12	7	22	12

**Profession**

	Albanian N=204	Romanian N=190	USSR N=226	Arabian N=150	Total N=770
Labourer - unschooled	21	40	5	38	24
Labourer - schooled	35	27	14	32	26
Office employee	14	5	6	12	9
Manager	3	0	16	3	6
Scientist /executive manager	0	8	9	4	6
Unknown	27	20	50	11	29

**Religion**

	Albanian N=215	Romanian N=199	USSR N=241	Arabian N=206	Total N=861
Muslim - aleviit	11	0	0	2	3
Muslim - shiite	1	0	0	6	2
Muslim - suniit	3	0	0	68	17
Muslim - other	22	0	0	1	6
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0
Christian - catholic	7	1	3	2	3
Christian - evangelic	1	0	0	0	0
Christian - orthodox	39	99	90	17	62
Christian - other	1	0	5	2	2
Buddhist	0	0	0	0	0
Other religion	0	0	0	1	0
No religion	15	0	2	1	5

## APPENDIX B Questionnaire with Answer Percentages<sup>23</sup>

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### **PART A) Personal Background of the Respondents**

The results of this part of the questionnaire, about personal characteristics of the respondents, are presented in the previous Appendix A (Sample Descriptives)

- 1 Country of origin of the respondent or his/her parents
- 2 Gender of the respondent
- 3 What is your age?
- 4 In which city do you live?
- 5 How would you describe the ethnic composition of your neighbourhood?
- 6 Which language do you speak best?
- 7 Did you immigrate to Greece or were you born in Greece?
- 8 In which year did you immigrate to Greece?
- 9 What is your highest education completed in your country of origin or that of your parents'?
- 10 What is your highest education completed in Greece?
- 11 Do you have a paid job?
- 12 To which occupational sector does/did your work belong?
- 13 What is your religious faith?

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<sup>23</sup> All data in the table bodies are column percentages

## PART B) Experiences of Discrimination

### 14 Do you consider it to be a problem to practise your religion in Greece?

(N=820 )	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
No, not at all	47	98	94	61	76
Yes, to some extent	13	2	6	27	12
Yes, very much	27	0	0	5	7
I do not practise a religion	13	0	0	7	5

### 15 Were you not offered a job for which you had applied and for which you were qualified during the past five years because of your ethnic background?

(N=859)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	34	36	23	39	33
Yes, 1 or 2 times	19	21	21	10	18
Yes, 3 or 4 times	7	12	16	3	9
Yes, 5 or more times	12	9	9	2	8
Not applied for a job last 5 years	28	22	31	46	32

### 16 Did you miss a promotion or were you made redundant during the past five years because of your ethnic background?

(N=858 )	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	59	48	51	57	54
Yes, 1 or 2 times	19	30	29	7	22
Yes, 3 or 4 times	5	4	6	1	4
Yes, 5 or more times	5	2	1	2	2
Did not have a job past 5 years	12	16	13	33	18

### 17 Were you confronted in your job with insults or have you been harassed in any other way at work during the past five years because of your ethnic background?

(N=858)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	40	35	30	56	40
Yes, 1 or 2 times	30	32	32	9	26
Yes, 3 or 4 times	6	9	13	0	7
Yes, 5 or more times	14	8	12	3	9
Did not have a job past 5 years	10	16	13	32	18

### 18 If you answered "yes" to the previous two questions (16 and 17) about discrimination at work, did you do one of the following? Multiple answers possible.

(N=399, i.e. 46% of the sample)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Quitted your job	47	42	19	58	37
Took sick leave	3	4	14	11	8
Other, e.g. asked for transfer	50	45	65	28	52

**19 If you answered `yes` to the previous three questions (15, 16 and 17) about discrimination at work, did you report it somewhere? Multiple answers possible.**

(N=445, i.e. 52% of the sample)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
No	76	78	70	76	74
To the police	1	1	2	2	2
To a lawyer	3	1	5	2	3
To an anti-discrimination agency	1	3	1	4	2
To another official body	2	2	1	2	1
To a confidentiality point at work	18	16	21	14	18

**20 Have you been treated badly in school (or any other institution of education) because of your ethnic background during the last five years?**

(N=856)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	27	33	16	38	28
Yes, 1 or 2 times	9	10	9	9	9
Yes, 3 or 4 times	1	5	2	3	3
Yes, 5 or more times	2	0	0	3	1
Did not go to school past 5 years	61	52	73	47	59

**21 Have you been subjected to insults or harassment by your neighbours because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=862)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	66	77	66	81	72
Yes, 1 or 2 times	22	16	30	14	21
Yes, 3 or 4 times	5	3	3	3	3
Yes, 5 or more times	7	4	1	2	4

**22 Have you been subjected to threats, insults or other forms of harassment on the street or on public transport (e.g. bus, underground) because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=861)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	73	86	55	83	73
Yes, 1 or 2 times	17	11	37	13	20
Yes, 3 or 4 times	3	2	5	1	3
Yes, 5 or more times	7	1	3	3	4

**23 Have you been subjected to violence, robbery, theft or any other serious crime during the last year, which you believe was due to your ethnic background?**

(N=861)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	93	97	83	93	91
Yes, 1 or 2 times	6	1	15	6	7
Yes, 3 or 4 times	0	1	1	0	1
Yes, 5 or more times	1	1	1	1	1

**24 Have you been refused entry to a restaurant, a pub, a night club, dance hall or similar because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=863)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	83	87	93	78	85
Yes, 1 or 2 times	6	3	0	9	4
Yes, 3 or 4 times	1	0	0	1	1
Yes, 5 or more times	1	1	0	1	1
Did not go to past year	9	9	7	11	9

**25 Have you been refused entry into a shop because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=858)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	98	98	100	97	98
Yes, 1 or 2 times	2	2	0	2	2
Yes, 3 or 4 times	0	0	0	1	0
Yes, 5 or more times	0	0	0	0	0

**26 Have you been treated badly when you visited a restaurant or in a shop because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=859)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	92	87	96	94	93
Yes, 1 or 2 times	7	10	4	6	6
Yes, 3 or 4 times	0	3	0	0	1
Yes, 5 or more times	1	0	0	0	0

**27 Have you been treated badly in contacts with the police because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=863)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	48	36	44	51	45
Yes, 1 or 2 times	21	28	31	15	24
Yes, 3 or 4 times	10	5	1	3	5
Yes, 5 or more times	7	3	1	9	5
Did not have contact past 5 years	14	28	23	22	21

**28 If you answered "yes" to any of the previous eight questions (20-27) about discrimination in public and leisure time: did you report that to someone? Multiple answers possible.**

(N=534, i.e. 62% of total sample)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
No	92	94	84	87	89
To the police	3	1	8	3	4
To a lawyer	1	2	7	3	4
To an anti-discrimination agency	3	3	1	2	2
To another official body	1	1	1	6	2

**29 If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions (20-27) about discrimination in public places and leisure time: Of which ethnic background was/were the perpetrator(s)?**

(N=534, i.e. 62% of total sample)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Greek(s)	79	77	49	78	69
Person(s) with migrant background (other than mine)	1	2	5	2	2
Both	14	9	40	11	21
Unknown	6	12	6	9	8

**30 Have you been denied the opportunity to buy/rent an apartment or house because of your ethnic background during the last five years?**

(N=862)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	25	16	12	45	24
Yes, 1 or 2 times	24	38	23	22	26
Yes, 3 or 4 times	9	12	16	7	11
Yes, 5 or more times	7	5	13	8	9
Did not try past five years	35	29	36	18	30

**31 Have you been denied the possibility to hire/buy something by credit card (e.g. a car) or loan money from a bank because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=860)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	25	15	40	30	28
Yes, 1 or 2 times	17	28	24	13	20
Yes, 3 or 4 times	7	5	2	3	4
Yes, 5 or more times	2	3	1	0	2
Did not try past year	49	49	33	54	46

**32 Have you been treated badly in contacts with the Employment Agency because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=862)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	39	22	22	40	30
Yes, 1 or 2 times	13	9	9	7	10
Yes, 3 or 4 times	6	0	1	2	2
Yes, 5 or more times	1	1	0	2	1
Did not have contact past year	41	68	68	49	57

**33 Have you been treated badly in contacts with the Social Insurance Office because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=860)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	54	34	38	45	43
Yes, 1 or 2 times	18	15	20	7	15
Yes, 3 or 4 times	4	3	9	1	4
Yes, 5 or more times	1	2	1	1	1
Did not have contact past year	23	46	32	46	37

**34 Have you been treated badly in contacts with the Healthcare Services because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=859)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	55	65	75	71	66
Yes, 1 or 2 times	15	13	13	10	13
Yes, 3 or 4 times	5	5	5	3	5
Yes, 5 or more times	1	2	1	1	1
Did not have contact past year	24	15	6	15	15

**35 Have you been treated badly in contacts with the Social Services because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=858)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	54	44	25	31	38
Yes, 1 or 2 times	10	8	3	9	7
Yes, 3 or 4 times	2	1	0	1	1
Yes, 5 or more times	1	1	0	1	1
Did not have contact past year	33	46	72	58	53

**36 Have you been treated badly in contacts with the Immigration Service because of your ethnic background during the last year?**

(N=859)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	43	23	24	56	36
Yes, 1 or 2 times	26	37	23	19	26
Yes, 3 or 4 times	8	11	13	4	9
Yes, 5 or more times	8	5	2	8	6
Did not have contact past year	12	20	3	7	10
No contact, I am a Greek citizen	3	4	35	6	13

**37 If you answered "yes" to any of the previous seven questions (30-36) about discrimination by institutions: Did you report that to someone? Multiple answers possible.**

(N=591, i.e. 68% of total sample)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
No	94	93	80	91	89
To the police	1	1	1	0	1
To a lawyer	3	1	17	3	7
To an anti-discrimination agency	1	1	1	3	2
To another official body	1	4	2	3	2

## PART C) Subjective Integration

### 38 Do you consider it to be easy or difficult to make Greek friends?

(N=862 )	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Very easy	29	36	27	27	30
Rather easy	23	40	48	42	38
Rather difficult	36	17	22	24	25
Very difficult	12	7	3	7	7

Think of the friends and acquaintances you socialise with regularly during leisure time:

### 39 How often do you socialise with people with the same ethnic background as yourself?

(N=851)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	2	2	0	3	2
Seldom	16	28	11	17	17
Often	40	51	69	46	52
Always	42	19	20	34	29

### 40 How often do you socialise with people with another migrant background than yourself?

(N=855)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	35	20	22	26	26
Seldom	49	50	44	54	49
Often	12	25	31	17	21
Always	4	5	3	3	4

### 41 How often do you socialise with Greek people without a migrant background?

(N=857)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Never	14	2	1	16	8
Seldom	40	35	17	41	33
Often	33	42	69	27	44
Always	13	21	13	16	15

**42 To what extent do you feel at home in Greece?  
Please mark on the scale from 1 to 7.**

(N=855)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
1 = No sense of belonging	26	14	12	11	16
2	10	18	9	9	11
3	15	17	10	21	15
4	10	17	15	22	16
5	12	17	9	17	14
6	8	4	13	6	8
7 = Strong sense of belonging	19	13	32	14	20

**43 Where do you feel most at home?**

(N=861)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Country of (parent's/-s') origin	61	46	26	63	48
Fifty/fifty	27	35	36	23	31
Greece	6	15	23	6	13
Nowhere	6	4	15	8	8

**44 To what extent do you feel at home in your (parent's/-s') country of origin?  
Please mark on the scale from 1 to 7.**

(N=856)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
1 = No sense of belonging	8	2	8	3	5
2	3	2	13	1	5
3	5	6	9	7	7
4	4	9	27	9	13
5	6	12	10	10	9
6	13	19	10	5	12
7 = Strong sense of belonging	61	50	23	65	49

**45 Do you believe that racism and xenophobia in Greece have increased, decreased, or remained unchanged during recent years?**

(N=852)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Decreased considerably	3	1	25	1	9
Decreased somewhat	19	12	21	8	15
Unchanged	39	31	39	34	36
Increased somewhat	26	36	13	33	26
Increased considerably	13	20	2	24	14

**46 Do you think Greece is a racist/ xenophobic country?**

(N=856)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
Not at all	2	9	11	22	11
A little bit	46	64	74	48	58
Fairly	32	13	14	21	20
Very	20	14	1	9	11

**47 Do you know any anti-discrimination agencies or other organisations that fight racism?**

(N=859)	Albanian	Romanian	USSR	Arabian	Total
I know them and what they do	17	16	15	11	15
I know them but not what they do	15	9	20	11	14
No, I don't know them	68	75	65	78	71

## APPENDIX D factor analysis

Rotated Component Matrix Germany Migrants

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Pairwise exclusion cases with missing values

4 components with eigenvalues larger than 1

	1	2	3	4
	institutions	house+ work	public places	street
V11 Denied a job applied and qualified for (last 5 years)	0,15	0,82	0,08	0,19
V12 No promotion or fired (last 5 years)	0,04	0,77	0,08	-0,01
V13 Insulted or harassed at work (last 5 years)	0,18	0,65	0,05	0,45
V14 House or apartment: refused (last 5 years)	0,29	0,64	0,08	0,00
V15a School: bad treatment (last 5 years)	-0,01	0,21	-0,12	0,62
V16 Neighbours: insults or harassment (last 5 years)	0,45	0,15	0,18	0,45
V17 Street, public transport threats, harassment (last year)	0,45	0,22	0,12	0,46
V18 Violence, robbery, theft (last year)	0,13	-0,10	0,15	0,63
V19 Restaurant, pub, club: refused entry (last year)	0,10	0,00	0,81	0,13
V20 Store: refused entry (last year)	0,01	0,03	0,73	-0,16
V23 Restaurant: bad treatment (last year)	0,28	0,09	0,55	0,10
V26 Police: bad treatment (last year)	0,08	0,30	0,53	0,33
V21 Credit card: refused (last year)	0,40	0,41	0,42	0,01
V24 Employment agency: bad treatment (last year)	0,66	0,27	0,10	0,16
V25 Social Insurance Office: bad treatment (last year)	0,72	0,23	0,00	0,18
V27 Healthcare: bad treatment (last year)	0,72	0,13	0,13	0,09
V28 Social services: bad treatment (last year)	0,80	-0,05	0,18	-0,05

Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings:

Total	2,9	2,7	2,1	1,7
% of Variance	17,2	15,6	12,4	9,8
Cumulative %	17,2	32,8	45,1	55,0

Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

\*V11-V28: question number as in Lange's original questionnaire