

PART 4. FLOWS AND THE EU

Greece



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Greece

1. Introduction¹

Greece is a country with an age-long tradition in emigration. Today, Greece has a large number of its professional, managerial and technical specialists working abroad. However, due to large-scale immigration experienced since the early 1990s, it hosts thousands of highly qualified ethnic Greek and foreign immigrants, a total which may exceed the one million persons. About 95% of the foreigners have come from the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

There are considerable differences between the Greek specialists abroad and the ethnic Greeks and foreigners with similar qualifications in Greece. Most of the former had emigrated to pursue undergraduate and postgraduate studies and remained abroad after finishing their studies. In general, they work in jobs broadly commensurate with their skills. About the same applies for those who, despite their low educational attainments have acquired valuable on the job experience and have risen to positions of high responsibility. Besides, the Greeks abroad have both entered and worked in the host countries legally and therefore they have been free to develop their talents.

The reverse is the case with the foreign immigrants and in many respects also with the bulk of the ethnic Greeks who have settled in Greece. With few exceptions, they have not studied in Greece. Neither are they familiar with the socio-economic conditions in the country. Coming from countries with a different educational system and a different socio-economic organisation from that in Greece, persons who had studied social sciences face serious difficulties in finding jobs related to their respective subjects. They have no other choice but to accept unskilled jobs and if this lasts over a long period of time, they stand to suffer large-scale waste of their technical dexterity and expertise which is demanded in the labour market of Greece. In addition, before the two legalisations in 1998 and 2001, foreign immigrants worked illegally and therefore they could not take advantage of stable jobs and hardly any of them was employed in a job commensurate with his/her skill.

In this paper, statistical evidence has been collected about the expertise of the Greeks abroad and of the recent immigrants in Greece. Although well known to researchers in this field, the constraints of this undertaking should not be underestimated. Greeks abroad are spread in dozens of countries the world over and the recent immigrants in Greece also come from many countries. At the same time, expertise is difficult to define and beyond level of education and occupation standards does not itself easily lend to statistical measurement. As a whole, statistics on migration leave much to be desired in many countries. In regards to accepted definitions, expertise includes primarily tertiary education, as well as the students in higher education. Both are measurable variables. It also includes, however, professional, managerial and technical (PMT) specialists whose responsibilities are not always related let alone be proportional to their formal education (see Paganoni/Todisco eds 1995:7 and OECD 2001, International mobility of highly skilled workers). Moreover, although expertise (as defined above by higher education) is valuable for both the developed and the developing economies, technical skills at lower levels are also indispensable, especially when they are combined with sound work attitudes and experience. Experts at the top can be invited from abroad and be equally efficient with the local ones. Either foreign or local however, they cannot go very

¹This report is based on a paper prepared by Rossetos Fakiolas, Professor of Economics, Athens Technical University for CNR-IRPPS for the project *The Brain Drain — Emigration Flows for Qualified Scientists*.

far without the support of a trained work force at the lower levels who will carry out their instructions. It is advisable therefore to talk about the brain and skill gain (or drain) for a given economy or a society. Many developing economies may face desperately low growth rates not because experts of various kinds are lacking but because technicians and well trained office employees are wanting.

In the first section of this paper, key demographic and socio-economic developments in Greece are presented. The second section examines the migration of the highly skilled Greeks and the third analyses the effects from the recent settlement of the ethnic Greeks in Greece. The fourth section analyses the structure of the foreign immigrants by level of formal school education. Although very interesting academically and indispensable for formulating and implementing rational migration policies, the effects of their emigration to the countries of origin are not analysed in depth. Naturally, an overall evaluation of their migration should take also into consideration the socio-economic effects of their settlement and work in Greece.

2. Demographic and Socio-economic Developments in Greece

2.1. Migration and Population Growth

Since the mid-1980s, the emigration and repatriation of the Greeks has declined to insignificant magnitudes and its balance has been about zero. In addition, the annual live births that amount to around 101.000 (down from 150.000-160,000 in the 1970s) have equaled deaths since the early 1990s. Thus the increase of the population by 687,025 persons (6.7%) between the census years 1991 (10,252,580) and 2001 (10,939,605) has been due entirely to the immigration of the foreigners and the ethnic Greeks.

About 60,000-80,000 ethnic Greeks from Albania and 140,000 from the countries of the former Soviet Union have settled in Greece after the collapse of the Soviet regime, along with an estimated number of over 700,000 foreign immigrants. The overwhelming majority of both the ethnic Greek and the foreign immigrant groups belong to the productive ages and partly as a result of this, a large and still increasing number of births in the country come from them.

The large inflow of the ethnic Greeks has declined to almost zero levels and the policy of the Greek government is to prevent any new foreign immigrants settling in the country before the present large numbers have advanced in their economic and social integration. If this situation continues, the actual increase of the population will soon approach zero, matching that of natural increase. The decline in fertility has already affected the size of the school population at all levels and now bites into army recruiting and the labor force participation of the population. The age structure of the population that had improved because of the immigration has started to deteriorate again.

2.2. Income and Employment

Until 1997, the growth rate of the Greek economy had been lower than the EU average; in 1997 through 1999 it was above the EU average and in 2000 and 2001 it was twice as high (Table 1).

Year	% increase over previous year
1994	2.0
1995	2.1
1996	2.4
1997	3.6
1998	3.4
1999	3.4
2000	4.3
2001	4.1
2002 est.	3.8
2003 est.	4.0
2004 est.	4.0

Source: Greek Ministry of Economy and Finance. Biannual Report, December 2001

Despite the growth, Greece in terms of purchasing power income per head in 2001 is put at 69% of the EU average. In addition, for the seven-year period 2000 to 2006 Greece will receive about 3.7 billion Euro annually from the Third Community Support Framework, amounting to about 2% of the estimated GDP for those years and two thirds of the public investment. Additional funds come in for Income Support, given mainly to the farmers. Somewhat lower sums had been received from the previous two Community Support Programs. Among others, imported funds have been indispensable to meeting the wide trade gaps. Commodity exports amount to about 6 billion dollars annually, while imports, at 24 billion, are four times as high (Bank of Greece, Monthly Statistical Bulletins). Also to consider is the fact that national defense spending in Greece absorbs 4.9% of its GDP, as compared with 2.2% with NATO and the EU average. But for the Community Support funds (which cannot last long because the new countries to join EU are by less developed economically than Greece and will soon demand priority in the Community transfer payments), the growth rate of the Greek economy would have been much lower and the prospects for its further increase up to 2004 less optimistic (Table 2).

Table 2. Employment-Unemployment 1993-2001.		
Year	Employment annual change (%)	Unemployment of labor force (%)
1993	1.0	9.7
1994	1.9	9.6
1995	0.9	10.0
1996	1.3	10.3
1997	-0.5	9.6
1998	2.6	11.1
1999	-0.7	12.0
2000	1.2	11.3
2001	1.5	10.8
Sources: NSSG (National Statistical Service of Greece), Ministry of the Economy, Stabilization Program 2000		

Unemployment reached its maximum of 12.2% in the last quarter of 1999, dropped to 11.3% in 2000 and had a further decrease to about 10.6% in 2001 (Ministry of Economy and Finance, Bi-annual Report December 2001 p.6.) The latest results of the Three Month Labor Market Survey of the NSSG were released at the end of February 2002 and were for July-September 2001. They showed that for that period, unemployment was 10% of the labor force (434,000 working people out of work), down from 19.9% the same period in 2000. There was also a decrease in employment by 0.9% which is disquieting.

2.3. Inflation and Public Debt

Some 5-6 years ago, inflation was running rampant to about 20% annually. In 2001, it was down to 2-3%, satisfying the EMU criteria. However, in January 2002 it increased to 4.4%, as against 2.2% in December 2001, introducing a factor of instability in the economy. The main cause has been attributed to the frost in December-January, which damaged large quantities of vegetables and citrus fruit and destroyed various other cultures. Economic analysis, however, shows that despite the undeniable progress made in the control of inflation in the recent past, there are still heavy pressures to push a large number of government controlled prices up. Furthermore, no substantial improvement has been attained in bringing down the public debt, which runs at over 100% of the annual GDP. In its recent (end of February 2002) forecast, which takes also into account the high inflationary pressures, the IMF expresses doubts as to the ability of the Greek economy to grow by 3.8% in 2002 as expected by the Greek government and shown in Table 1 above.

2.4. Education and Research

Public money spent on education in Greece is about half of that in most other EU countries. However, the large number of private schools in the country and the some 50,000 Greek students who study in foreign universities who are mostly supported by their families make up for this difference. In figures, about 2 million pupils and students attended regular classes in Greece in the academic year 2000/2001 and about 90% of them were in state schools that are tuition free and text books are distributed gratis (Tables 3 through 8).

Table 3. Pupils, teachers and school leavers in Kindergarten and 6 year Primary Schools. 2000/2001.					
	Kindergarten		Primary		
Kind of School	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers	School leavers
State	141,822	9,822	569,314	47,105	87,240
Private	5,224	317	40,149	2,907	3,353

Source: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs

Table 4. Pupils, teachers and school leavers in Gymnasia (3 years) and Lycea (3 years) 2000/2001.						
	Gymnasia			Lycea		
Kind of School	Pupils	Teachers	School leavers	Pupils	Teachers	School leavers (1999)
State	341,975	35,420	106,884	230,871	21,491	66,444
Private	19,137	2,226	5,642	16,964	1,941	4,890

Source: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs

Table 5. Pupils, teachers and school leavers in technical schools (2-3 years after Gymnasium), 2000/2001.			
Kind of School	Technical schools		
	Pupils	Teachers	School leavers (1999)
State	126,501	16,014	22,624
Private	7,161	1,445	1,808

Source: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs

Note: Many more young people, estimated to hundreds of thousands, attend regular classes in state and private technical-professional schools and tutorial colleges at the secondary level or for 1-2 years after finishing high school.

2.4.1. State and non-state institutions of tertiary education

At the end of World War II, there were six universities with about 12,000 students. In the year 1950/1951, 15,000 students were registered along with a few hundred students who attended classes in a couple of junior state and private colleges for post-high school studies. Since then, the Greek educational system has expanded rapidly and there are now eighteen AEI (state universities), teaching in 1999/2000 141,606 regular students (284,590 were registered in that year). About 129,683 more studied at the 3.5-4 year TEI (state technological colleges) after finishing high school (Tables 6 and Table 7).

Table 6. Students, teachers and graduates in the 15 TEI (3.5-4 Year State Technological Colleges) 1999/2000.			
Total students registered	Regular students	Teachers Regular/ non regular	Graduates
169,683	97,425	7,686	9,301
Source: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs			

The TEI do not offer graduate courses and can undertake research projects only in association with the universities. Their degrees, however, are equivalent to those of the universities for graduate work and for employment in the public sector.

Table 7. Students, teachers and graduates of the 18 state AEI (universities), 1999/2000.					
Total Students Registered	Regular Students	Teachers	Total Graduates	Total post-graduates	Ph.D
276,902	131,109	7,594	26,108	2,275	1,049
Source: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs					

Article 16 of the Greek Constitution stipulates that tertiary education is a sole state responsibility, precluding the establishment of non-state institutions of tertiary education. Despite strong pressures for its abolition, that clause was maintained in the last constitutional revision in 2000. Therefore registration in tertiary education is conditioned upon passing the state examinations that are held in June every year and in them a strict numerical clausus is applied. The applicants state their priorities both as to the subject of study and as to the AEI or TEI in Greece and in the University of Cyprus. Similar state exams are held in Cyprus by its Ministry of Education, offering the Cypriot applicants the choice for a place in Greece (on the basis of a quota fixed at about 8% of the available places). More generous quotas apply for the ethnic Greek applicants and the Greeks who live permanently abroad.

Table 8. Foreign students in Greek Universities 1999-2000.		
Foreign passport holders	Number registered	Females
Cypriots	5,387	3,415
Ethnic Greeks	3,145	1,745
Foreigners	1,463	645
Source: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs		

For registering in the Greek universities, foreign students must pass the exams in the Greek language. They also need an official document certifying that their high school or any other certificate they possess qualifies them for registering in an institution of higher education in their respective country.

Up to the early 1990s, some 3 to 4 of the 170,000 applicants competed for one position available in the Greek educational institutions of tertiary education. According to the economic theory that was “a weak monopoly” because it had two close substitutes: the foreign universities and the non-state colleges for 3-4 years post-high school education and postgraduate studies functioning in the country. Combined with the considerably above the national average lifelong income of persons with tertiary education in the past and the higher social prestige of the graduates, the numerus clausus for registration in the state schools has created a strong demand for places both in the local private colleges and in the schools abroad.

The situation has now changed dramatically. The number of applicants for tertiary education has decreased gradually from about 170,000 ten years ago to 87,000 in 2001 and was about equal to that of the positions offered. Many reasons have contributed to that change. The most important perhaps has been the declining fertility that has curtailed high school attendance and the number of school leavers from the secondary education, already mentioned in Section 1 above. Some improvement in the technical infrastructure has justified an increase in the number of admissions, albeit at the expense of a further dilution in the quality of the academic work, as when teachers have classes of 80 and even over 100 students and are asked to mark thousands of examination papers every year. In addition, the establishment of many technical gymnasia has helped to absorb some of the school leavers who would participate in the examination for tertiary education. Many of those young persons find now jobs related to the booming market of new electrical and electronic products (assembly, trading, placement, maintenance, repairs).

Whatever the reasons, there is no longer a problem in finding a place in a Greek AEI or TEI. The problem of the applicants is to register in the faculty and the educational institution of their preference. Given that only certain university places in Athens and Thessaloniki are in high demand and are taken by the few applicants with excellent Lyceum and entrance examination performance, the remaining are asked to study far away from their family homes. This also entails heavy financial costs. Perhaps most important is the fact that they are asked to study in a TEI (technological college) and not in an AEI (university) which is the first preference of all applicants. In short, an applicant with first preference to study medicine in the university of Athens or in Thessaloniki is offered a place to a technological college in a

“provincial” town to become a physiotherapist or a trained nurse/male nurse. It is not surprising then that persons facing those conditions opt to study abroad and especially in countries where registration according to one’s preference is not a problem.

2.4.2. Post graduate studies

With the L. 2083/1992 (Government Gazette A/159/21.9.1992), regular and systematic postgraduate studies in the country have expanded rapidly. In the 212 departments of the 18 universities, some 900 different subjects were offered in 2001, at levels from diploma to the Ph.D. (Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, 2001, Approved Postgraduate Courses). At the Conference of the University Rectors held on 23-24.2.2002, the Greek Minister of Education and Religious Affairs presented a draft bill for graduate studies. The bill allows teaching by non-Greek academics, remedying in a way the fact that so far the Greek educational policy has not allowed the regular employment of foreign scholars, even in the foreign language departments of the universities. In addition the bill forbids universities to charge tuition fees in their postgraduate courses. This is because some universities charged in “indirect ways” up to Euro 4,400 in their graduate courses on grounds that the accumulated revenues could be used for improving the necessary educational infrastructure. Following similar and long established practices in many other EU countries, the new bill introduces a close co-operation in the formulation and the financing of postgraduate programs between the universities on the one hand and the private enterprises, the state corporations and the civil service departments on the other. It forbids any department to offer more than one postgraduate course, as has been the practice until now, causing the exorbitant number of courses offered, as mentioned above.

2.4.3. Non-state post-high school education

An additional number of the high school leavers attend the 3-4 year courses of a dozen non-state foreign and Greek educational institutions. Those are mostly situated in the broader Athens area which is inhabited by about 3.5 m. people). Some of them offer postgraduate education. Given the state monopoly on tertiary education, they are called tutorial colleges and their degrees are not recognised as equivalent to those of the state institutions for state employment. Their graduates, however, do quite well in finding good jobs in the private sector of the economy because their education is strongly “market oriented”. English is primarily the language used for instruction and in one of them it is English and French. They employ both Greek and foreign qualified teachers and most of them are associated with fully accredited foreign state or non-state universities. They claim degree equivalence with the Greek state institutions of tertiary education, on the basis of the relevant EU regulations and instructions. Another strong argument is that the graduates are accepted by accredited foreign universities for postgraduate work and on the whole they meet the challenge of demanding postgraduate courses. In Appendix I, a short list of some of the colleges is presented.

2.4.4. Research and development

Greece devotes about 0.7% of its GDP for R&D. This is done almost exclusively in the public sector of the economy and covers fields research in the social sciences and in agriculture to nuclear research, as well as a small participation in space research programs. It is admitted officially that available funds which, as a proportion of the GDP, are less than half of the EU average and about one third of that in many developed countries and are

inadequate to cope with pressing needs for research in many aspects of the physical environment and the society in the country. For many of those aspects the transfer of know-how from abroad is not of much use.

3. Emigration and Repatriation of Highly Skilled Greeks

Although the bulk of the massive Greek emigration in the three centuries before World War II were unskilled and mostly illiterate, a considerable number were intellectuals who fled to the relatively free countries in Europe and in the Tsarist Russia and some occupied high administrative positions in those countries. They also developed publishing activities in Central European countries and established large trade businesses all over that area. Many more emigrants had skills in agricultural work and animal husbandry, house building, pottery, woodwork, weaving and metal processing. They contributed to the construction of large public works in the countries of the Middle and the Near East, as well as in the introduction of new cultures in agriculture and the establishment of useful handicrafts in them.

In the first 30 years after the end of World War II, net emigration soared to nearly one million persons (the 1951 population census counted 7,632,801 persons). It started as an economic emigration with mostly young unskilled farmers who were characterised by initiative and risk taking qualities and were seeking after better employment opportunities but soon developed into a family type movement of people.

3.1. The Large Number of the Greek Students in Foreign Universities

An increasing number of young and older Greeks began pursuing their studies abroad in undergraduate and graduate courses or in retraining. Those studies have been financed by both private and public sources of:

- i. Individual families in Greece;
- ii. Relatives and compatriots of the students who had settled abroad before the war;
- iii. The first post-war emigrants who were economically integrated and could afford to invite their young family members to study in the countries of their settlement;
- iv. The Greek State Scholarship Foundation (IKY) and about a dozen private foundations in Greece. Established in 1951, IKY grants a number of scholarships to Greek pupils and students for studies in Greece every year. It also offers scholarships for a 1-3 year graduate course abroad, covering travel, tuition and maintenance expenses. For 2002-2003, 117 of those scholarships have been financed from national funds (IKY State Scholarships 1951-2001. Scholarships for post graduate studies abroad, 2002-2003). Additional 85 scholarships have been financed jointly with EU funds, 25% and 75% Greek and EU participation respectively (IKY Scholarships supported by Greek and EU funds. Academic Year 2002-2003);
- v. Some employers (banks, public enterprises, large private firms) for their employees;
- vi. Foreign universities and public institutions (Fulbright Foundation, British Council, Humbolt Institute, French Academy, Casa di'Italia et al.). To prevent any large-scale brain and skill drain out of the country, the Greek and the foreign institutions have

granted, as a rule, scholarships on condition that the scholars would repatriate after graduation and work for at least five years in Greece.

The data on Table 9 comes from the Bank of Greece that had to approve the remittances to students abroad. Data however from foreign universities showed that the number of the Greek students registered in them was considerably higher than the number of the students who took their foreign exchange from the Bank of Greece.

Table 9. Foreign exchange for studies abroad 1960-1993	
Years/Students	Annual averages
1960-67	7,842
1981-83	43,189
1984-86	32,054
1993	28,696
Source: Bank of Greece as quoted by Kalamatianou A .(1986) <i>Greek students abroad: Description and statistical Analysis</i> (as quoted in General Secretariate for the Greeks abroad 1992 p. 30) and Fakiolas R.(1996/97) <i>The Greek dilemma in tertiary education: Free market policies for studies abroad and state monopoly at home</i> . Les Cahiers du S.O.L.I.S Notes and Travaux Sociologiques. Numero Special:Les Edudians, Universite de Nice-Sophia Antipolis, France.	

Despite the proliferation of the postgraduate courses in Greece since 1992, the large number of Greeks who study in foreign universities in both the Western and the former socialist countries continues to be high. It is put at about 50,000 students and is justified by the special features and developments of the Greek educational system explained in Section 1.

3.2. The Effects of Emigration on the Skill Level of the Labour Force

Given the small number of students in the early 1950s, graduates faced no difficulties in finding jobs and therefore few of them emigrated. Gradually the pattern changed and it changed substantially: The educational system in the country expanded rapidly as already shown above and a large number of emigrants started to register in foreign universities.

The great expectations that the skill level of the Greek labour force could be raised through the process of emigration and repatriation have not been fulfilled for a number of reasons: (i) the working emigrants had low educational attainments and hardly any knowledge of the local language of the destination country. There are indications that their educational level was below the average for the country. (General Secretariat of the Greeks abroad. Athens 1992 pp 27-28 and 77-79); (ii) their main purpose was to earn as much as they could in the short run and therefore they were undertaking any available overtime work; (iii) when they had the option, they chose a job with a higher wage and few prospects for professional advancement. In this manner they did not avail themselves of opportunities to work in jobs with a lower wage but with better prospects for professional advancement in the future; and,

(iv) the few who had managed to raise their skill level settled permanently in the host country or remained in it until retiring age.

In the longer run, there has been considerable progress in this field, due mainly to the large number of emigrants were students (Table 10).

Main occupation	Per cent of total
Gainful Employment	65.2
Studies	20.0
Other occupation*	14.8

Source: Emigration and Repatriation among the Greek Population: Volume B. Repatriation 1971-86: Results from the Micro census 1985-86. General Secretariat of the Greeks Abroad. Athens 1992 p 75.
* It includes parents and spouses of the immigrants, as well as some of those who had fled Greece for political reasons.

Naturally, the large percentage of students among the repatriates, 1 in 5 is also due to their short stay abroad, in comparison with the working migrants. Other findings of the 1985-86 Micro census show that the educational level of the repatriates by far exceeds that of those who have not migrated and of the population as a whole (Table 11).

Level of education	Repatriates	Non-Migrants	Total Population
Less than finished Primary School	9.6	17.7	17.1
Finished Primary School	41.1	41.8	41.7
Three Year Gymnasium	12.3	11.3	11.3
Six year high school	19.6	20.7	20.7
Higher Education	2.8	2.2	2.2
University Education	14.5	6.4	6.9
TOTAL*	99.9	100.1	99.9

Source: Micro census data as on Table 9, p. 77,78 and tables in Appendix 3
* Small differences in the Totals are due to the rounding in the decimal figures.

The percentage of repatriates with less than primary school education is just more than half of that among the non-migrants and the percentage with university education over double.

Due to the continuing process of repatriation and the expansion of the educational system in Greece the 1985-86 Micro census registered an appreciable rise in the educational level of the population between 1981 and 1985-86 (Table 12).

Table 12. The Greek Population Structure by level of formal education 1981-1985.

Year of Census	Level of education (persons over 14 years of age)					
	Less than finished Primary School	Finished Primary School	Three Year Gymnasium	Six year high school	Higher Education	University
1981						
7,380,755*	23.4	42.6	10.3	17.2	2.1	4.5
1985						
7,633,640	17.1	41.7	11.3	20.7	2.2	6.9
Source: Micro census data as on Table 9 p 79 * Excluding those who did not state their level of education and those of the 10-14 age cohort, in order to make the figures comparative. Note. The data on the table were taken from a) NSSG (National Statistical Service of Greece) Concise Statistical Yearbook 1985-86 and b) Micro census 1985-86 "Emigration and Repatriation among the Greek Population" Volume A, Ministry of National Economy/NSSG 1985-86, Athens.						

The repatriates political refugees, i.e those who fled during and after the 1946-1949 civil war in Greece and spent many years in the former socialist countries have the highest proportion of graduates (see Amira/Maratou-Alipranti 1983 Repatriate Graduates from the countries of Eastern Europe).

4. Settlement of Highly Skilled Ethnic Greeks in Greece

4.1. The Ethnic Greeks from Albania

The number of the ethnic Greeks who have settled in Greece from neighbouring Albania is estimated at 60,000-80,000 persons. The policy of the Greek government is to help them prosper in their place of origin in Albania, where they were born and their ancestors had been living for many centuries, instead of encouraging them to settle permanently in Greece and become Greek citizens and so the numbers vary. Since 1999, they, as well as the ethnic Greeks from the former Soviet Union, can be issued with a special Greek identity card. This gives them all the rights of the Greek citizen, excluding that of voting in either the municipal or the parliamentary elections and in addition it allows them to move freely within the broader EU area. Many of them have settled permanently in Greece and others try to integrate economically in the country. They are organised in about 60 associations forming a federation.

No data is available about their professional qualifications but there are indications that, as far as the years of school education are concerned, they match those of the native Greeks or are even better. The chairman of their federation estimates that about 80% of those with tertiary education work in unskilled or semiskilled jobs, mainly as building workers and sales persons. Others do jobs below their formal qualification. For example, the agronomists do semiskilled work in agriculture, the civil engineers work as designers, the mechanical

engineers are employed as foremen or overseers. The majority of the females with tertiary education are employed in nursing or in house keeping work. They count however 50-70 fully qualified doctors among their members (their number varies because some come and go) who have gone through the certification of DIKATSA (State Agency Certifying the Equivalence of foreign degrees with those from Greek Universities) and practice medicine in the private and the public sector.

4.2. The Greek-Pontians from the Countries of the Former Soviet Union

Since the end of 1980s, an estimated 180,000 ethnic Greeks from the countries of the former Soviet Union have settled in Greece. Almost all of them are Greek Pontians whose ancestors had emigrated to Tsarist Russia and then the Soviet Union from Pontos, a coastal area on the Black Sea in North-Eastern Turkey. The data (albeit it weak) presented in Tables 13 and 14 below was collected by their federation Nostos in Athens.

Kind of schooling	Number of persons
Nine year schooling	5
Secondary education	43
Post high school technological education	25
University Graduates	96
NA	3
Total	172
Source: Nestos	

Country of origin	Number of immigrants
Georgia	44
Kazakstan	43
Russia	24
Uzbekistan	13
Ukraine	7
Albania	5
Abhazia	5
Greece	5
Moldavia	2
(11)Others	11
NA	13
TOTAL	172
Source: Nestos	

The data presented is about and comes from those who visited the offices of Nostos either to register for participating to a seminar (for Greek language lessons, professional retraining, etc.), or to get information about jobs, benefits offered by the Greek government and the like. The raw data about the 172 immigrants who filled the required forms have been arranged into categories and grouped into tables.

With over two thirds of its members graduates from tertiary education, it is obvious that this group is not representative of the total immigrant population from the former Soviet Union. The data however does show that a large number of ethnic Greek immigrants from the former socialist countries have high formal qualifications.

Table 14 shows that about two thirds of the immigrant Greek Pontians were born in Georgia, Kazakstan and Russia. The remaining were born in a large number of countries including Greece (5) and Albania (5).

5. The Immigration of Foreigners with Tertiary Education

5.1. Invited Foreign Experts and Skilled Workers

For about three decades before the legalisation in 1998 and 2001, the number of foreign passport holders employed with work permits issued by the Ministry of Labour had been restricted to between 25,000-34-000 persons, including over 1,000 recognised refugees who were allowed to work. Around 2,000-3,000 foreign sailors had also been employed on Greek or Greek-owned ships under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Merchant Marine. Invited foreigners come from dozen of countries in all continents but around half of them are from the other EU countries. It is important also to take note of a large number are ethnic Greeks with foreign passports, including the Cypriots who have been granted about equal rights with the Greeks in all segments of the Greek labour market. Consequently, before the two legalisations Greece had allowed only about 15,000 non-ethnic Greeks and non-EU citizens to work legally in its “inland economy” (Tables 15 and 16).

The work permit was issued at the request of employers in Greece and after approval of OAED (State Organization for the Development of the Human Resources) that no Greeks, ethnic Greeks or EU citizens were available for the particular job. Greece became an associate member of the then EEC in 1958 and joined it as a full member in 1981, with the stipulation for free movement of labour from 1987 onwards.

According to the previous L 1975/199 the work permits were issued only to skilled employees. Some were named (without really being) skilled. For example, persons invited to look after children or the aged were named trained nurses/male nurses, unskilled factory workers presented as technicians, agricultural labourers as skilled workers, etc. The majority however were prepared to undertake employment avoided by the locals and in this respect their labour was useful for the economy. The remaining did possess professional qualifications demanded in the market, covering a wide range of expertise, from coaches in athletics, artists of various kinds and maintenance technicians for imported new machinery, to highly qualified engineers, administrators, foreign language teachers, experienced persons in the tourist trades and others. Tourist firms were entitled to employ invited foreigners proportional to the number of their Greek employees. About the same applied to the Greek manufacturing industries and the export companies and, naturally, the foreign firms. The new

aliens law 2910/2001 allows the invitation of unskilled foreign workers, provided that they are needed in the economy. It has also brought the responsibility for the issue of the work permits to the regional authorities that are under the Ministry of the Interior, from which recent relevant data is not yet available.

The structure of the invited foreigners presented on Table 15 is about typical for the decades 1980s and 1990s.

Table 15. Valid work permits for foreign passport holders (31/12/1995).			
Employed as/in	Total	Males	Females
Scientists, Professionals, Business. Executives	8,826	4,898	3,928
Office employees	4,225	2,063	2,162
Traders, salespersons	3,254	2,158	1,096
Various Services	4,512	1,905	2,607
Agriculture	1,458	1,341	117
Technicians, workers	5,160	4,429	731
TOTAL	27,435	16,794	10,641
Source: Ministry of Labour Note: The Ministry of Labour had given out this data quarterly.			

The permit was renewable and its varied according to the kind of employment, from a few weeks to (as a rule) one year. It was employer and job specific, i.e the foreigner could change neither without violating the terms of the contract. The new aliens law 2910/2001 removed that restriction.

Table 16. Valid work permits for foreign passport holders (31/12/1995).			
Counties of origin	Both sexes	Males	Females
Europe	16,551	9,681	6,870
of which EEC(12)	11,466	6,297	5,169
Turkey	1,258	977	281
Africa	2,397	2,222	175
America	1,373	652	721
of which USA	790	433	357
Canada	161	94	67
Asia	6,829	4,056	2,773
of which Cyprus	2,072	1,438	634
Australia-N. Zealand	259	160	99
Not specified	26	23	3
TOTAL	27,435	16,794	10,641
Source: Ministry of Labour			

Table 16 shows that three quarters of the invited foreign workers came from other European countries, from Cyprus and from USA, Canada and Australia-New Zealand. As already stated a high proportion of them were and still are ethnic Greeks with foreign passports.

5.2. Legalised Undocumented Immigrants with Tertiary Education

Table 17 shows the structure of applicants for the issue of a residence and work permit (the green card) during the first legalisation in 1998. The data comes from their own statements in filling in the relevant application forms. Empirical observations indicate that there has been both an upward (more usual) but also a downward bias (by those who wanted to show that they had more work experience in a given job).

Level of education	Both sexes	Males	Females
Illiterate	1.65%	1.78%	1.02%
Primary	33.73%	37.69%	22.60%
Secondary	50.65%	50.16%	54.75%
Tertiary	9.34%	6.97%	17.76%
Not declared	4.64%	3.41%	3.86%
TOTAL	100 %	100 %	100%
TOTAL NUMBER	211,457	158,965	46,549

Source: National Employment Observatory 1999 *Applications for the Issue of the Green Card*. OAED (State Agency for the Development of the Human Resources) Athens.

Notes: a) A total of 211,457 applications was used (158,965 males, 46,549 females; 5,943 applications were not properly filled). Of all men 73.12% and of all women 66.58% belonged to the 25-44 age-cohort, indicating the labour character of their immigration.
b) Of those who declared tertiary education, 93.51% were between 25-64 years of age, while 54.63% of all men and 51.73% of all women were 30-44 years old.
c) An analysis similar to that in Table 17 was made by the National Employment Observatory in 1999 on data from the initial registration in January-May 1998. In that 371,641 applications were submitted (*Applications for the issue of the provisional residence and work permit (the white card)*). For both analyses, the results for the secondary and tertiary education of the applicants are about identical.

Table 18 shows that only a tiny minority of the immigrants with tertiary education work on jobs commensurate with their level of education. It shows also that nearly two thirds avoided answering the relevant question, presumably because they did not want to reveal that they worked in jobs with requirements considerably below their professional qualifications. Although not systematic and highly reliable, this data may indicate the large extent of the brain and skill waste through this kind of labour migration

Kind of employment	Both sexes	Men	Women
Not declared	65.10%	64.73%	64.90%
Unskilled jobs	11.62%	12.54%	10.44%
Salesmen/women, street peddlers, etc	5.0%	2.58%	8.36%
Technical assistants	3.59%	2.21%	5.53%
Technicians, ,	5.35%	8.57%	1.15%
Foresters, skilled workers in agriculture, fishing, etc.	3.37%	3.88%	2.81%
Office employees	1.49%	1.37%	1.64%
Scientists, artists, Professionals, etc	4.49%	4.11%	5.17%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100 %
TOTAL NUMBER	19,744	11,073	8,268

Source: National Employment Observatory 1999 *Applications for the Issue of the Green Card* OAED (State Agency for the Development of the Human Resources) Athens.

Some additional information collected from the Sudanese and the Ghanaian associations in Greece verifies the data of Table 18 concerning the employment of graduate immigrants in unskilled jobs. However the data presented comes from populations different from the ones of the Table. The associations have members only those who care to join them; and many of their members have been granted the Greek citizenship because they are married to a Greek spouse, are legally in Greece as political refugees or they benefit from various bilateral agreements between Greece and their respective countries.

Sudan: The Sudanese community in Greece claims to having about 300 members (93 applied for the green card). Of them 60 are university graduates; 30 have studied in Sudan and almost without exception left their country in 1989, following the coup d'etat there in that year. Others have studied mainly in Egypt, in Eastern Europe (one has studied engineering in Rumania) and 25 in Greece. Their studies have been mostly in social sciences and medicine. Of the 8 who have studied medicine (among them a dentist, a pharmacologist and a woman), 5 have taken their degrees in Greece. They have been granted the Greek citizenship and are employed in Greece, mainly in the provinces, in both the public sector and in private practice. Therefore they needed not apply for legalisation and are not included in the statistics of the Tables above. In 1998 8 young Sudanese entered Greece for reasons of study (Ministry of the national Economy).

In addition to the medical doctors some graduates are self-employed in journalism (two daily newspapers and a weekly journal in Arabic are published in Athens) and in services. Related to their skills. The majority however work in jobs unrelated to their respective specialisation or are employed in jobs below their professional qualifications.

Ghana: The Ghanaian community numbers about 250 members, about half them are sailors in the Greek merchant marine and 6 are university graduates. One has studied engineering in Greece and runs an Internet Cafe in Athens. The others have studied business administration or economics and are mostly salesmen or self-employed in retail trade.

6. Appendix

Non-state colleges for undergraduate and graduate training

- 1) **ALBA (Athens Laboratory of Business Administration)**. Established in 1992 with the initiative of the Association of the Greek Industries and other employers' associations it admits about 40 graduates annually for postgraduate work in its one year MBA courses. It organises also closed and open seminars in Athens and Thessaloniki. It uses primarily English as a language of instruction and the requirements for both admission and graduation in its regular courses are very demanding. About 92% of its students find jobs within five months after graduation. Although high fees are charged, a large part of its revenues derive from generous private donations.
- 2) **Deree Pierce College**. Established in 1875 as a school in secondary general education, it is the oldest non-state institution in Greece. Soon after its establishment it started offering secretarial and similar courses for office work. In the 1960's it moved into a large campus in the suburbs of Athens and in addition to its high school section it started offering 3-4 year post-high school courses in Business Administration, Economics, Computer Science, Sociology, Psychology, English Literature and Modern Languages. It teaches over 1100 students in its main and downtown campuses. It had trained students in psychology, sociology, library science and informatics long before those degrees were offered at the state schools in the late 1970's.
- 3) **Xinis Schools**. It is run by a Greek but it employs many foreign teachers in dozens of courses in business administration and related subjects.
- 4) **Athens Information Technology**. Established in 2002 with the support of INTRACOM, the largest hard and software electronics group in Greece, begins its postgraduate courses in September 2002 with 150 students. That group employs 8,000 persons, half of them graduates, mostly in engineering, electronics and informatics. Under separate agreements, a considerable number of them are sent to work regularly for weeks or months in some world leading electronics firms abroad and profit from their work experience.
- 5) **Institution Id'EF d'Etudes Francophones**. Established in 2002, it offers 18 month courses in Banking and Insurance, in association with the University of Paris 13. In its Maitrise "d'ingenierie de la banque de la finance et de l'assurance", it admits professionals, graduates with at least two years work experience and persons with a high school certificate and six years experience in related subjects. The languages of instruction are English and French.
- 6) **New York College**. It is a well established school for undergraduate and graduate (at the Master's level) studies, with premises in Athens, Pireus and Thessaloniki. In its June 22, 2001 Graduation Ceremony in Athens 190 students were awarded their Master's and Bachelors degrees.

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