

Immigrant and Refugee Segregation Dynamics (InSert)

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1. Background



Background

- Greece: international migrant stock (Worldbank)
 - ▢ 1990: 618,139 (6.0%)
 - ▢ 2000: 1,111,665 (10.0%)
 - ▢ 2010: 1,269,749 (11.7%)
 - ▢ 2015: 1,242,514 (11.7%)
- 1st wave: economic migrants originate primarily from Europe
 - ▢ Albania
 - ▢ other Balkan countries
 - ▢ Republics of ex-USSR
- Today
 - ▢ 579,736 officially registered immigrants



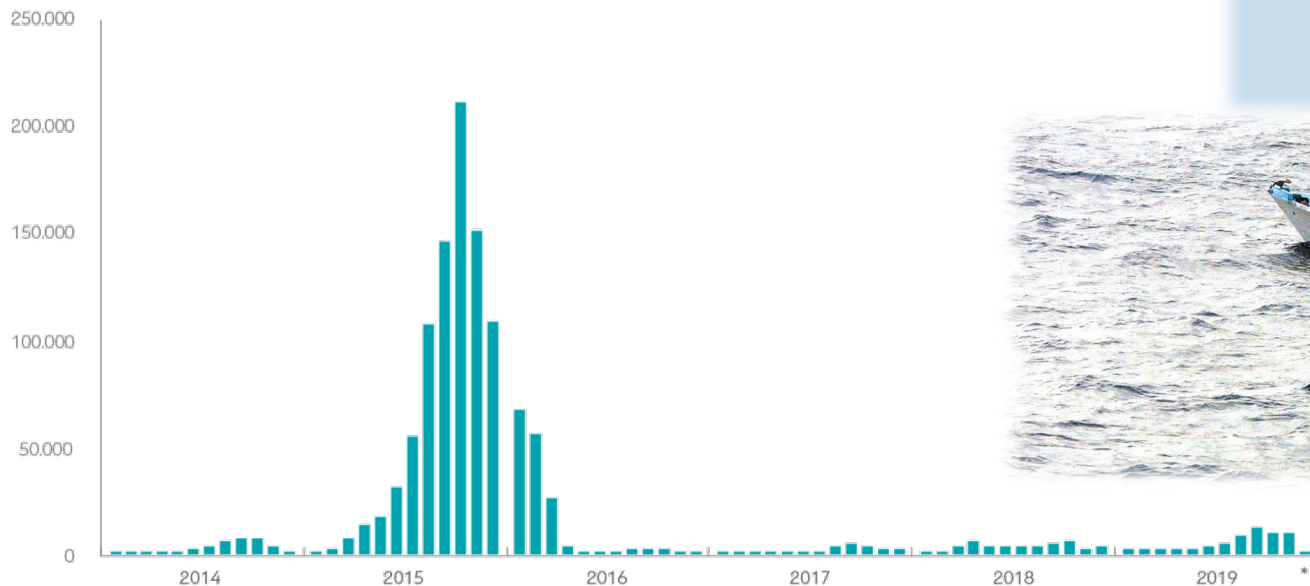
Background

- Refugees and Asylum Seekers (RAS) inflow
 - ▣ started 2012

People coming from Middle East, Asia and Africa, primarily from:

- ▣ Afghanistan, Syria, DR Kongo and Iraq

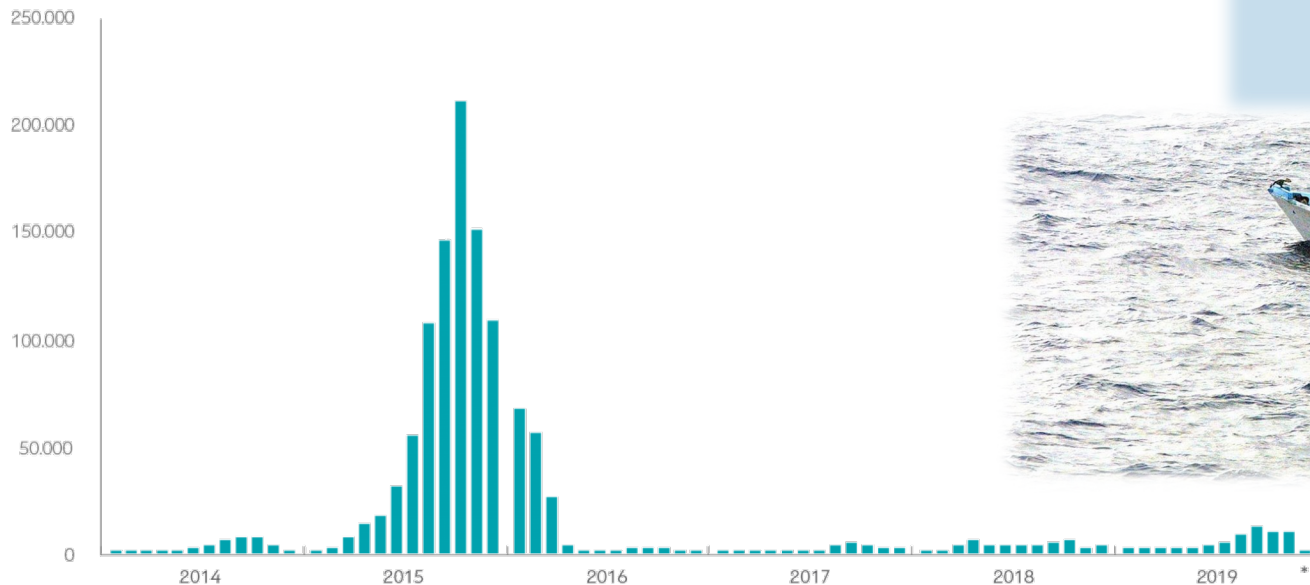
2nd wave



Background

- Refugees and Asylum Seekers (RAS) inflow
 - ▢ started 2012
 - ▢ peaked 2015
 - ▢ the 2016 EU-Turkey Agreement halted flows
 - ▢ tight border controls and Acts “trapped” 61,000 RAS in Greece

2nd wave



Background

■ Refugees and Asylum Seekers (RAS) inflow

- ❑ 2020 arrivals (as of 26.1.2020): 3,445
- ❑ 2019 arrivals: 74,613
- ❑ Total arrivals since 2014: 1,247,058



Previous years	Sea arrivals	Land arrivals
2019	59,726	14,887
2018	32,494	18,014
2017	29,718	6,592
2016	173,450	3,784
2015	856,723	4,907
2014	41,038	2,280



Background

- Refugees and Asylum Seekers (RAS) inflow
- Today
 - ▣ 50,000-80,000 people live in Greece
 - ▣ more than half are women and children
 - ▣ 4,616 are unaccompanied children



570
UNACCOMPANIED
CHILDREN
IN GREECE ARE
HOMELESS

RSA
REFUGEE SUPPORT AEGEAN

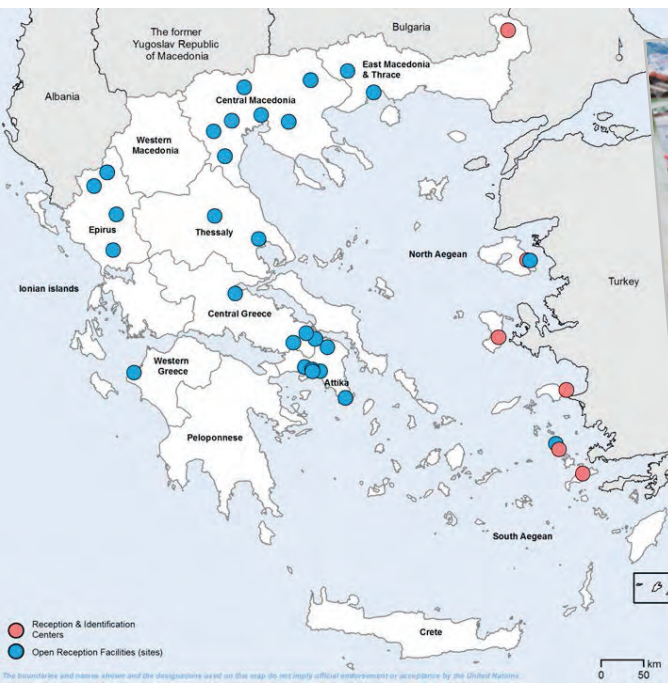
#refugees

Refugee Support Aegean,
2018



Background

- Refugees and Asylum Seekers (RAS) **accommodation**
- Types of reception and housing facilities
 1. Reception and Identification Centres (**hotspots**, islands)
 2. Temporary Reception Facilities for Asylum Seekers and open Temporary Accommodation Facilities (**camps**, mainland)
 3. ESTIA program of UNHCR (since 2015)
 - private housing to vulnerable RAS



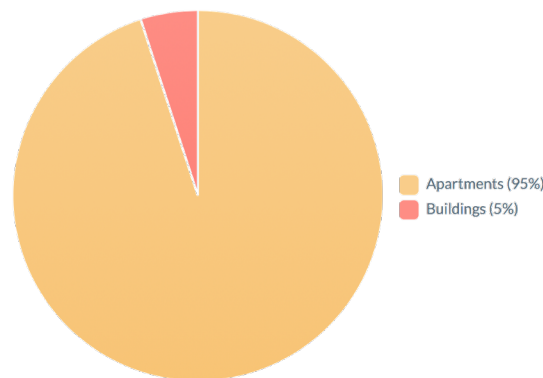
Background

■ Refugees and Asylum Seekers (RAS) accommodation

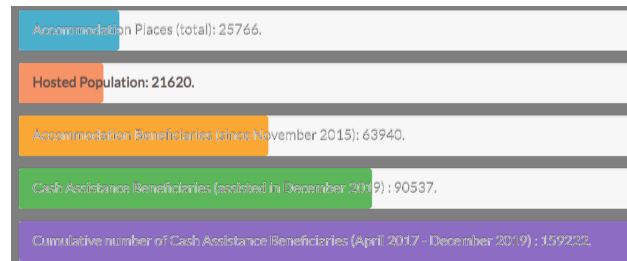
□ ESTIA program

- accommodation to 25,602 people, 6,314 of whom are recognized refugees and 48% are children (UNHCR, 2019)
- 26,186 accommodation places in 4,495 apartments, 13 buildings in 14 cities in mainland and in 7 islands
- managed 11 local authorities & 12 NGOs

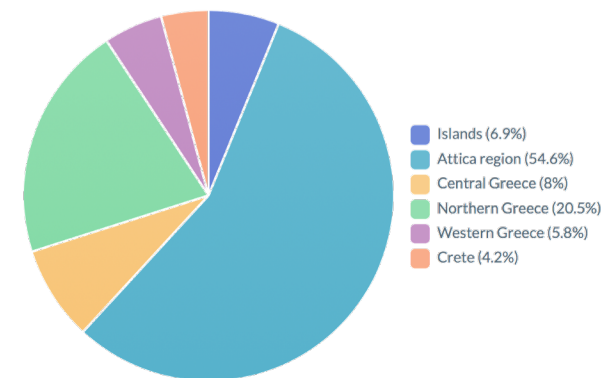
Types of Accommodation



Achievements



Accommodation Locations

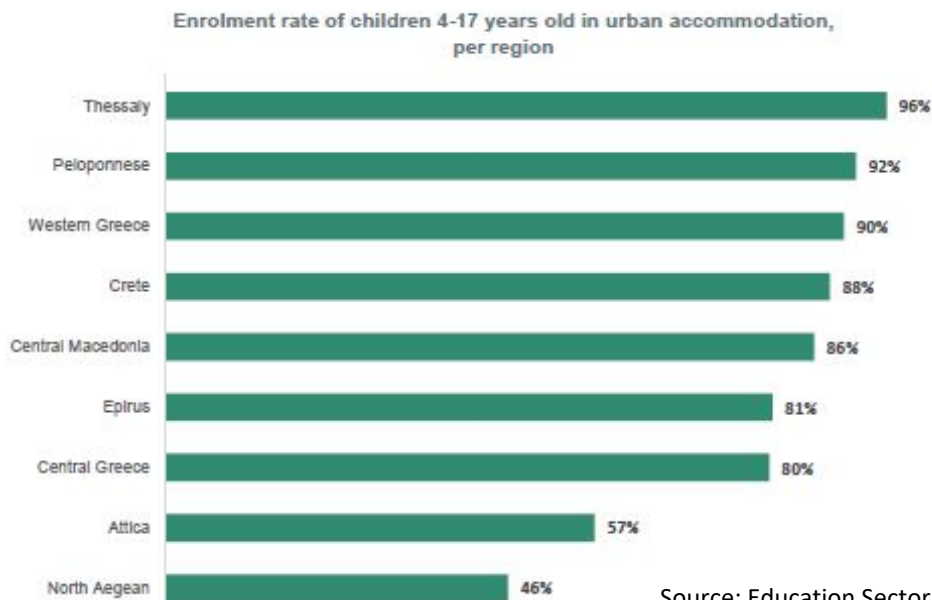


As of 31 December 2019



Background

- Refugees and Asylum Seekers (RAS) **education**
 - According to the Law, all children regardless of their legal status have a right to education
 - Special reception classes (Reception Structures for Refugee Education - ΔΥΕΠ) were established both in caps and in public-school facilities
 - Mainly evening classes, but a few mixed classes as well (especially for vulnerable RAS living in ESTIA apartments)



Source: Education Sector Working Group-UNHCR 2019

Background: sum up

- 2 waves of immigration in Greece, with different profile incomers:
 - old (1st wave) – new (2nd wave)
 - economic immigrants – refugees
 - Balkans (Albania) – Middle East
 - Christians – Muslims
 - low-mid education – mid-high education
 - by choice – by force
 - high degree of integration – ?
- Accommodation (ESTIA) and education programmes have been used for the reception of refugees and as structures for their integration

2. Aim, Objectives and Methodology



Aim and objectives

- To shed light on the integration/segregation dynamics urban Greece is facing and understand the complex spatial relations among RAS, existing immigrants and natives

- The study seeks to:
 - assess the level and dynamics of spatial segregation of previous (1st wave) immigrants,
 - assess (and link) the spatial distribution patterns of RAS vis-à-vis the spatial patterns of both previous immigrants and the native population,
 - compare the pattern of immigrant distribution with reference to the socio-economic characteristics of native population,
 - shed some light on the drivers and consequences of RAS behaviour.

Methodology

Spatial Segregation:

The unequal distribution of minority groups

(Musterd, 2005)



Pull factors:

- minority members cluster together to take advantage of their social and information networks and retain valued elements of cultural heritage, such as language and religion

Push factors:

- natives' discrimination and reluctance to live next to immigrants
- the functioning of the housing (and labour) market pushes minorities to specific areas, usually the least expensive ones

■ **Residential** segregation

■ **School** segregation

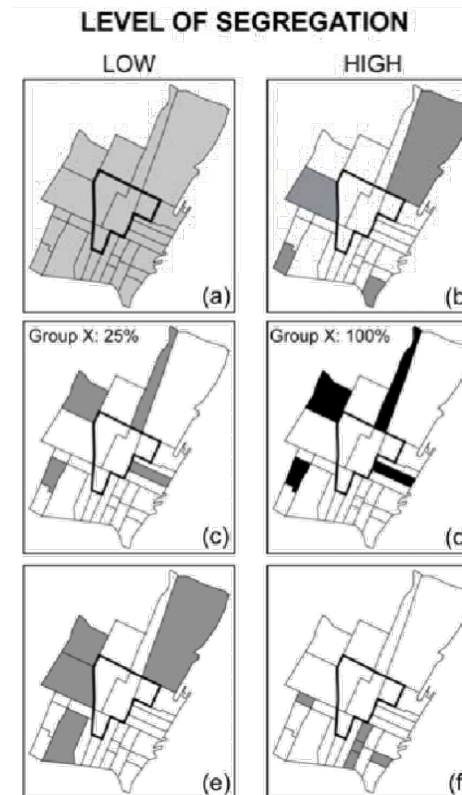
NOTE: according to the Greek education system all children are allocated to schools that are closest to their place of residence



Methodology

- Measurement: **classic segregation indices** measure segregation along different dimensions (Massey & Denton, 1988)

1. Evenness (Dissimilarity index D)



$$D = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{A_i}{A} - \frac{E_i}{E} \right|$$

2. Exposure (Isolation index I)

$$I = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{A_i}{A} \cdot \frac{A_i}{(A + E)_i}$$

3. Concentration (Concertation index DEL)

$$DEL = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{X_i}{X} - \frac{A_i}{A} \right|$$

Values: 0 - 1

0 - 0,3 : Low Segregation
0,3 - 0,6 : Moderate Segregation
0,6 - 1,0 : High Segregation



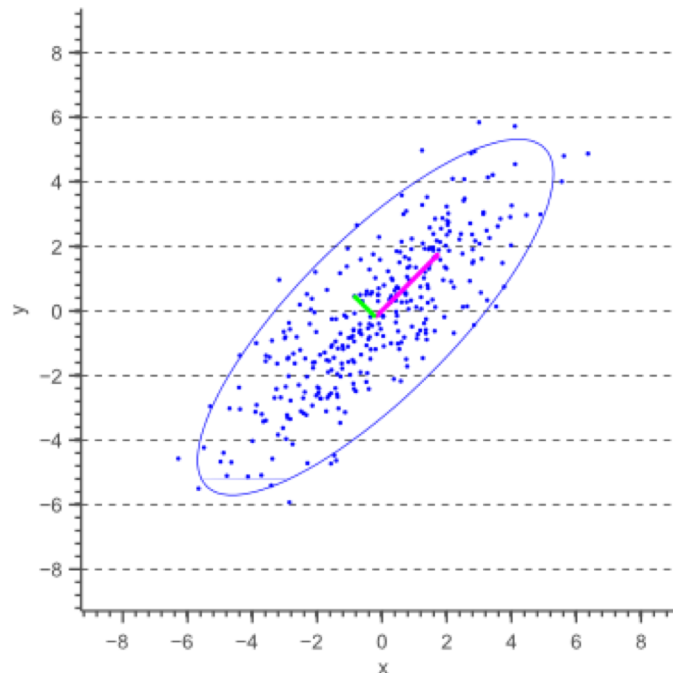
Methodology

- Displaying:
 - simple cartographic mapping
 - advanced cartographic techniques of displaying segregation in space

Standard Deviation Ellipse (directional distribution)

Summarize the spatial characteristics of the phenomenon:

- central tendency
- dispersion
- direction trend



$$C = \begin{pmatrix} \text{var}(x) & \text{cov}(x, y) \\ \text{cov}(y, x) & \text{var}(y) \end{pmatrix} = \frac{1}{n} \begin{pmatrix} \sum_{i=1}^n \tilde{x}_i^2 & \sum_{i=1}^n \tilde{x}_i \tilde{y}_i \\ \sum_{i=1}^n \tilde{x}_i \tilde{y}_i & \sum_{i=1}^n \tilde{y}_i^2 \end{pmatrix} \quad \text{where}$$

$$\text{var}(x) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})^2 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \tilde{x}_i^2$$

$$\text{cov}(x, y) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})(y_i - \bar{y}) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \tilde{x}_i \tilde{y}_i$$

$$\text{var}(y) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (y_i - \bar{y})^2 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \tilde{y}_i^2$$



Methodology

- Assessment: qualitative techniques

- In-depth, semi-structured interviews with:**

- 13 selected refugees from ESTIA program
 - key actors (municipalities, NGO, and directorate of primary education)
 - Issues discussed with the refugees:
 - Demographics, place of origin, refugee status, education, profession, family composition
 - Moving trajectories
 - Children at school and problems encountered there (isolation from teachers, classmates, parents) and elsewhere
 - Housing characteristics (size, location, facilities, quality)
 - House choice and location criteria (co-ethics, accessibility, neighbours, facilities)
 - Networks and socializing practices
 - Employment (have, looking for or willing to get a job, what kind, obstacles)
 - Future prospects: stay in Larissa/Greece, if not where to go

Case studies

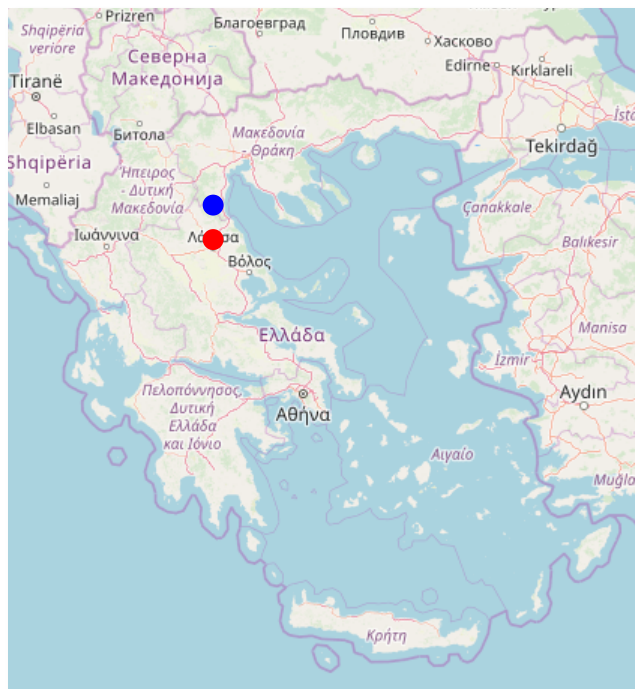
- Neighbouring cities of **Larissa** and **Katerini**, in central Greece

Larissa

Medium sized (145,000)
Regional administrative centre
Higher education level
Tertiary sector employment

RAS accommodation:

Koutsohero camp (at 18km)
Local authorities active role
(run ESTIA)



Katerini

Small sized (85,000)
Tourist destination
Lower education level
Primary sector employment




RAS accommodation:

Kato Milia camp (13km)
NGO active role
(run ESTIA)



Case studies

■ Actions for RAS in Larissa and Katerini

	Governance	No of RAS	ESTIA	Post ESTIA	Access to work	Inter-cultural actions	Language programs	Social initiatives
Larissa	Municipality DIKEL 	420	91 apartm	-	-	Community Centre	English school	-
Katerini	NGO  Perichoresis Evangelical Church	600	137 apartm	10 apartm	ΚοινΣΕπ (SCE) 	Cooking club	English school Greek elementary school Nursery	Food bank project (food and clothing for both locals and RAS in need)

Social Cooperative Enterprise (SCE)

founded in Katerini on Jan 2019



- Cutting and sewing workshops where natives and refugees work together and socialise
- Shop provides: bags, wallets, aprons, etc. made of
 - materials from refugee boats crossing the Aegean
 - donated recyclable materials and used fabrics



Data

Analysis

Segregation:
(spatial, intra-urban)

- ▣ residential
- ▣ school

Assessment:

- ▣ classic indices
- ▣ advanced cartographic
- ▣ interviews

Cases:

- ▣ Larissa
- ▣ Katerini

Immigrants:

- ▣ Various groups (1st wave)
- ▣ RAS

■ Data:

- ▣ **Census Data:** population per ethnic group, at census track level, for yrs 2001 & 2011
- ▣ **School enrolment data:** primary school students per ethnic group, at school level (immigrants, refugees), for academic yrs 2014-2018

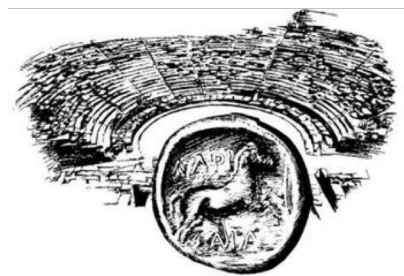
Limitations:

- ▣ Census Data: very low spatial level (able to aggregate), but 10 years old now
- ▣ School Data: recent, but only one spatial level
- ▣ Small numbers of certain populations (refugees)

3. Findings



(a) Larissa



ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ
MUNICIPALITY OF LARISSA

Ethnic composition

Group	2001		2011	
	Absolut number	% in total population	Absolut number	% in total population
Total Population	127302	100%	142693	100%
Natives	120956	95.0%	133838	93.8%
Immigrants	5246	4.1%	6814	4.8%
Albanians	4663	3.7%	5234	3.7%
Refugee Countries	10	0.008%	170	0.1%

- Immigrants are less than 5% of the population, mainly Albanians
- Very few from RAS countries
- Increasing numbers of immigrants and from RAS countries

Residential segregation

	Dissimilarity			Isolation			Concentration		
	2001	2011	%	2001	2011	%	2001	2011	%
Immigrants	0.299	0.262	-12%	0.080	0.087	9%	0.573	0.457	-20%
Albanians	0.306	0.260	-15%	0.072	0.055	-23%	0.574	0.485	-16%
Refugee Countries	0.961	0.826	-14%	0.002	0.025	825%	0.963	0.813	-16%

- Immigrants: measures indicate that segregation is low and reducing
- Refugee countries: more complex pattern, but generally segregation is high and reducing

School composition

	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Total pupils	9671	9903	9963	9752	9589
Natives	9415	9815	9875	9622	9411
Immigrants	256	88	88	126	139
Albanians	238	85	81	119	130
Refugees	0	0	0	4	39

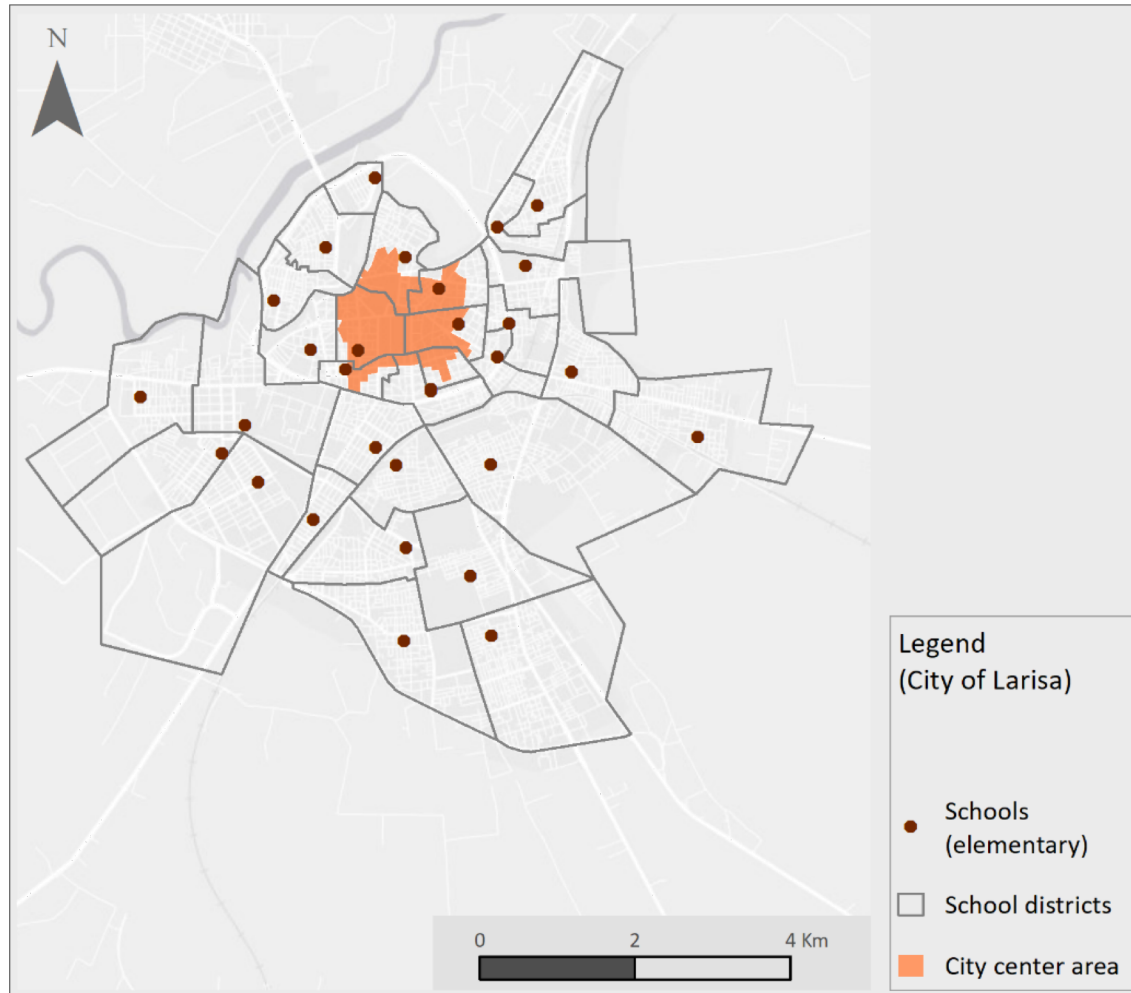
- Low numbers of immigrants, similar to ethnic composition
- Albanian majority, very few (but increasing) from RAS countries

School segregation

	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Dissimilarity					
Immigrants	0.50	0.77	0.80	0.73	0.70
Refugees	-	-	-	0.94	0.81
Albanians	0.52	0.77	0.80	0.73	0.69
Isolation					
Immigrants	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.06
Refugees	-	-	-	0.01	0.05
Albanians	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05
Concentration					
Immigrants	0.66	0.78	0.86	0.80	0.78
Refugees	-	-	-	0.94	0.89
Albanians	0.67	0.78	0.86	0.79	0.78

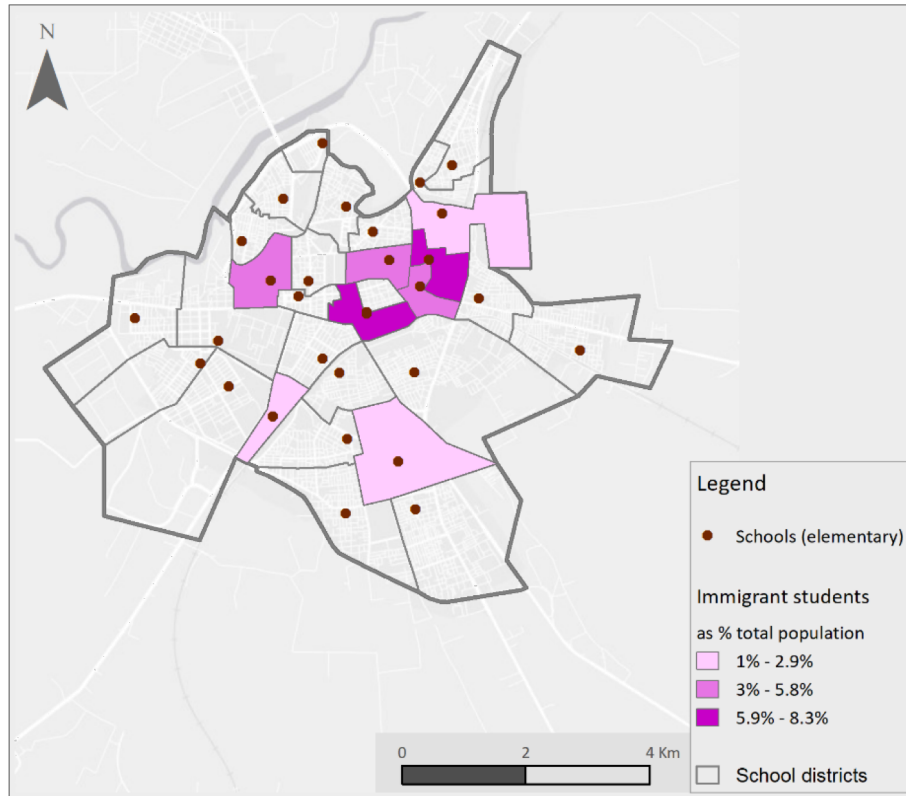
- Immigrants: high (and slightly decreasing) dissimilarity and concentration, low isolation
- 1st wave (Albanians): high and slightly decreasing segregation (low isolation)
- RAS: very high and slightly decreasing segregation

School catchments

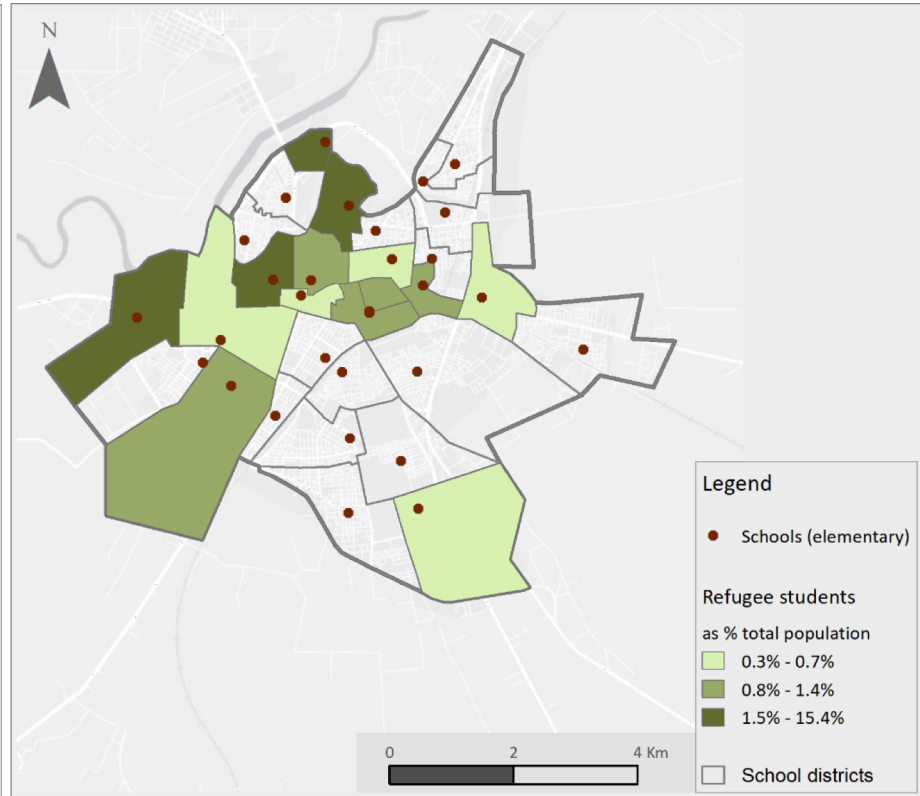


Pupils as % of total school (2018-2019)

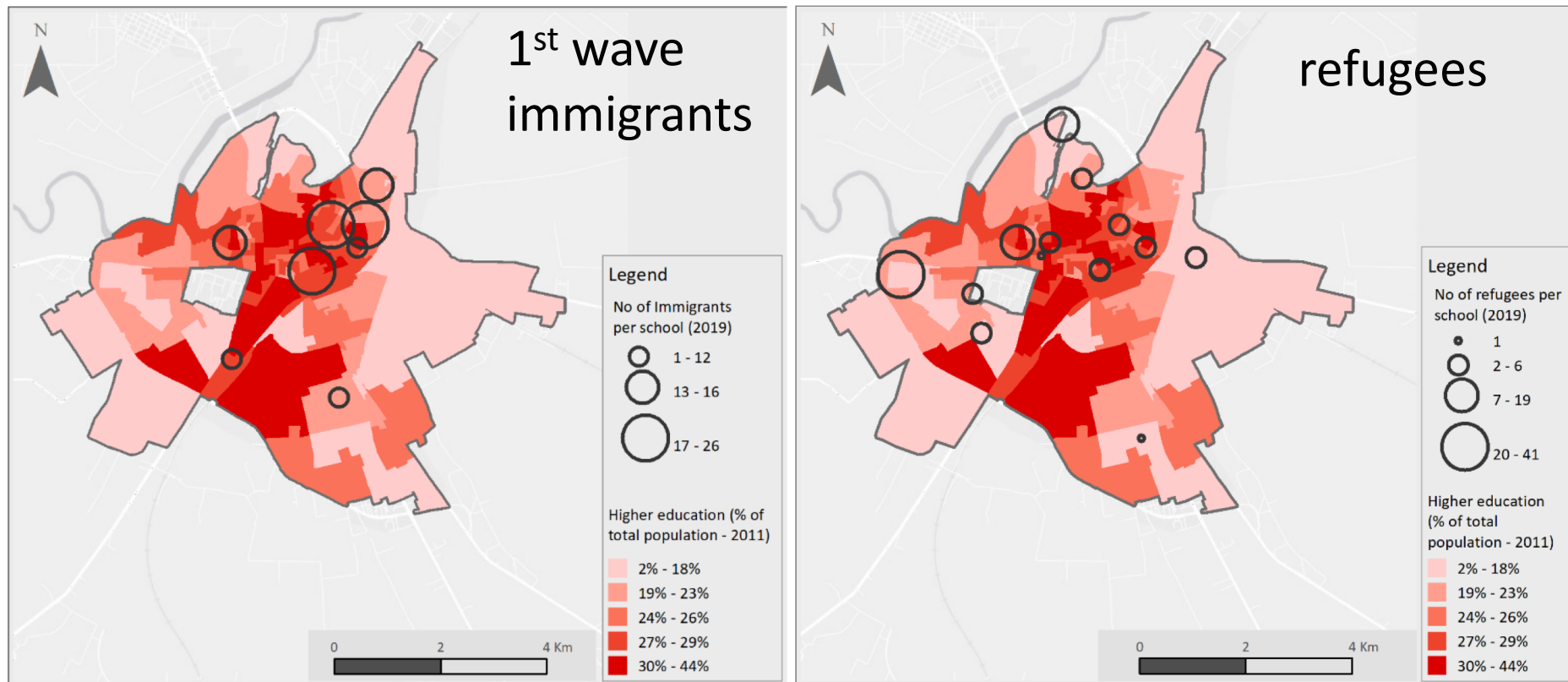
1st wave immigrants



refugees

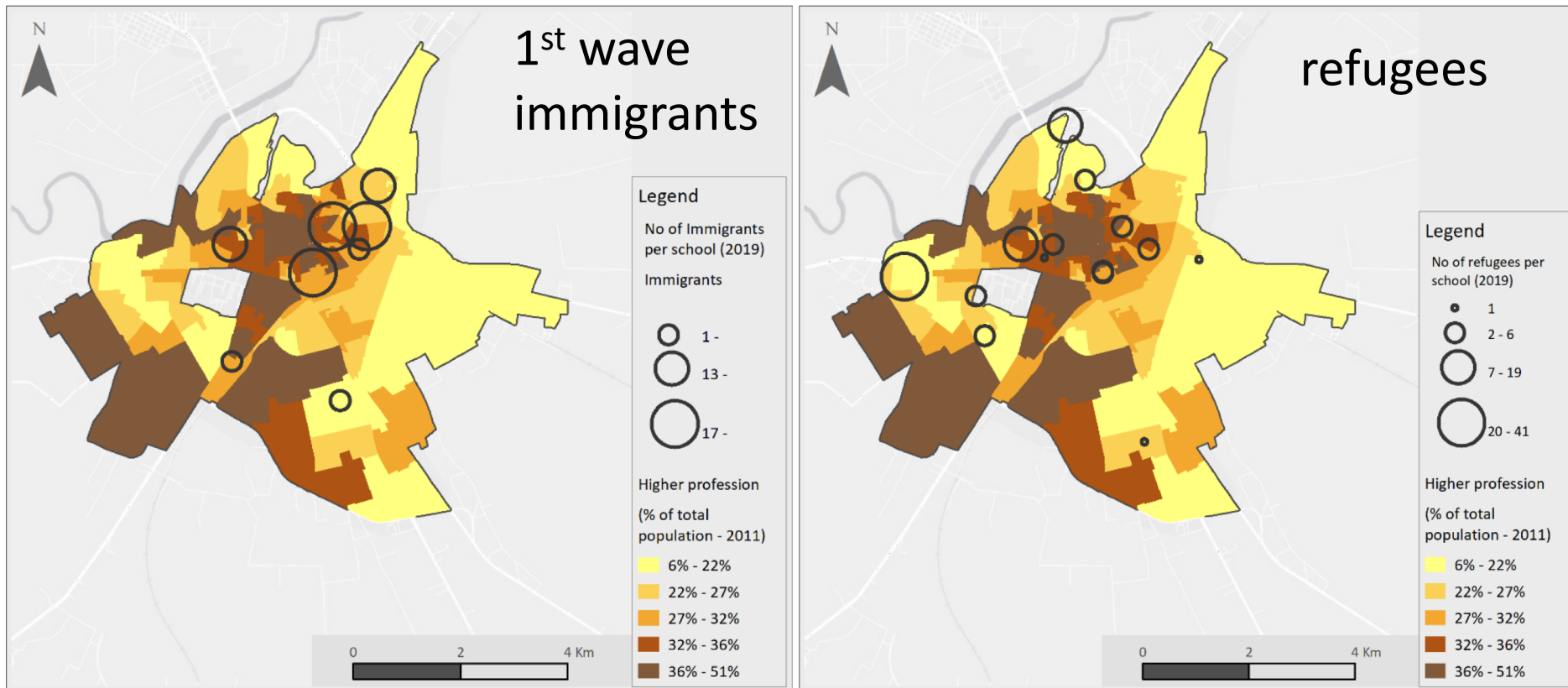


Pupils and socioeconomic context



Higher Education Level

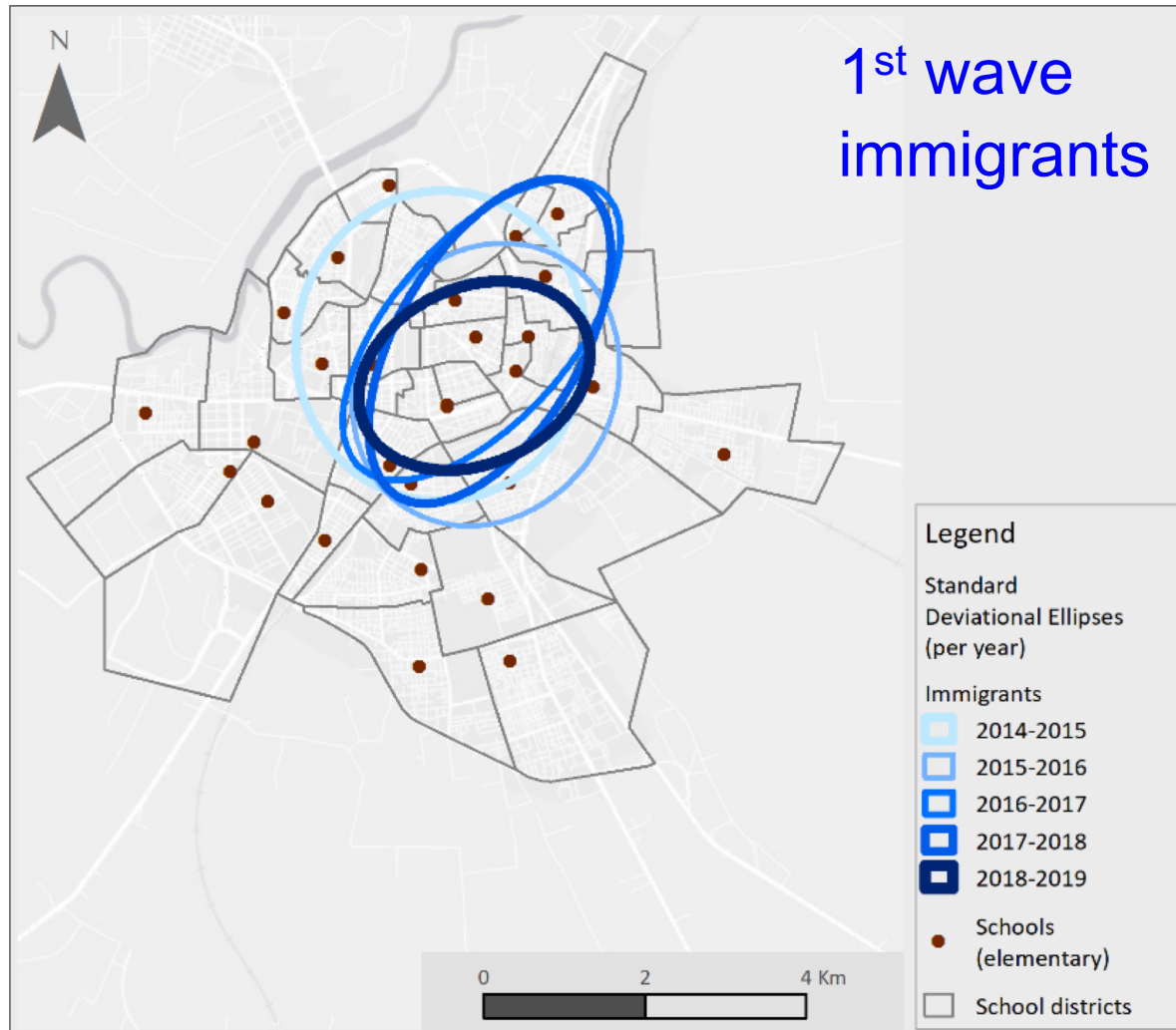
Pupils and socioeconomic context



Higher Profession Level
(senior officials, managers, doctors, lawyers, etc.)

Pupils' dynamics (2014-2019)

Standard Deviation Ellipse (directional distribution)

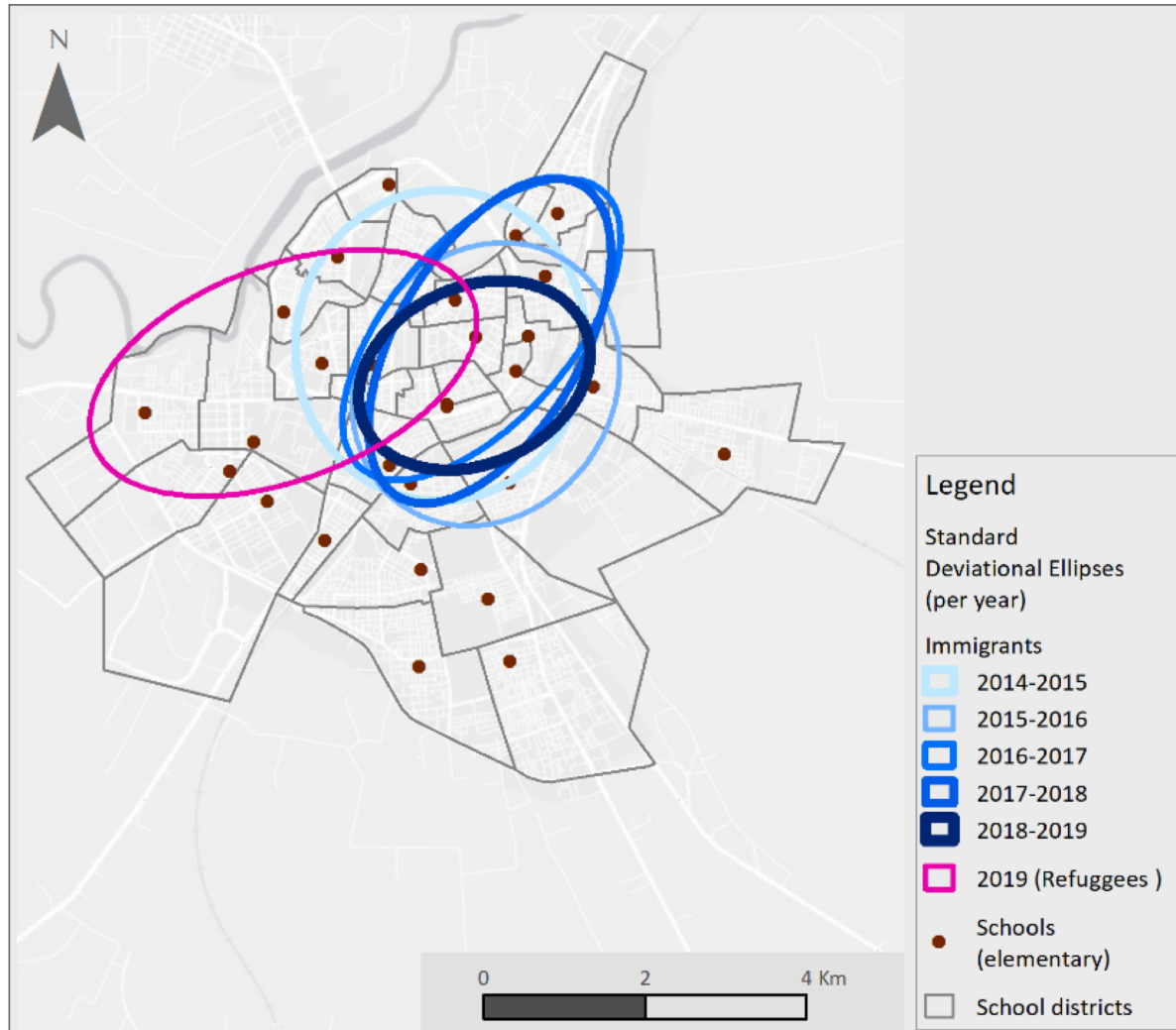


- shrinkage of ellipse: concentration to centre
- change of direction

Pupils' dynamics (2014-2019)

Standard Deviation Ellipse (directional distribution)

1st wave immigrants vs refugees



- different locations
- different directions

(b) Katerini



Perichoresis

Ethnic composition

Group	2001		2011	
	Absolut number	% in total population	Absolut number	% in total population
Total Population	50783	100%	55813	100%
Natives	47885	94.3%	51351	92.0%
Immigrants	2114	4.2%	3234	5.8%
Albanians	1309	2.6%	2222	4.0%
Refugee Countries	4	0.008%	9	0.02%

- Immigrants are less than 6% of the population, mainly Albanians
- Very few from RAS countries
- Increasing numbers of immigrants and from RAS countries

Residential segregation

	Dissimilarity			Isolation			Concentration		
	2001	2011	%	2001	2011	%	2001	2011	%
Immigrants	0.159	0.176	11%	0.047	0.068	44%	0.625	0.638	2%
Albania	0.202	0.208	3%	0.031	0.048	57%	0.663	0.672	1%
Refugee Countries	0.896	0.905	0.9%	0.001	0.003	0.2%	0.982	0.976	-0.6%

- Immigrants: measures indicate that segregation is low but increasing (concentration is medium)
- Refugee countries :
 - very high dissimilarity and concentration
 - very low isolation

School composition

	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Total pupils	3968	3947	4033	3976	3855
Natives	3854	3845	3914	3797	3687
Immigrants	114	102	119	92	91
Albanians	103	88	102	74	69
Refugee countries	0	0	24	87	77

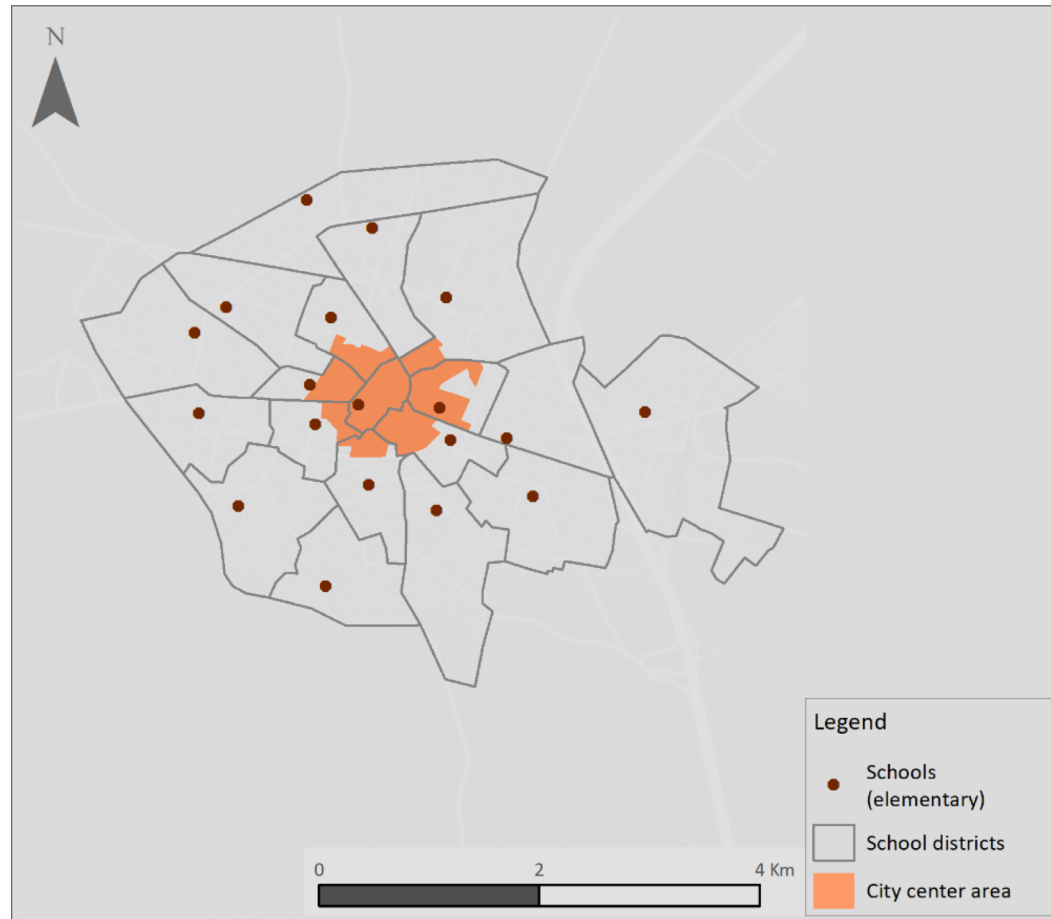
- Low numbers of immigrants, similar to ethnic composition
- Albanian majority, up to 2016
- After 2016 RAS students outdo

School segregation

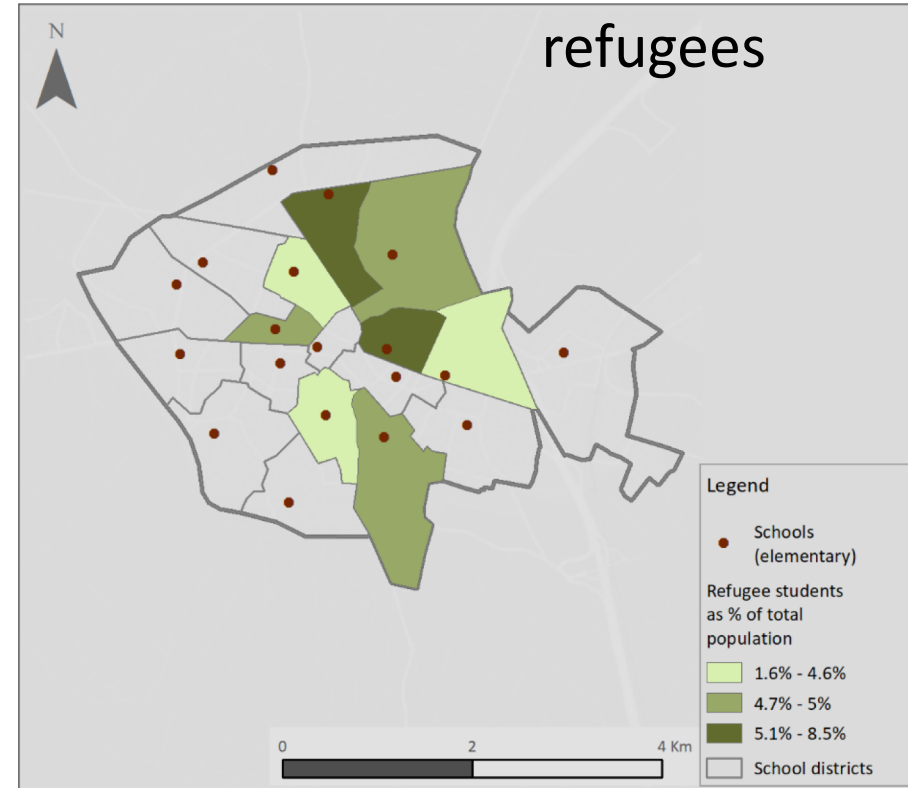
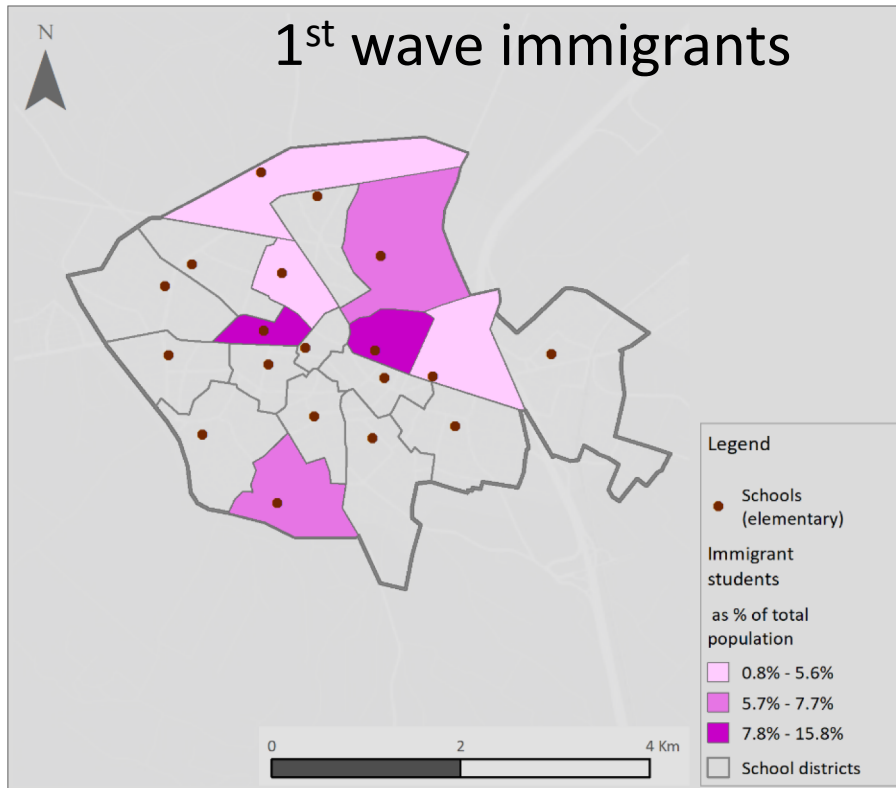
	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Dissimilarity				
Immigrants	0.61	0.65	0.69	0.72
Refugees	-	0.86	0.50	0.60
Albanians	0.61	0.64	0.70	0.73
Isolation				
Immigrants	0.07	0.09	0.11	0.11
Refugees	-	0.04	0.05	0.06
Albanians	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.10
Concentration				
Immigrants	0.59	0.65	0.70	0.72
Refugees	-	0.85	0.60	0.63
Albanians	0.60	0.65	0.72	0.73

- Immigrants: high (and increasing) dissimilarity and concentration, isolation is low and increasing
- 1st wave (Albanians): high and increasing segregation
- RAS: high initially but decreased to medium (low isolation)

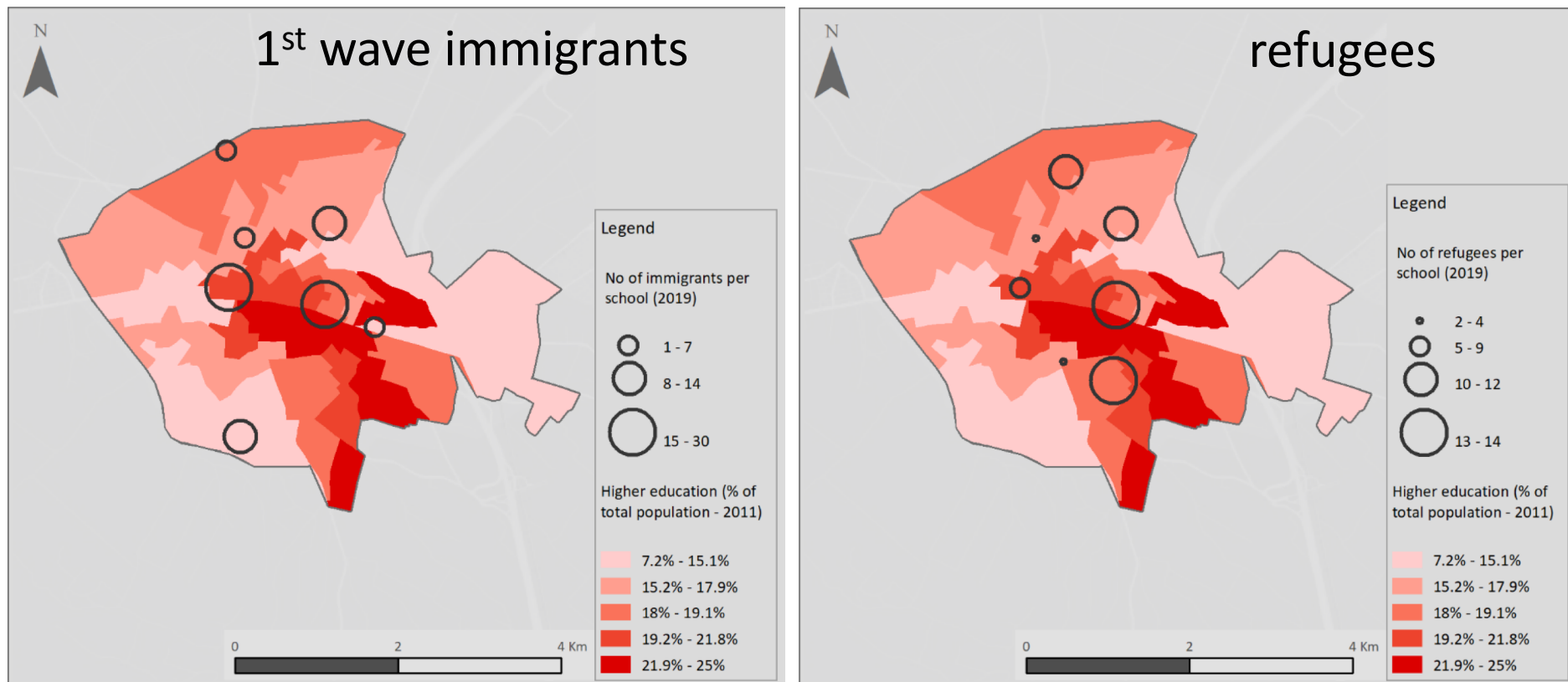
School catchments and refugees (2018-19)



Pupils as % of total school (2018-2019)

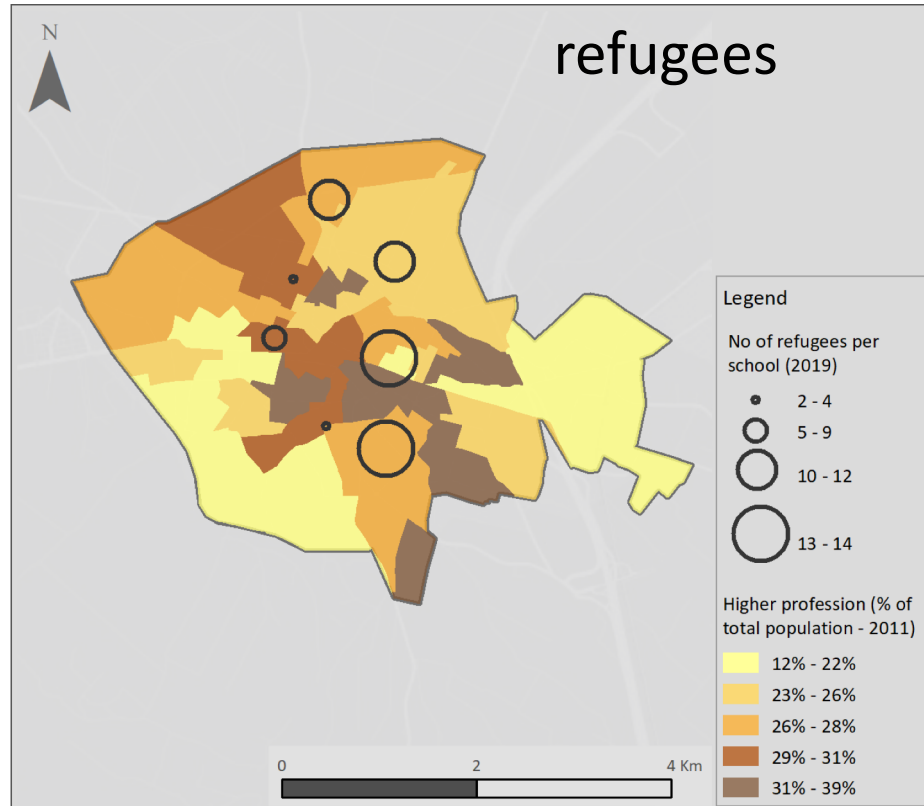
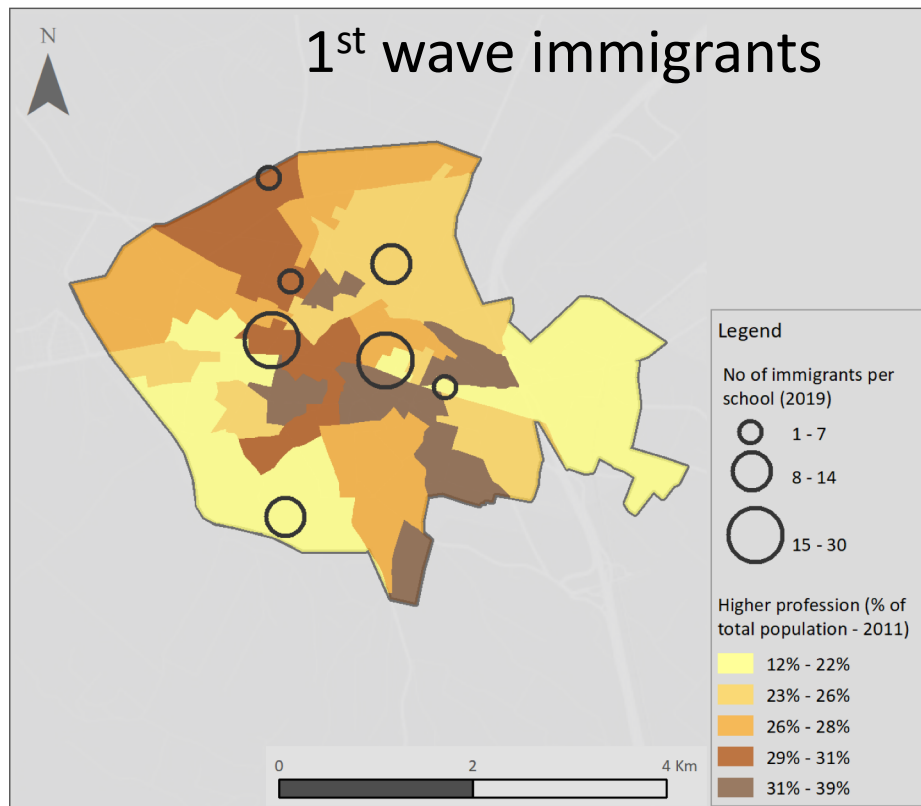


Pupils and socioeconomic context



Higher Education Level

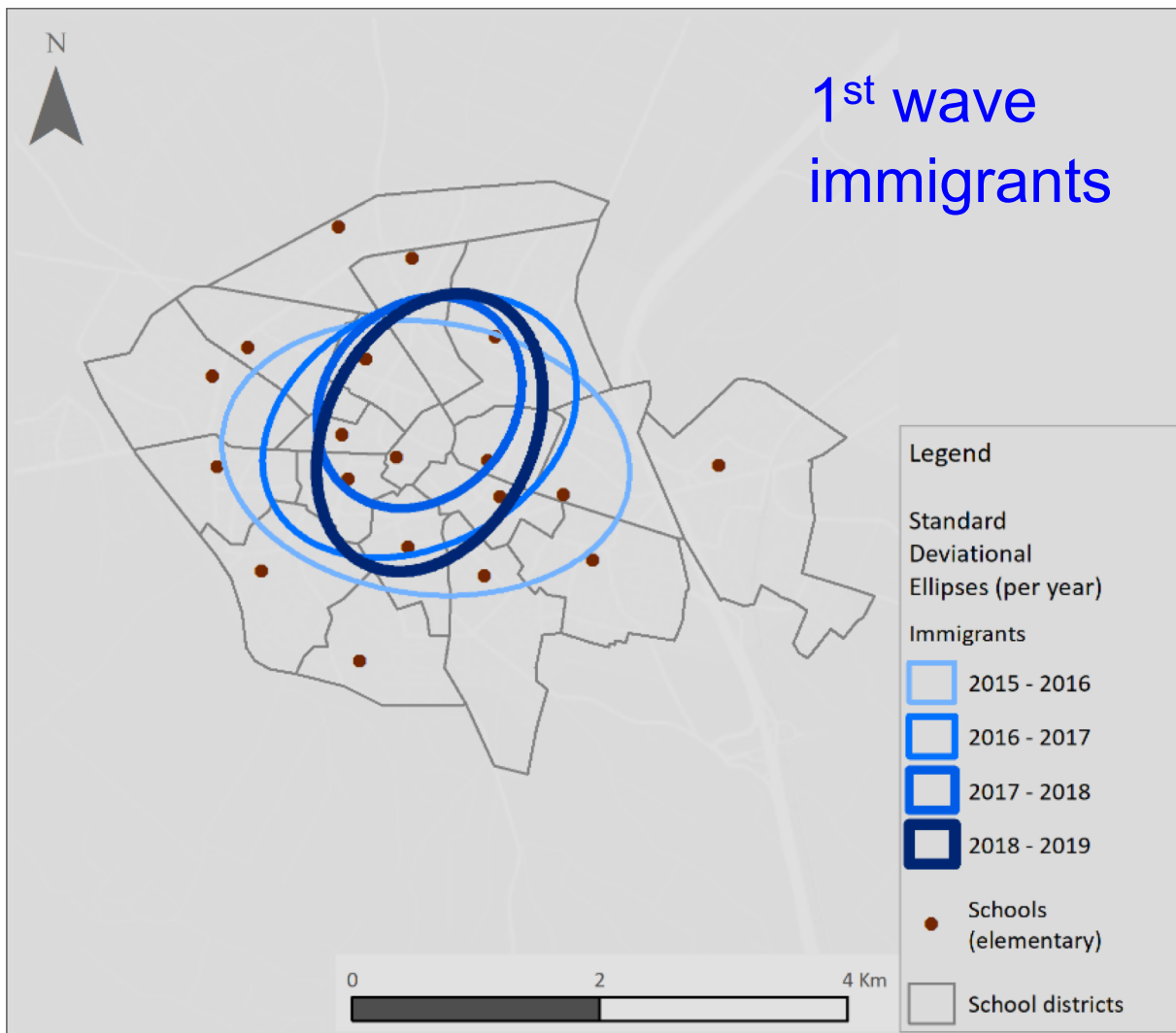
Pupils and socioeconomic context



Higher Profession Level
(senior officials, managers, doctors, lawyers, etc.)

Pupils' dynamics (2014-2019)

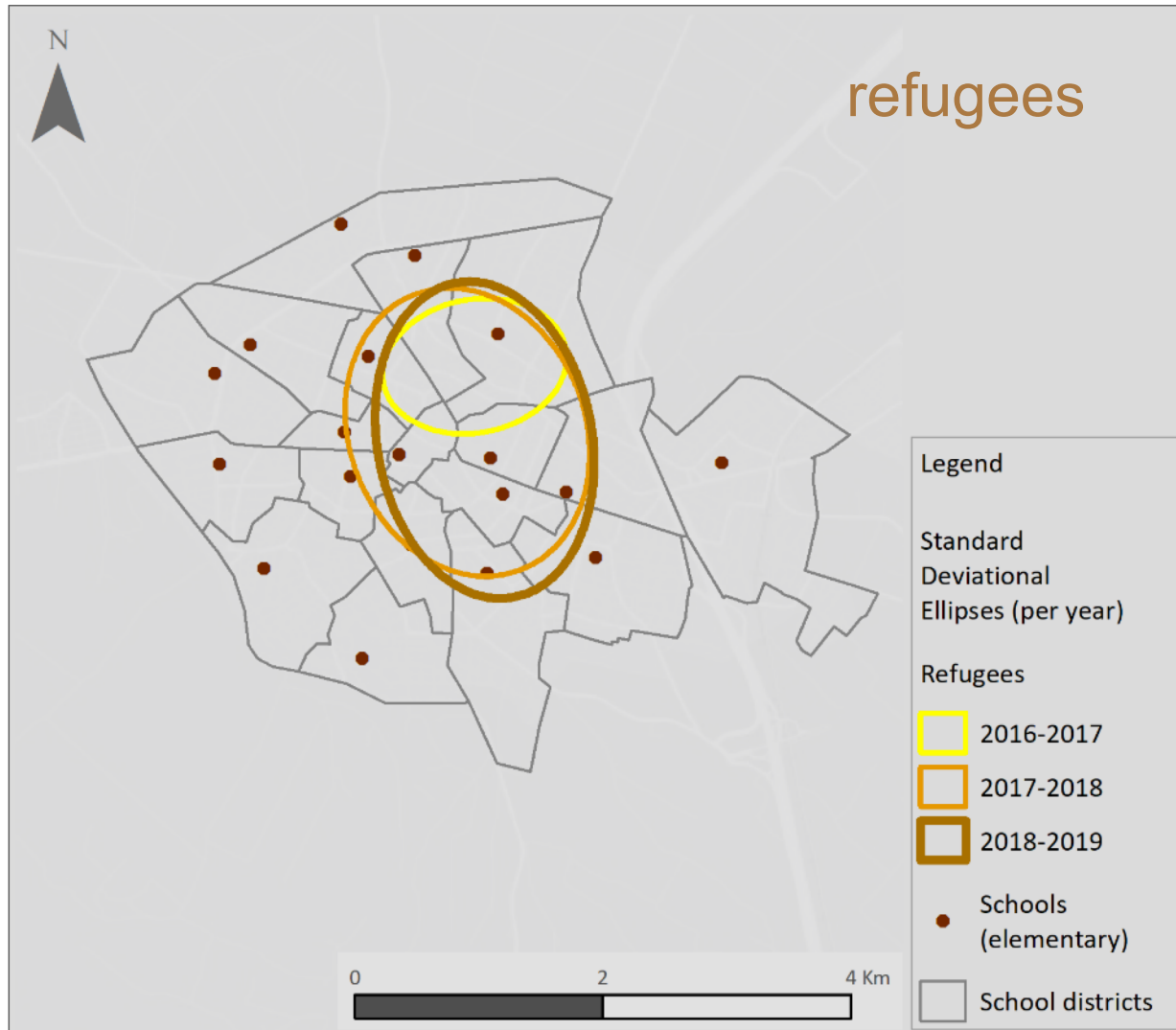
Standard Deviation Ellipse (directional distribution)



- shrinkage of ellipse: concentration to centre
- change of direction

Pupils' dynamics (2014-2019)

Standard Deviation Ellipse (directional distribution)

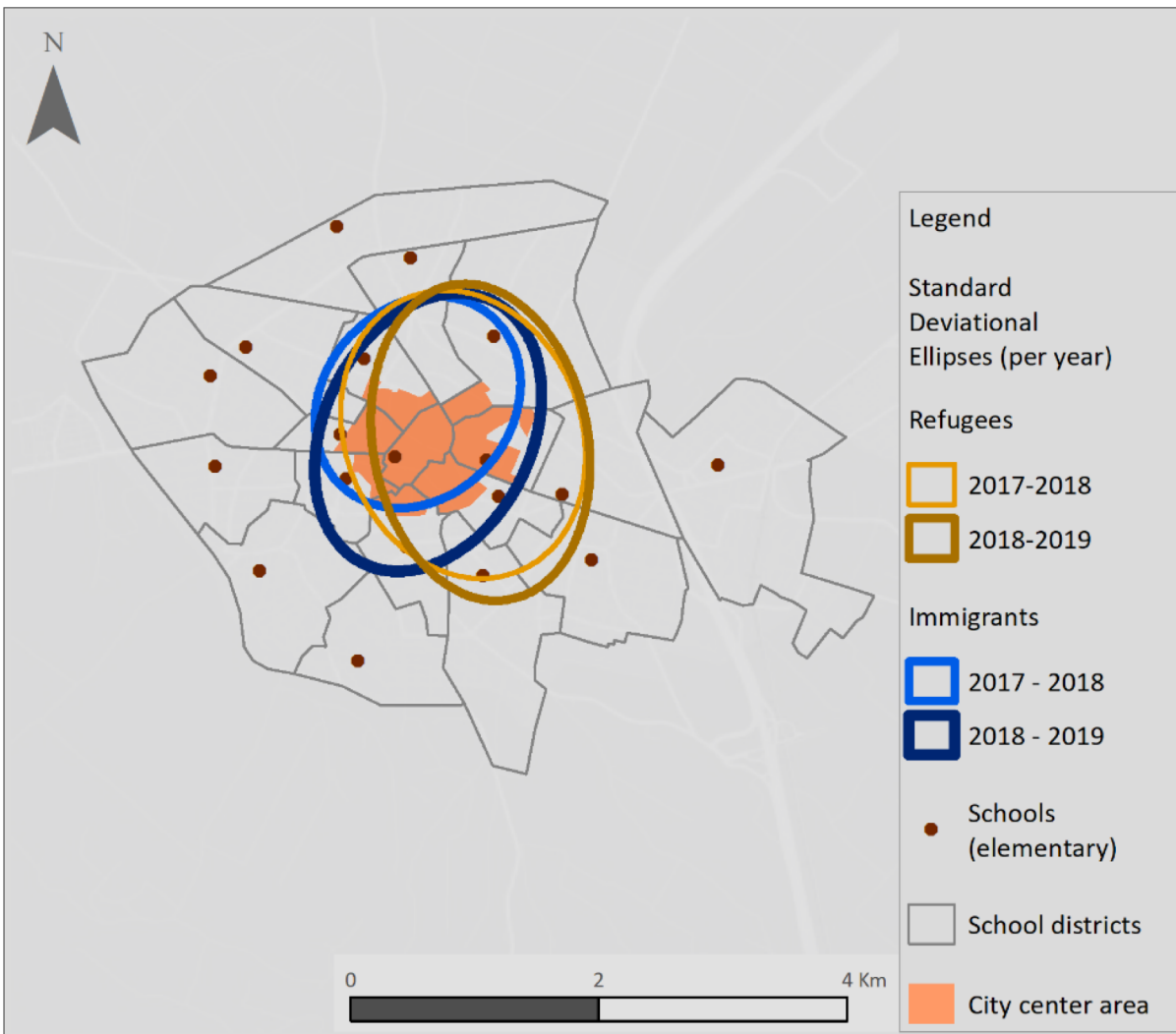


- dispersion towards south

Pupils' dynamics (2014-2019)

Standard Deviation Ellipse (directional distribution)

1st wave immigrants vs refugees



- different directions of dispersion
- segregation?

Interviews with refugees



Characteristics of interviewees

- 13 interviews with ESTIA beneficiaries (social housing in the cities)
 - 3 female, 10 male
 - 9 in Larissa
 - In ESTIA temporary accommodation
 - Official translator was used
 - 4 in Katerini
 - In permanent accommodation
 - Interviews in English
- Aged between 26 to 49 years old
- Country of origin: 9 Syrians, 2 Kurdish from Syria, 2 Iraqis
- Education: middle to high
- Employment: mainly in services, from technical (plumber, electronics) to high (pharmacist, architect, judge)
- Length of stay in Greece: 1-3 yrs
- Employment: 4 were employed

Social and school harassment

- Refugees reported occasional incidents of harassment:
 - “People in the Central Square took off the headscarf from a refugee woman. They fear that Syrians are terrorists. People don’t want us” [LO3]*
 - “In the school, a woman started to shout at my daughter and the teacher didn’t involve, although she was present at the incident” [LO2]*
- ... but many shared their experiences of friendly neighbours who help and supported them in various ways:
 - taking them to the hospital when needed
 - giving toys and presents for their children
 - taking care of their children
 - inviting them for having dinner together

Housing and criteria for location

- All but one were happy with the house they were allocated
 - ▣ Few (large families) reported problems (of size) but all acknowledged that conditions are better than expected.
- Of the 4 evaluation criteria (house quality, vicinity to co-ethnics, friendly neighbours and good accessibility) “friendly neighbours” scored first by almost all refugees:
“Friendly neighbours is security, because these people can help you if something bad happens” [LO2]

One quoted an old Syrian proverb:

“In the beginning of the day, the first you meet is you neighbours and then everyone else” [LO6]

Interestingly, vicinity to co-ethnics came very low at their preferences

Socializing

- With co-ethnics

- Reluctant to stay with or live close to other refugees (even of the same country).
- Impedes integration and interaction with natives.
- Their “open-door house policy” culture means that uninvited visitors can stay as long as they want, raising issues with neighbours
“In a block of houses we live together 4-5 families from Syria. It is not so good because we are isolated and is difficult to learn the Greek language. Also, neighbours keep us at a distance” [LO5].

- With natives:

- A few interviewees reported of having regular social relations with neighbours or with other natives. Links were created through their kids (mates at school or sports)

Socialising in public space

- Central plazas and parks become places of refugee “identity (re-) construction” as well as hubs of communication and information flow (about their situation, news from home, about relatives, etc.)

“We don’t meet in houses; we prefer to sit in the plaza. We don’t want to make noise in the house because of the neighbours”. [LO1]

“Women and men go to the central plaza and talk not only of their situation but also chat, drinking tea and eating snacks. We chat with other women and we talk about our life” [LO8]



Socialisation in public space

- Refugee (longhour) gatherings in public spaces, aggravate the fear of locals, especially at the beginning.
- Key actors highlight that housing provision helps mitigate such social practices and locals' xenophobia:

“The local community can see now that refugees have a house and they become integrated. So, they don't feel fear. They [refugees] wear headscarves but when they have a house and a job they do not gather at the park. When they have a house and a job, they don't feel excluded or create problems. Of course, integration is more than housing provision” [A-K1]

Employment

- Major difficulties are reported in finding a job

NOTE: all employed RAS are in Katerini, employed by or through 'Perichoresis'

- Knowledge of language deemed important to get a job as well as permanent accommodation in the future

“Language is very important to find a job... and a house” [LO2]

- Lack of employment opportunities due to economic crisis

“There are no jobs even for Greeks, how we can find a job...” [LO3]

“Language is not such a big problem, but there are no jobs in Greece. Even Greeks can't find a job”. [LO5]

- ...especially in small cities

“We have nowhere else to go... I have to go to a big city, Athens or Thessaloniki, to find a job” [LO7]

- ...especially related to skills and professional qualifications of RAS
 - frustrated with regard to official recognition of their skills and qualifications
 - eager to do courses or go back to university in order to get their qualifications recognised

Future prospects and mobility

■ Urban choice

- Two-thirds of refugees would prefer “to stay in Larissa/Katerini” or “in a small city” for good, due to advantages in life quality and their experiences so far:

“Here [in Larissa] is very good. We have a home” [LO6].

“After what I saw and experienced I prefer a quiet and secure environment like this in Larissa” [LO1]

“Here [Larissa] we are few and this is good. In big cities there are many problems because there are many refugees” [LO8]

- ...yet employment concerns was a key issue:

“I would like to stay in the city, but first I must find a job” [LO3]

■ Country choice

- The majority rejected the possibility to return back home
- If they had the opportunity to go to another country, they would go to West Europe: Germany, Belgium, Sweden and Netherlands are preferable destinations

3. Conclusions and policy implications



Conclusions: Segregation assessment

- The country has experienced 2 waves of immigration of different immigrant profiles (economic immigrants – refugees).
- Residential segregation of immigrants before 2012 (1st wave) was low (0.2) - decreasing in Larissa, increasing in Katerini.
- School segregation measures of the last years reveal that:
 - Immigrants' segregation is rather high with decreasing trends in Larissa (from 0.8 to 0.7) and increasing trends in Katerini (from 0.6 to 0.7) .
 - Refugee segregation is high in Larissa (0,9) and medium in Katerini (0,6).
 - Refugees location is differentiated from this of immigrants – possible emergence of segregation between the two groups.
 - Both groups are excluded from the “high-class” areas in both cities.

Conclusions: Refugees perspective

- Sporadic incidents of refugee harassment have been reported.
- Neighbourhood and neighbours is an important factor of intra-urban location, whereas vicinity to co-ethnics is of lower importance, because it impedes interaction with natives and integration.
- Socialization in public space is a cultural aspect, different to native culture. Initially it aggravated xenophobia, but natives started to go along with it.
- Employment is paramount determinant to location decisions. Although refugees indicate a preference for small/medium cities (due to security and life quality) and central locations (due to accessibility), they are willing to move to big cities if this can ensure access to labour market, especially related to their skills & qualifications.
- Western Europe countries remain the preferable destinations, partly due to the poor prospects of employment in Greece.



Conclusions: Policy implications

- Local authorities have an important role to play towards refugee/immigrants integration.
- Yet, community-based organizations and initiatives have been quite successful in accommodating refugees and facilitating their integration. Their approach has not only been proactive, innovative and flexible but also socially acceptable and politically neutral.
- Cooperation between state-local authorities and community organizations is recommended. Allocating different tasks and responsibilities would lead to advancement of migrants' integration.
- Yet, integration is a two-way process: host societies are also changing through engagement with refugees. It is important, the state-local authorities to understand these processes and how these dynamics affect social interaction, integration and urban transformation.
Constant watch of the phenomenon and further studies are needed to shed light on these dynamic and complex processes.



Immigrant and Refugee Segregation Dynamics (InSert)

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*Thank you
for your attention*