Outward migration from Greece during the crisis

FINAL REPORT

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This report describes the research process and briefly outlines the findings of the project which are presented in a more detailed manner and in dialogue with the relevant literature in the paper entitled “Greece’s new Emigration at times of Crisis”, submitted for publication to the ‘GreeSE: Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe’ series.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank Chris Hoeggerl for the compilation, cleaning and primary analysis of the data set and Dr. Panos Hatziprokopiou for his detailed comments on previous versions of the GreeSE paper as well as his feedback throughout the project duration. We also wish to thank Nikolaos Stampoulopoulos, Founder and Creative Director of New Diaspora, for kindly agreeing to disseminate the online survey via the New Diaspora platform. Last but not least, we would like to express our gratitude to the respondents of our telephone and online surveys and to the people we interviewed in Amsterdam and Greece for the qualitative phase of our research.
1 Technical Report

1.1 Overview of the Research

The project ‘Outward migration from Greece during the crisis’ adopted a mixed methods approach generating both quantitative and qualitative data on the New Greek emigration. It was organized in an incremental way in three phases. The first phase started in January 2015 with the collection and analysis of available secondary data on the recent emigration outflow and of data that were earlier generated by the Regional development & Policy Research Unit (RDPRU). The aim was on the one hand to assess the global picture of the emigration wave from Greece, by exploring its characteristics and its pre-crisis and current dynamics, and on the other hand to prepare the primary data collection. In the second phase of the research, which started in mid-February, quantitative data on the emigration outflow were collected via a nationwide representative telephone survey (HO survey). The quantitative findings of the project were deepened and amplified in the third and final phase of the research via an online survey and in-depth narrative interviews in the City of Amsterdam and Thessaloniki.

1.2 Literature Review

The collection and review of relevant literature went on throughout course of the project and included both empirical and theoretical texts. As far as the former are concerned we reviewed the recent literature on the new South European emigration at times of crisis as well as academic texts which deal with issue of emigration and economic crises more broadly. Concerning the theoretical literature, we examined the literature on migration transition, brain drain as well as that on migration and skills with which we engage in the journal articles that derive from the research.

1.3 Secondary Data and Data from earlier Studies of RDPRU
In assessing the global picture of the emigration wave in Greece, data from a representative survey conducted in 2014 on the general population in Greece in the context of the HIDDEN\textsuperscript{1} project were initially used. This dataset comprises approximately 2,000 households and includes information about the background characteristics of the respondents as well as a limited number of questions on the mobility practices of household members (i.e. destination countries, year of migration and educational background, gender and age of the migrants). Approximately 400 of the 2000 households include at least one family member who lives abroad or has earlier emigrated abroad and has returned. To get a more accurate image of the actual magnitude of the recent emigration wave, data from EUROSTAT and statistics offices in destination countries were collected. Those data were also used for the triangularization of the results of our survey. In addition, press articles were reviewed and data from the Europass portal were also collected and analyzed as well as data from EUROBAROMETER surveys and from surveys on migration intensions carried out by private research centers in Greece. Similarly to the literature review, the collection and analysis of secondary sources continued till the end of the project. This proved important not only for updating our review of the press articles but also for the EUROSTAT data on the Greek emigration that were updated and corrected during the period of our research.

1.4 THE HO SURVEY

In mid-February, after having developed a clearer picture of the emigration wave and its characteristics, we started developing the questionnaire for the HO survey. The first version was ready by early March and was subsequently pilot-tested and finalized on the 20th of the same month. The questionnaire includes the same background and migration questions with the HIDDEN questionnaire. In addition, it paints a comprehensive picture of the socioeconomic profile of the household and extends the enquiry on migration issues with questions on a wide arrange of topics including migration aspirations, reasons for emigration and for the selection of the destination country, peoples’ social networks, access to the job market abroad, the flows of remittances, migration return and re-emigration (see appendix

\textsuperscript{1}HIDDEN was financed by the European Social Fund and Greek national funds through the Operational Program "Education and Lifelong Learning" of the National Strategic Reference Framework - Research Funding Program: THALES. Investing in knowledge society through the European Social Fund (grant number MIS 380421)
for the original questionnaire in Greek). The initial plan was to treat the findings of the two data sets together and merge them for the fields that were common. Yet we finally did not proceed accordingly because we found significant differences between the two data sets in relation to the educational profiles of the post-crisis emigrants. According to the HIDDEN data set, the post-crisis emigration signifies a considerable increase in the outflow of people of middle educational backgrounds (ISCED 3,4) when compared to the migration patterns of the previous decade (2000-2009). This was not corroborated by the findings of the HO survey. According to the HO survey the educational backgrounds of the post-crisis migrants match those of the previous decade, largely comprising people of higher education. Given that the data sets were compiled with the same methodology we assume that the difference may be the outcome of the rather increased number of missing values of the HIDDEN data in the migration questions. Those missing values may have been overrepresented among the highly skilled emigrants thus creating the bias. As a result we decided to base our quantitative analysis on the finding of the HO survey only.

The HO survey, which ran from late March until the 15th April, was compiled by telephone interviewing, using the Greek phones database (www.greekphones.gr) that contains more than 6,000,000 landline numbers. It was administered by the University Research Institute (EPI) through a stratified sampling method based on the household as unit of analysis. A structured questionnaire, was addressed to a total of 1237 households (comprising 3970 people) and generated information for 248 emigrants, approximately one third of whom had left Greece after 2010 (n=75). The HO survey did not manage to capture the emigration of immigrants possibly due to the fact that a large number of them do not have landlines and secondly because several of them emigrated together with their families thus were not reachable via the sampling methodology. As a result, the data presented concern the emigration of Greek citizens only and for our population estimations we used the “native” Greek population that is, the total population excluding foreign nationals of the 2011 Census as the reference population. Each individual interviewed was first asked to provide some personal information as well as information about the composition of the household she/he formed part of. She/he was then asked questions about the migration intentions of the members of the household and the migration practices of the members of
her/his household and descending nuclear family. If the respondent did not have a descending family he was then asked for her/his ascending family.

By not including in our enquiry the ascending family for those respondents that had a descending family we have missed recording a segment of the pre-1980 emigrants. Yet our survey aimed not to collect generalizable data about the earlier post-war emigration, which is already well researched and documented. In fact, this would have been in any case impossible through the proposed methodology (since many of the emigrants are now deceased and a large number of them still live together with their families outside Greece thus being not reachable via the telephone survey in Greece). Instead the collected data for earlier migrations were used to provide a measure of development of the outflows and of the changes in terms of the emigrant profiles diachronically.

Concerning the crisis driven emigration our data provide a sound and reliable picture of the outflow and the characteristics of the emigrants yet modestly underestimating the total size of the outflow as they: 1) may underrepresent the emigration of minority Greeks, namely people belonging to the Muslim minority and people originated in the former Soviet Union, who according to anecdotal information seem to have emigrated at a higher rate than the rest of Greeks (following trends predating the crisis; Voutira 2006; Pratsinakis 2002); 2) miss a segment of those emigrants who emigrated together with their extended families; 3) finally, they do not record those emigrants whose families (with which they reunited) were already abroad before they crisis and thus are not reachable via the sampling method followed. The second and third categories primarily concern emigrants who moved to destination countries of earlier migrations, e.g. Germany, Australia, USA, Canada and according to estimation provided in Damanakis et al (2014), comprise a sizeable segment of the emigration flow, especially that which took place in the years immediately after the deepening of crisis.

According to the findings of the HO survey 222,457 Greek citizens emigrated from 2010 until early 2015. However, taking into account the estimations in Damanakis and the

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2 For our estimations we used the “native” Greek population that is, the total population excluding foreign nationals of the 2011 Census as the reference population. Therefore we accordingly excluded from our sample 1) those (35) Greek emigrants who had left Greece before 2011 and had not returned before that year and 2) the (62) non-Greek citizens since they were significantly underrepresented reflecting a sample bias stemming primarily from the fact that many of them do not have landlines. Hence the sample size on which the projection
fact that the emigration of the minority Greeks may have been modestly larger than that recoded, we may estimate that the total emigration outflow of Greeks from 2010 until the end of 2015 ranges between 280,000 and 350,000 people. Given that our findings on return migration, which was recorded to be 15% of the total outflow, we may then safely estimate that more than 240,000 post-2010 emigrants are currently living abroad.

The respondent was asked detailed information for all members of the household (including her/himself) and of her/his nuclear family who had in the past emigrated or are currently abroad. 216 respondents provided information for one emigrant, 31 respondents for two emigrants and one respondent for three emigrants. Given that for the majority of the emigrants the information we got are mediated (provided by another person not the migrant her/himself), we treat the answers to some questions (such as those about the reasons of migration and her/his working experiences abroad) with caution. The data set was cleaned and prepared by the 22nd of April by Christoph Hoeggerl who also helped in the data set analysis which lasted from May til September.

1.5 QUALITATIVE DATA AND THE ONLINE SURVEY

In addition to the data generated by the survey, a small scale qualitative research was carried out on the Greek emigration to Amsterdam. This research aimed to look at individual stories in a more systematic way and to examine the phenomenon from the perspective of emigrants themselves. The Greek community in Amsterdam is modest in size, consisting of about 1800 people, but has increased by more than 70 per cent in the past four years being one of the most fast growing communities in the City. Concretely, 10 in-depth narrative and 10 less detailed interviews were conducted with Greek men and women aged between 23 to 40 years old who have immigrated to Amsterdam including four people that had returned to Greece at the time of the research. Most of the interviews were conducted in an informal
manner in a variety of settings (cafeterias, restaurants, people’s homes or work). Detailed notes were taken. The interviews lasted from 30min to 2 hours. The major findings of those interviews highlight the multiplicity of individual pathways and migration experiences and directly problematize the idealistic perceptions of life and work ‘in Europe’ often depicted in Greek media, testifying the ambivalence of contemporary mobility decisions.

In addition to the interviews, we also conducted an online qualitative survey on the phenomenon of brain drain in which 81 highly skilled emigrants participated. The survey was distributed in December 2015 through the website and social media pages of the newdiaspora, the participatory media channel of the new generation of Greeks living abroad during the crisis in their homeland (www.newdiaspora.com). The aim of this research was to reflect on the development of the on-going brain drain from Greece and to examine, through the answers of the respondents, the necessary policy measures that could be taken for the halt of the phenomenon and potentially for its reversal with the return of the emigrants or their contribution to the Greek society and economy from abroad. Through this survey we also attempted to further reflect on the reasons of emigration of the highly skilled emigrants and assess any differences in the pre and post crisis period.

1.6 Outputs

Conference papers:

Lois Labrianidis 2015 “The emigration experience of Greek households at the time of Crisis” Paper presented Talent Management: From drain to gain, organised by the ICAP group, 2015, Athens Ledra Hotel. [in Greek]

Journal articles

Labrianidis L., M. Pratsinakis “Greece’s new Emigration at times of Crisis” to be submitted for publication in GreeSE Hellenic Observatory series

Labrianidis L., M. Pratsinakis & P. Hatziprokipiou “Greece’s Ever-Complex Migratory Landscape at Times of Crisis and the Resurgence of Emigration” paper drawing from the findings of the survey submitted for publication to International Migration Review. The paper was rejected and we are currently reworking on it to resubmit it for publication.

Planned publications

Dissemination

Newspaper articles
Lois Labrianidis 2015 “external migration from Greece at the time of Crisis” [in Greek] article outlining the findings of the survey and describing the policy implications, published in Huffington Post Greece, 10th November 2015
http://www.huffingtonpost.gr/lois-labrianidis/-_2408_b_8520596.html

Lois Labrianidis 2015 “Returning to Greece at the times of Crisis” [in Greek] interview on the findings of the research on Return for “Kathimerini”, 18th October 2015

Television
On the 17/12/2015 Lois Labrianidis was hoisted by the Journalist K. Argiros in Hellasnet TV to discuss the findings of the research in relation to the phenomenon of Brain drain.

1.7 BUDGET

1. Budget summary accounting for the advance payment (50% of the total budget)

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<tr>
<td>Researcher 2: Christoph Hoeggerl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Committee (12%)</td>
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2. Expenses pending to be made when the second payment is made

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<td>Researcher 2: Christoph Hoeggerl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Committee (12%)</td>
<td>720</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5776</td>
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2 SCIENTIFIC REPORT

2.1 THE SURVEY FINDINGS

Estimating the emigration outflow at the period of Crisis

According to our survey data 210,184 people left Greece in a five-year period from 2010 to 2014 and approximately another 12,500 people followed them in the first trimester of 2015. As already mentioned, our data are most probably underestimating the size of the inflow due to the methodology followed (see pp. 7-8). At the household level, one in 18 families in Greece has a member who emigrated in the post-2010 period and 85% of the post-2010 emigrants were recorded still living abroad at the time when the survey was conducted. One third of the returnees went back to Greece due to economic difficulties faced abroad, the other third were triggered by opportunities in Greece and the remaining third returned due to non-economic difficulties abroad or/and for family reasons. According to our data, emigrants of middle and low educational backgrounds tend to return more often than the highly educated and the same holds true for the emigrants who come from households with middle to low incomes. The emigrants who come from households with high incomes have the least possibility to return and the rest of the categories (very high, middle, low) are about average. Our findings on return, the educational backgrounds of emigrants and the income of the household should be treated however with caution since they draw from a limited number of cases thus cannot lead us derive safe conclusions. Finally, re-migration in the 2010-2014 period seems to be rare according to our data.

Emigration intentions

We recorded 139 people (nested in 99 families) thinking of leaving Greece within the next year. This represents 3.6% of our sample which, if projected to the general population, corresponds to 355,420 people. At the household level, one in 14 families has at least one person who thinks of emigrating within the next year. Of the 99 families who have members who want to emigrate, 21 have more than one persons planning to migrate and 12 families want to relocate altogether.
Emigration per place of origin and major destination countries

79% of the emigrants come from urban areas (of which 53% comes from the three largest cities namely Athens, Thessaloniki and Patra) and of the remaining 21%, the 7% comes from suburban and the 14% from rural areas. As regards the regions of origin of migrants (NUTS 2) in absolute numbers expectantly most emigrants come from the Attica followed by the emigrants from Central Macedonia. In relative terms (considering the population in each region), an increased share of emigrants was recorded originating from Western Greece and Crete yet the sample is rather small to come to safe conclusions in that respect.

Similarly, we cannot draw reliable conclusions about the percentage of immigrants per receiving country but we can clearly identify the main destinations: 50% of emigrants have gone either to England or to Germany. Each of those two countries concentrate a similar number of immigrants (about 25%) and 80% of the total emigration flow was directed at European destinations. Despite the concentration of a large number of emigrants in UK and Germany the remaining immigrants have settled in a significant number of destination countries spanning across the globe. The US and Australia are the third and fourth destination countries respectively closely followed by France, Netherlands, Sweden. However, taking in to account the data provided by Tamis (2014) we may clearly single out Australia as the third most significant destination of the new Greek emigration due to the ‘return’ of a sizeable population of ‘Greek Australians’ to Australia; a return which as mentioned was not sufficiently recorded in our survey.

Education background of the emigrants and brain drain

If we look at the distribution of immigrants by educational level per decade of emigration it draws that a complete reversal has taken place since the post war period. While until the 1980s it was mostly the people with lower educational backgrounds that emigrated, after the 1990s and especially after 2000s we observe the opposite phenomenon with the clear majority of emigrants being university graduates. This pattern continued also during the period of the crisis during which 75% of the emigrants hold university degrees. Projecting our data to the general population we may estimate that the number of graduates who are
currently abroad is 173,874 people (that is without including those graduate emigrants that left together with their families). Of them 72%, or else 130,406 people, emigrated after 2010.

Comparing the level of education of the general population in Greece among the 18-35 year olds (who comprise the vast majority of emigrants) to that of the emigrants it draws that it is the more educated that are the more prone to emigrate. This is especially the case as far as the very highly educated are concerned: 25% of the post-crisis migrants are people with post graduate degrees, doctors or graduates of the polytechnic school. 64% of the total emigrant population with such educational background has left after 2010 thus constituting a brain drain for the country. Having said that and despite the clear dominance of the university graduates among the emigrants it should be also noted that emigration is not a phenomenon that exclusively concerned the highly skilled. Even though the media attention has so far focused on the highly skilled emigrants and the phenomenon of brain drain, it should be noted that 25% of the emigrants, that is at least 50,000 people, have low or middle educational backgrounds. Further research is necessary to explore the migration motivations and experiences of those emigrants.

Concerning the destination countries and the educational backgrounds of the emigrants it seems that those who move to England are almost exclusively people with high education credentials while Germany (and other former guestworker’s destinations as our qualitative data indicate) attracts also a considerable number of people with low or middle educational backgrounds who most probably emigrate by making use of social networks that are available to them from earlier emigrations.

The emigrant and the income situation of the household

We classified the households into five income categories (by weighing the monthly incomes of the household and the number of household members) namely: 1) very high 2) high 3) medium, 4) middle to low, 5) low and very low. Our findings show that after 2000 the households with very high incomes are the ones that are the most likely to send emigrants abroad. While the category of households with very high incomes forms 2% of the total sample, it constitutes 11% in the 2000-2009 emigrant population and 9% among the 2010-2015 emigrants. The category “middle to low” is rather underrepresented among the
households with emigrants and the remaining income categories are about average. An interesting and rather expected finding is that during the crisis we have a sharp increase in the emigration rates of people from “low to very low” income households which almost doubled in comparison to those in the 2000-2009 period. While before the crisis this category of people used to be the least prone to emigrate, they now constitute 28% of the post-2010 emigration outflow, a percentage which is in par with their share in the total sample (26%).

**Unemployment**

Half of the immigrants who emigrated after 2010 were unemployed in Greece directly before their emigration. Interestingly, this division holds true for all household income categories and educational backgrounds with the exception of those with secondary education most of whom were unemployed before emigrating. Thus, interestingly unemployment seems to be pushing equally people of different income and educational backgrounds (with the exception of those with middle education). Another noteworthy finding is that even though lack of job seems to be a major reason driving people out of the country our data clearly show that it is not the only determining reason.

**The age group of the emigrants**

During the crisis we observe an increase in the mean age of the emigrant which in the post-2010 period is 30.5 years old, two years higher than in the 2000-2009 period (28.3) and six years higher than in the 1990-1999 period (24.3). 51% of the emigrants who left after 2010 were at the time of migration older than 30 years old (in 2000-2009 the rate was 43% and in the four preceding decades 21%, 17%, 6% and 4% respectively) and the percentage of immigrants over 35 years is 21% - a rate which is comparable only with that of the previous decade (2000-2009). Even more interestingly, after 2010 a significant number of the emigrant population (11% of the total outflow) left Greece after their fortieth year of age.

**Working experiences abroad**

The majority of emigrants find work abroad in a short time, in a period between 0-6 months (81%). Yet there is also a minority who did not manage to find a job and returned and others who are currently unemployed abroad. According to our survey data, the majority of
emigrants (72%) are working abroad in jobs that match their qualifications while 21% of them are working below their skills and 6% are unemployed. It is crucial to mention that this information should be treated with reservation because for most cases it is not the migrant her/himself providing the answer but another member of the household (most commonly the parent). We may very well assume that the emigrant paints a more positive image of his/her situation to his/her parent. We were in fact able to at least partly affirm this assumption by comparing the jobs that the emigrants do abroad and their level and field of study. Our qualitative data also evince that the situation is less positive than that painted by the survey. Thus we may expect that the share of people that work in jobs that match their qualifications should be lower than 72%.

Most of the emigrants found their job abroad through personal solicitations and with help from job offices (51%) while approximately 28% of them found their job abroad through people they knew. Finding a job via social networks is much more common for the people with middle and lower education for whom it comprises the most common way. Finally, 16% of our sample found a job through their previous employer or the university they studied and the remaining 5% through other means.

Networks

The majority of emigrants (59%) do have support social networks in the countries they are emigrating to. For the majority those comprise friends (46%), closely followed by family members (35%). The main type of assistance provided to the emigrants from those support groups relates to finding accommodation (52%) and less frequently to finding a job 17.5%.

Reasons for emigration and the assessment of emigration

Expectedly reasons for emigration during the period of crisis are overwhelmingly linked to economic issues (72%) which clearly differentiates from previous decades. The evaluation of emigration is overall a positive 62% but let us bear in mind here that it is the parent of the emigrant that most commonly responds and not the migrant her/himself. So both findings, on the reasons of emigration and the assessment of emigration, should be considered taking that into account. Concerning the assessment of emigration in particular, data change if one
looks at the educational level of the respondent. The higher the educational level of the respondent, the more the positive the assessment of migration.

**Remittances**

A very interesting research finding is that the vast majority of immigrants neither send nor receive money (68%). It thus draws that migration contributes mainly in the subsistence and/or the socio-economic progress of the emigrants themselves and not of the household as a whole. 19% of immigrants send money to Greece and 13% receive money. Expectantly, people who send money are mainly from low and very low income households. As for those receiving money, they are mainly from middle income households but the sample is restricted to draw safe conclusions.

2.2 THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

**Problematizing idealistic perceptions of life and work ‘in Europe’: some findings on the qualitative research in Amsterdam**

The findings from the qualitative research in Amsterdam show that the ‘new emigrants’ follow a variety of trajectories and pathways. Some may leave with more permanent settlement intensions, after having collected enough information about life in their destination country but not always having already found a job there. Others emigrate for short-term periods as target earners, aiming to contribute to the family income, to respond to immediate financial need until ‘things get better in Greece’, or to support themselves in wait of a job opening in the country. Others leave for short periods, hosted by friends or relatives who are already abroad, to inquire into the employment possibilities and life conditions through a first-hand experience of everyday life in the country they visit. Many more apply for jobs from Greece, and some declare the address of friends and kin abroad as their home address while seeking a good job opportunity and waiting to be called for an interview. Quite often, reality does not meet the emigrants’ expectations as the situation in destinations proves to be far from ideal.

The Greek community in Amsterdam is modest in size, consisting of 1800 people, but has increased by more than 70% in the past four years being one of the most fast growing communities in Amsterdam (Booi et al. 2014). From the data that we collected with the 16
emigrants and four returnees the most striking finding concerned the fact that the experiences of the emigrants problematize the idealistic perceptions of life and work ‘in Europe’ often depicted in Greek media, and testify the ambivalence of contemporary mobility decisions.

As elsewhere observed (e.g. Georgiou et al. 2013, on Greeks in Berlin), several emigrants end up working in low-skilled jobs for a considerable period before they manage to find jobs matching their qualifications, and this is also the case for people of high educational backgrounds. Kostas, a trained hematologist, chose to emigrate to Amsterdam in 2012 because his aunt, Rina, runs a restaurant there. He was hosted at her place and worked in the restaurant until he made some money to rent a room in a shared flat. He then found a second job in a café nearby and a few months later he was offered a yearly contract in the restaurant of a museum. At the same time he has been learning Dutch, looking for jobs that match his credentials. The same pathway was earlier followed by Rina’s son-in-law, Petros, an engineer. After a year and a half working in several restaurants in Amsterdam, Petros found a job in his field with a good salary. It takes longer for Kostas to find such a job but he is not disappointed. Although he claims that things are considerably more difficult in the Netherlands now than they were in 2009, when Petros arrived, Kostas is rather confident that sooner or later he will find a good job too. He is not considering going back, since, as he said, he has no chances of finding any job in Greece.

In many cases, people prefer staying abroad over returning to Greece even if they have to work in low skilled jobs for considerable periods of time. In Greece similar jobs are paid much less and usually do not provide social security. Possibly some of them would have also refused taking such jobs in Greece, e.g. taking care of the elderly or cleaning, not only due to low remuneration and lack of social security but also due to the low social status associated with them. They stay abroad aiming to upgrade their language skills and build social networks that will help them to eventually find better jobs.

A large part of the newcomers in Amsterdam concerns former students at Dutch Universities’ who overstay after having finished their studies. Sonia came to Amsterdam for postgraduate studies in the Social Sciences in 2012 and decided to stay. She works in a restaurant and does volunteer work on her field. A year earlier Anna, who had graduated from the same programme with Sonia had also tried to stay in Amsterdam but did not
manage to find any job meeting her expectations. She returned to Greece only to leave again within a few months, this time for Brussels.

Many people start out by finding a job in Greek businesses –mostly restaurants– and then move on to other jobs. Some of them report exploitative working conditions: Andreas, who had worked in several Greek taverns, claimed that ‘he will never work for Greeks in the Netherlands again’. Yet people reported exploitative working relations with Dutch employers too. Yorgos, who does not have a university education, came to Amsterdam looking for work in 2012. He found a job in the flower market but was very disillusioned from his emigration experience. His boss required him to stand still throughout the day, which physically exhausted him. He earned approximately 1200 euros a month after taxes, the minimum wage in the Netherlands, which was much higher than any salary he ever had in Greece. The living costs were however much higher. Similarly to most newcomers, he could not afford renting an apartment on his own; he rented a room instead, costing him 400 euros.

Yet not everybody decides to stay. There are many people for whom the migration experience turns out not to be according to their expectations. Achilleas, who had studied Social Sciences in Amsterdam decided to prolong his stay, working in a big international hotel. However, after some time and having looked for job opportunities in his field, he felt that he has no chance in getting any job that matches his qualifications, mainly due to insufficient knowledge of the language and the lack of social networks. Fully absorbed by the work rhythms of his job in the hotel, he felt that he was losing contact with his field of study. Although he was paid a salary he thinks he would not be able to achieve in Greece, he decided not to renew his contract and looked instead for a job related to his studies in Greece, even if it would be a lower paid one. In a follow up discussion, Achilleas had managed to find a job related to his field of study on a three-month renewable contract with an NGO in northeast Greece, and was preparing his trip.

Lastly, there are cases of people who were already abroad for study and/or temporary work before 2009, and, although many were not originally planning to stay for long, they were confronted with the dilemma ‘to stay or return’ as the crisis started deepening in Greece. Niki studied music in De Haag from 2004 to 2012 while working to financially support her studies. When she got her postgraduate diploma she returned back to Greece, where she currently earns no more than 200 euros a month giving music lessons. She recounted that she had to defend her decision to friends in Greece who were critical of
her on the basis of a rather an idealistic image of life abroad. For Niki, her friends could not understand the difficulties and rather limited opportunities she had to pursue a career in music in the Netherlands at a time of drastic cuts in state expenditures for culture, which had severely affected people working in the arts. For many who wished to leave Greece, however, it seemed that she missed an opportunity that many of them felt they did not have.

Niki’s experience also reveals that austerity policies alongside labour market developments significantly hamper employment opportunities in destination countries. At the same time, emigrants who do not have the ‘right skills’ are not particularly welcome in western European countries and their settlement is less than easy. In the Netherlands, for instance, one has to have a social security number in order to start a formal job. In order to have a social security number, however, one has to have a registered address, which could be difficult without an employment contract. Additionally, banks refuse to issue accounts to non-Dutch who neither have a job nor are in the Netherlands for study reasons.

In a 2013 article, co-authored with the British campaigner for restrictions on immigration David Goodhart, the Dutch minister of social affairs and member of the Labour party Lodewijk Asscher, called the EU to rethink its commitment to the free movement of workers by highlighting what they considered to be its negative effects, namely wage dumping, exploitation and "crowding out" of local job seekers (Goodhart and Asscher 2013). Despite the fact that at that time the fear of massive influxes from Eastern Europe, on which the article focused, were proven to be overblown, the authors suggested that is time to signal 'Code Orange' alarm, the warning that’s issued in the Netherlands when there’s a serious risk of flooding. More evocatively, the 2012-2013 expulsions from Belgium of EU citizens on the grounds of their constituting an excessive burden, as well as British PM David Cameron’s assurances that the UK government has drawn plans for emergency immigration controls to curb a potential influx of Greeks (Watt 2012) if Greece is forced to leave euro, show that the right to free labour mobility in Europe for those not categorized as highly skilled is currently being practically contested and officially questioned in several countries of the EU.

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3 People not being able to register their stay in the Netherlands can acquire a social security number by enrolling themselves in the registry of non-inhabitants, which is intended for temporary migrants and is officially valid for a period of four months.
2.3 The online survey findings

The participants in the online survey were selected in a way to provide information on the phenomenon of brain drain from Greece. They were also selected to enquire into the possibilities of return and the potentials for the development of economic transnational ties with Greece among the highly skilled emigrants. Accordingly, only emigrants with a higher education degree were invited to participate as well as emigrants who have been living abroad for at least one year at the time the survey was conducted. A further filter was applied to limit the participation of second generation Greek descent migrants abroad. Due to those selection filters from the 97 respondents that showed interest to participate in the survey eventually 81 filled in the questionnaire until the end of December.

The survey respondents comprise a very highly educated population sample: two out of three have a postgraduate degree with 28% of them having a PhD degree and a further 8% were PhD candidates at the time of the survey. The majority of the respondents have studied Applied Sciences (41%) followed by those who have studied Social Sciences (18%) and life sciences (16%). The remaining respondents have studied Economics and Management (12%), Humanities and Art (10%), and Physical sciences (4%). The majority of the respondents were immigrants to England (35%), followed by Germany (15%) and the Netherlands (11%). Only 13% of the respondents have emigrated outside Europe.

The vast majority of the respondents (80%) had worked in Greece before leaving the country and only 36% of them were unemployed before they emigrated. However, a clear distinction emerges if we compare the emigrants who left before 2010, the year when the crisis deepened in Greece and emigration escalated, to those who left after 2010. Virtually all of the pre-crisis emigrants were employed when they decided to emigrate (or did not search for a job) whereas 48% of those emigrants who left after 2010 were unemployed at the time of emigration; a share which is consistent to that of the findings of the HO survey.

Expectedly also the reasons of migration differ between the pre-crisis highly skilled emigrants and those who emigrated after 2010. And this difference highlights the fact that in the past five years emigration became more of a necessity than a career choice for many highly skilled emigrants. The age of emigration also differs. In accordance to our HO survey findings, the mean age of emigration for the pre-crisis highly skilled migrants was
considerably lower (26.6) in comparison to that of the people who left after 2010, which was found similarly to the HO survey to be a bit higher than 30 (30.2). Several of the pre-crisis migrants had left for studies and decided to stay over abroad for a few years to gain some working experience and to then return to Greece. Yet as the economic crisis deepened in Greece they decided to prolong their stay. A considerable segment of them also saw their migration as a significant career move. In contrast, it was only a minority of the post 2010 emigrants who left for studies and/or saw their emigration as a career move (32%). The majority (68%) emigrated due to feelings of lacking any prospects in their home country and due to an overall disappointed with the grim socio-economic situation in Greece which often went hand in hand with a deep disillusionment with the political establishment in Greece and with state institutions.

For the majority of emigrants their life abroad has met their expectations and approximately three out of four evaluate their migration experience as a positive one. They report being especially content as far as their employment conditions are concerned; particularly in terms of remuneration and prospects of career advancement. They are less satisfied however in relation to job stability which seems to be a scarcity not only in Greece but also in their destinations countries. Only 7% of the respondents were unemployed at the time of the research and approximately three out of four of the respondents reported that they were never unemployed abroad. The majority of the informants found it neither easy nor difficult to access the labor market abroad while the data indicate that those educated in the fields of social and political sciences may experience more difficulties in finding a job. No significant differences were found between different destination countries in that respect as well as between the pre and the post 2010 emigrants (but this requires further research as the numbers are low). Finally, as found in the HO survey, the vast majority of emigrants (64%) neither send nor receives remittance. Yet the online survey did show that currently sending money (25%) is considerably more common than receiving money (11%) at least among the highly skilled migrants.

Despite their overall positive experiences abroad, half of the respondents have thought in the past or are currently thinking the possibility of return. Similarly, in a hypothetical question of ‘where they would wish to live if they could find employment with similar conditions to those they currently have’, half of the informants answered that they would go to Greece and 23% that they would share their time between Greece and their
current country of residence. Expectantly, the respondents mentioned that they would return if they or their partners found a job that would satisfy them financially and/or a job that would match their skills (60%). A considerable number of people also mentioned that they would be willing to return to Greece if they felt that a significant change was underway in Greece (46%). That was also expressed in their answers to the respective open question to which they mention a drive to contribute to the country as an important reason underlying their wish to return together with the wish to be closer to friends and family. At the moment however, only 15% is planning to return within the next 2 years while almost half of the respondents (44%) neither plan nor wish to return to Greece. Most of the emigrants (64%) were more positive in developing some kind of professional cooperation with businesses, research centers or other institutions in Greece and 5% of them is already doing it.
References


Damanakis, M., S. Konstantinidis and A. Tamis 2014. New Migration to and from Greece [in Greek] Rethymnon: University of Crete,K.E.M.E.


3 APPENDIX

3.1 TABLES AND GRAPHS FROM THE HO SURVEY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.** Distribution of the crisis emigration outflow per Continent

*Source: HO survey*

![Graph showing Greek immigration to selected EU and EEA destinations](image)

**Figure 1.** Greek immigration to selected EU and EEA destinations

*Sources:Destatis, CBS, BFS,CSB, STATISTIC AUSTRIA,DST, UK Nino registrations (DWP)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Greek citizens</th>
<th>Non Greek citizens</th>
<th>Total emigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>28301</td>
<td>33740</td>
<td>62041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>53210</td>
<td>39194</td>
<td>92404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>65264</td>
<td>59430</td>
<td>124694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>62089</td>
<td>55005</td>
<td>117094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.** Emigration from Greece, 2010-2013

*Source: Eurostat Database, ‘Emigration by sex, age group and citizenship,’ [link]*
**Figure 2.** Share of emigrants by educational background per decade of emigration  
*Source: HO survey*

**Figure 3.** The distribution per decade of the emigrants with postgraduate degrees or degrees from Medicine and Polytechnic schools  
*Source: HO survey*
Figure 4. Urban vs Semi-urban/rural origin of emigrants
Source: HO survey

Figure 5. Emigration after 2010 by region of origin of the emigrant
Source: HO survey
### Table 3. Emigration per decade by the income category of the household of the emigrant

*Source: HO survey*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income of the household</th>
<th>Family without an emigrant</th>
<th>Family with an emigrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very high</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle to low</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low to very low</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 6. Ways of accessing employment abroad for the post Crisis emigrants

*Source: HO survey*

- **Personal solicitation**
- **Through social networks**
- **Via previous employer or University**
- **Other**

### Table 4. Share of emigrants being unemployed at the time directly before emigration per decade

*Source: HO survey*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade of Emigration</th>
<th>Unemployed %</th>
<th>Non Unemployed %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1969</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1979</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1989</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1999</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2009</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2015</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decade of Emigration</td>
<td>Below 30 yrs old</td>
<td>Older than 30 yrs old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1969</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1979</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1989</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1999</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2009</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2019</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. The age of the emigrants at the time of emigration per decade
Source: HO survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade of Emigration</th>
<th>Sending remittances to Greece</th>
<th>Receiving money from Greece</th>
<th>Neither sending nor receiving money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1969</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1979</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1989</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1999</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2009</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2019</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. The flow of remittances per decade of emigration
Source: HO survey
Καλημέρα/Καλησπέρα σας,
Τηλεφωνούμε από το Πανεπιστήμιο Μακεδονίας. Το Πανεπιστήμιο διεξάγει μία πανελλαδική έρευνα καταγραφής των χαρακτηριστικών της μετανάστευσης από την Ελλάδα. Η έρευνα χρηματοδοτείται από το LSE (London School of Economics). Ο τηλεφωνικός σας αριθμός έχει επιλεγεί τυχαία μέσω συστήματος επιλογής τυχαίων αριθμών και δεν είναι γνωστός σε κανέναν. Θα μπορούσα να σας απασχολήσω για λίγα λεπτά προκειμένου να απαντήσετε σε μερικές ερωτήσεις;

Σας ευχαριστώ πολύ. Σας ενημερώνω ότι οι απαντήσεις σας θα παραμείνουν απόρρητες και θα χρησιμοποιηθούν αποκλειστικά για την παρουσίαση αθροιστικών στοιχείων. Σας ενημερώνω επίσης ότι επιστημονικά υπεύθυνος για τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας αυτής είναι ο Καθηγητής του Πανεπιστημίου Μακεδονίας κ. Λόης Λαμπριανίδης.

**Ερωτηματολόγιο**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Γενικά στοιχεία ατόμου</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Οικισμός στον οποίο ζείτε*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Φύλο *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Άνδρας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γυναίκα.........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Έτος Γέννησης (ενήλικοι μόνο) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ποιας χώρας είστε πολίτης; *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># ______________ Χώρα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Οικογενειακή κατάσταση</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Άγαμος ..................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Έγαμος ..................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σε διάσταση.............</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Διαζευγμένος............</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Χήρος....................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ελεύθερη συμβίωση&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ/Ξ........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ/Α........................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EXTRA 0: Πόσα άτομα κατοικούν στο νοικοκυριό σας; ΜΑΖΙ ΜΕ ΕΣΑΣ**
6. Ποια άτομα περιλαμβάνει το νοικοκυριό σας;

(περιλαμβάνονται αυτοί που μένουν στο ίδιο σπίτι και οι φαντάροι. ΔΕΝ συμπεριλαμβάνουμε τα παιδιά σας που ζουν σε άλλο σπίτι στην Ελλάδα)

**ΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΓΩ ΚΑΙ:****
Μέλη νοικοκυριού με βάση τον ερωτώμενο:
- Ο σύζυγος μου:
- Η σύζυγος μου:
- Ο Πατέρας μου:
- Η Μητέρα μου:
- Ο Γιος μου:
- Ο Γιος μου:
- Ο Γιος μου:
- Η Κόρη μου:
- Η Κόρη μου:
- Σύζυγος κόρης/ γιού:
- Εγγονός/ή:

**Μετανάστευση**

7. Χώρα κατοικίας της μητέρας σας κατά τη γέννησή σας (Συμπληρώνουμε ακόμη και αν δεν ζει)

Από Έλληνες γονείς

8. Σκέφτεστε να μεταναστεύσετε στο εξωτερικό εσείς ή κάποιο άλλο μέλος του νοικοκυριού σας σε άλλη περιοχή μέσα στον επόμενο χρόνο;

NAΙ.......................... → 13
OXΙ.......................... → 13
Δ/Ξ.......................... → 13
Δ/Α.......................... → 13

9. Εάν ΝΑΙ ποιο/ά μέλη του νοικοκυριού;

(Απαντήσεις με βάση τη κατηγοριοποίηση της ερώτησης 6)
- Ο σύζυγος μου:
- Η σύζυγος μου:
- Ο Πατέρας μου:
- Η Μητέρα μου:
- Ο Γιος μου:
- Ο Γιος μου:
- Ο Γιος μου:
- Η Κόρη μου:
- Η Κόρη μου:
- Η Κόρη μου:
- Σύζυγος κόρης/ γιού:
- Εγγονός/ή:
10. Για ποιο λόγο; (να αναφέρετε τον σημαντικότερο)
   ευκαιρίες εργασίας/επαγγελματική ανέλιξη
   ποιότητα περιβάλλοντος
   ποιότητα υπηρεσιών..........................
   Καλύτερη ποιότητα ζωής........................
   Αδυναμία να ανταπεξέλθω στις οικονομικές
   υποχρεώσεις μου............................
   επανασύνδεση οικογένειας.....................
   εκπαίδευση παιδών..........................
   κοντά στους δικούς μου (συγγενείς, φίλους)....
   Σύναψη σχέσης..................................
   Σπουδές

   Δ/Ξ..........................................................
   Δ/Α..........................................................

11. Σε ποιά πόλη/χώρα σκέφτεστε να πάτε;
   # ___________ Πόλη /Χώρα
   Δ/Ξ..............................
   Δ/Α..............................

12. Για ποιο λόγο σκέφτεστε να πάτε σε αυτή τη χώρα/πόλη
   - Έχω γνωστούς/ συγγενείς
   - Έχω βρει δουλειά
   - Υπάρχουν ευκαιρίες απασχόλησης
   - Άλλος ποιός; .................................

13. Είχατε ποτέ διαμείνει σε άλλη χώρα;
   NAI..............................
   OXI..............................
   Δ/Ξ..............................
   Δ/Α..............................

14. Έχετε κάποιον από την ΠΥΡΗΝΙΚΗ ΣΑΣ ΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΑ που μετανάστευσε στο εξωτερικό; (να τον
    αναφέρετε ακόμη και εάν έχει επιστρέψει – ακόμη και εάν δεν ζούει πριν μέσα στο σπίτι σας)
   NAI..............................
   OXI..............................  →  88
   Δ/Ξ..............................  →  88
   Δ/Α..............................  →  88
Μετανάστευση 1ου μέλους πυρηνικής οικογένειας

Εάν στην 13 ΝΑΙ τότε ρωτάμε πρώτα αυτόν που μας απαντά στο τηλέφωνο

15. Τι σχέση έχετε με αυτόν που μετανάστευσε, είστε:
   - Ο ΙΔΙΟΣ / Η ΙΔΙΑ
   - ο πατέρας του / η μητέρα του
   - ο/η σύζυγος του
   - ο/ η αδερφός/ή του
   - το παιδί του

16. Σε ποιες χώρες – πόλεις έζησε σαν μετανάστης;
   (ΠΧ: 1980 ΒΕΡΟΛΙΝΟ, 1983 ΝΤΥΣΕΛΝΤΟΡΦ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ΕΤΟΣ</th>
<th>Πόλη</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Για ποιά λόγο επέλεξε να πάει σε αυτή τη χώρα/πόλη
   - Έχω γνωστούς/ συγγενείς
   - Έχω βρει δουλειά
   - Υπάρχουν ευκαιρίες απασχόλησης
   - Άλλος ποιός;

ΠΡΙΝ ΦΥΓΕΙ

18. Σε ποια ΗΛΙΚΙΑ μετανάστευσε; (ΑΝ ΓΕΝΝΗΘΗΚΕ ΕΞΩ, ΤΟ ΔΗΛΩΝΟΥΜΕ)
   # ___________ Έτη
   Δ/Ξ_____________ -1
   Δ/Α_____________ -2

19. Ποια ΧΡΟΝΙΑ μετανάστευσε;
   # ___________ Έτος
   Δ/Ξ_____________ -1
   Δ/Α_____________ -2

20. Πώς κρίνετε εσείς τη μετανάστευσή του/της (τη δική σας μετανάστευση)
   Θετικά: (λόγος)__________________
   ______________________________
   Αρνητικά: (λόγος)__________________
   ______________________________
   Τίποτα από τα δύο
   Δ/Ξ_____________
   Δ/Α_____________

21. Τι σπουδές είχε κάνει πριν φύγει;

ΑΝΟΙΚΘΗ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ: Υψηλότερο επίπεδο και αντικείμενο αν υπάρχει. Εάν απαντά για τον εαυτό του την έχουμε την απάντηση
Δ/Ξ..............................
Δ/Α..............................

22. Ποια ήταν η τελευταία δουλειά στην οποία εργάστηκε πριν μεταναστεύσει;
ΑΝΟΙΚΤΗ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ: Πρέπει να καταλάβουμε τόσο κλάδο όσο και θέση στην εργασία (εργοδότης, αυτοαπασχολούμενος, μισθωτός, βοηθός σε οικιακή επιχείρηση, δημόσιος υπάλληλος κλπ)

Καμία _______________
Δ/Ξ..............................
Δ/Α..............................

23. Είχε προοπτική εξέλιξης στη συγκεκριμένη δουλειά;
NAI..............................
OXI..............................
Δ/Ξ..............................
Δ/Α..............................

24. Ήταν άνεργος την περίοδο ακριβώς πριν μεταναστεύσει;
NAI..............................
OXI..............................
Δ/Ξ..............................
Δ/Α..............................

25. Για πόσο καιρό (να δηλωθεί αν πρόκειται για ΜΗΝΕΣ ή ΧΡΟΝΙΑ);

26. Γιατί μετανάστευσε;
ευκαιρίες εργασίας/επαγγελματική ανέλιξη.....
ποιότητα περιβάλλοντος__________________________
ποιότητα υπηρεσιών____________________________
Καλύτερη ποιότητα ζωής__________________________
Αδυναμία να ανταπεξέλθω στις οικονομικές
υποχρεώσεις μου ________________________________
5
επανασύνδεση οικογένειας__________________________
εκπαίδευση παιδίων____________________________
κοντά στους δικούς μου (συγγενείς, φίλους)___
Σύναψη σχέσης_____________________________
Σπουδές_____________________________
Άλλο ποιό_____________________________

Δ/Ξ..............................
Δ/Α..............................
Στη χώρα που μετανάστευσε:

27. Ποια ήταν η πρώτη του δουλειά

28. Σε πόσο χρόνο βρήκε τη πρώτη του δουλειά

29. Ποιά είναι η τωρινή (ποια ήταν η κύρια δουλεία του εάν έχει επιστρέψει) του εργασία στο εξωτερικό

30. Η δουλειά που έχει (είχε) είναι (ήταν) αντίστοιχη των προσόντων του;

31. Πώς βρήκε δουλειά εκεί

32. Είχε ανθρώπους που τον/την στήριξαν στη χώρα που πήγε;
   - ΝΑΙ..........................
   - ΟΧΙ.......................... ➔ 35
   - Δ/Ξ............................
   - Δ/Α............................

33. Εάν ΝΑΙ ποιοι τον/την στήριξαν :
   - Συντοπίτες
   - Συγγενείς
   - Φίλοι
   - Άλλοι ποιοί;
   -

34. Σε τι τον βοήθησαν τα δίκτυα του για:
   - Να μείνει σε κάποιο σπίτι
   - Να ξεμπλέξει με τη γραφειοκρατία (ανοίξει λογαριασμό σε τράπεζα, συμβόλαιο για ενοικίαση σπιτιού κλπ)
   - Να βρεί δουλειά
   - Άλλο τι;
   -

35. Εάν έχει σύντροφο είναι:
   - Έλληνας /ίδα
   - Συν
   - ΟΧΙ
     - Δ/Ξ....................... -1
     - Δ/Α....................... -2

36. Πού μένει ο/η σύντροφος
   - Μαζί του/της
   - Ελλάδα
   - Σε άλλη πόλη στην ίδια χώρα
   - Σε άλλη χώρα

37. Έχει παιδιά;
38. Εάν NAI πού μένουν τα παιδιά του
- Μαζί του/της
- Ελλάδα
- Σε άλλη πόλη στην ίδια χώρα
- Σε άλλη χώρα

39. Πήρε κάποιο επιπλέον πτυχίο ενώ είναι (ήταν) στο εξωτερικό;
    - NAI
    - OXI
    - Δ/Ξ
    - Δ/Α

40. Εάν NAI τι πτυχίο πήρε;
    - απόκτησε πτυχίο πανεπιστημίου
    - απόκτησε μεταπτυχιακό δίπλωμα
    - απόκτησε διδακτορικό
    - Άλλο τι;

41. Όσο εργάζεται (εργαζόταν) στο εξωτερικό:
    - έστελνε χρήματα στην Ελλάδα
    - του στέλνατε χρήματα για να συμπληρώσει το εισόδημα του
    - Τίποτε από τα δυο

O/η μετανάστης Επέστρεψε στην Ελλάδα

EXTRA 1: Ο/η μετανάστης έχει επιστρέψει στην Ελλάδα;
    - NAI
    - OXI

42. Ποια χρονιά επέστρεψε

43. Σε ποιά ηλικία επέστρεψε

44. Επέστρεψαν όλα τα μέλη της οικογένειας που ζούσαν στο εξωτερικό (ο/η σύντροφος, παιδί κλπ – Ερωτ. 35 - 38)
    - NAI
    - OXI

45. Σε ποιό οικισμό εγκαταστάθηκε μετά την επιστροφή του
46. Γιατί πιστεύετε πως επέστρεψε;
- Αδυναμία εύρεσης δουλειάς στο εξωτερικό
- Λόγω συνταξιοδότησης
- Ηλικιωμένοι/άρρωστοι γονείς
- Ευκαιρίες απασχόλησης στην Ελλάδα
- Νόστος, φίλοι, οικογενειακός κύκλος
- Ποιότητα ζωής
- Περιβάλλον/κλίμα
- Σύναψη σχέσης
- Οικογενειακή επανένωση
- Άλλο

47. Πώς εκλαμβάνετε την επιστροφή του;
- Περισσότερο ως επιτυχία
- Περισσότερο ως αποτυχία
- Τίποτα από τα δύο
- Δ/Ξ
- Δ/Α

48. Δουλεύει/ψε στην Ελλάδα μετά την επιστροφή του;
- Τι δουλειά κάνει/έκανε
- ο μισθός του στην Ελλάδα τι % του μισθού του στο εξωτερικό είναι

49. Μήπως έφυγε ξανά στο εξωτερικό μετά την επιστροφή του στην Ελλάδα;
- ΝΑΙ
- ΟΧΙ
- Δ/Ξ
- Δ/Α

50. Εάν ΝΑΙ γιατί πιστεύετε πως έφυγε ξανά στο εξωτερικό;
- Δεν έβρισκε δουλειά
- Απογοητεύθηκε από τις συνθήκες ζωής στην Ελλάδα
- Άλλο

51. Έχετε και δεύτερο άτομο από την πυρηνική σας οικογένεια που μετανάστευσε;
- ΝΑΙ
- ΟΧΙ → 88
- Δ/Ξ → 88
- Δ/Α → 88

Μετανάστευση 2ου μέλους πυρηνικής οικογένειας
52. Τι σχέση έχετε με αυτόν που μετανάστευσε, είστε:
   - ο ίδιος / η ίδια
   - ο πατέρας του / η μητέρα του
   - ο/η σύζυγος του
   - ο/ η αδερφός/ή του
   - ο γιος/η κόρη

53. Σε ποιες χώρες – πόλεις έζησε σαν μετανάστης

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Χώρα/έτος</th>
<th>Πόλη1</th>
<th>Πόλη2</th>
<th>Πόλη3</th>
<th>Πόλη4</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

54. Για ποιό λόγο επέλεξε να πάει σε αυτή τη χώρα/πόλη
   - Έχω γνωστούς/ συγγενείς
   - Έχω βρει δουλειά
   - Υπάρχουν ευκαιρίες απασχόλησης
   - Άλλος ποιός

55. Σε ποια ηλικία μετανάστευσε;

   #
   Δ/Ξ,.........
   Δ/Α,.........

56. Ποια χρονιά μετανάστευσε;

   # Έτος
   Δ/Ξ,......... -1
   Δ/Α,......... -2

57. Πώς κρίνετε εσείς τη μετανάστευση του/της (τη δική σας μετανάστευση)

   Θετικά: (λόγος)..................................................
   Αρνητικά: (λόγος)..................................................
   Τίποτα από τα δύο
   Δ/Ξ,.........
   Δ/Α,.........

58. Τι σπουδές είχε κάνει πριν φύγει;

   ΑΝΟΙΚΤΗ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ: Υψηλότερο επίπεδο και αντικείμενο αν υπάρχει. Εάν απαντά για τον εαυτό του την έχουμε την απάντηση

   ____________________________ Σπουδές
   ____________________________
   Δ/Ξ,............................... -1
Δ/Α........................................ -2

59. Ποια ήταν η τελευταία δουλειά στην οποία εργάστηκε πριν μεταναστεύσει;
ΑΝΟΙΚΤΗ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ: Πρέπει να καταλάβουμε τόσο κλάδο όσο και θέση στην εργασία (εργοδότης, αυτοαπασχολούμενος, μισθωτός, βοηθός σε οικ. Επιχείρηση, δημόσιος υπάλληλος κλπ)

Καμιά __________________ 1
Δ/Ξ........................................ -1
Δ/Α........................................ -2

60. Είχε προοπτική εξέλιξης στη συγκεκριμένη δουλειά;
NAI............................... 1
OXI...................................... 2
Δ/Ξ...................................... -1
Δ/Α...................................... -2

61. Ἄνεργος την περίοδο ακριβώς πριν μεταναστεύσει;
NAI............................... 1
OXI...................................... 2
Δ/Ξ................................. -½
Δ/Α................................. -¿

62. Για πόσο καιρό
__________________________

63. Γιατί μετανάστευσε;
 eutharires ergasiais/epanegelmatiki anelizi..... 1
poiotita peripallontos............................. 2
poiotita uphresionw................................. 3
Kaliteperi poiotita zoihs........................... 4
Adynamia na antapexelthw stis oikonomikes
upxhresies mou......................................... 5
epanasaundesei oikogeneias........................ 6
ekpaideusei paidiouw............................... 7
konta stous dikous mou (sugeneis, filous),.... 8
Sinapsi schesis......................................... 9
Spoudhes............................................. 10
Δ/Ξ........................................... -1
Δ/Α........................................... -2

Στη χώρα που μετανάστευσε:

64. Ποια ήταν η πρώτη του δουλειά
65. Σε πόσο χρόνο βρήκε τη πρώτη του δουλειά

66. Ποιά είναι η τωρινή (ποια ήταν η κύρια δουλειά του εάν έχει επιστρέψει) του εργασία στο εξωτερικό

67. Η δουλειά που έχει (είχε) είναι (ήταν) αντίστοιχη των προσόντων του;

68. Πώς βρήκε δουλειά εκεί

69. Είχε ανθρώπους που τον/την στήριξαν στη χώρα που πήγε;
   - ΝΑΙ.......................... 1
   - ΟΧΙ.......................... 2
   - Δ/Ξ.......................... -1
   - Δ/Α.......................... -2

70. Εάν ΝΑΙ ποιοι τον/την στήριξαν:
   - Συντοπίτες
   - Συγγενείς
   - Φίλοι
   - Άλλοι ποιοί;

71. Σε τι τον βοήθησαν τα δίκτυα του για:
   - Να μείνει σε κάποιο σπίτι
   - Να εξετάσει με τη γραφειοκρατία (ανοίξει λογαριασμό σε τράπεζα, συμβόλαιο για ενοικίαση σπιτιού κλπ)
   - Να βρει δουλειά
   - Άλλο τι

72. Εάν έχει σύντροφο είναι:
   - Έλληνας /ίδα
   - ΟΧΙ
   - Δ/Ξ.......................... -1
   - Δ/Α.......................... -2

73. Πού μένει ο/η σύντροφος
   - Μαζί του/της
   - Ελλάδα
   - Σε άλλη πόλη στην ίδια χώρα
   - Σε άλλη χώρα

74. Έχει παιδιά;
   - ΝΑΙ.......................... 1
   - ΟΧΙ.......................... 2
   - Δ/Ξ.......................... -1
   - Δ/Α.......................... -2

......
75. Εάν ΝΑΙ πού μένουν τα παιδιά του
   - Μαζί του/της
   - Ελλάδα
   - Σε άλλη πόλη στην ίδια χώρα
   - Σε άλλη χώρα

76. Πήρε κάποιο επιπλέον πτυχίο ενώ είναι (ήταν) στο εξωτερικό;
   NAI................. 1
   OXI................. 2
   Δ/Ξ................. -1
   Δ/Α................. -2

77. Εάν ΝΑΙ τι πτυχίο πήρε;
   - απόκτησε πτυχίο πανεπιστημίου
   - απόκτησε μεταπτυχιακό δίπλωμα
   - απόκτησε διδακτορικό

78. Όσο εργάζεται (εργαζόταν) στο εξωτερικό:
   -έστελνε χρήματα στην Ελλάδα
   -του στέλνατε χρήματα για να συμπληρώσει το εισόδημα του
   -Τίποτε από τα δύο

O/η μετανάστης Επέστρεψε στην Ελλάδα

EXTRA 1: Ο μετανάστης έχει επιστρέψει στην Ελλάδα;
   -NAI
   -OXI -> 88

79. Ποια χρονιά επέστρεψε

80. Σε ποιά ηλικία επέστρεψε

81. Επέστρεψαν όλα τα μέλη της οικογένειας που ζούσαν στο εξωτερικό (ο/η σύντροφος, παιδί κλπ –ερώτ. 35 - 38)
   - NAI
   - OXI

82. Σε ποιό οικισμό εγκαταστάθηκε μετά την επιστροφή του

83. Γιατί πιστεύετε πως επέστρεψε;
   - Αδυναμία εύρεσης δουλειάς στο εξωτερικό
   - Λόγω συνταξιοδότησης
- Ηλικιωμένοι/άρρωστοι γονείς
- Ευκαιρίες απασχόλησης στην Ελλάδα
- Νόστος, φίλοι, οικογενειακός κύκλος
- Ποιότητα ζωής
- Περιβάλλον/κλίμα
- Σύναψη σχέσης
- Οικογενειακή επανένωση
- Άλλα

84. Πώς εκλαμβάνετε την επιστροφή του;  
- Περισσότερο ως επιτυχία  
- Περισσότερο ως αποτυχία  
- Τίποτα από τα δύο  
- Δ/Ξ  
- Δ/Α  

85. Δουλεύει/ψέ στην Ελλάδα μετά την επιστροφή του;  
- Τι δουλεύει/κάνει/έκανε  
- ο μισθός του στην Ελλάδα τι % του μισθού του στο εξωτερικό είναι

86. Μήπως έφυγε ξανά στο εξωτερικό μετά την επιστροφή του στην Ελλάδα;  
NAI .................. 1  
OXI .................. 2  
Δ/Ξ .................. -1  
Δ/Α .................. -2

87. Εάν ΝΑΙ γιατί πιστεύετε πως έφυγε ξανά στο εξωτερικό;  
- Δεν έβρισκε δουλειά  
- Απογοητεύθηκε από τις συνθήκες ζωής στην Ελλάδα  
- 'ΑΛ

EXTRA FINAL: 'Έχετε και τρίτο άτομο από την πυρηνική σας οικογένεια που να μετανάστευσε;  
NAI .................. 1  
OXI .................. 2 -> 88

Επίπεδο διαβίωσης του νοικοκυριού

Εκπαίδευση

88. Ποια είναι η ανώτερη βαθμίδα εκπαίδευσης που έχετε ολοκληρώσει;  
Διδακτορικό 1  
Μάστερ 2  
Πτυχίο ΑΕΙ 3  
Δεν ολοκλήρωσα Πτυχίο ΑΕΙ 4  
Πτυχίο ΤΕΙ, KATE, KATEE, Ανώτερης Σχολής και Εκκλησιαστικής εκπ/σης 5
Δεν ολοκλήρωσα Πτυχίο ΤΕΙ, KATE, KATEE, Ανώτερης Σχολής και Εκκλησιαστικής εκπ/σης 6
Πτυχίο Μεταδευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης (ΙΕΚ, Κολέγια κλπ) 7
Απολυτήριο Γεν. Λυκείου ή δτάξιου Γυμνασίου ή ΕΠΛ 8
Πτυχίο ΤΕΛ 9
Πτυχίο ΤΕΣ 10
Απολ. Στάξιου Γυμνασίου 11
Απολυτήριο Δημοτικού 12
Φοιτά στο Δημοτικό 13
Μερικές τάξεις του Δημοτικού 14
Δεν γνωρίζει γραφή και ανάγνωση 15
Δ/Ξ........ -1
Δ/ΔΑ........ -2

89. Αντικείμενο της τελευταίας μετά το λύκειο εκπαίδευσης.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Τι σπούδασε;</th>
<th>Δ/Ξ</th>
<th>Δ/ΔΑ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Διδακτορικό</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάιτερ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο ΑΕΙ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δεν ολοκλήρωσα Πτυχίο ΑΕΙ</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο ΤΕΙ, KATE, KATEE, Ανώτερης Σχολής και Εκκλησιαστικής εκπ/σης</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δεν ολοκλήρωσα Πτυχίο ΤΕΙ, KATE, KATEE, Ανώτερης Σχολής και Εκκλησιαστικής εκπ/σης</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο Μεταδευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης (ΙΕΚ, Κολέγια κλπ)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Απολυτήριο Γεν. Λυκείου ή δτάξιου Γυμνασίου ή ΕΠΛ</td>
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<td>Πτυχίο ΤΕΛ</td>
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<td>Πτυχίο ΤΕΣ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Απολ. Στάξιου Γυμνασίου</td>
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<tr>
<td>Απολυτήριο Δημοτικού</td>
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<td>Φοιτά στο Δημοτικό</td>
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<tr>
<td>Μερικές τάξεις του Δημοτικού</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δεν γνωρίζει γραφή και ανάγνωση</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Δ/Ξ........ -1</td>
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<td>Δ/ΔΑ........ -2</td>
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</table>

90. Εάν έχει σύζυγο (να υπολογιστεί από ερώτηση 6), ποιά είναι η ανώτερη βαθμίδα εκπαίδευσης που έχει ολοκληρώσει ο/η σύζυγος σας;

| Δ/Ξ | Δ/ΔΑ |
| 1   |      |
| 2   |      |
| 3   |      |
| 4   |      |
| 5   |      |
| 6   |      |
| 7   |      |
| 8   |      |
| 9   |      |
| 10  |      |
| 11  |      |
| 12  |      |
| 13  |      |
| 14  |      |
| 15  |      |

91. Αντικείμενο της τελευταίας του/της μετά το λύκειο εκπαίδευσης.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Τι σπούδασε;</th>
<th>Δ/Ξ</th>
<th>Δ/ΔΑ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Διδακτορικό</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάιτερ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο ΑΕΙ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δεν ολοκλήρωσα Πτυχίο ΑΕΙ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο ΤΕΙ, KATE, KATEE, Ανώτερης Σχολής και Εκκλησιαστικής εκπ/σης</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δεν ολοκλήρωσα Πτυχίο ΤΕΙ, KATE, KATEE, Ανώτερης Σχολής και Εκκλησιαστικής εκπ/σης</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο Μεταδευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης (ΙΕΚ, Κολέγια κλπ)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Απολυτήριο Γεν. Λυκείου ή δτάξιου Γυμνασίου ή ΕΠΛ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο ΤΕΛ</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Πτυχίο ΤΕΣ</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Απολ. Στάξιου Γυμνασίου</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Απολυτήριο Δημοτικού</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φοιτά στο Δημοτικό</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μερικές τάξεις του Δημοτικού</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δεν γνωρίζει γραφή και ανάγνωση</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ/Ξ........ -1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ/ΔΑ........ -2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Απασχόληση

92. Ποια είναι η κύρια ασχολία σας;
93. Ποιο είναι το επάγγελμα που κάνετε σήμερα;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Δ/Ξ</th>
<th>Δ/Α</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

94. Στο επάγγελμα σας έχετε υπό την επίβλεψη σας άλλους εργαζόμενους (δεν συμπεριλαμβάνονται άλλα μέλη της οικογένειας σας)

| Π.Χ. Ιδιώτης Γιατρός / ιδιοκτήτης βιοτεχνίας παρασκευής τροφίμων / υπάλληλος σε εμπορικό κατάστημα / |

95. Πόσους εργαζόμενους

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Δ/Ξ</th>
<th>Δ/Α</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

96. Μέσα στην περασμένη δεκαετία, υπήρξατε ποτέ άνεργος, για διάστημα μεγαλύτερο των 6 μηνών;

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97. Εάν έχει σύζυγο στο νοικοκυριό (να υπολογιστεί από ερώτηση 6) ποιο είναι το επάγγελμα που κάνει σήμερα;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Δ/Ξ</th>
<th>Δ/Α</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98. Ποια είναι η συνολική επιφάνεια της κατοικίας σας σε τετραγωνικά μέτρα;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>M^2</th>
<th>Δ/Ξ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
99. Αριθμός κανονικών δωματίων εκτός κουζίνας
# Μ^2
Δ/Ξ -1
Δ/Α -2

100. Αριθμός αυτοκινήτων στη διάθεση του νοικοκυριού:
# Μ^2
Δ/Ξ -1
Δ/Α -2

101. Την κατοικία που μένετε τώρα την κατέχετε ως:
Ιδιοκτήτης 1
Στεγαστικό Δάνειο 2
Ενοικιαστής 3
Άλλη Ιδιότητα ποιά; 4

102. Ποιο είναι κατά προσέγγιση το συνολικό μηνιαίο εισόδημα του νοικοκυριού σας; (περιλαμβάνει εισόδημα από εργασία, συντάξεις, ενοίκια, κλπ)
Λιγότερο 150€ 150-300€ 300-500€ 500-1000€ 1000-1500€ 1500-2000€ 2000-2500€ 2500-3000€ 3000-5000€ 5000-7500€ 7500-10000€
ΜΗΝΙΑΙΟΣ κατά προσέγγιση ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

103. Και ποιο είναι το ποσό των δανείων που έχετε σε εκκρεμότητα αυτήν τη στιγμή; Δάνεια πο έχετε (πιστωτικές κάρτες στεγαστικά κλπ)
- Δεν οφείλω
- 1.000 ευρώ
- 1.001-3.000
- 3.001-5.000
- 5.001-10.000
- 10.000-20.000
- 20.000-50.000
> 50.000

__ ΝΟΜΟΣ________________________