

ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

**LA NOUVELLE
IMMIGRATION GRECQUE
THE NEW WAVE OF
GREEK MIGRATION**

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The Greek Neo-migration to Germany

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RÉSUMÉ

La Grèce est entrée à partir de 2010 dans une nouvelle phase de migration de masse en raison de la “crise économique”, les pays de destination étant cette fois principalement ceux de l’Union européenne et en deuxième lieu les pays d’immigration grecque traditionnels tels les États-Unis, le Canada et l’Australie. L’objet de cet article est d’examiner le processus de déplacement, d’établissement et d’intégration des nouveaux immigrants grecs en Allemagne ainsi que leur orientation future dans ce pays. En particulier, l’article porte sur: 1. Le profil des néo-migrants 2. Les raisons et les types d’immigration 3. L’installation et les procédures d’intégration dans le pays d’accueil 4. L’auto-organisation à l’intérieur des réseaux sociaux 5. Les orientations futures.

ABSTRACT

A new phase of mass migration has taken place due to the “economic crisis” that Greece has entered into as of 2010, with countries of destination this time primarily being European Union countries and secondarily traditional Greek immigration countries such as the U.S., Canada and Australia. The purpose of this study is to investigate the process of moving, settling, and the integration of new Greek immigrants in Germany as well as their establishment and future orientation there. In particular the study deals with: 1. The profile of neo-migrants 2. Reasons and ways for migration 3. Settling and integration procedures in the new country 4. Organization, self-organization 5. Future orientations.

Introduction

Until the last decade of the 19th century, movements from the newly established Greek state to the “commercial” Communities, as well as movement among the Communities, had a strong commercial character. In contrast, the last decade of the 19th century inaugurated a new form of migration. That is, labour migration, initially, to the U.S. and later to other countries of immigration.

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From 1890 until the early 1970s various migration movements took place. The dominant one, was from 1952 to 1972 during which approximately 1,200,000 Greeks migrated, mainly to the USA, Canada, Australia and the central and northern European countries.

The restoration of democracy in Greece, in 1974, the fact that the country joined the European Union and especially its growth rate until the first decade of the 21st century created the (false) impression that Greek emigration, as a phenomenon, belonged, to the past. Indeed, Greece transformed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration.

This perception existed until 2010, when the “economic crisis” burst and the country entered a new phase of mass migration with countries of destination this time primarily being European Union countries and secondarily traditional Greek immigration countries such as the U.S., Canada, and Australia.

The preference of European countries dates back to the free movement of populations, to geographic proximity and employment opportunities, especially in the economically powerful and reunified Germany.

The post-2010 migration of Greeks to these countries is characterized as a neo-migration, not only because it takes place after a “break” of four decades, but also because - as it will be further shown - it differs from previous migration flows.

In a similar manner, from the term ‘neo-migration’ the term «neo-migrant», is conventionally used although, individuals with academic qualifications perceive themselves more as free migrant workers in the unified European labor market and less as immigrants.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the process of moving, settling, and the integration of new immigrants in Germany as well as their establishment and future orientation there.

1. The Greek Presence in Germany - Past and Present

Greek labour immigration in Germany began unofficially in 1958 and officially in March of 1960, when the relevant intergovernmental agreement between Greece and the Bunderepublik Deutschland (BRD), Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was signed.

As seen from Table 1 that follows, in the fifteen years 1958 -1973 approximately 600,000 labourers migrated to Germany. If their family members are added to that figure, the size of the Greek presence in this country during that period can be grasped.

Table 1: The Evolution of Greek migration workers to BRD (1958-1973)¹

Year	Number	Year	Number
1958	1.510	1966	39.742
1959	2.479	1967	7.605
1960	23.346	1968	37.248
1961	36.606	1969	65.126
1962	47.559	1970	64.026
1963	58.009	1971	42.000
1964	65.130	1972	24.666
1965	61.822	1973	9.548
1958 - 1973 = 586.640			

Source: Damanakis 1987, p.37.

During the year 2011 the number of Greeks in Germany amounted to 283.648 individuals (see Table 2). From the total of that number, 85,266 lived in the state of North Rhine Westphalia (NRW), 67,189 in Baden Württemberg and 55,732 in Bavaria.

Table 2: Evolution of the Greek population to Germany

1967: 200.961	1982: 300.824	2000: 365.438
1970: 342.891	1985: 280.614	2003: 354.600
1973: 407.614	1988: 274.973	2006: 303.761
1976: 353.733	1991: 336.893	2009: 278.063
1979: 296.803	1994: 355.583	2010: 276.865
	1997: 363.202	2011: 283.684

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012.

The actual figure of individuals of Greek descent are now much higher for two reasons. Firstly, official statistics do not include those who also have German citizenship or only German citizenship. Secondly, the statistics include those who have registered as residents by the responsible government agencies (Einwohnermeldeamt), but not those who, for example, live in Germany, are seeking employment and have not yet registered as permanent residents in Germany.

In 2012 at least 25,000 individuals migrated from Greece to Germany and were thus, added to the 283,684 number of Greeks residing in Germany. According to the German statistical office, the first half of 2012, 15,838 individuals emigrated from Greece to Germany, versus 8,890 individuals in the first half of 2011 (up 78.2%). Overall for the year 2012, the influx of Greeks in Germany rose on average by 43% compared to 2011 (www.destatis.de, Pressemitteilung Nr. 156/07.05.2013).

According to the German service «Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlingen» (2011, p.71 Table II, 2) in the year 2011 a total of 16,258 Greeks arrived in Germany, while according to the OOSA (OECD 2013,256), during the year 2011, 23,000 individuals migrated from Greece to Germany, 6,000 to the UK, 2,400 to the Netherlands and 1,000 to Sweden.

From 2010 until today, the movement of populations from Greece to Germany so as to seek employment presents a dynamic increase. This is apparent not only from the statistics but also from the statements of officials in the Greek Consulates as well as the statements from the Presidents of the Communities, the President of the Federation of Greek Communities in Germany, but also others such as individual academics, social workers and educators with whom we conversed.

2. Research Methodology

The statements, the evaluations and the opinions from the above mentioned departments and the delegated individuals were collected during our fieldwork in *December 2012* in the cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Bonn, but also during the time period from January to July 2013, primarily through Skype interviews.

Specifically, apart from the statistics drawn from the German Federal

Statistics Office and the information and data collected from the daily and periodical German press, statistical data were also collected, from the Greek Education Offices in Germany - and from those in Brussels and London, in regards to changes in student population.

Also, interviews were drawn from:

- Two (2) competent Consular Officers (CO)
- Two (2) teachers (T)
- Three (3) Presidents of Greek Communities (CP)
- One (1) Social Worker (SW)
- Six (6) “neo-migrants” (NM) (2 men 4 women)
- One (1) «older immigrant» the Coordinator of the «Hellenic Bonn», a network consisting mainly of “neo-migrant” academics (CHB)
- One (1) Priest (P)
- Five (5) Education Coordinators (EC) gave us statistics and useful information from structured interviews with them.
- Finally, useful information and viewpoints were provided by a competent member of the Greek Embassy in Berlin and two Consuls General during discussions as regards to the issue of neo-migration in Germany.

In regards to neo-migrants, focus was placed on specialized individuals with university degrees (doctors/dentists/nurses, engineers, lawyers, scholars), because-as we shall see below-this group is quantitatively dominant, but also because access to skilled or unskilled labourers proved difficult due to time constraints. Nevertheless, concerning the aforementioned category of individuals a plethora of information was drawn from the Community Presidents, consular officials, social workers, the priest and teachers.

It should be noted, that our research was far from being thorough nor is the claim made that conclusive drawings will be reached.

With the help of qualitative methods, our goal was to approach the neo-migration to Germany, to outline and attempt to evaluate it through the neo-migrant perspective but also to interpret it as far as possible, within the context of the current European and global socio-economic development.

The process of which these interviews were conducted were as follows:

1. *The profile of neo-migrants,*
2. *Reasons and ways for migration,*
3. *Settling and integration procedures in the new country,*
4. *Organization, self-organization in social networks,*
5. *Future orientations.*

For each of the interviewed individuals, a code was provided that is referred to in the evaluation that follows.

Particularly, the neo-migrants - as we have conventionally termed them, even though they themselves do not always adopt this term – were given the codes from NM1 to NM6, the Consular Officers codes CO1 and CO2, the Community Presidents codes from CP1 to CP3, the Education Coordinators EC1-EC5, the Social Worker SW, the priest P, the Coordinator of Hellenic Bonn Network was provided the code CHB and finally teachers were given the codes T1- T2.

The basic material as regards to the evaluation that follows includes: sixteen (16) interviews with neo-migrants and the previously-mentioned individuals, structured interviews, as well as other material collected during the time period from January to July, 2013².

3. The Profile of Neo-migrants

The message, or at least the impression given that neo-migration to Germany, other European countries as well as other transatlantic countries is no longer for labour work, but academic work, is typically acknowledged by the media, but also from scientific papers. One such example can be seen from the work of Lambrianidis (2011) “Investing in Flight”. However, this study does not concern Greek “neo-migrants” but in general Greek academics working abroad or having worked abroad and yet subsequently had repatriated.

The view that the Greek “neo-migration” is a “migration of intelligence” is continuously promoted from both the Greek, and German media. A characteristic example is the first schoolgirl who obtained the highest credits on national exams in 2013, and decided to pursue her studies in Germany.

This decision of hers became headlines for both Greek internet and printed news, that were published and became well known by the magazine «DER SPIEGEL» (SPIEGEL ONLINE, 01.07.2013).

The migration flows as regards to Germany, has mainly an academic character. Specifically, according to a study by the «Bertelsmann Stiftung» foundation (2013a, 14) by the year 2009, 43% of new migrants (Neueinwanderer) had a higher education, while the percentage of corresponding higher education native workers, aged 15-65, amounted to 26%.

However, on the other hand, while the percentage of “natives” without professional qualifications amounted to only 12%, the corresponding rate among new migrants (Neuzuwanderer) amounted to 25%.

From the above stated, it follows thus, that among the neo-migrants, the dominant group is the one whose members possess higher education qualifications. At the same time, however, there is also a marginal “sub-luben” lacking basic professional qualifications.

This situation is reverse to that of the decades between 1955-1973 in Germany.

Furthermore, the Greek Consulates and Greek communities, depicted the Greek neo-migrants in the exact same way. From the one hand the “educated” and from the other the “desperate”, who “have no future perspective.”

The president of the Greek Community of Düsseldorf - where attempts are being made for a systematic record of the Greek neo-migrants in the region – has indicated the first group to range between 60% -70%, while the second of about 20%.

Based on our experience gained from our field investigation neo-migrants with higher education degrees are differentiated in two groups, depending on the demand and supply of their profession in the German labor market. In particular, those who are characterized by a profession of high demand (mainly doctors, nurses, computer engineers and graduates in applied technology) and those who even though have a background in university education, their area of expertise is not in demand in the job market - these are mainly humanities and social sciences, but also Law School graduates.

Based on the above, and by illustrating the profile of neo-migrants, the following three groups have been reached as a conclusion.

1. *University graduates, with «easy» access to the job market of their profession.*
2. *University graduates, with «difficult» access to the job market of their profession.*
3. *Skilled or unskilled workers, graduates of secondary education.*

The neo-migrants who have requested assistance by the Consulates and Communities, normally belong to the third group, less frequently in the second and never in the first.

What's more, it is also noteworthy to mention that approximately an equal amount of males and females migrate.

4. Reasons and Ways of Migration

The participants of our sample chose migration based on two factors: a) for study and b) for employment purposes.

Moreover, individuals who migrate for employment purposes are differentiated into three categories, b1) those who had never joined the job market in Greece, b2) those who reached unemployment and b3) those who even though employed in Greece due to insecurity factors and lack of future prospects, abandoned their work and migrated.

A separate category refers to those who had previously lived in Germany, moved to Greece and following the year 2010 “return” to Germany due to the Greek economic crisis. The exact percentage of these “returnees” proved impossible to calculate. However, we can definitely state that they only embrace a small group; in contrast, in other countries, such as Australia, they consist of the dominant group.

The lack of perspective in Greece generally causes even those who had initially migrated for postgraduate studies to change their course and to remain in Germany. One such example is the one that follows. The statements of a Law School graduate from the University of Athens with a Masters degree from Germany: *“My goal of course was to return immediately after I had completed my Masters degree. I had an excellent cooperation with the law office I was undertaking my practical experience. I was actively involved in decision making and taking initiatives. I was actively involved rather than passively as is the norm for many young lawyers, and I was even offered a position as a lawyer. So it did at no time, seem that I would continue*

to stay in Germany, but within this year (2012) many things happened in Greece, the circumstances changed a lot”(NM1).

Similar to the above statements are the viewpoints of a literature educator who during 2010/11 worked in a photocopy shop with a wage of 380 euros per month. Her work prospects as she stated were: *“switch from working at the photocopy shop to working at ZARA» (NM2).* Thus, her childhood desire to migrate and become acquainted with other countries, became a vital necessity, *“that was done by my own desire, it became a vital necessity” (NM2).*

Even though for certain individuals migration is imperative, for others migration is a way to prevent the worst to come. According to the statement of a trainee doctor, the reduction of wages, non-payment of compensation for overtime and the general deterioration of the national health system were the reasons that led him/her to resign from his/her position in Greece and seek a position in Germany (NM6).

A computer engineer (NM4) due to a bank merging and the subsequent downsizing of personell made sure to seek a job in Germany ahead of time.

The educational background and the market demand of the destination country was the determinant factor as regards to the way migrants collected information and overcame obstacles when moving from their homeland to the destination country.

That is, highly skilled individuals who are familiar with the use of the internet, so as to collect the necessary information, properly prepare and ensure, as much as possible, a job prior to migrating. Indicative is the following testimony of NM4: *“... I had previously spent a semester in Munich. I had an idea of what Germany was like, so I started sending resumes. I had some interviews until finally a successful interview with the D.P. was reached. This was a position that is directly related with what I did in Greece.”*

Of course, as we will see below, among highly qualified individuals are those who are most likely to find work as doctors, due to the high demand of medical and nursing staff in the German national health system.

In contrast to those who are the well-informed and well-prepared prior to migrating, there are also the “desperate.” As CO1 stated: *“When the crisis hit, that is, two years ago, we received phone calls and email, usually by individuals who so to speak, lack adequate qualifications. They pack a suitcase, get on a plane and, let fate*

decide for the future, they do not speak German, they are unskilled, they don't have a degree, so those that really are desperate!"

What's more, according to the statement of SW, some are in such despair that even risk moving through «Schlepper» (traffickers).

This had been made public through newspapers in Greece: *"We had warned them to watch out, watch out, these are the circumstances, but unfortunately many compatriots are in such need, that even though they are aware that there may be taken advantage of, they think, at least there is some hope"* (SW).

Yes? So they take this risk. So they say, I will take the risk whatever happens? (MD).

"At the very least a chance, I might get lucky. Suppose, I may meet someone or something good might come out. So some are aware of the situation, and nevertheless, fall into the trap" (SW).

Indicative, as regards to labour trafficking, are the statements of an experienced priest at a large Orthodox Community in Germany. *"I am not referring to the academics I am referring to the public"! Well, these are some hundreds, (he means in his own parish MD) some come here after being deceived by fraud realtors, whom they had paid to find them a job. And indeed they arrive and are hired by someone, they work for a week to ten days and then they are told I am very sorry, but as you can see for yourself, we are not busy so you have to leave"* (P).

Apart from labour smugglers, that is, today's "traffickers", who operate in networks with members not only in Greece but also in Germany, there are also official private mediation companies who assist individuals find a job. It was through such a company that a subject from our sample, a nurse, pursued to seek for a job.

In these cases also, the exploitation of the worker is not an exception. This at least is the case during the time period of "subletting" because usually after a six month time period, the employer can directly sign a contract with the employee.

However, during the period of "subleasing" the brokerage company withholds 30-40% from the employee's salary to cover the mediation "costs".

The interested «potential migrants» can draw information from informal networks, such as neighboring networks or local networks of Greek restaurant owners, as well as institutions such as the Greek Communities and the

“Evangelische Diakonie”.

Indeed, the cooperation between the Greek Community of Düsseldorf and Diakon Rheinland-Westfalen-Lippe led to the establishment of a bilingual guide entitled “Living and Working in Germany”, which is available both in print and electronic format and is one of the most valuable information tools in Germany (www.diakonie-rwl.de).

There are also legislated private initiatives that inform and assist interested parties, such as the “Greek-Network: Regions - Local - Citizens. Deutsch-Griechisches Netzwerk Regionen-Städte-Bürger»([www.grde.ev / el](http://www.grde.ev/el)) in Thessaloniki and Berlin.

The Federal Labour Organization - Bundesagentur für Arbeit. Zentrale Auslands-und Fachvermittlung (ZAV), (www.arbeitsagentur.de) should be added with the previously mentioned sources of information. The aforementioned provides systematic and reliable information, based on the needs of the German economy. Equally important is the contribution of the German Embassy in Athens (www.griechenland.diplo.de, Leben & Arbeiten in Deutschland).

A common feature of all agencies and information sources is that the information is provided via the internet, which means that anyone who is not familiar with the internet or does not have access to it is at a disadvantage.

Furthermore, from what it seems, the Greek state does not play a role either in providing information to new immigrants or as regards to migrating to another country. Specifically, the information and support provided by the Greek Consulates relates to the initiatives of Consuls and Consular officers, who are usually responsible for the trade and economy sector, and not to the immigration policy of Greece.

5. Settling and Integration Procedures in the New Country

Prior to outlining the settling procedures of migrants in the host country and into their integration labor market, it should be emphasized that recently, Germany, is a major destination among other European countries. That is, in contrast to other member countries of the OOSA (OECD), where in 2009 and 2010 a decline in immigration was observed, in Germany there was an increase. Specifically, according to the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlingen, the

development of input-output of migrants during the time period 2007-2011 was as follows (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1.: Inflows-Outflows of foreigners in Germany

Year	Inflow	Outflow	Net (+) Migration
2007	574752	475749	99003
2008	573815	563130	10685
2009	606314	578808	27506
2010	683530	529605	153925
2011	841695	538837	302858

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlingen. Migrationsbericht 2011, p.15, Table 1.1.

According to a statement by the Federal Statistical Office (Pressemitteilung 156/07.05.2013), the year 2012, inflows rose by 13% and net migration reached the number of 369,000-the highest number since 1995.

Note that 60% of the inputs came from member states of the EU, with Poland, Romania and Bulgaria being first. It is also noteworthy to state that for the academic year 2011/12, 192,800 foreign students enrolled at German higher education institutions (OECD 2013, p.254).

5.1. Moving and Settling

The procedure involved in moving and settling in the target country mainly depends on the amount of information in regards to finding employment prior to migrating. Two perspectives guide this procedure.

On the one hand there are the “Academics” who prior to migrating ensure they have signed an employment contract, and in some cases their employer even undertakes the cost of transporting their household possessions from Greece- and on the other hand there are the “desperate” who go to Germany, being unaware and unprepared of what to expect, and end up living in cardboard boxes under bridges, in parks or in train stations.

In regards to the aforementioned, the following statements are shocking:

At some point during the first few months that we dealt with the matter, the phone rang and it was the German police, saying, "Come get your people "out blunt. So we go and what do we see. They had found a couple with two kids sleeping on cardboard under the bridge (CP3).

A year ago we had a gypsy with three children (...) obviously she borrowed money from all the people at the camp and brought three under aged children. We told her: My lady, don't you pity the kids?". They were sleeping in the street. Fortunately the German welfare took care of the situation, at least for the three young children. This shows desperation (CO1).

The social worker stresses that some families are in such "*despair... that they just come, just like that, they take the child and come. The one that came now, the mother with a child of seven years; some young man brought her and then left her.*" (SW).

The phenomenon of neo-migrant "impoverishment" is also observed in other European countries. EC5, wrote that: "*We also had a mother with two children who slept in the park for two nights and was taken by the church; as well as the family of a student who in six months time returned after we had collected the funds for their return tickets through a fundraising event that was organized at the Embassy*".

The priest interviewed also made note of the funds for the return ticket "*We as a church have repeatedly paid for return tickets (...) ten days ago I paid the last ticket as a church. In 2013 (until mid-July M.D.), we have paid for return tickets four times.*" (P).

Those who have relatives in Germany are in a more favorable situation. Not only because they are staying with them, while being in a transitional stage, but also because they feel secure and have actual support from the moment they arrive. As the social worker stated these families "*are the most organized. And the other phenomenon is that these families bring all their household appliances as well... transport it with a truck... actual evacuation*"(SW).

The first settling in the host country seems to be a burden for all new migrants. Even for academics, if one does not take into consideration the minimum of those who are directly supported by the new employer. As we were informed by the Coordinator of the Hellenic Bonn network, which almost exclusively consists of people with academic qualifications and a job

relevant to their qualifications, the questions received from newcomers relate to everyday life. Where and how will I find a home? Where and how will I be registered?

How will I enroll my child in kindergarten? How does the health system work, etc?

The settling process is made even more sufferable for those who do not speak German. Because even though they use English to communicate in the workplace, in everyday life the language of communication is German.

Furthermore, in many cases, the first time settling process is often accompanied by a lack of financial resources, to such an extent, that neo-migrants live below the poverty level, particularly if they are unaware of the welfare benefits of their host country.

If one compares «Gastarbeiter» of the 1960's with the equivalent group of "neo-migrants", that is, of skilled or unskilled employees, one realizes that the «Gastarbeiter» were in a more advantageous position, as migration was based on interstate agreements and was organized, whereas today the immigrant undertakes full responsibility for everything on his own.

Hence, migration from being a collective and organized process during the decades 1950-1970 evolved into a purely private affair. This way, individuals of low educational background and professional status cannot easily manage this situation. This is why it becomes vital to support social services, the Church and the Communities. In housing, for example, the Communities and the Church ensure cheap accommodation or finding "foster" families, where neo-migrants, in need of assistance, could reside during their transitional stage (CP3, P, SW).

5.2. Integration into the Labor Market

Integration into the labor market has its own difficulties, especially if a job has not been secured prior to migrating. Situations of exploitation by employers are not rare even in cases of doctors who easily find work in state hospitals. As it has become apparent through our study, because they are young, and in most cases unskilled doctors, they are in a weak bargaining position. Thus, it is not an unusual phenomenon for them to agree to work transitionally, for some months, as "visitors" without pay or with part-time

pay, even though they are in fact full-time employed. The huge profit of the German health care system is evident in such particular cases. Essentially, Germany employs low-paid doctors without having been burdened for their education. It should be noted that the demand for medical and nursing staff, as well as the employment of thousands of Greek doctors in Germany is based on international mobility. That is due to the fact that German doctors themselves, seek for employment in the Scandinavian countries and in Switzerland, where wages are much higher. So the gap is covered by doctors coming from southern Europe, especially from Greece.

Despite the cases of exploitation, doctors remain a privileged group of employees, especially when they are proficient German speakers. However, this is not the case with individuals who have a university degree, but whose occupation is not in demand in Germany or can be exercised under certain circumstances.

Graduates of non-German law schools, for example, are not allowed to attend court in Germany, which means that they do not seek employment in the field of justice. This complicates their professional settlement and leads them to seek a profession elsewhere. Thus, the two Law School graduates of the University of Athens EK, with postgraduate degrees from Germany, whom we met and spoke to in Germany, engaged in volunteer work at the Greek Consulate in order to gain administrative experience, and ensured their daily expenses by working elsewhere (in Greek restaurants).

Neo-migrants undertake low paid work unrelated to their studies and their profession, with the hope that this way they will find access in the work market and will gradually obtain positions equivalent to their qualifications. It is not therefore, unusual for an experienced engineer to be working at a dry cleaners (Wäscherei), until he learns the language, and for a teacher to work for 400 euros at Düsseldorf Airport, driving or cleaning rental cars.

“... We have an example at the airport, where a Greek individual is the head in a large company which undertakes the service of rental cars, from the time it is delivered by the customer until the time it is delivered to the company clean (...) At the moment non appointed teachers work there. Retired law enforcement officials - young 40 year old individuals who got their pension and came to Germany” (CP3).

The Greek restaurant owners seem to simultaneously be a “blessing” and a

“curse”. As shown from our participant observation and especially by our discussion with the Greek Community presidents, of whom two were also restaurant owners, Greek restaurant owners are viewed as a particular, restricted work market that serves as an introductory stage prior to the main work market.

“... We, here at Romiosini (restaurant chain M. D.) have hired around 15 individuals, Greek newcomers are usually university graduates. What can I offer them, I cannot employ academics. So I say, to them, “Work, at the bar, for example, for a few months, for a year, learn the language,” hopefully they will soon find a better job and climb the ladder” (CP1).

At the same time, however, there are also restaurant owners who are harsh exploiters. *“Yes, they will hire you and keep you for a month, and then they’ll tell you that you are not fitted for the job and to get out. Or they will find a reason for an argument and force you to leave. And then, the next, the next, the next, there is ample supply. And finally, they get away without paying insurance premiums, by having free workers” (CP3).*

A manager and well informed Consular officer denounced extreme cases of exploitation.

“During these difficult times cunning individuals, try to take advantage of these situations. These cunning individuals are restaurant owners that cooperate with some so to speak “employment” offices, and a kind of human trafficking takes place. That is, they bring people to work in restaurants, they pay for their plane ticket, they put them in a warehouse (...). They sleep in the restaurant’s warehouse, like animals, and then what do they do? After a month they fire them without giving them any money. He says, “But why don’t you pay me?” No, they say, “That was to pay for your plane ticket from Greece.” And they come here, one person was sobbing. They also should file a complaint. But no one has done so. Are they afraid? I do not know (...). I, personally, have come across two or three situations. What can we do, we do not have that many capabilities. We somehow contacted their relatives, got them a ticket and sent them back to Greece. And there are people whom I ask: Where do you work? ‘I do not know’ he says. You do not know? Which city do you work at? Did it have sea? Mountain? Where were you? “No, he says, I went to the airport, a car came and got me and I went there”. The man did not even know which city he was working at for one month. I told him. If I show you the map will you be able to show me? He says ‘no’” (CO1).

The experienced social worker was aware of both the positive and negative aspects of working in Greek restaurants. After having closely reflected on the matter he concluded that: *“For the moment, we need business owners”* (SW).

He seems to be evaluating the situation correctly, because during the years 2011-12 Greek businesses seem to have acted as a lobby entrance for access to the mainstream labor market, especially for those individuals whose professions were not of high demand in Germany.

Exploitation situations of neo-migransts by both Greeks and other individuals or businesses of the host country were observed in other countries. Expatriate teachers from Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide) highlighted this phenomenon by reporting specific examples.

Apart from the health sector, another area that is of high demand in Germany is that of technology. As the experienced Head of the Trade and Economics Department at the Consulate General in Düsseldorf, repeatedly stressed, demand will continue to grow in technology, particularly in the field of “applied technologies.”

This is supported mainly by two facts. Firstly that the German economy is mainly based on high technology and secondly that based on the evaluations, in 2050 Germany’s population will decline from 83 to 63 million and employees from 45 to 27 million (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2013b, p.4). Therefore, Germany will continue to need highly skilled workforce.

Apart from employees in these two sectors (health and technology) other new immigrants, despite the fact that they have university degrees and postgraduate diplomas, must be prepared to undergo painstaking procedures (learning the language, upgrading their courses, specializations, further training) so as to join the work market.

It may be that these difficulties in entering the work market discourage many new migants, which is the main reason for leaving Germany. This fact was noted in 2013 by the OECD and reproduced and discussed in the German media (see e.g. SPIEGEL ONLINE,

<http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/oecd-deutschlands-einwanderer-wandern-oft-wieder-aus-a-905446.html><http://www.spegel.-wirtschaft-socials-oecd-deutschlandseinwander-wandern,10.07.2013>).

We assume that it is these developments that the specialized academics of Bertelsmann Stiftung, had in mind when recommending the development of a «*welcome culture*» (Willkommenskultur). That is, giving the impression to highly skilled persons entering Germany, not only that they are provided with economic opportunities, but also the feeling of being welcome. (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2013b)

Those who are not able to enter the German work market are the unskilled or even skilled workers, but without a certificate to justify their specialization. This is especially true when these people do not know German. Instead, graduates from Technical Colleges, with degrees, professional experience and German speakers have many employment opportunities.

6. Organization: Self-organization in Social Networks

In contrast to the financial/professional integration, the social and cultural are connected with long term procedures. That is the reason our research did not focus on the social and cultural integration of neo-migrants - who lived in Germany for a few months or two years the most - but was limited to the organization of their social life and possible integration into the existing community of social structures. Specifically, in the Greek Communities that were mainly created during the 1960s by the at that time termed “Gastarbeiter” (guest workers).

Through our research that was mainly based on the interviews with the presidents of the Communities (CP), it was revealed that neo-migrants that come in contact and partly integrate in the existing Greek communities are the ones who seek for help and could attract support from local Communities (CP1, CP2, CP3).

These individuals mainly belong in the group of low educational background and professional status, or a group of academics who do not have easy access to the work market.

Some of these people get lost in the process, while others are integrated in the Communities and contribute to their own cultural renewal. The Community of Berlin, for example, had organized an entire program of events (language courses, IT, theatrical performances, dances, lectures, etc.) by employing newly arrived academics against a nominal fee or even no fee at all

(Hellenische Gemeinde zu Berlin e.v Courses-Seminar in Greek Community, Berlin 2012).

Similar situations can also be seen in other Communities, such as in Düsseldorf. The Community chairman stated: *“We have gathered lots of people. From whom? From those that were helped. I’ll tell you about a new actor that came here unemployed from Greece. We gave him a job at a Greek fast food store to cover his daily expenses. He found a house, moved into the house, he found a better job, working an 8 hour day shift, not having to work the night shift like he had at the Greek fast food store. In return to the Community, he set up a theater workshop started directing, created a cast Community.”* (CP3)

However, the vast majority of neo-migrants do not even have contact with the Communities. This is especially true in cities where the Communities are not well organized and above all do not have the same premises and therefore no geographical stigma. In these cases, younger and older immigrants usually meet at church.

In general, the impression one gets is that the immigrants of the 1960s, including their children, and neo-migrants are two parallel, at the most adjoined but not intersected worlds.

Neo-migrants do not entirely reject the term “immigrant”, because as NM4 says *“I feel like an immigrant when my family is not close to me... when I have a problem with my Internet telephone line, I phone them and they hang up, why can’t you speak German... those are the cases where I feel like an immigrant.”*

On the other hand, however, they do not accept the term “immigrant” because they associate this term with labor migration with mines, factories, and the restrictions of the pre EU time-period.

Based on these lines of thought, therefore, they consider themselves free movement workers in a unified European market rather than immigrants. Also, they do not identify with the immigrants of the past or their conventions, and to a certain extent not even with the second generation, the children of these immigrants, due to the difference in mentality. The Network Coordinator of «Hellenic Bonn» stated:

- *“Contact is relatively problematic with the older generation of immigrants, those who arrived during the 50s and 60s and their children.”*

- In what sense? (M.D.)
- “Let’s say a simple example, the language. These people do not preserve the language... they have gone to German schools, they have not learned Greek, so the second and third generation have lost contact” (CHB).

All the young people with whom we spoke to, directly or indirectly indicated that they are not interested in the Communities and thus, have no interaction with them. The younger and generally highly educated neo-migrants seek for information and ways to get organized, via the internet.

Due to time shortage, we were not able to meticulously study the social networks; however, we were able to identify three social networks in the state of North Rhine Westphalia. According to the statements of the CHB, one of them had approximately 300 to 400 members, who were all doctors. It was an informal medical association of Greek doctors who mainly worked in the area between the cities of Düsseldorf and Dortmund, North Rhine Westphalia.

Inclusion in these networks is either solely based on professional criteria, in which case the corporate nature of the network precedes other criteria. The criteria that *Hellenic Bonn* declared, for example, was residing in the city or the region of Bonn or forthcoming settlement in the area, and the use of the Greek language as a communication tool. A further, not explicitly stated, but active criterion is a University degree. The increasing number of applications from individuals with non-academic degree led to an opening of the network, as for example to nurses. Nevertheless, despite this opening, the network essentially remains a network of academics.

The initial aim of the network was the communication between its members. However, the economic crisis in Greece and the increasing need for information contributed to the function of the network as an informal source of information and support at least towards those who already reside or intend to reside in the region of Bonn and are included in the network.

However, what essentially characterises and differentiates the Hellenic Bonn from other social networks is that it not only operates as a “virtual”, but also as a real, authentic community. Its members occasionally meet in person and are able to strengthen their social connections. What’s more, according to the Network Coordinator’s statements, at times, about one third or more than 140 members are involved in these events. This dual status of the network seems

to be its strong point that essentially, differentiates it from other similar networks.

Furthermore, it is through these forms of social organizations that new networks are created that are in parallel with the older traditional Greek Communities. In addition, even though at least concerning the *Hellenic Bonn* there was concern as regards to the relationship between the network and the Community as well as the possibility of network doctors to assist the “*older immigrants who are here and who might need a Greek doctor to speak to*” (CHB), the impression that one gets is that Social Networks and Greek Communities are parallel, at best tangential, but not intersecting networks.

This of course does not dismiss, at least theoretically, a future meeting and cooperation between the two, for two reasons. Firstly, because the phenomenon of neo-migration is still at a beginning phase and secondly, because historical experience has shown that immigrants during the decades 1950-1970 integrated in the older Communities of Australia, Canada and partly America giving them new structure and life.

Of course, the current mobility procedures, the settling and integration conditions in the host country and especially the profile of migrants themselves has changed. Therefore, it would be unrealistic for anyone to expect a repeat of the phenomenon observed during the 1950s and 1960s. However, we could presume that, following the certain transition time period that neo-migrants would require to adapt, a meeting point will take place, in which interaction and collaboration between the second and third generation of older immigrants and neo-immigrants at the «elite level» this time, will take place. Older and neo-elite will gather, interact, enrich one another and seek joint courses of action.

This, of course, is a hypothesis that remains to be explored and is based on the investigation of new networks. The impression one gets from contact with these networks is that they are characterized by an elitist and corporative nature, are more Greek-centered rather than intercultural, are more closed-natured than open-natured. These however, are just current impressions, as the structure and operation of new networks remains to be analysed along with a substantiated answer to be provided concerning their compatibility with the existing networks in the Greek Diaspora.

As regards to the compatibility between the Social Networks with the older Greek Communities it should be noted that the collective character of these two forms of organizations should first be examined.

Based on our experience so far, we could formulate the position that in comparison to the Communities, which functioned and up to a point continue to function as fighting and demanding Collectives, the Social Networks are now, at least, simply a total of communicating individual biographies and less Collectives with social self-consciousness.

7. Future Orientations

The fact that neo-migrants (as conventionally termed), consider themselves more as being free movement workers in a unified European market and less as immigrants, essentially leads them to plan their future in a different manner compared to that of immigrants during the decades 1950 to 1970. The aforementioned, typically migrated so as to earn as much money as possible, in as little time as possible, and return to their homeland. Such utopian plans are far from the neo-migrant perspective.

Neo-migrants are observed as having two tendencies. The first one deals with the educated, those of high professional status who are open minded and flexible. For example, a lawyer (NE1) who intended to return to Greece, after the completion of his/her Master's degree, views the crisis in Greece from a realistic perspective and seeks for a job in Germany. So does a dentist (NE5) following the completion of his/her intern. The doctor (NE6) that ended his/her intern in Greece, to resume it in Germany, aims to repatriate, and does not rule out the possibility of remaining and working in Germany. A computer engineer (NE4) who abandoned his/her work in Greece for a better position in Germany does not rule out an even more international career.

The second group observed involves neo-migrants of low educational background and professional status, or highly educated, whose profession is not in demand in the German work market, for whom, the idea of repatriation would be utopian. Furthermore, workers of a low educational background seem to consider the situation realistically and to be satisfied with a job that provides a decent quality of life. This is at least what an interviewee of ours stressed, who had experience with neo-migrants based on the context of

his/her line of work in the Greek Consulate. *“I also met three other young people who were excited, I will not forget it. Because apparently, they were unemployed in Greece. And I told the girl. “Oh! we have been here since the summer and have found jobs, we got a car, a house... “. When she said that they had their own car, she sounded so happy. “We have our lives here we are complete, here we have it all: home, work. And you can get used to the cold weather”. That is, I do not think this girl will ever leave, she was between 30-35 years old, not more”.* (NM1)

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that some individuals do not manage to join the work market and end up leaving Germany or other European countries that they had migrated to-for example the UK. EC5 observes in his/her note: *“Two children left from the Kindergarten to return back to Greece. Their mother had only worked for 3 months”.*

Future orientations are undoubtedly affected by the economic crisis and unemployment level in Greece. However, the crisis and unemployment also existed in the 1950s and 1960s. During that time period there was also domination, oppression and restriction of freewill. However, the ultimate goal of those who migrated in European countries at that point was repatriation.

The new generation of migrants does not seem to be trapped in the logic that existed for immigrants of the past that is, to return to their homeland. Perhaps the new generation of migrants is unable to follow this logic as in the «post-modern» world and the world of globalized economy “fixed ideals” that existed in the 1960s no longer exist. The lack of «fixed ideals» compels migrants to be constantly vigilant, to evaluate respective factors and design their own unique path in life.

8. Discussion

Without doubt Germany is the main country of destination for young Greek immigrants. Half a century later, the history of migration is repeated, under new conditions and new protagonists.

In 1960 the migration of surplus labor from the agricultural and farming sector and “workers” from urban centers began. In 2010 a massive migration of excess academic potential began. That is, labour migration in 1960, and academic in 2010.

The common point of the two migration movements is unemployment,

underemployment and the resulting lack of financial resources. However, this is the only common point the two migration movements share as significant differences differentiate the elder and neo-migrant profile. These differences concern the way they migrated/moved, the process they chose to settle in their new country, their integration into the work market, their establishment, the education of their children and their future orientations.

The migration during the decades 1950-1970 took place within interstate contracts and under this concept migration was institutionalized and controlled. The immigrant of that time period was to a certain extent secure, as regards to employment and the settling process. Prospective employers did not only ensure the migrant worker an annual, under certain conditions of course, employment contract, but also housing even if that meant “shacks” or Heim (communes). In the intergovernmental agreement between Greece and Belgium, for example, there was provision for «miners’ boarding», among others: “Each worker will have an individual cabin and mattress (excluding the thatched), bedding...” (Agreement of July the 12th 1957, Article VIII, paragraph 2b).

Perhaps the above statements may seem cynical, however, at the same time some liabilities of the future employer are marked. Today these “provisions” and this kind of “protection” does not exist. That is, the immigrant is responsible to take care of everything on his/her own. That is, to gather information prior to migrating, to plan the moving process, to look for work and housing, to ensure the legal aspects of migration, to ensure Social Security when unemployed, etc. In short, migrants are responsible for their own individual and unique course of action and undertake the relative “risks” it involves, as in any case he/she lives in a society of «risks» and “risk taking”, - in a «Risikogesellschaft», according to the German sociologist Ulrich Beck (1986).

The lack of “fixed ideals”, as highlighted above, and the integration of the European labor market led neo-migrants to making entirely different future plans and following different directions. The key concepts during the decade of 1960-1970 were “interstate contracts”, “committed labor”, “savings”, “temporariness”, “repatriation”. Today’s key concepts are “variability”, “mobility”, “openness”, “individuality”.

The German labor market may still have “collective” contracts, but these usually do not apply to neo-migrant academics. Greek doctors or engineers

make their own “individual employment contract” with the risk of falling into a confrontational situation with German colleagues, who view neo-migrants as the “Trojan horse” to the destruction of the last “collective contract.”

The German government has adopted a policy of attracting highly qualified personnel, particularly in the field of Information and Communication Technology (Information Technologie), arguing that there is a shortage of qualified personnel in Germany (IT-Fachkräftemangel). At the same time, however, it could be argued that there is enough highly qualified personnel, but companies are not willing to pay the equivalent wages (see eg www.gulp.de/kb/org/trashpoll-2512.html). Consequently, it is observed that local engineers and computer scientists are reluctant to work with low wages and vacancies are covered by low, but highly qualified neo-migrants. This phenomenon is also quite common in the health sector (see section 5.2)

Competition among workers is not a new phenomenon. But in contrast to the past where the “share or collective contracts” functioned protectively for the employee, currently in the “free” or “freelance” and “flexible” work markets competition and individual contracts tend to become the norm.

In today’s “free” work market each worker, and even more so every neo-migrant employee is called upon to prove his/her “worthiness”, as Tsoukalas would say, «through a work market recognition of the individuals productive utility (which can only be validated subsequently)» (Tsoukalas 2010, p.91).

This new form of “individuality” has no connection with the modernist individuality. In modernity individuality is associated with rights. The individual is entitled to work, health, education, housing, free expression of opinion, etc. (Wieviorka, 2003).

In the “post-modern” world “personalization” is equivalent to the right of each person to be “different”, construct his/her own distinct biography, to be himself or herself, in the way in which he/she was constructed to be. This self-reference acts as a barrier to the creation of demanding collectivities, as were the older migrant communities, and explains the neo migrant’s tendency to be organized in social networks, which as already mentioned, at best functions as a sum of communicating diversities.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the neo European migration is in full progress and that the dynamics now being developed in the German

work market and generally in German society, due to the new mass migration, require extensive reading.

A typical example in regards to the political and social dynamics that develop through the crisis but also youth unemployment in southern European countries and consequently their migration to Germany, is the attitude of the Left Wing (Die Linke) in regards to the government's proposal to offer "traineeships" (Lehrstellen), in Germany, to unemployed youths from southern European countries. As discussed in major German newspapers in early July 2013, the Left Wing described this proposal as "a slap" (Ohrfeige) for local youth who are unable to find a "traineeship" position, while the Social Democrats (SPD) and the German Federation of Unions (DGB) described it as governmental, communication politics (Symbolpolitik) (see e.g. www.sueddeutsche.de, 1. July 2013).

As to the dynamics of neo-migration and its consequences for both Greece and the Diaspora, we do in fact limit to the following observation. Although we are at the beginning of this development the analysis of the case of Greek neo-migrants in Germany permits the appearance of certain consequences. These are particularly evident in the area of education, where even though a growth in student number and student needs is observed, resources and educational staff are reduced³.

NOTES

1. The figures in Table 1 only refer to laborers who were examined by the German Selection Committee. But because some went as tourists to the BRD, who then worked as laborers, the actual number of Greek immigrants is larger than shown in the table.
2. The material of these interviews was in some areas enriched with the accounts of expatriate educators from Australia, who participated in a training seminar in January.
3. Education is a separate, complex and sensitive area, which was deliberately not addressed in this article. However, it should be emphasized that the increase of student population in European countries is of Greek origin and so high that new educational dynamics are being created. In strictly Greek schools in Germany, Brussels

and London, for which we have reliable statistics, during the school year 2012/13 about one third of the students were children of neo migrants - in primary schools this percentage was generally higher.

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Greek Embassy Berlin, Consular Office

Greek Consulate General in Hamburg

Greek Consulate General in Düsseldorf

Daily and press magazines (print and electronic)

Semi-structured Interviews of 16 individuals

Conversations (organized) with two Consuls General and five Education Coordinators, and occasional conversations with teachers and other individuals.

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