

RETURN MIGRATION TO GREECE



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INTRODUCTION

Migration is a fact of Greek life. Meager and infertile lands were never enough to support a continually expanding population. Traditionally, young men left their rural villages for the merchant marine, the army, or for work abroad.

Migration is the principal outlet, and in this century three countries have absorbed the majority of Greek migrants. The United States began to receive substantial numbers of Greeks in the late 1800s. Between 1900-1915, over 300,000 Greeks went to the U.S., and another 158,000 went between 1916-1930.

After World War II, Australia became a secondary alternative; more recently, West Germany has taken much of Greece's migratory flow. (See Table 1.)

The recent wave of migration began in 1959 with the signing of an agreement between West Germany and Greece to provide Germany with some of the manual labor needed to sustain its post-war economic boom. Similarly, gastarbeiter (foreign workers) were recruited in large numbers from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Spain and Italy.

When the European economy suffered setbacks in 1966-67, and again following the oil crisis of 1973, many of these southern European migrants returned home. Since repatriation records began in 1968, .41 million Greeks have permanently emigrated, and .19 million have returned. Table 2 shows the reversal of the migratory flow during the past few years.

Greek newspapers and popular magazines have made much of the possibility of a mass return and the attendant social, economic, and perhaps political repercussions for Greece. How can Greece absorb a sudden flow of skilled workers? ("They left here as fishermen and return as Volkswagen mechanics. There just aren't enough Volkswagens for them to fix.") Will the Greek economy survive the sudden stop in the flow of remittances? ("It's a serious blow. These people send back millions. Now

they return with a bundle and pile it all into apartments in Athens. Athens is sinking under the weight of these buildings.") Will returning migrants be able to adjust to life in Greece once more? ("The men, of course, can go back to their coffee shops and reminisce all day. But the women....after they've had their washing machines, and electric sweepers, and money, and freedom, how are they to readjust? They'll go crazy.") Will the new Greek democracy (instituted in 1974 after the fall of the Junta) be able to withstand these returnees? ("These people are leftists who go to Germany. And if they aren't, then they get filled with leftist trade-union ideas over there. We will have to watch out for them here.")

We have neither the data nor the competence to address the macro-economic and political issues which are raised by return migration to Greece. However, our in-depth study of returning families shows that many of the popularly voiced fears regarding social readjustment of repatriated Greeks may be unfounded.² All of the families we studied are resourcefully coping with the problems of return. This is hardly surprising. Those who leave as migrants are resourceful folk to begin with.

To be sure, some do break down under the strains of migrant life, and are sent back to Greece. A few suffer severe mental disorders on their return. The majority of repatriates, however, cope. Our study is about them.

CONCLUSIONS

Between September 1975-May 1976, we collected life histories from fifteen migrants and their families who had returned to Greece from West Germany. (Table 3 shows a summary of characteristics of these migrants.) All the migrants had been abroad at least five years. Several originated in rural communities, but all had resettled in the Athens area. All the men had been blue-collar workers before migrating. The job experiences of the women included agriculture, sales,

and office work, as well as housework. Only three persons had completed high school prior to migrating. All the others had only a primary education. Finally, all but two of the migrants were between 15 and 22 years of age when they left Greece.

This is by no means a representative sample of repatriating Greeks. There are no university students or professionals in our group. And the families were not selected randomly. Rather, they were selected precisely because they were articulate spokesmen on life in Germany for Greek workers, and on the subject of return migration. We saw each of these families from three to seven times, for periods of several hours each in their own homes. Their stories do not yield statistically reliable results; but their experiences are rich in detail, often dramatic, and convincingly real.

As we studied these migrants, we were struck by their ambivalence. Over and over again, our informants would switch back and forth between exalting their stay in Germany and complaining bitterly about it. They would first complain about life in Greece as compared with life in Germany; then they would spontaneously praise various aspects of Greek society and culture. Whenever German customs were praised, moreover, it was in juxtaposition to Greek mores, and vice versa. From their positive and negative reminiscences about Germany, and their similar observations regarding Greece, we have extracted three recurring themes:

1. They experienced a kind of "reverse culture shock" and found many customs and conditions in Greece "backward." On the other hand, they were relieved to be back in their own country, where they were not treated like "second-class citizens."

2. They found the standard of living drastically lower in Greece than in Germany. Jobs were hard to get, and working conditions abysmal. By contrast, they welcomed the opportunity to run their own businesses, something they felt was not possible in Germany.

3. They experienced a sense of political insecurity, fearing either chaos or a return of fascism. While they saw German politics as stable, they knew they had no political voice, either in Germany or Greece, while abroad.

Table 4 details the positive and negative characteristics of life in Greece and Germany, as reported by our informants.

THE DATA

Consider the observations of Anna, a 42 year old woman from Epirus:

Here people don't respect each other. Germans are more helpful. A German will go 100 yards out of his way to show someone where to go....In Germany people are more refined. They don't usually abuse you or wound you. People never make fun of you, of what you wear, or anything like that. They respect you. They don't pay attention to whether you are poor or not.

Here the shops have everything mixed together.. In Germany when you go to a shop you find whatever you wanted....The roads are straight and wide. There are separate lanes for the bus, for the tram, and for cars, bicycles and pedestrians. Getting around doesn't give you a headache. Here one is in danger of getting hurt. Roads are uneven, steep and narrow. I can't even take my child for a walk without holding him by the hand. The traffic is dangerous.

Anna was particularly upset with the Greek National Health Service:

As I told you, I took my child to the IKA (National Health Service). I said "Please examine the child. He has had a slight case of anemia. I want to see....has it gone? Does he need to keep taking medicine or not? I want a blood count." And she didn't want to do it. I told her that I wanted the blood count, but she said it wasn't necessary. "I want it. I want to see if the child's all right...." I said.

And when they finally did the general physical check-up, she held the child and chattered with the other doctor and gossiped about what their husbands did. Can you believe it? While she was feeling the child's stomach, she was talking with the other doctor and didn't pay the slightest attention at all to what she was doing. Towards the end, I said, "Now have you examined him?"

I told her if I had examined him myself, I would have done it better. "Thank you very much," I told her.

"Goodbye and I won't see you again."

I'll go and pay to have the child examined. I took him somewhere else and paid. I paid eight hundred drachmas and had two examinations made...and the child wasn't well. We are continuing the medicine. I tell you, they are useless here.

A sense of economic insecurity weighs on Anna:

Here, only a parent with money will be able to give a child a good education. If not, the child will have to go to work at 13 or 14....

In Germany, workers with children get higher pay. And their social security deductions are less than a man who has no dependents.

In Germany, work is easily available. There are more jobs. You can find what you want. You can get a job for two hours a day, or four hours a day, or for fifteen hours....

Here, it's very different. Probably because Greece is a poorer country. In Germany, people are richer. Very much richer.

In Germany, Anna felt that she could rely on her salary to live comfortably, and to get ahead. In Greece, she felt she had to scrimp and save just to make ends meet.

Now everything scares me. I say now, because if we didn't have our grocery business, our shop, where would we find money to manage the family on; do you understand? Because from the shop, we get anything left over. All kinds of things. If a carton falls down, and the rice packets break, the pasta, that kind of thing, we'll take them without writing them in the book. A container of oil breaks, again, we take it. The fruit didn't get sold, again, we take them. All of those things we would have to buy if we were working, me and my husband, in the factory. We would need fifteen thousand drachmas...and clothes, sometimes shoes, sometimes....a celebration, a dance, a wedding, engagement and the rest.

For all of those...twenty thousand a month isn't enough. If I was working with my husband, I would be able to bring in ten thousand, and him ten thousand-----twenty? Out of the question. I would still have to skimp on everything. My food, my clothes, my outings. And may it not happen that my husband should not be able to work. How would I keep the family? It scares me. I saw things differently. It was cheaper to live. Now it seems difficult to me.

Maria is a 26 year old woman from Yannina, capital of the district of Epirus in northwestern Greece. She had thoughts very similar to Anna's when she returned to Greece after ten years in Germany:

Here you have to put up with rudeness and constant arguments. In Germany everyone said "good morning" "how are you" and "thank you." Here not only don't you get this, you get sworn at as well.....

In Greece there's a big difference in people's manners. We're really backward in politeness and cleanliness.

We have some German friends who plan to visit us. I know they'll like the house. But when we go out, I'll be ashamed. Out of the house it's dirty in comparison to Germany. It looks horrible to us.....

In Germany each block of flats had huge rubbish bins, one for every two families to put rubbish in. Here the way they get rid of rubbish is a real poison factory. Putting out the rubbish in frail plastic bags really bothers me.

Maria's return-culture-shock began soon after she crossed the border:

We had trouble bringing in our electrical belongings and so on. At customs, people treated you as if you had stolen them. It was pure torture.....

It took us three days to get our things through customs in Salonika. We had to pay 110,000 drachmas in duty for the car.

Working conditions in Greece disappointed her:

I'm not interested in working for only 5,000 drachmas a month. I know how bad the place would be. Much worse than in Germany. There the office was luxurious. We had wall to wall carpets. There was a special place for us to drink our coffee.

Her husband, Yiannis, 36, was born into an Epirus family who moved to Athens when he was a child. He added:

In Germany I was on good terms with the other workers. Not like what happens here. You see people quarrelling and abusing each other. Not just workers but educated people too. It's not just that people's temperament is different here. It's also due to the political and economic circumstances. This puts people on edge.

You have to think of the political situation. There might be a return of the dictatorship. One never knows.

Like most migrants, Maria was impressed by German hospitals and highly critical of clinics in Greece:

Hospitals are better in Germany. I remember my husband had a hernia operation---once before going to Germany and once there. In Germany they refused to operate on him because he had a cough. Before they'd do it, they gave him special treatment with an oxygen mask--clean air, so as to clean up the cough--before they operated. After the operation they kept him in the hospital until he could walk well. In Greece he was discharged as soon as he could hobble.....

When I had my baby in Germany, they kept me in the hospital for two weeks. Here they send you home much more quickly.

It's quiet in German hospitals. Here a sign might say "QUIET" but the wards are like a madhouse. Visitors everywhere. In Germany there might be six patients in a ward, each with visitors, but you'd think there was only one person. When it was time for visitors to leave, everyone left.

Many of Maria's and Yiannis' opinions were like those of Nikos, whose home village is in Thrace, near the border with Turkey:

I like to be in Greece because it is my homeland. As for living--it's not good here--do you understand?

Workers in Germany get nearly three times as much as workers in Greece. You can't do well. So, when the children grow up and want to get an education, they'll have a hard time....In Germany, factories are cleaner.. ...they have good supervision. Here my wife and my brother's wife have a shop....a small business. It looks like they'll have to close it because it's not making any profit.

Niko's wife, Despina, 28, was also born in a village in Thrace. She added another dimension to the couple's general dissatisfaction with Greek life:

Look, here you have a friend you visit. Sooner or later you'll wear or do something she doesn't like. We have this habit of gossiping. She'll gossip behind your back. Even if it's your sister. In Germany they don't have that, at least. Not about what you wear, or what you eat. Nothing like that. That's what I liked.

She contrasted Greek and German standards of living: "Wages are very low here....what can you buy with a daily wage of 250 drachmas? A kilo of cherries cost 60 drachmas." Like so many others, she too, found fault with the social services of Greece:

The Greek system isn't worth a dime. There's no security.....

When my little girl was sick we wanted to give the nurse who looked after her at night 100 marks. But when we tried to, they made a whole scene. All the doctors came and the nurse wouldn't take it at any price. She said she was only doing her job. But here when you go to a hospital here, whatever's wrong with you they look at your hand for money first and afterwards they look to see what's wrong with you.

Yiorgos, 35, born in Piraeus and a migrant in Germany for 12 years was also critical of Greece:

There are some bad customs here. In Germany at a cafe you can ask a girl to sit and talk with you...if you said as much as "good evening" to a girl here you'd probably get beaten up by her brothers. People don't live in a natural way. I'm against all that.

In Germany employers are just. If you're suitable for a job, they give it to you whether you're Greek or German. They don't fill positions with their own connections like in Greece.

He added to other migrants' comments on Greece's bureaucracy:

Official business--you have to wait in a long line--and even then you may not get what you're looking for. Nothing but papers, stamps, expense.

I went to the Ministry of Work to try to find a job. They kept saying "Come back tomorrow, come back tomorrow."

I applied to one firm that makes electrical appliances. I got no reply. Then, five years later, I got a letter from the same firm, saying they had a position for me.

Taxation officials don't believe you. Or they "bargain." You state how much you think you should pay. They double it. You protest. Then you wind up paying something in between.

Like some of the returnees we talked to, he suffered the unexpected shock of feeling like a stranger in his own homeland: "Everything seemed new when I came back. In Germany I had my own circle of friends. When I came back here, I felt as though I was in a foreign land. If I wanted something, I had no one to help me."

All migrants stressed Greece's inadequacies in contrast with German efficiency, wealth, and politeness. But they were acutely aware of the disadvantages of being a migrant in Germany. Consider the commentary by Katerina, a 27 year old woman born in Salonika. She spent eight years in Germany.

Here one has acquaintances and friends. They respect you. But in Germany you were treated like the blacks in the United States. I think the Germans thought we were the lowest of the low. They have this thing about the Aryan race being better than everyone else. They look on us as though we're gypsies. Without a home, without anything. They might ask questions like: "Do you people put pillow slips on pillows?"

In company, they might watch you to see if you used a knife and fork. One is not counted as an equal. It's like the way the dogs are. They might be loved, but not considered equal....I'm still suffering from what I went through in Germany. I remember my mother in Germany going to a telephone box. She is from Salonika and familiar with such things. Afterwards a German woman went into the phone box. She waved the air as if to clean it. She took out a paper and cleaned the receiver. It made a terrible impression on me.

I remember going as a visitor to one German's home. The host, an office manager, watched me closely to see if I was impressed by his house and furnishings. Those people pretended to like me but they were so condescending....at work, German's don't want to teach foreigners anything. They want to use them up to the limits of their strength without giving them anything back. They want to have us perpetually as unskilled labor.

In one of the jobs we had to handle the metal parts for the machine looms. They were covered with grease, but my hands rubbed raw from touching them and from contact with the assembly bench.... some women's weight dropped from 80 to 45 kilos from that job. Some became seriously ill because of the exhaustion. These women did nothing but work. They had no friends, and didn't even buy a magazine because of the cost. I saw how they lived in a tiny hole with one small window, wasting ten or fifteen years of their youth.

My sister and I were living in a room a woman was renting us on the lower story of her house. She gave us use of her kitchen and toilet. Downstairs, right next door, there was an old German who was very ill. You could hear him each morning coughing and spitting. The landlady eventually started doing things to us. She took away the quilts she lent us. She used to cut off the electricity from time to time. Once her child told us: "Don't come up to the toilet again."

When I left I found a little room like a cell. It was a storeroom made into a bedroom. It must have been $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres by $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres.....

When Katerina talked about her experiences she felt physically sick, with pains in her stomach. Despite this, she would have been willing to stay on in Germany, had her husband been granted a stay permit, and even six months later, she would have been willing to return, if her husband could go with her.

In fact, though she was eloquent in describing the pain of part of her life abroad, she said:

I count my life from when I went to Germany...
...what's important to me is not just the money. I like being able to find work easily. Not to have to rely on anyone else. I like the fact that it is easy in Germany to do something about one's future. Whatever one want to do. It's not the same here.

Katerina's husband added: "The basic thing that workers in Germany don't feel worried about is the future. They are sure that they'll get their wage at the end of the month. They feel secure. In Greece, nothing was secure."

Katerina continued:

In Germany a worker feels like a person with his own rights. He's given the things he has a right to: security and a good wage. There, workers are respected. Here an employer doesn't appreciate a worker's efforts. He might insult an employee, or ask him to do something else other than he was employed to do. That kind of thing doesn't happen in Germany. Here, an employer treats you as if you are in a way his own personal property.

The same sentiments--a distress at remembering some aspects of life in Germany, qualified by recognition of its material advantages--showed up in other migrants' comments. During Anna's early months in Germany, social isolation weighed heavily on her.

On weekends our interpreter went to visit his family. And we stayed in the house. At the window, nothing else. We went out for a walk, but it was no use...because we always felt like foreigners, and sad...A shadow has been left on us. Germans put you in a lower place. They think we are uneducated, ordinary workers, and poor...we feel scorned...some people told us: "If you're homesick, why don't you go home?"

We don't ever want to see our children become migrants....It's better to stay in their own country and be able to earn a living there, because a migrant is always like a slave.

Yiorgos noted another disadvantage:

What I don't like about Germany is that you can't open your own business there. Only Germans can do that. A foreigner can only open his own business if he is married to a German woman and puts it in her name. They want foreigners to be workers forever. This law dates from the Hitler period, but it is still in force. You can only be a worker. Straight away they stamp it on your passport in red letters...they take foreigners to do the dirty work that Germans won't accept.....

Kostas, Athenian born, is 29. He complained bitterly about the barracks-like housing he had known in Germany:

It was a two-story house with five rooms on each floor. There were three to four men in each room. This was illegal, because the contract stated that there

would only be two to a room. It didn't bother us having three or four in a room, but there were some rooms with six.

Anna was also upset at the memory of her housing situation:

You couldn't have a good time there. They didn't give good houses to foreigners. They thought us uncultivated and likely to damage the property. They said that foreigners shout, and that they held noisy parties. It was difficult to get a place to stay, and incredibly difficult if you had children.

Many people found the climate oppressive, the work monotonous, and the general quality of life stifling in Germany. Spiros, 26, from the island of Cephalonia, said:

I got tired of life in Germany. So many years by myself. And the climate was freezing in winter.

It was a restricted life. The shops closed at eight. Life was just work and home. We're used to another way. There were no taverns, no swimming except in swimming pools....

It was very monotonous to do the same things over and over. And one couldn't be absent for a moment, not even to smoke a cigarette or go to the toilet....

Gisela, 45, the German-born wife of a Greek migrant in Germany, lamented what she perceived as a lack of solidarity among German families:

I have a brother in Mannheim; that's only 250 kilometres from Munich, where we used to live. But he didn't take care of us as well as my Greek relatives. My mother-in-law comes every morning to see if she can help. If there are any dirty plates, she washes them straight away. As for my Greek brother-in-law, no German looks after his sister-in-law like he looks after me.

Finally, all the migrants were ambivalent about sending their children to German schools. Obviously, the migrants we interviewed were those who thought about returning to Greece. Apparently for them, the German schools were a source of anxiety. "How can children who go to German schools ever

be Greek again?" one person asked us. Above all, the migrants we interviewed were concerned with "being Greek." Their host country had advantages, and their homeland has disadvantages, but only in their homeland could they experience "being Greek." As one migrant added: "I was lonely. My nerves suffered because of lack of companionship. A work companion might speak to me roughly. I wouldn't say anything. I kept it inside. This was very bad for me. When I came back, the Greek in me came to life again."

DISCUSSION

While in Germany migrants are subject to multiple pushes and pulls. On the one hand, the material advantages of the host country attract them strongly. On the other hand, they are repelled by their low social status, and often harsh living and working conditions. They have no voice in the government, either at home or abroad; they are often cut off from their own kin, even their children; and they undergo feelings of isolation and helplessness. Many popular songs describe these emotions.

It seems to us that this ambivalence is a fact of migratory life. The decision to migrate in the first place requires that one be dissatisfied with life at home, or attracted by the material advantages to be gained abroad. Once abroad, migrants experience ambivalence again. Germany has advantages and disadvantages. So does Greece.

A decision to return home is triggered by adding one or more factors to either side of the balance. Hence, a migrant whose earnings fell as a result of his company's decision to discourage overtime might feel a push to return. Equally, a migrant whose son was due to commence primary school might be pulled back to Greece.

But return does not, at least initially, appear to solve the ambivalence. Once home, Germany's benefits appear only too clearly, while the homeland, seen close up, looks chaotic and shoddy. What happens? It may be that a

certain period (e.g., two years) is required to form an adjustment. It may also be that this is done by a process of blurring strong allegiances to traits and institutions found abroad. Cognitive dissonance between the world the returnee finds around him, and the one which he has learned in his years abroad, is therefore reduced. Less conscious of the lost advantages of his former host country, but also less aware of his homeland's shortcomings, he or she "settles down."

Of course, the adjustment may require different amounts of time for different individuals. The socio-economic and psychological correlates of this differential adjustment might be observable. This would require an index of adjustment, and such an index would have to account for the fact that some elements of return shock are easier to cope with than others. For example, it appears that the nearly universal dissatisfaction among repatriates for a perceived lack of cleanliness in Greece is ameliorated in a matter of a few months. By contrast, the dissatisfaction with the perceived rudeness of bureaucrats appears never to be ameliorated, no matter how long they are away from Germany.

These are testable hypotheses, which we will address in the next stage of our work. In general, however, it appears that some migrants fail to adjust to their ambivalence. A few become "shuttle migrants," going back and forth, never satisfied with where they are. In the end, this ambivalence may be the fate of all migrants from Greece to Germany...and perhaps other migrants elsewhere as well.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Permanently Emigrating</u>	<u>To Germany</u>	<u>% of total to Germany</u>
1975	20327	7337	.36
1974	24448	8259	.34
1973	27525	12838	.47
1972	43397	26683	.61
1971	61745	40052	.65
1970	92681	65285	.70
1969	91552	59449	.65
1967	42730	9730	.23
1966	86896	45494	.52
1964	105569	73343	.69

TABLE 1

Greek Emigration

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece

<u>Year</u>	<u>Repatriating</u>	<u>Emigrating</u>	<u>% of Repatriates from Germany</u>
1968	18882	50866	
1969	18132	91522	
1970	22665	92681	
1971	24709	61745	.48
1972	27522	43397	.49
1973	22285	27525	.52
1974	24476	24448	.63
1975	34214	20327	.66*

TABLE 2

Repatriation of Greeks, 1968-75

Source; National Statistical Service of Greece

*estimated

TABLE 3

Summary of background of persons in this study.

PERSON	FAMILY	SEX	REGION	# YEARS AWAY	JOB BEFORE		OTHER TRAINING		SKILLS OR TRAINING		OCCUPATION ON RETURN
					MIGRATING	IF KNOWN	BEFORE MIGRATION	DURING MIGRATION			
1	Anna	1	F	Rural	8	Agricultural	None	None	Machine operator in factory	Housewife	
2	Stavros	1	M	Rural	8	Small trade agriculture	Tailor's apprentice	Machine operator in factory	Owner-operator self-service grocery		
3	Katerina	2	F	Salonika	8	Sales	1 year at tech assistant civil engineer	IBM Machines	Sales and office work		
4	Pavlos (Husband of migrant)	2	M	Rural	1/2	Building contractor	Short period at police school	None	Kiosk operator		
5	Lukia	3	F	Rural	4	Domestic in hotel	Trained hairdresser	Sewing machine operator	Housewife		
6	Panayiotis	3	M	Athens	4½	Waiter	Architectural draftsman	Good level German	Shareholder-operator of business		
7	Maria	4	F	Yanina	10	Not employed housewife	2-3 years secondary education	IBM Machines	Housewife		
8	Yiannis	4	M	Athens	10	Bakery worker	Secondary ?	Tool maker, fur-ther technical training	Design & installation of automatic factory equipment (German-owned)		
9	Yiorgos	5	M	Pireaus	12	Factory worker	3 yrs (?) engineer merchant marine officer training	Factory foreman & taxi operator	Owms & operates laundry & clothing boutique		
10	Popi	6	F	Rural	5	None	Hairdresser	Operation of Knitting machines	Operator in clothing boutique		
11	Gisela	7	F	Germany	wife of migrant	---	---	Operated trucking business	German teacher		
12	Fotis	8	M	---	10	---	---	---	plans to operate factory for prefab housing		
13	Nikos	9	M	Rural	12	Unskilled labourer	None	Machine operator in factory	Barman		
14	Despina	9	F	Rural	8	Agri-cultural	None	Factory skills	Housewife parttime shop operator (shoes)		
15	Spiros	10	M	Rural	4½	Some agri-cultural	None	Press operator	Unemployed		

TABLE 4

Summary of Repatriates' Ambivalent Statements

Negative Aspects of Greece

Economic

1. Wages are low.
2. Few jobs are available, especially for persons with specialized skills.
3. Working conditions are poor.
4. Inflation is high, especially in the prices of imported goods.

Socio-cultural

1. People in general (but especially public servants) are abrupt and rude.
2. The roads are littered with rubbish.
3. Everyone, even friends and relatives, gossips about each other and tries to keep each other down.
4. People of the opposite sex can not interact easily and comfortably.

Political

1. The government is insecure and might collapse with ensuing chaos or a return to dictatorship.
2. Fear of or actual war with Turkey creates a climate of insecurity.

Negative Aspects of Germany

Economic

1. Economic opportunities are limited because a foreigner can not easily open up a private business.
2. People are reluctant to rent good housing at decent prices to migrant workers.

Socio-cultural

1. One feels in exile from one's home and kin.
2. Life is limited to house and factory.
3. The weather seems bitterly cold and this furthers the sense of isolation.
4. Migrants are viewed as second class citizens.
5. Children may be left behind in Greece, to the sometimes inadequate care of grandparents.
6. Lack of fluency in German puts Greek workers at a disadvantage.

Table 4 (cont)

7. Parents must eventually choose between sending their children to German schools (where they will grow away from their parents) or to inadequate Greek schools in German cities.
8. Factory routines are rigid, monotonous, inhuman and sometimes the machinery is dangerous.

Political

1. Migrants have no political voice in Germany or in their home country while they are abroad.

FOOTNOTES

1. This work was supported by a grant from the Special Program Panel on Human Factors of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The research was directed by the senior author, and Professor Lambros Comitas, Columbia University.

2. The fears of being overwhelmed by sheer numbers of repatriates is also unfounded. As near as we can tell, there are approximately 250,000 Greek workers still in Germany, and 500,000 Greek nationals including dependents. The crude growth rate in Greece has remained below .01 during the past decade, and is currently estimated at .004 per year. The population of Greeks is heavily concentrated in persons of child bearing years. If we assume a crude growth rate of .025 per year among Greeks in Germany, the numerical growth would be order 12,500, about one third the number of repatriates in 1975, and one half those of 1974. In other words: a) the number of repatriates from Germany may be considered a crude function of population growth in Germany and b) the absolute number of repatriates remains small compared to the consistent outward flow of migrants and the consistently low crude growth rate in Greece.