

## ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΗ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΣΗ - ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

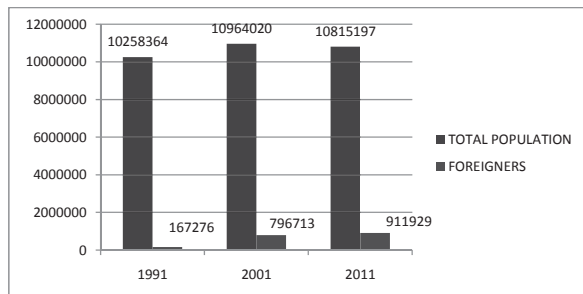
### Illegal immigration, the perception of ghettos and the fear of crime in the center of Athens

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#### I. The dimensions of immigration

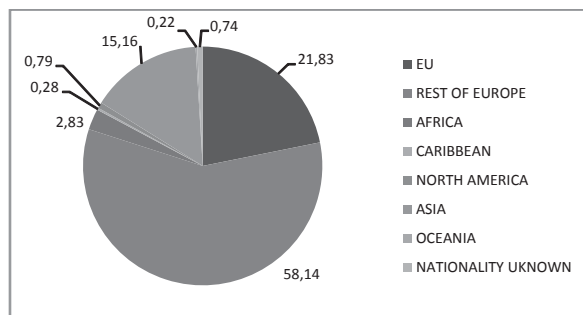
According to the last population census of 2011, the number of the foreigners was 911.929 or the 8.4% of the total population of Greece (10.815.197). This percentage was smaller in 2001 (7.3%) and much smaller in 1991 (1.6%), according to the ELSTAT published data.

**Figure 1: Percentage of foreigners in the total population: Population census of 1991, 2001, 2011** (<http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE>)



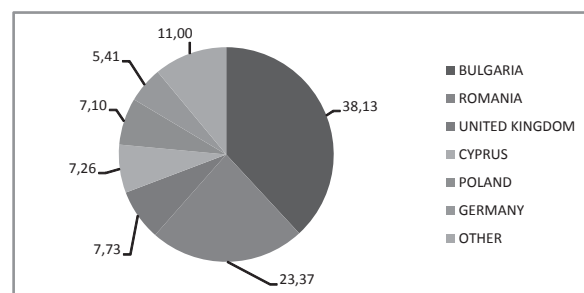
The 21.8% of the registered foreigners originate from EU countries, the 58.1% from the rest of Europe, the 15.2% from Asia, the 2.8% from Africa, etc.

**Figure 2: Nationality of foreigners, 2011** (Population Census of 2011, ELSTAT)



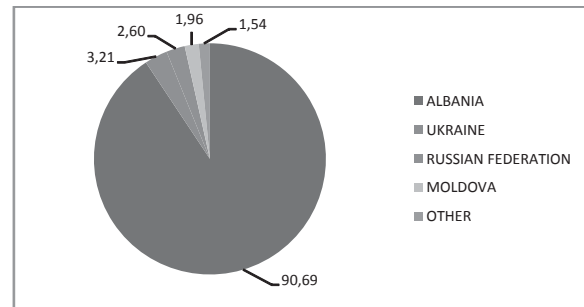
The majority of the EU originated foreigners issued from Bulgaria and Romania.

**Figure 3: Foreigners from EU countries** (Population Census of 2011, ELSTAT)



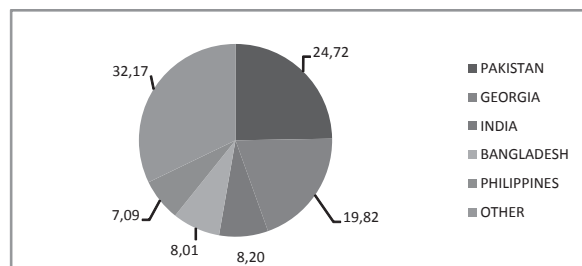
Almost the total of the foreigners originating from non-EU European countries, are Albanians.

**Figure 4: Foreigners from non-EU European countries** (Population Census of 2011, ELSTAT)



In fact, the first wave of immigration in Greece originates from the Balkans since the next vast immigration wave started after 2005 originates mainly from Africa and Asia. The majority of Asian immigrants issue from Pakistan and Georgia.

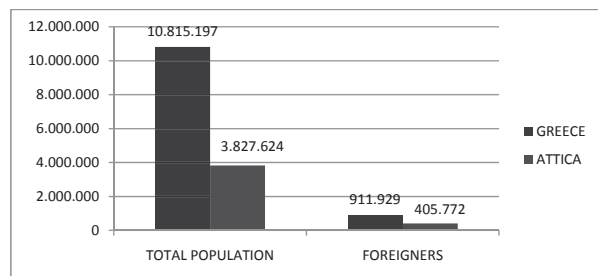
**Figure 5: Foreigners from Asian countries (Population Census of 2011, ELSTAT)**



However it is worth mentioning that the real population of foreigners living in Greece does not coincide with the number registered by the Hellenic statistic service (ELSTAT) and it is considered as higher.

Concerning the geographic distribution of the population, the fact that more than the 1/3 of the total population is settled in the district of Attica (3.827.624 or the 35.4%) is not a surprise. However, it is strange that almost half of the foreigners living in Greece are settled in the area of greater Athens (405.772 or 44.5%), where the most acute problems of unemployment are concentrated too. This situation is more contradictory when taking into consideration that most of these people originates from agricultural countries.

**Figure 6: Foreigners distribution in the area of the District of Attica (Great area of Capital)**



With reference to Athens particularly, the majority of immigrants are settled in the center of the city and in the areas nearby to Omonia square and its western, northern and northwestern neighbourhoods (Kolonos, Attiki Square, Kypseli, Patissia, etc). The massive character of this phenomenon led to the change of the profile of numerous neighbourhoods, which are abandoned by their traditional population and settled by immigrants. It is also worth mentioning that the first immigrants from the Balkans moved away from the most downgraded areas in which the new immigrants from Africa and Asia are concentrated. This image can be explained by the Chicago School ecological theory<sup>1</sup>.

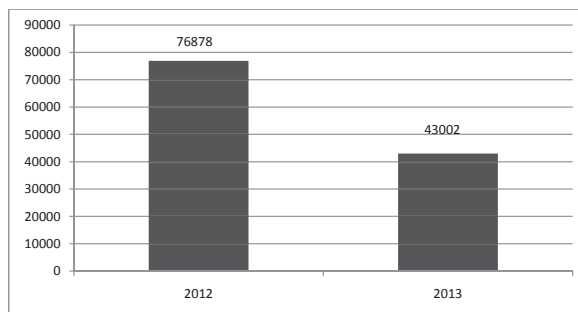
The aforementioned changes considerably influenced the social and urban profile of the city of Athens and especially of its center and the nearby western and northwestern areas.

1. Park R.E., Burgess E., McKenzie R., The city Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1925. Shaw C. & MacKay H., Juvenile delinquency in urban areas, University of Chicago Press, 1942. Ζαραφώνιτου Χ., Εμπειρική Εγκληματολογία, Νομική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2η έκδ., Αθήνα 2004.

## II. The illegal immigration

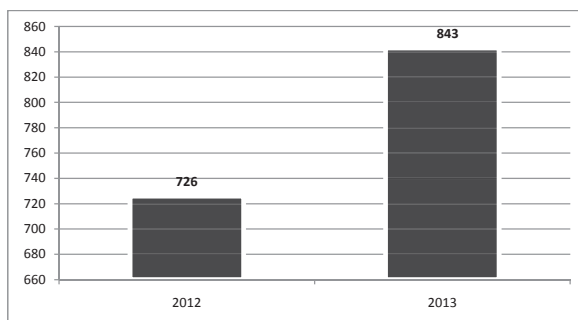
According to police data (www.astynomia.gr), the immigrants arrested by police & port police authorities for illegal entry and residence during 2012 and 2013 were 76.878 and 43.002 respectively.

**Figure 7: Immigrants arrested by police & port police authorities for illegal entry and residence -2012, 2013.**



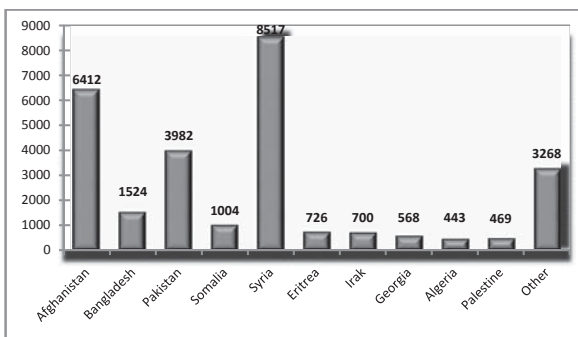
According to the same data, the traffickers arrested by the Greek authorities during 2012 and 2013, were respectively 726 and 843.

**Figure 8: Traffickers arrested by police & port authorities-2012, 2013.**



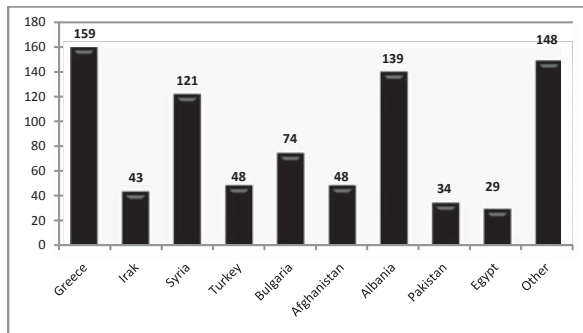
The nationality of arrested immigrants as is shown in the next picture is characterised by the dominance of Albanian people, followed by Syrians, Afghans, Pakistanis, etc.

**Figure 9: Immigrants arrested by police & port police authorities for illegal entry and residence per nationality**



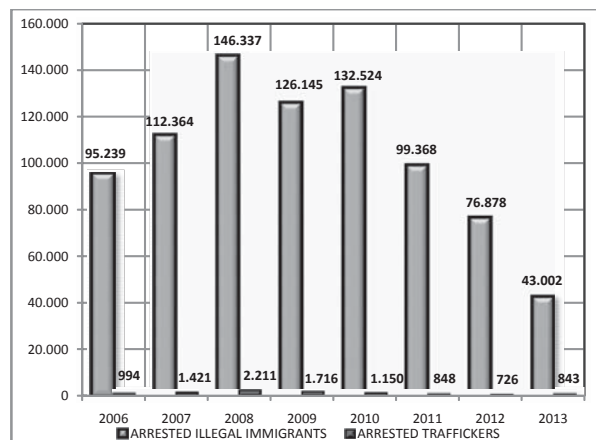
Concerning the nationality of the arrested traffickers, most of them are Greek, Albanian, Syrian, Bulgarian, Turkish, etc.

**Figure 10:** Traffickers arrested by police & port police authorities for illegal entry and residence per nationality



During the period of 2006 to 2013, the peak of the phenomenon is marked in the years 2008 and 2010, while a decrease is registered after 2011 according to the police and port police data.

**Figure 11:** Immigrants and traffickers arrested by police & port police authorities for illegal entry and residence for years 2006-2013



Source: <http://www.astynomia.gr/images/stories/2014/statistics14/xersaiatourkika2013.JPG>

### III. Research evidence concerning the ghettos' perception in Athens

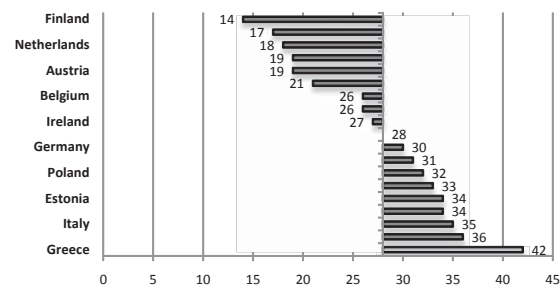
According to international research evidence, urban criminality constitutes one of the most complex social phenomena of contemporary society. In Greece, crime rates have traditionally been smaller in relation to other European countries. However, over the last twenty years, it has been established that there has been an increase in the number of committed crimes especially of violent crimes. During this period the number of foreigners among the offenders has also increased.

**Table 1:** Criminal offenders per nationality - Police data: 1991, 2011

Crimes	1991			2011		
	TOTAL	GREEK	FOREIGNERS	TOTAL	GREEK	FOREIGNERS
Homicide	229	204	25 (10,9%)	435	255	180 (41,4%)
Robberies	602	543	59 (9,8%)	2473	1136	1337 (54,1%)
Rapes	236	207	29 (12,3%)	211	113	98 (46,4%)
Thefts, Burglaries	7242	..	..	16707	9397	7310 (43,8%)
Blackmail	150	148	2 (1,3%)	362	251	111 (30,7%)
Frauds	422	408	14 (3,3%)	918	771	147 (16%)
Falsification	498	426	72 (14,5%)	4103	366	3737 (91,1%)
Gangs	1174	..	..	3709	2667	1042 (28,1%)
Begging	148	129	19 (12,8%)	1242	150	1092 (87,9%)

On the other hand, the level of fear of crime is high. The feeling of insecurity is even higher in the center of Athens<sup>2</sup> where the environmental degradation is accompanied by incivilities and street crime.

**Figure 12:** Fear of crime in European context



Source: Van Dijk, J.J.M., Manchin, R., Van Kesteren, J.N., Hideg, G. (2007). *The burden of crime in the EU. A comparative analysis of the European Survey of Crime and Safety (2005 EU ICS)*, Gallup Europe: Brussels.

**Table 2:** Fear of crime in Athens

Research	Rate of fear of crime
Zarafonitou, 1998	58.7%
Zarafonitou, 2004	52.7%
EU ICS 2005	55%
Zarafonitou, Courakis, 2006	56.5%
Zarafonitou, 2010	58,9%

The connection between fear of crime and the perception of quality of life arose more vividly in our research which was carried out in 2011 in areas which are fixed around five squares belonging to the central axis of the city. The basic theoretical assumption was whether the residents/workers of these areas consider their area a ghetto and what their attitudes are towards crime, fear of crime and immigrants. These findings are compared with those of the follow-up study which was carried out during April-July 2013 with focus on the impact of the intense policing measures applied since 2012 with the name

2. Zarafonitou Ch., "Fear of crime in contemporary Greece: Research evidence", in Ch.Zarafonitou (Guest Editor), Special Issue: Fear of crime. A comparative approach in the European context". *Criminology*, October 2011, pp.50-63.

"Hospitable Zeus" (Xenios Dias) aiming at the control of illegal immigration in the center of Athens<sup>3</sup>.

The term 'ghetto' denotes "an urban area where a minority lives in isolation"<sup>4</sup>. Although the first formations of this kind occur during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, their mass expansion was recorded during the Second World War, when the Nazis gathered Jews in isolated urban areas, the so-called 'destruction ghettos'<sup>5</sup>. In the U.S.A., the formation of ghettos is directly related to migration waves, which occurred at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The most familiar ghettos are those of African Americans who moved from the south to the north and who were obligated to live in so-called 'colored neighborhoods'<sup>6</sup>.

According to international bibliography, in order to determine the existence of ghettos the following elements must be present<sup>7</sup>:

- *High concentration of a minority in an urban area* which displays overpopulation. The minority group (racial, ethnic or religious) is expected to dominate in percentage in the area in question.
- *Segregation*. The minority population lives in isolated conditions, is socially weakened and politically marginalized.
- *Social disorganization*. It indicates intense accumulation of social problems: poverty, unemployment, criminality, drugs.
- *The minority group is treated by the rest of society as inferior, foreign, different*. This fact appears as much as a prerequisite as it does a consequence of ghettoisation.
- *The factor of the states role*. Perhaps it will be active, even institutionalized, through legal ordinances. However, it is usually limited to a more indirect, tolerant stance.

These elements have been examined in relation to our surveys concerning the perception of the existence of ghettos in the center of Athens. In this direction, *three methodological tools* were used in combination:

*First, on the spot observation of the areas undergoing research* and of the streets in their vicinities was carried out.

*In the second stage*, 100 questionnaires were completed through personal interviews with Greek shopkeepers and residents (20 in each square). The follow-up study has included a small sample of immigrants (27).

3. *Zarafonitou Ch.* (Scientific responsible), Chrysochoou E., Tatsi Ch., (Collaboration), Perception of 'ghettos', insecurity and criminality in the center of Athens, non-published research, Panteion University, Athens 2011, 2013 (follow-up). See also: *Zarafonitou Ch.*, Chrysochoou E. (coll.), "Environmental degradation, the image of ghettos and the fear of crime in the centre of Athens: research evidence", in Proceedings of the International Conference on "Changing Cities": Spatial, morphological, formal & socio-economic dimensions, ISBN: 978-960-6865-65-7, Skiathos island, Greece, June 18-21, 2013, 726-734.
4. *Vasileiou Th.A., Stamatakis N.*, Dictionary of Human Sciences, Gutenberg, Athens 1992, p.79 (in Greek)
5. *Browning C.R.*, Before the Final Solution: Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland (1940- 1941), 2005, p.15
6. *Marcuse P.*, "Enclaves Yes, Ghettos No: Segregation and the State", στο David Farady (Ed) *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves and Inequality*, State University of New York Press, Albany 2005, p.p.15-31(17).
7. *Zarafonitou Ch., Chrysochoou E.* (coll.), 2013, op.cit. See also: *Zarafonitou Ch.*, (with the collaboration of: Georgallis A., Georgopoulos Ch., Mouschi D., Tatsi Ch., Chrysochoou E.), "Are there "ghettos" in the center of Athens? A criminological reconstruction of social representations of the inhabitants of these areas", in the Volume in Honour of Ch.Dedes, N.Courakis (Ed.), A.Sakkoulas, Athens-Komotini, 2013, p.p.149-178 & Prepublication in *Criminology*, vol. 2/2012 (in Greek)

*In the third stage, a patterns analysis of their characteristics* was done in order to determine the extent to which the ghettos' characteristics, as proposed by current scientific theory, appear in the research areas.

Summarising the main research findings it is worth to mention the following:

- The majority of Greek residents or workers in the areas of the survey (70% - 85% in 2011 vs. 50% - 80% in 2013) are of the notion that *they constitute the 'minority' in their area*.
- All without exceptions (100%) in 2011 estimate that there is a high concentration of immigrants in their neighborhoods. This rate remains very high in 2013 even if a little more moderate (75% - 100%).
- The majority of the Greek sample believes that there are *cultural particularities*, which influence the immigrants' attitudes and life style.
- *An area with a solid ethnic or racial minority was not observed, despite the fact that some outnumber others*. The dominant groups which settled in the above-mentioned areas originate mainly from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, Egypt, Russia and Africa (Moroccans, Algerians, Somalis, Nigerians). In relatively small numbers, the presence of people from the Balkans (Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians) was mentioned, who seem to have moved to less degraded areas, with the exception of a large number of Roma from Bulgaria and Romania who were only mentioned in 2013.
- In the question regarding the immigrants' integration in Greek society, the dominant image is that they have not been integrated.
- Their views are more or less divided *when they were asked if they believe that immigrants desire their integration*.
- Although the majority of Greek sample has responded affirmatively concerning the integration of these populations. Moreover, the affirmative responses have increased in 2013.

Raising the subject of *criminality* in their area, they claim that:

- It is aggravated the last 5 years. However, these rates are lower in 2013 in comparison to 2011.
- The reported rates of personal victimization are high and they are increased in 2013. The majority of victimizations occurred on the street or stores the victims worked, and most of them reported more than two times.
- Despite the very high levels of victimization in 2013, the interviewees assessed more positive police's effectiveness than in 2011, when the rates of victimization were lower.
- Respectively, the rates of *fear of crime* indicated by the total sample of research are very high. However, in 2013, these rates are, in general, lower.

The dissatisfaction of the residents of the center of Athens from the degradation of quality of life is reflected in their intention to move away from their neighborhood. The comparison between research findings of 2011 and of 2013 shows that the number of Greek residents willing to resettle from their area was decreased in 2013.

In the follow up study of 2013, views of foreigners have been reported. More specifically 27 immigrants have been interviewed. We are going to refer the most important points which have been deducted:

- Although all the respondents have reported their victimisation, most of them feel secure in those areas.
- Most of them feel intergraded in Greek society.

- They coexist with other ethnic groups without major problems. Although, the criterion of ethnic group has arisen since the majority of them feel as a minority in the area because of the presence of other ethnic groups and especially of "blacks" as they have said.
- Problems with Greek people have not reported.

#### IV. Concluding thoughts

Even though the existence of ghettos is not confirmed as a whole in the basis of the aforementioned pattern, the majority of the respondents were convinced that their area *'has become a ghetto'*. In fact, the conditions that characterise an area as 'transitional' towards

becoming a ghetto are determined in these areas of the centre of Athens. Consequently, immediate and regulatory state intervention is considered essential so that the centre of Athens will not undertake yet again its role as a 'transition zone', according to the ecological approach of the Chicago School. In fact, the amelioration of the perceived image of the areas from their inhabitants as it is registered in the follow-up study could be correlated with the increased police presence. Furthermore, this image of amelioration of the quality of life is accompanied by an ameliorated evaluation of police work during the period of the follow-up study (2013). However, this image does not coincide with the decrease of victimisation, the reported levels of which are higher in these areas than in 2011.

