

NATIONAL CENTRE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

REFUGEES AND ECONOMIC MIGRANTS
IN GREATER ATHENS

A Social Survey

by

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ATHENS 1973

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 73-85873

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book was made possible by a faculty fellowship from Fordham University, which enabled the author to spend a sabbatical year in Greece in 1971. Through the kind offices of Dr. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, I was brought in touch with the National Centre of Social Research in Athens. Its Director General, Elias Dimitras, invited me to take over the direction of the Nea Ionia study, and graciously put at my disposal the resources and facilities of the Centre.

Among the Centre's staff, I am especially indebted to the Director of Research Services, Dr. Sophia Sakka, for her tireless efforts in behalf of the study. Special thanks go to my research assistants, Misses Anny Gambroveli and Lila Kalamitsi, for their invaluable help in completing this project. In a very real sense, the study is theirs as well as mine.

I wish to thank Mrs. Tina Gioka-Katsaros for her availability as consultant to the project when I undertook its direction; to Dr. John Walsh of Fordham University for help in computer programming; and to Mr. Michael LaVelle for his research assistance at Fordham University.

I am grateful to my colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic who read the manuscript in whole or in part: Drs. John Colombotos, Dorothy Dohen, Joseph Fitzpatrick, John Kotty, Gerda Lorenz, Dimitri Pentzopoulos, and Benjamin Sackmary. Finally, I wish to thank Mmes Zoe Chrissanthopoulou, Kika Christofidou and Aleka Zapandi for their valuable editorial assistance.

EVA E. SANDIS

Athens, 1973

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I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Asia Minor Disaster¹

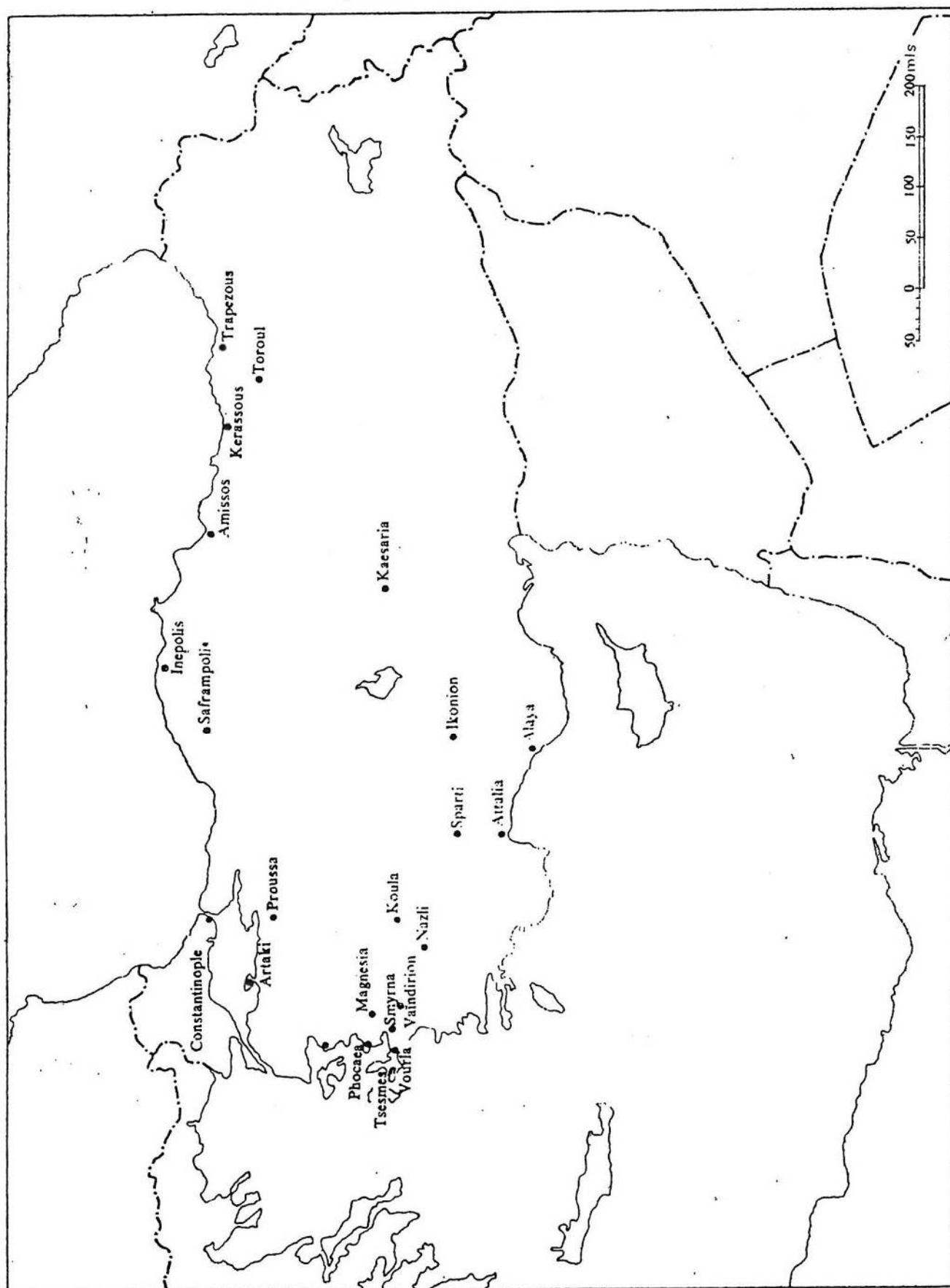
The year 1922 marked the end of an era for Greece: the end of the centuries—old dream of a Greek nation with its capital in Constantinople. This dream, harbored since the end of the Byzantine Empire and the Turkish occupation of Greece in the fifteenth century, began to be concretized in 1830, when Greece won its independence from Turkey. The dream was almost realized at the end of the first World War. The victorious Allied Powers, in return for Greek participation on their side in the War, drew up the Treaty of Sèvres, which granted Greece control of Smyrna and Eastern Thrace.

However, the political defeat of Prime Minister Venizelos in 1920, and the restoration of the «neutralist» King Constantine, brought to the surface a deep split among the Allies. This was motivated by the reluctance of France and Italy to see the expansion of Greek influence in that part of the world. Mustafa Kemal and the Young Turks, taking advantage of that split, moved against the Greek army in Anatolia. The campaign came to an end with the routing of the Greek army, the burning of Smyrna, and the flight of the persecuted Greeks from Asia Minor to Greece.

The Treaty of Lausanne, in 1923, certified the fait accompli. It guaranteed Anatolia and Eastern Thrace to Turkey, and established the compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. This exchange involved all Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and all Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. Not included in the exchange were the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and the Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.

1. Background information on the Asia Minor disaster, including selected statistical data on the refugee settlement in Greece, is contained in Appendix I. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject, to which the present summary is greatly indebted, see: Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact Upon Greece* (Paris: Mouton & Co.), 1962.

MAP 1. GREEK COMMUNITIES IN ASIA MINOR BEFORE 1922



By 1928, there were 1.2 million Asia Minor refugees living in Greece. A comparison with the number of Greeks in Turkey before the events of 1922 indicates that approximately one million perished in the upheaval. Among those who survived and were living in Greece in 1928, over 500,000 were settled in the rural areas, with the assistance of the League of Nations' Refugee Settlement Commission. The remainder were living in the cities of Greece, particularly in the metropolitan region of Athens and in Salonika, since these cities offered more possibilities for sheltering the refugees. The Greek Government developed programs in the spheres of housing, public works, and industry to get the refugees back on their feet.

Assimilation was a hard and painful process. But the common experiences and efforts involved in overcoming the effects of the upheaval, and in living through the events of World War II and the Civil War, welded refugees and native inhabitants into a homogeneous nation.

The following consequences of the refugee settlement for Greece have been noted: the creation of a socially homogeneous nation; the development of agriculture; the spurring of industry, especially through the introduction of the weaving, carpentry² and pottery industries which the Greeks brought with them from Turkey; liberalization of traditional Greek political conservatism; and the opening-up of new cultural horizons to literature and the arts.

2. The Urbanization of Greece³

Concomitant with the inflow of refugees from Asia Minor and partly as a result of it, another significant development was taking place in Greece: the urbanization of the nation. In 1920, Greece had a population of over 5 million, mostly rural. By 1961, the population had increased to almost 8.4 million, with 43 per cent urban, 13 per cent semi-urban, and 44 per cent rural. The Population Census of 1971 for the first time records a majority of the Greek population as urban—53 per cent of the 8.7 million inhabitants.

2. Regarding the development of the carpet industry, Pentzopoulos notes that at the time of the 1929 Census, there were 135 carpet enterprises, all of them founded after 1922. The centers of production were the urban refugee settlements of Nea Ionia and Nea Kokkinia in Attica, and of Salonika in Macedonia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 164. The strong textile tradition in Nea Ionia has led to its sometime designation as «little Manchester». Guy Burgel, *La Condition Industrielle à Athènes* (Athens: National Centre of Social Research), 1970, p. 20.

3. Background information on Greek urbanization since 1920, including documentation of the statistical information cited below, is contained in Appendix II.

MAP 2. GREEK CITIES OF 20,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS, 1961



In the period 1920-1928, the inflow of the Asia Minor refugees provided a major impetus to the growth and urbanization of the Greek population. As already noted, approximately 1.2 million refugees were living in Greece by 1928, over 600,000 of them in urban areas. Their effect on the demographic structure of Greece becomes evident when one examines the population increases which occurred between 1920-1928, both regionally and within specific cities.

Regionally, the greatest population increases occurred in Central Greece and Macedonia, particularly in those Departments which contained the large urban centers. The greatest inflows, in absolute numbers, occurred in two urban areas: Greater Athens and Salonika. These two urban centers showed population increases of 349,000 and 77,000 respectively. The largest percentage increases in population occurred in the Macedonian cities of Kavala (117.9), Serres (104.6), Xanthi (103.3), and Drama (92.2). Examination of the origins of the inhabitants of these cities in 1928 reveals that the increases were largely due to the absorption of the refugees. These formed more than fifty per cent of the inhabitants of Kavala, Serres and Drama, and over forty per cent of the inhabitants of Salonika, Xanthi and Piraeus.

Examination of the origins of the population of Greek cities in 1928 also shows that the internal migrants already were forming a substantial proportion of the urban population at this early period. In Athens, Volos and Larisa, internal migrants formed the largest single population element, making up over forty per cent of the inhabitants. In the 21 cities with a population of at least 20,000 inhabitants in 1928, native inhabitants constituted an absolute majority in only five cities (three of them insular), and formed the largest population segment in only six others.

In the period since World War II, the urban growth of Greece has been due almost exclusively to internal migration. This movement has been in the direction of the largest cities, especially the Capital.⁴ Over the years, all the geographical regions except Greater Athens have lost population, and in all of them, the trend of migration has been from the rural to the urban areas. By 1961, 2.3 million Greeks were living in the nation's three largest cities of Athens, Salonika, and Patras.⁵

4. According to the Pilot Survey of 1960, two thirds of all internal migrants travel to Athens. As a result, Athens experienced an inflow of more than 1.5 million persons between 1945-1960. F. W. Carter, «Population Migration to Greater Athens», *Tijdschrift voor Econ. en Soc. Geografie*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (March-April 1968), p. 100.

5. In 1961, these three cities contained nearly 30 per cent of the nation's total population, and 70 per cent of the nation's urban population. *Ibid.*

The Capital itself has gained population steadily since 1920, partly as a result of the inflow of Asia Minor refugees, and partly because of the inflow of internal migrants from the Greek countryside. By 1961, Greater Athens contained 22 per cent of the total population of Greece. In the early period, the population inflow was directed mostly to the Municipalities of Athens and Piraeus. More recently, the other Municipalities and Communes making up Greater Athens have been absorbing a steadily increasing proportion of the Capital's expanding population.

3. Who Lives in the Metropolis?

As a result of the various migration streams from abroad and from the provinces into the Capital, Greater Athens had attained a population of more than 1.8 million by the beginning of the 1960s.⁶ In the wake of this development, policy makers and planners began to ask what in fact was known about the characteristics of this expanding population, so largely made up of refugees, migrants, and their offspring.

The questions were addressed to such matters as: the demographic characteristics of the inhabitants—their age and sex composition, marital status and household composition; the geographical and cultural origins of the population, and the routes which brought the settlers to the Capital; the career histories and occupational mobility patterns of the inhabitants; their neighborhood ties and community utilization.

It was hoped that answers to these questions would provide a base for future comparisons, to determine the stability or change in population composition, the reasons for these trends, and their consequences for the structure of the metropolitan region. It was also hoped that such information would make possible the development of plans and policies for the Capital which corresponded to the needs and desires of the inhabitants.

The present study grew out of these considerations, and represents an attempt to make some initial explorations of these matters. For this purpose, it was decided to choose an area which, upon inspection, seemed typical of the Athens metropolitan region with regard to both the economic level of

6. By 1971, the figure had jumped to more than 2.5 million. Natural increase has played a very subordinate role to migration in contributing to this population growth, according to the Pilot Population Census of 1960. See: National Statistical Service of Greece, *Population Inflow into Greater Athens* (1964), p. 9. In this respect, the growth pattern of Athens conforms to that of cities generally. See: Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: Macmillan), 1950, p. 589.

its inhabitants and their ethnic mix; and to gain knowledge, through survey techniques, about some of these unanswered questions.

While this was a practical rather than a theoretically-oriented objective, such a study obviously has bearings upon a number of ongoing problems in migration research, such as the selective characteristics of migrants, patterns of migration, extent of occupational mobility, and strength of neighborhood ties. A brief review of each of these topics is presented in the following pages.

a. Selective Characteristics of Migrants

As Davis noted long ago, migration is never random.⁷ The selective characteristics of migrants can be analyzed with reference to those persons who remain behind, or to those who live in the place of destination—both native inhabitants, and other migratory streams.

Many studies have shown that migrants differ from those they leave behind with regard to such characteristics as age, sex, marital status, educational level, and work status. For example, Moustaka, in her study of migrants from Zagori and Paros, shows that the educational level of the migrants was higher than that of the villagers who remained behind, although lower than that for Greece as a whole.⁸

Although migration is selective, the direction of the selectivity may vary according to time and circumstance. Thus, while some studies of internal migrants have shown that men are more likely to migrate than women, others have shown the reverse.⁹ In fact, this selectivity may change over time. Whereas Puerto Rican migrants who came to the continental United States at the end of World War II were predominantly women, as the Mills study showed, more recent findings indicate a reversal of this trend.¹⁰ Changes

7. Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 588; also, J.J. Mangalam and H. K. Schwarzweller, «General Theory in the Study of Migration: Current Needs and Difficulties», *International Migration Review*, Vol. 3 (1968), p. 11.

8. C. Moustaka, *The Internal Migrant* (Athens: Social Sciences Centre), 1964, pp. 17-19.

9. W. Petersen, «A General Typology of Migration», *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23 (1958), p. 265.

10. C.W. Mills, C. Senior and R. K. Goldsen, *The Puerto Rican Journey* (New York: Russell & Russell), 1967 reissue, p. 25. For more recent findings, see: C. Senior and D. O. Watkins, «Toward a Balance Sheet of Puerto Rican Migration», *Status of Puerto Rico: Selected Background Studies Prepared for the United States—Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1966, pp. 710, 713.

in the job market have been suggested as a possible reason for this reversal, but the more general conditions under which different types of selectivity occur have not been satisfactorily explained so far.

Concern with the selective characteristics of migrants stems in part from their potentially serious consequences for the community of origin. The departure of the migrants may affect the sex ratio, the dependency load on the working adults left behind, and investments in the schooling and rearing of human resources. On the other hand, the selective characteristics of migrants also affect the receiving area, especially with regard to housing, medical services, and school facilities.

Comparisons between the characteristics of migrants and the native inhabitants of the place of destination indicate that here too, significant differences exist. The 1960 Pilot Survey indicated, for example, that recent settlers in Greater Athens differed from non-settlers in a number of ways. The migrants tended to be younger, were less likely to be married, and were more likely to be economically active than the non-settlers.¹¹ Studies in other countries have shown that the second generation of migrants more nearly approximates the native inhabitants with regard to these demographic characteristics, suggesting a progressive assimilation into the receiving society.¹²

Most studies of selective and differential migration have dealt with the demographic characteristics of migrants, such as their sex, age, and marital status. Less attention has been devoted to the motivational and aspirational selectivity of migrants. In fact, the latter has usually been rather dubiously inferred from the demographic characteristics of the persons who migrate.¹³

Motivational selectivity may be economic in nature—as when economic incentives actually differentiate migrants from non-migrants or from other migratory streams. Motivational selectivity may also be political—as in the case of the Asia Minor refugees. These people were forced to migrate to escape destruction, a necessity which differentiated them not only

11. National Statistical Service of Greece, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, *passim*.

12. J. Macisco, «Assimilation of Puerto Ricans on the Mainland: A Socio-Demographic Approach», *International Migration Review*, Vol. 2, Spring 1968, p. 30.

13. Thus, Vazquez-Calzada, noting that the educational level of the Puerto Rican migrants is somewhat higher than that of the average Puerto Rican on the island, suggests that Puerto Rico is being drained of its most «ambitious» population segment. J. Vazquez-Calzada, *Las Causas y Efectos de la Emigración Puertorriqueña*. San Juan: University of Puerto Rico, School of Medicine, Demographic Studies Section, October 1968 (mimeographed), p. 31.

from the non-Greek population in Turkey, but from the economically motivated migrants in the place of destination.

Although the extent to which such differences in reasons for migration are associated with distinctive socio-demographic characteristics remains to be systematically explored, scattered studies provide some hints regarding the matter. Thus, Elinor Rogg, in her study of Cuban migrants in West New York, showed that the economically motivated Cubans who migrated to West New York in the pre-Castro period had less education than those who remained behind, whereas the political refugees who left Cuba after the Castro regime had come into power, had a higher educational level than the Cuban inhabitants as a whole. As a result, the two groups of Cubans who settled in West New York were quite different from one another with regard to educational background.¹⁴

A related question has to do with the extent to which these differences in the motivational and demographic characteristics of particular migratory streams affect their subsequent experiences: the sequence of migration that brings them to their place of destination, how they fare occupationally, and the kinds of ties they develop to neighborhood and community.

In the light of the theoretical and practical issues outlined above, one objective of the present study is a description of the motivational, demographic and social characteristics of the respondents of Nea Ionia. The study will explore the extent to which differences in migrant status, and in reasons for migration, are associated with differences in demographic characteristics of the respondents, and with differences in settlement patterns, occupational experiences, and neighborhood ties.

b. Migration Patterns

Little is known about migration patterns: the number of moves typically involved, and whether they show progressive urbanization; to what extent they are regional in character, or involve movements back and forth between place of origin and place of destination; why people choose a particular destination, and where they would prefer to live, if they had the opportunity. Even sparser is our knowledge about the extent to which economic and political migrants differ with regard to these migration patterns—their age at the time of departure, the rural-urban character of the places of

14. E. Rogg, *The Occupational Adjustment of Cuban Refugees in the West New York, New Jersey Area*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 1970, pp. 142, 154.

origin, or the total number of moves which brings them to their final destination.

One reason for this lack of knowledge is the traditional dependence on census data in attempts to ascertain migration patterns. Although census data have the advantage of broad coverage and comprehensive scope, their static and cross-sectional character limit their utility for the study of migration patterns. Thus, while census data provide information about the proportion of persons residing in Athens in 1960 who were living elsewhere in 1955, they do not provide information about their moves, if any, within this five-year period, or where they resided before 1955. Little is known about those who moved directly to Athens as compared with those who moved in stages: whether those who came in stages first moved within their own region and, if so, whether to rural or urban areas; whether those residing in Athens returned back home before giving the Capital a second or a third try; why they came to Athens or why they returned; and where they would have gone if they had had the opportunity.

Nevertheless, existing census and survey data do provide clues regarding some of these questions. Scattered studies of the migration patterns of economic migrants suggest that these migrants are mainly of rural origin, that they often come directly to metropolitan areas, and that most remain there permanently, either the first time, or after a second or third try. Of the migrants who settled down in Athens between 1955 and 1960, two thirds came directly from rural areas.¹⁵ Although there was also some out-migration from the Capital during this period, almost half of it was to cities. Furthermore, a substantial proportion was confined to the region of Central Greece, actually effecting an extension of the outer limits of the Athens metropolitan region.¹⁶

Studies on the Puerto Rican migration also suggest that economically motivated migrants tend to migrate directly from their places of origin to their places of destination. Few migrants had made any moves in Puerto Rico prior to their journey to the Mainland,¹⁷ or any moves within the conti-

15. B. Kayser, *Géographie Humaine de la Grèce* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France), 1964, p. 110. The original source of these data is the sample elaboration of the 1961 Population and Housing Census, Vol. V, «Internal Migration» (Athens, 1963).

16. *Ibid.*

17. Mills et al., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 33-34; also, G.C. Myers and G. Masnick, «The Migration Experience of New York Puerto Ricans: A Perspective on Return», *International Migration Review*, Vol. 2, Spring 1968, p. 85.

mental United States after their arrival.¹⁸ On the other hand local moves in the places of destination were frequent.¹⁹

In contrast to the economic migrants, political migrants apparently reach their final destination by a more circuitous route. The first concern is to reach a place of political refuge, and only later do questions regarding places of permanent settlement arise. Thus, most Cuban refugees fleeing to the United States entered the country in Miami, the geographically most accessible place. Later, many settled permanently in other parts of the United States, where employment and living conditions were more advantageous.

Judging from the scattered and impressionistic evidence, political migrants are more likely than economic migrants to be of urban origin. Thus, most accounts of the Asia Minor refugees refer to their urban background.²⁰ Similar conclusions are reached in Chou's study of political migrants from mainland China and Rogg's study of Cuban refugees.²¹

Finally, political migrants leave their homes because they have to, whereas economic migrants leave voluntarily. This difference undoubtedly affects general attitudes towards, and satisfactions with, the place of destination.²² When political migrants arrive in their places of destination, most of their material possessions, as well as their hearts, are usually left behind. Often they persist in the expectation that political events will allow their return. When these hopes die, nostalgia may remain buried under the surface of outward accommodation.

However, migrants who leave their villages in hopes of a better life in the metropolis are more likely to express satisfaction regarding their move. According to Moustaka's survey, fully 89 per cent of the Zagorian and Parnian migrants believed they were right to leave their villages and come to town.

18. J. Hernández Alvarez, *Return Migration to Puerto Rico*, Population Monograph Series No. 1 (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies), 1967, p. 5.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25; also, Myers and Masnick, *Op. Cit.*, p. 88. The frequency of local moves is also reported for Sicilian migrants in Sydney, Australia. See: C. Cronin, *The Sting of Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1970, p. 162.

20. Pentzopoulos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 102. See also, League of Nations, *Refugee Settlement in Greece*, II. Economic and Financial Questions (Geneva), 1926, p. 15.

21. Chu, Hsien-jen (personal communication); Rogg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 155.

22. As Pentzopoulos observes, «the obligatory transfer of minorities presents a fundamental disadvantage» when one compares it with a voluntary move because it inflicts «a deep psychological trauma upon the people involved: the feeling of having been forcibly uprooted....» *Op. Cit.*, p. 205. See also: S.N. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954, p. 4, and J. Schechtman, *The Refugee in the World, Displacement and Integration* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co.), 1963, p. 25.

They expressed optimism about the economic future for themselves and for their children, and contrasted this with the poverty and poor employment conditions that had characterized the villages from which they came.²³

The above review of existing survey and census data on migration patterns suggests that economic and political migrants differ with regard to rural-urban origins, number of moves which bring them to their ultimate destination, and attitudes towards the places in which they settle down. In the chapters which follow, the present study will present its findings on the migration patterns of the respondents of Nea Ionia. The findings will be based on survey data which trace the sequence of moves that brought the refugees and internal migrants to Greater Athens.

c. Occupational Patterns

Students of migration have been intensely concerned with the career experiences of migrants: what kinds of jobs, if any, they held before their move, and their career histories in their places of destination. Intimately connected with this concern is interest in the extent to which migrants experience career mobility: from their last jobs (if any) prior to migration, to their first jobs after the move; and subsequently, during the course of their careers in the places of destination. Another important issue is that of intergenerational mobility: how did the migrants fare relative to their fathers and grandfathers, and how are their sons faring in relation to them?

One major problem in making these evaluations is the measurement of occupational mobility. Which jobs are to be rated as equal to one another, or as higher or lower? Most occupational rating scales suffer from coarseness of categories as well as lack of systematic knowledge about how jobs are rated within a given society.²⁴ The problem becomes aggravated when career histories involve jobs in two societies which may not rate these jobs in the same way.

One category of job that is particularly difficult to evaluate is farming, a very typical occupational category for most internal migrants at the time of their migration. In occupational surveys, it is often difficult to ascertain whether «farmer» refers to farm proprietor, farm manager, tenant, or laborer.²⁵

23. Moustaka, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 69-70.

24. B. Barber, *Social Stratification* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World), 1957, p. 175.

25. Centers did not include data on farmers as fathers in his tables on occupational

It must also be remembered that the number of intervals in the occupational rating scale affects the determination of amount of occupational mobility. The more categories the scale contains, the greater the likelihood of finding occupational mobility.

For Greece, no occupational ranking scheme based on systematic knowledge of national occupational evaluations has been developed so far, even though isolated attempts to measure socio-economic status have been made by individual researchers.²⁶

A second problem in the study of career patterns of migrants is the scarcity of survey data on their career histories from the time they entered the labor force, usually in their places of origin, to their current jobs in the places of destination. As already noted with regard to migration patterns, traditional dependence on census data has hampered the exploration of occupational patterns and career mobility.

Moustaka's survey is one of the few which provides information on the occupational patterns of Greek internal migrants. The study shows that among the 507 Parian and Zagorian migrants who were economically active at the time of the survey, 15 per cent held the same category of job as they had held in the village, 43 per cent had changed job categories, and 42 per cent had not been working before they came to town. In their villages, the first group had been mostly blue collar workers; the second group, farmers; and the third, housewives, students, and unemployed. In town, the vast majority in all three groups were blue collar workers.²⁷

Although the study indicates the number of migrants who changed jobs and the kinds of job categories involved in these changes, it contains no occupational breakdowns according to sex, nor an extensive discussion about the amount of occupational mobility experienced by the migrants in the course of their careers.

With regard to intergenerational occupational mobility of migrants, the sources of data are even scarcer. Thus, for information about the occupations of the Greeks in Asia Minor, one has to rely on the estimates of scholars

mobility of urban occupational strata because the data were not specific enough in these respects. See: R. Centers, «Occupational Mobility of Urban Occupational Strata», *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 13 (1948), pp. 197-203.

26. See, for example, C. Safilios-Rothschild, «Class Position and Success Stereotypes in Greek and American Cultures», *Social Forces*, Vol. 45 (1967), p. 377. Safilios-Rothschild, refers to similar efforts by Lambiri. *Ibid.*, footnote 22.

27. Moustaka, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 48, 49.

familiar with the situation existing in Turkey at the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁸

Despite the aforementioned problems, existing data on occupational mobility permit some cautious generalizations. First, there seems to be no society in which there is not at least a little social mobility, although the amount that occurs in different types of society varies considerably.²⁹

Second, the amount of occupational mobility is generally modest. A study by the National Opinion Research Center indicates that many persons who had occupations different from those of their fathers were in adjacent occupational ranks, and that only a small per cent of the total moved very far up or down the class structure in the generational interval.³⁰ Similarly, Center's study of occupational mobility of urban occupational strata found that «seventy one per cent of the fathers had sons whose present placement is at their own or immediately adjacent level».³¹

Third, in a majority of nations for which data are available, intergenerational downward mobility equals or exceeds upward mobility. Indeed, according to Goode, the data indicate that in some nations there is high downward and high upward mobility; almost as many have low downward mobility and high upward mobility; and at least two samples have been drawn that suggest that there may be low downward and low upward mobility.³²

Turning now to occupational findings pertaining strictly to migrants, it seems that both economic and political migrants tend to experience downward job mobility when they first come to their places of destination.³³ This downward mobility tends to be greater for the refugees, since they are more likely to have held higher level jobs at home than the economic migrants. Most migrants, whether economically or politically motivated, hold blue collar jobs in their places of destination—typically at the semi-skilled level—and they usually remain in the blue collar category for the entire period of their lives.³⁴

28. Pentzopoulos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 27, text and footnote 8; also, p. 102.

29. Barber, *Op. Cit.*, p. 423.

30. National Opinion Research Center, «Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation», in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, editors, *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press), 1953, pp. 411-426.

31. Centers, *Op. Cit.*, p. 200.

32. W. J. Goode, *Family and Mobility: A Report to the Institute of Life Insurance* (mimeographed), New York, 1963, pp. 20-21.

33. Cronin, *Op. Cit.*, p. 139; Mills et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 66; Rogg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 275.

34. H. Bienstock, *Labor Force Experience of the Puerto Rican Worker* (United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Regional Reports, No. 9, June 1968), p. 12; Mills et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 69; Rogg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 135.

All indications are that substantial occupational improvement generally is reserved for the second generation. For example, among Puerto Rican migrants, the second generation's distribution in the labor force more closely approximates that of the native population in the continental United States than did the occupational distribution of the first generation.³⁵ One path toward occupational mobility in the first generation seems to be the undertaking of small business enterprises. In her study of Sicilian migrants in Australia, Cronin noted that fruit-vending was a frequent occupational vehicle for mobility among this migrant group.³⁶

Taking into account the problems and tentative generalizations presented above, the study will analyze the occupational patterns among the respondents of Nea Ionia. This will include the presentation of survey data on the career mobility of the respondents from first to current job, separately for men and women.³⁷ In the course of this analysis, problems involved in ranking occupations for Greece will be discussed. The study will also present survey data on the jobs of the fathers and paternal grandfathers of the respondents, to determine the extent and types of occupational mobility involved. The focus throughout will be on comparing the occupational patterns, both career and intergenerational, of the refugees, the internal migrants, and the Athenian respondents.

*d. Neighborhood Ties*³⁸

Planners, policy makers, and scholars have grappled with the role of neighborhoods and neighboring in metropolitan areas. But we still have little systematic knowledge, either for newcomers or for old-timers, about

35. J. Macisco, *Op. Cit.*, p. 30; Bienstock, *Op. Cit.*, p. 15, Table 10.

36. Cronin, *Op. Cit.*, p. 160.

37. Studies of occupational mobility ordinarily concentrate on what happens to the careers of males, both intergenerationally and in the course of their own career spans. This is done because women are less likely to be in the labor force, or if they are, only at certain periods of their lives, and not as principal wage earners; and because their social status is at all events determined by their husband's (or other male relative's) job rather than by their own. However, the little information available on women's occupations indicates that women, regardless of length of time in the labor force or type of job, hold less prestigious jobs than do males, and experience less upward occupational mobility. See: W.J. Goode, *The Family* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall), 1964, p. 70; and W.N. Stephens, *The Family in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 1963, p. 288.

38. For a provocative critique of the existing literature on the subject, to which this presentation is indebted, see Suzanne Keller's *The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective* (New York: Random House), 1968.

such matters as the extent of attachments and ties to particular urban neighborhoods, types of relationships with neighbors, attitudes towards newcomers, neighborhood satisfactions and dissatisfactions, utilization of neighborhood and community, or reasons for plans to stay or to leave.

A number of studies have explored neighborhood utilization. The investigations agree that this utilization varies with the sphere of activity. Food shopping, for instance, is most likely to be carried out locally. Data collected in Athens in 1963, as part of the Human Community Research Project, show that the shortest distance travelled by shoppers was to bakeries, with grocer's shops a close second.³⁹ According to Ross, this type of activity can be characterized as «convenience shopping», involving goods which are used in small quantities and purchased fairly often, in which price differentials are not very important and which are relatively highly standardized.⁴⁰

On the other hand, place of work is much less likely to be locally based. Thus, Virirakis found that the gainfully employed inhabitants of the average Athens community were almost equally distributed among: the neighborhoods in which they resided or immediately adjacent ones; the central business district; and the other areas of the city (the percentages were 32, 36, and 32 respectively).⁴¹ Similar findings have been reported for urban areas in the United States.⁴²

Another indicator of neighborhood utilization is the number of friends and relatives living there. A study of newcomer enculturation in the cities of Durham and Greensboro, North Carolina, indicates that: urban dwellers have a supply of close relatives living within a short travel distance; length of residence in the area is related to the number of close friends in the locality; most people's closest friends do not live in their immediate neighborhood.⁴³

39. P. Pappas, «Trip Lengths to Community Facilities», Human Community Research Project (HUCO), *Ekistics*, Vol. 33, No. 199, June 1972, p. 496. For similar findings for the United States, see H.L. Ross, «The Local Community: A Survey Approach», *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (February 1962), p. 82; and D.M. McGough, *Social Factor Analysis*, City of Philadelphia Community Renewal Program, Technical Report No. 11, October 1964 (mimeographed), cited in Keller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 105.

40. Ross, *Op. Cit.*, p. 83.

41. John Virirakis, «Place of Residence and Place of Work», HUCO, *Ekistics*, Vol. 33, No. 199, June 1972, p. 495.

42. Ross, *Op. Cit.*, p. 82, Table 7.

43. J. Gulick, C.E. Bowerman, and K.W. Back, «Newcomer Enculturation in the City: Attitudes and Participation», in F.S. Chapin, Jr., and S.F. Weiss, editors, *Urban Growth Dynamics in a Regional Cluster of Cities* (New York: Wiley), 1962, pp. 331, 336.

Turning now to the evidence on neighboring patterns, the data indicate that intensity of neighboring is related neither to migrant status nor to length of residence in the community. A study of neighboring in San Juan, Puerto Rico, found no relationship between the intensity of neighboring and the birthplace of the family head, the time elapsed since migration to San Juan, the distance from previous address, or the number of previous addresses.⁴⁴ Gulick, on the basis of the data for Greensboro and Durham, similarly concludes that neighboring activities «appear to begin very soon after arrival and to be maintained at a fairly consistent rate thereafter».⁴⁵

There is some variation, however, in the extent to which neighbors, friends, and relatives are utilized for neighboring purposes. A study of neighboring in Liverpool indicates that although the Crown Street inhabitants relied mostly on relatives for help, there was a strong tendency for those without relatives to rely more for help upon friends and neighbors.⁴⁶

Frequency of neighboring is positively related to neighborhood satisfaction.⁴⁷ However, as Keller cautions, neighborhood satisfaction does not necessarily imply permanent loyalties.⁴⁸ While the San Juan study shows that neighborhood satisfaction is related to plans to stay in the neighborhood, the data also make it clear that factors such as poor quality of housing can precipitate a move despite satisfaction with neighbors and neighborhood.⁴⁹

Neighborhood satisfaction also shows a strong association with length of time in the area, and with increasing age.⁵⁰ Not only are older persons more likely to express neighborhood satisfaction; they are also more likely to choose neighbors as friends,⁵¹ and generally, to utilize their neigh-

44. T. Caplow, S. Stryker, and S. Wallace, *The Urban Ambience* (Totowa: Bedminster), 1964, p. 164.

45. Gulick et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 340.

46. C. Vereker and J.B. Mays, *Urban Redevelopment and Social Change* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press), 1961, p. 60; similarly, Gulick et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 334.

47. Gulick reports that 66 per cent of the women had high satisfaction scores if half or more of their social visits were in the neighborhood; 42 per cent if none were in the neighborhood; 70 per cent if they sometimes or often visited informally in homes of their neighbors; 47 per cent if they rarely or never did. *Op. Cit.*, p. 340.

48. Keller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 109.

49. Caplow et al., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 197, 202.

50. For association between neighborhood satisfaction and length of residence see: Gulick et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 341; P. Rossi, *Why Families Move* (New York: The Free Press), 1955; Caplow et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 198. The latter shows that not only neighborhood satisfaction, but intent to stay in the neighborhood, is strongly influenced by length of time in the area. *Ibid.*

51. E. Bott, *Family and Social Network* (London: Tavistock Publications), 1957.

borhoods. The HUCO study shows that the average Athenian spends three quarters of his time in his home and divides the rest of the time very evenly between his community, the adjacent community, central Athens, and the rest of the city. But among the aged, the importance of central Athens gives way to the importance of their local communities, in which they spend more than a third of their time outside their homes.⁵²

The present study will investigate the attitudes of the respondents of Nea Ionia towards their neighbors and neighborhoods, as well as their utilization of the community. The focus will be on the extent to which length of residence in the neighborhood, age of the respondents, and other correlates of migrant status are associated with neighboring patterns and neighborhood ties. Hopefully, the findings will be a useful addition to the existing literature on urban neighboring, as well as providing a resource for those concerned with planning for the Capital.

e. Specific Questions

In line with the foregoing considerations, this study will attempt to describe the distinctive background characteristics of the respondents; the pattern of moves which brought them to the community of Nea Ionia and into their present neighborhoods; their work histories and occupational mobility, both career and intergenerational; their neighborhood ties and community utilization. In attempting to account for these patterns, the study will concentrate on the differing origins of the respondents—whether they grew up in Asia Minor, or in the Greek provinces outside the Capital, or in the metropolitan region of Athens.

In the process of investigating respondents' origins, and how these are related to patterns of migration, occupation, and neighborhood ties, the study will address itself to the following specific questions:

- How do the respondents from Asia Minor differ from Greek internal migrants and those of Athenian origins with regard to age, marital status, and household position; schooling, work status, and occupation?
- How do the Asia Minor refugees differ from internal migrants from the Greek provinces with regard to number of moves that brought them to Athens, and the rural-urban character of these moves?

52. P. Pappas, «Time Allocation Study», HUCO, *Ekistics*, Vol. 33, No. 199, June 1972, p. 494.

- What differences are there between the economic migrants, the refugees, and the Athenians in the extent of occupational mobility, both over their own career spans and intergenerationally?
- To what extent do long-time residents differ from newly arrived respondents with regard to neighborhood ties and community utilization?

Wherever possible, the study will compare the Nea Ionia data with findings for Greater Athens and with cross-cultural data from the migration literature.

4. The Research Design

a. The Sample

This study is based on a random, representative sample of 522 households in Nea Ionia. These constituted approximately five per cent of all households in the community of Nea Ionia in 1964. Seventy-four per cent are households composed of male heads of household living with their spouses, 21 per cent are female-headed households, and 5 per cent are male-headed households in which no spouse is present. In households composed of male heads living with their wives, both partners were included in the sample of respondents.

The sample for the present study actually is a sub-sample of a larger one originally drawn in 1964. That sample was a ten per cent random sample, including 1,120 households and almost 2,000 respondents, taking into account a refusal rate of six per cent. Because of time and budget limitations, the original sample subsequently was reduced to half its size, yielding a more manageable amount of data, as far as both processing and analysis were concerned.

A comparison of the original 1964 sample, and the 1971 sub-sample, is presented on the next page.

It will be noted that two categories of household were not included in the sub-sample: husband-wife households in which only one partner, usually the wife, was available for interviews; and a few households whose composition was not ascertainable. Together, these constituted six per cent of the original household sample.

They were not included for a variety of reasons. First, it was necessary, for purposes of this study, to know the composition of the household and the household position of the respondent. Second, the study needed accurate information from both marriage partners in a household about such matters as their attitudes towards neighbors and neighborhood, and it was ob-

Type of Household, Respondent, and Interview	1964	1971
<u>Households</u>	N	N
Male-headed, wife present	775	387
Female-headed	219	109
Male-headed, no spouse present	51	26
Male-headed, wife present, husband not available for interview	55	—
Male-headed, wife present, wife not available for interview	15	—
Composition unascertainable	5	—
TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	1,120	522
<u>Respondents</u>		
Male heads (wife present and interviewed)	775	387
Wives (husband present and interviewed)	775	387
Female heads	219	109
Male heads (no spouse present)	51	26
Male heads (wife not available for interview)	15	—
Wives (husband not available for interview)	55	—
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	1,890	909
<u>Supplementary Interviews</u>		
Husbands' supplementary interviews about wives not interviewed	15	—
Wives' supplementary interviews about husbands not interviewed	55	—
TOTAL NUMBER OF SUPPLEMENTARY INTERVIEWS	70	0

vious that a spouse could, at best, give his perceptions of the partner's attitudes. Therefore, such questions were not included in the supplementary interviews. Even on straight informational items, which were included in the supplementary interviews, such as the sequence of moves which brought the spouse to Athens, a partner sometimes had difficulty in providing the needed information.

A check was made to see whether the husbands and wives of the excluded households exhibited distinctive characteristics with regard to origins, schooling, etc., as compared with the rest of the sample. The check showed that with regard to origins, the distributions of the excluded and included cases were identical. With regard to other characteristics, such as schooling, the differences between the two groups were slight: e.g., 48 per cent of the excluded group, as compared with 40 per cent of the rest of the sample, had completed Demotikon.*

*Demotikon = grade school.

b. Choice of Community

When the study was undertaken in 1964, a concerted effort was made to find a community whose inhabitants were more or less typical of the Athens population of the middle nineteen sixties, particularly with regard to economic level and ethnic mix, in order to make possible «extension of the findings to account for the direction toward which modern Greek society is moving».⁵³ Since few sources of information existed about the population composition of sub-areas of the metropolitan region, the choice of Nea Ionia was made after a thorough exploration of these localities, with a view to ascertaining the socio-economic attributes and origins of the inhabitants. Statistical sources were used to corroborate the extent of the typicality, wherever these were available.

A comparison of the work status, occupations, and origins of the Nea Ionia respondents with those of the population of Athens is presented below. The comparison is based on published and unpublished data from the 1961 Population Census of Greece.

Work Status (Males)		
	Per Cent Working	
	%	
Nea Ionia	77	
Athens	72	

Occupational Distribution (Males)		
Occupation	Nea Ionia	Athens ⁵⁴
	%	%
Unskilled	4	5
Semi-skilled	34	31
Skilled	26	12
Petty Proprietors	13	9
Lower White Collar	8	13
Independent Artisans	8	4
Middle, Upper White Collar	7	26
	100	100

53. J.G. Peristiany, «Sociology in Greece», *Contemporary Sociology in Western Europe and in America*, First International Congress of Social Science of the Luigi Sturzo Institute, Rome, 5-10 September 1967, p. 295.

54. The data for Athens on population distribution according to occupation and origins were assembled by Gioka. See the Appendix of: T. Gioka, «Conflicting Systems of Values and the Position of Women in Modern Greek Society», unpublished paper, National Centre of Social Research, Athens, no date.

	Origins (Household Heads)	
	Nea Ionia	Athens
	%	%
Refugees	40	17
Migrants	33	49
Athenians	27	34
	100	100

These comparisons show that there is considerable correspondence with regard to work status and occupation between the Nea Ionia respondents and the Athens population as a whole. However, there are also some striking differences, namely, a much heavier concentration of skilled workers in Nea Ionia, and a much higher concentration of middle and upper white collar workers outside the community. Actually the tabular data understate the difference, by combining the middle-ranking professional positions, more typical of Nea Ionia, with the upper white collar positions, far more characteristic of the rest of the metropolitan region.

With regard to origins, the data show that Nea Ionia, like the rest of the metropolitan region, contains a mix of refugees, internal migrants, and household heads of Athenian origins. However, the refugee household heads are far more concentrated in Nea Ionia than in the metropolitan region as a whole, and the migrant heads of household far less so. When inferences are drawn from the Nea Ionia data about the metropolitan region as a whole, both the similarities and the differences with regard to economic level and ethnic mix should be kept in mind.

c. The Research Instrument

The basic research instrument for this study was an interview schedule administered by trained interviewers to the respondents in their homes. Husbands and wives were interviewed in separate sessions. The interviews lasted from one and a half hours to three hours each. The schedule contained approximately eighty questions, both structured and unstructured.⁵⁵ The interviewing was begun late in 1964 and completed in 1965.

55. Copies of the interview schedule used for the Nea Ionia study are on file at the National Centre of Social Research.

d. Data Processing

After completion of the field work, the data were coded according to detailed coding instructions which followed an analytical sequence. Separate coding instructions were developed for each of eleven subject areas contained in the study. These were as follows:

1. Family Composition;
2. Demographic Characteristics of Respondent;
3. Economic Characteristics of Respondent;
4. Family Origins;
5. Patterns of Migration to Athens;
6. Patterns of Movement within Athens;
7. Career History;
8. Occupational Mobility;
9. Social Class Attitudes;
10. Attitudes to Neighbors;
11. Neighborhood and Community Utilization.

Eleven separate sets of code sheets were prepared, one set for each of the subject areas. The data then were coded by trained coders. Due to time and budget limitations, it was not possible to code all the collected data, nor to process all the coded data. The present analysis, therefore, is necessarily of a more restricted scope than had been envisaged at the outset of the study.

Upon completion of the coding, the data were punched onto eleven decks of IBM cards in preparation for computer processing. The data on the punched cards were subsequently put on tape, and processed on an IBM 360/40 computer at Fordham University in New York. Before the computer processing began, the coded data were adapted to the Alberta program, available for use at Fordham University. The cross-tabulated data obtained through computer processing formed the basis of the analysis contained in this study.

5. Project History

The original study was undertaken in 1964 by Tina Gioka, the project director for the ensuing three years. Gioka was in charge of developing the research design, drawing the sample, preparation, pre-testing and administration of the interview schedule, developing the coding manual, and supervising the coding. At the time of her departure from the Center, the bulk of the coding had been completed.

The present researcher—in Greece on a sabbatical leave from Fordham University—became project director of the Nea Ionia study in 1971, at the invitation of the Director General of the National Centre of Social Research, and with the consent of Gioka, who was no longer associated with the Center. Although Gioka did not have the time to collaborate in the completion of the study, she graciously consented to be available for consultant purposes when needed.

To a researcher interested in the study of migration, working on the Nea Ionia project had a number of inviting prospects. First, the questions contained in the interview schedule, and the responses to them, indicated that the data were rich in content, and that their collection had been guided by an implicit conceptual framework of broad scope. The study contained data badly needed for understanding migration movements, such as detailed chronologies of migratory moves from place of origin to place of final destination, and generational data on occupations to the third generation on both the father's and the mother's side of the family. In previous work on the Puerto Rican migration, the present researcher had noted the limitations of census data in providing information on these points, and the need for longitudinal survey data to come to grips with questions such as these.⁵⁶ Second, professional expertise was evident in the formulation of the research design, the construction of the interview schedule, and the preparation of the instructions for interviewing respondents and for coding their responses. This made it a worthwhile risk to undertake the hazards of completing an interrupted study.

The above considerations outweighed a number of hesitations on the part of the present researcher with regard to undertaking the completion of the project. These had to do with the age of the data, and the difficulties in working with data collected by someone else for their own research purposes. Another consideration was the researcher's lack of fluency in the Greek language and lack of thorough familiarity with the Greek culture.

The concern with the age of the data stemmed from the fact that by 1971, the data were six years old, and therefore would not give an up-to-date description of the inhabitants and the community. On the other hand, they would provide base-line information for determining ongoing population trends, and as such, serve one major objective of the study. Furthermore, the age of the data was inconsequential for coming to grips with a variety

56. E. Sandis, «Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants to, and from, the United States», *International Migration Review*, Vol. 4, Spring 1970, p. 24.

of theoretical issues pertaining to migration which have already been outlined above. Therefore, the data served this second objective as well.

The hazards of undertaking an interrupted study became evident in the course of completing the project, and will be enumerated below. Although they caused moments of anxiety, these problems were neither more numerous nor more intense than the difficulties one encounters in undertaking a completely new project. They were simply of a different order.

Finally, the risk of accepting the task despite being a neophyte in the Greek language and culture was balanced, hopefully, by bringing to the work experience in migration research, attempts to learn Greek and the Greek way of life, reliance on Greek sociologists and Greek research assistants, the availability of the original project director for consultation in emergencies, and the knowledge that the data so painstakingly collected would finally be used rather than buried.

Resumption of work on the Nea Ionia project began in January 1971. Given time and budget limitations, the first step was to cut the sample in half, as already noted. Next came the assembling of the coded sheets for each respondent, for each of the 11 subject areas. In the course of this operation, it became evident that some code sheets had been lost in the intervening years, and that other code sheets were incompletely coded. These had to be recoded: entirely, where lost; in part, where incomplete.

In the course of the recoding according to the original coding instructions, it became evident that there were some discrepancies between the code number assigned to certain response categories in the coding instructions, and the code numbers actually used on the code sheets for respondents giving this category of response. Consultation with Gioka revealed that the coding instructions we were using were unused, extra copies. While generally correct, they had not been entirely up-dated to conform to the master code, according to which the interviews actually had been coded. This master code had been dislocated in the course of several moves by the Center, and could not be traced.⁵⁷

As a result, a reliability check was undertaken of all coded materials, to make sure that the content of the responses assigned a particular code number on the code sheet, did indeed correspond to the code number assigned to that category of response in the coding instructions. Where there was no

57. The same held true for the records pertaining to the project's research objectives, research design, and work history. These had to be reconstructed from scraps of information located here and there, from the data themselves, and from the recollections of the original project director.

such correspondence, all interviews had to be recoded on the basis of a revised code, or the data coded for those columns had to be eliminated from the study.

Upon completion of the coding operation in July 1971, the data were punched onto IBM cards in preparation for computer processing, which was scheduled for completion during the fall of 1971. The data cards were submitted for processing to Demokritos, which has a CDC 3300 computer, one of the largest in the metropolitan region. However, the agency did not have personnel available for developing a computer program for the Nea Ionia data. After obtaining the marginal distributions for the eleven data decks, and one set of cross-tabulations, it was decided to transfer the data processing to Fordham University. This was done in January 1972, in time for the beginning of the Spring semester at the University.

In New York, it was decided to adapt the data to the (canned) Alberta program for use at Fordham University, rather than devising a new program for the study. This adaptation involved translation of the values on the data decks into values that fitted the requirements of the Alberta program. The first round of processing was completed in May 1972, and the first draft of the Nea Ionia study was completed during the summer of 1972. During the academic year 1972-73, the study was revised and rewritten in preparation for publication in 1973.

6. Order of Presentation

The remainder of the book is organized as follows: Chapter 2 describes the respondents in terms of their origins and length of residence in their present neighborhoods; their age, sex, and marital status; educational level, work status, and occupation. Chapter 3 discusses the respondents' family origins, according to geographical region and the rural-urban character of the places of origin.

The next two chapters deal with the moves which brought the respondents to their present neighborhoods. Chapter 4 analyzes the sequence of moves which brought the refugees and internal migrants to Athens. Chapter 5 concerns itself with the respondents' moves within the Capital.

In Chapter 6, data are presented about the career histories and occupational mobility of the respondents. These are analyzed mainly according to the sex and origins of the respondents. Chapter 7 discusses respondents' neighborhood ties and community utilization. Chapter 8 presents concluding comments, including suggestions for further research growing out of the present study.

II

THE RESPONDENTS OF NEA IONIA

A short ride on the Athens subway takes one to the bustling community of Nea Ionia. According to the 1971 Census, this industrial suburb of Athens had a population of nearly 55,000 inhabitants, residing in neighborhoods which stretched from Perissos northward to Kommati Lazarou, and eastward to Alsoupolis. As recently as 1920, however, Nea Ionia did not exist on the map of Athens. The pillars of a Roman aqueduct in the countryside were the only landmark of the future community; soon to be born out of the disastrous events of 1922.

The present chapter provides a description of the inhabitants of this community—who they are, where they come from, in which neighborhoods they have settled down, and their length of residence in them. In the five sections below, data are presented on the following topics:

1. Origins of the Respondents;
2. Neighborhood Settlement;
3. Age, Sex, and Marital Status;
4. Household Composition;
5. Education, Work Status, and Occupation.

1. Origins of the Respondents

As its name implies, the community of Nea Ionia is one of the «refugee» communities of Athens. That is to say, it was originally settled by refugees from Asia Minor, in the wake of the 1922 disaster and the subsequent population exchange between Turkey and Greece.

One concern of the study was the extent to which Nea Ionia has retained its stamp as a refugee community. Therefore, detailed information was obtained about the origins of its present inhabitants. Respondents were asked where they were born, when they made their first moves, where they moved to, and how long they remained in the places of destination.

MAP. 3. THE ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS OF GREATER ATHENS, 1961



«Origins» were determined according to where the respondents were living at the time they were growing up, that is to say, the places in which they spent most of their time from birth until they were at least twelve years old.¹ Refugees were defined as those persons who were living in Asia Minor while they were growing up, and who subsequently moved to Athens as adolescents or young adults.² Athenians are those respondents who grew up in the Capital. Internal migrants were defined as those persons who grew up in the Greek provinces, and who later settled down in Athens.

The distribution of respondents according to their origins is as follows: 35 per cent are refugees, that is to say, persons who grew up in Asia Minor and later came to Athens. Thirty-three per cent are internal migrants, persons who grew up in the Greek provinces and subsequently settled down in the Capital. Finally, 32 per cent are Athenians, persons who grew up in Greater Athens and continued to live there.

At first glance it would seem, therefore, that by the 1960s, the refugee element constituted a minority of the community's inhabitants. However, this does not take into account that almost one third of the respondents of Athenian origin were born in Asia Minor and brought to Athens as young children by parents or relatives. An even larger percentage had fathers or grandfathers of Asia Minor origins.

To a lesser extent, the same pattern holds for the internal migrants. Nine per cent of these were born in Asia Minor, 13 per cent had fathers from there, and almost one fifth had paternal grandfathers of Asia Minor origins. The data are summarized in Table 1:

TABLE 1. REFUGEE ROOTS OF ATHENIANS AND INTERNAL MIGRANTS

Refugee Roots	Athenians %	Migrants %
Born in Asia Minor	31	9
Father from Asia Minor	42	13
Paternal Grandfather from Asia Minor	66	19

These findings suggest that the inhabitants of Athenian origins residing in Nea Ionia may not be typical of the inhabitants of Athenian origins who

1. In the few cases where children made their first moves, unaccompanied, at an earlier age, places of origin were defined as the places where they spent most of their lives until that time.

2. Eight refugees grew up elsewhere: four in Russia, three in Egypt, and one in Cyprus. With the exception of one, whose parents came from Egypt, their forebears came from either Asia Minor or Russia.

live elsewhere in the Capital, particularly in the non-refugee districts. The former are more likely to have refugee roots, whereas the latter probably are more prone to have forebears from Athens or from the Greek provinces.

Although data on the origins of the Athenian population are hard to locate, the 1960 Pilot Census provides some useful figures. The inhabitants of the Capital are categorized according to whether they were born in Athens or elsewhere, and the latter, according to their last destination before they settled down in the Capital. The results are as follows:³

TABLE 2. INHABITANTS OF GREATER ATHENS, 1960 ACCORDING TO SETTLER STATUS

Settler Status, including Last Destination of Settlers	N	%
Settlers	867,000	55.7
From elsewhere in Greece	685,000	43.9
From Turkey	137,000	8.8
From elsewhere abroad	42,000	2.6
Not ascertainable from where	3,000	.4
Non-Settlers	690,000	44.3
Total de facto Population of Greater Athens	1,557,000	100.0

A comparison of these data with those for the Nea Ionia respondents indicates that the community of Nea Ionia has more than its share of refugees, and less than its share of native Athenians or internal migrants. These Census figures may underestimate somewhat the proportion of refugees among the settlers, since the question asked about «place of last destination» rather than «place of origin». Therefore, those refugees who lived elsewhere in Greece before moving to Athens—a sizeable number, judging from the Nea Ionia data⁴—would be recorded as settlers «from elsewhere in Greece», not as settlers «from Turkey».⁵ Be that as it may, there still remains a substantial difference between the percentage of refugees in Nea Ionia, and of those in Athens at large.

2. Neighborhood Settlement

According to the official Directory of the Municipality of Nea Ionia, the earliest neighborhoods to be established were those of Nea Ionia, Sa-

3. National Statistical Service of Greece, *Op. Cit.*, 1964. The data are adapted from p. 16, Table 1.

4. See Chapter 4.

5. The Census report cautions about the opposite tendency of some refugees to answer the question about last destination in terms of their places of origin.

frampolis and Inepolis (by 1964 a part of Saframpolis, as was Neapolis), Eleftheroupolis, and Perissos. Between 1938-1940, there were added: a part of the neighborhood of Eleftheroupolis which had formerly belonged to the Commune of Irakleion; Kalogreza, which had been an independent commune until the Royal Decree of 1940; and the neighborhood of Kommati Lazarou. Today, the community of Nea Ionia also encompasses the neighborhoods of Mavrokordatou; Paleologou and Veïkou; Alsoupolis and Queens Settlement.

Determination of Neighborhood Units

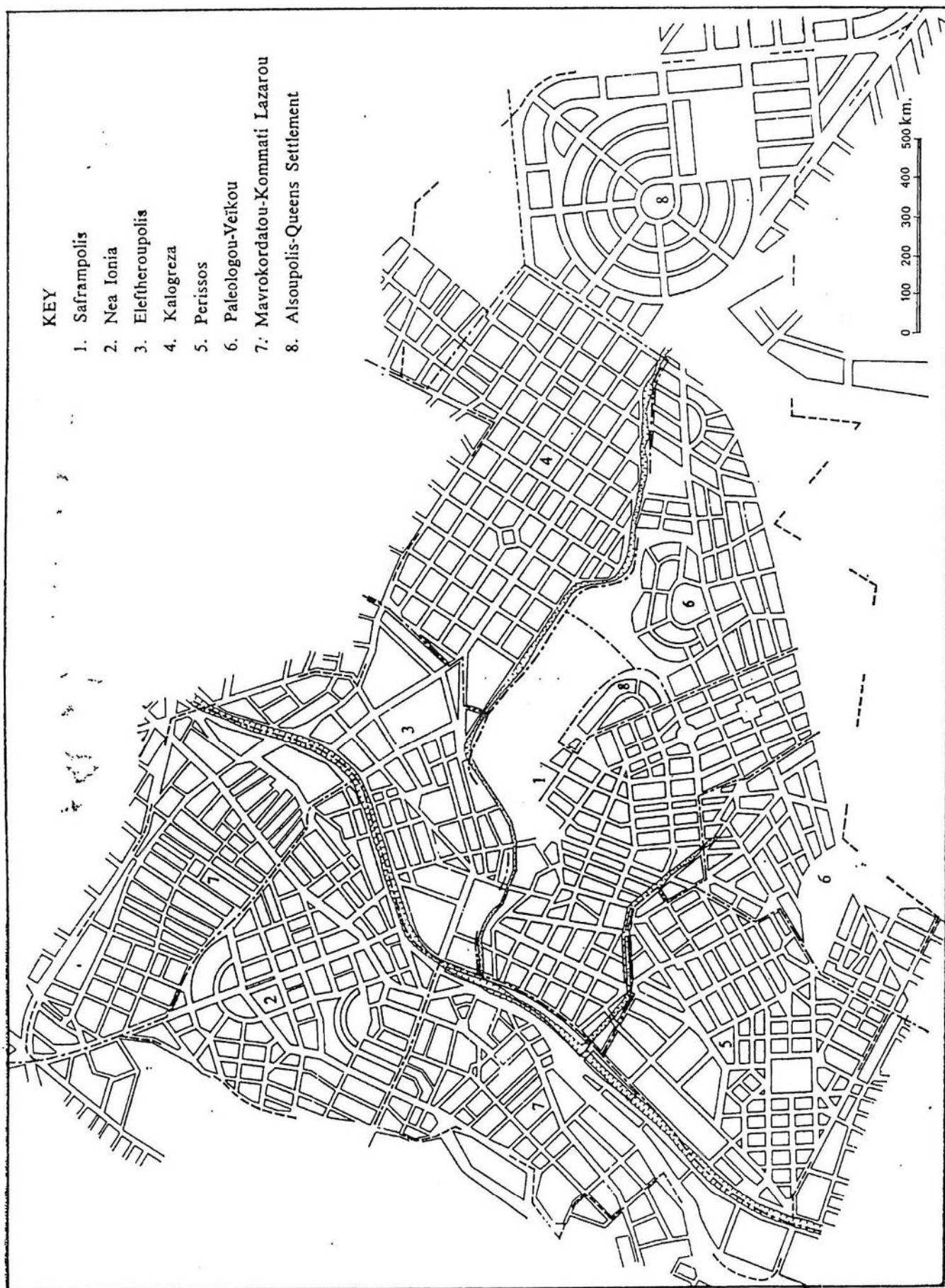
From its inception, the study was interested in discovering whether the neighborhood areas of Nea Ionia were more than geographic units—whether in their social and cultural characteristics they also constituted distinctive units. Since it was not clear at the time the study was undertaken in 1964 how the geographic neighborhood areas were to be determined, community officials were asked to designate the officially recognized geographic neighborhood units. This became the basis of the neighborhood categories used in the study.⁶

Neighborhood Distribution of Respondents

The inhabitants of Nea Ionia are spread fairly evenly throughout the neighborhoods of their community, judging from the distribution of the 909 respondents in the sample. The neighborhood of Nea Ionia contains the largest percentage of respondents, fully one fifth residing there. Eleftheroupolis and Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement contain the smallest proportion—8 per cent and 5 per cent respectively. Each of the remaining neighborhood areas has thirteen to fourteen per cent of the respondents living in them.

6. Personal communication from Gioka. Since the author lacked intimate knowledge of the community of Nea Ionia at the time she undertook the completion of the study, she decided to follow the neighborhood classification adopted by her predecessor, including the convention of combining Paleologou-Veïkou, Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou and Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement for analytic purposes. Although the author would feel on even safer grounds if these six neighborhood areas initially had been subjected to separate analyses, it is clear that the paired neighborhoods have much in common in terms of population characteristics.

MAP. 4. THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF NEA IONIA, 1961



Length of Residence in Neighborhood

Almost half of the respondents have been living in their present neighborhoods since before World War II; the remainder, since that time. After the War, the population grew relatively slowly at first, then more rapidly during the second post-War decade, judging from the length of time the respondents have been living there. Eighteen per cent have resided in their present neighborhoods since 1945-1954; 19 per cent since 1955-1959; and 15 per cent since 1960-1964.⁷

Compared with the population increase for Greater Athens as a whole, however, the population increase in Nea Ionia during the 1950s was moderate. When the 57 Administrative Departments of Athens are ranked according to the percentage of their population increase between 1951-1961, Nea Ionia falls into the third quartile, as do the refugee communities of Nea Smyrni and Nea Philadelphia.⁸

Length of residence in the present neighborhood varies considerably according to origins of the respondents, as Table 3 shows.⁹ Over seven tenths of the refugees settled down in their present neighborhoods before 1940, whereas over four fifths of the internal migrants did so after World War II. Among Athenians, slightly less than half have been living in their present neighborhoods since before 1940; the rest, since that time.

7. The Census figures on population increases for Nea Ionia between 1928 and 1971 are as follows :

Between	Per Cent Increase
1928-1940	96.5
1940-1951	21.8
1951-1961	42.3
1961-1971	14.0

See: National Statistical Service of Greece, *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1961, p. 20, Table II:5, and *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1971, p. 24, Table II:9.

8. The rankings were derived from unpublished source materials lent to the author by E. Crueger. For the published results of Crueger's work on developing a community typology for Greater Athens, see his: «Zwei Beiträge zum Problem der Bevölkerungsstruktur von Gross-Athen», *The Greek Review of Social Research*, No. 9-10, July-December 1971, pp. 114-131.

9. The sample totals vary slightly from table to table, since «above range» responses were not included in the totals on which the percentages are based.

A measure of chi square was obtained for every table. The analysis was concerned, however, with trends in the relationship between origins and the other variables, rather than with the statistical significance of any one particular cross-tabulation.

TABLE 3. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD BY ORIGINS

Length of Residence in Neighborhood	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Since before 1940	71	15	46	45
1940-1944	3	3	5	3
1945-1954	8	27	18	18
1955-1959	10	29	20	19
1960-1964	8	26	11	15
	100 (N=315)	100 (N=299)	100 (N=287)	100 (N=901)

The length of time respondents have lived in their present neighborhoods is not identical with their length of residence in Nea Ionia or in Athens, as Table 4 shows:

TABLE 4. PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS RESIDING IN ATHENS, NEA IONIA, AND PRESENT NEIGHBORHOODS, SINCE BEFORE 1944

Places of Residence	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Athens	93	38	93	75
Nea Ionia	78	22	65	55
Present Neighborhood	74	18	51	48

The data indicate that many respondents have lived in Athens longer than in Nea Ionia, and in Nea Ionia longer than in their present neighborhoods. The moves which respondents made between their first residences in Athens and their present ones will be described in Chapter Five.

In which neighborhoods of Nea Ionia did the Asia Minor refugees settle down? Where do most Athenians live, and where are the internal migrants making their homes? To answer these questions, the study first examined the length of time respondents have resided in each of the neighborhoods, and next, the distribution of respondents according to origins in each of the areas.

Table 5 depicts the different neighborhoods according to respondents' length of residence there. Over fifty per cent of the respondents who reside in the neighborhoods of Saframpolis, Nea Ionia, Eleftheroupolis and Kalogreza have lived there since the 1920s and early 1930s. These neighborhoods

TABLE 5. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD, BY NEIGHBORHOODS

Length of Residence in Neighborhood	Neighborhoods							
	Safram- polis %	Nea Ionia %	Elefthe- roupolis %	Kalo- greza %	Perissos %	Paeologou- Veikou %	Mavrokordatou K.Lazarou %	Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement % All %
Since before 1940	56	57	76	56	48	0	44	0 45
1940-1944	6	4	3	5	3	0	4	0 3
1945-1954	20	13	5	24	17	5	24	37 18
1955-1959	9	9	7	9	22	60	12	51 19
1960-1964	9	17	9	6	10	35	16	12 15
	100 (N=128)	100 (N=178)	100 (N=67)	100 (N=129)	100 (N=116)	100 (N=117)	100 (N=115)	100 (N= 51) (N=901)

experienced a moderate population increase since World War II, but not large enough to affect the stable population nucleus which had been formed by the end of the 1930s.

This contrasts with the situation in Perissos and Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou, neighborhoods which also were settled originally in the pre-World War II period, but which experienced a sizeable population increase since 1945, judging from the length of time respondents have resided there.

Paleologou-Veikou and Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement were settled entirely since the middle 1950s: Paleologou-Veikou as a result of a Government-sponsored urban renewal program begun in the middle 1950s, and Queens Settlement as a result of a smaller program, financed by private contributions to the Queen's Fund, through which persons formerly living in Petralona were moved into new housing. Alsoupolis also was settled during the same period, by internal migrants from the Greek provinces.

The origins composition of each neighborhood reflects the period of its settlement. Table 6 presents the percentage of respondents of refugee, migrant, and Athenian origins who reside in each neighborhood:

TABLE 6. ORIGINS BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Neighborhoods	N	Origins			Total %
		Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	
Saframpolis	(128)	41	26	33	100
Nea Ionia	(180)	42	26	32	100
Eleftheroupolis	(70)	40	20	40	100
Kalogreza	(131)	35	33	32	100
Perissos	(116)	35	38	27	100
Paleologou-Veikou	(117)	33	37	30	100
Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou	(116)	28	39	33	100
Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement	(51)	6	63	31	100

The data show that Saframpolis, Nea Ionia, and Eleftheroupolis contain the largest percentage of refugees. They constitute approximately two-fifths of the respondents in each of the three neighborhoods. Internal migrants form the smallest percentage of respondents, ranging from twenty-six per cent in Saframpolis and Nea Ionia to twenty per cent in Eleftheroupolis.

In Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou and Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement, on the other hand, internal migrants predominate, constituting 39

per cent of the respondents in the former area, and fully 63 per cent in the latter. The percentage of refugee respondents is small in these areas. In the remaining neighborhoods of Kalogreza, Perissos, and Paleologou-Veikou, the three groups of respondents are distributed in relatively equal proportions.

According to the proportion of respondents of differing origins within specific neighborhoods, Saframpolis, Nea Ionia, and Eleftheroupolis are predominantly refugee neighborhoods; Kalogreza, Perissos and Paleologou-Veikou, mixed neighborhoods; and Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou and Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement, migrant neighborhoods.

3. Age, Sex, and Marital Status

Age

The ages of the respondents range from the early twenties to the late eighties. Slightly more than half are between the ages of 20 and 49; the remainder, 50 years and over.

However, these figures hide the sharp differences in age between the three groups of residents. Among the refugees, there is almost no one *under* fifty years old, whereas among the Athenians, there is almost no one *over* fifty years old. The internal migrants fall between these two extremes, although they are closer in age to the Athenians than to the refugees. The data are presented in Table 7:

TABLE 7. AGE GROUPS BY ORIGINS

Age Groups	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
20-39 years	0	35	56	30
40-49 years	4	36	37	25
50-64 years	69	24	7	34
65 years and over	27	5	—	11
	100 (N=317)	100 (N=303)	100 (N=289)	100 (N=909)

The old age of the refugees is in keeping with the history of their settlement in Nea Ionia. These were persons forced to leave their homes in Asia Minor in the early 1920s, at which time most still were children. Among those who left Asia Minor as adults over 50 years ago, most were no longer

living. The young age of the Athenians is to be expected in view of the already noted fact that about half are second-generation refugees, and a smaller percentage, third-generation Greeks from Asia Minor. The age distribution of the internal migrants in Nea Ionia conforms to that of economic migrants generally. These are adults in the productive age ranges, with a relatively small proportion of the very young, or very old, among their number.

The 1961 Population Census figures on the age spread in the 57 Administrative Departments of Greater Athens make possible a comparison of the age structure in Nea Ionia with that of other refugee communities as well as with the metropolitan area at large. The Census data indicate that Nea Ionia ranks high in the proportion of elderly inhabitants, as do the refugee communities of Nea Smyrni and Nea Philadelphia. When the 57 Departments are ranked according to the proportion of inhabitants over 65 years old, Nea Ionia ranks fourteenth, in the top quartile.

Sex Distribution

There are more females than males among the Nea Ionia respondents; the percentages are 55 and 45 respectively. This excess of females conforms to the pattern for Greece as a whole, as well as for Greater Athens.¹⁰

The preponderance of women over men among the respondents in Nea Ionia is due to the large excess of female household heads over male household heads who are living without spouses. The percentages are 12 and 3 respectively. In other words, it is not uncommon to find female-headed households, but it is rare to find households headed by males living without spouses. The main explanation is that wives tend to outlive their spouses. Thus, sixteen per cent of the female respondents are widowed, as compared with only two per cent of the male respondents.¹¹

The preponderance of female household heads over male household heads living without spouses is heavier among the refugees, who are the oldest age group and therefore the most likely to be widowed. The data are presented in Table 8.

The findings are in accord with those of the 1960 Pilot Survey, which shows that the excess of females in Greater Athens is due principally to the abnormal sex distribution among the settlers from Turkey (159 females to

10. National Statistical Service of Greece, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 21, footnote 1.

11. The figures from the 1960 Pilot Survey show that among both settlers and non-settlers within comparable age groups in Greater Athens, females are far more likely than males to be widowed. *Ibid.*, p. 33, Table 7a.

TABLE 8. PROPORTION OF FEMALE TO MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS LIVING WITHOUT SPOUSES, ACCORDING TO ORIGINS

Origins	N	Female Heads %	Male Heads %
Refugees	(63)	89	11
Migrants	(41)	76	24
Athenians	(31)	71	29

100 males). Most of these are refugees from Asia Minor. Owing to the higher mortality rate among males, there are a larger percentage of female survivors among them.¹²

A ranking of the fifty seven Administrative Departments of Greater Athens according to the percentage of excess of females reveals that this preponderance is even greater in the refugee communities of Nea Philadelphia and Nea Smyrni, both of which have an older age structure than Nea Ionia. These two communities fall into the top quartile in percentage of excess of females, whereas Nea Ionia falls into the second quartile.

Marital Status and Patterns of Intermarriage

The marital status of the respondents is as follows:

Marital Status	Per Cent
Married	86
Widowed	10
Separated or Divorced	1
Single	3

The data indicate that the vast majority of respondents are married, and that very few are either single, separated, or divorced. The widowed, as already noted, are more likely to be found among the refugees than among the internal migrants or Athenians: the percentages are 18, 7, and 4 respectively.

The proportion of married persons in the Nea Ionia study is greater than in Nea Ionia as a whole, or in the metropolitan region of Athens. This is so because the sample for the study is restricted to household heads and wives. The Pilot Survey of 1960 showed that in Greater Athens, among males, 65 per cent of the settlers and 44 per cent of the non-settlers were married.

12. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16, Table 1 and p. 22; also, Carter, *Op. Cit.*, p. 103.

Among females, the percentages were 55 and 50 per cent respectively.¹³ However, within comparable age and sex categories, the proportion of unmarried, married, and formerly married was the same for settlers and non-settlers.¹⁴

Among the respondents of Nea Ionia, the majority of marriages, in the households where both spouses are present, involve common origins. Thirty six per cent involve partners with different origins. Inter-marriage was most frequent among internal migrants, somewhat less frequent among Athenians and least frequent among the refugees.

Within origins groups, the extent of intermarriage varied according to sex, as Table 9 shows:

TABLE 9. INTERMARRIAGE PERCENTAGES, ACCORDING TO SEX AND ORIGINS

Origins	Males %	Females %	All %
Refugees	36	18	28
Migrants	42	40	41
Athenians	28	46	38

Among migrants, roughly equal proportions of men and women intermarried, with the males having a slight edge over the females. Among Athenians, women were more likely to intermarry than were men. Among the refugees, men were twice as likely to intermarry as were women.

Patterns of intermarriage, like extent of intermarriage, vary according to sex and origins. Among Athenian women, the most frequent pattern of intermarriage was with the internal migrants, followed by intermarriages with refugees: the percentages are 27 and 19 respectively. Among migrant women, 22 per cent intermarried with Athenian males, and 18 per cent with refugees.¹⁵ Among males, migrants were more than twice as likely to intermarry with Athenian women than with refugee women. (The percentages are 29 and 13 respectively.) Athenian males intermarried exclusively with internal migrants.

In summary, the data on the characteristics of the Nea Ionia respondents with regard to age, sex, and marital status show that: the refugees are older

13. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 33, Table 7a.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

15. According to the 1960 Pilot Survey of Greater Athens, 23 per cent of the female migrants were married to Athenian-born males, and 37.5 per cent of the male migrants, to Athenian-born women. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 40.

than the migrants and Athenians; a moderate excess of females exists in all three origins groups, with the percentage of widowed highest among the refugees; intermarriage is most characteristic of the Athenian females, and least frequent among the refugee women.

4. Household Composition

The most common type of household among the respondents of Nea Ionia is one composed of a household head, his wife, and their children. Over half of the respondents live in households consisting of such nuclear families. These are especially characteristic of internal migrants and Athenians, as Table 10 shows:

TABLE 10. TYPES OF HOUSEHOLD BY ORIGINS

Types of Household*	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Head, Wife, and Children	44	59	61	54
Head, Wife, (Children), and Relatives	8	14	20	14
Head and Wife only	26	13	7	16
Head only	7	3	2	4
Head, (Wife), and Married Children	3	1	2	2
Head, Children and/or Relatives	11	9	8	9
Other	1	1	—	1
	100	100	100	100
	(N=317)	(N=303)	(N=288)	(N=908)

* Categories of members placed in parentheses may, or may not, be present in household.

Also not infrequent among the internal migrants and Athenians are households composed of the household head, wife, their children, and relatives of either the husband or the wife. When the spouses are young, there may as yet be no children in these families. Twenty per cent of the Athenian respondents and 14 per cent of the internal migrants live in such extended households. Refugee respondents more frequently live either alone or with only their spouses.

Households composed of family heads living with either their children or their relatives are infrequent. One traditional type of family is almost non-

existent, namely, that composed of a household head and his wife, with married children living in the home. Only 2 per cent of all households are of this type.

Size of household varies according to the composition. The largest households are those composed of nuclear families which have relatives living with them, and the few households in which married children are living in the homes of their parents. Over half of these households consist of at least five members. Next in size are the households composed of husband, wife, and children. Three quarters of these nuclear families are composed of three to four members. The smallest households are those of family heads living alone, or with only their spouses or children.

Table 11 below shows the size of households according to the origins of the respondents :

TABLE 11. HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY ORIGINS

Household Size	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
One or Two Members	40	21	12	25
Three Members	21	26	22	23
Four Members	21	28	37	28
Five or more Members	18	25	29	24
	100	100	100	100
	(N=317)	(N=303)	(N=289)	(N=909)

Refugees are more likely than either migrants or Athenians to live in one or two member households. This is in accord with their greater tendency to live in households by themselves or with only their spouses. Migrants, and especially Athenians, live in larger households: slightly over half of the former, and two-thirds of the latter, report living in households of four or more persons.

5. Education, Work Status, and Occupation

Education

The educational background of the respondents is as follows: almost half either did not go to school at all or stopped going before they completed Demotikon; 28 per cent completed the six years of Demotikon; and the remaining 23 per cent had some schooling above Demotikon. The largest

group in the latter category are those who have had at least some years of Gymnasium. Only eight per cent of the respondents had attended University.

The amount of education varies considerably according to origins. Sixty one per cent of the refugees have had either no schooling or have not completed Demotikon, as compared with 45 per cent of the migrants, and 38 per cent of the Athenians. The data are presented in Table 12:

TABLE 12. LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY ORIGINS

Level of Education	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
No Schooling, Some Demotikon*	61	45	38	49
Completed Demotikon	22	31	33	28
Some Gymnasium**	13	14	19	15
Completed Gymnasium or beyond	4	10	10	8
	100 (N=317)	100 (N=302)	100 (N=289)	100 (N=908)

* Demotikon = Grade School.

** Gymnasium = High School.

These differences can be explained partly by the age differences among the three origins groups. Since the refugees are older, one would expect their educational level to be lower. An examination of educational level by age shows that the major difference in extent of schooling is between those under fifty years and those over fifty years old. Whereas 61 per cent of those between the ages of fifty and sixty-five have had at most some years of Demotikon, this is true of only 41 per cent of those between forty and forty-nine years old.

Another contributing factor to the lesser amount of schooling among the refugees is the larger percentage of women among them. Sex differences in amount of education are quite pronounced. Fifty-eight per cent of the females, as compared with only 37 per cent of the male respondents, have had either no schooling or stopped school before completing Demotikon. These sex differences in amount of schooling at the primary school level are most pronounced among the older respondents, as would be expected.¹⁶

16. The 1960 Pilot Survey for Greater Athens similarly found that among females the educational level was generally lower than among males. It also reported that an improvement seems to have taken place in regard to females, settlers as well as non-settlers, under twenty years of age. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 11.

Even within comparable age and sex categories, however, differences in level of education remain among the refugees, migrants, and Athenians. The data are presented in Table 13 below:

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH NO SCHOOLING OR SOME DEMOTIKON ONLY, BY SEX, AGE GROUP, AND ORIGINS

Sex and Age Group	Percentage with No Schooling or Some Demotikon Only		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
Males			
Under 40 years old	—*	28	31
40-49 years old	—	31	16
50-64 years old	52	34	—
65 years and older	55	40	—
Females			
Under 40 years old	—	45	41
40-49 years old	—	55	55
50-64 years old	70	82	73
65 years and older	71	—	—

* Less than 10 cases as a percentage base.

The data show that among males under forty years old, the proportion who have not completed Demotikon is almost the same for migrants and Athenians, with a slight tendency towards a lower level of schooling among the latter. This trend is reversed among males forty to forty nine years old. In this older age category, Athenians are more likely than are the migrants to have completed Demotikon.

Comparison of the educational level of males aged fifty years and over indicates that a larger percentage of the refugees than of the internal migrants have not completed Demotikon. The differences in urban-rural background between the two groups,¹⁷ and the usual direction of differences in educational background between political and economic migrants, would lead one to expect the opposite. But the particular circumstances of these political migrants may partly account for the modest level of their schooling. These refugees were children at the time of the Asia Minor disaster. The political events caused the disruption of their schooling in Asia Minor, and prevented many from continuing their schooling after their arrival in Greece. Another contributing factor was the existence of cultural differences in educational

17. The data are presented in Chapter III.

levels between Greece and Turkey. Although the Asia Minor Greeks as a whole were better educated than the Turkish population they left behind, their educational level was lower than that of the Greeks in the mother country (see Appendix I).

The data presented in Table 13 on the education of females indicate that among those under fifty years old, there is very little difference between migrants and Athenians with regard to amount of schooling. In the older age categories, migrant women have the least schooling, over four fifths either having not gone to school at all or only for a few years at the elementary school level.

A comparison of these data with those of the 1960 Pilot Survey of Greater Athens shows a number of similarities. Thus, the Survey found that the percentage of those who had acquired primary, secondary, or higher education was somewhat lower among settlers forty years of age and over than among non-settlers of the same age. The same Survey also indicates, however, that among the younger males moving into Greater Athens, primary and secondary education had become even more frequent than among non-settlers of the same age. Although noting the possibility of some bias in the responses of the younger males in favor of higher educational levels, the Census report adds that such a difference is «perfectly plausible, since it is known that young men with a Gymnasium diploma very often are eager (and able) to get a job in the Capital».¹⁸

Furthermore, the Pilot Survey, like the Nea Ionia study, found that a remarkably high proportion of Athenian women in the younger age categories had not finished primary school. For Greater Athens, one fourth of the female non-settlers aged 20-29 years, as compared with one third of the recent female settlers, had not completed Demotikon.¹⁹

Although there is little information about the educational characteristics of settlers and non-settlers at the community level, Census data exist on illiteracy in the fifty seven Administrative Departments of Greater Athens in 1961. A ranking of these fifty seven Departments reveals that Nea Ionia ranks seventh in percentage of illiteracy (14.72 per cent), falling into the top quartile. On the other hand, Nea Philadelphia and Nea Smyrni fall into the bottom quartile, with ranks of 50th and 53rd respectively, despite the fact that they have an older age structure and a larger excess of females than Nea Ionia. This suggests that although all three communities are

18. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 45.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

similar in that they were originally settled by refugees, today they differ substantially from one another in the socio-economic status of the refugees as well as of the other inhabitants.

Work Status

Forty seven per cent of the respondents are employed; slightly over half are not working. Among the latter, thirty seven per cent are housewives, and 13 per cent, pensioners. Two per cent are persons unable to work, and one per cent, unemployed.

The study examined differences in work status according to the sex of the respondents. The data show that whereas 77 per cent of the males hold jobs, only 21 per cent of the women do so. A further breakdown of women's work status according to household position shows that despite their older age, female household heads are almost twice as likely to be working than are married women living with their spouses (the percentages are 31 and 18 respectively). The latter probably are more likely to have young children which keep them in the home, and at any event, usually do not have to assume the role of economic mainstay in their families, as do many female household heads.

The proportion of economically active persons among male and female respondents in Nea Ionia is similar to that reported for Greater Athens by the 1960 Pilot Census. According to that Survey, 74 per cent of the males and 27 per cent of the females aged ten years and over were economically active.²⁰

A breakdown of the 57 Administrative Departments of Greater Athens according to the percentage of economically active males and females shows that Nea Ionia ranks high, particularly with respect to employed females. The community of Nea Ionia holds tenth rank in the percentage of economically active females. It is followed closely by Nea Smyrni, which ranks fourteenth, also falling into the top quartile. Nea Philadelphia, with a smaller percentage of working females, is in the second quartile. The high rank of Nea Ionia in the proportion of economically active females is probably connected with the character of work available in the community. There are many enterprises in Nea Ionia which make use of traditional female skills in needlework, such as sewing and weaving.

Among both the male and female respondents of Nea Ionia, work status varies according to origins. The data show that Athenians and migrants are

20. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 49. Percentages were calculated from Table XXVa.

more likely to be working than are the refugees. Among males, 93 per cent of the Athenians and 86 per cent of the migrants are working, as compared with 56 per cent of the refugees. Among females, 28 per cent of the Athenians and 22 per cent of the migrants are working, as compared with thirteen per cent of the refugees. Table 14 gives data on work status by origins for the male respondents:

TABLE 14. MALES' WORK STATUS BY ORIGINS

Work Status	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
Working	56	86	93
Pensioned	32	9	5
Unemployed	1	4	1
Disabled	11	1	1
	100	100	100

These data show that a larger percentage of migrants and Athenian males are working than are refugees. The latter were far more likely to be pensioned; also a larger proportion among them were disabled. Although unemployment is low, the percentage is higher among the migrants than among the other respondents.²¹

Differences among the refugees, migrants, and Athenians in the percentage working—both for males and females—are largely a function of differences in age. Over 90 per cent of the males under fifty years of age are economically active, but the percentage goes down to 76 in the 50-64 year age group, and to twenty-five per cent among those over sixty-five years old. A similar pattern characterizes the working female respondents.

As Table 15 shows, some differences remain among the refugees, migrants, and Athenians in the percentage working, even within comparable age and sex groups. Although the vast majority of males aged 40 to 49 are economically active, the proportion is higher among the internal migrants than among the Athenians. In the 50 to 64 year age group, the internal migrants are considerably more likely to be working, and less likely to be pensioned, than are

21. According to the Pilot Survey of Greater Athens in 1960, the percentage of unemployed in the Capital was 10.3—higher than for Greece as a whole (7 per cent), but lower than for other urban areas (16.1 per cent). See Carter, *Op. Cit.*, p. 103.

TABLE 15. PERCENT WORKING, BY ORIGINS, SEX AND AGE GROUPS

Age Groups	Males			Females		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
Under 40 years	—*	96	100	—	27	28
40-49 years	—	94	88	—	22	34
50-64 years	71	87	—	14	12	9
65 years and over	30	—	—	3	—	—

* Less than 10 cases as percentage base.

the refugees. In other words, the more recent arrivals are more likely to be economically active, and less likely to be pensioned, than those who have resided longer in the Capital.

The findings from the 1960 Pilot Survey of Greater Athens support this conclusion. According to the Survey, there is no difference in the proportion of the economically active between male settlers and non-settlers in the younger age groups. However, in the age category 55-64 years, settlers are more likely to be working than are the non-settlers (the percentages are 73 and 65 respectively).²²

Among female respondents in Nea Ionia, a higher proportion of Athenians than migrants in the 40-49 year age group are economically active. This somewhat surprising finding of greater economic activity among the female non-settlers in this age group again is similar to findings reported in the 1960 Pilot Survey of Greater Athens. That Survey found that in the intermediate age group of 35-44 years, a larger proportion of Athenian women than female settlers were economically active.²³

Occupation

The job level of the respondents is generally low. The majority hold semi-skilled or skilled jobs, or petty proprietorships, as Table 16 shows. Only seven per cent of the respondents are engaged in unskilled work, often in factories. Semi-skilled jobs involve construction work, operation of machines, particularly looms, weaving and other semi-skilled factory work. Service occupations such as cook and waiter, porter and night watchman, also fall into this category.

The skilled workers tend to be plumbers, electricians and mechanics;

22. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 51, Table 10.

23. *Ibid.*

craftsmen such as shoemakers and tailors; tinsmiths, blacksmiths and silversmiths. Petty proprietors are owners of fruit-stands, kiosks, yard goods shops, and coffee shops.

Relatively few respondents are white collar workers or independent artisans. Although the latter do quite similar work to that done by skilled workers, the artisans are not only self-employed, but they frequently employ skilled workers in their own enterprises. As a result, a different kind of job emerges, with more pay and more prestige. Lower white collar jobs are mostly clerical jobs in private and Government offices. The higher white collar jobs are either in business or the middle-ranking professions. Persons occupying these jobs tend to be teachers, accountants, or middle scale merchants.

Women tend to occupy lower jobs than men, as Table 16 shows:

TABLE 16. JOB LEVEL BY SEX

Job Level	Sex		All %
	Males %	Females %	
Unskilled	4	17	7
Semiskilled	34	44	36
Skilled	26	13	23
Petty Proprietor	13	8	12
Lower White Collar	8	7	8
Independent Artisan	8	7	8
Middle White Collar	7	4	6
	100	100	100
	(N=319)	(N=104)	(N=423)

A comparison of the job levels of men and women shows that women are more than four times as likely to be engaged in unskilled work, and somewhat more likely to hold semi-skilled jobs. On the other hand, males are more likely than females to be engaged in the higher-level «blue collar» jobs, as skilled workers and as petty proprietors, and in the middle white collar jobs.

A further breakdown according to household position shows that female household heads are more likely than wives living with their spouses to hold unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. (Seventy per cent of the former as compared with 57 per cent of the latter hold jobs in these two categories.) But only 15 per cent of the female heads as compared with one quarter of the wives hold skilled jobs or petty proprietorships. Not only are female

heads of household more likely to be economically active than wives, as already noted, but they also hold lower ranking jobs.

Within the *same* job levels, women's jobs often differ from those of male respondents. At the unskilled job level, men tend to do unskilled factory work or maintenance work such as street sweeping, whereas women typically are servants in private residences, or cleaning women in offices or shops. Semi-skilled male workers frequently are engaged in construction work, while females hold factory jobs as weavers or spinners.

Skilled workers among women are almost exclusively seamstresses. Female petty proprietors usually help their husbands in family-owned kiosks or grocery stores. Among those holding white collar jobs, women tend to be school teachers or give private lessons at home, whereas men are more likely to be in business either as independent entrepreneurs or in lower management positions.

Both self-employment and non-manual work are more characteristic of males than females, because of the nature of the jobs typically occupied by the two sexes. Jobs involving self-employment are the petty proprietorships and independent artisan enterprises, and about half of the middle white collar jobs. Since men are more likely than women to fill these jobs, there is a higher rate of self-employment among them. Women tend to be concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Since these involve employment in which one works for others, the self-employment rate among them is much lower. The self-employment percentages for males and females are 31 and 7 per cent respectively. Similarly, 30 per cent of the males, as compared with only 20 per cent of the females, do non-manual work, because they more frequently hold jobs as white collar workers and petty proprietors than do the female respondents.

The study next examined the job levels occupied by the refugees, migrants, and Athenian respondents. The data for males are presented in Table 17:

TABLE 17. JOB LEVEL OF MALES BY ORIGINS

Job Level	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
Unskilled	7	5	1
Semi-skilled	27	40	33
Skilled	27	23	29
Petty Proprietor	29	6	7
Lower White Collar	4	10	12
Independent Artisan	5	9	9
Middle White Collar	1	7	9
	100 (N=84)	100 (N=123)	100 (N=111)

The data show that refugees are more likely to be petty proprietors, while the migrants and Athenians more frequently hold semi-skilled jobs. The percentage of white collar workers and independent artisans also is higher among the migrants and Athenians than among the refugees, although very few respondents hold this category of job.

The pattern for females in the three origins groups is similar to that for the males, particularly with respect to the heavy concentration of refugee women in petty proprietorships. Twenty four per cent of the refugee women are petty proprietors, as compared with six per cent of the migrant women and 4 per cent of the Athenians.

In the above tables, as well as in all subsequent tables dealing with jobs of the respondents, the different types of jobs have been listed in rank order, from lower to higher rank. Since there exists no widely used or generally accepted rank ordering of occupations for Greece, the jobs were ranked upon inspection of the data. The occupations were compared with regard to self-employment, manual-nonmanual type of work, as well as the educational level, income level, and social class identification of those in these job categories. The tentatively adopted rankings of occupations according to these criteria are given on the next page.

Inspection of these rankings indicates that the higher ranking types of jobs also tend to be those in which the respondents have more schooling, a higher income, a middle class identification, and are self-employed in non-manual occupations. However, discrepancies in rankings according to these criteria do occur. This is so particularly with regard to lower white collar jobs and petty proprietor jobs in relation to adjacent job categories.

Thus, petty proprietors have a lower income and less schooling than do the skilled workers, but nevertheless are less likely to identify themselves as lower class. One reason may be the larger percentage of petty proprietors in the top income range: 23 per cent earn at least 4,000 drachmae, as compared with only 13 per cent of the skilled workers. Another factor may be the prestige attached to self-employment, and to the non-manual character of their work. Whereas all petty proprietors are self-employed, only half of the skilled workers are.

Lower white collar workers are somewhat more likely than petty proprietors, and much more likely than skilled workers, to identify themselves as middle class. Probably their considerably higher level of schooling accounts for this. As far as incomes are concerned, the lower white collar workers tend to be concentrated in the 2,000-3,000 drachmae category; the incomes of skilled workers and petty proprietors are both more likely to fall below and rise above that range.

RANKING OF JOB CATEGORIES ACCORDING TO RESPONDENTS' EDUCATION, INCOME, SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION, MANUAL-NONMANUAL TYPE OF WORK AND SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Job Level	EDUCATION		PERSONAL INCOME*		SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION		MANUAL - NONMANUAL TYPE OF WORK		SELF - EMPLOYMENT	
	At most some Demotikon %	At least completed Gymnasium %	Below 2,000 Drach. %	At least 4,000 Drach. %	Lower %	Middle %	Manual %	Non - Manual %	Works for others %	Self - Employed %
Unskilled	84	0	66	0	71	19	100	0	100	0
Semi-skilled	48	3	20	13	61	33	100	0	100	0
Skilled	28	5	17	13	41	55	100	0	46	54
Petty Proprietor	46	6	31	23	33	59	0	100	0	100
Lower White Collar	18	35	11	11	28	63	0	100	100	0
Independent Artisan	31	13	4	60	16	78	100	0	0	100
Middle White Collar	0	75	0	80	4	92	0	100	56	44

* Available for males only.

Finally, a third case of job status inconsistency is that of the independent artisans. These artisans are much more likely than either petty proprietors or lower white collar workers to identify themselves as middle class, despite the manual character of their work and their relatively low level of education in comparison with the lower white collar workers. The high percentage of middle class identification among this group is probably explained by their high income, and by their employer status.

Social Class Identification

This section concludes with a brief examination of the relationship between respondents' educational and occupational levels, and the social class with which they identify themselves. After a series of questions attempting to ascertain their conceptions about social classes, respondents were asked the following question:

«In which social class, would you say, you belong?»

Forty five per cent of the respondents who answered this question said that they belonged to the lower class; 46 per cent, to the middle class. Two per cent gave other responses, and the remaining 7 per cent either did not subscribe to the concept of social class or were unable to place themselves into one.

Education, work status and occupation all bear a relationship to social class identification. With regard to education, the dividing line is between those who have gone beyond Demotikon and those who have not. Sixty three per cent of those with at least some Gymnasium, and 85 per cent of those who completed or went beyond Gymnasium, identified themselves with the middle class; but only 46 per cent of those who stopped after completing Demotikon, and 34 per cent of those with less schooling, did so.

Currently working respondents are somewhat more likely to identify themselves with the middle class than are the economically inactive respondents. The latter are more likely to say that they do not know to which social class they belong. Thus, 50 per cent of the economically active respondents as compared with 43 per cent of the inactive ones place themselves in the middle class; 4 per cent of the former and 9 per cent of the latter give «don't know» replies. Clearly it is more difficult for those who are not in the labor force—primarily housewives and pensioners—to define the appropriate criteria for their social class placement, such as husband's occupation or their own previous job.

The relationship between job level and social class identification is given in Table 18:

TABLE 18. SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION BY JOB LEVEL

Job Level	Social Class Identification		
	Lower %	Middle %	Other %
Unskilled	71	19	10
Semi-skilled	61	33	6
Skilled	41	55	4
Petty Proprietor	33	59	8
Lower White Collar	28	63	9
Independent Artisan	16	78	6
Middle White Collar	4	92	4

The data indicate that the majority of those who hold unskilled and semi-skilled jobs identify themselves with the lower class; the majority of those in the remaining occupational categories identify themselves with the middle class.

Unfortunately there was no opportunity to examine extensively the relationship between origins of the respondents and their social class identification. But the study found that the refugees and migrants were somewhat less likely to identify themselves with the middle class than were the Athenians. The percentages were 47, 46, and 55 respectively. This greater likelihood of middle class identification among the Athenian respondents would be in accord with their somewhat greater amount of schooling and higher job levels, as previously noted.

In this chapter, the study has examined the characteristics of the respondents who live in Nea Ionia. Wherever possible, their similarities and differences with the inhabitants of Greater Athens, and with those of other refugee communities in the Capital, have been pointed out. The study found that roughly equal proportions of the respondents in Nea Ionia are Asia Minor refugees, economic migrants from the Greek provinces, and Athenians. Many of the latter are second and third generation refugees.

It was not possible to locate comparative statistics on the ethnic distribution of the population in the other Municipalities and Communes of Greater Athens. However, it seems clear that the heavy preponderance of inhabitants with refugee roots, characteristic of Nea Ionia, is not typical of Athens as a whole. It is typical only of those Municipalities and Communes which also were settled originally by refugees, like Nea Smyrni and Nea Philadelphia.

The vast majority of refugees settled in Nea Ionia prior to World War II. When the internal migrants began arriving in Nea Ionia in the middle 1950s, they settled down in an already well-established community. In this respect, they differed sharply from those internal migrants who, in the post-World War II decades, moved into the open areas on the Eastern and Western fringes of the Capital.

Examination of the demographic characteristics of the Nea Ionia respondents shows that the refugees are older than the migrants, and still older than the Athenians, many of whom are their own offspring. The relatively younger age of the internal migrants is what one would expect of economically motivated migrants. The old age of the refugees is not necessarily characteristic of political refugees, but is due to the particular historical circumstances of their settlement. Most of those who left Asia Minor as adults in 1922 were no longer living in 1964. Other refugee communities, like Nea Smyrni and Nea Philadelphia, are similar to Nea Ionia in their age structure, undoubtedly because of the similarity in their historical settlement pattern. The age distribution in more recently settled communities is correspondingly younger.

Among the respondents of Nea Ionia, women outnumber men. This is largely because of the rather high percentage of widows, especially among the refugees. This is due not only to the fact that many refugee women lost their husbands either prior to, or in the course of, their political exodus from Asia Minor, but because of their old age by the middle 1960s.

The higher proportion of females in Nea Ionia is typical of Greater Athens and also of Greece as a whole. Although the excess of females for Greater Athens has been attributed largely to the preponderance of refugees from Asia Minor, there is some indication that a slight excess of females can also be found among internal migrants. This may be due partly to the greater tendency of males to migrate abroad, whereas females are more likely to restrict their moves to destinations within Greek boundaries.

The level of schooling among refugees is lower than among either the migrants or Athenian respondents of Nea Ionia. This is largely a function of differences in age and sex distribution among the three origins groups; but the lower educational level of the refugee respondents persists within comparable age and sex categories. This is contrary to the usual tendency for political migrants to have a higher level of education than economic migrants. The disruption of the refugees' schooling by the events of 1922, and cultural differences in educational level between Greece and Turkey, may account for the finding. Perhaps there is also a class factor involved, since

Nea Smyrni and Nea Philadelphia exhibit a quite different pattern with a much higher literacy rate.

Another unexpected finding was that the younger internal migrant respondents had a slightly higher educational level than those of Athenian origins—a finding which, however, coincides with those for Greater Athens as a whole. As the Pilot Census report suggests, perhaps the particular nature of the job opportunities in the Capital accounts for this.

The proportion of economically active males and females among the respondents of Nea Ionia corresponds closely to that for Greater Athens as a whole. Although work status is largely a function of age and sex, some differences according to origins remain. Internal migrants are less likely to be pensioned than are either the refugees or the Athenians, probably because of their more recent arrival and therefore lower pension eligibility.

The job level of the respondents is generally low. Males tend to be concentrated in the semi-skilled and skilled jobs and in petty proprietorships; females hold mainly unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Among both males and females, refugees are far more likely than either migrants or Athenians to be petty proprietors, and less likely to hold jobs as white collar workers or independent artisans.

This completes the description of the characteristics of the respondents of Nea Ionia, and the comparison of these characteristics with those of the inhabitants of Greater Athens. The study now turns to an analysis of the family origins of the respondents.

III

FAMILY ORIGINS

One objective of the present study was to explore the respondents' family roots, both geographical and cultural. The focus was on questions such as: the extent to which respondents grew up in the same places or places different from those where they were born; whether family traditions exist with regard to regional, and rural-urban, provenience; and to what extent shifts occur, from one generation to the next, in regional and rural-urban origins. Other questions of concern were the extent to which the Nea Ionia respondents resemble the settlers in Greater Athens with respect to the regions from which they come and their rural-urban background; and whether the regional and rural-urban differences among the respondents conform to previous findings about the characteristics of refugees and economic migrants.

In line with the foregoing considerations, information was obtained not only about where the respondents grew up, but also about their places of birth, and the places of origin of their parents and grandparents on both the paternal and maternal sides. In the three sections below, data will be presented on the following topics:

1. Respondents' Places of Birth;
2. Regional Origins of the Respondents, their Parents and Grandparents;
3. Rural-Urban Origins of the Respondents, their Parents and Grandparents.

1. Birthplace

Almost half the respondents were born in Asia Minor, over one third in the Greek provinces, and the remainder in the Capital. The data are presented in Table 19, which shows respondents' places of birth according to their origins.

Although the great majority of respondents grew up in the same places in which they were born, approximately one sixth did not. Seventy two per

TABLE 19. BIRTHPLACE BY ORIGINS

Birthplace	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Asia Minor	99	9	31	48
Greek Provinces	1	88	14	34
Athens	0	3	55	18
	100	100	100	100
	(N=317)	(N=303)	(N=289)	(N=909)

cent of these respondents are Athenians who were born in Asia Minor. In other words, they are second generation refugees who came to Athens as young children with parents or relatives, as already noted.¹ A much smaller percentage of Athenians were born in the Greek provinces. Some of these also are second generation refugees whose parents lived outside the Capital at the time of their birth, and later settled down in Athens.

Among the internal migrants, most were born and grew up in the Greek provinces. Those born elsewhere are largely from Asia Minor.

2. Regional Origins

In order to determine the regional origins of the respondents' parents and grandparents, the following question was asked:

«Where did your (*father*) live most of his life?»

Respondents were asked the same question about their mothers, fathers' fathers, and mothers' fathers. The data are presented in Table 20.

Virtually all of the fathers of the refugees, most of the mothers, and the vast majority of the paternal and maternal grandfathers are from Asia Minor. The actual percentage of grandfathers from Anatolia is probably even greater than the figures would indicate, since it is very likely that those of unknown origins also are from Turkey.²

Ten per cent of the refugees have mothers who grew up in Athens. While a few of these mothers are native Athenians, most are of refugee stock. An analysis of the parental origins of Athenian mothers reveals that two-thirds of their fathers were from Asia Minor.

1. See page 39.

2. Throughout this section, whenever the percentages refer to the origins of the refugees' paternal and maternal grandfathers, this probable underestimation should be kept in mind.

TABLE 20. REGIONAL ORIGINS OF RESPONDENTS, THEIR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS, FOR REFUGEES, MIGRANTS AND ATHENIANS

Regions of Origin	REFUGEES					MIGRANTS					ATHENIANS				
	Respondents	Fathers	Mothers	Paternal Grandfathers	Maternal Grandfathers	Respondents	Fathers	Mothers	Paternal Grandfathers	Maternal Grandfathers	Respondents	Fathers	Mothers	Paternal Grandfathers	Maternal Grandfathers
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Asia Minor	100	97	89	80	84	0	13	9	19	19	0	42	29	66	67
Athens	0	1	10	0	0	0	4	4	—	—	100	52	65	5	8
Rest of Central Greece and Euboea	0	0	0	1	1	19	16	17	16	17	0	2	2	4	3
Peloponnesos	0	0	0	—	—	27	24	24	23	22	0	2	2	5	4
Ionian Islands	0	0	0	1	0	6	6	5	5	5	0	0	0	2	1
Epirus	0	0	0	1	1	6	5	6	6	5	0	0	0	2	1
Thessaly	0	0	0	—	0	6	5	6	4	5	0	0	—	2	—
Macedonia	0	0	0	—	0	9	4	5	1	0	0	0	—	—	1
Thrace	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	—	0	0	0	0	0
Aegean Islands	0	0	0	5	3	15	13	13	13	13	0	1	1	5	9
Crete	0	0	0	—	—	11	9	9	9	9	0	0	1	2	—
No Information	0	2	1	11	11	0	1	1	4	4	0	1	0	7	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
				(N = 317)				(N = 303)						(N = 289)	

Turning now to the internal migrants, there is no one region from which the respondents predominantly come. However, the Peloponnesos, Central Greece, and the Aegean Islands lead as the regions of origin. In this respect, the findings are very similar to those of the 1960 Pilot Census, according to which the largest proportions of settlers in Greater Athens in 1960 came from these three regions. Table 21 presents a comparison of the data from the Nea Ionia study with those from the Pilot Survey:

TABLE 21. REGIONAL ORIGINS OF THE INTERNAL MIGRANTS IN NEA IONIA, AND THE SETTLERS IN GREATER ATHENS, 1960

Regional Origins	Migrants %	Settlers* %
Peloponnesos	27	31
Central Greece** and Euboea	19	18
Aegean Islands	15	20
Crete	11	8
Macedonia	9	6
Ionian Islands	6	6
Thessaly	6	6
Epirus	6	4
Thrace	1	1
	100	100

*Percentages are based on Table 1, p. 16 of NSSG., *Op. Cit.*, 1964.

** Includes Attica except Greater Athens.

The Pilot Survey also examined the proportion of settlers from the various regions of Greece according to their population size. With the exception of the Ionian Islands, which moved up into third place, the rank ordering did not change significantly. These findings for Greece, according to Carter, are similar to the findings for other countries, which also show the attraction exerted by large population centers on the inhabitants of neighboring provinces and on islanders.³

Investigation of the regional background of the migrants' parents, as well as that of their paternal and maternal grandfathers, shows a very similar pattern of origins. The proportions of parents and grandparents from the Peloponnesos, Central Greece, and the Aegean Islands are virtually identical to those of the migrant respondents themselves. Only slight reversals occasionally occur in the rank orderings of the remaining regions.

3. Carter, *Op. Cit.*, p. 101.

MAP 5. THE GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS OF GREECE, 1961



A minority of the internal migrants' parents stem from Asia Minor, as already noted. These Asia Minor roots become even more pronounced in the grandparental generation. Thirteen per cent of the migrants' fathers, and 9 per cent of the mothers, grew up in Asia Minor; but 19 per cent of both the paternal and maternal grandfathers spent most of their lives there (see Table 20).

Among the Athenian respondents, a majority have parents who grew up or spent most of their lives in Athens, while a substantial minority have fathers and mothers from Asia Minor, as Table 20 shows. This trend becomes stronger still in the grandparental generation. Approximately two thirds of both the paternal and maternal grandfathers of the Athenians lived in Asia Minor.

A small percentage of the respondents who grew up in the Capital have their family roots in the Greek provinces, as indicated by the regional origins of their grandparents. Approximately one fifth of the paternal and maternal grandfathers of the Athenians are from the Peloponnesos, Central Greece, the Aegean Islands, and to a lesser extent, from the other geographical regions of Greece.

3. Rural-Urban Origins

In order to determine the rural-urban origins of the respondents, as well as those of their parents and grandparents, the places of origin were classified according to population size, following Census designations. According to the Greek Census, urban areas are defined as places of 10,000 or more inhabitants; semi-urban, of 2,000 - 9,999 inhabitants; and rural, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. The study followed Kayser's convention of abandoning the category of «semi-urban» areas, and restricting itself to comparing the urban population with the rural one (in effect, rural and semi-urban). Kayser has cogently argued that the category «semi-urban» is «so heterogeneous that, strictly speaking, it is devoid of geographic content».⁴

Sometimes it was not possible to determine precisely the size of the areas from which the respondents came, either because of the ambiguity of the responses, or because of the absence or inadequacy of the Census statistics. This held more true for the places of origin in Asia Minor than for those in Greece. Fortunately, the help of Greek scholars familiar with these places, and with the situation in that part of the world in the first two decades of

4. Kayser, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.

this century, made it possible to minimize errors of judgment in making classification assignments.

The large majority of refugees are of urban origins. Although they come from over fifty cities in Asia Minor, over half grew up in the seven cities of Smyrna and Constantinople, Sparti and Vourla, Alaya, Attalia, and Ikonion.

This pattern of urbanism among the refugees of Nea Ionia holds for their parents and grandparents as well, as Table 22 shows. Among the refugee respondents whose forebears' origins are known,⁵ the great majority had fathers, mothers, and both paternal and maternal grandfathers of urban origins.

The minority of refugees who grew up in Anatolian villages tended to marry wives from the same areas. Nevertheless, here too an urban trend is visible. For a number of these refugees married urban women: 13 per cent, from cities in Asia Minor; 11 per cent, from Athens; and 2 per cent, from smaller cities in Greece. Further, those refugees whose paternal grandfathers came from villages abroad—an infrequent phenomenon—reported that their maternal grandfathers lived in cities of Asia Minor.

Commenting on the urban tradition of the «unredeemed» Greeks at the turn of the century, Pentzopoulos writes:

«... the unredeemed Greeks could be found along the coasts as far as Russia or in the urban centers where they formed the commercial, banking, or small merchant class. On the other hand, agriculture, especially in the middle of the Balkan peninsula, was left to the Turks or to other non-Greek races which had become the backbone of rural life».⁶

The difference in rural-urban origins between the Asia Minor refugees and the Greek internal migrants is striking. Whereas the former are largely urban, the latter are overwhelmingly rural. As Table 22 shows, fully 74 per cent of the internal migrants stem from the villages and semi-urban areas of Greece.

A comparison of the rural-urban origins of the migrant respondents in Nea Ionia with those of the settlers from the Greek provinces in Greater Athens and with the Greek population as a whole is presented in Table 23.

The data show that whereas 43 per cent of the population of Greece in 1961 was urban, only 36 per cent of the settlers in Greater Athens and 24 per cent of the migrant respondents in Nea Ionia were of urban origins.

5. For eleven per cent of the refugee respondents, no information is available about the places of origin of their paternal or maternal grandfathers.

6. Pentzopoulos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 27.

TABLE 23. PER CENT RURAL-URBAN AMONG THE MIGRANT RESPONDENTS OF NEA IONIA, THE SETTLERS IN GREATER ATHENS, AND FOR GREECE AS A WHOLE

Rural-Urban Origins	Greece (1961)* %	Settlers in Capital** %	Nea Ionia Migrants %
Urban	43	36	24
Semi-Urban	13	21	16
Rural	44	43	58
	100	100	100

* NSSG, Statistical Yearbook, 1971, p. 23, Table 11.7.

** NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 18, Table 2b.

The apparent difference between the settlers in the Capital and the migrants of Nea Ionia in the proportion with an urban background is probably accounted for by the manner in which urban origin was defined in the two studies. The Pilot Census asked about the «previous residence» of persons who settled down in Athens. The statistics therefore show only direct migration to the Capital. In so far as the settlers first moved to villages and towns and only later to the Capital, the statistics underestimate the actual inflow into Greater Athens from the rural areas. Evidence from the 1961 General Population Census indicates that between 1955 and 1960, residents of medium-sized and small towns who moved to the Capital were replaced in these towns by migrants from rural areas.⁷

The Nea Ionia statistics on the origins of the internal migrants are not restricted to direct migration. Instead, they refer to the rural-urban character of the places in which the respondents grew up before they began their migration to the Capital. These figures show that over half of the migrants are from «rural» areas in the strict sense of the term, and contribute more than their share to the migrants who settle in the Capital. The percentage from rural areas increases to almost three quarters when the migrants from semi-urban areas are included in the rural category. In all probability, the figures from the Nea Ionia Survey give a more accurate indication of the rural-urban origins of the settlers in the Capital than do the Census statistics on direct migration.

The pattern of rural background also holds for the parents and grandparents of the respondents who came to Nea Ionia from the provinces. Over two thirds of the internal migrants' parents and paternal and maternal grandfathers are of rural origins.

7. Carter, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 102-103.

Although a large majority of the internal migrants are rural, a minority grew up in the urban areas of the Greek provinces. Among the thirty four cities spread across Greece from which the urban migrants in Nea Ionia come are: Kalamata and Pyrgos, in the Peloponnesos; Levadhia and Agri-nion, in Central Greece; Canea and Iraklion, in Crete; and Salonika, in Macedonia.

Most fathers of these urban migrants are from urban areas as well. Only 14 per cent are from rural localities, half in Greece, and half in Asia Minor. Further, only seven per cent of the mothers are from rural areas—all within Greece. The grandparents of the urban migrants are more likely to be found in the rural areas of the Greek provinces and in the cities of Asia Minor than are their parents. Comparative data on rural-urban origins for respondents' fathers and paternal grandfathers are presented in Table 24:

TABLE 24. RURAL-URBAN ORIGINS OF THE FATHERS AND PATERNAL GRANDFATHERS OF URBAN MIGRANTS IN NEA IONIA

Rural-Urban Origins	Fathers %	Paternal Grandfathers %
Asia Minor		
Urban	18	24
Rural	7	5
Not Ascertainable	4	10
Greece		
Athens	5	3
Other Urban	58	27
Rural	7	23
No Information	1	8
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

The Athenian respondents are overwhelmingly urban with respect to family origins. A majority of both their fathers and mothers are Athenians, but a substantial minority are from the cities of Asia Minor (see Table 22).

The urban background of the respondents who grew up in the Capital continues into the grandparental generation. Over two thirds of both their paternal and maternal grandfathers are from Asia Minor, as noted earlier. The vast majority whose rural-urban origins are known are of urban provenience. On the other hand, among the minority of Athenians whose grandparents come from Greece, more than half are of rural origins.

In this chapter, the study has investigated the regional and rural-urban origins of the respondents and their forebears. Among the refugees and

internal migrants, strong regional traditions were found. A comparison of the places of birth of the Athenians with their places of origin indicated strong Asia Minor roots, a fact which is confirmed by examination of the regional origins of their parents and grandparents.

Striking differences in rural-urban origins exist between the refugees and the internal migrants. These conform to previous findings in the migration literature about the urbanism of political migrants as contrasted with the rural origins of economic migrants.

The findings are strengthened further by examination of the rural-urban traditions among the respondents' forebears. While the majority of parents and grandparents of the refugees were urban, those of the migrants were rural. Even among the small percentage of internal migrants who grew up in urban areas of the Greek provinces, increasing ruralism in the ascending generations is a characteristic phenomenon. It is notable that these rural-urban shifts did not involve regional changes. The stability of regional family traditions was exceedingly high.

The study now turns to the sequence of moves which brought the refugees and internal migrants to the Capital.

IV

THE MOVE TO ATHENS

Little is known about the patterns of migration by which migrants ultimately reach their places of destination. In the present chapter, therefore, the study will focus on the pattern of moves which brought the Asia Minor refugees and internal migrants to the Capital: the number of moves involved in the journey from place of origin to permanent settlement in Athens; the extent to which these moves involved progressive urbanization; and the amount of movement back and forth between Athens and other places of residence among the persons who eventually settled down in the Capital. The study also seeks to determine to what extent age at the time of the first move, number of moves, and their rural-urban character, vary according to the origins of the respondents.

These questions are taken up in the following order:

1. Age at time of First Move;
2. Number of Moves;
3. Patterns of Migration among the Refugees;
4. Patterns of Migration among the Internal Migrants;
5. Reasons for the Move to Athens;
6. Preferred Residence.

1. Age at Time of First Move

In order to determine the age at which the respondents who grew up outside Athens made their first move, they were asked the following question:

«How old were you when you changed place of residence
for the (*first*) time?»

To permit comparisons between political and economic migrants regarding the number of moves they made and the ages at which they made them, «first change of residence» for the internal migrants was defined as the move from their places of origin; for the refugees, from their places of residence at the time of their forced departure from Asia Minor.¹

1. Although for most refugees, place of residence at the time of their departure from Asia Minor coincided with their place of origin, for some it did not (see Section 3 below).

Twenty eight per cent of the respondents were under 15 years of age at the time they made their first move, 59 per cent between the ages of 15 and 29, and twelve per cent, over 30 years old. The Asia Minor refugees were much younger than the internal migrants at the time they set out on the journey which brought them to the Capital. Thirty six per cent of the former, as compared with 20 per cent of the latter, were under fifteen years old. Internal migrants were more likely to be between the ages of 15 and 29 at the time they left their places of origin. The data are presented in Table 25:

TABLE 25. AGE AT TIME OF FIRST MOVE, BY ORIGINS

Age at Time of First Move	Refugees %	Migrants %	All %
Under 15 years	36	20	28
15-19 years	22	26	24
20-24 years	20	23	21
25-29 years	11	18	14
30-34 years	6	7	7
35-39 years	2	3	2
40 years or more	3	3	3
No Information	—	—	1
	100 (N=317)	100 (N=303)	100 (N=620)

The young age of the refugee respondents at the time of their departure from Asia Minor is to be expected, since their political exodus occurred in the early 1920s. Most of those who were older at the time of their departure are no longer living. These data therefore undoubtedly underestimate the proportion of refugees who were adults at the time of their departure from Turkey.

The data are revealing regarding the age composition of political migrants as compared with economic ones. Refugees are forced to leave, regardless of their age, by the exigencies of events over which they have no control. Economically motivated migrants, on the other hand, migrate when they reach adulthood, begin to earn their living, and decide to try and improve their lot. They usually leave before they have settled down to family,²

2. According to the 1960 Pilot Census, however, in about 15,000 cases, household moves involved whole families with children who had moved simultaneously into Athens. These families included 26,000 male household heads, spouses, and female heads, and 31,000 children—altogether 57,000 persons or about one-fifth of all settlers of the period 1951 to 1960. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.

work, and neighborhood. The young, who are still dependent on maintenance by their families, and the old, who can no longer fend for themselves, tend to remain in their places of origin.

The findings of the 1960 Pilot Census for Greater Athens support those of the Nea Ionia study with respect to the age concentration of the economic migrants. According to the 1960 Survey, almost half of the recent settlers were between 15 and 29 years old at the time of their arrival in the Capital.³

2. Number of Moves

Fifty nine per cent of the respondents migrated to the Capital directly and remained there permanently. Twenty three per cent made two moves and 18 per cent at least three moves before they finally settled down in Athens.

Refugees and internal migrants differed from one another in the number of moves which brought them to their places of final destination. A larger proportion of migrants than refugees settled down permanently in Athens upon arrival. But migrants also exceeded refugees in the percentage who moved very frequently, that is to say, four or more times. The data are presented in Table 26:

TABLE 26. NUMBER OF MOVES TO ATHENS, BY ORIGINS

Number of Moves	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	All %
One Move	54	64	59
Two Moves	31	15	23
Three Moves	10	10	10
Four or more Moves	5	11	8
	100	100	100
	(N=317)	(N=303)	(N=620)

One reason for these differences in number of moves appear to be the exigencies of political as compared with economic migrations. People forced to leave their homes to escape political persecution are concerned primarily with getting out, not with choice of destination. They flee to geogra-

3. NSSG, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 10. The Pilot Survey asked about the ages of the settlers at the time of their arrival in Athens, while the Nea Ionia Survey asked about the ages of the internal migrants at the time of their departure from their places of origin. This undoubtedly accounts for the larger percentage of Nea Ionia respondents in the younger (15-29 year) age groups.

phically accessible areas, or to places where kin or relatives can provide them with temporary havens. From these resting stations, decisions regarding final destinations are reached and eventually carried through.

Economic migrants are under less pressure to leave their places of origin in haste, and can consider possible alternatives before deciding to make the move to a particular locality. The opportunity to make less sudden departures reduces the necessity of intermediate stops from which to make further plans regarding ultimate destination. This may account for the greater tendency of the migrants, as compared with the refugees, to have come to Athens directly.

For both categories of migrants, of course, there is the possibility of experiencing unanticipated situations after arrival, such as job losses due to changes in the business cycle, which may prompt decisions to leave the areas in which they have settled down. This is easier for the internal migrants, since they can return to the villages and towns from which they came, whereas the political migrants cannot. This may explain the greater likelihood of moves in and out of the Capital among the migrants than among the refugees.

Examination of the number of moves according to the sex of the respondents reveals further differences between the refugees and the economic migrants. Among the refugees, there is a slight tendency for males to have made more moves than the females have, but the differences are small. Among internal migrants, on the other hand, sex differences in the number of moves are large. Whereas 74 per cent of the females went to Athens directly, only 54 per cent of the males did so. Almost one third of the male migrants made three or more moves, but only 11 per cent of the females did. The data are presented in Table 27:

TABLE 27. NUMBER OF MOVES TO ATHENS, BY ORIGINS AND SEX

Number of Moves	Origins			
	Refugees		Migrants	
	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
One Move	51	57	54	74
Two Moves	33	31	15	15
Three Moves	12	7	13	7
Four or more Moves	4	5	18	4
	100	100	100	100
	(N=147)	(N=168)	(N=143)	(N=160)

The explanation of these large differences between male and female migrants, and the negligible differences between male and female refugees, seems clearly tied to the differences in motivation for the moves. Forced political moves tend to have similar consequences for males and females, as far as necessity of immediate departure and need for intermediate resting stations are concerned. Therefore, the number of moves made by refugees of both sexes tends to be the same.

Among economic migrants, on the other hand, the pressures affecting number of moves differ for men and for women. Men are more likely to go in search of jobs, and to keep moving until they find a satisfactory place to work and to live. Women, on the other hand, migrate mostly for family reasons. They tend to remain in their places of origin until their fathers, brothers, or husbands find a place to work and to live, and then come to join them.

In summary, the data show that the economic migrants were more likely than the refugees to come directly to the Capital, even though some internal migrants, particularly males, made many moves. At the time of their departure from home, many refugees still were children, while the internal migrants tended to be young adults in the productive age categories.

3. Patterns of Migration among the Refugees

A large majority of the refugee respondents permanently left Turkey in the year of the Asia Minor disaster. Most of the remainder left in the years immediately preceding⁴ or following that event. Table 28 presents the distribution of respondents according to the time of their departure from Asia Minor:

TABLE 28. YEAR OF REFUGEES' DEPARTURE FROM ASIA MINOR

Year of Departure	From Asia Minor* %	From Constantinople %
Before 1919	5	5
1919-1921	13	10
1922	60	17
1923-1928	22	54
After 1928	0	14
	100	100
	(N=246)	(N=59)

* except Constantinople.

4. About the political conditions which motivated the exodus of Greeks prior to 1922, Pentzopoulos writes that the entire Hellenic population of Western Anatolia and

The data also show that the respondents who lived in Constantinople typically left in the years immediately following the disaster. The heaviest exodus among them occurred during the years 1924 and 1925.

One out of seven refugees had a migration history in Asia Minor prior to the political uprooting in the 1920s. Most made these moves either well before, or immediately following, the first World War. The reasons for these moves were not ascertained. But they appear to be mainly economically motivated changes of residence, judging by such criteria as their rural-to-urban direction. Typical moves were: from Koutze and Koutali to Constantinople; from Koula and Phocaea to Smyrna; from Vagaras to Kaesaria; from Nazli to Sparti; from Galata in Eastern Thrace to Magnesia. Some made inter-city moves, usually from smaller to larger cities: from Kaesaria, Saframpolis, Inepolis, Nikopolis, and Ikonion to Constantinople; from Ikonion and Aivali to Smyrna; from Sparti to Kaesaria and Trapezous.

By the time of their forced exodus, therefore, more than four fifths of the refugees were urban, either by origins or through migration. Existing evidence about the settlement of the Asia Minor refugees in Greece indicates that, for many, the move to Greece involved a drastic change from urban to rural living. As Ladas has noted, «many town refugees had to be resettled in rural settlements» because of the scarcity of productive employment in Greek cities and towns.⁵

The finding of the Nea Ionia study about the urban origins of the refugees is in accord with previous findings on the origins of political as compared with economic migrants. To cite but one example, Rogg's study of Cuban migrants in West New York showed that those who fled the Castro regime were more likely to have an urban background than the economic émigrés who had left in the pre-Castro period.⁶

When the refugees were forced to leave their homes in the wake of the Asia Minor disaster, slightly over half came directly to Athens. These respondents were mainly from Smyrna and Constantinople, and also from smaller cities, such as Sparti, Kaesaria, Vourla, and Inepolis. The remainder came from rural and semi-urban areas, some located in the regions

Eastern Thrace became the object of expulsion with the alignment of Turkey on the side of the Central Powers. 481,109 persons were deported in the interior between 1914 and 1918. In 1919 and 1920, the expulsions continued, being directed this time against the Greeks of the Black Sea littoral, around Trapezous. Pentzopoulos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 57.

5. S. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities—Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York: Macmillan Co.), 1932, p. 646; also, Pentzopoulos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 102.

6. Rogg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 155.

surrounding Smyrna and Constantinople, others scattered throughout the interior of Turkey as far as the northern regions bordering the Black Sea and the southern regions facing Cyprus.

Although a majority of the refugee respondents came directly from Asia Minor to Athens, a substantial proportion made at least one stop on the way to their final destination in the Capital. Among the latter, 31 per cent came to Athens in two moves. For many of these, their first move was to the Northern mainland cities of Greece, such as Salonika and Kavala, or cities on the Peloponnesos, like Kalamata and Pyrgos. Still others fled to the Greek islands. Frequently mentioned were Samos and Chios, near the Turkish mainland; Crete; Syros, Mykonos, and Naxos of the Cyclades; Spetsae and Hydra, in the Saronic Gulf; and islands as far off as the Ionian Sea, such as Zante, Cephalonia, and Corfu. A few went abroad, to Syria, Cyprus, and Egypt. A combination of factors determined these interim locations, including geographical accessibility and the presence of relatives to provide temporary shelter.

Table 29 shows the rural-urban destinations of the first moves of refugees who came to Athens in two stages. The data are presented according to the refugees' rural-urban residence in Asia Minor,

TABLE 29. RURAL-URBAN DESTINATION OF FIRST MOVE BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AT DEPARTURE, AMONG REFUGEES WHO CAME TO ATHENS IN TWO STAGES

Rural-Urban Destination of First Move.	Rural-Urban Residence at Departure from Asia Minor*	
	Urban %	Rural %
Abroad**	7	11
Greece: Urban	51	47
Greece: Rural		
Islands	32	21
Mainland	10	21
	100	100
	(N=76)	(N=19)

* Excluded are four cases for which no information was available about rural-urban residence at departure from Asia Minor.

** Only incomplete data are available on the rural-urban character of the moves abroad. The 3 respondents who went to Egypt all lived in cities there. The population size of the places lived in by the three respondents who went to Cyprus, and of the one who lived in Syria, are not known.

The data show that among both urban and rural refugees, the largest proportion went to Greek mainland cities. But a sizeable minority made their first stop in rural parts of Greece. Upon inspection of the data it turns out that this «rural» migration, especially for the urban refugees,

was not a move to the rural areas of the Greek mainland, but rather a move to the geographically accessible islands.

For one out of every six refugees, it took three or more moves before they ended their journey from Asia Minor and settled down in the Capital. About half of these respondents came to Athens at some point in their itinerary—either their first or second stop; but for a variety of reasons—jobs, shelter, etc.—they did not remain in the Capital at that time. The migration pattern of these frequent movers was one of numerous inter-city moves and swings back and forth between rural and urban areas, until they permanently established residence in Athens. The following examples illustrate the migration pattern of these refugees:

- The respondent left her home in Inepolis, Asia Minor, and fled to Kalamata, on the Peloponnesos. From there, she went to live in Katerini, Macedonia, before finally settling down in the Capital.
- From his home in Smyrna, the respondent first fled to the island of Mytilini. From there, his journey took him to Cairo before he came to live in Athens.
- This refugee came to Athens from Constantinople, but subsequently left for Thasos. From that island she went to live in Aiyion, on the Peloponnesos, before finally returning to Athens.
- The respondent fled to Salonika from his home in Vaindirion, Asia Minor. From Salonika, the journey continued to Preveza in Epirus, then to Athens. Subsequently, the respondent returned to Preveza before settling down in the Capital.

In summary, most refugees began their journey in a city of Asia Minor, and came to Athens either directly, or by way of the Greek islands or mainland cities. A considerable number of those for whom the journey involved many moves, had lived in the Capital at some time before they finally settled down there.

4. Patterns of Migration among the Internal Migrants

Almost three quarters of the internal migrants came to Athens directly from the villages in which they had grown up. Although these were scattered across Greece, more often than not they were located on the Peloponnesos, in Central Greece and Euboea, and on the Aegean Islands: Samos and Mytilini, Andros and Naxos, Serifos, and Aiyina. The minority of respondents from the urban parts of the Greek provinces who came to settle in the Capital in one move hailed from the same regions as the rural migrants: from Kalamata and Pyrgos on the Peloponnesos; from Agrinion in Cen-

tral Greece, and from the island city of Mytilini. In addition, a number came from the Macedonian cities of Salonika and Drama, and the Cretan towns of Iraklion and Canea.

For a little over one third of the internal migrants, however, the journey which began when they first left their places of origin, and which ended upon their final settlement in Athens, involved more than one move. Fifteen per cent lived in one other place before settling down in Athens. As with those who came directly to the Capital, the majority were rural migrants, whose first move took them to urban destinations in Greece. They migrated from the villages of Agh. Vlasios and Lefkasion on the Peloponnesos, to the cities of Patras and Aiyion; from the rural areas of Central Greece and Euboea, to the towns of Lamia and Agrinion; from the Macedonian villages of Odegitria and Andriani, to Serres and Salonika. For a few, the first move meant migration abroad. Some respondents migrated from villages in Crete and the Peloponnesos all the way to Paris and Chicago.

As the above illustrations suggest, the first move of the rural migrants who came to the Capital in two stages usually were intra-regional. The Peloponnesos and Central Greece ranked highest among the regions where these intra-regional changes of residence took place, since these were most frequently the regions of origin of the internal migrants. Intra-regional moves were less characteristic of migrants from Crete and the Aegean Islands. These tended either to go to Athens directly, or to move to other parts of Greece or abroad before settling down in the Capital. The data are presented in Table 30.

The few migrants of urban origins who came to Athens in two stages were more likely than those of rural origins to make both inter-urban and inter-regional moves. Whereas seventy per cent of the rural migrants made their first move within their own regions of origin, a majority of those of urban origins moved to other regions of Greece or abroad. These moves were usually to urban areas: from Lamia in Central Greece to Larisa in Thessaly; from Trikala to Rhodes in the Aegean; from the town of Chios, abroad to Egypt.

In summary, among those internal migrants who came to Athens in two stages, most were of rural origins, whose first change of residence took them to urban areas in their own regions of origin. By the time they settled down in the Capital, a majority had lived in an urban environment, either because they grew up in, or migrated to, a city of the Provinces before going to Athens.

For ten per cent of the migrant respondents, it took three moves before they settled down permanently in Athens. This does not mean, however, that they only arrived in the Capital after moving to other Greek villages and

TABLE 30. NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO MADE INTRA-REGIONAL AND INTER-REGIONAL FIRST MOVES, BY REGIONS OF ORIGIN, FOR MIGRANTS WHO CAME TO ATHENS IN TWO STAGES

Regions of Origin	N	Intra-Regional Moves				Inter-Regional Moves N
		Inter-Rural N	Rural-Urban N	Other* N	All N	
Peloponnesos	(9)	1	6	1	8	1
Central Greece	(9)	2	4	0	6	3
Macedonia	(7)	3	2	2	7	0
Epirus	(2)	0	1	0	1	1
Thessaly	(3)	1	1	0	2	1
Aegean Islands	(4)	1	0	0	1	3
Crete	(5)	0	1	0	1	4
Ionian Islands	(1)	0	0	0	0	1
	(40)**	8	15	3	26	14

* Inter-Urban and Urban-Rural.

** For 6 respondents, no information was available about first move.

towns. On the contrary, almost half of the respondents came to Athens directly from the villages where they had grown up.

They did not remain in Athens, however. The majority returned to their former homes, and after a few years went to Athens again, this time permanently. Unfortunately, no data are available on the reasons for the decision to move out of the Capital. Unemployment, family reasons, or nostalgia may have accounted for the decision to return home after the first period of residence in Athens.

Those who came to Athens in three stages but did not go to the Capital first, went to other Greek towns and villages in roughly equal proportions. The majority of these persons made intra-regional moves. But when all first moves, *including* those to Athens, are taken into account, the percentage of respondents who made inter-regional first moves is higher than of those who made intra-regional ones. The data are presented in Table 31.

As Table 31 shows, 71 per cent of the respondents made inter-regional moves, as compared with only 29 per cent who made intra-regional ones. These data also indicate that migrants of urban origins were much more likely to make such inter-regional changes of residence than were the rural ones.

Many three time movers whose first change of residence took them to towns and villages other than the Capital, also returned to live in their places of origin. This was particularly true for migrants from Crete and the

TABLE 31. PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO MADE INTRA-REGIONAL AND INTER-REGIONAL FIRST MOVES, BY RURAL-URBAN ORIGINS, FOR MIGRANTS WHO CAME TO ATHENS IN THREE STAGES

Type of Regional Move	Rural-Urban Origins		
	Rural %	Urban %	All %
Intra-Regional			
To Athens*	0	5	4
Elsewhere	12	30	25
Inter-Regional			
To Athens	50	45	46
Elsewhere	38	20	25
	100 (N=8)	100 (N=20)	100 (N=28)**

* From Central Greece, including Attica.

** For one respondent, no information was available about first move.

Aegean Islands. Upon leaving home for the second time, they remained in Athens permanently.

The pattern of those who moved more than three times before finally settling down in Athens is similar to that just described. Like most internal migrants, regardless of number of moves, the respondents who changed localities more than three times were largely of rural origins. The majority made their first moves to urban destinations, either to the Capital or to other Greek cities. Often they returned to their places of origin before going to Athens a second time and settling there permanently. All had acquired experience in urban living before they finally settled down in the Capital.

The migration characteristics of the internal migrants of Nea Ionia are summed up in Table 32:

TABLE 32. MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF MOVES

Migration Characteristics	Number of Moves				
	One %	Two %	Three %	Four %	Five or More %
Rural Origins	72	74	72	83	80
First Move Urban					
Destination	100	61	75	58	70
Previous Residence in Athens	—	—	48	50	60
Returned at least once to Place of Origin	—	—	52	50	50
Prior Urban Residence	26	67	58	100	100
	(N=195)	(N=46)	(N=29)	(N=12)	(N=20)

The data in Table 32 indicate first, that the large majority of migrants were of rural origins, whether they came to Athens directly or not. Those of urban origins tended to be somewhat less likely to make many moves than those from rural areas. Second, for the majority of migrants the first move had an urban destination, whether or not they came directly to Athens. Third, about half of those who made three or four moves, and three fifths of those who made five or more moves, had lived in Athens at least once before finally settling there. Fourth, about half of those who made three or more moves had returned to their places of origin before finally settling down in the Capital. Actually, these figures tend to underestimate the proportion who returned home, because some returned more than once, and others returned to the place of origin of their spouses, rather than to their own. Finally, the data show that the more moves the migrants made before taking up permanent residence in Athens, the more likely they were to have lived in an urban area. Among those having moved four or more times, all had acquired experience in urban living before they settled down in the Capital.

5. Reasons for the Move to Athens

To determine what prompted the internal migrants and refugees to move to the Capital, they were asked the following question:

«When you came to Athens, what made you come here instead of another place? Why did you choose Athens?»

Table 33 below shows the distribution of responses to this question, according to the origins of the respondents:

TABLE 33. WHY CAME TO ATHENS BY ORIGINS

Reasons	Origins	
	Refugees %	Migrants %
Forced to leave	49	2
Family Reasons	27	48
Occupational Reasons	12	31
Other Reasons	6	13
No information	6	6
	100 (N=316)	100 (N=301)

Forty nine per cent of the refugees replied that they were forced to leave their homes in Asia Minor. Most of the responses dealt with the necessity of leaving their homes, rather than with the reasons for choosing one place

over another in Greece at that time. Clearly, choice of destination was not the overriding consideration when the move was undertaken. More precisely, many refugees simply had no control over their place of destination, as the following responses bear out:

- The ship brought us here, and the Ministry sent us to Nea Ionia.
- The State brought us here in 1924, as part of the Population Exchange; we did not choose.
- The Turks threw us out, and the Greek State brought us here.
- After the Asia Minor disaster, the Refugee Settlement Commission took us from Parga, where we had been sheltered, and brought us to Athens.

Even those refugees who answered the question in terms of why they chose Athens rather than why they left Asia Minor, did so against the background of their forced exodus. Thus, the 27 per cent who gave family reasons for their choice of destination, referred to the fact that they had relatives and kin to give them temporary shelter, and generally help them get back on their feet again. Here are some illustrative responses:

- The ship brought me to Salonika, but because we had a relative in Piraeus, we went there. The State then settled us in Nea Ionia.
- My brothers and sisters were living in Athens, so my mother and I were brought here in order that we would not have to live alone in Kavala.
- In Athens our relatives were able to offer us hospitality.
- We chose Athens because we had relatives here, so that my mother and I would be protected.

Internal migrants were far more likely to give family reasons for coming to Athens than were the refugees. The percentages were 48 and 27 respectively. Furthermore, the «family» reasons given by the migrants were usually of a different order than those mentioned by the refugees. While some migrants also referred to the fact that relatives were in Athens who could help them out, most explained that they came to join spouses or relatives who had preceded them to Athens to find work and a place to live.

Among refugees, where mention of family referred to receiving shelter and protection from relatives, both men and women were equally likely to say that is why they chose to come to the Capital. Among the internal migrants, where family-related explanations of the move referred to joining spouses and kin who had preceded them to Athens to find work and housing, females far more frequently gave this response. The data are presented in Table 34:

TABLE 34. WHY CAME TO ATHENS BY SEX AND ORIGINS

Why Came to Athens	Refugees		Migrants	
	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
Forced to leave	43	54	3	2
Family Reasons	25	28	30	64
Occupational Reasons	17	8	42	20
Other Reasons	9	3	17	9
No Information	6	7	8	5
	100	100	100	100
	(N=150)	(N=166)	(N=143)	(N=158)

The following responses are typical of female migrants who gave family-related explanations of their move to the Capital:

- My fiancé was living in Athens. So I bought a lot and built a house here.
- A marriage was arranged for me with a man who lived in Athens. So I came and got married to him.
- I got married and my husband settled here. He wrote me to come, so I went.
- My husband wanted to come here.

While female migrants gave family reasons for coming to Athens, male migrants more often referred to the job situation. The men frequently mentioned the difficulty of finding work in the villages and towns from which they came, and the greater job opportunities and better pay in the Capital, as the following quotations illustrate:

- I could not find work in my village, so I was forced to come to Athens to look for a job.
- Only in Athens can one find work easily. It is a large city and absorbs the people from the countryside.
- I always wanted to leave Samos, because the job of a driver is more lucrative in Athens, and it is easier to find work here.
- In Mytilini we did not have property and could not find work. So we came here, where there were more possibilities to find a job.
- Here in Athens there are many kinds of jobs and the pay is good. Nothing else could make me stay here except the good pay.

Finally, a few respondents, men more often than women, came for miscellaneous reasons—medical, educational, or the fascination with city life:

- I came because my sister was ill, and then remained here.
- I was ill and came to Athens for an operation. Then my son followed me and we continued to stay here.
- I came in order to attend the University, and decided to stay.
- We always wanted to come from the country to the Capital.

In summary, refugees were likely to say they came because circumstances forced them to, while migrants more frequently referred to family and occupational reasons. Female migrants said they came to join husbands or relatives in the Capital, but male migrants more frequently gave job-related explanations of their moves. These sex differences in reasons for migration have been found elsewhere for economic migrants,⁷ and point to a pattern in which males migrate to find work and a place to live, and female kin follow when the men have found a place in which to settle down. Among the refugees, sex differences in the reasons for coming to Athens were less pronounced, since the moves of both the men and the women were precipitated by political events over which they had no control.

6. Preferred Residence

To determine how respondents felt about living in Nea Ionia as compared with their places of origin and other places where they had resided before settling down in Athens, internal migrants and refugees were asked the following question:

«Of all the places in which you have lived up to now, which one would you choose to live in, if it were up to you?»

Slightly over half of the respondents replied that Nea Ionia was their preferred residence; one third would choose their place of origin; and the remainder gave another place where they had lived as their choice. The distribution of replies, according to origins of the respondents, is presented in Table 35.

Among both refugees and internal migrants, a larger proportion expressed a preference for Nea Ionia than for either their places of origin or other former places of residence. At the same time, internal migrants were considerably more likely than refugees to choose Nea Ionia over the places from which they came, while the refugees more frequently chose their places of origin.

Respondents mentioned the nature of community facilities, economic advantages, and the natural environment as the main reasons for their choices. Many replies also referred to sentimental attachments to the

7. Mills et al., *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 3.

TABLE 35. PREFERRED RESIDENCE BY ORIGINS⁸

Preferred Residence	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	All %
Nea Ionia	48	63	56
Place of Origin	39	24	32
Other Place	12	12	12
No Preference	1	1	—
	100	100	100
	(N=268)	(N=281)	(N=549)

preferred localities, and to having one's roots there. The reasons varied considerably according to which place the respondents had in mind, as Table 36 shows:

TABLE 36. REASON FOR CHOICE BY PREFERRED PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Reason for Preference	Preferred Residence		
	Nea Ionia %	Place of Origin %	Other Place %
Community Facilities	24	5	3
Economic Advantages	23	2	11
Roots	24	23	19
Sentimental Reasons	5	51	19
Natural Environment	12	15	31
Other: People, etc.	3	1	12
No Preference	2	0	0
No Reason for Choice	7	3	5
	100	100	100
	(N=297)	(N=167)	(N=62)

Persons who preferred Nea Ionia were more likely than others to mention both community facilities and economic advantages of living there. Migrants gave these reasons more frequently than did the refugees. The following responses are typical of migrants who cite the conveniences of Nea Ionia as the reason for their choice:

8. The percentages in Table 35 are based on the 549 respondents who answered the question about preferred residence. Of the remaining 71, a large number misunderstood the question as referring to a choice of neighborhoods within Nea Ionia. The rest did not remember their places of origin well enough to be able to make a choice.

- Here we have schools, universities, movies, hospitals.
- It is better here... We've got running water, electricity, our houses are better than the ones in the villages.
- Perissos is close to Athens, you go out and you see more than in Argos. Here we have movies, theaters, restaurants.
- I dislike my village. Everybody there leaves for Germany and only the old ones remain. Here I like everything. I have what I want, and there are schools for my children.

Migrants also referred more frequently than the refugees to economic advantages as governing their preference for Nea Ionia:

- I prefer to live here because there is progress, while in the village there is economic stagnation... In Athens, the work is better, the salaries are higher, and it is easier to find jobs.
- I have my work here, and my life has changed for the better. I left behind the hard lot of a worker in the village; here I work as a clerk.
- Here there are factories and the work is more restful than in the fields. Also, one can find all kinds of work in Athens, and I get much better pay than in the country.

These findings are supported by Moustaka's study of internal migrants from Zagori and Paros in which the respondents also expressed satisfaction with their move, and cited the economic advantages of life in the cities to which they moved. Eighty nine per cent of the migrants in Moustaka's survey said they were right to leave their villages. The majority declared that life was worse in the villages mainly because of the economic conditions prevailing there. Most were optimistic about improving their economic condition through the opportunities for work offered in the city.⁹

Respondents who preferred their places of origin to Nea Ionia or other places where they had lived, talked most about sentimental attachments formed during the years they had spent there. Refugees frequently gave this reason for preferring their former homes in Asia Minor, as the following quotations indicate:

- I was born there and I grew up there. If it becomes Greek again, I will go there to live.
- I spent the happiest years of my life there.
- Everybody is king in his own house and in his own country. Here we shall always be refugees.

9. Moustaka, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 71, 75.

Closely related to these expressions of psychological ties to their former homes were references to economic and social ties. Many refugees mentioned their economic and social roots in Asia Minor as the reason for preferring their former residences to other places:

—Smyrna was an unforgettable place, we had our houses and our fortune there.

—In Ikonion, we had our property, fields, cows, sheep, houses, while now we have nothing else except this house with those two small rooms.

But many refugees indicated that for them Asia Minor was a thing of the past, and that they had become assimilated into their new environment:

—I have lived here for many years now, and I've gotten used to it. Besides, I love the Attic sky, and I don't want to live any place else except Athens, especially Perissos.

—Here I have my home, my work, my whole life. I am not attached to Constantinople, only Turks are there now, so I have no desire to go back again.

—My children grew up here, and I got used to it.

Among internal migrants too, those who gave «rootedness» as the basis of their choice of preferred residence, sometimes talked about their places of origin, how they would prefer to live in the places where they had their friends and relatives—in Patras, Kalamata, Rethymnon. Others indicated that they had built new ties in Nea Ionia, that they had their homes and families there, and felt no desire to live anywhere else.

The small group of respondents who preferred other places where they had lived to either their places of origin or their present residences, often referred to the natural and social environments of these places. They mentioned the better quality of life in these places—a more quiet, calm, and healthy environment, and the likeability and friendliness of the people.

In summary, Nea Ionia tended to be the preferred residence of both the refugees and the internal migrants. However, a larger proportion of the latter expressed this view. The migrants noted the greater quantity and better quality of community facilities in Nea Ionia, and their improved financial and occupational position there as compared with their situation in the villages and towns from which they came. Refugees were more likely to choose their places of origin over their present residence. Many continued to have strong socio-economic and sentimental ties to the places they had been forced to leave.

The differences in attitude between the two groups of migrants seem to

be characteristic of those between political and economic migrants generally. The latter are more likely to adopt a favorable attitude toward the place of destination, since their move was voluntary and the present condition an improvement over things as they were.

In the foregoing pages, we have examined similarities and differences between the refugees and internal migrants in the process of migration which brought them to the Capital. The study found that the economic migrants tended to be young adults at the time they undertook their journey to Athens, and that they were likely to come directly to the Capital, mainly from rural places of origin. The refugees were more concerned with the geographical accessibility of the places to which they fled, and only subsequently turned their attention to finding a place of permanent settlement.

For economic migrants who did not come to the Capital directly, their migration involved progressive urbanization, usually within a regional setting. Urban migrants differed strikingly from those of rural origins in the greater likelihood of inter-regional moves. Frequent movers among the economic migrants tended to swing back and forth between their places of origin and either the Capital or other towns and cities to which they migrated, until they finally settled down in Athens.

Judging from the replies of the refugees and internal migrants as to why they came to Athens and where they would prefer to live, the two types of migrants differ not only in regard to the process of migration, but also with respect to accompanying attitudes. Political migrants have less choice about where to resettle than do economic migrants, and sometimes find it more difficult to break the social and psychological ties than bind them to the places they were forced to leave.

The next chapter will examine the respondents' moves within the Capital, and compare the refugees, internal migrants, and Athenian respondents with respect to the number and types of moves they made.

V

MOVES WITHIN ATHENS

When migrants first arrive in their places of destination, they often go through a period of residential changes before they finally settle down in a permanent home.¹ This chapter, therefore, will inquire into the pattern of moves within the Capital which brought the refugees and internal migrants into their present neighborhoods, and compare it with the pattern of moves of the Athenians. The focus will be on the number of residential changes which the respondents made within Greater Athens, the average length of time they stayed in the different neighborhoods, and the extent to which they experienced residential social mobility. Also considered will be the frequency of residential changes within Nea Ionia, and reasons for choices of neighborhood. These questions will be investigated in the following order:

1. Number and Duration of Moves within Greater Athens;
2. Residential Social Mobility;
3. Number of Moves within Nea Ionia;
4. Choice of Present Neighborhood.

1. Number and Duration of Moves within Greater Athens

Slightly over one third of the respondents did not change residence at all within Athens. Thirty six per cent of the refugees and Athenians, and 31 per cent of the migrants, have lived nowhere else in the Capital. These include refugees whom the State settled in their present neighborhoods in Nea Ionia after the events of 1922; their Athenian offspring; and internal migrants who went directly from the Greek provinces to Nea Ionia, often because spouses owned homes there.

But a majority of respondents in all three origins groups have made residential changes in the Capital. Table 37 presents the number of moves they made, by origins:

1. See: Myers and Masnick, *Op. Cit.*, p. 88; Cronin, *Op. Cit.*, p. 162.

TABLE 37. NUMBER OF RESIDENTIAL CHANGES IN GREATER ATHENS, BY ORIGINS

Number of Changes of Residence in Athens	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
One	62	57	56	58
Two	25	21	24	23
Three or more	13	22	20	19
	100	100	100	100
	(N=204)	(N=210)	(N=186)	(N=600)

Table 37 shows that 58 per cent of the respondents who changed residence in the Capital did so only once. Twenty three per cent made two changes, and the remainder, three or more. The moves were of two kinds. Most were residential changes from one neighborhood to another which took place after respondents had come to stay permanently in the Capital. Over ninety per cent of the respondents made moves of this kind. A few, however, particularly migrants, changed neighborhoods as a result of migrating back and forth between Athens and other places within or outside of Greece. Not infrequently, such persons also changed neighborhoods during the periods of their stay in Athens. For example, one respondent came to Pangrati in 1932 as a migrant from the Peloponnesos. He went back to live there during the years of the second World War. In 1947, he returned to Athens, where he lived first in Patissia, and since 1956, in Perissos. Another respondent arrived from Asia Minor in 1922, and lived in Piraeus for fifteen years. In 1937, she went to Central Greece. The woman returned to Athens in 1945, and has been living in the neighborhood of Nea Ionia since that time.

Refugees, migrants, and Athenians did not differ greatly in the number of moves they made in Athens. A majority of respondents in all three origins groups changed neighborhoods only once, as Table 37 shows. The refugees appear to be the least geographically mobile group, judging from the percentage who made either no moves at all, or made only one change, in Athens. The slightly greater geographical immobility of the refugee respondents is probably due to the fact that their residential location was more dependent upon, and restricted by, settlement and resettlement programs initiated by the Greek State, first in the late 1920s, and subsequently, in the middle 1950s.

Internal migrants made their moves in more rapid succession than did either the refugees or the Athenians. The data are presented in Table 38. The Table shows that, for almost one quarter of the internal migrants, the average duration of their stays in different neighborhoods was less than five

TABLE 38. AVERAGE DURATION OF MOVES IN ATHENS, BY ORIGINS

Average Duration of Moves	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Less than 5 years	1	24	1	9
5 - less than 10 years	12	45	20	26
10 - less than 15 years	29	22	30	27
15 or more years	58	9	49	38
	100	100	100	100
	(N=203)	(N=210)	(N=184)	(N=597)

years. In stark contrast, refugees and Athenians were quite likely to average more than fifteen years per move.

Differences in circumstances surrounding changes of neighborhood among the refugees, migrants, and Athenians account for differences in duration of the moves. As already noted, the moves of many refugees were restricted to changes of residence in the wake of resettlement programs initiated in the 1950s, three decades after their arrival in the Capital. Changes of residence among many Athenians occurred for the first time upon marriage, at which time they moved out of their parents' houses into homes of their own. Migrants' changes of residence often occurred within a few years after their arrival in Athens, following job changes, the chance to buy cheap land on which to build homes, and other changes in their economic or family situation.

2. Residential Social Mobility

The study attempted to obtain a rough measure of the extent to which the respondents experienced residential socio-economic mobility in the course of their moves within the Capital. In order to make such a determination, the Neighborhoods, Municipalities and Communes of the Athens metropolitan area were classified and ranked according to socio-economic level. Since statistical information was scarce regarding the social and economic characteristics of these Neighborhoods, Municipalities and Communes, the classification was made mainly on the basis of personal visits to each area at the time the study was undertaken and observation of the quality of the housing and local facilities. Consideration was also given to the reputation enjoyed by each area among the Athenian population in the 1960s and earlier.² The rankings finally employed are given on the next page.

2. Personal communication from T. Gioka.

RANKING OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS, MUNICIPALITIES, AND COMMUNES OF GREATER ATHENS ACCORDING TO THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL, AND PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS RESIDING IN EACH AT THE TIME OF THEIR FIRST MOVE IN THE CAPITAL

Socio-Economic Level	Athens Neighborhoods *	Per Cents of Respondents
High	Kolonaki, Vass. Sophias, Moussion, Righillis	3
Medium	Erythros, Ambelokipi, Ilissia, Pangrati	7
	Exarchia, Neapolis, Ippocratous, Ghizi	5
	Patissia, Platia Victorias, Kypseli	7
Low	Acharnon, Aghios Panteleimon, Sepolia	3
	Plaka, Makriyanni, Koukaki	2
	Neos Kosmos, Ghouva, Katsipodhi, Ano Nea Smyrni	1
	Kolonos, Platonos, Rouf, Ano Petralona, Kato Petralona, Thission, Monastiraki, Metaxourghion, Omonia	11
	Athens Municipalities and Communes **	
High	Ekali, Kifisia, Psykhikon, Philothei	2
Medium	Paleon Phaliron, Calamaki, Elliniko, Glyfada, Voula, Vouliagmeni	—
	Kallithea, Moskhaton, Neon Phaliron, Nea Smyrni, Amfithea	4
	Pevki, Amaroussion, Khalandrion, Aghia Paraskevi, Kholargos, Zographou	3
Low	Nea Ionia	27
	Nea Erythrea, Lykovrisi, Metamorphosis, Iraklion, Nea Philadelphia, Galatsi	10
	Ilioupolis, Argyroupolis, Sourmena	0
	Dafni, Aghios Dimitrios, Hymittos, Byron, Kesariani	1
	Nea Chalkidon, Aghii Anargyri, Nea Liossia, Camateron, Petroupolis	—
	Aegaleo, Peristerion, Khaidari, Nikea	4
	Tavros, Aghios Ioannis Rendis, Aghia Varvara, Korydalos, Keratsinion, Drapetsona, Perama	6
Piraeus		4
		100
		(N=600)

* Synoikies

** Demoi and Koinotites

The data show that at the time of their first change of residence within the Capital, a great majority of the respondents were living in low socio-economic areas: 27 per cent in Nea Ionia; 21 per cent in the communities

which are grouped together with Erythrea, Dafni, Aegaleo, and Tavros; and 17 per cent in Neighborhoods within the city limits of Athens, mainly in the group Kolonos-Petralona-Monastiraki. The small number of respondents from Piraeus also lived mostly in low income areas. Slightly over one quarter of the respondents were living in Neighborhoods and Municipalities of medium socio-economic level. Typically, these respondents were living in the Neighborhoods of Pangrati, Ghizi, and Kypseli, and to a lesser extent, in the Municipalities of Kallithea, Moskhato, and Nea Smyrni.

A considerable number of refugees and Athenians were living in Nea Ionia already at the time of their first change of residence in Athens. The internal migrants were more likely to be staying in other low socio-economic residential areas upon their arrival in the Capital. The data are presented in Table 39:

TABLE 39. SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL OF FIRST RESIDENTIAL AREA IN ATHENS, BY ORIGINS

Socio-Economic Level of First Residential Area	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Low: Nea Ionia	30	20	31	27
Low: Other	34	45	40	38
Medium	27	30	19	26
High	4	4	6	5
Piraeus	5	1	4	4
	100	100	100	100
	(N=202)	(N=213)	(N=185)	(N=600)

A larger percentage of respondents in all three origins groups were living in Nea Ionia at the time of their last move. Again, this was least characteristic of the internal migrants, forty per cent of whom were residing in other low socio-economic residential areas. The data are presented in Table 40.

For the majority of respondents who changed neighborhoods in the Capital, all their residences were in low socio-economic areas. Most moves, therefore, do not appear to have resulted in either upward or downward residential mobility.

However, some downward residential mobility was involved for a number of respondents. As Table 40 shows, thirty two per cent made their last change from a higher socio-economic area of the metropolis. Some of these were persons who went to Nea Ionia because they married spouses who were already living there. Others were persons who lived in poor housing in medium-level Neighborhoods, Municipalities, and Communes, and were moved into

TABLE 40. SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL OF LAST RESIDENTIAL AREA BEFORE MOVE TO PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD IN NEA IONIA, BY ORIGINS

Socio-Economic Level of Residential Area before Last Move	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Low: Nea Ionia	38	22	38	32
Low: Other	25	40	30	32
Medium	27	34	21	28
High	3	3	6	4
Piraeus	7	1	5	4
	100	100	100	100
	(N=202)	(N=185)	(N=213)	(N=600)

better housing in Nea Ionia as part of the Government's urban renewal program. Residential changes for such persons actually meant improvements in living conditions, at least as far as quality of housing is concerned.

Similarly, a number of those who experienced no upward residential social mobility in the course of their moves from one area to another, as well as of those who had not changed neighborhoods at all, improved their living conditions through changes of houses in their own neighborhoods.³

3. Number of Moves within Nea Ionia

Turning now to the number of moves within Nea Ionia itself, it is clear that changes of neighborhood within the community were infrequent. Four fifths of the respondents have lived in only one neighborhood in Nea Ionia. Residential changes within the community were least frequent among the internal migrants, although there is little variation according to origins:

TABLE 41. NUMBER OF CHANGES OF NEIGHBORHOOD IN NEA IONIA, BY ORIGINS

Number of Changes of Neighborhood in Nea Ionia	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
None	78	83	77	80
One	19	15	18	17
Two or more	3	2	5	3
	100	100	100	100
	(N=317)	(N=302)	(N=288)	(N=907)

3. Changes of houses within the neighborhoods of Nea Ionia were infrequent, and almost all were in the neighborhoods in which the respondents were living at the time of the study. Thirty four refugees had changed houses in the course of their stay in the neighborhoods in which they were living in 1964, as had 12 internal migrants and 16 Athenian respondents.

The vast majority of respondents who changed neighborhoods within Nea Ionia, did so only once, as Table 41 shows. Among those who have made more than one such move in the community, Athenians are more likely to have done so than either the refugees or the internal migrants.

A general overview of the pattern of moves among refugees, internal migrants, and Athenians suggests the following differences among them:

1. Refugees made more moves than internal migrants before settling down in Athens;
2. Internal migrants made more moves in Athens than did the refugees before finally settling down in Nea Ionia;
3. Athenians made more moves in Nea Ionia than did either the refugees or the internal migrants before settling down in their present neighborhoods.

4. Choice of Present Neighborhood

In order to gain insight into the reasons why respondents decided to live in their present neighborhoods, they were asked the following question:

«Why did you choose to settle down in this neighborhood? What made you come here instead of going to another neighborhood?»

One third of the respondents gave as their reason the fact that the Government settled them there. Ten per cent said that they were born in the neighborhood, or came there as children with their parents or relatives. One quarter of the respondents said they came because their husbands, family, or relatives were living there. The fact that land was cheap or vacant was mentioned by 17 per cent as the main reason for their choice of neighborhood, while the remainder indicated that closeness to work was the chief consideration in their choice.

The reasons given by respondents varied according to their origins, as Table 42 shows:

TABLE 42. WHY CHOSE PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD, BY ORIGINS

Why Chose Present Neighborhood	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Government brought	56	15	26	33
With parents, born here	1	1	31	10
Spouse, relatives here	16	40	20	25
Land vacant, cheap	16	18	19	17
Close to work	5	13	3	7
Other	6	13	1	8
	100 (N=317)	100 (N=303)	100 (N=289)	100 (N=909)

It was primarily the refugees who said that the Government brought them into their present neighborhoods—either directly after the 1922 Population Exchange, or later, as a result of Government efforts to erase shanty dwellings in the metropolitan region. On the other hand, many Athenians came because their parents brought them, or because they were born there. Here are some illustrative responses:

- We came as refugees. The authorities brought us here;
- The Ministry brought us here in 1922 and gave us a house. We did not choose the neighborhood;
- I was born here. My parents were refugees and the State gave them this house;
- I did not choose this neighborhood. I was born here, and this house is my dowry.

Internal migrants were more likely than either refugees or Athenians to give as their main reason for settling down in Nea Ionia that their spouses were living here:

- I came here after my marriage, because my husband lived here;
- My husband came here and liked the place. When I came from our village, I liked it too, so we stayed on here.

A number of internal migrants mentioned cheap rents and land, and a good climate, as reasons for their choice:

- We found a cheap lot here. When we came here, they were very cheap;
- We found a lot here for a very good price, and the chance to pay it off in easy installments;
- The rents were cheap here, because it is a fringe area;
- I came because of the climate. It is an open area, we have sun all day through, and it is quiet. I work in the Athens business district and get tired of all the noise.

Reasons for choices of neighborhood vary from one neighborhood to another, as Table 43 shows. The data indicate that those neighborhoods settled by refugees in the pre-World War II period, in which their Athenian children also grew up—Saframpolis, Nea Ionia, Eleftheroupolis—are the neighborhoods in which respondents frequently give as reasons for coming that the Government brought them there, or that they came with their parents.

Two other neighborhoods in which a large percentage of respondents say they came because the Government brought them are Paleologou-Veïkou, to which they were transferred from rundown housing in the middle 1950s, and Queens Settlement, to which internal migrants and Athenians were moved from Petralona at approximately the same time:

- We came here in 1957 under the rehabilitation program for Asia Minor refugees;
- Luck brought us here. Our old place was falling apart, and the Ministry gave us this house;
- The Ministry of Welfare brought us here in 1960 under the aegis of the «auto-stegasis» housing program.

Cheapness of land is often mentioned as the main reason for coming to Alsoupolis. Closeness to work is frequently cited as a reason for moving into Nea Ionia and Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou.⁴

In this chapter, the study has inquired into the pattern of residential changes within the Capital among the Nea Ionia respondents. The study found that over one third of the respondents made no moves at all in the Capital. Among these were: refugees whom the Government brought to Nea Ionia in the wake of the Asia Minor disaster; Athenians who had grown up in the neighborhoods in which they were still living; and internal migrants who came directly to Nea Ionia upon arrival from the Greek provinces and have lived there ever since.

Whether in Nea Ionia or elsewhere in the Capital, the respondents' moves were generally few and far between. Refugees were the least geographically mobile, probably because their residential location was most tied to State-initiated settlement programs.

Although few respondents experienced any upward or downward residential social mobility, changes of houses sometimes meant improved living conditions. This held both for those who moved from the other Neighborhoods, Municipalities and Communes of Greater Athens into Nea Ionia, and for those whose changes of residence were confined to the neighborhoods in Nea Ionia in which they had always been living.

This completes the examination of the pattern of moves which brought the refugees, migrants, and Athenians into their present neighborhoods. The next chapter will inquire into the occupational experiences of the respondents who settled down in Nea Ionia.

4. Although some migrants cite this as the main reason for coming to live in Nea Ionia (see also Table 43), they were more likely than Athenians or refugees to work outside Nea Ionia. This holds especially for those migrants who have come to Nea Ionia since the middle 1950s: see Chapter Seven.

VI

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS AND ASPIRATIONS

Studies of migration long have concerned themselves with the career patterns of migrants: to what extent they have experienced upward or downward occupational mobility in the places of settlement, both during the course of their own careers, and intergenerationally. There are some indications that both economic and political migrants tend to experience downward career mobility when they first arrive in the places of destination;¹ and that substantial occupational improvement is often reserved for the second generation.²

One major problem in evaluating the career patterns of migrants has been how to measure this mobility: how the occupations are to be ranked relative to one another, and the number of job ranks to be employed. This problem has already been discussed in Chapter Two, where a tentative ranking system was presented, together with the reasons for adopting the scheme. Another problem in evaluating career experiences of migrants has been the scarcity of survey data on the career histories and occupational aspirations of the migrants. There has been a reliance on census data which, while comprehensive, are static and cross-sectional.

In the present chapter, survey data from the Nea Ionia study will be used to determine the career mobility of the respondents. Extent of intergenerational mobility, from grandfather to father and from father to son, will also be examined. In the course of the analysis, the study will present and utilize a provisional scheme for determining the amount of occupational mobility of the Nea Ionia respondents.

The data on occupational patterns will be presented in the following six sections:

1. Years Worked;
2. Career Mobility: First Job to Present Job;

1. Mills et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 66; Rogg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 275.
2. Bienstock, *Op. Cit.*, p. 15, Table 10.

3. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility: Father to Respondent;
4. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility: Grandfather to Respondent;
5. Attitudes to Present Job;
6. Occupational Aspirations.

1. Years Worked

As already noted in Chapter Two, slightly less than half of the respondents were working at the time of the Nea Ionia survey late in 1964—the vast bulk in semi-skilled and skilled jobs, and as petty proprietors.

Many respondents have held their present jobs for a long time. Over two thirds of the men and over two fifths of the women currently holding jobs have held these for at least ten years. There is little variation in number of years in present job according to job level for either the male or female respondents, except in the unskilled worker category. Respondents holding these jobs—mostly women, it will be recalled—were more likely to have held them for less than five years.

There is some variation in the number of years in present job according to origins of the respondents. The data are presented in Table 44:

TABLE 44. YEARS IN PRESENT JOB, BY SEX AND ORIGINS

Years in Present Job	Males			Females		
	Refu- gees %	Mi- grants %	Athe- nians %	Refu- gees %	Mi- grants %	Athe- nians %
Less than 5 years	7	21	15	33	24	25
5-9.9 years	17	16	16	10	32	31
10 or more years	75	62	68	52	41	42
No Information	1	1	1	5	3	2
	100 (N=84)	100 (N=122)	100 (N=112)	100 (N=21)	100 (N=34)	100 (N=48)

The data indicate that among both men and women, refugees are most likely to have held their jobs at least ten years. However, this is also true for a good many migrants and Athenians. The shorter length of time in present job among the migrants is probably attributable to their relatively recent arrival, and among the Athenians, to their younger age in comparison with the refugees.

Since most currently working respondents have done other work as well, the years spent in their present job do not accurately reflect the total number of their working years. Comparative data for years in present job and total number of years worked are presented in Table 45, separately for men and women. Also included are figures on number of years worked for all respondents who have ever worked whether or not they are currently in the labor force:

TABLE 45. YEARS WORKED, FOR MALES AND FEMALES WHO ARE CURRENTLY WORKING, AND FOR THOSE WHO EVER WORKED

Number of Years	Males			Females		
	Currently	Working	Ever	Currently	Working	Ever
	Years in	Total No.	Total No.	Years in	Total No.	Total No.
	Present Job %	of Years Worked %	of Years Worked %	Present Job %	of Years Worked %	of Years Worked %
Less than 10 years	32	1	1	53	19	31
10 - 19.9 years	68	19	16	44	28	29
20 or more years		80	83		52	38
No Information	—	0	0	3	1	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=318)	(N=318)	(N=413)	(N=102)	(N=102)	(N=363)

The data on total number of years in the labor force for those currently working show that four fifths of the males and over one half of the females have had a working span of at least twenty years. Also revealing is a comparison of the total number of years of employment of those who ever worked with those who still hold a job. Among the males, there is little difference with regard to number of years worked; among the females, however, there is. Women who stopped working are more likely to have held jobs for a relatively short period of time than those women who are currently employed. The women who stopped working are mainly wives who gave up their employment upon marriage. There are also a small number of female household heads who are no longer holding jobs. However, these usually stopped working for reasons such as illness or old age.

2. Career Mobility: First Job to Present Job

The majority of respondents have held more than one job since they first began working. However, these job changes are far more frequent among men than among women, as Table 46 shows:

TABLE 46. NUMBER OF JOBS BY SEX

Number of Jobs	Males %	Females %	All %
One	11	41	18
Two	32	38	34
Three	31	16	27
Four or more	26	5	21
No Information	—	0	—
	100 (N=318)	100 (N=102)	100 (N=420)

The data indicate that over two fifths of the female respondents have never done any other work than the one they are currently doing, whereas this is so for only 11 per cent of the males. A majority of the latter have held at least three jobs in the course of their working lives.

For the majority of respondents, the first job was either unskilled or semi-skilled. Another frequently held job category at the start of their working careers was farming. The data for currently working males are presented in Table 47. They show that 68 per cent of the refugees and 76 per cent of the Athenians were unskilled or semi-skilled laborers when they first entered the job market. Migrants more frequently cited farming as their first occupation. Another frequently mentioned first-job category among migrants was semi-skilled work. These probably were either migrants from urban areas of origin, or migrants who entered the job market for the first time after they had left their places of origin, either for Athens or for cities in the Provinces.

TABLE 47. LEVEL OF FIRST JOB BY ORIGINS, FOR MALES

Level of First Job	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
Unskilled	14	11	21	15
Semi-skilled	54	37	55	48
Skilled	4	8	4	5
Petty Proprietor	7	2	9	6
Lower White Collar	6	5	6	6
Independent Artisan	1	0	1	1
Middle White Collar	1	2	2	2
Farmer	12	35	2	17
No Information	1	0	0	—
	100 (N=84)	100 (N=123)	100 (N=111)	100 (N=318)

Women were somewhat more likely than men to begin their employment history as unskilled workers, but otherwise, the distribution of their first jobs resembles that of the men. Seventy-four per cent began as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Farm work was cited more frequently among the migrant women, 18 per cent of whom gave this as their first occupation.

The study attempted to obtain a rough estimate of the extent of upward or downward career mobility experienced by respondents from their first to their present jobs. To make such a determination, the following criteria were employed:

1. *No Career Mobility*

If the respondent held the same level of job at the outset as the one he is currently holding.

2. *Farm to Nonfarm Job*

These respondents are listed separately, but are not counted as career mobile, either upward or downward. Since information was often ambiguous about the «level» of the farm job with respect to size of farm holdings, etc., it seemed inadvisable to assign these jobs a ranking and to compare them with the present job levels of the respondents. Since frequently the job change involved entry into semi-skilled jobs, presumably this represents little or no vertical mobility, at least for the internal migrants. For the refugees, especially in the parental generation, where sizeable farm holdings may have been lost, the job change may have involved some downward mobility.

3. *Upward Career Mobility*

If the respondent holds a higher level job now than he held at the outset of his career. The study distinguished between two categories of jobs: lower level occupations, which comprise unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled jobs as well as petty proprietorships and lower white collar jobs; and higher level occupations, which comprise independent artisan enterprises and middle white collar jobs. The study distinguished between those whose upward career mobility was within the lower occupational category, and those who moved up from jobs in the lower occupational category to jobs in the higher category—a relatively rare occurrence.³

3. The reasons for including petty proprietorships and lower white collar positions in the lower level occupational category, and independent artisanship in the higher level occupational category, even though this procedure does not conform to the usual blue-collar white-collar division, have been set forth in Chapter Two. In that chapter, data on the jobs held by the respondents of Nea Ionia were presented and discussed.

4. Downward Career Mobility

If the respondent holds a lower ranking job now than he did at the time of his first job.⁴

Table 48 presents data on the career mobility of males, by origins:

TABLE 48. MALES' CAREER MOBILITY, BY ORIGINS

Career Mobility	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
No Change in Job Level	31	24	24	26
From Farm to Non-Farm Job	12	35	3	18
Upward Career Mobility:				
Within Lower Category of Jobs	38	26	52	38
Within Higher Category	0	0	0	0
From Lower to Higher Category	6	9	15	10
Downward Career Mobility:				
Within Lower Category of Jobs	10	6	6	7
Within Higher Category	0	0	0	0
From Higher to Lower Category	2	0	0	1
No Information	1	0	0	—
	100	100	100	100
	(N=84)	(N=123)	(N=111)	(N=318)

The data show that 26 per cent of the males have experienced no change in job level in the course of their careers. These are generally unskilled and semi-skilled workers who have done this kind of work since the time they entered the labor force. It is a pattern somewhat more characteristic of refugees than of the internal migrants or Athenian respondents.

Eighteen per cent of the economically active males have switched from farm to non-farm occupations. The job change is most characteristic of respondents who have come to Athens from the rural areas of Greece. Typically, these internal migrants have moved into semi-skilled jobs, frequently construction work.⁵ Moustaka reports a similar pattern. Her study

4. Intergenerational job mobility has been measured in the same way, except that the comparisons are between the respondent's present job and his father's job (or between the father's job and the grandfather's job) instead of between respondent's first and present job.

5. At the international Ekistics Seminar held in Athens in July 1972, Professor Juliusz Gorynski, a Polish architect, noted that the shift into construction work is a very frequent career pattern in Poland and elsewhere, for those who leave the land and migrate.

found that among internal migrants who changed from one type of occupation to another when they moved to the city, the vast majority were farmers who switched into blue collar work and became production process workers, quarrymen, and craftsmen.⁶

Almost half of the male respondents have experienced upward career mobility, but mostly within the lower category of jobs. The movement usually has been from semi-skilled into skilled work, or into petty proprietorships. The change from semi-skilled to skilled work is more characteristic of the migrants and Athenians, while the refugees more frequently became petty proprietors.

Despite their relative youth, Athenian males have experienced more upward career mobility than either the refugees or the migrants, particularly within the lower category of jobs. These findings hold even if one compares only those whose first jobs were non-farm, so as not to artificially inflate the differences in upward career mobility among the three groups.⁷ Perhaps the Athenians' greater number of years in school as compared with the refugees, or better sources of job contacts in comparison with the more newly arrived migrants, accounts for these differences.

The amount of downward career mobility experienced by the male respondents has been modest so far. Only eight per cent have experienced drops in job level, and this has been largely confined to changes within the lower category of occupations—from petty proprietorships and skilled jobs to semi-skilled jobs. Since most refugees were too young to have worked at the time of their departure from Asia Minor, the extent of downward career mobility they experienced was less than one might otherwise expect among political migrants. Among internal migrants who were old enough to have held jobs prior to their arrival in Athens, many had been farmers or unskilled workers, and were therefore unlikely to experience downward career mobility in the Capital.

A comparison of the career patterns of the male and female respondents reveals substantial differences, as Table 49 shows:

to urban areas. A concomitant development of urbanization tends to be the construction of new industrial and residential structures in urban areas. The migrants from rural areas, who are untrained in urban job skills, are a readily available supply of labor for the construction industry.

6. Moustaka, *Op. Cit.*, p. 49.

7. Comparison of the upward mobility of those respondents whose first jobs were non-farm indicates that 41 per cent of the Athenians were upwardly mobile within the lower category of jobs, as compared with 31 per cent of the refugees and 23 per cent of the internal migrants.

TABLE 49. CAREER MOBILITY BY SEX

Career Mobility	Males %	Females %
No Change in Job Level	26	62
From Farm to Non-Farm Job	18	10
Upward Career Mobility:		
Within Lower Category of Jobs	38	19
Within Higher Category	0	0
From Lower to Higher Category	10	5
Downward Career Mobility:		
Within Lower Category of Jobs	7	3
Within Higher Category	0	0
From Higher to Lower Category	1	1
No Information	—	0
	100 (N=318)	100 (N=102)

The data indicate that fully 62 per cent of the economically active females, as compared with only 26 per cent of the males, experienced no change in job level in the course of their working lives. On the other hand, only half as many women as men experienced upward career mobility, either within the lower category of occupations or from the lower to the higher category of jobs. However, their career pattern resembled the men's in the greater likelihood of experiencing upward than downward career mobility, and in the restriction of downward mobility to job changes within the lower category of occupations.

Origin bore little relationship to the career experiences of the women, and when it did, generally followed the pattern already observed among the males. That is to say, the shift from farm to non-farm work was most frequent among females from the Greek provinces, and upward mobility was more likely to involve changes to petty proprietorships for refugees than for others. One major difference in the relationship between origins and career patterns for men and women was that Athenian women, unlike Athenian men, experienced little upward career mobility. In fact, fully two thirds of the Athenian female respondents experienced no change of job level at all.

The findings about the career experiences of the Nea Ionia respondents tend to support previous findings about the career patterns of migrants. The change from farm to non-farm occupations, especially to construction work, among the respondents from the Greek provinces is typical for economic migrants. So is the generally modest level of their upward mobility, usually involving job changes within the lower category of occupations.

The greater frequency of upward career mobility among the Athenians, including some moves into higher level jobs, is normal both for native urbanites and for second generation migrants. Finally, the slight tendency towards downward career mobility among the refugees is not an unusual experience for political migrants.

3. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility: Father to Respondent

In order to determine intergenerational career patterns, the respondents were asked about where their fathers spent most of their lives, and what kind of work they usually did there. The most common occupations among the respondents' fathers were farmer, petty proprietor, and semi-skilled or skilled worker. Refugees were more likely to have fathers who were petty proprietors, whereas internal migrants more frequently had fathers who were farmers. The fathers of Athenians more often than those of other respondents were engaged in semi-skilled or skilled work.

The study attempted to gain some insight into the nature of the occupations of the fathers, according to the rural-urban character of the places where they lived most of their lives. The data are presented in Table 50:

TABLE 50. FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE

Father's Occupation	Rural-Urban Residence of Father					
	Asia Minor			Greece		
	Urban %	Rural %	Not Known %	Athens %	Other Urban %	Rural %
Unskilled	4	3	0	6	4	5
Semi-skilled	14	18	21	37	14	10
Skilled	18	11	20	22	20	10
Petty Proprietor	23	26	17	19	26	9
Lower White Collar	3	1	3	4	2	-
Independent Artisan	7	4	12	5	2	3
Middle White Collar	10	5	10	4	8	4
Farmer	18	32	17	3	22	59
No Information	3	0	0	—	2	—
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=320)	(N=82)	(N=66)	(N=162)	(N=50)	(N=218)

Table 50 shows that a majority of the fathers who lived in urban areas, whether in Greece or Asia Minor, were concentrated in occupations of the lower category—semi-skilled and skilled work, as well as petty proprie-

torships. Among those who worked in the cities of Asia Minor, a minority also held higher ranking occupations, both in business and the professions. Among those fathers from Asia Minor whose rural-urban residence is unknown, the job distribution is closer to that of fathers from the urban than from the rural areas.

It is interesting to note that among fathers from rural areas in Asia Minor, the majority practiced urban occupations. Typically, they did semi-skilled and skilled work, or held petty proprietorships. This is in striking contrast to the occupational distribution of fathers from the rural areas of Greece, and again bears out the previously noted urbanism characterizing the family history of the refugees who came to Nea Ionia.

About one fifth of the fathers for whom respondents give cities in Greece or Asia Minor as places of residence were farmers. These probably lived in surrounding areas, but used the names of the nearest towns for identification purposes.

In order to determine the extent of intergenerational occupational mobility among the respondents, the usual work done by the fathers was compared with the present occupations of the sons. Table 51 presents the data on intergenerational occupational mobility for the male respondents:⁸

TABLE 51. INTERGENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, FROM FATHER TO SON, BY ORIGIN OF RESPONDENTS

Intergenerational Occupational Mobility, from Father to Son	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
No Change in Job Level	17	17	28	21
From Farm to Non-Farm Job	34	47	6	29
Upward Occupational Mobility:				
Within Lower Category of Jobs	15	8	28	17
Within Higher Category	0	2	0	1
From Lower to Higher Category	1	7	10	6
Downward Occupational Mobility:				
Within Lower Category of Jobs	20	15	17	17
Within Higher Category	0	0	2	—
From Higher to Lower Category	12	3	9	8
No Information	1	1	—	1
	100 (N=84)	100 (N=123)	100 (N=109)	100 (N=316)

8. The discussion of intergenerational occupational mobility is limited to occupational comparisons between male respondents and their fathers, both because it is the male's occupational status which confers status on the rest of the family, and because the differences in the occupational characteristics of males and females makes father-daughter comparisons meaningless.

The data indicate that twenty one per cent of the males were holding jobs of the same level as those of their fathers. Among these respondents, refugees were likely to hold either semi-skilled or skilled jobs or petty proprietorships; internal migrants, semi-skilled or skilled jobs; and Athenians, semi-skilled jobs.

Twenty nine per cent of the respondents had fathers who were farmers. This was so for almost half of the internal migrants and one third of the refugees. Many of these respondents became semi-skilled workers, or, among refugees, petty proprietors.

There was a considerable amount of both upward and downward occupational mobility from father to son. About half of the respondents held either higher level or lower level jobs than their fathers. Refugees and Athenians were more likely to be downwardly mobile than the internal migrants. This is due to the greater frequency with which their fathers and grandfathers in Asia Minor held high level occupations in business or the professions in comparison with the fathers of the internal migrants. Among the refugees, who are all over fifty years old and therefore have reached their career peaks, little change in the proportion of downwardly mobile can be expected. But among the Athenians, many of whom are still young, the extent of intergenerational downward mobility will probably be diminished as they reach their career peaks.

Among the Athenians, intergenerational downward mobility was matched by a good deal of intergenerational upward mobility, both within the lower category of occupations and from the lower to the higher category of jobs. Shifts from petty proprietorships in the fathers' generation to independent artisanship and middle white collar jobs were not infrequent. The extent of intergenerational upward mobility among the Athenians as compared with the migrants and refugees is probably even greater than the figures in Table 51 indicate, since the Athenians are younger and therefore have not yet reached their career peaks in many cases. When they do, the extent of intergenerational upward job mobility among them can be expected to be even more pronounced.

Intergenerational upward mobility among the refugees and internal migrants was lower than among the Athenians. Among refugees it was restricted almost exclusively to occupational shifts within the lower category, usually from semi-skilled to skilled jobs or to petty proprietorships. Among internal migrants who experienced intergenerational upward mobility, about half changed from lower to higher category jobs. These migrants usually, were sons of semi-skilled and skilled workers who became independent craftsmen.

In summary, the data on occupational mobility from father to son show that among economic migrants, the moves frequently involved intergenerational shifts from farm to non-farm jobs. The data also bear out the view that political migrants experience more downward mobility from father to son than do economic migrants. However, as far as can be judged from the occupational trend among the Athenian respondents, many of whom have Asia Minor roots, there tends to be recovery and advancement in the second and third generation of offspring.

4. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility: Grandfather to Respondent

In order to determine the stability of occupational patterns, as well as changes in job levels among the respondents over a longer time span than from father to son, the occupations of the paternal grandfathers were examined. Among working respondents for whose paternal grandfathers occupational information was available,⁹ over half of the grandfathers were farmers, 29 per cent were engaged in semi-skilled, skilled or petty proprietor work, and the remaining 16 per cent were independent artisans or in upper white collar occupations.

The grandfathers of the refugees, internal migrants, and Athenian respondents differed considerably in the kinds of jobs they held. The data are presented in Table 52:

TABLE 52. OCCUPATIONS OF PATERNAL GRANDFATHERS, BY ORIGIN OF RESPONDENTS.

Paternal Grandfather's Occupation	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
Unskilled	0	1	0
Semi-skilled	5	6	18
Skilled	7	6	16
Petty Proprietor	11	4	13
Lower White Collar	0	1	0
Independent Artisan	13	1	3
Upper White Collar	13	8	12
Farmer	51	73	38
	100 (N=79)	100 (N=135)	100 (N=114)

As Table 52 shows, the grandfathers of the refugees more frequently held high level jobs—both as independent artisans and in commercial

9. The information was available for 78 per cent of the respondents' paternal grandfathers.

and professional positions—than did the forebears of the other respondents. The large majority of grandfathers of the internal migrants were independent farmers. By contrast, the grandfathers of the Athenians were more concentrated in semi-skilled and skilled jobs than were those of the refugees or migrants.

A comparison of the occupational distribution among the refugee respondents, their fathers, and their paternal grandfathers, indicates the following trends: a steady drop in the proportion of farmers; a steady drop in the proportion engaged in the more prestigious occupations; and a concomitant increase in the proportion engaged in semi-skilled, skilled, and petty proprietor work. The data are presented in Table 53:

TABLE 53. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING MALES, THEIR FATHERS AND PATERNAL GRANDFATHERS,* BY ORIGINS

	N	Category of Occupation			Total %
		Farmer %	Higher Category** %	Lower Category*** %	
Refugees					
Paternal Grandfather	(64)	55	24	21	100
Father	(83)	34	14	52	100
Respondent	(84)	0	6	94	100
Internal Migrants					
Paternal Grandfather	(107)	74	7	19	100
Father	(122)	48	7	45	100
Respondent	(123)	0	16	84	100
Athenians					
Paternal Grandfather	(87)	39	16	45	100
Father	(109)	6	16	78	100
Respondent	(111)	0	18	82	100

* The data on occupational distribution of paternal grandfathers are for the forebears of both male and female respondents. However, these data largely reflect the occupational distribution of the grandfathers of males, since the latter constitute three quarters of the working respondents.

** Independent artisans and upper white collar occupations.

*** Unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled jobs, petty proprietorships and lower white collar occupations.

Among the internal migrants, a somewhat different intergenerational trend is discernible, namely: a sharper drop in the proportion of farmers, because of the initially greater percentage of farmers among the paternal grandfathers; a dramatic increase in the proportion of semi-skilled and skilled workers from grandfather to father, and from father to son; a slight increase in the percentage holding jobs in the upper occupational category.

Finally, among the Athenians, the major job changes—from farm to non-

farm work, and a concomitant increase in the percentage engaged in jobs of the lower category—occur from grandfather to father, rather than from father to son.

Summarizing the occupational trends over three generations, among all origins groups the trend is from farm to non-farm jobs. For the refugees and internal migrants this process spans all three generations, while among the Athenians, the shift was completed in the paternal generation. Furthermore, among all three origins groups, most shifts from farm to non-farm work, as well as most changes within non-farm occupations, occurred within the lower category of jobs.

5. Attitudes to Present Job

To determine what respondents liked best about their present jobs, they were asked the following question:

«What about your work satisfies you the most?»

Twenty seven per cent mentioned economic aspects of the job—that it pays well, or gives them financial security. Twenty per cent said that the nature of their work satisfied them most. These respondents found the work interesting, or were able to work on their own. Others cited the conditions under which they worked as the thing they liked best about their job. They noted either that the job was clean or restful, or that it afforded them a pleasant social environment. Finally, twenty-nine per cent declared that there was nothing about their jobs that they found satisfying.

A comparison of the responses of men and women indicates that the former were more likely to express satisfactions regarding the nature of their work, whereas the latter were more likely to say that they liked «nothing» best about their job. Thus, 23 per cent of the working males, as compared with only 11 per cent of the women respondents, replied that the nature of the work was what they liked best about their job. By contrast, 37 per cent of the women, as compared with 27 per cent of the men, said there was nothing about their job that they liked best.

These differences in response are closely related to differences in the kinds of jobs men and women typically hold. Table 54 presents data on the kinds of satisfactions the respondents expressed with regard to their work, according to the types of jobs they were holding. The data show that those occupying the highest ranking jobs—middle white collar workers and independent artisans—were most likely to give the nature of their work as the most satisfying aspect. Furthermore, those in both the middle and lower

TABLE 54. JOB SATISFACTIONS BY PRESENT JOB

Most Satisfying about Job	Present Job						
	Un-skilled %	Semi-Skilled %	Skilled %	Petty Proprietor %	Lower White Collar %	Independent Artisan %	Middle White Collar %
Economic Aspects	37	30	29	20	26	22	21
Nature of Work	3	11	25	27	17	47	33
Working Conditions	7	13	7	4	20	6	21
Other	0	3	11	4	0	6	4
Nothing	43	38	20	31	31	13	13
No Information	10	5	8	14	6	6	8
	100 (N=30)	100 (N=152)	100 (N=95)	100 (N=49)	100 (N=35)	100 (N=32)	100 (N=24)

white collar occupations most frequently expressed satisfaction about the conditions under which they worked. This is in accord with what is known about the kinds of satisfactions which the higher ranking occupations bring, and why they are therefore often sought despite the fact that certain categories of lower ranking jobs are more rewarding economically.

Those in the lower ranking jobs, particularly semi-skilled and unskilled workers, were less likely to cite the nature of their work or the conditions under which they worked as the most satisfying aspect of their job. Rather, they mentioned their economic returns, undoubtedly because in many cases this was the only rewarding aspect of work which was uninteresting and fatiguing. This is borne out by the fact that respondents in these jobs were the most likely to find «nothing» satisfying about their work. Forty three per cent of the unskilled workers and 38 per cent of the semi-skilled workers gave this reply.

To shed further light on job satisfactions and dissatisfactions, respondents were asked the following question:

«What about your work would you like to be different?»

The findings are presented in Table 55. The data show that the majority of respondents—both men and women—referred to economic aspects of their work. Better salaries, more regular work, and shorter hours were recurrent demands. They were made most frequently by those in semi-skilled and skilled jobs, and by lower white collar workers. The other major complaint was about the conditions of work. Those who were self-employed, as petty proprietors or independent artisans or in higher

TABLE 55. JOB DISSATISFACTIONS BY PRESENT JOB

Present Job	Job Dissatisfactions	
	Eco- nomic %	Working Conditions %
Unskilled	48	17
Semi-skilled	68	19
Skilled	65	19
Petty Proprietor	45	31
Lower White Collar	60	3
Independent Artisan	47	28
Middle White Collar	42	29

white collar occupations, most frequently expressed a wish for less fatiguing or arduous work.

Those respondents who had held at least two jobs up to the time of the Nea Ionia survey were asked which job was the best one they had ever held. Refugees more frequently mentioned petty proprietorships than did the other respondents, while Athenian males mentioned skilled jobs more frequently. The data for working males are presented in Table 56:

TABLE 56. BEST JOB EVER HELD BY WORKING MALES, BY ORIGINS

Level of Best Job ever Held	Origins		
	Refu- gees %	Mi- grants %	Athen- ians %
Unskilled	6	3	0
Semi-skilled	25	30	27
Skilled	18	22	38
Petty Proprietor	24	8	10
Lower White Collar	4	7	8
Independent Artisan	3	9	7
Middle White Collar	3	3	8
Farmer	1	5	0
No Information	16	13	2
	100 (N=71)	100 (N=105)	100 (N=95)

In general, the responses of the female respondents with respect to best job held were similar to those of the males. There were some differences, however. First, females more frequently cited unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. This was particularly pronounced among female migrants, twenty per cent of whom gave this response. Also, Athenian females, in contrast to the

males, did not make frequent mention of skilled jobs as the best jobs they have ever held.

The study also investigated how the level of the best job compared with the level of work the respondents were engaged in at the time of the Survey. Among both males and females, over four fifths of the respondents indicated that their present job was the best job they had ever held. Almost no one mentioned farming, even among the internal migrants. The data for males are presented in Table 57:

TABLE 57. LEVEL OF BEST JOB AS COMPARED WITH LEVEL OF PRESENT JOB, BY ORIGINS, FOR MALES *

Level of Best Job As Compared with Level of Present Job	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
Best Job Same Level	67	81	90
Best Job Farming	2	6	0
Best Job Higher Level	10	4	5
Best Job Lower Level	21	9	5
	100 (N=60)	100 (N=91)	100 (N=93)

* Percentages based on total number of male respondents who answered the question about best job ever held.

Table 57 shows that a large majority of males cited their present job as the best job they had ever held. This tendency was strongest among the Athenians, and weakest among the refugees. Slightly less than one third of the latter mentioned either higher or lower level jobs they had previously held. The largest number were petty proprietors who had previously held either semi-skilled or skilled jobs. The explanation may lie in the previously mentioned dissatisfactions which petty proprietors express about the arduous work and fatiguing working conditions implied in running a small business operation either by oneself or with the help of family members.

6. Occupational Aspirations

Although the present job a person holds may be the best one he has ever held, it is not necessarily the one to which he aspires. In order to determine the occupational aspirations of the respondents, they were asked the following question :

«If you had the opportunity to start your life over again, which occupation would you choose?»

The responses indicate that whatever their job expectations may be, the aspiration levels of the respondents are high indeed. Over half of those working aspire to jobs in the higher category. Fully 49 per cent would choose the highest ranking jobs, namely, upper white collar positions.

Men aspire to higher level occupations than do women. Fifty-two per cent of the former would choose upper white collar work as compared with 37 per cent of the latter. Women are more likely to confine their aspirations to occupational changes within the lower category, from unskilled or semi-skilled work to skilled and lower white collar jobs. Table 58 presents the job levels aspired to by the respondents, according to sex and origins:

TABLE 58. OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF WORKING RESPONDENTS, BY SEX AND ORIGINS

Category of Aspired Job	Males			Females		
	Refu- gees %	Mi- grants %	Atheni- ans %	Refu- gees %	Mi- grants %	Atheni- ans %
Lower Category	50	33	34	62	60	60
Higher Category	44	60	62	38	40	40
Farmer	0	4	0	0	0	0
No Information	6	3	4	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=84)	(N=122)	(N=111)	(N=16)	(N=25)	(N=40)

Women's job aspiration levels do not vary greatly according to origins. However, within the lower occupational category, refugees and Athenian females tend to opt for lower white collar positions, while female migrants more frequently aspire to semi-skilled and skilled jobs. Among working males, choice of higher category occupations is more characteristic of the migrants and Athenian males than of the refugees. The latter more frequently aspire to jobs within the lower category, particularly petty proprietorships.

The lower level of their present jobs, rather than a lower level of aspirations, appears to account for the greater tendency of refugee males as compared with Athenian or migrant males to choose less prestigious jobs. Table 59 shows that male refugees are no more likely than migrants or Athenians to be satisfied with remaining in their present jobs, and equally likely to aspire to higher level positions.

The data show that less than one quarter of either the male or female respondents aspire to jobs at the same level as their present one; a large majority aspire to higher ranking jobs. The positions to which most male respondents aspire represent a drastic step upward, rather than

TABLE 59. PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO ASPIRE TO SAME, HIGHER, OR LOWER LEVEL JOBS THAN THEIR PRESENT ONE, BY SEX AND ORIGINS

Aspired Job Level	Males				Females			
	Refu- gees %	Mi- grants %	Atheni- ans %	All %	Refu- gees %	Mi- grants %	Atheni- ans %	All %
Aspired Job Level								
Same as Present	25	20	26	24	19	40	7	20
Aspired Job Farming	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
Aspired Job Level Higher:								
Both Lower Category	19	18	17	18	38	24	48	38
Both Higher Category	1	6	6	5	6	0	10	4
Aspired Higher Category	41	45	45	44	25	32	30	32
Aspired Job Level Lower	8	4	1	4	12	4	5	6
No Information	6	3	5	4	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

more attainable changes within the lower occupational category. It is true that these are expressions of wishes rather than of job expectations. Nevertheless, they suggest the need for substantial psychological accommodation to the real world. Most respondents clearly will not have the opportunity to fulfill their job aspirations, although their children may.

The chief determinant of whether respondents wish to change their jobs, and the level of job they would change to if they could, appears to be the position which they presently hold. Table 60 below presents data on males' levels of occupational aspirations, according to the level of their present job.

TABLE 60. MALES' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION LEVELS, BY LEVEL OF PRESENT JOB

Present Job Level	Level of Aspired Job						
	N	Same as Present Job Level	Higher than Present Job			Lower than Present Job Level	Other, No Infor- mation
			Both Lower Category	Aspired Higher Category	Both Higher Category		
%	%	%	%	%	%		
Unskilled	(13)	8	39	46	—	—	8
Semi-skilled	(109)	14	40	36	—	0	11
Skilled	(83)	28	9	59	—	1	2
Petty Proprietor	(40)	30	2	53	—	15	0
Lower White Collar	(27)	0	—	89	—	7	4
Independent Artisan	(25)	24	—	—	60	12	4
Upper White Collar	(20)	90	—	—	—	0	10

Unskilled and semi-skilled workers are more likely to confine their ambitions to lower category occupations than are the skilled workers and petty proprietors. None of the lower white collar workers want to stay at their present job level, even if it would mean changing to a lower job level.

While the present job level is a more important determinant than origins of the extent to which males aspire to change their positions, among females, job aspirations vary considerably by origins (see Table 59). Female migrants are twice as likely as the refugees, and more than five times as likely as the Athenians, to be satisfied with the level of job they presently hold. The greatest extent of dissatisfaction exists among the Athenian women, of whom fully 88 per cent aspire to higher level jobs. Most of these women are presently engaged in semi-skilled work, but aspire to skilled jobs or white collar occupations.

This chapter has investigated the occupational experiences of the Nea Ionia respondents. The study found that most refugees, migrants, and Athenians have had a long work history. A large majority have held and changed jobs within the lower occupational category.

For migrants, the move to Athens usually involved a change from farm to non-farm occupations. The amount of intergenerational downward mobility they experienced was less than that of the refugees or Athenians, whose fathers and grandfathers in Asia Minor had held higher level occupations than the fathers of the internal migrants.

Among the Athenians, intergenerational downward mobility was matched by a good deal of upward career mobility in comparison with the refugees or the internal migrants. This pattern, characteristic of second generation as compared with first generation migrants, may be partly attributable both to more and better schooling and to a changing job structure.

Many refugees experienced downward occupational mobility, especially from father to son. This is not surprising, considering the political circumstances motivating their migration, the loss of established positions and family fortunes, the interruption of their education, and the necessity of beginning work at a young age to ensure economic survival.

For most respondents, regardless of origins, their present job was the best job they had ever held, even though it was considerably lower than the jobs to which they aspired.

VII

NEIGHBORHOOD TIES AND COMMUNITY UTILIZATION

Despite a growing body of literature on urban neighborhoods, much remains to be learned about the inhabitants' attitudes towards their neighbors and neighborhoods, and the extent to which they utilize their communities for shopping, work, or visits with friends and relatives.

The present chapter, therefore, will examine neighborhood ties and community utilization among the respondents of Nea Ionia. The focus will be on the extent to which length of residence, age of respondents, and other correlates of origins, are associated with neighborhood attitudes and community ties. The data will be presented in the following six sections:

1. Neighborhood Attachment;
2. Attitudes towards Neighbors;
3. Attitudes towards Newcomers;
4. Neighborhood Likes and Dislikes;
5. Community Utilization;
6. Plans to Stay in Nea Ionia.

1. Neighborhood Attachment

How attached are the respondents of Nea Ionia to the neighborhoods in which they live? In response to a question about the strength of their neighborhood ties, 30 per cent of the respondents replied that they felt very attached; 23 per cent, a little; while the remainder expressed indifference.

Two reasons mainly account for these ties. Some respondents felt sentimentally attached because they grew up in the neighborhoods or had lived in them for a long time; others were pleased with the good friends and neighbors they had made since their arrival. Some mention was also made of other reasons, such as having their house, or their work, or their relatives there.

The difference in the percentage of men and women who expressed ties to their neighborhoods was small, although the women were slightly more prone to do so. Among both men and women, refugees more frequently

indicated strong neighborhood attachments than did either the internal migrants or the Athenian respondents. The data are presented in Table 61.

The data indicate that 38 per cent of the refugees, as compared with 26 per cent of the internal migrants and Athenians, say they feel very attached to their neighborhoods. It seems quite clear that the refugees' longer

TABLE 61. PERCENT EXPRESSING STRONG NEIGHBORHOOD ATTACHMENT, BY SEX AND ORIGINS

Origins	Sex			All %
	Males %	Females %	Per Cent Difference %	
Refugees	35	40	— 5	38
Internal Migrants	24	27	— 3	26
Athenians	24	27	— 3	26
Per Cent Difference	+ 11	+ 13		
All	28	31		

residence in their neighborhoods accounts for this. The proportion of respondents expressing attachment is considerably lower among those who have been in their neighborhoods only since World War Two, than among those who have lived in them since the late 1920s and 1930s. This holds for refugees, internal migrants, and Athenians alike, as Table 62 shows:

TABLE 62. PERCENT EXPRESSING STRONG NEIGHBORHOOD ATTACHMENT, BY TIME IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND ORIGINS

Time in Neighborhood	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
Since before 1930	37	40	34
1930-1939	49	45	39
1940-1944	44	44	43
1945-1949	42	20	14
1950-1954	29	35	33
1955-1959	24	23	7
1960-1964	25	12	7
All	38	26	26

These findings are in accord with those of Gulick and Caplow which also show a positive relationship between length of residence and neighborhood satisfaction.¹

1. Gulick et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 341; Caplow et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 198.

Neighborhoods showed no great variation in the extent to which the respondents felt attached to them. Eleftheroupolis ranked high in this respect among all three origins groups. Thirty six per cent of the refugees, and 43 per cent of both the internal migrants and Athenians, expressed a high regard for this neighborhood. On the other hand, only 16 per cent of the respondents who lived in Paleologou-Veïkou indicated an affinity for the area. This indifference was particularly noticeable among the Athenians, none of whom gave evidence of strong ties. Among the refugees, only 23 per cent did so, despite their generally strong attachment to most neighborhoods.

This situation in Paleologou-Veïkou is undoubtedly connected with the fact that respondents moved rather recently into this area. But it cannot be the only explanation, since the respondents of Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement also moved there only recently, yet a larger percentage affirmed strong neighborhood ties. It is likely that the conditions under which the move into Paleologou-Veïkou was made, rather than the time of arrival there, account for the low degree of attachment. It will be remembered that those moving into this neighborhood in the late 1950s were brought there through a Government-sponsored urban renewal program which affected other areas of Athens as well.

The *types* of ties mentioned by the respondents were examined according to neighborhood. The study found that in the old-time refugee quarters, the ties were the result of having grown up or lived in the areas for a long time. In the more recently populated neighborhoods, the attachments are due to having made good friends and neighbors. The percentage of respondents giving various reasons for their ties, according to the neighborhoods in which they were living, are presented in Table 63:

TABLE 63. TYPES OF TIES, BY NEIGHBORHOOD *

Neighborhood	N	Types of Ties		
		Grew up, Lived there Long Time %	Has Good Friends, Neighbors %	Other Ties %
Saframopolis	(40)	50	28	22
Nea Ionia	(58)	62	29	9
Eleftheroupolis	(28)	50	39	11
Kalogreza	(32)	47	41	12
Perissos	(46)	15	65	20
Paleologou-Veïkou	(18)	16	56	28
Mavrokordatou- Kommati Lazarou	(33)	33	52	15
Alsoupolis- Queens Settlement	(17)	12	53	35

* Percentages based on all respondents expressing strong ties to their neighborhoods (N=272).

2. Attitudes towards Neighbors

The respondents were asked a series of questions to determine how pleased they were with their neighbors, how many neighbors they had as friends, and how often neighbors paid each other visits.

Fully three quarters of the respondents said they were «very» or «quite» pleased with their neighbors. The sentiment was expressed by a large majority of respondents in all neighborhoods. Again, the sentiment was least prevalent in Paleologou-Veïkou, where 58 per cent of the respondents gave this reply. This finding, in conjunction with the one noted earlier about the lack of strong ties respondents felt to this area, suggests that this is another instance of resistance to resettlement programs which break up traditional neighborhood ties—a perennial dilemma confronting urban planners.

In addition to being pleased with their neighbors, 55 per cent of the Nea Ionia respondents said they had at least one neighbor with whom they were close friends. Many also indicated that they exchanged visits with their neighbors—some daily, others less frequently. The findings are that while most respondents were pleased with their neighbors, this did not necessarily mean that they were close friends with them or frequently exchanged visits.

There was a slight tendency for refugees to be more pleased with their neighbors, and to be close friends with them than were either Athenians or internal migrants. But time in the neighborhood rather than origin was the important factor in cementing neighborly relations. Those in their present residences since before 1930 more frequently had three or more neighbors as close friends, while the recent arrivals more often had none. Similarly, long-time residents were more likely to exchange daily visits with neighbors than those residing in the neighborhood for less than five years. A larger percentage of the latter never exchanged neighborly visits.

Age may also play a role in the greater proneness of the refugees to have neighbors as close friends and exchange visits frequently. The inclination of the elderly to select their friends from among neighbors has been documented in the research literature. The propensity may be due either to age as such or to length of residence in the areas, since the two often go hand in hand.²

Respondents were asked how many friends they had, whether or not these were neighbors. The data indicated that many respondents, particularly Athenians, were likely to have as close friends persons other than their

2. Keller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 73, Bott, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.

neighbors. Among Athenians, 36 per cent said they had no close friends, but 47 per cent said they had no *neighbors* with whom they were close friends. This finding bears out the necessity of distinguishing conceptually the roles of neighbor from the roles of friend and of relative in studies of urban neighboring. Keller has noted this in her survey of sociological research on neighboring.³

Further indications of differences in closeness of relations with neighbors as compared with friends and relatives appear in responses to a series of questions about whom respondents would turn to in case of need. As Table 64 shows, respondents would be most likely to seek out relatives. Furthermore, they would be more likely to turn to friends than neighbors for help with personal or financial matters: borrowing money, recommendations for lawyers, etc. Only in the event of a medical emergency would neighbors be turned to first:

TABLE 64. WHOM RESPONDENTS WOULD TURN TO IN CASE OF NEED

Type of Need	To Whom Respondents Would Turn					Total %
	Neighbors %	Friends %	Relatives %	Others %	No One %	
For Advice on Personal or Financial Matters	9	18	57	9	7	100
To Borrow Money	9	22	55	6	8	100
For Doctor	37	18	22	20	3	100
For Lawyer	22	29	29	14	6	100
To Look after his Interests	2	9	19	35	35	100
When Concerned about Something	1	5	20	6	68	100

The data also show that for some things, respondents would hesitate to approach anyone. Further, for some needs, a number of respondents would go for help to others than neighbors, friends, or relatives. For advice on personal or financial matters, some would restrict themselves to seeking out members of the immediate family, usually a spouse. For finding a doctor, a number would go to IKA, the Greek Social Security Institute. For help in looking after their interests, a political figure who can wield influence would be sought out by some respondents.

The availability of relatives and friends will affect the extent to which they rather than neighbors are turned to for assistance. Vereker and Mays'

3. Keller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12, 24-29.

study of neighboring in Liverpool indicates that availability of relatives as compared with friends or neighbors is a factor in who is chosen for neighboring purposes.⁴

Although relations with friends and relatives are closer than those with neighbors, satisfaction with neighbors is positively related to extent of neighborhood attachment. Forty-four per cent of those who exchanged visits daily with their neighbors expressed attachment to their neighborhood as compared with only 20 per cent of those who never or rarely exchanged such visits. The data are presented in Table 65:

TABLE 65. NEIGHBORHOOD ATTACHMENT BY FREQUENCY OF VISITS WITH NEIGHBORS

Degree of Attachment	Frequency of Visits		
	Rarely, Never %	Several Times a Month %	Every Day %
Very much	20	34	44
A little	20	27	22
Indifferent	60	39	32
No Information	0	0	2
	100 (N=390)	100 (N=291)	100 (N=188)

These findings are in agreement with those of Gulick and others, which indicate that satisfaction with neighbors, as expressed by such activities as frequent neighboring, are positively related to neighborhood satisfaction.⁵

3. Attitudes towards Newcomers⁶

Nea Ionia, like the rest of Greater Athens, has received many newcomers during the post-World War Two decades. Therefore the study explored the attitudes of respondents towards the newly arrived settlers.

4. Vereker and Mays, *Op. Cit.*, p. 334.

5. Gulick et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 340.

6. The analysis of attitudes towards newcomers had to be severely restricted in scope, due to lack of resources for carrying out a fuller investigation at this time (see Project History, Chapter One). Although the study collected a considerable amount of information on the subject of newcomers from the respondents, it was not possible to process and analyze the data about respondents' conceptions of who, indeed, the newcomers are, whether the respondents considered themselves newcomers or old timers, and to what extent this affected their attitudes. Therefore, the data presented here are offered as a preliminary investigation of a subject that remains largely unexplored.

and the reasons perceived by respondents as to why they were settling down in Nea Ionia.

To determine favorability of attitudes towards newcomers, the respondents were asked the following question:

«In your opinion, is it a good thing for newcomers to come and live in your neighborhood, or would you prefer that they did not come?»

The responses, according to neighborhood, are presented in Table 66. The data indicate that respondents were about equally divided as to whether they thought it was a good thing or a bad thing for people from elsewhere to settle down in their neighborhoods; the remainder expressed indifference.

Negative attitudes sometimes referred to the newcomers personally, or, more rarely, to their expected effect on the neighborhood. Negative attitudes towards the newcomers personally were most frequently expressed by respondents living in Perissos, and in Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou. Respondents often ventured the opinion that «new people spoil the old environment», or expressed more vague anxieties such as «one doesn't know what kinds of people they are». These fearful attitudes were least often expressed in the newly settled neighborhoods of Paleologou-Veïkou and Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement.

Reactions in the older, more settled neighborhoods such as Saframopolis and Nea Ionia fell between these extremes. This may indicate that the inflow of new people is most threatening in those areas which have been settled for a long time and then suddenly experience an inflow of a large wave of newcomers.

Another dimension of unfavorable attitudes pertained to the feared effect of the inflow of outsiders on the neighborhood. Some respondents felt that with the arrival of newcomers their neighborhoods became crowded and noisy. Others maintained that the recent arrivals were threatening the wage scales by accepting lower wages, or were taking away jobs.

This concern with the impact on jobs and wages is revealed indirectly in the answers to a question about why newcomers go to Nea Ionia. The principal reason, mentioned by 52 per cent of the respondents, is that «work is easy to find». The refugees and Athenian respondents, who have generally resided in these neighborhoods longer, more frequently give this reason than the internal migrants, who in fact are the most recent residents. The percentages are 56, 54, and 45, respectively.

Other reasons given by respondents as to why people come to settle in Nea Ionia are: the physical characteristics of the community—its cleanliness and good climate; the reasonable cost of the land; the location of

TABLE 66. ATTITUDE TOWARDS NEWCOMERS, BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Attitude towards Newcomers	Neighborhood								
	Safram-polis %	Nea Ionia %	Eleftheroupolis %	Kalogreza %	Perissos %	Paleologou Veikou %	Mavrokordatou K. Lazarou %	Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement %	All %
Unfavorable									
Mistrusts People	33	33	32	23	40	29	41	26	32
Bad for Neighborhood	3	12	30	15	5	7	8	18	11
Indifferent	25	25	24	10	8	16	22	12	18
Favorable									
Likes People	16	16	7	20	21	16	13	18	16
Good for Neighborhood	17	6	7	31	22	28	6	24	17
Other	6	7	0	1	4	3	9	2	5
No Information	0	1	0	—	—	1	1	—	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=128)	(N=180)	(N=70)	(N=131)	(N=116)	(N=117)	(N=116)	(N=51)	(N=909)

the community, and its facilities; and the Ministry's urban renewal program.

When favorability of attitudes is examined according to the reasons given for the newcomers' arrival, the following results are obtained:

TABLE 67. PERCENT FAVORABLE TO NEWCOMERS ACCORDING TO PERCEIVED REASON WHY THEY COME

Reason	Per Cent
Cleanliness, Climate	52
Location, Facilities, Inhabitants	41
Land Reasonable	38
Ministry's Urban Renewal Program	36
Don't Know why They Come	35
Work Easy to Find	33

This tabulation suggests that favorable attitudes are somewhat more likely when the new persons are perceived as attracted to the community or to its inhabitants for their own sake rather than for an instrumental purpose such as economic gain, or in conformity with Ministry directives, or for some unknown reason.

Favorable attitudes towards newcomers, like the unfavorable ones, referred both to the new people personally and to their effect on the neighborhood. When referring to the newcomers personally, respondents ventured that they are interesting people or carriers of new ideas who bring life to the area. When talking about their effect on the neighborhood, respondents noted that property goes up, business increases, conveniences come closer, and the neighborhood develops. Such comments were particularly frequent in the neighborhoods which experienced sizeable population inflows after the War, judging from the settlement pattern of the respondents. The neighborhoods are Perissos and Kalogreza, Paleologou-Veïkou, and Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement.

4. Neighborhood Likes and Dislikes

The study examined what the respondents liked best about their neighborhoods, and what kinds of things they would like to be different. In talking about what pleased them most, over half the respondents mentioned the physical characteristics of their neighborhoods. They referred to the fact that their neighborhoods were quiet, clean, had a good climate. These responses were most frequently given for the newly settled neighborhoods

of Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement and Paleologou-Veïkou, and for the neighborhood of Perissos. The percentages are given in Table 68.

Other things the respondents liked about their neighborhoods included neighborhood facilities, such as means of transportation and the condition of the buildings and roads; the location of the neighborhood, close to shops, work, or relatives; and characteristics of the people who lived in these neighborhoods—that they were quiet, good, polite. The latter two reasons—location and people—were most frequently cited by the respondents of Eleftheroupolis, as Table 68 shows.

The study investigated whether the kinds of neighborhoods from which respondents made the move to their present residences, and the reasons they gave for moving, bore any relationship to the things that pleased them about their present neighborhoods. The data indicate that those who came from neighborhoods of low or medium socio-economic level in other parts of Athens were more likely to appreciate the physical characteristics of their present neighborhoods than those who had never moved or had moved only within Nea Ionia. On the other hand, those who moved to their present residences from areas outside the Athens city limits were more likely to say they liked «nothing» best about their present places of residence.

The respondents who like nothing best about their present places of residence fall mainly into two categories. Forty nine per cent say they came because the Government brought them there from other parts of Athens. Another 23 per cent are persons who came to the neighborhood because their spouses lived there. In other words, the vast majority are persons who did not choose, in the real sense of the word, to make their homes in the places where they are presently living.

When respondents were asked what they would like to see improved in their neighborhoods, the vast majority referred to facilities and services. Frequently mentioned were the condition of buildings and roads, the drainage system, the supply of water and electricity, and the absence of enough parks and greenery. The data are presented in Table 69.

Although complaints about services and facilities were common in all neighborhoods of Nea Ionia, they were most frequent in the recently settled neighborhoods of Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement and Paleologou-Veïkou. They were also very frequent in Perissos, an old-time residential neighborhood which experienced a large population inflow since the second World War, judging by the proportion of recently settled respondents there. Presumably, other settled communities with a recent population inflow, like Mavrokordatou-Kommati Lazarou and Kalogreza, have such complaints less

TABLE 68. WHAT RESPONDENTS LIKE BEST ABOUT THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS, BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Best Liked about Neighborhood	Neighborhood								All %
	Safram-polis %	Nea Ionia %	Eleftheroupolis %	Kalogreza %	Perissos %	Paleologou Veikou %	Mavrokordatou K. Lazarou %	Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement %	
Physical Characteristics	52	36	17	50	75	79	44	78	53
Facilities	18	12	19	20	10	3	17	4	13
Location	7	13	27	2	3	2	13	8	9
People	4	14	17	9	6	3	11	4	9
Other	6	10	4	5	1	0	3	0	4
Nothing	9	6	16	11	3	10	6	4	8
No Information	4	9	0	3	2	3	6	2	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=128)	(N=180)	(N=70)	(N=131)	(N=116)	(N=117)	(N=116)	(N=51)	(N=909)

TABLE 69. WHAT RESPONDENTS MOST WANT DIFFERENT ABOUT THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS, BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Want Most to Be Different about Neighborhood	Neighborhood								
	Safram- polis %	Nea Ionia %	Elefthe- roupolis %	Kalo- greza %	Perissos %	Paleologou Veikou %	Mavrokordatou K. Lazarou %	Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement %	All %
Physical Characteristics	8	11	16	21	3	3	10	4	10
Facilities and Services	73	62	70	68	83	86	68	86	73
Location	12	11	4	7	8	8	12	2	8
Nothing	7	16	10	4	6	3	10	8	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=128)	(N=180)	(N=70)	(N=131)	(N=116)	(N=117)	(N=116)	(N=51)	(N=909)

often because they are industrial as well as residential, and therefore there is less of a time lag between the inflow of population and the improvement of facilities and services. In that connection, it is noteworthy that the neighborhood of Nea Ionia has both the lowest proportion of complaints regarding facilities and services, and the highest proportion of respondents who say «nothing» needs improvement in the neighborhood.

The total number of complaints by respondents was examined according to the reasons given for moving into the neighborhood. The data indicate that those respondents whom the Government resettled in their present residences as part of the Capital's urban renewal activities more frequently give three or more complaints than persons who came for other reasons. This can be accounted for both by the fact that these persons did not choose their neighborhoods and are therefore less likely to be satisfied there, and because they were moved into previously unsettled neighborhoods which had none of the facilities and services that come about as neighborhoods grow and develop.

The study next investigated the relationship between neighborhood likes and dislikes and neighborhood attachment. The findings again underscore the importance of respondents' feelings about the people who live in their neighborhoods. The data show that favorable attitudes toward the location of a neighborhood and its physical characteristics and facilities bear a much smaller relationship to neighborhood attachment than how the respondents feel about the people who live in their neighborhoods. The data are presented in Table 70:

TABLE 70. PERCENT EXPRESSING STRONG ATTACHMENT, BY WHAT RESPONDENTS LIKE BEST ABOUT THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Best About Neighborhood	Per Cent Strongly Attached
People	53
Location	28
Physical Characteristics	28
Facilities	25
Nothing	6
	(N=857)

Similarly, respondents' complaints about their neighborhood's physical characteristics, facilities, and location are less likely to affect the extent of their neighborhood attachment than dissatisfaction with the people who live in the area. Only six percent of the respondents who express dissatisfaction with the people in their neighborhood have strong neighborhood

ties, as compared with 31 per cent who complain about physical characteristics and facilities of the neighborhood, and 24 per cent who complain about the neighborhood's location.

Male respondents were also asked what kinds of improvements they would like to see for Nea Ionia as a whole. Thirty five per cent referred to desired changes in the physical layout of the community: roads, squares, parks. Thirty four per cent mentioned improvements in health and cleanliness: a better sewage system, and less pollution. Others referred to the development of facilities such as clubs, schools, and churches.

5. Community Utilization

Community utilization, as numerous studies have shown, varies according to the kind of activity—work, visits, shopping; the availability of facilities—schools, shops, parks; and the characteristics of the residents—age, economic resources, and origins. The Nea Ionia study tried to ascertain the extent to which respondents made use of their neighborhoods and community as compared with the metropolitan area as a whole; and to explore the influence of such factors as age and length of residence in the neighborhood on community utilization.

Place of Work

In order to determine the extent of community utilization, respondents were asked where they worked, where their relatives and friends lived, and where they did their shopping. With respect to place of employment, one quarter of the respondents said that they worked at home or in their immediate neighborhoods. An additional nineteen per cent work outside their neighborhoods but within the community of Nea Ionia, or in immediately adjoining areas. Thirty-five per cent hold jobs outside the community—24 per cent in the business district of Athens, and eleven per cent elsewhere in the Athens-Piraeus area. The remainder had no fixed place of employment. They worked wherever their job took them. A comparison of these data with those of Virirakis shows that the respondents of Nea Ionia were more likely to hold jobs in their local community, and less likely to work in the business district, than the Athenian respondents in the Human Community study.⁷

7. Virirakis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 495. This may be indicative of the greater social homogeneity of Nea Ionia as compared with the areas included in the HUCO study. See Keller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 106.

For males, place of employment depended heavily on the nature of the occupation, as Table 71 shows:

TABLE 71. PLACE OF WORK BY OCCUPATION, FOR MALES

Occupation	N	Place of Work*		
		Within Nea Ionia %	Elsewhere in Athens %	No Fixed Place %
Unskilled	(13)	62	23	15
Semi-skilled	(109)	20	33	46
Skilled	(83)	46	43	7
Petty Proprietor	(40)	55	28	15
Lower White Collar	(28)	21	68	7
Independent Artisan	(25)	56	28	12
Middle White Collar	(20)	30	65	5

* Percentages do not add up to 100 in all occupational categories because «no answers» to place of work have not been included in the Table.

Unskilled workers, petty proprietors, and independent artisans were most likely to hold jobs within the confines of Nea Ionia. Skilled workers were about evenly divided between those working in the community and those employed elsewhere in Athens. White collar workers, particularly in the lower level positions, were far more likely than those in other occupations to hold jobs either in the Athens business district or elsewhere in the metropolitan area outside Nea Ionia.

Among semi-skilled workers, almost half say they have no fixed place of employment. These are predominantly construction workers, although the category also includes painters and others whose jobs are connected in some way with building. Peddlers and taxi drivers also belong to this category of semi-skilled workers with no fixed place of work.

Females tended to hold jobs in Nea Ionia, regardless of the kind of work they did, as Table 72 shows:

TABLE 72. PERCENT WHOSE PLACE OF WORK IS WITHIN NEA IONIA, ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION AND SEX

Occupation	Males %	Females %	Per Cent Difference		All %
Unskilled	62	29	+	33	42
Semi-skilled	20	79	—	59	37
Skilled	46	90	—	44	49
Petty Proprietor	55	100	—	45	60
Lower White Collar	21	14	+	7	18
Independent Artisan	56	100	—	44	66
Middle White Collar	30	100	—	70	40
	(N=116)	(N=67)			(N=183)

The data indicate that in only two job categories were the majority of women employed outside Nea Ionia. Lower white collar work was one such category. Female respondents holding such jobs, like their male counterparts, tended to work either in the Athens business district or elsewhere in Greater Athens outside Nea Ionia. Women holding unskilled jobs also tended to be employed outside Nea Ionia. Most are cleaning women who go to work in the more affluent residential areas of the metropolis.

Place of work varies considerably according to length of residence in the neighborhood. Those who have lived there since before or immediately after World War Two, were more likely to hold jobs within Nea Ionia. Those who have lived in their present neighborhoods only since the middle fifties, were more likely to be employed elsewhere in the Athens-Piraeus metropolitan area, whether within or outside of the business district. The data are presented in Table 73:

TABLE 73. PLACE OF WORK, BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD

Length of Residence in Neighborhood	N	Place of Work				Total %
		Within Nea Ionia %	Elsewhere in Athens %	No Fixed Place %	No Information %	
Since before 1930	(87)	49	20	31	0	100
1930-1939	(56)	57	30	23	0	100
1940-1944	(17)	47	24	29	0	100
1945-1949	(30)	50	23	27	0	100
1950-1954	(56)	51	34	13	2	100
1955-1959	(90)	35	51	14	0	100
1960-1964	(73)	33	50	15	2	100
All Working	(409)	45	36	19	—	100

These findings probably reflect differences in the occupations of the more recently established residents, as compared with those of the old time residents. They reflect a decline in petty proprietorships, so typical among the early refugees, and an increase in white collar occupations among the younger respondents of Athenian and migrant origins.

Where Relatives and Friends Live

The respondents were asked which of their close relatives lived in Athens, and where they lived. Fifty nine per cent replied that either all or some of their close relatives lived in Nea Ionia. Over one third indicated that their relatives lived elsewhere in the metropolitan area. The remaining five per cent had no close relatives living in Athens.

The respondents were also asked to give the addresses of their three best friends. Forty nine per cent indicated that all or some of their best friends lived in Nea Ionia. Ten per cent noted that their best friends lived outside Nea Ionia, either within the metropolitan area or elsewhere. Finally, 40 per cent gave no addresses of best friends. Reluctance to divulge such addresses may have played a part here, even though respondents were not asked to identify these friends by name. Be that as it may, in many cases respondents declared that they had no close friends. Others indicated that they did have friends, but could not single out any as «best» friends.

Among the respondents for whom information is available about the residences of their close friends and relatives, approximately three out of ten had at least some close relatives, and some of their best friends, living in Nea Ionia. Twenty nine per cent had close relatives but no close friends in the community; a smaller percentage—18 per cent—had close friends but no relatives there. In other words, the respondents were more likely to have relatives than friends living close by. Finally, slightly over one fifth of the respondents had neither close relatives nor close friends living in Nea Ionia.

Refugees and Athenians were much more likely to have their close relatives living in Nea Ionia than were the internal migrants, many of whose close relatives lived in other parts of the Capital. The data are presented in Table 74:

TABLE 74. WHERE CLOSE RELATIVES LIVE, BY ORIGINS

Where Close Relatives Live	Origins		
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %
All in Nea Ionia	31	19	37
Some in Nea Ionia	34	27	29
None in Nea Ionia	27	48	31
None in Athens	7	5	3
No Information	1	1	0
	100 (N=317)	100 (N=303)	100 (N=288)

One reason for the greater likelihood of refugees and Athenians to have their close relatives in Nea Ionia is that many Athenians are offspring of the refugees, who were brought up in the community and remained there. Differences in the patterns of migration to Athens characteristic of the refugees as compared with the internal migrants may also be involved. The refugees, who were suddenly forced to leave their homes in Asia Minor, not infre-

quently made their political exodus together with relatives, or were reunited in Greece and settled together in refugee communities, such as Nea Ionia. Internal migrants from the provinces, on the other hand, frequently come to the Capital by themselves and temporarily join relatives already settled there until they have found a job and a home of their own. Choice of the residential area in which to settle down permanently depends on such factors as availability of cheap land on which to build—usually in an area of the Capital not yet densely settled—or the residential location of a house belonging to a spouse.

Refugees and Athenians are also more likely than internal migrants to have all of their best friends living in Nea Ionia. (The percentages are 42, 44, and 33 respectively.) This is partly a function of longer residence in Nea Ionia, and therefore greater opportunity to build up friendships in the community. Whereas 49 per cent of the respondents who have lived in their present neighborhoods since before the second World War have all their best friends in Nea Ionia, only 31 per cent of the more recent residents do.

The greater frequency with which refugees and Athenians have all their best friends in Nea Ionia probably is also related to the greater tendency of the long-time residents among them to have their place of work in Nea Ionia (see Table 73). Since work is often a place where friendships develop, one would expect a greater percentage of those respondents who live and work in Nea Ionia to have as their best friends others who live and hold jobs there.

The Nea Ionia data bear this out. Among those respondents who work in Nea Ionia, 43 per cent have all their best friends in the community, as compared with only 24 per cent of those who work outside Nea Ionia. By contrast, 30 per cent of the respondents who are employed outside Nea Ionia have all their best friends living elsewhere, as compared with only 6 per cent of those whose place of work is in the community.

A third reason why refugees and Athenians are more likely to have all their friends living in Nea Ionia is the impact of age and household position on friendship patterns. It is known that those whose geographic movements are restricted, through age or family responsibilities, tend to make greater use of their communities, with respect to most activities, including visits with friends.⁸ The Nea Ionia data confirm this. According to these data, 78 per cent of the economically inactive respondents, as compared with 56 per cent of the working ones, have all of their best friends in Nea Ionia. Since the two main categories of economically inactive respondents are pensioners

8. Keller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 105; Pappas, *Op. Cit.*, p. 494.

and housewives, it is they who are more likely than others to have their best friends living within the confines of Nea Ionia.

In summary, a combination of factors appears to explain the greater frequency with which refugees and Athenians, as compared with internal migrants, have their best friends living in Nea Ionia. These factors include greater length of residence in the community; greater tendency of the long-time residents to work in Nea Ionia; the older age of the refugees; and the greater proportion of housewives among the Athenian women.

Shopping

In order to explore further the extent to which the respondents utilized their community, all women respondents were asked where they did their shopping. Below is a tabulation of the proportion of women who shopped for various items in their own neighborhoods, elsewhere in Nea Ionia, and in Athens:

TABLE 75. WHERE WOMEN SHOP

Type of Shopping	In Neigh- borhood %	In Nea Ionia %	In Athens %	No Informa- tion %
Bakery	92	7	1	0
Odds and Ends	89	8	1	2
Foodstuff	87	9	3	1
Drycleaner	82	15	1	2
Pharmacy	61	31	6	2
Household Goods	60	27	10	3
Clothes	32	29	36	3
Furniture	2	73	22	3
Electrical Appliances	1	70	27	2
Gifts	1	68	29	2

(N=497)

The most striking finding is that the vast majority of respondents utilize shops in their immediate neighborhoods for all items that can be purchased there. For those which cannot, the larger community of Nea Ionia is utilized far more frequently than stores in Athens.

When there is an option to choose between shops located inside or outside Nea Ionia, there is no clear cut pattern as to who shops where. However, an examination of shopping patterns according to origins suggests that refugees, perhaps as a function of older age, are most likely to utilize stores in their immediate neighborhoods. For example, 40 per cent of the refugees, as compared with 28 per cent of the migrants and Athenians, buy clothes in their own neighborhoods.

6. Plans to Stay in Nea Ionia

To determine whether respondents planned to stay in their present neighborhoods, and the conditions under which they would leave them, they were asked the following question:

«Do you intend to go on living in this neighborhood, or do you plan to change neighborhoods, now or later?»

Fully four fifths of the respondents plan to go on living in their present neighborhoods; only 20 per cent plan to move. Plans to stay are overwhelming regardless of origins, although refugees are the most fully committed to do so. Ninety two per cent of the refugees plan to remain in their present neighborhoods, as compared with 75 per cent of the Athenians and 72 per cent of the internal migrants.

This is consistent with the earlier finding that refugees expressed the greatest attachment to the neighborhoods in which they lived. Nevertheless, it is clear that degree of attachment is not the major factor in plans to stay or move.⁹ Even among those who express no neighborhood attachment whatsoever, 70 per cent plan to stay in their present neighborhoods. On the other hand, those who express the greatest attachment plan to leave if they have a house elsewhere.

Over three fifths of all who planned to stay in their present neighborhoods gave as their reason that they owned a home there. Sixty seven per cent of the Athenians, 61 per cent of the migrants, and 58 per cent of the refugees gave this response. Below are given some illustrative replies:

- We plan to stay in the neighborhood because we have our house here, a big house!
- We own our house, and we don't have to pay any rent.
- Our home is here, we have lived in it for many years, and we want to die here.

Other less frequently cited reasons for staying were appreciation of the climate, location, and other physical characteristics of the area, and familiarity with neighbors and neighborhood. Finally, some observed that

9. In their study on urban neighborhoods in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Caplow et al. note that although most of those who intend to move out of their neighborhoods are dissatisfied, and most who intend to stay are satisfied, «there are clear-cut contrary cases». For example, in the older neighborhoods of San Juan, there are many dissatisfied families who are «unable to move because of home ownership or age or insufficient resources». *Op. Cit.*, p. 197.

they were too old, that it was too late for them to move. Refugees were more prone than other respondents to give this reply.

Examination of moving plans according to neighborhood indicate that Alsoupolis-Queens Settlement has the largest percentage of respondents who plan to stay. This area, it will be recalled, is one recently settled by persons who chose it because land was easy to acquire and rents were inexpensive. It was in this neighborhood that 76 per cent of the respondents gave home ownership as the reason for intending to stay.

For most respondents, plans to leave, like plans to stay, revolved largely around home ownership. Of those who planned to leave, 48 per cent said they intended to take a house elsewhere. A few typical responses are quoted below:

- I plan to leave the neighborhood because I have a lot in Magoufana, and I am going to build a house there.
- I want to give this house to my children.
- My son is getting married, and I will go to live with him, because this house is too small for us.

Other reasons for planning to leave their neighborhoods given by the respondents were either the desire to live closer to their work or to their relatives. Internal migrants more frequently cited closeness to work as a reason for planning to move. The following quotations are typical of the comments made by the migrant respondents:

- My husband is going to set up a new business, and we want to live close to it.
- Now we have to pay a lot of bus fares, and besides, it is very tiring to go to work by bus.
- Here, I am far from my work and my clientele.
- The means of transportation are not good here, so we are thinking of moving closer to the center of Athens.

This expressed desire among some migrant respondents to live closer to their place of work is understandable in the light of the study's previously reported finding that the internal migrants were somewhat more likely to work outside Nea Ionia than were either the refugees or Athenian respondents.

The study attempted to ascertain under which conditions persons who planned to stay would nevertheless consider moving from their present neighborhoods. Respondents who said they planned to stay in their neighborhoods were asked:

«Under what conditions would you consider changing neighborhoods?

What would have to happen in order for you to change neighborhoods?»

The responses are tabulated by origins in Table 76:

TABLE 76. CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH RELUCTANT MOVERS WOULD LEAVE THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS, BY ORIGINS

Condition Under Which Would Leave	Origins			
	Refugees %	Migrants %	Athenians %	All %
House	43	37	35	38
Economic Improvement	23	33	33	30
Family Reasons	16	9	16	13
Other	17	18	15	17
No Information	1	3	1	2
	100	100	100	100
	(N=140)	(N=147)	(N=147)	(N=434)

Again, factors relating to their homes were the main reason given by these respondents as a condition of leaving their neighborhoods. They would move if they were to sell their house, or give it as a dowry, or find a cheaper house elsewhere; or if they won a lottery and could afford a home in another place.

Other reasons why these respondents would change neighborhoods were economic improvement and family reasons. Migrants and Athenians were more likely than refugees to mention better jobs and financial improvements. Refugees and Athenians cited family reasons more frequently.

In this chapter, the study has examined the extent to which neighborhood ties and community utilization relate to length of neighborhood residence, age, and origins of the Nea Ionia respondents. The data indicate that length of residence rather than origin is related to degree of neighborhood attachment, satisfaction with neighbors, and having neighbors as close friends. Age is probably also a contributing factor in the refugees' greater tendency to have all of their best friends in the community, to do most of their shopping in their own neighborhoods, and to express intentions of remaining in their present places of residence.

The findings of the Nea Ionia study on neighborhood ties lend support to a number of conclusions based on neighborhood studies in other locations, namely: the need to differentiate between the roles of relative, friend, and neighbor; the relationship between length of residence and neighborhood satisfaction; and the importance of making a distinction between neighborhood satisfaction and plans to stay or move.

VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study has addressed itself to describing the respondents of Nea Ionia, with a view to providing base data for comparisons of future population trends in the Capital and contributing to the growing body of knowledge on social aspects of migration.

In describing the characteristics of the Nea Ionia respondents, it became evident that both with respect to their origins and their economic status, they are similar to, but not typical of, the inhabitants of other Municipalities, Communes and Neighborhoods in Greater Athens. In the level of their economic status, the respondents resembled the majority of inhabitants in the Capital in 1964. But the community of Nea Ionia had a more pronounced working class character than other areas of Athens, and a notable absence of persons engaged in upper white collar, managerial and professional occupations. Similarly with regard to ethnic origins: while the Asia Minor refugees form a large group of inhabitants in Athens, they are not everywhere as concentrated as they are in Nea Ionia. The Athenians in Nea Ionia are much more likely to be refugee offspring than are Athenians in the rest of the metropolitan region. Internal migrants in Nea Ionia, as elsewhere in Athens, have settled down mainly since the second World War. But unlike the migrants in the Western fringes of Athens, those in Nea Ionia form a minority in an old and settled community.

It would be useful to compare the experiences of refugees, internal migrants, and Athenians in other Municipalities, Communes and Neighborhoods of the Capital, to see how these differing social contexts affect their settlement processes, occupational experiences, and neighboring patterns.¹ For

1. Among the considerable literature on contextual effects, see: Peter Blau, «Structural Effects», *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (1960), pp. 178-193; Eva E. Sandis, «Adolescents' Educational Plans, as Related to School and High School Class Contexts», paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, Massachusetts, April 1968; William H. Sewell and J.M. Armer, «Neighborhood Context and College Plans», *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (1966) pp. 159-168.

this purpose, it would be helpful to develop a sociological typology of communities, and hypothesize differences that could be expected to occur in areas characterized by distinctive demographic, social, and cultural attributes. A start in this direction has been made by Crueger, although his community typology is empirically, rather than theoretically, based.²

The study's first area of investigation dealt with the demographic characteristics of the Nea Ionia respondents. The objective was to provide comparative data for analyzing population trends in the Capital, and to gain insight into the differential characteristics of migrants. Inquiry into the respondents' demographic characteristics revealed that the refugees are considerably older than the internal migrants or Athenians. The age distribution of the internal migrants, who are concentrated in the productive ages, is typical of economic migrants generally.

The level of schooling is lower among the refugees than among either the migrants or Athenian respondents of Nea Ionia. This is largely a function of differences in age and sex distribution among the three origins groups, but the lower educational level of the refugees persists within comparable age and sex categories. Although this is contrary to the usual tendency among both political migrants and migrants of urban origin, it must be remembered that the surviving refugees in Nea Ionia were children at the time of the Disaster, and their education frequently was disrupted by the events of 1922. Perhaps there is also a class factor involved, since the refugee communities of Nea Smyrni and Nea Philadelphia have higher literacy rates. Judging from the level of schooling of the younger Athenian males among the Nea Ionia respondents, the amount of schooling has increased substantially from the first to the second generation of refugees.

The occupational status of the respondents was generally low. Males tended to be concentrated in semi-skilled and skilled jobs and petty proprietorships, while females usually held unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Among both males and females, refugees were far more likely than either migrants or Athenians to be petty proprietors, and less likely to hold jobs as white collar workers or independent artisans. Probably their relatively low level of schooling, and the need to begin work at early ages for economic survival, help to account for this.

The study found striking differences in rural-urban origins between the refugees and the internal migrants. These conform to previous findings in the migration literature about the urban background of political migrants as contrasted with the rural origins of economic migrants. The findings are

2. Crueger, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114 ff.

strengthened further by examination of the rural-urban traditions among the forebears of the Nea Ionia respondents. While the majority of parents and grandparents of the refugees were urban, those of the internal migrants were rural. The intergenerational data also show the persistence of strong regional traditions, even when rural-urban shifts occurred.

The second area of inquiry dealt with the migration process which brought the refugees and internal migrants to their present neighborhoods. The objective was to provide comparative data on the number of moves involved, the extent to which they involved progressive urbanization, and whether or not they were regional in character. The inquiry focussed on similarities and differences between economic and political migrants with regard to the migration patterns that brought them to their place of destination.

The study found that internal migrants usually came directly to the Capital, while refugees came by a more circuitous route. The latter's first concern was with the geographical accessibility of the places to which they fled, and only secondarily with finding a place of permanent settlement.

Sequential data on the respondents' moves also indicated that for economic migrants who did not come to the Capital directly, their migration involved progressive urbanization, usually within a regional setting. Urban migrants differed from those of rural origins in the greater likelihood of inter-regional moves. Frequent movers among the economic migrants tended to swing back and forth between their places of origin and the Capital or other towns and cities, before they settled permanently in Athens.

These data reinforce previous findings of differences between economic and political migrants with respect to directness of the move to the place of settlement. They also support the hypothesis that those internal migrants who make several moves before reaching their place of destination exhibit a pattern of progressive urbanization.

Inquiry into the patterns of residential changes within the Capital revealed that over one third of the Nea Ionia respondents made no moves at all in the metropolitan region. Among these were refugees whom the Government brought to Nea Ionia in the 1920s and their Athenian offspring; and internal migrants who came directly to Nea Ionia upon arrival from the Greek provinces, often because they married spouses who owned homes in the community.

Among the movers, changes of residence were generally few and far between, whether in Nea Ionia or elsewhere in the Capital. The refugees were the least geographically mobile, probably because their residential location was most tied to State-initiated settlement programs.

According to the rough measure of residential social mobility utilized

for purposes of this study, few respondents experienced either upward or downward mobility, although changes of houses sometimes meant improved living conditions. The attempts to develop socio-economic rankings of the Neighborhoods, Municipalities and Communes of Greater Athens revealed the scarcity of existing economic and social data for the geographic sub-units of the Capital, and the need for systematically collecting such information in the future. This would allow investigation of the stability and changes in the social and economic characteristics of smaller geographical areas within the Capital.

A third area of inquiry of the Nea Ionia study was the occupational experiences of the refugees, internal migrants and Athenians. The objective was to use survey data on the occupational patterns of the respondents and their forebears to determine the extent of career and intergenerational occupational mobility. Earlier studies have indicated that occupational mobility tends to be modest; that downward mobility is not infrequent among migrants, particularly those who migrate for political reasons; and that substantial economic improvement is usually reserved for the second generation.

Findings on the occupational experiences of the Nea Ionia respondents lend support to a number of previous findings on the career patterns of migrants. The change from farm to non-farm work, especially to construction jobs, among the respondents from the Greek provinces is typical for economic migrants. So is the generally modest level of upward mobility, usually involving job changes within the lower category of occupations. The greater frequency of upward career mobility among Athenians is normal both for native urbanites and for second generation migrants. Finally, the slight tendency towards downward career mobility among the refugees is not an unusual experience for political migrants.

Intergenerationally, the trend is from farm to non-farm jobs. Among all three origins groups, most shifts from farm to non-farm work, as well as most changes within non-farm occupations, occurred within the lower category of jobs. Intergenerational downward mobility from father to son was considerable among the refugees, whose fathers often held positions and fortunes in Asia Minor. However, as far as can be judged from the occupational trend among the Athenian respondents, many of whom have Asia Minor roots, there tend to be recovery and advancement in the second and third generation of offspring.

These conclusions on the extent and patterns of career and intergenerational occupational mobility largely depend on the accuracy of the occupational ranking system utilized for purposes of the Nea Ionia study. Dif-

difficulties in developing such a scheme, due to discrepancies in the ranking of particular types of occupations according to the various criteria employed, have been enumerated and discussed. They point to the urgent need for systematically conducted evaluations of occupations in Greece, both nationally and within sub-groups, for utilization in future investigations of occupational patterns among the Greek population.

Unfortunately, present resources did not allow further exploitation of the career data from the Nea Ionia study, e.g., tracing the career histories of the respondents from first to last job, including duration and location of each job. Other unanalyzed data dealing with respondents' conceptions of social class, and with their social class aspirations for themselves and their children, also await future exploration.

The final area of investigation of the Nea Ionia study was the extent of neighborhood ties and utilization. The purpose was to add to the growing body of literature on neighboring, comparative data on extent of attachment to urban neighborhoods, types of relationships with neighbors, attitudes towards newcomers, neighborhood satisfactions and dissatisfactions, utilization of neighborhood and community and reasons for planning to stay or to leave.

The data showed that length of residence rather than origin is related to degree of neighborhood attachment, satisfaction with neighbors, and having neighbors as close friends. Age is probably also a contributing factor in the refugees' greater tendency to have all of their best friends in the community, to do most of their shopping in their own neighborhoods, and to express intentions of remaining in their present places of residence.

The findings of the Nea Ionia study on neighborhood ties lend support to a number of conclusions based on neighborhood studies elsewhere, such as the need to differentiate between the roles of neighbor, friend, and relative; and the importance of making a distinction between neighborhood satisfaction and plans to stay or move.

Unfortunately, present resources did not permit a more detailed analysis of data collected on various aspects of neighboring in the community. Respondents' conceptions of who constitutes a «newcomer» to the community, and the extent of self-identification as such, remain to be investigated. There was no opportunity to examine fully data on definitions of the «neighbor» role and on preferences regarding the qualities of neighbors. Nor was it possible to analyze the data on extent of husband-wife agreement on the degree of neighborhood attachment, attitudes to neighbors, and neighborhood likes and dislikes. In the future the opportunity may present itself to examine these data more fully.

In the meantime, hopefully the study has achieved a number of objectives: first, to provide descriptive data on one community and its inhabitants, who are similar to, if not typical of, other inhabitants of the metropolitan region of Greater Athens; second, to clarify migration processes to the Capital and within it, through the use of sequential data on geographical moves; third, to analyze career patterns and job mobility among the internal migrants, refugees, and Athenians through the use of intergenerational data on occupations; and last, to examine the extent of neighborhood attachments and community utilization in one part of the metropolitan region of Greater Athens.

APPENDIX I

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ASIA MINOR REFUGEES IN GREECE

(with the assistance of Lila Kalamitsi)

1. Composition of the Refugee Population in Greece

Number of Refugees

According to the first official Refugee Census conducted by the Greek Government in April 1923, there were 786,431 refugees residing in Greece.¹ However, this figure does not include the large number of Asia Minor Greeks who perished in the wake of the Disaster. Other refugees escaped enumeration because they had financial means which enabled them to settle in Greece without the intervention of official agencies. In addition, about 50,000 refugees emigrated to countries other than Greece. Among these were Armenians who went to Soviet Armenia and America, and Greeks who joined their relatives in the United States and Egypt.²

According to the Greek Population Census of 1928, the total number of refugees in Greece was 1,221,849.³ Although this figure is roughly correct, it does not include either the children born in Greece of refugee parents, or the refugees from Turkey and elsewhere who were born in Greece before 1912. Also, the number of Armenians listed in the Census of 1928 is only approximate.⁴

The 1928 Census for the first time differentiates between those refugees

1. 'Υπουργείον 'Υγεινῆς, Προνοίας καὶ 'Αντιλήψεως, Τμήμα Στατιστικῆς 'Απογραφῇ προσφύγων ἐνεργηθεῖσα κατ' 'Απρίλιον 1923 (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Relief, Department of Statistics, *Census of Refugees Conducted in April 1923*) (Athens, 1923), p. 0, Table I.

2. Ladas S.P., *The Exchange of Minorities—Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York: The Macmillan Co.), 1932, p. 644.

3. 'Υπουργείον 'Εθνικῆς Οἰκονομίας, Γενικὴ Στατιστικὴ 'Υπηρεσία τῆς 'Ελλάδος, Στατιστικὴ 'Επετηρὶς τῆς 'Ελλάδος, 1930 (Ministry of National Economy, General Statistical Service of Greece, *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930*) (Athens, 1931), Vol. I, p. 39, Table 13.

4. Νοταρᾶς, Μ., *Ἡ 'Αγροτικὴ 'Αποκατάστασις τῶν Προσφύγων* (*The Agricultural Settlement of the Refugees*) (Athens: Chronika Press), 1934, pp. 11, 262.

who arrived in Greece before 1922 and those who arrived in the wake of the Asia Minor disaster. The data are presented in Table 1:

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF REFUGEES WHO ARRIVED IN GREECE BEFORE AND AFTER 1922, ACCORDING TO THE 1928 CENSUS

Before 1922	151,892
After 1922	1,069,957
Total	1,221,849

Ministry of National Economy, General Statistical Service of Greece, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930 (Athens, 1931), Vol. I, p. 39, Table 13.

Petsalis gives a more detailed account of the period of arrival of the refugees:

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF REFUGEES WHO ARRIVED IN GREECE BETWEEN 1918 AND 1928, ACCORDING TO YEAR OF ARRIVAL

Year of Arrival	Number
1918-1920	70,000
1920-1922	81,892
1922-1923	696,039
1923-1928	373,918
Total	1,221,849

Based on Petsalis, A., *The Financial Confrontation of the Refugee Problem* (Athens, 1930), p. 8.

According to these data, fully 57 per cent of the refugees entered Greece in the year of the Asia Minor disaster. A comparison of the number of refugees who were in Greece in 1928 with the total population in that year indicates that the refugees comprised twenty per cent of the nation's inhabitants.⁵

Language and Religion

Since the criterion for the Greco-Turkish Exchange of Populations was religious affiliation, most Asia Minor refugees were Greek Orthodox. Nevertheless, some did not speak the Greek language.⁶ Unfortunately, no statistical data on religion or language exist specifically for the refugees; but such information is available for the Greek population as a whole in

5. Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία της Ελλάδος, *Αποτελέσματα της Απογραφής του Πληθυσμού της 7ης Απριλίου 1951* (National Statistical Service of Greece, *Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951*) (Athens, 1961), Vol. I, p. XLVIII.

6. Simpson, Sir John Hope, *The Refugee Problem—Report of a Survey* (London: Oxford University Press), 1939, pp. 15-16.

1928. As Table 3 shows, the Greek language was spoken by 5,759,523 persons living in Greece in 1928; virtually all of these were Greek Orthodox. The Turkish language was spoken by 191,254 of the inhabitants. Fifty four per cent of these were Orthodox, and the remainder, Moslems. Most probably, the former were refugees who came from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF GREECE ACCORDING TO RELIGION AND LANGUAGE, 1928

Languages	Total	Christians			Moslems	Jews	Other Religions	Without Religion
		Orthodox	Catholics	Protestants				
Greek	5,759,523	5,716,100	27,747	3,867	2,623	9,090	15	81
Turkish	191,254	103,642	327	760	86,506	17	1	1
Macedonoslavic	81,984	81,844	68	11	2	58	—	1
Spanish	63,200	28	58	41	72	62,999	—	2
Armenian	33,634	31,038	1,136	1,432	16	10	2	—
Vlach	19,703	19,679	9	2	3	10	—	—
Albanian	18,773	95	59	17	18,598	3	1	—
Bulgarian	16,775	20	—	—	16,755	—	—	—
Gypsy	4,998	3,853	—	1	1,130	—	14	—
Russian	3,295	3,177	49	14	3	40	—	12
Italian	3,199	98	2,878	18	1	203	—	1
English	2,098	201	274	1,605	1	15	—	2
Others	6,248	1,754	2,577	1,235	307	346	12	17
Total of foreign languages	445,161	245,429	7,435	5,136	123,394	63,701	30	36
Total	6,204,684	5,961,529	35,182	9,003	126,017	72,791	45	117

Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930, p. 98, Table 37.

Places of Origin

The great bulk of refugees who arrived in Greece both before and after 1922 came from Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace and Pontos. However, the proportion of refugees from the different regions of origin varied according to the period of arrival. The inflow of refugees from the Caucasus and Bulgaria was more pronounced in the period before 1922, while the entry of the Asia Minor refugees occurred mainly after 1922. The data are presented in Table 4:

TABLE 4. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF REFUGEES RESIDING IN GREECE IN 1928, ACCORDING TO PLACES OF ORIGIN AND PERIODS OF ARRIVAL

Place of Origin	Period of Arrival					
	Before 1922		After 1922		All	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Asia Minor	37,728	25	589,226	55	626,954	51
Eastern Thrace	27,057	18	229,578	22	256,635	21
Pontos	17,528	12	164,641	15	182,169	15
Bulgaria	20,977	14	28,050	3	49,027	4
Caucasus	32,421	21	14,670	1	47,091	4
Constantinople	4,109	3	34,349	3	38,458	3
Russia	5,214	3	6,221	1	11,435	1
Serbia	4,611	3	1,446	—	6,057	1
Albania	1,600	1	898	—	2,498	—
Dodecanesos	355	—	383	—	738	—
Roumania	266	—	456	—	722	—
Cyprus	25	—	32	—	57	—
Egypt	1	—	7	—	8	—
Total	151,892	100	1,069,957	100	1,221,849	100

Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930, p. 41, Table 14.

Sex and Age Composition

An examination of the sex composition of the refugees indicates that women heavily outnumbered men. According to the first Census of Refugees, 351,313 males and 435,118 females were residing in Greece in 1923.⁷ By 1928, the percentage of male refugees had increased from 45 to 48, while the proportion of female refugees had dropped correspondingly.⁸

The age composition of the refugees in 1928 was as follows: 28 per cent were under 15 years of age; 44 per cent, in the 15-39 year age group; 20 per cent between the ages of 40 and 59; and 8 per cent, 60 years of age or older.⁹ A comparison of the sex and age distribution of the refugees with that of the total population of Greece in 1928 is presented in Table 5. The Census data show that among the refugees, the proportion of children is slightly higher than among the Greek population as a whole. The proportion of males aged ten years and over is lower among the refugees than among the total population.

7. *Census of Refugees Conducted in April 1923*, p. 9, Table I.

8. *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930*, pp. 46-47.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

TABLE 5. SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF GREECE AND OF THE REFUGEES, 1928

	Total Population of Greece		Refugees	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Males 10 years and over	2,304,842	37	414,562	34
Females 10 years and over	2,391,795	39	464,015	38
Children under 10 years	1,508,047	24	343,272	28
Total	6,204,684	100	1,221,849	100

Based on Petsalis, A., *The Financial Confrontation of the Refugee Problem* (Athens, 1930), p. 11; Ministry of National Economy, General Statistical Service of Greece, *Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928* (Athens, 1929), Vol. 1, p. 3, Table I.

Marital Status

Table 6 presents figures from the 1928 Population Census on the marital status of the refugees who arrived in Greece after the Asia Minor disaster:

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS OF THE REFUGEES WHO ARRIVED IN GREECE BETWEEN 1922 AND 1928

Marital Status	Males	Females	All
Unmarried	285,053	243,947	529,000
Married	206,010	213,874	419,884
Widowed	14,659	97,630	112,289
Divorced	810	1,259	2,069
Not declared	3,285	3,430	6,715
Total	509,817	560,140	1,069,957

Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928, Vol. 1, p. 369, Table II.

Almost half of the refugees who came to Greece between 1922 and 1928 were unmarried, a fact attesting to their young age. The high percentage of widows is due to the loss of the males during the Asia Minor campaign, and later, in the forced labor battalions organized by the Turks.

Education

The only information on the educational status of the refugees is on their literacy. Table 7 presents 1928 Census data on the extent of literacy among the refugees as compared with the total population of Greece. The table shows that literacy was somewhat lower among the male refugees than among the male population of Greece as a whole. The difference was most pronounced in the 15 to 24 year age groups. These included the refugees whose schooling had been interrupted in the aftermath of the Asia Minor disaster.

TABLE 7. LITERACY OF THE REFUGEES WHO ARRIVED IN GREECE AFTER 1922 AND OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF GREECE, BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS, 1928

Age Groups	Males		Females		All	
	Population of Greece (per thousand)	Refugees (per thousand)	Population of Greece (per thousand)	Refugees (per thousand)	Population of Greece (per thousand)	Refugees (per thousand)
8—9	835.79	797.10	728.15	741.39	783.93	769.28
10—14	895.47	861.12	717.19	746.21	810.76	807.04
15—19	815.81	728.01	578.49	583.25	696.04	653.91
20—24	836.73	719.37	528.15	532.56	675.00	606.58
25—29	842.08	763.80	450.92	472.98	643.18	609.53
30—34	816.21	760.87	378.66	420.17	590.65	581.14
35—39	768.61	712.40	324.95	372.16	532.38	525.72
40—44	718.14	685.80	270.91	353.59	480.35	506.55
45—49	685.29	660.44	239.93	312.76	469.14	497.39
50—54	656.96	638.70	207.37	269.79	435.54	449.69
55—59	624.22	613.70	194.62	256.79	417.43	425.37
60 and over	525.35	509.17	137.05	180.61	325.55	326.97

Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930, p. 74, Table 28.

Literacy is less widespread among the females than among the males; this holds for both the refugees and the total population of Greece. However, in each age group, more refugee females were literate than were females in the population of Greece as a whole.

Economic Activity

Unfortunately no statistical data exist on the occupations held by the refugees in their places of origin. According to Pallis, many were lawyers, engineers, journalists and doctors. Pallis also notes that there was a shortage of doctors in Turkey after the Greek exodus from Asia Minor.¹⁰ Many Greeks had occupied high administrative positions as bankers and professors. As merchants and businessmen, the Asia Minor Greeks constituted an important asset to the economy of Turkey. Artisans and craftsmen were numerous. The rapid construction of the refugee settlements in Greece was largely due to their skill, according to a League of Nations report.¹¹

10. Pallis, A. A., «Les Effets de la Guerre sur la Population de la Grèce» in A. Andréa-dès, *Les Effets Economiques et Sociaux de la Guerre en Grèce* (Publication de la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France), 1928, p. 152.

11. Société des Nations, *L'Etablissement des Réfugiés en Grèce* (Genève, 1926), p. 14.

Among other occupational groups were the industrial workers, who had been employed mainly in the tobacco and carpet industries. According to Driault and Lhéritier, twenty five families of expert weavers settled in the neighborhood of Nea Ionia.¹² Landowners were also represented among the refugees, as were rural workers.¹³ Many of the agricultural refugees came from Eastern Thrace and Bulgaria. The Greeks who lived along the coastal area in Asia Minor had been fishermen and sailors.¹⁴

The 1928 Census provides information on the economic activity of the Asia Minor refugees who settled in Greece after 1922. The information is presented in Table 8:

TABLE 8. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF REFUGEES AGED 10 YEARS AND OVER WHO ARRIVED IN GREECE AFTER 1922, BY SEX AND BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, 1928

Branches of Economic Activity	Males		Females		All	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agriculture	147,139	36	95,430	21	242,569	28
Livestock, Hunting	7,904	2	1,185	—	9,089	1
Fishing	3,447	1	6	—	3,453	—
Mining, Quarrying	936	—	43	—	979	—
Industry	78,424	19	36,088	8	114,512	13
Transport, Communi- cations	18,607	4	135	—	18,742	2
Credit, Exchange	4,023	1	324	—	4,347	—
Trade	37,133	9	1,383	—	38,516	4
Personal Services	6,056	1	7,808	2	13,864	2
Free Professions	9,114	2	3,909	1	13,023	2
Public Services	4,286	1	617	—	4,903	1
Without Profession	56,565	14	284,411	61	340,976	39
Not Declared	40,928	10	32,676	7	73,604	8
Total	414,562	100	464,015	100	878,577	100

Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930, p. 75, Table 29.

Table 8 shows that a substantial percentage of the Asia Minor Greeks were employed in agriculture. Many were persons who came from towns and cities in Asia Minor but were resettled in the rural areas of Greece. Another large segment of refugees was employed in industry, transportation and trade. A high proportion were unemployed, due to the shortage of available jobs in Greece, especially in the urban areas.

12. Driault, E. et Lhéritier, M., *Histoire de la Grèce de 1821 à nos Jours*, Tome V (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France), 1926, p. 487.

13. Pallis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 155.

14. *L'Etablissement des Réfugiés en Grèce*, p. 15.

2. Geographical Distribution of the Refugees in Greece

Table 9 compares the geographical distribution of the refugees residing in Greece in 1923 and in 1928:

TABLE 9. COMPARISON OF THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE REFUGEES IN GREECE, 1923 AND 1928

Geographical Regions	1923	1928
Central Greece and Euboea	158,076	306,193
Peloponnesos	46,841	28,362
Ionian Islands	25,455	3,301
Epirus	11,982	8,179
Thessaly	34,025	34,659
Macedonia	255,273	638,253
Thrace	99,913	107,607
Cyclades	18,850	4,782
Aegean Islands	107,195	56,613
Crete	28,821	33,900
Total	786,431	1,221,849

Census of Refugees Conducted in April 1923, p. 8, Table I, and Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930, p. 39, Table 13.

The comparison indicates a major redistribution of the refugee flow between 1923 and 1928. Whereas the initial escape from Asia Minor took many refugees to the Greek islands, their permanent settlement brought many to Central Greece and Macedonia, including the urban centers of Athens and Salonika. Thus, the refugee population of Central Greece almost doubled, and that of Macedonia more than doubled, between 1923 and 1928. The Aegean, Cycladic and Ionian Islands experienced substantial reductions in the refugee population during the same five year period.

3. The Rural Settlement of the Refugees in Greece

In undertaking the rehabilitation of the refugees, the approach of the Refugee Settlement Commission and the Greek State was two-pronged: their rural settlement, and their urban settlement. The rural settlement involved the allocation of land to the refugees. This was partly contingent on the exchange of Turkish properties in Greece for the Greek properties in Asia Minor. Eventually these were considered of equal value, even though the Greek properties were much larger than the Turkish ones.¹⁵

15. Αιγίδης, Α.Ι., *Ἡ Ἑλλάς χωρὶς τοὺς Πρόσφυγας (Greece without the Refugees)* (Athens, 1934), pp. 22-23, 73.

Number of Refugees Settled in Rural Areas

At the time of the dissolution of the Refugee Settlement Commission, in December 1930, the Commission reported that 145,758 refugee families, or 578,824 refugees, had been settled in the rural areas of Greece. Not included in these figures were those refugees who had settled themselves without the assistance of the Commission or the Greek State. Also excluded from these figures were the refugees on the island of Lesbos. These settled on lots which they bought from the Service of Exchangeable Property of the National Bank of Greece.¹⁶

Regions of Rural Settlement

The vast majority of refugees whom the Refugee Settlement Commission had settled by 1927 were living in the rural areas of Macedonia and Western Thrace. The following table gives the regions of rural settlement of the refugees:

TABLE 10. NUMBER OF REFUGEES SETTLED IN THE RURAL AREAS OF GREECE, BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGION, 1930

Geographical Regions	Settled by the Refugee Settlement Commission*		Settled by the Greek State**		Total	
	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals
Macedonia	87,170	339,094	—	—	87,170	339,094
Thrace (Western)	42,790	179,060	—	—	42,790	179,060
Epirus	1,337	4,232	57	228	1,394	4,460
Thessaly	2,251	7,630	652	2,608	2,903	10,238
Central Greece and Euboea	3,489	14,286	1,092	4,368	4,581	18,654
Peloponnesos	1,002	3,820	216	864	1,218	4,684
Crete	4,757	18,938	—	—	4,757	18,938
Aegean Islands	795	3,096	150	600	945	3,696
Total	143,591	570,156	2,167	8,668	145,758	578,824

* Up to 1930 ** Up to January 1929

Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930, pp. 104-105, Table 42.

The land on which the refugees settled was sold to them on easy terms by the Greek State. The basis for the allocation of the lots was the four-membered family. When the family exceeded this size, one-fifth of the size of the lot was added for each extra member.¹⁷

16. Notaras, *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

17. *L'Etablissement des Réfugiés en Grèce*, p. 48.

Economic Activity of the Rural Refugees

The refugees cultivated olives, vines, tobacco, cereals and fruits. According to the 1927 statistics of the Refugee Settlement Commission, 76 per cent of the rurally-settled refugees were engaged in the cultivation of cereals; 14 per cent, in the cultivation of tobacco; and the remainder, in the cultivation of vines, the tending of animals, and other agricultural activities.¹⁸

The Commission helped the rural refugees through the establishment of public utility programs, the building of roads and bridges, improvement of the irrigation system, and the creation of agricultural and veterinary stations.¹⁹ It distributed livestock as well as tractors and steel ploughs to the refugees to facilitate their settlement. In their turn, the refugees promoted agriculture in Greece by applying the knowledge and skills they brought with them from Turkey. The Asia Minor Greeks led the way in the adoption of agricultural innovations, such as crop rotation. As a result, the value of agricultural production in Greece had doubled within a decade, by 1932.²⁰

4. The Urban Settlement of the Refugees in Greece

The rehabilitation of the refugees in the urban areas of Greece involved their provision with shelter, clothing, food and employment.²¹ The task was complicated by the overcrowding of the cities even before the arrival of the refugees, and by the scarcity of employment opportunities there.

The Government undertook the provision of permanent homes for the refugees, who had been temporarily sheltered in schools, hospitals and other public buildings. The State initiated the construction of stone houses with toilet facilities in the Athens-Piraeus area, as well as in Salonika, Volos, Patras, Eleusis, Agrinion and Edessa.²² By 1926, 22,337 dwellings had been built throughout the urban areas of Greece as permanent dwellings for the refugees.²³

18. Refugee Settlement Commission, Pamphlet (untitled), September 1927.

19. Pentzopoulos, D., *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact upon Greece* (Paris: Mouton & Co.), 1962, p. 109.

20. Campbell, J. and Sherrard P., *Modern Greece* (London: Ernest Benn Limited), 1968, p. 140.

21. Morgenthau, H., in collaboration with Strother French, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Dorau and Co. Inc.), 1929, p. 236.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 238.

23. *L'Etablissement des Réfugiés en Grèce*, p. 167.

Number of Refugees in the Urban Areas of Greece

The Refugee Settlement Commission conducted a Census in 1927 to determine the number of refugees of urban origins who were residing in the cities and towns of Greece, and the condition of their housing. The Census concerned itself with two categories of refugee families. The first category consisted of those who were living in quarters inhabited exclusively by refugees. The dwellings in these quarters had been erected by the State, the Refugee Settlement Commission or, sometimes, by the refugees themselves. The second category consisted of families who were living in areas not exclusively inhabited by refugees. These families lived in private homes, either as proprietors or as tenants. Families of the first category were personally interviewed by the Census takers, whereas families of the second category were not. As a result, many of the latter failed to respond to the inquiry. Mears, citing the Commission's report, notes that the 23,078 families reached probably represented only half of the total.²⁴

The dwellings of the families living exclusively in refugee quarters were subdivided by the Refugee Settlement Commission into three classes: A, B, and C. Class A dwellings were houses in good condition which fulfilled the requirements of permanent dwellings. Class B dwellings were those houses fit for temporary habitation. Class C dwellings were hovels to be «demolished at the earliest possible opportunity».²⁵ They were inhabited by families who were living in warehouses, requisitioned buildings, etc. The

TABLE 11. NUMBER OF REFUGEES LIVING IN URBAN QUARTERS AND DWELLINGS, 1927

Types of Quarters and Dwellings	Number of Families	Number of Individuals
I. Exclusively Refugee Quarters		
Occupying Class A Dwellings	39,450	—
Occupying Class B Dwellings	26,288	—
Occupying Class C Dwellings	35,667	—
	101,405	394,971
II. Quarters not Exclusively Inhabited by Refugees		
Living in Private Homes as Proprietors or Tenants	23,078	89,776
Total	124,483	484,747

Mears, Eliot G., *Greece Today—The Aftermath of the Refugee Impact* (Stanford, Calif. 1929), Appendix C, p. 300.

24. Mears, E. G., *Greece Today—The Aftermath of the Refugee Impact* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press), 1929, p. 299. Mears presents data from the League of Nations' *Sixteenth Quarterly Report of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission* (Geneva: November 21, 1927), pp. 7, 8, 11, 12.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

number of families and individuals living in the various types of urban quarters and dwellings are presented in Table 11.

Over four fifths of the 124,483 families enumerated by the Refugee Settlement Commission in its Housing Census were of urban origins. The remaining refugees were persons of rural origins who had settled down in the urban centers of Greece.²⁶ Taking into account a probable ten per cent error in the figures for Category I families, and a fifty per cent error for those of Category II, the League Report cited by Mears arrives at a figure of about 615,000 refugees who were living in the urban areas of Greece in 1927.²⁷ This is close to the figure reported by the National Statistical Service of Greece a year later. According to the Population Census of 1928, there were 660,659 urban refugees or 168,451 urban families of refugees residing in Greece.²⁸

Urban Distribution of the Refugees

The majority of the refugees who settled in the urban areas of Greece gravitated to the main urban centers, that is, to Athens, Piraeus and Salonika. Shelter and employment opportunities were easier to obtain there. However, the other cities of Greece received their share of the refugee population, as Table 12 (next page) shows.

Housing

As already noted, the Housing Census carried out by the Refugee Settlement Commission established that in 1927, 124,483 refugee families were living in various types of dwellings in the urban areas of Greece. Many of these families were living in residences which served only as temporary shelters, while other refugees were still without any roof over their heads. Therefore, the construction of housing for the refugees continued to be a primary objective of the Greek State and the Refugee Settlement Commission. By the end of July 1928, 17,970 additional dwellings, which housed 22,974 families, had been constructed.²⁹ Homes were also under construction in Salonika, Patras, Volos, Alexandroupolis, Mesolonghi, Corinth and other Greek cities. According to the National Statistical Service of

26. Mears, *Op. Cit.*, p. 299.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

28. Πετσάλης, Α., *Ἡ Δημοσιονομικὴ Ἀντιμετώπισις τοῦ Προσφυγικοῦ Ζητήματος*, (*The Financial Confrontation of the Refugees Problem*) (Athens: Hestia), 1930, p. 11, presents data from *Δελτίον Γενικῆς Στατιστικῆς Ὑπηρεσίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (*Report of the General Statistical Service of Greece*) (Athens, August 1929), p. 4.

29. Mears, *Op. Cit.*, p. 301.

TABLE 12. COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN THE GREEK CITIES OF 20,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS IN 1928

	Natives		Refugees		Internal Migrants		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Athens	131,810	28.7	129,380	28.2	198,021	43.1	459,211
Piraeus	68,859	27.6	101,185	40.0	81,615	32.4	251,659
Salonika	88,050	36.1	117,041	47.8	39,590	16.1	244,680
Kavala	10,598	20.9	28,927	56.9	11,327	22.2	50,852
Patras	32,376	50.1	6,967	10.8	25,293	39.1	64,63
Volos	14,901	31.2	13,773	28.7	19,218	40.1	47,892
Xanthi	13,257	37.0	14,867	41.4	7,788	21.6	35,912
Iraklion	15,421	39.3	14,069	35.9	9,741	24.8	39,231
Corfu	22,582	66.1	1,064	60.3	9,547	27.9	34,193
Komotini	14,134	44.8	10,745	34.1	6,672	21.1	31,551
Drama	6,161	19.2	22,601	70.2	3,424	10.6	32,186
Kalamata	12,905	44.6	3,587	12.4	12,469	43.0	28,961
Serres	10,708	36.2	14,950	50.4	3,982	13.4	29,640
Lesvos	12,485	39.5	14,820	46.8	4,356	13.7	31,661
Canea	14,945	46.4	6,925	21.5	10,369	32.1	32,239
Larisa	9,427	36.5	4,400	17.0	12,034	46.5	25,861
Chios	13,651	52.3	9,357	35.7	3,159	12.0	26,167
Ermoupolis	11,978	55.9	3,032	14.2	6,406	29.9	21,416
Yanina	10,251	47.7	3,117	14.5	8,131	37.8	21,503
Pyrgos	11,414	55.7	772	3.8	8,310	40.5	20,496
Trikala	13,548	61.4	632	2.8	7,937	35.8	22,117

Kayser, B., *Human Geography of Greece* (Athens, 1968), p. 33, Table 11.

Greece, 118 refugee quarters with 27,610 houses throughout Greece had been brought into existence under the auspices of the Refugee Settlement Commission by the end of 1929.³⁰ Despite these gigantic efforts, the provision of adequate housing for the Asia Minor refugees in the towns and cities of Greece remained an unfinished task until recent times.

Employment

Great efforts were made to stimulate employment among the refugees in the urban settlements. One promising field of industry was the manufacture of rugs;³¹ another was the processing of tobacco. Since Thrace was the main region for growing tobacco, Kavala served as the tobacco processing center. Over twelve thousand men and women were employed in this industry, and tobacco production soon doubled.³²

30. *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1930, p. 105, Table 43.

31. Morgenthau, *Op. Cit.*, p. 248.

32. Hadjopoulos, A., *Die Flüchtlingsfrage in Griechenland* (Athens, 1927), p. 99.

Other urban areas also experienced an economic revival as a result of the presence of the refugees. Among these towns were Volos, Xanthi, and Drama. Through their employment in the tobacco, silk and carpet businesses, and as pottery craftsmen, coppersmiths and silversmiths, the refugees in the urban settlements regained their economic self-sufficiency.³³

5. The Settlement of the Refugees in Athens

The settlement of the refugees in Athens commenced in 1922 with the aid of the Refugee Treasury Fund. Sites such as Pangrati, Podarades (Nea Ionia), and Kesariani in Athens, and Nea Kokkinia in Piraeus, were to become the new homeland of the refugees.³⁴ Pangrati was the first quarter where the construction of permanent homes was undertaken. Later housing construction spread to other quarters. According to the statistics of the Refugee Treasury Fund, by 1925, 10,435 dwellings were built in the following quarters of Athens: Pangrati, 2,670; Podarades (Nea Ionia), 5,800; Kallithea, 1,965.³⁵ The construction of Nea Smyrni began in 1926 after an organized group of refugees from Smyrna obtained a loan for that purpose.³⁶

Number of Refugees

According to the Refugee Census of April 1923, the number of refugees residing in the Municipality of Athens and the surrounding suburbs was 67, 817. The data are presented in Table 13. They show that the Municipality of Athens received a large inflow of refugees in the immediate aftermath of the Asia Minor disaster. Temporary shelter for the refugees was available in the Capital, in public buildings, camp sites, etc. By 1928, 129,380 refugees were residing in the Municipality of Athens.³⁷ Since Athens had 452,919 inhabitants in 1928, the refugees comprised 28 per cent of the city's total population.³⁸ In the same year, the refugee population of Greater Athens (consisting of the Municipalities

33. Brown, A., *Greece, Old and New* (London: Methuen and Co., 1927), p. 232.

34. Morgenthau, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 74-76.

35. *Tò Έργον τοῦ Ταμείου Περιθάλψεως Προσφύγων εἰς Γενικὰς Γραμμὰς* (*The Activities of the Refugee Treasury Fund in Broad Outline*) (Athens, 1925), p. 6.

36. Petsalis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.

37. *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1930, p. 48, Table 17b.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 29, Table 5.

TABLE 13. NUMBER OF REFUGEES RESIDING IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS AND SUBURBS, APRIL 1923

Municipality of Athens	56,598
Amaroussion	1,280
Daphni	2
Iraklion	19
Kallithea	3,336
Kifisia	2,248
Moskhaton	1,361
Brachami	15
Nea Liossia	79
Paleon Phaliron	2,104
Peristerion	8
Tzitzifies	339
Khalandrion	428
Total	67,817

Census of Refugees Conducted in April 1923, pp. 4-5, Table IV.

of Athens and Piraeus and the suburbs) was 245,062.³⁹ These constituted 23 per cent of all the Asia Minor refugees in Greece.

Places of Origin of the Refugees in Athens

Table 14 shows the number and per cent of refugees residing in Athens in 1928, according to their places of origin and periods of arrival. A comparison of the regional origins of the refugees residing in Athens with the origins of those living in Greece as a whole (see Table 4) indicates that a larger proportion of the Greeks from Asia Minor and Constantinople settled in the Capital than in the other parts of Greece. On the other hand, the refugees from Eastern Thrace and Pontos went to Athens less frequently than to the rest of Greece.

Sex and Age Composition

The sex ratio among the refugees in the Municipality of Athens in 1928 was severely unbalanced: 122 females to 100 males. Among the Athens population as a whole in that year, the sex ratio was roughly equal.⁴⁰ The imbalance of the sex ratio among the refugees in Athens exceeded that

39. *Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951*, Vol. 1, p. LXVI. Unfortunately, no breakdowns are available after 1923 on the distribution of the refugees in the metropolitan region of Greater Athens. The data deal only with the refugees residing in the Municipalities of Athens and Piraeus.

40. *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1930, p. 48.

TABLE 14. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF REFUGEES RESIDING IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS IN 1928, ACCORDING TO PLACES OF ORIGIN AND PERIODS OF ARRIVAL

Places of Origin	Periods of Arrival					
	Before 1922		After 1922		All	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Asia Minor	4,876	49	95,348	80	100,224	77
Eastern Thrace	867	9	5,540	5	6,407	5
Pontos	537	5	5,939	5	6,476	5
Bulgaria	669	7	511	—	1,180	1
Caucasus	296	3	546	—	842	1
Constantinople	1,478	15	10,303	9	11,781	9
Russia	986	10	958	1	1,944	2
Serbia	28	—	7	—	35	—
Albania	89	1	79	—	168	—
Dodecanesos	76	1	119	—	195	—
Roumania	38	—	53	—	91	—
Cyprus	20	—	17	—	37	—
Total	9,960	100	119,420	100	129,380	100

Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928, Vol. I, «Actual and de jure Population—Refugees» (Athens, 1933), p. 40, Table 43.

for the refugees in all of Greece. That ratio, as already noted, was 107 females per 100 males.

The age distribution of the refugees residing in the Municipality of Athens in 1928 is shown in Table 15:

TABLE 15. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE REFUGEES RESIDING IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS, ACCORDING TO SEX, 1928

Age Groups	Males	Females	Total
Under 15	13,514	13,437	26,951
15—39	24,399	33,622	58,021
40—59	9,522	13,631	23,153
60 and above	4,371	6,682	11,053
Age not Declared	145	97	242
Total	51,951	67,469	119,420

Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928, Vol. I, p. 555, Table IIc.

The Census data indicate that in the youngest age bracket, males outnumbered females, whereas in all other age categories, women outnumbered men. The excess of females is particularly noticeable in the 15-39 year age category. This was the result of the loss of males in the forced labor battalions organized by the Turks.

A comparison of the age distribution of the refugees living in Athens in 1928 with that of the entire refugee population residing in Greece in that year (see Table 5) indicates that the percentage of children was greater outside the Capital area. The percentage of adult refugees, especially in the 15-39 year age group, was greater in Athens than elsewhere in Greece.

Marital Status

Census data on the marital status of the refugees residing in Athens in 1928 is presented in Table 16:

TABLE 16. MARITAL STATUS OF THE REFUGEES RESIDING IN ATHENS WHO ARRIVED IN GREECE AFTER 1922

Marital Status	Males	Females	Total
Unmarried	32,523	31,127	63,650
Married	17,927	21,605	39,532
Widowed	1,220	14,153	15,373
Divorced	134	299	433
No Information	147	285	432
Total	51,951	67,469	119,420

Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928, Vol. I, p.555, Table IIc.

A comparison of the marital status of the refugees in Athens with that of all refugees who arrived in Greece between 1922 and 1928 (see Table 6) indicates that the proportion of unmarried and widowed females was greater in the Capital, whereas the proportion of married females was greater elsewhere in Greece. The percentage of unmarried refugee males (including children) also was greater in Athens than elsewhere in Greece.

Education

Census data on the education of the refugees residing in the Municipality of Athens in 1928 are restricted to information on their literacy. Table 17 presents figures on the literacy of the refugees as compared with the total population of Athens, according to sex and age groups, in 1928.

A comparison of the literacy of the refugees residing in the Municipality of Athens with that of all refugees in Greece in 1928 indicates that literacy was more widespread among the Asia Minor Greeks who resided in the Capital. The data of Table 17 also show that among both males and

TABLE 17. LITERACY OF THE REFUGEES AS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS, 1928

Age Groups	Males		Females	
	Population of Athens (per thousand)	Refugees (per thousand)	Population of Athens (per thousand)	Refugees (per thousand)
10—14	905.64	856.96	831.29	814.00
15—19	891.67	829.12	792.59	757.15
20—24	903.54	819.01	783.48	756.39
25—29	910.93	841.38	736.42	710.68
30—34	906.39	850.82	680.81	654.22
35—39	884.15	821.19	644.47	612.82
40—44	870.17	819.80	613.78	611.02
45—49	849.24	798.07	597.49	560.73
50—54	843.40	801.20	526.63	478.24
55—59	821.38	795.74	509.73	466.09
60 and above	751.33	694.34	400.40	321.46

Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928, Vol. II, «Age, Marital Status, Education» (Athens, 1935), pp. 283-284, Table Ie, and Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928, Vol. I, p. 555, Table IIe.

females in every age group, literacy was less prevalent among the refugees than among the total population of Athens.

Economic Activity

Table 18 presents Census figures on the economic activities of refugees ten years of age or older, who arrived in Greece after the Asia Minor disaster and were residing in the Municipality of Athens in 1928. The Census data show a high proportion of unemployed males, due to the massive inflow of refugees. To stimulate employment, the Refugee Settlement Commission encouraged the development of traditional occupations among the refugees, such as the fabrication of carpets and textiles.⁴¹ An examination of the economic activity according to sex shows that men were mostly employed in industry, trade and transport. Many women also were employed in industry, mostly textile and carpet manufacturing. A substantial number of females worked as maids, servants, waitresses and hotel

41. Morgenthau, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 248-49.

TABLE 18. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF REFUGEES 10 YEARS AND OVER RESIDING IN ATHENS, BY SEX AND BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, 1928

Branches of Economic Activity	Males		Females		All	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agriculture	786	2	42	—	828	1
Livestock, Hunting	58	—	—	—	58	—
Fishing	26	—	—	—	26	—
Mining, Quarrying	53	—	2	—	55	—
Industry	13,498	31	6,273	11	19,771	19
Transport, Communi- cations	2,542	6	29	—	2,571	2
Credit, Exchange	1,665	4	179	—	1,837	2
Trade	7,036	16	382	1	7,418	7
Personal Services	1,240	3	2,677	4	3,917	4
Free Professions	2,012	4	1,027	2	3,039	3
Public Services	1,034	2	328	1	1,362	1
Without Profession	8,164	18	45,247	76	53,411	52
Not Declared	6,028	14	3,278	5	9,306	9
Total	44,142	100	59,457	100	103,599	100

Statistical Results of the Population Census of Greece, May 15-16, 1928, Vol. IIIA, «Employment» (Athens, 1937), p. 710, Table IIe.

personnel. Eddy notes that the «servant class was recruited principally from the refugee population».⁴²

A comparison of the economic activity of the refugees in Athens with those in Greece as a whole (see Table 8) reveals the greater concentration of those in the Capital in industry, trade and transport. Unemployment among the refugees also was higher in Athens than in the rest of Greece. In the provinces, farm work absorbed many of the Asia Minor Greeks.

6. The Settlement of the Refugees in Nea Ionia

One of the first refugee quarters to be established in Athens was Nea Ionia. Its original name was Podarades, but when it became an independent Municipality in 1934, its name was changed to Nea Ionia.

The earliest information about this community states that the Refugee Treasury Fund, which preceded the Refugee Settlement Commission in the task of refugee rehabilitation, allocated 144,046 drachmae during 1923-

42. Eddy, C., *Greece and the Greek Refugees* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.), 1931, p. 161.

1924 for the beginning of housing construction there.⁴³ The settlement occupied 1,100,000 square meters, a larger area than the other refugee quarters of Byron, Kesariani and Nea Kokkinia. The statistics of the Refugee Settlement Commission show that up to January 1, 1929, 2,814 houses had been built in Nea Ionia, and 350 in Perissos.⁴⁴

Besides the main core of Nea Ionia, other quarters grew up around it: Saframpolis, Inepolis, Eleftheroupolis, and Perissos. Kalogreza, which now belongs to Nea Ionia, was at that time an independent commune. It consisted mainly of vacant lots owned by the State. In 1925, construction began there on the first wooden settlements for the refugees. The building of permanent dwellings for them began three years later, in 1928.

Examination of the population growth of Nea Ionia indicates that in 1920, there were 79 inhabitants living in the area. By 1928, over 16,000 refugees were making their homes there. Table 19 shows the number of inhabitants living in Nea Ionia and its neighboring quarters in 1920 and 1928:

TABLE 19. POPULATION OF NEA IONIA AND NEIGHBORING QUARTERS, 1920-1928

Quarters	1920	1928
Nea Ionia (Podarades)	50	14,135
Kalogreza	29	2,247
Eleftheroupolis	—	2,500
Inepolis	—	1,500
Perissos	—	2,500
Saframpolis	—	2,800

Ministry of National Economy, Statistical Service, Population of the Kingdom of Greece According to the Census of December 19, 1920 (Athens, 1921), pp. 48, 49, Table IV, and Population of Greece According to the Census of May 15-16, 1928 (Athens, 1935), p. 55, Table IV.

In the 1950s, the Center of Asia Minor Studies undertook a survey in various refugee neighborhoods, including Nea Ionia, to determine the places of origin of the refugees who settled in Greater Athens. The investigators randomly took the letters A and K from the lists of persons who then were living in the refugee neighborhoods. Those inhabitants whose names started with A or K were located and visited by the Center's staff. They

43. Μπακάλμπασης, Α., *Τὸ Προσφυγικὸν Ζήτημα (The Refugee Problem)* (Athens: Prometheus), 1929, p. 17.

44. Πρωτονοτάριος, Α., *Τὸ Προσφυγικὸν Πρόβλημα ἀπὸ Ἱστορικῆς, Νομικῆς καὶ Κρατικῆς Ἀπόψεως (The Refugee Problem from a Historical, Legal and National Viewpoint)* (Athens: Pyrsos Inc.), 1929, p. 93.

were asked to state and describe their places of origin. The study found that the inhabitants of Nea Ionia stemmed from such places as Amissos, Ikonion, Inepolis, Kastamoni, Sparti, Smyrna, Saframpolis, Pontos and Neapolis. Smyrna and Pontos were the main places of origin of the persons contacted by the Center in Perissos. Refugees living in Saframpolis frequently were from Peramos, Pontos, Inepolis, Zougouldak, Attalia, Ikonion and Tarsos. The refugees in Kalogreza came from Smyrna, Proussa, Attalia, Sparti, Pontos and the Caucasus.⁴⁵

Nea Ionia became the center of the carpet industry in Greater Athens. As of October 15, 1929, there were 28 carpet factories in Nea Ionia, employing over 800 workers, mostly women.⁴⁶

Today the Municipality of Nea Ionia is a thriving community of nearly 55,000 inhabitants, many of refugee stock. In his typology of socio-geographic units in Greater Athens, Crueger has characterized the Municipality as one with an average population growth, low to average natural increase and modest amount of in-migration. The community's population is an aging one, with a moderate excess of females. Its literacy rate is low. The proportion of economically active females in Nea Ionia is high in comparison with other areas of the Capital.⁴⁷

45. Unpublished documents of the Center of Asia Minor Studies, Athens, on the places of origin of the refugees settled in Greater Athens.

46. *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1930, p. 192.

47. Crueger, E., «Zwei Beiträge zum Problem der Bevölkerungsstruktur von Gross-Athen», *The Greek Review of Social Research* (Athens: National Centre of Social Research) No. 9-10, July-December 1971, pp. 124-125; and NSSG, *Results from the Population and Housing Census of 1961*, Vol. II, Greater Athens 1 (Athens, 1966), p. 25.

APPENDIX II

THE URBANIZATION OF GREECE (with the assistance of Anny Gambroveli)

1. Population Trends in Greece

Population Size

According to the Census of 1861, Greece had a population of 1,096,810. By 1971, the number of inhabitants had increased to 8,768,641. Table 1 presents Census figures on the population size of Greece from 1861 to 1971:

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF GREECE, 1861-1971

Census Year	Number of Inhabitants	Percentage Increase
1861	1,096,810	
1870	1,457,894	32.9
1879	1,679,470	15.2
1889	2,187,208	30.2
1896	2,433,806	11.2
1907	2,631,952	8.1
1920	5,016,889	90.6
1928	6,204,684	23.6
1940	7,344,860	18.3
1951	7,632,801	3.9
1961	8,388,553	9.9
1971	8,768,641	4.5

NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1971 (Athens, 1972), p. 18, Table II:1.

The eight-fold increase from 1861 to 1971 occurred despite population losses resulting from three major wars, epidemic diseases, and emigration. Land annexations and the inflows of Greeks who had lived outside Greek borders mainly account for the population growth. The land annexations included: the Ionian Islands, in 1864; Thessaly and Arta, in 1881; Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete, and the Aegean Islands, between 1907 and 1920;

and the Dodecanese Islands, in 1947.¹ The population inflows consisted primarily of Greek refugees who entered Greece during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Most of the 151,892 refugees who arrived before 1922 were from Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace, Bulgaria, and Russia. After 1922, 1,069,957 refugees from Asia Minor were settled in Greece. Meanwhile, 388,146 Turks and 53,000 Bulgarians left the country in accordance with the population exchanges decreed by the Treaties of Lausanne and Neijy.²

Regional Population Trends

An examination of the regional distribution of the Greek population indicates that Central Greece and Euboea, Macedonia, and the Peloponnesos have led steadily in the proportion of the total population of Greece residing in them. The Census figures are presented in Table 2:

TABLE 2. REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE GREEK POPULATION, 1920-1971

Geographical Regions	1920	1928	1940	1951	1961	1971
	(In Percentages)					
Greater Athens*			15.0	18.0	22.0	29.0
Rest of Central Greece and Euboea	22.6	25.7	12.2	11.9	11.6	11.3
Peloponnesos	18.6	17.0	15.5	14.8	13.0	11.3
Ionian Islands	4.0	3.4	3.4	3.0	2.5	2.1
Epirus	5.8	5.0	4.4	4.3	4.2	3.5
Thessaly	8.7	8.0	7.9	8.3	8.3	7.5
Macedonia	21.5	22.8	23.5	22.3	22.6	21.6
Thrace	4.2	4.9	4.9	4.4	4.3	3.8
Aegean Islands	5.2	5.0	7.4	7.0	5.7	4.7
Cyclades**	2.4	2.0				
Crete	7.0	6.2	5.8	6.0	5.8	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* In the Censuses of 1920 and 1928, information on the population of Greater Athens is included with that for Central Greece and Euboea.

** From the 1940 Census onward, information on the population of the Cyclades is included with that for the Aegean Islands.

Based on: Ministry of National Economy, General Statistical Service of Greece, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930 (Athens, 1931), Vol. I, pp. 33-34, Table 9.

1. Tsaoussis, D., *Μορφολογία της Νεοελληνικής Κοινωνίας (Morphology of Modern Greek Society)*, Athens 1971, pp. 13-15.

2. Ζακυθινός, Δ., *Πολιτική Ιστορία της Νεωτέρας Ελλάδος (Political History of Modern Greece)* (Athens: Hestia), 1965, p. 104.

All regions except those of Greater Athens and Central Greece have experienced population losses in the last decade, as Table 3 shows:

TABLE 3. POPULATION CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS OF GREECE, 1920-1971

Geographical Regions	1920-1928	1928-1940	1940-1951	1951-1961	1961-1971
	(In Percentages)				
Greater Athens*			22.6	34.4	37.1
Rest of Central Greece and Euboea	40.2	27.6	0.0	6.9	2.2
Peloponnessos	12.7	9.7	— 2.4	— 2.9	— 10.0
Ionian Islands	7.6	17.5	— 8.8	— 7.0	— 13.2
Epirus	6.7	6.2	— 5.0	6.7	— 12.0
Thessaly	12.5	19.6	6.6	10.5	— 4.4
Macedonia	30.0	24.0	— 2.9	11.2	— 0.3
Thrace	44.7	18.7	— 6.4	5.8	— 7.6
Aegean Islands	18.3	25.3	— 3.6	— 9.7	— 12.5
Cyclades*	6.0				
Crete	10.8	13.4	5.5	4.6	— 5.5
Greece, total	23.6	18.3	3.9	9.9	4.5

* See footnotes to Table 2.

Based on: NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1930 (Athens, 1931), pp. 33-34, Table 9; Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 19, 1961 (Athens, 1964), pp. 34-35, * Table VI; Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1971 (Athens, 1972), pp. 27-28, Table II:10.

Rural-Urban Population Trends

The National Statistical Service of Greece divides the Greek population into three categories, according to the rural-urban character of their places of residence: 1) urban—the population residing in municipalities and communes of 10,000 or more inhabitants; 2) semi-urban—the population residing in municipalities and communes of 2,000 to 9,999 inhabitants; and 3) rural—the population residing in municipalities and communes of less than 2,000 inhabitants.³

Since 1920, Greece has experienced a continuous decline in its rural population, while the urban population has increased correspondingly. The Census data are presented in Table 4 (next page).

By 1940, the rural population had dropped to 52.6 per cent and to 35.1 per cent in 1971. The semi-urban population also declined, although to

3. 'Εθνική Στατιστική 'Υπηρεσία της 'Ελλάδος, 'Αποτελέσματα της 'Απογραφής Πληθυσμού Κατοικιών της 14ης Μαγτίου, 1971 (National Statistical Service of Greece, Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 14, 1971), Sample Elaboration, Vol. I (Athens, 1973), p. IX.

TABLE 4. URBAN, SEMI-URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF GREECE, 1920-1971

Census Year	Urban	Semi- Urban	Rural
(In Percentages)			
1920	23.1	15.1	61.8
1928	30.6	14.7	54.7
1940	32.0	15.4	52.6
1951	37.7	14.8	47.5
1961	43.3	12.9	43.8
1971	53.2	11.7	35.1

NSSG, Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951 (Athens, 1958), Vol. I, p. LXIV, Table V:I; Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1971 (Athens, 1972), p. 23, Table II:7.

a lesser degree. The urban areas have absorbed the population losses of the rural and semi-urban areas. In 1920, only 23.1 per cent of the total population of Greece was urban, but by 1971, the percentage had risen to 53.2.⁴

Trends in the rural-urban distribution of the Greek population according to geographical region are presented in Table 5:

TABLE 5. CHANGES IN THE URBAN POPULATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS OF GREECE, 1951-1961

Geographical Regions	Urban Population	
	1951	1961
(In Percentages)		
Greater Athens	100.0	100.0
Rest of Central Greece and Euboea	16.5	20.6
Peloponnesos	20.3	24.2
Ionian Islands	18.3	14.0
Epirus	17.8	18.6
Thessaly	26.5	27.4
Macedonia	30.0	36.2
Thrace	23.1	26.5
Aegean Islands	17.6	24.0
Crete	22.2	26.8
Greece, total	36.8	43.2

Based on: NSSG, Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951 (Athens, 1958), Vol. I, p. LXV, Table V:2; Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 19, 1961 (Athens, 1964), Vol. I, p. 55,* Table XVIII.

4. 'Εθνική Στατιστική 'Υπηρεσία τῆς 'Ελλάδος, 'Αποτελέσματα τῆς 'Απογραφῆς τοῦ Πληθυσμοῦ τῆς 7ης 'Απριλίου 1951 (National Statistical Service of Greece, *Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951*), Vol. I (Athens, 1958), p. LXIV, Table V:I; 'Εθνική Στατιστική 'Υπηρεσία τῆς 'Ελλάδος, Στατιστική 'Επετερίς τῆς 'Ελλάδος, 1971 (National Statistical Service of Greece, *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1971*) (Athens, 1972), p. 23, Table II:7.

The data indicate that in all regions except one, the percentage of urban population has increased. In the Ionian Islands, the shift was to semi-urban areas.

2. The Growth of Greek Cities

Table 6 shows the number of towns and cities of Greece in 1961, according to their population size:

TABLE 6. LOCALITIES IN GREECE WITH 10,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS, 1961

Size Category	Number	Per Cent
10,000 - 19,999	25	45.4
20,000 - 29,999	13	23.6
30,000 - 49,999	11	20.0
50,000 - 99,999	3	5.4
100,000 - 499,999	2	3.6
500,000 and over	1	2.0
Total	55	100.0

Based on: NSSG, Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 19, 1961 (Athens, 1964), Vol. I, p. 51, Table XV.

Table 6 indicates that as late as 1961, a majority of Greek cities were of moderate size, with a population of less than 50,000 inhabitants.

The growth pattern of those cities with a population of 20,000 or more inhabitants in 1928 is shown in Table 7. Almost all of these cities grew rapidly between 1920 and 1928, mainly due to the inflow of the Asia Minor refugees.⁵ Many experienced continuing population increases in the ensuing decades, primarily as a result of internal migrations from the rural areas to the urban ones. The rank order of the cities has remained remarkably stable over time. Athens has ranked first in population size, Salonika second, and Patras third, from the time of the 1920 Census to that of 1971.

One major trend in the urbanization of Greece has been the growth of the larger cities as compared with the smaller ones. In 1920, 29.3 per cent of the Greek urban population lived in cities of 20,000 to 50,000 in-

5. 'Εθνική Στατιστική 'Υπηρεσία της 'Ελλάδος, *Στατιστική 'Επετηρίς της 'Ελλάδος, 1955* (National Statistical Service of Greece, *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1955*) (Athens, 1956), pp. 12-13, Table 10; 'Εθνική Στατιστική 'Υπηρεσία της 'Ελλάδος, *Στατιστική 'Επετηρίς της 'Ελλάδος, 1961* (National Statistical Service of Greece, *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1961*) (Athens 1962), pp. 20-21, Table II:5; *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1971*, pp. 24-26, Table II:9.

TABLE 7. POPULATION CHANGES OF GREEK CITIES WITH 20,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS IN 1928

Cities	Population in					Percentage Changes Between					
	1920	1928	1940	1951	1961	1971	1920-1928	1928-1940	1940-1951	1951-1961	1961-1971
Greater Athens	453,042	802,000	1,124,109	1,378,586	1,852,709	2,540,241	77.0	40.2	22.6	34.4	37.0
Greater Salonika	174,390	251,254	278,145	297,164	297,635	557,360	44.1	10.7	6.8	25.7	35.0
Kavala	22,939	49,980	49,667	42,102	44,517	46,887	117.9	-0.6	-15.2	5.7	4.0
Greater Patras	52,174	61,278	62,275	79,014	95,364	120,847	17.5	1.6	26.9	20.7	16.0
Greater Volos	30,046	47,892	54,919	65,090	67,424	88,096	59.4	14.7	18.5	3.6	4.0
Xanthi	16,584	27,712	28,961	25,700	26,377	27,040	103.3	14.1	-11.3	2.6	2.5
Greater Iraklion	24,848	33,404	39,550	51,144	63,458	84,710	34.4	18.4	29.3	24.4	21.0
Corfu	27,175	32,221	19,988	27,431	26,991	31,461	18.6	38.0	37.2	-1.6	16.5
Komotini	21,294	30,136	31,217	29,734	28,355	32,219	41.5	3.6	-4.8	-4.6	13.6
Drama	15,263	29,339	30,425	29,948	32,195	30,627	92.2	3.7	-3.1	9.1	-8.0
Greater Kalamata	20,905	28,955	34,891	37,781	38,211	40,402	38.5	20.5	8.3	1.1	-2.0
Serres	14,486	29,640	34,630	36,760	40,063	41,091	104.6	16.8	6.2	9.0	0.0
Mytilini	18,314	27,870	24,351	25,518	25,758	24,376	52.2	-12.6	4.8	0.9	-5.4
Greater Canea	24,976	26,604	28,168	33,211	38,467	53,026	6.5	5.9	17.9	15.8	5.0
Larisa	21,084	23,899	32,686	41,016	55,391	72,760	13.4	36.8	25.5	35.0	30.0
Greater Chios	14,006	22,122	26,557	24,361	24,053	30,021	58.0	20.1	-8.3	-1.2	24.8
Greater Ermoupolis	18,156	21,156	18,992	16,971	14,402	16,082	13.4	-10.6	-10.3	-15.1	11.6
Yanina	20,765	20,485	21,877	32,315	34,997	40,130	-1.4	6.8	47.7	8.3	14.0
Pyrgos	13,246	19,336	16,875	17,996	20,558	20,599	46.0	-12.7	39.4	14.2	0.2
Trikala	20,194	18,682	18,892	24,605	27,876	38,840	-7.5	1.1	27.7	27.2	39.3

Source: NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1955 (Athens 1956), pp. 12-13, Table 10; Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1961 (Athens, 1962), pp. 20-21, Table II: 5; Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1971 (Athens, 1972), pp. 24-26, Table II: 9.

habitants, and 63.7 per cent in cities of 100,000 and over. By 1961, only 22.5 per cent lived in cities of 20,000 to 50,000 while 71.6 per cent lived in the three largest cities of Athens, Salonika, and Patras.⁶

Most migrants who have moved into the urban centers of Greece are of rural origins. According to the 1961 Census figures, a majority of the persons residing in Athens, Salonika and Patras in 1960 who had been living elsewhere in Greece in 1955, had been living in rural and semi-urban areas.⁷

3. The Growth of Greater Athens

Population Trends

The focus of urban growth in Greece has been the metropolitan region of Greater Athens. The Capital has received a steady population inflow throughout the past fifty years. By 1971, Greater Athens contained 28.9 per cent of the nation's total population, and 54.4 per cent of its urban population.⁸ Since 1951, the National Statistical Service of Greece has treated the Capital as a separate geographical region, facilitating comparison of population trends there with those in the other geographical regions of Greece.⁹

Table 8 presents Census data on the population growth of Greater Athens between 1920 and 1971. The data show that the population of Greater Athens increased from 453,052 inhabitants in 1920, to 2,540,271 inhabitants in 1971. The Census data indicate a rapid population increase between 1920 and 1928. This was mainly due to the inflow of refugees from Asia Minor. According to the National Statistical Service of Greece, of the 1,069,957 refugees who settled in Greece after 1922, 245,062 or 22.9 per cent, settled in Greater Athens.¹⁰ During the period 1928-1940 the

6. Vlachos, E., «Urbanization and Development: the Case of Greece», *The Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal*, Vol. 6 (1966), p. 132, Table 2.

7. Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία της Ελλάδος, *Αποτελέσματα της Απογραφής Πληθυσμού Κατοικιών της 19ης Μαρτίου 1961* (National Statistical Service of Greece, *Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 19, 1961*), Sample Elaboration, Vol. V, «Internal Migration» (Athens, 1963); p. 40, Table V: 2.

8. *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1971, p. 18, Table II:1; p. 23, Table II:7; p. 24, Table II:9.

9. *Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951*, Vol. I, p. LI; The 1951 Census retroactively provides separate information about the population of Greater Athens in 1940.

10. *Results of the Population and Housing Census of April 7, 1951*, Vol. I, p. LXVI.

TABLE 8. POPULATION GROWTH OF GREATER ATHENS, 1920-1971

Census Year	Population of Greece	Population of Greater Athens	Per Cent of Total Population of Greece	Population Increase of Greater Athens	
	Number	Number		Number	Per Cent
1920	5,531,474 *	453,042	8.1		
1928	6,204,684	802,000	12.9	348,958	77.0
1940	7,344,860	1,124,109	15.3	322,109	40.2
1951	7,632,801	1,378,586	18.0	254,477	22.6
1961	8,388,553	1,852,709	22.0	474,123	34.4
1971	8,768,641	2,540,271	28.9	687,537	37.1

*Includes Eastern Thrace and the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos in 1919-1920.

NSSG, Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951, Vol. I, p.LXII, Table IV:9; Statistical Year-book of Greece, 1971, p. 24, Table II:9.

population also grew rapidly, partly as a result of natural increase, and partly because of the continuing inflow of persons from abroad and from the provinces.¹¹ The relatively low increase during 1940-1951 is attributable to population losses during the second World War, as well as to the decreasing birth rate.¹² Since 1951, the population inflow into Greater Athens has resulted mainly from internal migration from the Greek provinces.¹³

As a consequence of the steady population inflows into Greater Athens, there has been an increasing growth of the outlying Municipalities and Communes of the metropolitan region.¹⁴ The figures are presented in Table 9. The data show that the population of Piraeus has lost population since 1951. The Municipality of Athens has continued to gain population, but the percentage of inhabitants has diminished relative to that of the outlying areas of the metropolitan region. By 1961, more than half of the population

11. Kayser, B., *Ἀνθρωπογεωγραφία τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (*Human Geography of Greece*) (Athens: National Centre of Social Research), 1968, p. 35.

12. Baxevanis, J., «Population, Internal Migration, and Urbanization in Greece», *Balkan Studies*, Vol. 6 (1965), p. 84.

13. Vlachos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 137.

14. According to the Population Census of 1971, Greater Athens is made up of 56 Communes and Municipalities (including the Municipalities of Athens and Piraeus). The 1961 Census listed 57 Communes and Municipalities. Between 1961 and 1971, the Communes of Kalamaki and Elleniko were administratively reorganized as the Municipality of Alimos, and the Municipality of Neon Phaliron became a part of Piraeus. During the same decade, Papagou acquired the status of independent Commune.

TABLE 9. POPULATION RESIDING IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF ATHENS AND PIRAEUS, AND IN THE OTHER MUNICIPALITIES AND COMMUNES OF GREATER ATHENS, 1920-1971

Census Year	Number and Percent of the Inhabitants of Greater Athens Residing in					
	Municipality of Athens		Municipality of Piraeus		Other Municipalities and Communes	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1920	292,831	64.6	133,482	29.4	26,729	6.0
1928 *	395,892	49.4	192,877	24.0	213,231	26.6
1940 *	481,225	42.8	186,542	16.6	456,342	40.6
1951	555,484	40.3	192,626	14.0	630,476	45.7
1961	627,564	33.8	189,728	10.2	1,035,417	56.0
1971	867,023	34.1	187,458	7.4	1,485,760	58.5

*Excluding the following localities, which formed part of Athens in 1928: Peristerion, Nea Ionia, Byron, Kesariani, Aegaleo, Tavros, and Nea Philadelphia.

Based on: NSSG, Results of the Population Census of April 7, 1951 (Athens, 1958), Vol. I, p.LXII, Table IV:9; Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1961, pp. 20-21, Table II:5; Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1971, pp. 24-25, Table II:9.

of Greater Athens was living in Municipalities and Communes of the metropolitan region other than the Municipalities of Athens and Piraeus.

Places of Origin of the Settlers in Greater Athens

In 1960, the National Statistical Service of Greece undertook a Population Sample Survey which yielded information about the population inflow into Greater Athens. According to this Pilot Survey, 56 per cent of the inhabitants of Greater Athens were settlers, that is to say, persons who were born in other areas of Greece or abroad; 44 per cent were «non-settlers»—persons born in the Capital and residing there in 1960. The Pilot Survey data on previous residence of the settlers in Greater Athens are presented in Table 10. The data show that the majority of settlers from the Greek provinces came from Central Greece and Euboea, the Peloponnesos, and the Aegean Islands. Settlers from abroad were mainly from Turkey. Most of these were refugees who fled to Greece in the wake of the Asia Minor disaster.¹⁵

The Pilot Census also found that those who migrated to Athens from the Greek provinces more often than not came from the rural and semi-urban areas of Greece. This is consistent with the previously reported Census figures that 57 per cent of the Greek population was living in rural and semi-urban areas in 1961.

15. National Statistical Service of Greece, *Population Inflow into Greater Athens* (Athens, 1964), p. 15.

TABLE 10. NUMBER OF SETTLERS IN GREATER ATHENS IN 1960 ACCORDING TO PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Last Place of Residence before Settlement in Greater Athens	Settlers	
	Number (in thousands)	Per Cent
All Greek Provinces	685	79.0
Attica (except Greater Athens)	30	3.4
Rest of Central Greece and Euboea	93	11.0
Peloponnesos	209	24.4
Ionian Islands	40	4.6
Epirus	26	2.9
Thessaly	39	4.5
Macedonia	47	5.4
Thrace	9	1.0
Aegean Islands	139	16.0
Crete	53	6.1
All Foreign Countries	179	20.7
Turkey	137	16.0
Egypt	16	1.8
U.S.S.R.	8	0.9
Other Foreign Countries	18	2.0
Not Declared	3	0.3
Total	867	100.0

NSSG, *Population Inflow into Greater Athens* (Athens, 1964), p. 16, Table 1.

Year of Settlers' Arrival in Greater Athens

Table 11 presents data from the Pilot Survey on the year of the settlers' arrival in the Capital. The entry of the Asia Minor refugees mainly accounts for the large inflow between 1921 and 1925. The arrivals since the second World War were largely the consequence of migration from the Greek provinces.

Sex and Age Composition of the Population of Greater Athens

The sex composition of the population of Greater Athens, from 1920 to 1971, is shown in Table 12. The findings of the Pilot Survey suggest that the predominance of females over males in Greater Athens is chiefly attributable to the uneven sex ratio among the Asia Minor refugees. According to the 1961 Survey, the sex ratio among the settlers in Greater Athens who came from abroad was 145.2.¹⁶ According to the same source,

16. *Population Inflow into Greater Athens*, p. 16, Table 1.

TABLE 11. NUMBER OF SETTLERS ACCORDING TO YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN GREATER ATHENS, 1961

Year of Arrival	Number of Settlers (In Thousands)
Before 1916	31
1916—1920	28
1921—1925	158
1926—1930	61
1931—1935	51
1936—1940	76
1941—1945	56
1946—1950	133
1951—1955	116
1956—1960	153
Not Declared	4
Total	867

NSSG, Population Inflow into Greater Athens, p. 21, Table 3.

TABLE 12. SEX COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER ATHENS, 1920-1971

Census Year	Number of Females per 100 Males
1920	82.6
1928	100.3
1940	103.1
1951	108.3
1961	109.0
1971	109.0

NSSG, Population Censuses of: 1928 (Athens, 1935), p. 58, Table IV; 1940 (Athens, 1950), pp. 62-66, Table 5; 1951, Vol. I, pp. LXXIV, LXXV, Table VII:6; 1961, Vol. III, pp. 6-7, Table 1; 1971, Vol. I, Sample Elaboration, p. 1, Table I:1; Population Inflow into Greater Athens, p. 24.

the sex distribution of the internal migrants did not reveal any statistically significant differences. The only major imbalance was found among internal migrants from the Aegean Islands; among those settlers the sex ratio was 135 females for every 100 males. According to the National Statistical Service Report, one possible reason for the excess may be the preference of families in Greater Athens for domestic servants from this area.¹⁷ The excess of males over females from Epirus, according to the same Report, may have been an artifact of the small size of the sample.¹⁸

17. *Population Inflow into Greater Athens*, p. 22.

18. *Ibid.*

The Population Census of 1961 compared the age distribution of the internal migrants residing in the Capital in 1961 with that of the total population of Greater Athens. The Census defined as «in-migrants» those persons residing in Athens in 1961 who had lived outside the Capital but inside Greece at the end of 1955. The 1971 Census used a similar procedure in comparing the age distribution of internal migrants residing in the Capital with that of the total population of Athens. The Census findings are presented in Table 13:

TABLE 13. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE IN-MIGRANTS AND THE TOTAL POPULATION OF GREATER ATHENS, 1961 AND 1971

Age Groups	1961		1971	
	Total Population	In-Migrants*	Total Population	In-Migrants*
(In Percentages)				
0—4	7.6	—	8.1	—
5—9	6.4	4.8	8.7	5.2
10—14	7.2	9.5	6.6	0.8
15—19	7.5	15.7	7.7	17.2
20—24	9.0	16.9	8.5	16.7
25—29	9.7	14.8	7.0	9.5
30—34	9.7	10.0	7.6	8.0
35—39	7.4	5.1	8.0	7.0
40—44	6.5	4.1	8.0	6.4
45—54	12.7	8.6	11.7	9.0
55—64	9.1	6.4	10.6	6.7
65 and over	7.2	4.1	9.5	6.3

*No data are available for the age-group 0-4 years.

Based on: NSSG, Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 19, 1961, Sample Elaboration, Vol. V, Internal Migration, p. 51, Table V:12; Vol. III, pp. 6-7, Table 1; Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 14, 1971, Sample Elaboration, Vol. I, p. 1, Table I:1, pp. 27-28, Table I:36.

Table 13 shows that the internal migrants are concentrated in the 15-29 year age groups. The Athenian population as a whole—including those persons who were born in Athens, the Asia Minor refugees, and other persons born elsewhere who were living in the Capital in 1955—are concentrated in the older age categories.

Marital Status of the Settlers and Non-Settlers in Greater Athens

Table 14 compares the marital status of three categories of inhabitants of Greater Athens included in the Pilot Survey: all settlers—including the Asia Minor refugees and all other persons born outside the Capital; recent

settlers—those settlers who came to the Capital between 1951 and 1961, that is to say, mainly migrants from the Greek provinces; and non-settlers—native-born Athenians:

TABLE 14. MARITAL STATUS OF RESIDENTS OF GREATER ATHENS AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX AND SETTLER STATUS

Marital Status	Settler Status					
	Males			Females		
	All Settlers	Non-Settlers	Recent Settlers	All Settlers	Non-Settlers	Recent Settlers
	(In Percentages)					
Single	31	54	60	22	39	39
Married	65	44	37	55	50	49
Widowed	3	1	3	21	9	11
Divorced	1	1	—	2	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Based on: NSSG, Population Inflow into Greater Athens, pp. 33-35, Tables 7a, 7b.

Among males, the settlers—who include the Asia Minor refugees and are therefore older—have a higher percentage of married persons than either the recent settlers or the non-settlers. Among females, the trend is similar, but the percentage of the widowed is higher.

Educational Status of the Settlers and Non-Settlers

Table 15 shows the percentage of settlers and non-settlers in Greater Athens who have completed at least grade school, according to sex and age groups:

TABLE 15. PERCENTAGE OF SETTLERS AND NON-SETTLERS WHO HAVE COMPLETED AT LEAST DEMOTIKON, BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS

Age Groups	Per Cent who Have Completed at least Demotikon*			
	Males		Females	
	Settlers	Non-Settlers	Settlers	Non-Settlers
13—14	93	90	97	95
15—19	94	94	74	93
20—24	90	87	66	84
25—29	83	78	60	70
30—39	82	75	65	65
40—49	72	73	54	69
50 and over	65	73	35	63

* Includes those who had a Gymnasium or higher diploma as well as those who had finished Grade School only, i.e. all those with formal schooling.

Based on: NSSG, Population Inflow into Greater Athens, p. 46, Table 9.

The data indicate that in the younger age groups, a somewhat larger proportion of settlers than non-settlers completed at least grade school. According to the Pilot Survey Report, this finding cannot be considered quite conclusive, since apparently some of the younger migrants, when asked simultaneously about their origins, gave biased answers to the questions regarding their education.¹⁹ The lower percentage of male settlers than non-settlers in the fifty-years and over age group who have completed Demotikon probably reflects the slightly lower educational level of the refugees as compared with the native Athenian population.

Females, regardless of settler status, have a lower educational status than the males. But native-born Athenian women are more likely than the female settlers to have finished at least grade school.

Economic Characteristics of the Settlers and Non-Settlers

Table 16 presents the rate of active to total population for economically active settlers and non-settlers ten years of age and over:

TABLE 16. RATE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE TO TOTAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, AGE, AND SETTLER STATUS

Age Groups	Rate of Economically Active to Total Population			
	Males		Females	
	Settlers	Non-Settlers	Settlers	Non-Settlers
10—14	31	16	27	11
15—19	70	48	57	30
20—24	77	61	57	49
25—29	98	98	43	28
30—34	97	97	33	27
35—44	96	96	27	31
45—54	92	91	20	20
55—64	73	65	8	12
65 and over	21	20	4	—
Total	80	64	27	27

Based on: Population Inflow into Greater Athens, p. 51, Table 10.

The Pilot Survey data show that the rate of economically active to total population in the younger age groups is higher for settlers than non-settlers. This also holds for the male settlers in the 55-64 years age groups, which include the Asia Minor refugees who were still economically active in 1961. Among females, the rate of economically active to total population also is higher among settlers than non-settlers. According to the Pilot Census

19. *Population Inflow into Greater Athens*, p. 11.

Report, there are too few economically active women over fifty five years of age to allow a comparison between settlers and non-settlers.²⁰

Table 17 provides a comparison of economically active settlers, in-migrants since 1955, and non-settlers, with respect to branches of economic activity:

TABLE 17. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE SETTLERS AND NON-SETTLERS, BY SEX AND BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Branches of Economic Activity	Settler			Status		
	Males			Females		
	All Settlers	In-Migrants since 1955	Non-Settlers	All Settlers	In-Migrants since 1955	Non-Settlers
Agriculture	1.2	1.5	2.0	1.5	(0.3)**	0.0
Mining and Quarrying	0.9	(0.4)	0.6	0.0	(0.0)	0.0
Manufacturing	27.0	29.3	32.8	25.0	30.2	38.4
Construction and Building	11.0	17.9	10.6	—	(0.0)	0.0
Electricity, Gas, Water etc.	1.5	1.4	2.0	0.8	(0.3)	1.5
Commerce, Banking etc.	17.0	13.9	20.0	11.3	4.1	17.0
Transport, Communications	13.0	8.1	12.0	2.5	1.5	1.5
Services	26.0	21.7	15.4	52.4	48.6	32.4
Activities not Adequately Described*	0.9	2.0	1.3	1.5	7.1	0.0
Activities not Declared	1.5	3.8	3.3	5.0	7.9	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Includes «looking for a job for the first time» for recent internal migrants only.

** Percentages based on less than 10 persons have been put in brackets.

Based on: NSSG, Population Inflow into Greater Athens p.59, Table 12; Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 19, 1961, Sample Elaboration, Vol. V, Internal Migration, p. 32, Table G.

The data for males show that non-settlers were more likely than settlers to be concentrated in manufacturing and commerce, whereas the settlers were more frequently found in service occupations—in public administration as well as in business. Recent in-migrants were more likely to be found in construction work than were either earlier settlers or native Athenian males. They were also more likely to be found in manufacturing than were settlers generally, but they were less frequently engaged in commerce, transportation, or service occupations.

The findings for females are that native Athenian women more often were active in manufacturing and trade, whereas settlers were more frequently found in service occupations. Recent female in-migrants were somewhat more likely to be active in manufacturing, and less likely to be active in service occupations, than were female settlers as a whole.

20. *Population Inflow into Greater Athens*, p. 52.

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