

MUTUAL INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS



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9 Intercultural Relations in Greece¹

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Whoever is not Greek, is a barbarian.
[cited by] Maurus Servius Honoratus
Hellenes are called those who share our upbringing,
rather than our common nature.
Isocrates

1 Introduction

Situated at the crossroads of three continents (Europe, Asia, and Africa), Greece has repeatedly witnessed extended population movements through the centuries, and at present is the destination of many fleeing the conflicts in West Asia. Migration has played an important role in shaping the ethnic identity of modern Greeks. As a result of these long-term and current migration flows, the contemporary intercultural situation in Greece is a complex one. At present, the diversity of the Greek population is moderate on the diversity index, and is low on both the integration and policy indexes. As a result of these long-term and current migration flows, the contemporary intercultural situation in Greece is currently in flux.

2 Context of Intercultural Relations in Greece

The most prominent testimony to this complexity is to be found in the Greco-Turkish Population exchange that was decided at Lausanne in 1923, thus putting an end to what is now known as the ‘Asia Minor Catastrophe’ in Greece or the ‘War of Independence’ in Turkey. Almost 1,300,000 Anatolian Greeks and 500,000 Muslims from Greece were forced to become refugees and denaturalized from their homelands. Beyond the unspeakable human pain and suffering, a side effect from the

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Lausanne convention was the formation of one of the most homogeneous countries in Europe in terms of language, religion, and ethnic sense of belonging. On the other hand, various developments led to several waves of Greek emigration in the past two centuries, motivated mostly by employment search. Nowadays the Greek diaspora is estimated to comprise more than 5,000,000 people of Greek descent scattered across 140 countries all over the world (Tziovas, 2009).

2.1 *Immigration*

The cultural homogeneity of the modern Greek state has been challenged in the last decades of the twentieth century. The collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe triggered large flows of immigrants, most of them undocumented, that rapidly and unexpectedly transformed Greece into a receiving society. Among them were a number of ethnic Greeks from the former Soviet Union (called Pontian Greeks) and from south Albania (Northern Epirus Greeks). Cavounidis (2013) examined the impact of these immigration flows on the economic and social landscape of the country, before and during the economic crisis of 2008. She highlights the abrupt change from a relatively homogeneous to a diverse population, the expansion of informal employment, and the substitution of family-based enterprises by migrant wage-labour. During this period, she underlines the continuation of unauthorized inflows of migrants with limited absorption into the labour market, the expansion of return migration, and a new wave of emigration by the young generation nationals.

The 2011 national census shows that the proportion of immigrants in the total population in Greece is 8.4 per cent. The largest group by far is from Albania (53%), followed by Bulgaria (8%), Romania (5%), Pakistan (3.7%), Georgia (3%), Ukraine (1.9%), UK (1.7%), Cyprus (1.5%), Poland (1.5%), and India (1.2%) (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2014)². Caution is necessary before any conclusions are drawn with regard to the sociodemographic profile of these groups as it varies considerably by country of origin, which reflects the dynamics of pull and push factors for migration. For example, Ukrainians are mostly women, while Pakistanis are predominantly men. In terms of education, EU

² The census data do not differentiate between documented and irregular immigrants; furthermore, they fail to capture the recent flows of refugees and asylum seekers washed up on the Greek islands in an attempt to enter EU through the Eastern Mediterranean route. Their number skyrocketed to 885,386 in 2015, from 50,834 in 2014 and 24,799 in 2013 (Frontex, 2016). Although in their vast majority they are migrants in transit, a number of them were trapped in Greece after the closing of the borders by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in March 2016.

citizens share a similar profile with Greeks, while citizens from non-EU countries have fewer years of schooling. On the other hand, they are mostly economic immigrants, which means that they contribute to the same employment sectors (i.e., construction, agriculture, tourism and, in general, low-skilled jobs), independently of their educational status. Their official unemployment rate has been comparable to the one of the national population. The consequences of the economic crisis are more evident for non-EU citizens who witnessed a shocking increase in their unemployment rate, from 11 per cent in 2009 to 34 per cent in 2014 (about 26% for Greeks).

2.2 *State Policies and Public Attitudes*

Greek governments were slow to respond to the challenges of immigration and multiculturalism. Immigration policies in the 1990s and 2000s were largely characterized by a reactive approach to irregular migration and informal employment (Triandafyllidou, 2014). Until the early 1990s the relevant issues were regulated by a law that dated back to the 1920s and the Asia Minor Catastrophe. For quite a long time, Greece has been notorious for its failing asylum system, and soon concerns started to rise with regard to the degrading conditions of detention of pending asylum seekers.

Greek nationality has been based predominantly on the *jus sanguinis* principle (i.e., based on ancestry). A series of regularization programmes were implemented in 1998, 2001, 2005, and 2007. In 2010, a new naturalization law was adopted incorporating several *jus soli* components (based on place of birth), but it was declared anti-constitutional by the Council of State in early 2013. The latest (2014) migration code introduced several improvements in the codification of the legal provisions and in aligning Greek legislation with EU directives, but still, as Triandafyllidou (2014) points out, it remained a management law, and was a step back with respect to political participation and citizenship of second-generation immigrants. A new anti-racism law (2014) is relevant to the climate for immigration and intercultural relations. It toughened criminal sanctions for incitement to hatred, discrimination and violence, and declared Holocaust denial a criminal act.

Attitudes of Greek citizens towards immigration, as depicted in national polls and social surveys, have been on the negative side. In Eurobarometer studies, Greek attitudes rejecting non-EU citizens were considerably higher than the European average (European Commission, 2015). In another study Greece was the only case among 17 European countries where the number of friends from minority groups did not

significantly reduce levels of hostility toward immigrants (McLaren, 2003). It is important to understand how these dynamics of intergroup relations are affected by socioeconomic factors. As Adamczyk (2016) notes, the initially negative views of Greeks towards Albanian immigrants were gradually transformed to become more tolerant through the prism of the labour demands of the country's developing economy in the 2000s, but then xenophobic tendencies reappeared under the pressures of the recent economic and refugee crisis.

3 Evaluation of the MIRIPS Hypotheses in Greece

3.1 Previous findings

Some of the issues addressed in the three MIRIPS hypotheses have been subject to empirical studies in Greece in the past two decades. Unfortunately, this growing body of evidence is largely ignored by policy makers. There have been two lines of research. The first examines acculturation processes and adaptation outcomes for immigrants, thus falling within the framework of the integration hypothesis. The second line is in the construction of identity, views of immigrants and intercultural attitudes from the point of view of the Greek population. These studies provide evidence of the role of security and of contact in intergroup relations.

With respect to the integration hypothesis, there are studies examining the links between acculturation strategies and the adaptation of immigrants. In a study of 601 adult immigrants coming from 35 countries, Besevegis and Pavlopoulos (2008) found that the integration and assimilation strategies yielded the most positive adaptation outcomes and separation the most negative. Comparable findings emerged from a stratified sample of 1,843 immigrants throughout the country (Pavlopoulos, Dalla, Georganti & Besevegis, 2011). Individuals with a preference for integration had the most balanced profile in a set of non-psychological adaptation indicators, such as income, housing, physical health, political participation, and language competence. Assimilation followed, though with increased health problems. Marginalized and, to a lesser extent, separated immigrants were clearly on the negative side of adaptation.

Various aspects of acculturation and adaptation of immigrant youth in the school context have been examined both cross-sectionally and longitudinally by the Athena Studies of Resilient Adaptation, an international collaborative project focusing on risk and protective factors in the course of positive youth development in Greek urban schools. This research group has shown that immigrant status posed a risk on academic

competence and peer popularity of Albanian and Pontian adolescents (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008) over and above resources and other social risks (Anagnostaki, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016). Parental school involvement moderated the effect of immigrant status on achievement, while peer popularity of minority immigrants increased significantly over three years in high school (Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf & Masten, 2012). In what concerns acculturation orientations, involvement in Greek culture was a salient predictor of school adjustment, and involvement in one's ethnic culture was positively related to subjective well-being (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović & Masten, 2008).

High levels of perceived discrimination in Greece have been confirmed in international studies. According to joint OECD and EU data (2015), 35 per cent of immigrants felt discriminated against, ranking Greece first in perceived discrimination. This was especially true for those born abroad, as compared to naturalised immigrants, which reflects the *jus sanguinis* principle characterising laypeople's beliefs as well as state policies. On the other hand, in a study of Albanian immigrants in Greece (Iosifides, Lavrentiadou, Petracou & Kontis, 2007) participants acknowledged from their personal experience that close social contact with Greeks for a relatively long period of time reduces prejudice, xenophobic behaviour and discrimination quite substantially (also see Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf & Masten, 2012). Individual characteristics, such as personality traits, self-esteem, school grades and peer popularity, were also shown to buffer against translating perceived group discrimination of immigrant youth into experiences of personal discrimination (Motti-Stefanidi & Asendorpf, 2012).

From the perspective of the general population, a number of studies have examined the acculturation of immigrants and entitlement to citizenship using the tools of discursive and rhetorical social psychology. In contrast to the dynamic element of mutual accommodation, embedded in the definition of acculturation in the MIRIPS project, Greek participants seemed to legitimize their right to decide upon the acculturation process of others. The preferred adaptation outcome was assimilation of immigrants into Greek society. Still, this was limited to such aspects as Greek education, language learning and contribution to the economy, leaving out cultural elements such as shared ideas and norms (Sapountzis, 2013). In the same realm, Figgou (2015) revealed the chameleon-like properties of the politics of social exclusion, such as drawing a clear distinction between legal and illegal immigrants. Flexible ingroup recategorization (Sapountzis, Figgou, Bozatzis, Gardikiotis & Pantazis, 2013) and perceived incompatibility between national, ethnic and

religious identities (Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2010) were found to serve similar purposes, such as questioning biculturalism, excluding immigrants of specific ethnic descent, or even inoculating oneself against accusations of prejudice.

3.2 *Theoretical issues*

The Greek MIRIPS project examines all three hypotheses. In addition, some theoretical extensions in the present Greek study are rooted in social psychological theories of intergroup relations. These refer to the dynamic processes that shape cultural orientations; social categorization and identity; the ingroup/outgroup distinction; the majority/minority asymmetric distribution of power; and political discourse in Greek society.

A recent shift in the literature of intercultural relations has been towards more encompassing approaches. One of these is the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) of prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), which deals with the components, antecedents and consequences of perceived threat. As noted in Chapter 1, this theory phrases the multiculturalism hypothesis in reverse terms: lack of security is considered as threat. ITT identifies four types of threats: realistic threats (relative to economic welfare and political power); symbolic threats (against a person's beliefs, morals, and values); intergroup anxiety (feelings of discomfort when engaging with outgroup members); and negative stereotypes. In line with the multiculturalism hypothesis, ITT predicts that a sense of threat (e.g., in the form of undermining cultural identity of nationals, or experiencing discrimination by immigrants) will lead to rejection of the outgroup. ITT also addresses the contact hypothesis, because perceived threat is expected to lead to less willingness for intercultural contact and engagement with the outgroup.

With respect to the integration hypothesis, we take into consideration the warning of Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011) that results from studies using different conceptualizations of acculturation expectations may not be comparable. An example is to be found in the bidimensional frameworks developed by Berry (1980) and by Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal (1997). In the former, the second dimension refers to a preference for having contact and engagement with other groups in the larger society, while in the latter, the second dimension refers to adopting the culture of the larger society. Therefore, the interpretation of the four acculturation strategies may not be the same, as was the case in a recent study with dominant group members in the Greek context (Sapountzis, 2013).

In addition to evaluating each of the three MIRIPS hypotheses separately, we also sought to build a structural equation model that integrates

and explores the three hypotheses simultaneously. On the basis of the literature reviewed above, we expected that (a) for the Greek sample, pathways from national identification and contact to acculturation expectations will be mediated by security and intergroup attitudes; and (b) for the immigrant sample, the pathway from contact to adaptation will be mediated by security and acculturation strategies.

4 Method

4.1 Samples

The samples in the study were Greeks, and first-generation immigrant adults living in Greece, and residing in the region of Attiki and the wider Athens metropolitan area. They were recruited using the snowball method by 18 undergraduate Psychology students who were trained to act as research assistants in the context of their degree thesis.

The Greek sample ($N = 449$) consisted of 252 women and 197 men. Their mean age was 37.9 years ($SD = 11.9$; range: 19–69 years) and 171 were married, among them 6 with a spouse of different ethnicity. In terms of schooling, 163 had a university degree and 90 obtained a master's or PhD diploma, while 7 dropped out of school after nine years of compulsory education. Their occupational status was quite diverse, as 212 were full-time employed, 50 had a part-time job, 85 were self-employed, 26 had retired, 32 were students, and 42 did not work. On the contrary, it was a more coherent group in terms of religion: 360 were Christian Orthodox and 72 declared themselves to be atheists or with no religion. Their economic status indicates they were mostly middle-class, since 278 reported that they were (just) able to pay for everyday expenses, 83 had difficulty covering basic needs, and 87 earned extra money for monthly savings.

Immigrant participants ($N = 147$) comprised 98 females and 49 males. They came from 24 countries, as follows: 65 from Albania, 14 from Balkan neighbouring countries (Bulgaria, Romania), 46 from Eastern Europe (Georgia, Moldavia, Poland, Russia, Ukraine), 16 from Western countries (Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, UK), 2 from Asia (Pakistan, Philippines), 2 from Africa (Burundi, Seychelles), 1 from Egypt, and 1 from Brazil. Their mean age was 36.3 years ($SD = 12.8$; range: 18–67 years) and their mean length of stay in Greece was 16.2 years ($SD = 8.3$; range: 1–39 years). With regard to marital status, 79 were married, of whom 19 had a spouse of different ethnic origin. In terms of education, 16 had completed nine years of schooling, 42 Upper High School, 33 had graduated from university, and 6 had a master's or PhD

degree. Their occupational status varied from full-time ($N = 55$) and part-time job ($N = 29$) to self-employment ($N = 16$), while 4 were pensioners, 15 were students, and 28 did not work. About half of them ($N = 73$) reported a moderate economic status, 45 were not able to cover their everyday needs, and 28 could afford some extra savings. In terms of religion, 71 were Christian Orthodox, 13 Roman Catholic, 26 declared Christians with no further specification, 12 Muslims, and 25 reported no religion or did not answer.

It should be noted that, with the exception of age, the above socio-demographic profiles differ significantly between the two groups, the Greeks having more years of formal education, higher occupational and economic status, and being more homogeneous in terms of religion than immigrants. These differences are in line with the official data provided by the Hellenic Statistical Authority (2011 census), which attests to the ecological validity of the study.

4.2 *Measures and Procedure*

Data were collected using the MIRIPS questionnaire. Questions were translated and back-translated from English into Greek and Albanian. However, more than 90 per cent of participants preferred to take the questionnaire in Greek. Detailed information on the measures and their descriptive statistics are presented in Table 9.1.

Scoring instructions followed the MIRIPS guidelines, with only a few minor adjustments. No total scores for Security were calculated, on the basis of low reliability; instead, we measured two more concrete domains (i.e., Cultural and Socioeconomic Security) that derived from exploratory principal components analyses of the 13 items of the Security scale, after testing for factorial invariance between the two groups. Similarly, we identified three components for Psychological Problems (i.e., Somatic Symptoms, Anxiety, Depression) and for Sociocultural Adaptation (i.e., Interpersonal Relations, Culture Learning, Intercultural Competence), but in these cases we preferred to use the total scores, as their subscales were highly inter-correlated. One exception to this was Intercultural Competence, which we used as a proxy for intergroup anxiety of Greeks guided by the Integrated Threat Theory. Reliability of all scales was calculated separately for the two groups, the resulting coefficients ranging from acceptable to very high (see Table 9.1).

Questionnaires were administered on an individual basis after informed consent was obtained, which focused on the principles of anonymity, confidentiality, privacy, and minimal disturbance. Participation was voluntary, and there were no rewards other than a verbal expression

of gratitude. In a few cases, data collection took the form of a structured interview due to the limited reading skills of immigrant participants. No participant decided to withdraw from the study during or after data collection.

5 Results

5.1 *Descriptive Statistics*

Descriptive statistics and reliability coefficients of all variables for both samples are presented in Table 9.1, and inter-correlations among variables in both samples are in Table 9.2.

A series of 2 (immigrant status) by 2 (gender) analyses of variance revealed that, compared to Greeks, immigrants reported higher Intercultural Contact ($\eta^2 = .34$), lower Greek identification ($\eta^2 = .10$), lower preference for Separation ($\eta^2 = .05$) and Marginalization ($\eta^2 = .14$), lower level of Discrimination ($\eta^2 = .27$), and a less favourable profile of psychological adaptation with lower Self-Esteem ($\eta^2 = .01$), less Life Satisfaction ($\eta^2 = .02$), and more Psychological Problems ($\eta^2 = .01$).

Overall, gender effects were small. Significant differences were found in adaptation, with women reporting more Life Satisfaction ($\eta^2 = .01$) and higher Sociocultural Adaptation ($\eta^2 = .02$), independently of immigrant status. Also, immigrant women scored higher than immigrant men in ethnic identification ($\eta^2 = .03$). No significant immigrant status by gender interactions were found.

Most correlations were in the expected direction. With regard to the multiculturalism hypothesis, in the Greek sample, Cultural Security correlated positively with Multicultural Ideology, and negatively with Prejudice and the Perceived (negative) consequences of Immigration. Cultural Security also correlated negatively with National Identity and with three of the Acculturation Expectations (positively with Integration, and negatively with Assimilation and Separation). The socio-economic component of security did not relate to any variables of interest, except for the adaptation indices of Greeks. For the immigrant sample, Cultural Security correlated positively with their National Identity, positively with their preference for Integration, and negatively with Marginalisation.

With respect to the contact hypothesis, the Intercultural Contact of Greeks was associated positively with their Multicultural Ideology and Self-Esteem, and negatively with their National Identity, Prejudice and Attitudes rejecting Immigrants. In the immigrant sample, the only significant correlation with Intercultural Contact was with their National Identity.

Table 9.1 *Descriptive statistics and alpha reliabilities of the MIRIPS variables for the Greek and immigrant participants*

	Group	# items	Alpha	M	SD	Min	Max
<i>Contact and Identity</i>							
Intercultural Contact	Gr	2	.73	1.88	1.03	1.00	5.00
	Im	2	.70	3.78	1.10	1.00	5.00
National (Greek) Identity	Gr	4	.85	4.02	0.80	1.50	5.00
	Im	4	.79	3.33	0.91	1.00	5.00
Ethnic Identity	Gr						
	Im	4	.83	4.04	0.83	1.00	5.00
<i>Security</i>							
Cultural	Gr	4	.60	3.70	0.72	1.75	5.00
	Im	2	.61	3.51	0.96	1.50	5.00
Socio economic	Gr	9	.60	2.27	0.49	1.00	3.56
	Im	8	.70	2.28	0.54	1.00	4.25
<i>Acculturation</i>							
Integration	Gr	4	.64	3.94	0.60	1.25	5.00
	Im	4	.68	4.12	0.58	2.75	5.00
Assimilation	Gr	4	.69	1.97	0.63	1.00	5.00
	Im	4	.71	1.95	0.61	1.00	4.00
Separation	Gr	4	.63	2.41	0.59	1.00	4.50
	Im	4	.67	2.09	0.56	1.00	4.00
Marginalization	Gr	4	.70	2.30	0.60	1.00	4.75
	Im	4	.74	1.70	0.55	1.00	3.50
<i>Intergroup Relations</i>							
Discrimination	Gr	5	.82	3.67	0.71	1.00	5.00
	Im	5	.80	2.54	0.82	1.00	5.00
Multicultural Ideology	Gr	10	.85	3.43	0.67	1.00	5.00
	Im						
Prejudice	Gr	11	.87	2.07	0.67	1.00	4.64
	Im						
Attitudes to Immigration	Gr	11	.91	2.81	0.81	1.09	4.91
	Im						
<i>Adaptation</i>							
Self Esteem	Gr	10	.85	3.95	0.57	2.10	5.00
	Im	10	.84	3.84	0.64	2.20	5.00
Life Satisfaction	Gr	5	.82	3.35	0.72	1.20	5.00
	Im	5	.75	3.11	0.65	1.60	5.00
Psychological Problems	Gr	15	.90	2.50	0.64	1.00	4.47
	Im	15	.91	2.28	0.64	1.00	4.00
Sociocultural Adaptation	Gr	20	.86	4.12	0.51	2.15	5.00
	Im	20	.85	4.19	0.54	2.25	4.19

Note. Gr: Greek ($N = 449$); Im: Immigrant ($N = 147$). Security scores are not directly comparable between Greek and immigrant participants due to the different number and/or content of the scales used. Acculturation measures refer to *expectations* from the side of native Greeks and to *strategies* from the side of immigrants. Similarly, discrimination refers to *attributed* (by native Greeks) or *perceived* (by immigrants) instances of devalued identity of immigrants in the Greek society. High scores on Attitudes to Immigration indicate negative evaluations.

Table 9.2. Pearson correlation coefficients among the MIRIPS variables for the Greek (bottom left; N = 449) and immigrant (top right; N = 147) participants

	IC	EI	NI	CS	SS	In	As	Sc	Ma	Di	MI	Pr	AI	SE	LS	PP	SA
Intercultural Contact	-	-03	23**	-03	04	01	09	-10	-01	-03				-03	-05	-03	11
Ethnic Identity		-	06	16*	10	17*	-23**	18*	-35***	-11				13	00	-24**	19*
National Identity	-10*			15	09	11	28***	-13	-12	-16*				01	09	08	00
Cultural Security	08			-40***	-	27***	14	-02	-10	-16*				11	12	-03	-00
Socioeconomic Security	-02			06	19***	-	-12	08	03	06				02	07	-09	-06
Integration	03			-10*	19***	-01	-	-13	-29***	-42***				23**	10	04	21**
Assimilation	-06			20***	-32***	10*	-05	-	12	46***	11			-26**	-05	06	-10
Separation	-07			21***	-27***	-01	-46***	12*	-	30***	24**			-16*	-10	-13	-09
Marginalization	18***			-05	-09	04	-24***	20***	26***	-	31***			-39***	-11	13	-30***
Discrimination	13**			-31***	37***	-07	05	-24***	05	-				-34***	-28**	27***	-21*
Multicultural Ideology	21***			-40***	52***	09	26***	-40***	-17***	-03	44***						
Prejudice	-18***			41***	-60***	-06	-42***	38***	36***	08	-40***	-65***					
Attitudes to Immigration	-16***			47***	-57***	-24***	-27***	28***	28***	01	-40***	-67***	67***				
Self-Esteem	13**			25***	01	05	04	08	-04	-04	-05	-11*	13**	16***	52***	-30***	51***
Life Satisfaction	03			21***	03	19***	-01	04	02	-03	-01	02	03	00	48***	-	36***
Psychological Problems	-09			-16***	-16***	-22***	02	03	08	07	02	-07	05	10*	-42***	-43***	-23**
Sociocultural Adaptation	04			16***	12*	16***	10*	-08	-09	-06	06	-06	-04	48***	35***	-48***	-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

For the integration hypothesis, in the immigrant sample, there were significant positive correlations between a preference for Integration and both Self-Esteem and Sociocultural Adaptation, and negative correlations of Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization with Self-Esteem. In the Greek sample, there were no significant correlations between their acculturation expectations and their adaptation.

A number of demographic factors were examined for their relationships with the psychological variables. These findings are not described in detail due to space limitations. They suggest, however, that demographics should be taken into account as covariates in further analyses. In short, more education of Greeks was related to higher Cultural Security and to more favourable intercultural attitudes, while in the immigrant sample education correlated positively with Self-Esteem and Sociocultural Adaptation, and negatively with Separation, Marginalization, and Perceived Discrimination. Economic status correlated positively with Psychological and Sociocultural Adaptation. Finally, length of residence in Greece of immigrants was associated with higher preference for Integration and lower for Separation, more Satisfaction with Life, but also more Psychological Problems.

5.2 *Hypotheses Testing*

To evaluate the multiculturalism hypothesis, a series of hierarchical multiple regressions was conducted for the prediction of intercultural attitudes and acculturation strategies from Security. Demographic factors (i.e., gender, age, education level, economic status and – in the case of immigrants – length of stay in Greece) served as covariates in Block 1, while the two indicators of Cultural and Socioeconomic Security were introduced in Block 2. The dependent variables were Perceived Discrimination and acculturation strategies of immigrants, on the one hand, and intercultural attitudes and acculturation expectations of Greeks, on the other.

In the Greek sample, after accounting for demographics, security explained 30.5 per cent of the variance of Multicultural Ideology, 30.3 per cent of Prejudice, 40.2 per cent of Attitudes to Immigration, 3 per cent of Integration, 12.1 per cent of Assimilation, and 4.4 per cent of Separation. No significant amount of variance was accounted for Marginalization. The above findings were mainly due to Cultural Security, which predicted higher agreement with Multicultural Ideology ($\beta = .57, p < .001$), lower Prejudice ($\beta = -.58, p < .001$), less rejecting Attitudes to Immigration ($\beta = -.61, p < .001$), higher expectations for Integration ($\beta = .18, p < .001$), and lower for Assimilation ($\beta = -.36, p < .001$) and Separation ($\beta = -.22, p < .001$). Socioeconomic Security contributed only in the prediction of negative Attitudes to

Immigration ($\beta = -.14, p < .001$), and of expectations for Assimilation ($\beta = .16, p < .001$).

In the immigrant sample, there was not much variance for Security to explain after demographic factors were taken into account. However, Cultural Security was related to lower levels of Perceived Discrimination ($\beta = -.16, p = .049, \Delta R^2 = .026$), higher preference for Integration ($\beta = .18, p = .032, \Delta R^2 = .038$), and lower for Marginalization ($\beta = -.18, p = .029, \Delta R^2 = .031$). The effect of Socioeconomic Security was non-significant.

For the contact hypothesis, a series of hierarchical multiple regressions were run in order to predict intercultural attitudes and acculturation from intercultural contact. The effect of the same set of demographic factors was partialled out in Block 1, along with Ingroup Contact. Intercultural Contact served as the single predictor in Block 2. Again, the dependent variables were Perceived Discrimination and acculturation strategies (for the immigrants), and intercultural attitudes and acculturation expectations (for the Greeks).

In the Greek sample, Intercultural Contact uniquely contributed in the prediction of higher Multicultural Ideology ($\beta = .18, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .030$), less Prejudice ($\beta = -.15, p = .002, \Delta R^2 = .021$), less negative Attitudes to Immigration ($\beta = -.13, p = .007, \Delta R^2 = .017$), as well as higher expectations for Marginalization of immigrants ($\beta = .17, p = .001, \Delta R^2 = .028$).

In the immigrant sample, the only significant effect of Intercultural Contact, after accounting for demographic factors and Ingroup Contact, was on Separation ($\beta = -.18, p = .048, \Delta R^2 = .024$). In all other dependent variables, although the pattern of relationships was in the expected direction, the coefficients of Intercultural Contact did not reach statistical significance.

A person-centred approach was considered appropriate to address the integration hypothesis, employing k-means clustering. Using a specification criterion of four clusters, the four expected acculturation profiles were identified for both Greeks and immigrants. However, their distribution differed significantly between the two groups, $\chi^2(3, N = 596) = 8.39, p = .039$. While Integration was most preferred among both Greeks (35.6%) and immigrants (38.1%), more Greeks (27.6%) than immigrants (17.7%) preferred Marginalization. The opposite was true for Separation (15.4% and 23.1%, respectively). Assimilation was ranked third in their preferences (21.4% and 21.1%, respectively).

Subsequent multivariate analyses of variance tested for differences across the acculturation profiles with respect to adaptation. In the Greek sample, acculturation expectations accounted for 13.3 per cent of the variance of intercultural adaptation, namely Multicultural Ideology ($\eta^2 = .06$), Prejudice ($\eta^2 = .12$), and Attitudes to Immigration ($\eta^2 = .06$).

Paired comparisons using the Scheffé criterion showed that individuals promoting Integration and Marginalization scored higher in Multicultural Ideology than those with a preference for Separation and Assimilation. Separation had the highest scores in Prejudice and negative Attitudes to Immigration, while Integration had the lowest.

In the immigrant sample, acculturation strategies explained 14.2 per cent of the variance of psychological adaptation, which was mainly due to Self-Esteem ($\eta^2 = .14$) and Psychological Problems ($\eta^2 = .09$), and 4.6 per cent of Sociocultural Adaptation. According to Scheffé contrasts, Integration scored the highest in Self-Esteem and Sociocultural Adaptation, and the lowest in Psychological Problems. Marginalization had the worst profile in terms of Psychological Problems (highest) and Self-Esteem (lowest). Individuals with a preference for Separation scored the lowest in Psychological Problems but also in Self-Esteem, while at the same time they were equally low in Sociocultural Adaptation. Assimilation was positioned at moderate levels. Finally, with respect to intercultural adaptation, immigrants adopting Marginalization and Separation reported more instances of Perceived Discrimination than those who preferred Integration and Assimilation ($\eta^2 = .05$).

5.3 *Integrative Models of the Combined MIRIPS Hypotheses*

We now summarize the variables involved in the three MIRIPS hypotheses in an integrative model that depicts mutual intercultural relations in Greece. Analyses were performed using AMOS 21.

In the Greek sample (Figure 9.1), three latent variables were created. The first latent variable is Security; its components directly correspond to the multiculturalism hypothesis and the key constructs of ITT. Cultural and Socioeconomic Security refer to symbolic and realistic threat, respectively; Intercultural Competence is the corresponding opposite of intergroup anxiety; and negative Immigration Attitudes serve as a proxy for negative stereotypes. Extending the contact hypothesis, it was assumed that high Intercultural Contact and low Identification with one's Ethnic group will be associated with a greater sense of Security which, in turn, may lead to more positive Intercultural Attitudes (as proposed in the Multiculturalism Hypothesis). The two components of this latent construct (Multicultural Ideology and Tolerance/Prejudice) are necessary preconditions for promoting Integration of immigrants in the society of settlement, the former referring to cultural diversity and the latter to (the lack of) social equality. The third latent factor accounts for the pattern of acculturation expectations, with high Integration and low Assimilation, Separation, and Marginalization. This last path of hypothesized relations

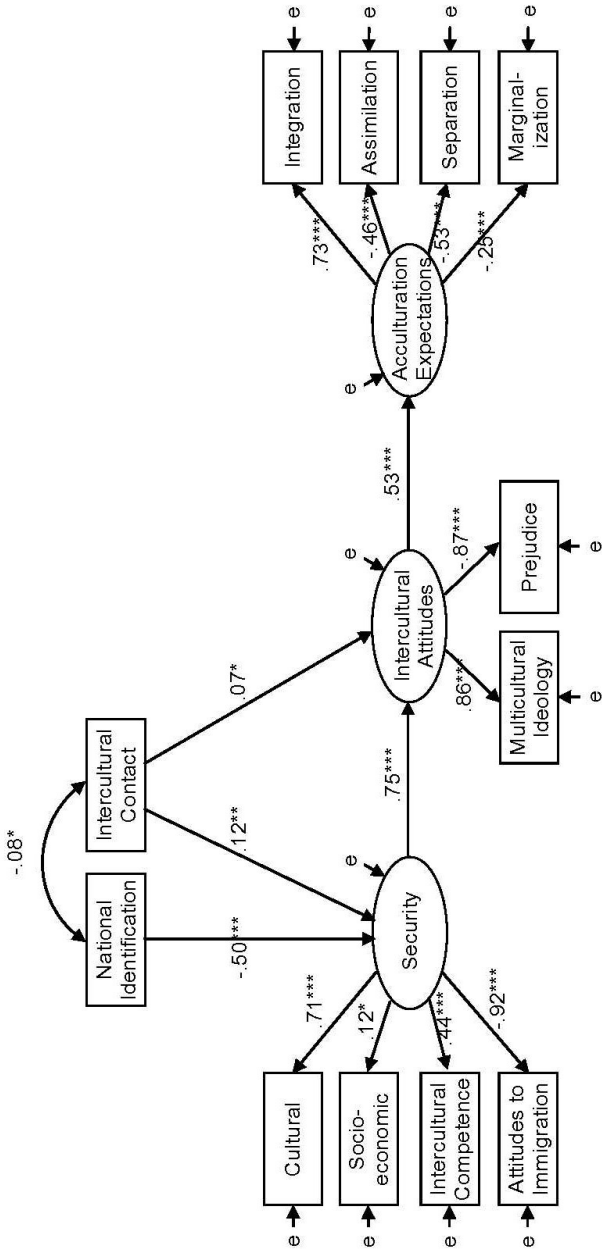


Figure 9.1. Structural equation model of the combined MIRIPS hypotheses for the Greek participants (N = 449).
Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Values are standardized regression weights. Fit indices for the model: CMIN = 132.67; DF = 42; $p < .001$; CMIN/DF = 3.15; GFI = .95; IFI = .95; TLI = .92; RMSEA = .069 (LO = .056, HI = .083); SRMR = .056

(i.e., from intercultural attitudes to acculturation) is actually a modified version of the integration hypothesis, where the direction of prediction is reversed in this model.

As shown in Figure 9.1, the empirical data seem to provide adequate support for the hypothesized model. The explained variance reached 27.6 per cent for Security, 56.3 per cent for Intercultural Attitudes, and 27.9 per cent for Acculturation Expectations. Following suggestions of the modification indices, a path was added from Intercultural Contact to Intercultural Attitudes. The independent variables (Greek Identification and Intercultural Contact) were allowed to correlate, which yielded a negative coefficient of low size. Finally, it should be noted that alternative models were tested (e.g., with Acculturation Expectations predicting Intercultural Attitudes or with different configuration of the observed Security components), but they produced worse fit or did not converge at all.

In the immigrant sample, again, three latent factors were formed, i.e., Security, Acculturation, and Adaptation. The first had only one observed variable (Cultural Security) in common with the respective latent construct in the Greek sample. In the case of immigrants, it also included low levels of Perceived Discrimination and Identification with both groups (i.e., the product of Ethnic by National Identity). According to the multiculturalism hypothesis, Security was expected to predict acculturation strategies favouring Immigration over Assimilation, Separation, or Marginalization. Then, following the integration hypothesis, this latent acculturation factor may contribute to the adaptation of immigrants, in terms of higher Self-Esteem and Life Satisfaction, fewer Psychological Problems and better Sociocultural Adaptation. The empirical data provided good fit to the above model (Figure 9.2). Overall, security explained 67.4 per cent of acculturation strategies, and these, in turn, accounted for 28.4 per cent of immigrant adaptation.

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from the alternative models that failed to reach acceptable fit. For example, the direct path from security to adaptation was not significant. More important, in contrast to the model for the Greek sample, there was no way to include Intercultural Contact predicting any of the three latent factors or their indicators, thus failing to accommodate the contact hypothesis in the model for the immigrant sample.

6 Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, we have reported evidence that is in full or partial support for the three MIRIPS hypotheses in Greece. This support in both the

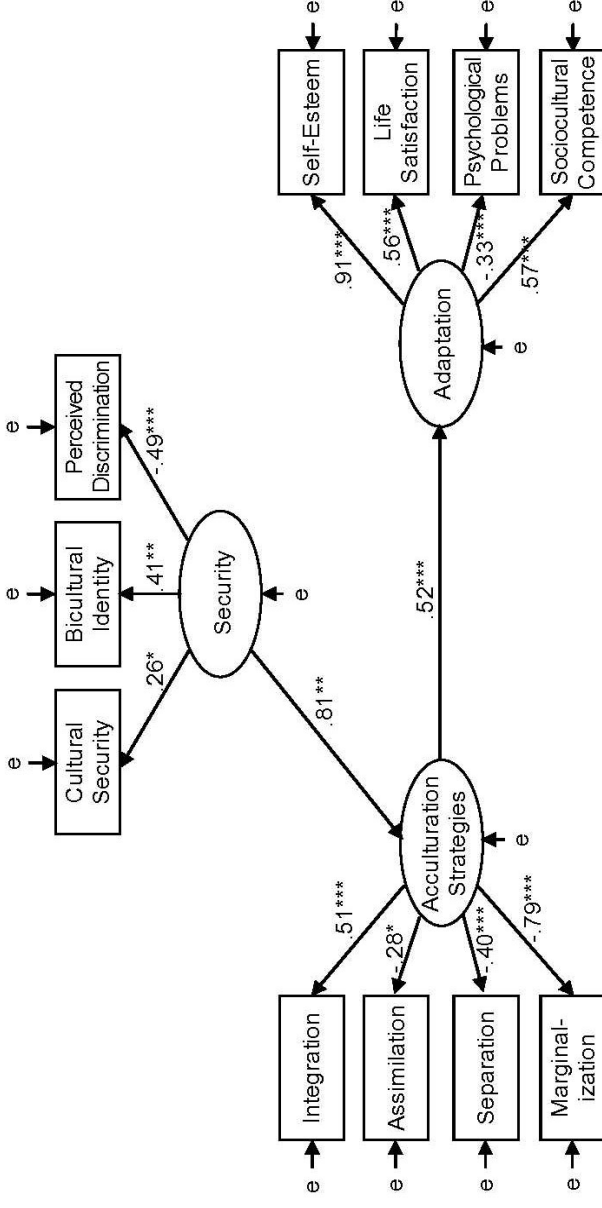


Figure 9.2. Structural equation model of the combined MIRIPS hypotheses for the immigrant participants ($N = 147$).
Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Values are standardized regression weights. Fit indices for the model:
 CMIN = 52.19, DF = 39, $p = .077$; CMIN/DF = 1.30; CFI = .95; IFI = .95; TLI = .93; RMSEA = .054 (LO = .023,
 HI = .074); SRMR = .064

Greek and immigrant samples provides evidence that the same principles are working in similar ways in both the non-dominant and dominant groups, thus confirming the 'mutual' perspective on intercultural relations. In addition to evaluating these three hypotheses, our approach was also informed by social psychological intergroup theories to test integrative models of intercultural relations.

The multiculturalism hypothesis was validated. Feeling secure about one's cultural identity and place in society contributes to more tolerant attitudes and the acceptance of diversity. This was especially true for Greeks (compared to immigrants) and for cultural (compared to socio-economic) aspects of security. The inverse of this dimension is the link found between perceived threat and negative outgroup attitudes, which corresponds to the findings of meta-analyses (e.g., Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006).

The question arises: What constitutes security and threat? This yielded somewhat different answers from our two samples. For Greeks, in line with the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), intergroup security consisted of feeling safe about one's cultural identity, living in a stable and predictable socioeconomic environment, being able to understand cultural differences in interpersonal interactions, and holding positive opinions of the consequences of immigration for the receiving country. Socioeconomic security was the weakest component of the four, probably because it refers to the societal, rather than to the personal level of analysis, and is therefore a more distant measure.

For immigrants, security included feeling safe about one's cultural identity, but also developing a bicultural identity and perceiving low levels of being discriminated against. So, there is more to security than feeling safe. It seems to be conceptually connected to pluralism and social inclusion, in spite of differences in the components of the construct between groups. This was illustrated in studies analyzing the 'incompatibility' between ethnic and national identities (Chrysoschoou & Lyons, 2010) and the construction of immigrants' 'illegality' (Figgou, 2015).

In contrast to previous research, economic status failed to predict perceived security/threat. As Tajfel and Turner (1979) point out in their seminal paper on intergroup conflict, mere assignment to a social category is not enough to produce group differentiation; rather, individuals must have internalized group membership as an aspect of their self-concept. Education may act as such a lens that shapes perceptions of belonging and social comparisons. In our study, education did predict security as well as more positive intergroup attitudes. That is, security/threat does not rely solely on objective data of an economic nature; rather, subjective evaluations and context framing can fuel associations

of different types of immigrants with different threats (Hellwig & Sinno, 2017).

In accordance with predictions stemming from both the multiculturalism and contact hypotheses, low level of national identification and high level of intercultural contact were associated with increased sense of security for Greeks. In fact, the contact hypothesis was clearly confirmed from the point of view of the majority group. Not only did contact predict intercultural attitudes (i.e., more agreement with multicultural ideology and less prejudice), but also this relationship was partly explained through the mediation of security, as shown in the structural equation model. This result was expected because the effect of intergroup contact in reducing prejudice is a very robust finding in meta-analytic reviews (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The mediating role of threat in the above relationship has also been established (Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

Unlike Greeks, however, for immigrants contact was not associated with security, acculturation strategies or adaptation. An explanation for this unexpected result is to be sought in the qualitative aspects of contact, which constitute Allport's (1954) optimal conditions for positive outcomes and which vary considerably between natives and immigrants. As members of a majority group, in terms of both size and power, Greeks are usually in the position to choose the type and frequency of intergroup contact. On the contrary, these intercultural contacts are less frequently under the control of minority group members. For immigrants, contact may or may not be voluntary, and status inequality or lack of institutional support are commonplace in Greek society (Sapountzis, 2013). On the other hand, factors such as immigrant integration and culture learning may compensate for stressful intergroup interactions, as can be inferred by a longitudinal study of native and immigrant youth in Greek schools (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). Thus, the aggregate of positive and negative experiences may result in a non-significant effect of contact on intercultural attitudes and adaptation. More concrete measures and context-specific information, preferably using qualitative methods, are required in order to better understand the nature, determinants, and outcomes of intergroup contact from the perspective of immigrants.

The integration hypothesis is probably one of the most frequently examined in acculturation research. The present study provides further support to the proposition that acculturation strategies are related to adaptation of immigrants (Berry, 1997, 2001). As was predicted, and in line with previous findings in Greece (Pavlopoulos et al., 2011), integration yielded the most positive outcomes in both psychological and socio-cultural adaptation, while marginalization was clearly the least favourable strategy. Assimilation and separation were positioned in-between, with

the former close to integration and the latter close to marginalization. This pattern of findings did not vary considerably between psychological and sociocultural adaptation, although differences were more pronounced in domains of the emotional and psychological adjustment rather than in the interpersonal and social functioning.

When the integration hypothesis is evaluated from the perspective of the majority group, the question of interest is somewhat different. In the acculturation model of Berry (2001), acculturation strategies of immigrants are predicted to lead to their adaptation. Social psychological approaches (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997) also focus on the acculturation expectations of the members of the larger society as they derive from ideology and state policies. In our Greek sample, we identified multicultural ideology and prejudice as predictors of acculturation expectations, which provide the background beliefs on diversity and equity (Berry, 2016).

The most striking deviation of acculturation conceptualizations between immigrants and Greeks refers to marginalization. It is evident that, while for the understanding of immigrants this is a maladaptive strategy, it has a positive connotation for Greeks, as it was the second-most-preferred acculturation expectation, and it was positively associated with intercultural contact and multicultural ideology. Overall, the pattern of relationships of marginalization for the majority group resembles what Bourhis and his colleagues (1997) refer to as 'individualism'. It also confirms Berry's (2001) suggestion that different labelling is appropriate for acculturation strategies vs. expectations in order to avoid confusion. In our Greek sample, it seems that marginalization is conceived as a strategy that minimizes the (potentially threatening) cultural incompatibility between nationals and immigrants, and focuses instead on the interpersonal aspects of contact in terms of citizenship rather than ethnicity (see also Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2010; Figgou, 2015).

On a more general note, the direction of associations in the models that we tested is not conclusive, which can be a twofold issue. One aspect is methodological and has to do with the limitations of a cross-sectional study to establish causality. The second is epistemological and refers to a researcher's discipline. Sociologists adopt a top-down approach, from the social level to psychological attributes. Thus, in their cross-national study Schlueter, Meuleman, and Davidov (2013) found that immigrant integration policies significantly predicted perceived group threat. On the other hand, psychologists usually prefer a bottom-up approach, from the psychological to societal level of analysis. For example, in the dual process model of Satherley and Sibley (2016) dangerous and competitive world-views formed key motives of group-based dominance and threat-driven

social cohesion that led to less support for policies promoting immigration and trade from China to New Zealand. Whichever perspective is chosen, it is not possible to account for all relevant variables in a single research project, which holds for our study. For example, more detailed measures of perceived threat and socioeconomic status may have allowed for more elaborate hypotheses testing.

The generalizability of our findings is another issue that demands caution. It is not only the (non-random) sampling procedures that determine the external validity of the study. The rapidly changing landscape of immigration in Greece, which includes socioeconomic as well as geopolitical agents inside the country and in the wider region, challenges any attempt for reliable predictions.

The above considerations being acknowledged, they do not undermine the social relevance of the conclusions to be drawn from our data. On the contrary, informed opinions are more necessary than ever in this field of public discourse that is in danger to be taken over by populist politicians, xenophobic followers, far-right extremists, and greedy opportunists.

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