Intra-urban patterns of immigrant location: a preliminary investigation

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Abstract

Over the last years Greece has seen a substantial influx of immigrant population giving rise to a number of studies examining the social, economic and spatial implications immigration has for the country. However there are still many research questions which require closer investigation. To start with, existing research has focused its analysis on the metropolitan areas of Athens and Thessaloniki whereas other primary cities have not taken under examination. Moreover, studies have placed emphasis on identifying the intra-metropolitan locational preferences of immigrants disregarding the effects these might have on the urban structures and the urban residential markets. The current study comes to fill in these two gaps. First it explores the intra-urban locational preferences of these new urban dwellers in two medium-sized Greek cities, Larisa and Volos, to consider whether clustering or dispersion of immigrant population is evident. The data used are school enrolments of the immigrant's children, collected from the totality of primary schools operating in the two cities. Second, drawing on urban economics, the study develops a theoretical framework that enables to assess the impact these locational decisions might have on the residential structure of neighbourhoods and the urban housing markets.

1. Introduction

Over the last fifteen years or so Greece has seen a substantial influx of immigrant population. Today, according to official estimates, there are about a million foreign people living in the country, compared to about fifty thousands in 1991, of which the vast majority are economic immigrants from Albania.

This phenomenon has attracted increasing attention in Greece, giving rise to a few studies examining the social, economic and spatial implications immigration has for the country. As regards its spatial impact, the general trend reported is immigrants to move primarily into the metropolitan areas, which offer substantial employment opportunities. As regards the intra-urban location pattern, studies indicate that the new comers tend to concentrate in inner-city districts where low-priced houses can be found.

Although this literature has addressed a number of key research questions, there are still many which require closer investigation. To start with, existing research has focused its analysis on the metropolitan areas of Athens and Thessaloniki whereas other primary cities have not taken under consideration. Moreover, studies have placed emphasis on identifying the intra-metropolitan locational preferences of immigrants disregarding the effects these might have on the urban structures and the urban residential markets.

The current study comes to fill in these two gaps. First it explores the intra-urban locational preferences of these new urban dwellers in the two (out of four in total) medium-sized Greek cities of Larisa and Volos, to consider whether clustering or dispersion of immigrant population is evident. Second, drawing on urban economics, it develops a theoretical framework that enables to assess the impact these locational decisions might have on the residential structure of the cities and their housing markets.

In doing so, the paper is structured as follows. The next section outlines the theoretical models that have been developed to explain immigrants' spatial behaviour. On these grounds, sections three and four review the empirical literature to delineate

the international experience and national situation, respectively. These are followed by section five which briefly outlines the research method employed before it moves to discuss the findings of the Larisa and Volos case studies. Section six delineates the theoretical framework that this study puts forward to enrich explanations of the immigrants' inter-urban residential patterns, and the final section concludes the paper summarising the key findings.

## 2. The spatial behaviour of immigrants: conceptual considerations

The processes at which different groups of people occupy different social environments and the spatial patterns that result from such processes have been extensively discussed in the literature under the theme of segregation. Initial approaches of segregation dealt with space implicitly, equating the social environment with some organizational unit that has a spatial substance (e.g. a district, a neighbourhood, a school, etc). These essentially 'aspatial' treatments have been repeatedly criticized in the context of residential segregation, especially for their inability to account for the spatial patterning of the census tracts (Openshaw and Taylor, 1979; White, 1983; Massey and Denton, 1988; Morrill, 1991; Wong, 1993, 1997, 2002).

This urged some researchers (notably Massey and Denton, 1988) to develop approaches that take into explicit account the spatial character of residential segregation. In this context, notions available from the economics literature, such as clustering, concentration and centralization, have been utilised to measure segregation.

More recently, other scholars (Reardon and O'Sullivan, 2006) have elaborated on the above approaches to develop more refine measures of spatial segregation that analyse patterning along two axes: one indicating spatial exposure (or spatial isolation) and the other indicating spatial evenness (or spatial clustering) (see Figure 1). Spatial exposure refers to the extent that people belonging to one group are mixed with people of other groups (or remain spatially isolated). Spatial evenness assess the distribution of a group in the residential space, specifying the extent at which its

members prefer to locate close to each other (i.e. to cluster together). The combination of the two analytical concepts gives four patterns of residential location, as shown in Figure 1. The upper half of the diagram presents two patterns of evenly distributed ('black' and 'white') households, indicating low levels of spatial clustering (or high levels of spatial evenness). The difference between the two is on the degree of exposure they go through. People of the two groups in the upper-right pattern are equally mixed with each other, whereas in the upper-left quadrant 'black' households are more isolated. In turn, both patterns at the bottom half of the Figure indicate high degrees of clustering: the right one presents a 'black' community with higher exposure, whereas at the left one higher degrees of isolation are evident.

Figure 1: Dimensions of spatial segregation
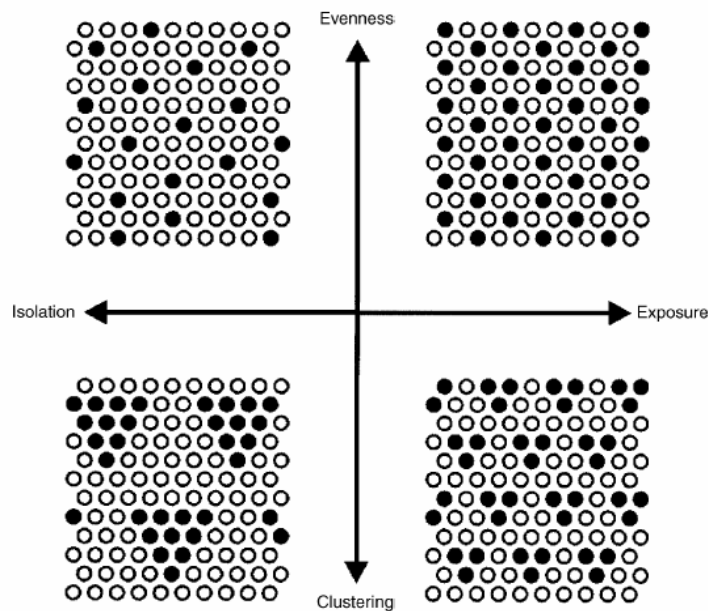
Source: Reardon and O'Sullivan (2006: 42).

Turning to the reasons behind the development of the various patterns of residential clustering, two sets of explanation have been put forward: cultural and economic. Cultural explanations argue that immigrants tend to locate close to each other in order to take advantage of their closely-integrated social networks and to retain valued elements of their cultural heritage, such as language and religion (Boal, 1976; Hugo, 1996; Dunn, 1998). Economic explanations draw attention to the functioning of both the labour and the housing markets, asserting that newcomers are compelled to cluster in the least expensive parts of the city due to financial limitations (Massey, 1985;

Boal 1986; Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998). These arise because, first, immigrants are usually low-paid unemployment-prone workers (Tripier, 1990; Ulrich, 1994), and, second they are faced with both restricted access to mortgage finance and increased information deficiencies with regard to the institutional mechanisms of the host society (Kesteloot, 1995; Petsimeris, 1995; Pacione, 1996). It is important to mention that economic explanations see intra-urban low-priced housing as the cause behind spatial clustering of immigrants, whereas for cultural explanations low-priced houses can be a side-effect caused by the decrease of desirability of the particular location to other groups of inhabitants.

In order to analyse the processes of spatial settlement of immigrants three fully fledged, explanatory models have been developed (Freeman, 2000). These are the spatial assimilation model, the spatial stratification model and the residential preference model, discussed next.

The spatial assimilation model, developed by the Chicago School of human ecology, argues for the time-progressive dispersal of initially spatial-concentrated immigrant groups (Dunn, 1998). Concentration is rooted in the cultural character of immigration but is reinforced by economic considerations that affect the immigration process. It is expected that over the initial stages of immigration newcomers would cluster together in order to take advantage of the social and kinship networks of their coethnics. These networks provide social support, information as well as employment opportunities. However, as time goes by, the gradual acquisition of the language, values, and manners of the host society (a process called acculturation), achieved through prolonged contact with natives and through mass institutions such as schools and the media, would lead to the spatial assimilation of the immigrants (Freeman, 2000). This is because, as the degree of acculturation increases and the immigrants' socioeconomic status rises, the social distance between natives and immigrants diminishes, leading to a decrease of the spatial distances between them (Hawley, 1950; Park, 1926). Thus, immigrants move out of the poor inner-city areas to the outer suburbs starting to integrate spatially with the natives (Massey, 1985; Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998).

Although the spatial assimilation model describes relatively well the progress of spatial settlement for most immigrant groups, e.g. the non–English speaking populations in Sydney and Melbourne in Australia (Grimes, 1993; Hugo, 1996) and the black Caribbeans in Greater London (Peach, 1991), it encounters serious problems in explaining the spatial patterns of minorities with African heritage, namely African Americans and Puerto Ricans (Freeman, 2000). This has led to the development of the place stratification model.

The place stratification model considers urban space as a hierarchy of places ordered in terms of desirability and the quality of life they provide to urban dwellers (Logan, 1978). Natives occupy the most desirable places, keeping immigrants, and generally ethic and racial minorities, at a distance. This situation reflects natives' perception of immigrants' place in the society. Immigrants are attached a low social status and remain segregated, even if they are financially able to take up residence in areas occupied by natives (Alba and Logan, 1993; Freeman, 2000). The place hierarchy is maintained through both institutional mechanisms (redlining, exclusionary zoning, etc.) and discriminatory acts on the part of the host society (policing, violence against minorities, etc.). In the case of hierarchy disturbance, natives are expected to depart out of the 'invaded' area in a progressive manner, leaving immigrants to constitute, slowly but steadily, the majority population in the area.

While the place stratification model envisages spatial segregation to be imposed on immigrants (by other urban groups), the residential preference model asserts that this is in fact a decision of the immigrants themselves. That is, members of the immigrant group 'prefer' to reside with their coethnics and to remain spatially segregated, even when they have the financial means or the social status that would enable them to move elsewhere (Freeman, 2000). There are many benefits to be gained due to such spatial behaviour. To newcomers, the community's social network would provide not only emotional, social and cultural support, but also other vital 'resources', such as information and housing (Hagan, 1998). To all other members, the community represents the stronghold of their own cultural identity. This last element constitutes the key difference between the residential preference model and the spatial assimilation model; that is, there is no acculturation process envisaged in the former.

2. Some international evidence on the spatial behaviour of immigrants

What becomes apparent from the above discussion is that immigrants' intra-urban location decisions are determined by both cultural and economic factors. When cultural reasons prevail over economic ones, immigrant concentration is expected to be strong and sustained in the long-run. In contrast, dominance of economic considerations over cultural ones would lead, in the long-run, to smoother residential patterns characterised by greater evenness. A number of studies have attempted to explore these issues in empirical research and to assess the role played by, and significance attached to, each set of determinants with regard to the developed urban residential structure.

In a study examining patterns of residential location among immigrants in Oslo, Blom (1999) supported the view that the most significant factor in determining immigrant's locational behaviour is economic resources; though cultural reasons also appear to play an important causal role. This is interpreted as an assimilation tendency where immigrants, after a certain length of stay, start to conform to local residential patterns. On these grounds dispersal of foreign-born inhabitants is observed after an initial period of concentrated immigrant housing. To a similar conclusion come Djuve and Hagen (1995) drawing on a survey research they conducted to a sample of 329 refugees in Oslo. They found that affordability of housing is the main reason behind the latter's decision to settle in a particular residential area within the city, rather than 'preferences for living close to countrymen'. Analogous evidence provide also Zang and Hassan (1996) and Lan-Hung and Jung-Chung (2005) who surveyed Asian immigrants in Australian metropolises. Both studies indicate that while immigrant groups may prefer to settle in close proximity to their family and kin for practical and/or emotional reasons, their locational choice depends largely on income and housing affordability, availability of neighbourhood services and closeness to work, giving rise to more assimilated residential patterns.

In a recent study investigating immigration dynamics and resulting residential patterns in the four largest Dutch cities (i.e. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) Bontje and Latten (2005) observe a strong exchange of population subgroups. Natives

show an ongoing outflow from certain urban neighbourhoods, where foreign-born population are increasingly settling in. These neighbourhoods have formed the basis of immigrant communities that are growing fast through family reunification and family formation. In fact, in some areas the share of foreigners has reached "… levels above 70 per cent and even 80 per cent, in contrast to the national share of 10 per cent" (Bontje and Latten, 2005: 450). This can be seen as an example of joint implementation of economic and cultural factors, where economic reasons account for the initial stages of immigrant concentration, and cultural reasons justify its enhancement and longevity. Similar conclusions are drawn by Bolt *et al* (2002) who, on the basis of both income and ethnicity, predict further strengthening of segregation and concentration of immigrants in the Dutch cities. However, there are researchers (Deurloo and Musterd, 1998; Musterd and Deurloo, 2002) which assert that the observed patterns of immigrant's residential concentration tend not to be stable and therefore spatial integration is to be seen.

The situation across the Atlantic appears to be more complex. Scholars, such as Freeman (2000), report a process of immigrant clustering in the American Metropolises similar to the one described above (i.e. fuelled by a time-lagged implementation of economic and cultural factors), but only for certain ethnic groups. Thus, it is argued that initially Asian and Latino immigrants were located in the degraded inner-city areas due to economic reasons, whereas subsequent newcomers of the same ethnic groups settle in the same neighbourhoods on the basis of cultural reasons. However, as they climb up the socioeconomic ladder they tend to move out and to assimilate into 'white' neighbourhoods. In contrast to Asian and Latino groups, the form of residential patterning exhibited by African Americans is somewhat different, in both its character and intensity (Massey and Denton 1985, 1987; Harrison and Weinberg, 1992; Alba and Logan, 1993; Logan *et al* 1996; Clark and Ware, 1997; Denton and Massey, 1998; Freeman, 2000). This ethnic group seems to place greater emphasis on cultural factors and, on these grounds, to show more concentrated patterns of residential location.

A similar situation is seen in Lisbon. Malheiros and Vala (2004) distinguish between two groups of immigrants with different locational behaviour. African-origin immigrants are more 'consolidated' in their residential pattern, whereas all other

groups (dominated by Eastern Europeans and Brazilians) temporarily settle within their coethnics to flee out when their socio-economic conditions improve. An interesting point that comes out of the Lisbon study is the role that the property market plays in this process. Malheiros (2000) argues that the housing market may be held responsible in this dual pattern of immigrant settlement, where Africans end up in degraded urban spaces of low-quality housing and non-Africans enjoy space and housing of better quality. Moreover, Malheiros (2000) asserts that the housing market not only influences, but is also determined by the locational behaviour of immigrants. The mass arrival of immigrants in the past decades brought a substantial increase in demand for low-cost houses, necessitating local authorities to respond with a policy of freezing property rents, tight controls over evictions and loose enforcement of legal procedures over illegal constructions.

Concluding this discussion it becomes clear that there exists no common pattern of immigrant residential location to be evident in the majority of places. Stated differently, economic and cultural factors influence at a different degree the locational choice and the residential patterns of immigrants, depending on the local conditions, policies and institutions, the cultural background of immigrants and the time that immigration takes place. It is on these grounds that Musterd *et al* (1997), having analysed immigrant residential behaviour in nine European metropolises, identifies the establishment of four spatial patterns: (a) clustering of immigrants in inner-city locations, (b) concentrations of immigrants outside central areas, (c) scattered immigrants but with clustering in inner-city locations, and (d) scattered immigrants but with concentrations in locations outside the city centre.

3. Immigration and residential patterning in Greek metropolises

Over the last fifteen years or so Greece has received a substantial influx of immigrant population coming mainly from the Republics of ex-USSR, Central-East Europe, and the Balkans, especially from Albania[1]. The 2001 Census has recorded 797.000 people without Greek citizenship (that is 7.3% of the total population), of whom the vast

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[1] In fact, it is estimated that about half of the immigrants that reside in Greece today are Albanians (Lazaridis, 1996; Baldwin-Edwards, 2005).

majority (about 700.000) are third-country nationals without claim to Greek ethnicity. By 2003, there have been approximately 130.000 foreign children attending state schools (of which, 32.000 were ethnic Greeks), comprising the 11% of primary school registers and the 8% of secondary school registers (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005).

Just under half of Greece's immigrants live in Athens metropolis, of which about 55% (206.000 people) are Albanians (444.000 throughout Greece) (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005). This gives an immigrant/population ratio for the area of 11% as compared with 7,3% for Greece.

As regards the pattern of residential location of immigrants, researchers (Lazaridis, 1993; Psimmenos, 1995, 1998; Baldwin-Edwards, 2005) have reported a tendency of the former to concentrate in the old city centre and other poor areas of Athens which are characterised by low-quality housing and lack of public facilities. This literature identifies three reasons that inform such decisions. First is economic, where immigrants choose to take up residence in these areas simply because rents are low and there is housing stock available. This is supported by cultural reasons. Coethnics already reside in these areas, and newcomers decide to settle in there, in order to take advantage of the social and kinship networks which offer social and emotional support and valuable information regarding the host institutions and opportunities.

Interestingly, however, concentration is fuelled by a third factor: the xenophobic intolerance of the natives. Greece has a history of high levels of xenophobia recorded in opinion polls, although rather less visible in reality. In support of this argument Baldwin-Edwards (2005) mentions the results of a survey conducted in 2002 amongst 2.100 households living in Greater Athens. It was found that 44% of respondents believed that immigrants should live, separately from Greeks, in other areas. Although high levels of racial intolerance are clearly linked with low educational and income levels, the point that clearly emerges is that Greeks would not object the creation of ethnic ghettos, presumably with little comprehension about their long-term implications. Other incidents that could be interpreted along this line include the continuing public advertisements and notices in Athens refusing to rent property to foreigners. As Psimmenos (2001) clearly states, few natives would be willing to rent

their property to a foreigner (especially of Albanian origins) if there are chances to rent it to someone else.

This tendency of immigrants (a significant part of who were illegal) to locate in the inner-city of Athens worried the Greek government, who intensified policing of the area. Actually, this was so intense that in June 1998 migrants held a rally for the first time in Athens demonstrating for their right to have a place to live[2] (Lazaridis and Psimmenos, 2000). Under the weight of this pressure some immigrants have moved out of the inner-city finding residence in the suburbs of Athens. Although some researchers (Lazaridis and Psimmenos, 2000) have linked this movement to the wider local-government strategy to regenerate the centre of Athens, the fact is that in spatial terms this gave rise to higher rates of integration between immigrants and natives and to a more dispersed residential pattern of the former. At present, despite some socio-spatial ethnic concentrations in certain areas, there are no ghettos of immigrants in Athens (Sintès, 2002; Kokkali, 2005), a situation which, however, is not difficult to change (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005).

Thessaloniki presents a very similar case. Economic reasons on the part of the immigrants, and hesitance to rent property to foreigners on the part of the natives, led the immigrant population to take up residence in both the inner-city and the west suburbs where housing is cheep, constructions are old and the residential quality is low (Velentzas *et al*, 1996; Hatziprokopiou, 2003). However, there are no visible clusters of immigrants and the resulting pattern of residence do not seem to lead to any kind of excessive concentration in which ethnic practices could be developed (Kokkali, 2005).

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[2] Baldwin-Edwards (2005) argues that after intense criticism from leading academics, several state institutions and agencies dealing with immigrants on a regular basis have started to become more sensitised to issues relating to immigrants' rights and social integration. These agencies include various arms of the Ministry of Labour (OAED, IKA) and also the Greek Police to which clear instructions have been given in a circular from the Ministry of Public Order to strengthen immigrants' rights and prohibit police violence.

4. Exploring immigrants' residential patterns in Volos and Larisa

As argued at the beginning of this paper, there are virtually no studies examining the inter-urban spatial effects of immigration in other Greek cities except for Athens and Thessaloniki. On these grounds, the current study attempts to shed light on this issue exploring the inter-urban patterning of immigrants' location in two (out of four in total) medium-size Greek cities, Volos and Larisa. The choice of the particular cities as case studies is also supported by the fact that (on virtue of their close proximity and the good transportation links between them) these two cities together comprise a third pole of development in the country which is of equal importance to Athens and Thessaloniki.

Unfortunately, there are no available official statistics specifying the spatial distribution of immigrants at the intra-urban level. The study assumes that the intra-urban location of immigrants is reflected at the school enrolments of their children and collects such data from the totality of primary schools in Volos and Larisa in order to explore the spatial distribution of immigrants in the two cities. The assumption made is quite valid since: first, both the spatial dispersion of schools in a city and the number of schools operating in each area of a city are analogous to the population density of this area, second, the main criterion for the enrolment of a student into a particular school is the proximity of his/her house to the school under question, and third, primary education is compulsory to all immigrant children residing in the area, independent of the legal status of their parents.
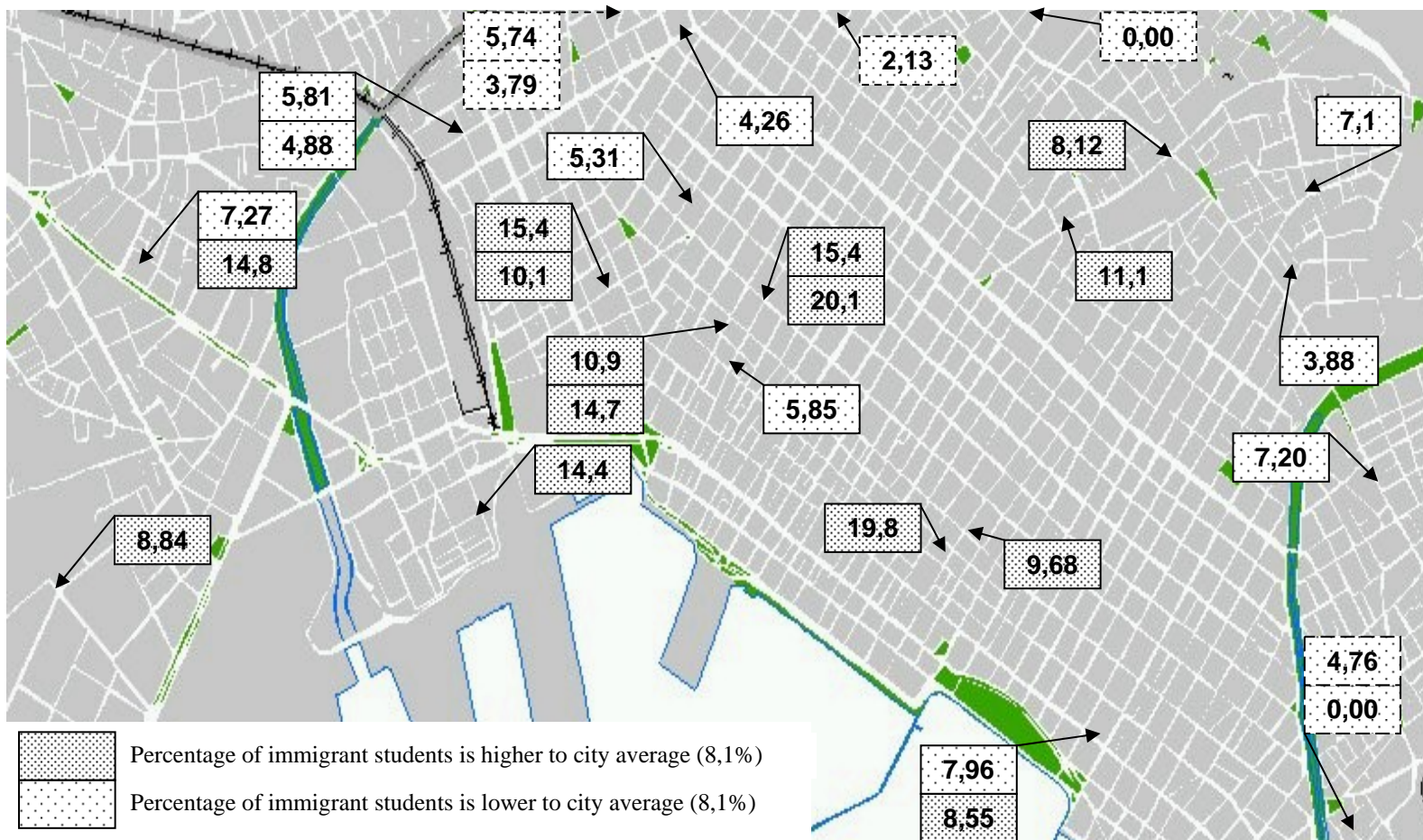
In every prefecture of the country there is a local Directorate of Primary Education which holds student enrolment data for each school of its jurisdiction. The Directorates of Magnesia (Volos) and Larisa have provided us with such data for the totality of 84 primary schools operating in the two cities (35 in Volos and 49 in Larissa) over the current academic year (2006-2007). Overall there are about 15.160 enrolled students in these schools of which about 7,6% are immigrants' children. The percentage of immigrant students in Volos is 8,1% and in Larisa is 7,2%. Map 1 and Map 2 below provide the percentage of immigrant children in each school of Volos and Larisa.

As can be seen, the immigrants' residential patterns in Volos and Larisa are quite similar. Immigrants are generally dispersed all over the urban areas and there seems to be no high spatial clustering or formation of "ethnic enclaves" in both cities.

However, the inner-city areas attract many immigrants. In Volos the highest immigrant residential concentration is recorded in the inner-city (equal to almost 15%) and in degraded areas with low quality housing stock (around the *Larisis* Street). The presence of immigrants at the northern suburbs of the city as well as in *Anavros* area (bottom-right corner of Map 1) where the most affluent natives tend to locate, is relatively lower (about 6%).

In Larisa the immigrant community is also spatially dispersed all over the city. The highest concentration of immigrants (which constitutes almost 17% of the total population) is observed in the inner-city of Larisa and particular in the area called *Tambakika*, where the corresponding percentage is almost 22%. The housing stock in this area is relatively old, characterised by lack of public facilities and low quality natural environment, due to high levels of air humidity that are caused by the *Pinios* River. The presence of immigrants at the southern suburbs of the city, the newest part of the city where affluent natives locate, is quite low (about 4%), as indicated in Map 2.

Map 1: Percentage of immigrant students in Volos primary schools

| 5,74 |
| 3,79 |

2,13

0,00

| 5,81 |
| 4,88 |

4,26

7,1

| 7,27 |
| 14,8 |

5,31

8,12

| 15,4 |
| 10,1 |

| 15,4 |
| 20,1 |

11,1

| 10,9 |
| 14,7 |

5,85

3,88

14,4

7,20

8,84

| 19,8 |
| 9,68 |

| 4,76 |
| 0,00 |

Percentage of immigrant students is higher to city average (8,1%)

Percentage of immigrant students is lower to city average (8,1%)

| 7,96 |
| 8,55 |

Source: own construction

Map 2: Percentage of immigrant students in Larisa primary schools

Percentage of immigrant students is higher to city average (7,2%)

Percentage of immigrant students is lower to city average (7,2%)

4,14
5,15

7,78
5,29

13,11
6,60

15,29
5,26

11,5

21,3
23,7

6,25

11,89

5,99
6,09

9,31
10,47
14,09
16,39

8,53
5,84
12,3
3,70

5,76

6,70

9,79

6,91

6,61

2,20
6,41

8,76
6,31

0,00

5,16

0,71

0,97

4,79

Source: own construction

5. Immigration and neighbourhood structure: a theoretical model

This section draws on urban economics to formulate a theoretical model that explains the residential distribution of immigrants at an intra-urban level. This analysis indicates that for any intra-urban area (neighbourhood) there is an optimal population size beyond which additional costs exceed additional benefits.

A similar line of argument can be traced in the economic analysis of national immigration policies. In particular, the first economic assessment criterion of a nation immigration policy states that a host country should admit immigrants up to the point where an additional person makes a non-negative contribution to the treasury (Simon, 1984); that is, the marginal cost of an extra immigrant in the country is just equal to the marginal benefit.

Urban economics puts forward an analogous approach to provide a theory of city size (see Alonso, 1971; Evans, 1985). This is represented in Figure 2 below. City size, which is reflected in the population size, is measured along the horizontal axis, whereas costs and benefits are measured along the vertical axis[3]. Cost in this context refers to all costs of whatever kind, including private, public and social costs (e.g. housing costs, labour costs, the cost of pollution, congestion and crime, as well as costs of local-government services). In turn, benefit represents all kind of social and private benefits that arise due to agglomeration economies. It is generally accepted (Alonso, 1971) that average costs per capita are expected to fall over some range as population increases, and then begin to rise. In turn, average benefits are expected to rise with population size but less and less rapidly as diminishing returns set in. Since both costs and benefits are rising, marginal cost and benefit are greater than the average cost and benefit (the marginal curves are on the left of the average curves).

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[3] It is assumed, therefore, that cost and benefit are measurable and vary only with city size, and not with other parameters such as urban form and density.

Figure 2: Optimal city size
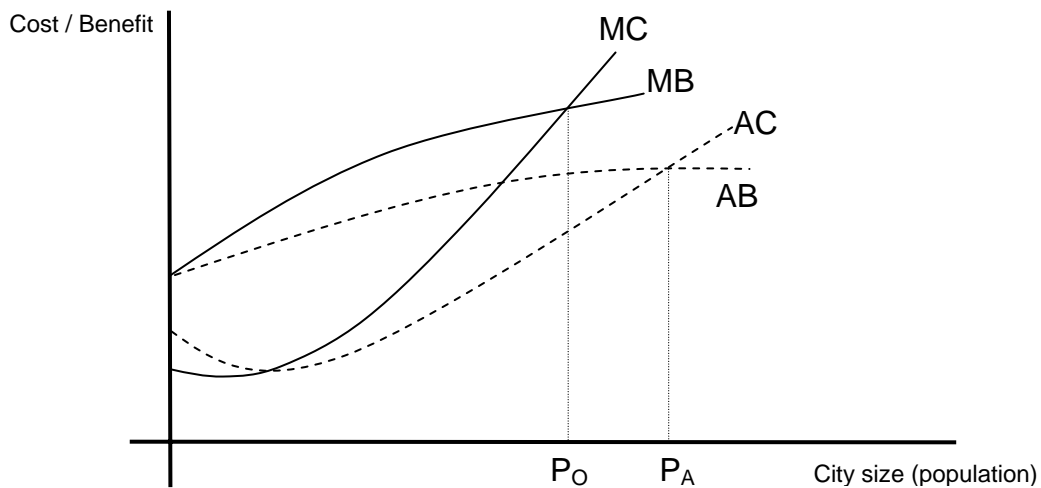
Economic theory suggests that the optimal size of city would be at a population P_O where the marginal cost (MC) caused by the settlement of an additional person in the city equates the marginal benefit induced (MB) (see Figure 2). At any greater population the additional cost would be greater than the additional benefit. Moreover, welfare economics demonstrates that if entry is unregulated, the city may grow beyond P_O. This is because an individual in-migrant will receive a net gain from moving into the city that outweighs its loss due to increase of marginal cost over marginal benefit caused by his own entry. Therefore it is expected that as long as average benefit per person is higher than the average cost per person, the city will grow until it reaches point P_A at which average cost (AC) equates average benefit (AB).

We argue that the above analysis can be applied at the intra-urban level to describe the optimal distribution of both immigrants and natives in a neighbourhood. What has to be considered is the relevant position of marginal benefit and marginal cost curves of both immigrant and native populations. As above, the benefit and cost curves take into account all kind of benefits and costs generated in the neighbourhood due to agglomeration (economies and diseconomies). That is, they incorporate all private, public, as well as social and cultural benefits and costs. These, however, are expected to be different for each population group (natives and immigrants). Immigrants are expected to enjoy greater benefits, and to incur lower costs, in comparison to a native
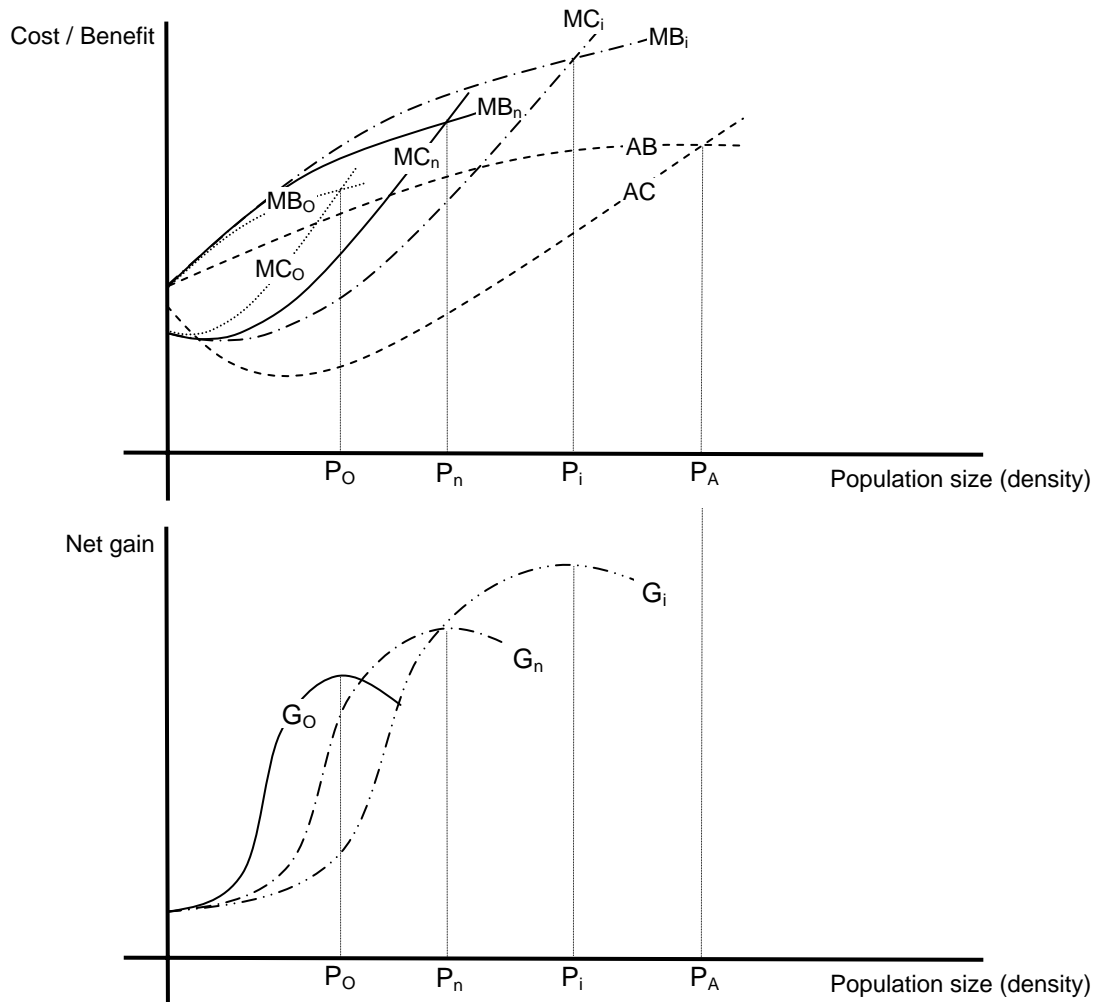
community. Benefits are greater due to cultural and economic externalities emanating from the social network developed between coethnics. Costs are lesser because of transaction and information costs saved, or, at the least, because immigrants consume less housing space per head and their housing expenses are lower than these of natives'. This means that the higher the proportion of immigrants in a neighbourhood, the lower the marginal cost and the higher the marginal benefit would be. To state it differently, as the mix of population in a neighbourhood changes in favour of the immigrants, the marginal cost curve moves to the right and the marginal benefit curve moves to the left. On these grounds, it is expected that the optimal size of a neighbourhood comprising of immigrants to be bigger compared to neighbourhood size that consists of natives.

Figure 3 (below) articulates the argument developed here. The horizontal axis assesses neighbourhood population size. This is, in fact, the population density of a neighbourhood, since its area is given and constant. The vertical axis measures costs and benefits (upper diagram), or their difference which is the net gain (lower diagram). The optimal population size of neighbourhood without immigration is at P_O. This is at the point where the marginal benefit stemming of the advent of an additional native person (i.e. non-foreigner) equates the marginal cost (indicated by the intersection of the curves MC_O and MB_O), or where the net gain curve (G_O) reaches its highest level.

With immigration, foreigners flow in and the population mix of the neighbourhood starts to change. As indicated, the optimal neighbourhood size is expected to be different for each group of inhabitants. From the point of view of the immigrants that reside in the neighbourhood, the optimal neighbourhood size would be at population P_i where the marginal benefit of an additional immigrant equates the marginal cost. This is the point where the MC_i curve meets the MB_i curve, or where the curve of net gain G_i (as this is perceived by the immigrant community) reaches the highest point (Figure 3). From this point onwards, the location of any additional immigrant in the neighbourhood will increase the marginal cost over marginal benefit for the immigrant community and, therefore, for the whole community. It is important to mention that P_i refers to a population mix, consisting of both immigrants (P_{ii}) and

natives (P_{in}), which is optimal from the point of view of the immigrant community residing in the neighbourhood.

Figure 3: Optimal neighbourhood size with immigration

At the same time the optimal neighbourhood size from the perspective of the natives which reside in the neighbourhood would be at population P_n where marginal benefit of an additional immigrant equates the marginal cost. This is the point where the MC_n curve intersects the MB_n curve, or where the net gain curve G_n of natives reaches the highest point (Figure 3). It is important to clarify here that P_n specifies a population mix of immigrants (P_{ni}) and natives (P_{nn}) which is optimal from the point of view of the native community residing in the neighbourhood. Although this consists of fewer foreigners compared to the population mix of P_i (i.e. $P_{in} < P_{nn}$ or $P_{ii} > P_{ni}$), it indicates the

maximum amount of immigrants that the natives are willing to accept in the neighbourhood (P_{ni}).

The basis of the model just outlined enables also the exploration of the dynamics of immigration. In terms of the resulting population mix three cases are of particular interest, which speculate on the degree of immigrant concentration that may occur. These are discussed next.

Case 1: latent concentration

Immigrants start to flow into the neighbourhood. The natives accept this inflow as long as the total population of the community stays below or equal to P_n, or as long as the population of immigrants residing in the neighbourhood is below or equal to the limit of P_{ni} set by the natives. Up to this point the population of natives remains stable, since natives have no reason to flee out. The total population of the neighbourhood is growing, however, due to inflow of immigrants. The rate of immigrant inflow depends on the size of the existing immigrant community and the quality of their existing social network, as well as on local conditions and institutions. This process may result in immigrant isolation and spatial evenness or it may exhibit signs of residential clustering with immigrant exposure (depending on the cultural characteristics of the immigrants).

Case 2: emerging concentration

Immigrants continue to flow into the neighbourhood expanding its population over the limit of P_n (or P_{ni}) but without exceeding the limit of P_i (or P_{ii}, which is the optimal amount of in-migrants from the point of view of the immigrant community). At this point natives are not willing to accept such inflow and start fleeing out of the neighbourhood. However, the immigrant community which dwells in the neighbourhood is expected to have a net gain (marginal benefit would be higher to marginal cot, mainly due to the advancements in their social network) and to remain located in the neighbourhood. The resulting population mix will depend on the rates of both immigrant inflow and native outflow. There are three possible scenarios, all of which may lead to further concentration of immigrants; though the nature and pace of

concentration would be different in each case. First, the amount of natives leaving the neighbourhood is lower compared to the amount of immigrants coming into the neighbourhood. Here the total population of the neighbourhood increases up to the point of P_i. What we could probably observe in this case is increasing immigrant exposure combined with residential clustering. The second possible case is when the amount of natives leaving the neighbourhood is equal to the amount of immigrants coming into the neighbourhood. Here the total population of the neighbourhood stabilises at a point in the middle of P_n and P_i. The spatial pattern we expect to see is characterised by increased residential clustering. Finally, the amount of natives leaving the neighbourhood is greater compared to the amount of immigrants coming into the neighbourhood. In this case the total population of the neighbourhood is expected to exceed, but stay close to P_n, whereas the emerging residential pattern would probably be characterised by immigrant clustering.

Case 3: maturing concentration

Immigrants continue to flow into the neighbourhood and the population surpasses the limit of P_i (or P_{ii}). At this point not only remained natives but also immigrants are discontent with the result and decide to move out of the neighbourhood. From the latter group, those people that are able to do so are the most advanced (in terms of wealth, education, etc.) members of the community which are expected to indicate high levels of acculturation. The total population of the neighbourhood may increase, be stable or decline depending on the relative rates of population outflow and immigrant inflow. However, the process is expected to result in increasing levels of immigrant clustering and isolation, and the development of distinct a immigrant enclave(s).

6. Conclusions

This paper has examined the intra-urban locational preferences of immigrants. In particular, it explored the intra-urban spatial distribution of these new urban dwellers in two medium-size cities of Greece, Larisa and Volos, to consider whether clustering or dispersion of immigrant population is evident. Moreover, drawing on urban

economics, it developed a theoretical framework that enables to assess the optimal distribution of both immigrants and natives within city areas.

The findings of the empirical research conducted in Volos and Larisa indicate that the intra-urban residential patterns of immigrants that reside in two, out of the four, medium-size Greek cities are similar to those observed in Athens and Thessaloniki. In particular, the immigrant community is generally dispersed all over the urban areas and no 'ethic enclaves' or areas of high concentration of immigrants are identifiable. However, two trends are evident. First, the inner-city areas exert an attraction to many immigrants (something which is reflected in the higher percentages of immigrant children in these areas compared to other urban neighbourhoods) which are drawn there by virtue of the low-priced housing stock which is available. This relates to the second acknowledged trend; which is that the high-status, newly-constructed relatively-expensive residential suburbs, where the most advanced natives reside, do not attract many immigrants. This can be attributed partly to the high-cost of living in these areas (in terms of housing, commuting, etc.). On these grounds we can argue that the most significant factors in determining immigrant's locational behaviour in Greek cities today are mainly economic, though cultural reasons also play an important role.

The articulation of a conceptual model that is able to analyse inter-urban residential structures on the basis of the optimal allocation of immigrants and natives has been the second outcome of this research. Two key arguments have been deployed. First, drawing directly on urban economics, we have argued that the optimal size of an intra-urban area (neighbourhood) is achieved when the marginal cost caused by the settlement of an additional immigrant in the neighbourhood equates the marginal benefit induced. Second, we have stressed that each group of inhabitants has a difference perception of the optimal size of neighbourhood, and therefore they respond differently in immigration inflows. As such, different population mixes of natives and immigrants can be developed, giving rise to different spatial patterns characterised by different degrees of immigrant clustering and isolation.

Further research is required to explore in depth the spatial outcomes of immigration. In this paper we have shed some light on the effects the housing market has on the

location decision of immigrants at the intra-urban level. The reverse relation is also interesting. Future research should attempt to address this issue and to explore how immigrants' locational behaviour influences the outcomes of the property market.

Concluding this paper we would also like to stress one more point. The conceptual framework developed here should be seen as an attempt to inform the literature of immigration with some urban economic ideas. We strongly believe that both social sciences on the whole and each particular subject have much to gain by fruitful communication and exchange of knowledge.

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Parallel Societies:
An acknowledgement of failure
or a step towards integration?
The Greek paradigm.

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Abstract:

The study examines the formation of parallel societies of immigrants in Greece, using specific indices. It reaches the conclusion that there are no "perfect" (i.e. accomplished, completed) parallel societies in this destination-country. There are, however, characteristics that imply a marked move in this direction, the outcome of which cannot be foreseen. This evolutionary process is, as a rule, subject to different interpretations, ranging from the acknowledgement of failure to integrate immigrants on the basis of state policies (when a society aims to assimilate), to the confirmation of the society's pluralistic nature. A dominant perception of culture (*Leitkultur*) is often recognized and mobilized in order to eliminate the possibility of the formation of parallel societies. However, if polities insist on exerting strenuous demands on immigrants applying for Greek citizenship, it poses the question of: is this approach to immigrant societies in the best interests of the host country or would a move towards a flexible standpoint on parallel societies reap more benefits?

The theologian and thinker Reinhold Niebuhr once said about the constant search for ideal forms of social organisation: "*God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change; the courage to change the things I can; and the wisdom to know the difference*" (Rand, 1974: 23). This aphorism, which seems to be rather conservative prima vista, is indicative of the moderation that is necessary when dealing with this task. It would be helpful, if the spirit of this observation could accompany one when reading this paper. The reasons for this will become more evident by the end of the text.

A social grouping is conflictual by definition. Although it may have positive outcomes on the whole, i.e. on a long-term basis, its current functioning is usually problematic. Given that this is the case within homogeneous communities, it becomes apparent that the situation is much more complex when pertaining to a heterogeneous society that is striving for a constructive cultural synthesis rather than mere coexistence.

Taking into account its constrictions, this paper will attempt to examine the possibility of applying the theoretical concept of parallel societies to the reality of contemporary Greece and present the results of this analysis within the context of today's historical circumstances.

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A problematic yet widespread term

The term "Parallel Societies" is in fact a German neologism (*Parallelgesellschaften*) that was created in 1996 for the purpose of describing secluded communities of immigrants in Germany. The father of this neologism is considered to be Professor Wilhelm Heitmeyer of the University of Bielefeld. Heitmeyer focused on the self-induced isolation of immigrants of Turkish or Islamic descent and highlighted the dangers of evading social inclusion. Heitmeyer explained that if for instance Islamic fundamentalists manage to direct the group – especially younger immigrants – there is a danger of creating a new wave of voluntary detachment from the social corpus, thus presenting the chance of creating parallel societies on the fringes of the mainstream society. The neologism came to the fore after 9/11 when it was suddenly thrust into the political spectrum through its use by high level politicians – such as the then Social Democrat Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and the then leader of the Christian Democrats and today's Chancellor Angela Merkel – who spoke of a threat to the liberal and democratic foundations of the state (Janssen & Polat, 2006: 11 and Hiscott, 2005: 1-4).

However, the term has been highly criticised and remains problematic; not so much because of its implicit content but mostly due to its historical etymology. Some (Hiscott, 2005: 8-9) claim that the neologism replaced the term "state within a state" that was deemed politically incorrect due to its ambiguous usage as a Nazi propaganda tool against the Jews. Given that the term "parallel societies" could also be usurped to serve a similar agenda of discrimination, it has been dismissed by many. This opinion is probably fallacious, given that Heitmeyer is generally recognised as a moderate analyst and that his theoretical framework has gradually gained ground.

A strong argument, inter alia, with respect to this is the adoption of the concept by Thomas Meyer, professor of political science at the University of Dortmund and theoretician of the Social Democrats. Meyer has kept the core of Heitmeyer's idea and presented a matrix of hypotheses and criteria, the cumulative fulfilment of which would translate into a perfect parallel society of immigrants.

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Meyer (2002: 343-346) suggests five indicators for the examination of the formation of parallel immigrant societies:

i.   ethnocultural or religious-cultural homogeneity of an immigrant group

ii. economic segregation and civil society segregation

iii. duplication of majoritarian institutions

iv. (technically speaking) self-induced isolation as a result of discrimination

v.   if all four criteria apply, then spatial segregation also constitutes an indicator, e.g. isolation within a specific area of the city.

The matrix is quite challenging. It is also neutral when it comes to highlighting the dangers that can be created by the formation of parallel societies. This means that its implementation within the Greek context (as well as the German one) will almost certainly yield the conclusion that there are no perfectly formed parallel societies. In any case, approaching the issue with an ideal model in mind provides a certain amount of assistance. One of the advantages of the criteria checklist is that if a specific case fails to fulfil all of the given points, it is then not necessary to provide an in depth analysis of the rest. Specifically with respect to the last indicator, Meyer points out that spatial segregation can be substituted for other, alternative, non-geographical networks that nonetheless bind the members of a community; this could include mass media directed towards a specific minority.

Considering that Meyer's model is of an adequate standard to provide a holistic approach to the issue of immigrant communities, the following sections will attempt to use it in order to analyse elements of Greek society. Although not all parameters need to be examined (given that if one element is not fulfilled, the *whole* system is negated), we will attempt to use the model in its entirety. References to each indicator will be brief, given that our goal is not the presentation of in depth facts but the overall assessment of the model.

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Why the Muslim minority of Thrace does not constitute a parallel society

The multicultural character of Greek society is grounded on the coexistence of economic migrants, members of the Hellenic community from abroad, culturally diverse families, legally recognised minorities and other communities with a distinct cultural identity (I.ME.PO., 2004a: 11). It is important to point out that the model addresses economic migrants and their families, given that they are the ones that instigated the debate that resulted in the creation of the term "parallel society". The Muslim minority of Thrace does not fall within this category. The reason for providing a specific mention to this community becomes more evident bellow.

Will Kymlicka (1999: 16) has made the following useful distinction:

i. Ethnic groups (minorities) that historically reside in a given area within the "host" country; they have developed their culture to a large extent independently.

ii. Recently formed ethnic groups; their residing in a specific area, i.e. spatial isolation, is rather coincidental.

The Muslim minority of Thrace belongs to the first category. The second category could for instance encompass a group of Pakistani immigrants living in a specific Athenian neighbourhood. The main difference between the two cases lies in the historical specificity that led to these two communities residing in Greece. Further details regarding the Muslim minority of Thrace would probably be redundant. With respect to migration, it is well known that Greece switched from being a country of origin to a host country of economic migrants just after the fall of the Soviet Union. Economic migrants primarily come from the Balkans, Central and Eastern Europe (including states that became member states of the European Union in 2004 and 2007) and developing countries of Africa and Asia.

It is important to interpret Meyer's model in the light of Kymlicka's distinction because the Muslim minority of Thrace fulfils a number of the model's prerequisites. There is no doubt about the group's cultural and religious homogeneity; irrespective of the group's ethnic homogeneity, which has been contested. The group's spatial isolation (many members of the Muslim minority

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reside in segregated neighbourhoods as well as in "culturally uniform" towns and villages of the area) could also denote incomplete economic isolation. Despite the fact that the community participates in the national circular flow of economic activity, it could be argued that quite many transactions display cultural and local characteristics.

In a similar way, the organisations and civil society that deal with specific issues of the Muslim community could also be described as isolated. These organisations also partly represent the duplication of majoritarian institutions. "Partly" because the group's participation in national and local affairs is safeguarded through the implementation of additional policies and measures. There are differing opinions with regards to the group's voluntary isolation as a result of discrimination. Nevertheless, we could assume that this is true for the sake of our reasoning.

The Muslim minority of Thrace is very similar to the archetype proposed by Meyer and Heitmeyer - more so than any other group examined within this paper. However, as we have already mentioned, these people are not economic migrants. The Muslim minority also fulfils another - according to Meyer (2002: 351) - important condition: there is a separate sphere of justice, i.e. a distinct set of values that leaves its mark on the group's perception of justice. Meyer bases the fulfilment of all parameters on this condition. This sphere exerts pressure - at times even through special jurisdiction - on the members of the community in order to deter them from taking advantage of their basic rights as provided by the national constitution. In addition, it promotes seeking justice via the group's judicial paths rather than through the mainstream legal system.

This remark has connotations of the case of the (pseudo)-Muftis of Western Thrace. Greece is the only European country in which Islamic Law (*Sharia*) is enforced despite the fact that it goes against basic tenets of the legal system, such as gender equality (Vasileiou, 2006: 6). Statute nr. 2345/1920[1] was abolished with

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[1] According to the statute, Muslim religious figures were supposed to be elected by the Muslim minority, following the example of Greek Orthodox clergymen. The act never came into effect and – given that Muftis exercise both religious and judicial power – the Muftis used to be appointed by the Greek government without any problems until 1990. In 1990 two members of parliament from Xanthi

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an Act of Legislative Content "On Muslim Religious Figures" [2], issued on 24/12/1990, without however providing a solution to the problem. On at least two occasions, the European Court of Human Rights has managed to appease Greek citizens, complaining of an abuse of their religious rights, without bringing the Greek state into disrepute.

The judicial system of the Muslim minority demonstrates the importance of including Meyer's "justice perception" concept as a prerequisite for the existence of a parallel society. We will now move on from the Muslim minority of Thrace and examine other cases within the contemporary Hellenic context.

Attica

Attica provides an ideal setting for drawing information with regards to immigrants. The 2001 census recorded 797.000 individuals that were not in possession of the Greek citizenship. Half of the immigrants live in the vicinity of the capital. Approximately 206.000 Albanians out of a total of 444.000 in the whole country state Attica as their area of residence. They amount to 55% of the total immigrants in the area. The percentage of immigrants in Attica is measured at 11% as opposed to 7,3% in the rest of the country. These figures (Panteion University, 2004: 3) demonstrate the suitability of the region as an area of examination of Meyer's parameters. It is also noteworthy that there is a breadth of research that has been carried out in the region on the issue of immigration that could also be used in order to form a better understanding of the situation. The general picture of the Greek situation provides us with increased flexibility when examining the issue, as it is clear that not all parameters are fulfilled.

After all, Meyer's additional parameter regarding a parallel perception of justice dispels all doubts with regards to the Greek situation. Apart from the Muslim minority, this parameter is not applicable to any other immigrant community in the country. Therefore, from the onset it becomes impossible to argue that there

and Rodopi held an election without permission. Ever since, appointed Muftis coexist with illegally elected pseudo-Muftis (Kartalis, 2006: A20).
[2] Muftis are appointed for ten years by Presidential Decree, following a recommendation of the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs (Konidaris, 2006: A55).

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could be a perfect parallel society in Greece. Given that we already know the result of our forthcoming analysis, we can be brief in our description.

Indicators

It is obvious that there are cases of ethnic, cultural and religious homogeneity within the region that we are examining. It is easy to recognise Athenian communities of Pakistanis, Albanians, Nigerians and immigrants of other descent. Many of them are Muslim. This bond would be more apparent if they were able to practice their religion in an organised and formal fashion. Nevertheless, this is not possible, given that no mosque exists in Athens. This situation hinders our understanding of the city's immigrant community. After thirty years of negotiations and protests (Giannarou, 2006: 23), the creation of a mosque has finally been planned and is expected to be completed in 2008. Needless to say that this initiative enjoys the support of the Athenian Muslim community (Bouloukos, 2006: 14).

There are also indicators signifying the mobilisation of a parallel civil society. Immigrants belong to associations and organisations formed on the basis of professional interests or ethnic origin. There are also associations and organisations wishing to encompass immigrants in general, such as the Greek Forum of Migrants. The creation of these associations has been facilitated by a 2006 Presidential Decree regarding the "Adaptation of Greek legislation to Council Directive 2003/109/EC, concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents". The decree ensures that immigrants have the right to organise themselves in such groups and associations. It is also worth mentioning that, at least on a theoretical level, civil society is boosted by the existence of printed and electronic media specifically targeted to immigrants.

Conditions leading to economic isolation are rarely manifested in a large urban area. Interests and business exchanges are interlinked and carried out so rapidly that there would have to be a truly concerted effort to induce the economic isolation of a specific group. Relevant research has shown that there has been no such effort (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2004 and INE

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GSEE/ADEDY, 2004). The geographical placement of immigrant businesses in specific areas of the city cannot be seen as an indicator that induces economic isolation [see maps from (Kolios, 2003), in (Panteion University, 2004: index)]. These businesses are for the most part targeted to the mainstream public. The fact that specific immigrant businesses tend to congregate in the same area is probably the result of lower rents in the area as well as the feeling of security that is created by being in proximity with each other. It is also important to note that a large number of immigrants are in the employment of Greek businesses (INE GSEE/ADEDY, 2004: 272-280). All points indicate that there is no segregated immigrant economic system.

Majoritarian institutions do not really double. For the time being, immigrants do not have any strong institutional representation (apart from civil society) that could demand authority from the local or central government. There is also no duplication regarding non-majoritarian institutions like courts and independent authorities. It is for this reason that it is assumed that there is no parallel sphere of justice within the Athenian context.

Voluntary isolation due to negative discrimination probably does exist, given that this phenomenon can also be found in homogeneous communities. It is however, pertinent to make a distinction between: voluntary isolation, the action of discrimination and the experience/perception of discrimination.

Negative discrimination exists for instance on the part of Greek employers who, when asked about their stance with respect to migrant workers, are either neutral or negative towards them, expressing their conviction that economic migrants are to blame for the unemployment and lowered wages of Greeks (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2004: 59-62). Immigrants experience discrimination either due to the prejudices of local population or due to the institutional framework that allows discrimination, for instance on the basis of citizenship (Delithanassi, 2006: 28 and Bielefeldt, 2006: 6).

Voluntary isolation may also be the natural result of immigrants forming subgroups within their core group, based on criteria such as their education level. According to recent surveys, most immigrants have completed their

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primary or secondary education (Panteion University 2004: 53-54, INE GSEE/ADEDY, 2004: 246). Another reason for voluntary isolation is marriage between individuals of the same culture or religion (Janssen & Polat, 2006: 12-13). Finally, voluntary isolation may result from an individual being supported by a network controlled by the group, which means that the individual would not require assistance from a third party (INE GSEE/ADEDY, 2004: 272-273) [3].

The parameter of spatial isolation is of minor importance. Given that not all parameters are fulfilled, there is little importance in the geographical isolation that can be found in Votanikos, Kerameikos, Plateia Theatrou or elsewhere within the centre of the city or elsewhere (Panteion University 2004: 44). What is important is that there are no perfect parallel societies of economic immigrants either in Attica or the rest of the country[4].

Could parallel societies be dangerous?

With respect to the outcome of the creation of perfect or incomplete parallel societies, it could be argued that the non-existence of parallel societies would theoretically facilitate the assimilation of immigrants, with or without the help of a dominant perception of culture.

Meyer (2002: 360-365) points out that the formation of parallel societies could result in both hindering the individual integration of a migrant as well as being negative for the society as a whole, given that parallel societies not only support their members but also greatly limit them. This process is managed by the elite members of the groups, whose primary concern is the protection of their distinct identity. As we have seen however, the preservation of cultural attributes may at times be in opposition to the fundamental rights enjoyed by individuals and can also lead to questioning the rule of law. When one reaches this point, the line between questioning the social status quo and witnessing events like the ones that take place in the Parisian suburbs is dangerously fine.

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[3] An individual could require assistance at any integration stage. Baldwin-Edwards (2004: 324-329) makes a distinction between three essential stages: accommodation and employment; joining existing groups and settling down; forming ethnic communities and/or assimilation.
[4] Clear-cut parallel societies do not exist in Germany either (Bade, 2006: 5), except maybe for city-gangs with ethno-cultural features.

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Given that our goal is the co-development of social conditions by both mainstream and immigrant communities based on a fair arrangement (Walzer, 1983: 105), it is imperative that all citizens should be allowed to freely develop their personality in order to be able to pursue their aims within a framework of true liberty and justice. In order for this to take place, immigrants must join a moral and political community as equal members. They need to be "taxed" with the role of partaking in the collective decision-making process and the conviction that their destiny is as important as anyone else's must be imprinted in the collective mind (Dworkin, 1998: 192-309). In other words, the objective is to safeguard a minimum level of self-determination, which is also the reason why cultural diversity should not be an end in itself (Bielefeldt, 2006: 11).

Leitkultur: An answer to parallel societies?

Leitkultur, meaning a leading cultural ideology i.e. a dominant perception of culture, constitutes the opposite of the parallel society model. Its promotion is a means of prevention when multiculturalism or parallel societies are deemed unwelcome.

There are two basic theories pertaining to the integration of immigrants (Halm & Sauer, 2006: 19). The first one is based on the possibility of equal participation while retaining cultural differences, while the second one necessitates abandoning cultural attributes in order to achieve equal participation through assimilation. The first theory requires a state that is neutral with regards to regulating the co-existence of cultural minorities and the mainstream community. The second theory requires that the state maintains a dominant cultural model while also protecting the basic rights of minorities (Ostendorf, 2002: 121-131). The first model represents the French mode of thought. The second model is "implemented" in the Anglo-Saxon world, discussed greatly (yet not really implemented) in Germany and some times it is quite popular in Greek debates.

The term *Leitkultur* (which was coined during a period of increased fear over Islam) can mean that the immigrant is called upon to adopt and promote the basic values of the host country (e.g. through the citizenship test in Germany)

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and to recognise the multitude of elements that bind him/her to the majoritarian society. This system could however be linked to rigid integration policies and present a minority with the dilemma of either assimilating or being excluded (Bielefeldt, 2006: 5-9).

An alternative approach

Based on the above, we can conclude that parallel societies can be dangerous when they constitute incomplete stages of the integration process or pockets of immigrants that the majoritarian society has failed to integrate. Some of their elements however, as well as elements belonging to the concept of *Leitkultur*, could play an important role in a moderate eclectic approach.

Parallel societies can be constructed in cases where multiculturalism is allowed to develop without a plan, i.e. without a long-term strategy and appropriate integration policies, either because the state is incapable of formulating such policies or because neutrality has become an end in itself. There is no such thing as a dangerous social grouping *per se*. A grouping becomes dangerous when it meets existing social problems. In other words, as Shakespeare has written (Booth, 1977):

> *The summer's flow'r is to the summer sweet,*
> *Though to itself it only live and die,*
> *But if that flow'r with base infection meet,*
> *The basest weed outbraves his dignity:*
> *For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds;*
> *Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.*

The secular character, which is so highly prized by countries such as France, is not under dispute at this point, but what is becoming increasingly apparent is that secularism does not equate to indifference (Devers, 2005). Secularism has a dual character: on the one hand it dictates a non-religious public sphere and on the other it is translated as a neutral stance of the state with respect to religion (La laïcité dévoilée, 2004).

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Rainer Geißler, a sociology professor from the University of Siegen, has suggested a model of managing multiculturalism on the basis of seven fundamental principles (2003: 21):

i.   Acceptance of the beneficial outcomes of ethno-cultural diversity.

ii. Explicit recognition of the right to cultural difference.

iii. Cultural equity and mutual tolerance, without this excluding a hierarchy of cultural identities with that of the host country retaining the highest level.

iv. The "security and contact" hypothesis. The minority community's support increases an individual's self esteem and feeling of security, which enables him/her to branch out to other ethnic and cultural groups.

v.   Unity within diversity". The limits of a core of fundamental values and rules (e.g. constitution, common language) mark the boundaries between acceptable and unwelcome multiculturalism. Everyone has to accept the primacy of the core values, whereas the definition of compatible particularities and exact boundaries are a matter of political discussion and compromise.

vi. Equal opportunities. A combination of the liberal (*status negativus*) right to being different with the right of equal participation (*status activus*).

vii. The so called "management hypothesis". Sustainable multiculturalism is not a random occurrence; it is the outcome of certain policies.

This model is characterised by theoretical adequacy, though - practically speaking - it requires long-term structural planning. Its breadth is congruent with the fact that the term "social cohesion" is often used as a synonym for the term "integration" (Panteion University, 2004: 5), implying that communities with effective social cohesion and inclusion strategies also integrate immigrants successfully. This correlation may in fact give good reason for a holistic approach of immigrant integration issues. After all, this question is a political one, i.e. a problem that should be tackled by the political community rather than merely a …parallel issue.

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Spatial proximity and social distance: Albanian immigration in Thessaloniki, Greece

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Spatial proximity and social distance: Albanian immigration in Thessaloniki, Greece

Abstract

Albanian immigration in Greece is a broad phenomenon this last decade. The intensity in which it takes place makes Albanian population movements one of the most important intra-European fluxes. In addition, in a very short time period Albanian migration seems to progressively present some of the most characteristic features of international migration, such as its stabilisation after family reunions, the decision for long-stay installation after children's Greek schooling, etc. However, Albanian migration in Greece is also very different from some classic migration patterns, particularly as far as spatial segregation matters are concerned.

Although a considerable number of studies – academic research, in particular – have dealt with relevant themes, most existing research principally examines Albanian immigration and its effects on Greek society and its economy, without considering the actors of these phenomena, i.e. Albanians themselves, their practices and modes of life.

It should also be pointed out that, hitherto, no research has coped with the geographical "patterns" that Albanian migration takes, nor the further analysis why such "patterns" occur. Therefore, it seems essential and even urgent – particularly after the 2005 events on the Parisian suburbs – to deal with relevant themes.

The object of this paper is double: on one hand, is to illustrate the spatial pattern that Albanian migration takes on in a Greek metropolis, through the example of Thessaloniki. In this way, Albanian immigrants' mode of territorial insertion is to be revealed, by centering our interest on Albanians' geography in the city, and more particularly on the question if they constitute precise communities based on ethnicity or alternatively if they rather offer a more "diffused" prototype within the urban space. Based on cartography – maps of the city of Thessaloniki in which the places where Albanians and other immigrant households reside – we will argue that it is this second hypothesis that seems to be confirmed; Albanians, opposite to other immigrant group, tend to be "diffused" into the urban space.

On the other hand, we are also interested in exploring if this pattern of territorial insertion – or better inclusion – is equally interpreted in a social inclusion too. In other words, if, in view of the spatial proximity of Albanians to Greeks, we could argue that a social proximity between them also exists. As it will be demonstrated through this specific case – using data from interviews with Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki – the spatial distance/ proximity does not provide a measure for the social distance/ proximity.

Introduction

Since the collapse of the communist regimes in the Soviet Union and in – one after the other – the countries of Eastern Europe, we have witnessed a slow process of re-unification of the European space and of the Balkan region, in particular. Among

other consequences, all this has resulted in liberalising population movements, until recently strictly prohibited.

Thus, traditional immigration countries, such as Germany and France, have seen their populations increase due to "new" migratory flows principally from Eastern and Central European countries. Simultaneously, a parallel phenomenon emerges: Greece, Portugal, Italy and Spain, traditionally emigration countries until the 1970s, face a considerable inversion of their migratory balance due to the return of their emigrants to the homeland, as well as to their sudden transformation into immigrant-receiving countries.

The most flagrant case of all seems to be Greece, which reaches rates of immigration comparable to those of Germany, all within a very short time span (OECD, 2006). In addition, to an incomparable extent with other countries of Southern Europe, Greece has been subject to a distinct immigration impact: the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, some of which share borders with Greece. The principal flows come from a single country, Albania (Cavounidis, 2002: 45).

Having arrived principally in 1991, but also in 1997 after the bank crisis in Albania, Albanian immigrants are far too numerous than other foreigners in Greece. Indeed, they constitute almost 58 percent of foreigners residing actually in Greece, their number being officially 438,036 persons, but, according to the current estimations[1] reaching and even surpassing 650,000 persons.

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[1] For instance, see Baldwin – Edwards (2002), according to whom there are 800,000 – 1,000,000 migrants in Greece; the share of Albanians in Greece is in general 65% of the total migratory population. Besides, according to IMEPO, the number of immigrants, in March 2005, was estimated between 1,600,000 and 1,700,000 persons of which 1,100,000 residing in Greece and the other 600,000

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Contrary to several other migratory groups which tend to be concentrated in specific places within cities, often by forming "ethnic" neighbourhoods, Albanians are rather diffused in the urban territory, without ethnically marking the space. In other words, there does not seem to be any precise geographic territory within cities reserved to Albanians, i.e. "Albanian neighbourhoods" or "enclaves".

The object of this paper is double: on one hand, it deals with illustrating the spatial pattern that Albanian migration takes on in a Greek metropolis, through the example of Thessaloniki. In other words, we are interested to reveal the Albanian immigrants' mode of territorial insertion. For this reason, we will illustrate the Albanian households' distribution in Thessaloniki, and compare it with that of another migratory group, Bulgarians. A map of the metropolis will be presented, in which the areas of residence of those two immigrant groups will appear.

On the other hand, we are also interested in exploring if this pattern of territorial insertion/ inclusion is equally interpreted in a social inclusion too. In other words, if, in view of the spatial proximity of Albanians to Greeks, we could argue that a "social proximity" between them also exists. By "social proximity" we do not imply – as it should be – the "proximity" generated by similar social standing, i.e. the belonging to similar social classes. Being inspired by the "classical" article of Chamboredon & Lemaire *"Proximité spatiale et distance sociale. Les grands ensembles et leur peuplement"*, we simply paraphrase its title, without intending to illustrate the "social distance" of Greeks and Albanians, in the sense of living

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being seasonal workers and temporary migrants (Kotzamanis A., 2005). It is thus quite secure to maintain that the residing Albanian population in Greece is, indeed, about 600,000-650,000 individuals, without including the number of those moving back and forth for seasonal work, which is quite important but impossible to estimate.

standards and social classification differences; rather we are interested in showing the absence of social relations between the two groups and more particularly the social exclusion that Albanians may suffer, even if a certain degree of spatial inclusion is taking currently place. As theory and research have previously showed (Park, 1926 and 1929; Chamboredon & Lemaire, 1970), spatial proximity does not provide a measure for the social proximity, and our study, through this specific case, will confirm once more this rule. In order to provide sufficient evidence for all this, we will be using data from interviews with Albanian immigrants in Greece and in Thessaloniki[2].

Albanians in Thessaloniki: diffusion into the urban territory

Several academics have maintained the thesis that Albanians are rather "diffused" within the urban territory, their geographical dispersion being mainly explained by their socio-economic characteristics (Lamprianidis & Lymperaki, 2001: 208-210, Hatziprokopiou, 2004: 330).

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[2] This empirical study was conducted on December 2005 – June 2006 to 19 Albanian immigrants residing in the Department of Thessaloniki, as part of the research "Supporting the Design of Migration Policies: an Analysis of Migration Flows between Albania and Greece" financed by the World Bank (2005-2006), (WB LSMS/2006v). The sample interviewed in Greece (about 130 individuals) has been selected in the basis of information gathered during the 2005 Living Standards Measurement Survey, carried out in Albania in 2005. For more on the LSMS survey see World Bank & INSTAT (2003). It is to underline that the interviews were conducted either in Albanian or in Greek, according to the interviewee's preference.

According to a survey conducted in 1999 in Athens, 35% of households whose the head was of Albanian nationality lived in the municipality of Athens, without forming Albanian "enclaves" (Emmanouel, 2002: 55, 58-59). The findings of Iosifides & King (1998) were similar; Albanian immigrants are dispersed into the whole city, offering a stronger concentration in the most underprivileged places; still, without being excluded from the more expensive districts. As for Thessaloniki, in the study undertaken by Lamprianidis & Lymperaki (2001:208-210), the dwellings of the interviewed Albanians were in close proximity to those of Greeks belonging to popular social strata; this rather occurred in the downtown area and some western districts, while a much lower percentage of migrants also lived in the eastern part of the city, which, in general, is inhabited by higher socio-professional categories. When this was the case, Albanians' dwellings were, according to the same authors, of very precarious standing. Hatziprokopiou (2003: 1045-1046) claims, in addition, that situations simulating to ghettos, namely important concentrations of Albanians in specific degraded districts, where one would observe a progressive displacement of the local population, were not being identified until now.

Hence, it seems that an important number of researchers stick to the assumption that there is not any precise geographical territory reserved to Albanians within large Greek cities, essentially Athens and Thessaloniki. Regarding Thessaloniki, second Greek metropolis after the capital, we have previously maintained (Kokkali, 2005 and 2007), after having studied the census data of 2001, that indeed, there was not observed high geographical concentrations of Albanian migrants at specific places of the city, at least as far as the examined spatial scales were concerned.

The maps that follow provide the evidence for this; studied in two different scales, Albanian migrants are almost omnipresent in the metropolis. Under the objective to better illustrate this, there has been privileged a comparison between the spatial migratory patterns of Albanian migrants, on one hand, and, on the other, of migrants of Bulgarian origin, those latter forming one of the four more numerous foreign communities of Thessaloniki, after Albanians. Indeed, Bulgarians are obviously more concentrated than Albanians in specific places of the Greek metropolis.

The maps present the Location Quotient (LQ) in Thessaloniki, for Albanians and Bulgarians. The Location Quotient is an index used in order to compare two concentrations of a subgroup: the subgroup's concentration in a geographical unit, compared to the subgroup's concentration into the entire study area[3]. If the percentage of an (ethnic) group in a local areal unit matches its percentage for the urban area overall, the LQ value is near 1 (in white in the maps), which signifies that, in the spatial entity concerned, the population in question (e.g. Albanians) offers an average distribution compared to the one of the entire study area (e.g. Thessaloniki Conurbation). Therefore, values less than 1 (LQ<1, in colours of the red scale), should be interpreted in a slighter presence of the population in question compared to its average presence in the entire city. Darker colours (blue scale) and values more than 1 (LQ>1) signify the opposite, and blue-black colour, in particular, demonstrates a very important concentration of the examined population in the specific spatial entity.
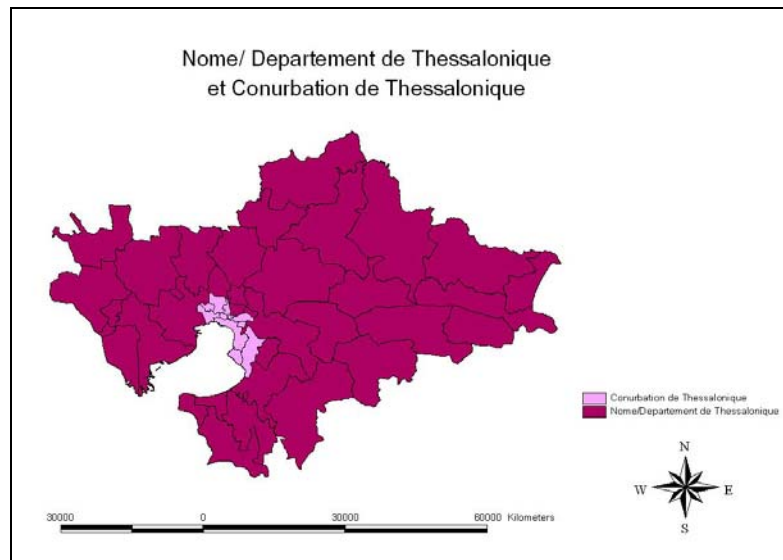
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[3] For more, see Brown & Chung (2006: 129). For more on indices measuring the dimensions of segregation see Massey & Denton (1988).

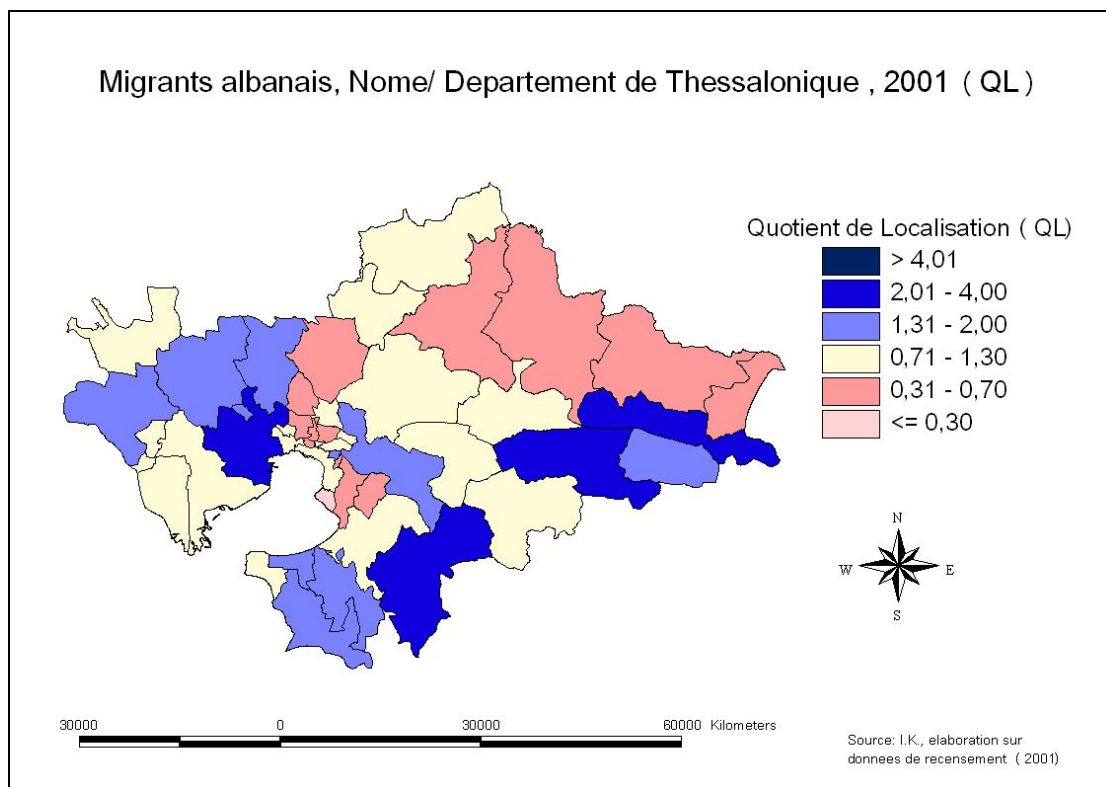*Figure 1a: Greece and the Department of Thessaloniki (NUTS 3)*

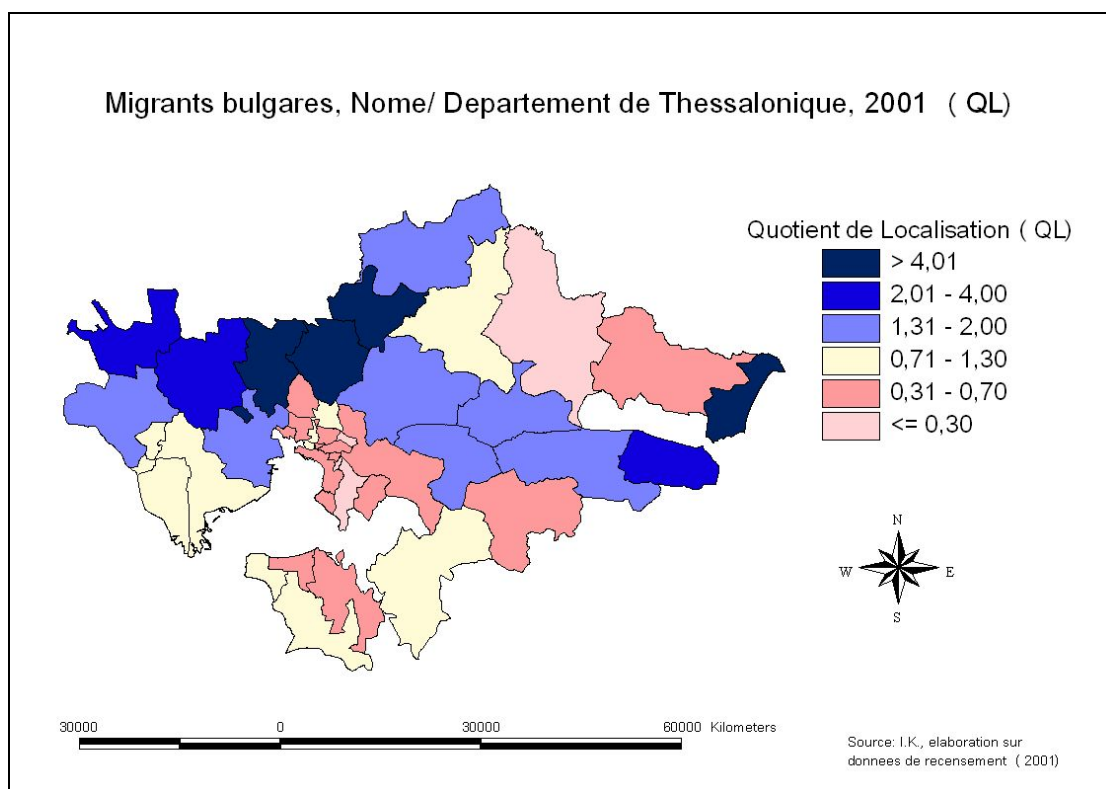*Figure 1b: Department of Thessaloniki (NUTS 3) with its communes and Thessaloniki Conurbation*

The first two maps (*Figure 2a* and *2b*) respectively illustrate the places of residence of the Albanian and Bulgarian migrants in the Department of Thessaloniki, according to data of the last census in Greece (2001). The Department is geographically divided in its constitutive municipalities/ communes.

Figure 2a: Albanian migrants in the Department of Thessaloniki

Migrants albanais, Nome/ Departement de Thessalonique , 2001 (QL)

Quotient de Localisation (QL)

> 4,01
2,01 - 4,00
1,31 - 2,00
0,71 - 1,30
0,31 - 0,70
<= 0,30

30000   0   30000   60000 Kilometers

Source: I.K., elaboration sur
donnees de recensement (2001)

Figure 2b: Bulgarian migrants in the Department of Thessaloniki

Migrants bulgares, Nome/ Departement de Thessalonique, 2001 (QL)

Quotient de Localisation (QL)

> 4,01
2,01 - 4,00
1,31 - 2,00
0,71 - 1,30
0,31 - 0,70
<= 0,30

30000   0   30000   60000 Kilometers

Source: I.K., elaboration sur
donnees de recensement (2001)

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If the two maps are compared, it becomes clear that Albanians' distribution is much more diffused than that of Bulgarians; first of all, the former do not offer any great concentrations (in blue-black), while the latter are over-represented in three communes of the north-western part of the department, as well as in one more commune in the east. On the other hand, the Albanian presence seems to be rather balanced, since there is a great number of communes for which the LQ is near 1 (in white). This is hardly the case of Bulgarians, for whom the communes "in white" are far less numerous.

If we examine the households' localisation of those two immigrant communities in a finer scale, we reach the same conclusions. In the subsequent maps, geographical divisions are made on the basis of Postal Codes (PC) within communes/ municipalities[4]. In other words, the spatial scale used is the intra-commune Postal

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[4] It is to be noticed that the limits of those PC sectors do not coincide with the communes'/municipalities' border lines. Generally, large communes, such as the central Municipality of Thessaloniki, are cut out in several sectors with different PC. This, however, is not a universal rule; there are some municipalities that, despite their extended surface, are represented by only one Postal Code (e.g. Pylea, Evosmos). Those geographical cut-outs are of very large scale and consist, therefore, a major problem to our research.

Indeed, it would be more accurate to use geographical cutting-ups of lower scale, because the actual sectors often refer to very extended areas that can mask segregation phenomena in a finer spatial scale than the one studied. In other words, even if a migrant group's spatial distribution appears diffused in the maps, the sectors utilised could, considering their size, "disguise" ethnic concentrations in an inferior scale. The ideal spatial scale of the maps below would be a cutting- up on a quarter or census-sector basis (Kokkali, 2005); but such statistical data was refused to us, since it gets "bogged down" to the criterion of personal data protection of the National Statistical Service of Greece (ESYE).

Code sectors. The data utilised for this purpose is provided by the last Population and Housing Census in Greece (2001). The whole study area is the Conurbation of Thessaloniki, consisted of 15 municipalities and communes[5].

**Figure 3a: Albanian migrants in the Thessaloniki Conurbation**
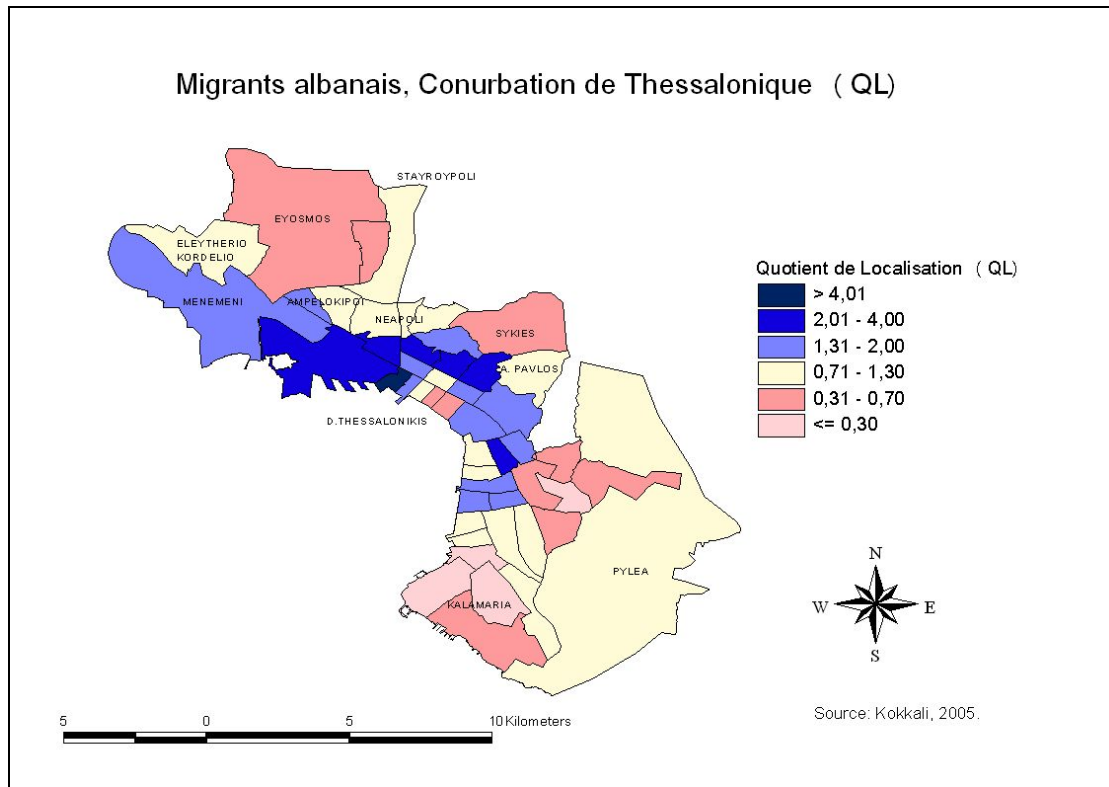
Source: Kokkali (2005), elaboration on census data of 2001.

Regarding Albanians, they are over-represented (in blue-black) in only a very small part of the central municipality (port area), which forms the unique "pocket" of Albanian concentration in the city. As easily understood, Albanians are, otherwise, very present into the entire city-centre (apart from the quarters that go along the sea, where rents are extremely high), (Kokkali, 2005).

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[5] From the maps below, no data was available for three municipalities and one commune of the Conurbation: commune of Eykarpia, and the municipalities of Polihni, Triandria and Panorama, all of which were not taken into consideration.

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Figure 3b: Bulgarian migrants in the Thessaloniki Conurbation
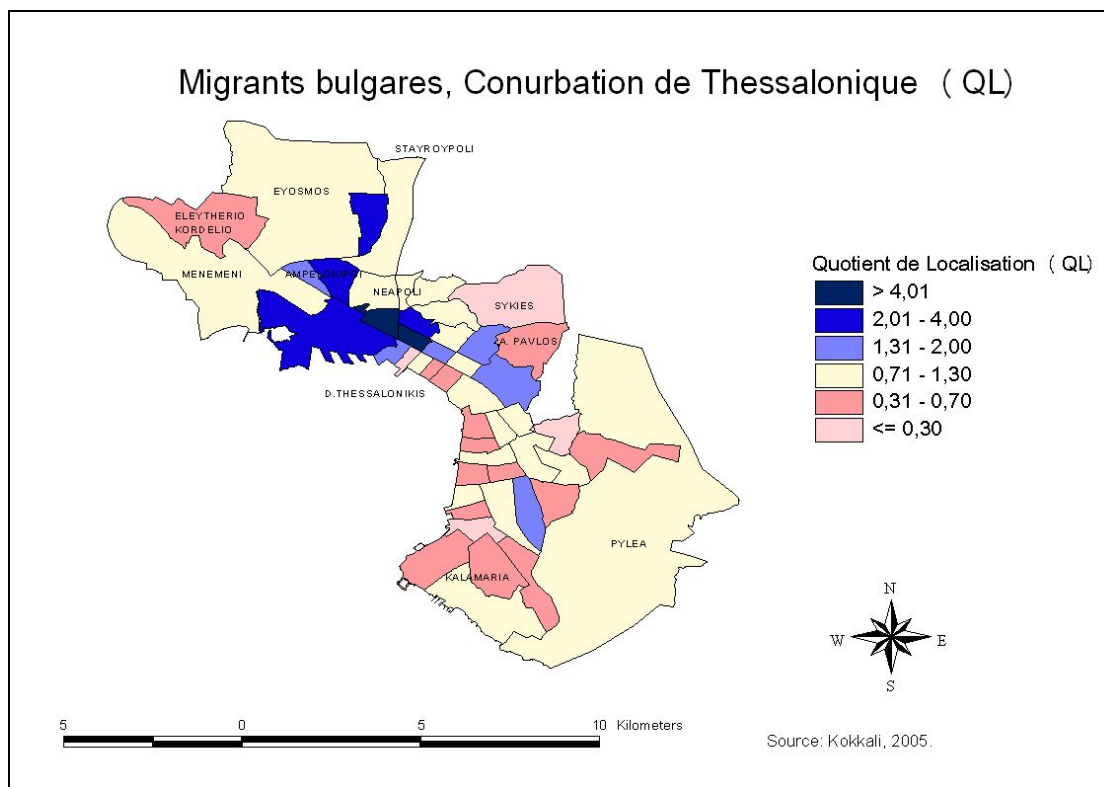
Source: Kokkali (2005), elaboration on census data of 2001.

Bulgarian immigrants are concentrated in a small section of the urban agglomeration of Thessaloniki: essentially, the western part of the city-centre and in some districts situated in the west of this latter. As far as the rest of the Conurbation is concerned, Bulgarians are either under-represented (in red colours) or offer a balanced presence (in white). It is, however, necessary to underline that the parts of the city where Bulgarians are absent (or almost) are much more numerous than those of Albanians. In addition, in a first view, Bulgarians have a "balanced presence" in a bigger part of the city than Albanians. Still, the districts where they have mainly a "balanced presence" are the very large municipalities of Pylea, Evosmos and Menemeni, for which we cannot reach secure conclusions, if we take into consideration the previous observations concerning the large surface of a commune together with its representation by one and only Postal Code. In view of all this, we can maintain that Bulgarians, contrary to Albanians, offer a considerable concentration on the centre- west part of the Conurbation.

As we have just observed, the migrants of Albanian origin offer a considerably more diffuse distribution in the metropolis of Thessaloniki, this being true for both

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geographical scales examined. Albanians, in addition, hardly present any "pocket" of concentration, contrary to the Bulgarian pattern. Also, the places where Albanians are not very present are considerably fewer than the respective places of Bulgarians, who are "absent" from a very broad part of the city, and who, on the other hand, seem to gather to each other in a more systematic way than Albanians. Indeed, a comparison of the places where Albanians and Bulgarians are under-represented has revealed important differences between the former and the latter.

In view of those observations, it seems rather secure to affirm that the migrants of Albanian origin are omnipresent in the city, as well as that their community hardly makes up a precise geographical substance in the city of Thessaloniki; what then considerably differentiates them from other migratory groups, in this case Bulgarians. The latter seem to express, in geographical terms, a predilection to gather to each other or at least to neighbour to other compatriots.

Spatial proximity and social distance

Some definition

The term of "proximity" indicates the vicinity in space, like its opposite, "going away", involves the existence of a long distance – geographical distance and time-distance – between two or more places, cities or people. Some researchers in social geography associate social proximity to spatial proximity and question the relations between them (Lecourt & Baudelle, 2003: 2-3).

The "social proximity" can be defined as the similarity of households' socio-economic conditions, as well as the cultural affinity binding people (Allain, 2000).

The expression can also indicate, more largely, the relations established between individuals or groups on the basis of a social bond (Lecourt & Baudelle, *op.cit.*).

The social effectiveness of physical proximity is an old subject of interrogation. Georg Simmel (1999) implies that the vicinity can generate high-conflict situations (as soon as it leaves its normal state which is peace, according to his own words), (Lefeuvre, 2005: 6). What's more, close proximity with strangers, according to him, arouses a "slight aversion", which can escalate into hate (Häußermann & Siebel, 2001).

Furthermore, Maurice Halbwachs (1913: 5) observed the effects produced by the coexistence of different social groups. In the examined cases (neighbouring of industrial workers and farmers), the space proximity is active for it renders the members of the two social groups conscious of what opposes one another (Lefeuvre, *op.cit.*).

According to the Chicago School, besides, in the city, the proximity can play a part in the reinforcement of local particularities and, thus, of a given area's homogeneity. The newcomer is subject to the influence of the district where he settles, adapting more or less completely to its conditions and its codes. Park (1929) stresses the importance of life histories in order to concretely grasp the permanent interactions between, on one hand, the residential trajectories of the families and, on the other, the evolution of their attitudes, their states of mind, their prospects and above all the ideas that they have of themselves (Grafmeyer & Joseph, 2004: 36).

If the Chicago School had stopped there, its concept of the urban environment would undoubtedly be in continuity with the usual representations of the traditional "village community". But this would neglect the other slope of their analyses, completely essential and more original: since the city puts in contact people who are

basically stranger to each other, the physical proximity does not necessarily have this mechanical effect of standardisation of individuals and the permanent reaffirmation of social bonds, that we believe being able to identify – undoubtedly hastily – in small traditional communities (Grafmeyer & Joseph, *op.cit.*).

This social distance which separates the townsmen is initially due to the inevitable heterogeneity of a complex society, therefore a differentiated society. A natural area is never completely homogeneous, Park notes (1926), and the townsman's neighbour is not really his "similar". Under these conditions, physical proximity does not exclude the social distance. It can, on the contrary, reveal it and reinforce it, by causing quite different tensions and conflicts – small frictions observable in the village community. But more fundamentally, if physical proximity is not the guarantor of social proximity, it is because, as Park (1926) points out, space is not the only obstacle to communication and social distance is not always measurable in terms purely physical. The ultimate obstacle to communication, adds Park, is the "self-awareness", the concern which everyone has to affirm his individuality vis-à-vis others, which then leads him to the competition for his status, to the fight for maintaining his personal prestige, his point of view and self-esteem (Grafmeyer & Joseph, *op.cit.*, 37).

We will not pretend to have exhaustively examined, herein, the notions of spatial and social proximity, nor the relation between them. Yet, it becomes rather clear that proximity in space creates occasions for people to meet. After all, we cannot maintain that spatial proximity is without any incidence on the social differences and similarities. Research on the vicinity relations (Chamboredon & Lemaire, 1970) showed that the some of the observations above mentioned (Maurice Halbwachs, Robert E. Park, etc.) did not loose any of their topicality. The vicinity, because it

allows the deployment of all forms of indirect communication, undoubtedly plays an irreplaceable social role: it remains a condition, which not only supports the confrontation of manners, but also contributes to the manufacture of differences and resemblances between the ways of life (Lefeuvre, 2005: 6).

Taking under consideration all this, we do not intend, as aforesaid, to illustrate the "social distance" of Greeks and Albanians; and this certainly not in the strict sense of "class" distance, based on differences of socio-professional stratification. We will rather opt for a less strict but more vague definition of "social distance" as the opposite of "social proximity", this latter indicating the relations established between individuals or groups on the basis of a social bond (Lecourt & Baudelle, *op.cit.*).

We saw, in the previous section, that Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki are rather diffused in the urban space, thus not spatially isolated by Greeks. In view of this proximity in space, we are interested in exploring the existence or absence of social relations between the two groups. Moreover, we are keen on examining what kind of social relations exist between them, if they exist at all. In other words, given that a certain degree of spatial "inclusion" of Albanians is taking currently place, we are interested in exploring if this pattern of territorial insertion/ inclusion is equally interpreted in some kind of social inclusion too, i.e. social relations with Greeks or complete exclusion of Albanians by Greeks.

Still, it is to notice that we do not intend at all to deal with issues of social integration, adaptation, incorporation or assimilation, whatever the employed term may be. And thus, first of all, for reasons of ideological standpoint; the discourse on "integration", whatever the name we give it, is perceptible only by those that are already "integrated", and do not form, therefore, the object of integration (Sayad, 1999: 314). In other words, the discourse on integration is a discourse of the

"dominant", that is to say the societies of migrants' installation. In addition, integration, while involving the migratory population directly, but as aforesaid being always the subject of discourse of the host society, requires the abandonment of every feature calling upon a culture other than the "dominant" culture – and this, whatever the variations of the model may be – as if the migrant never existed before the migratory episode. This implies a hierarchy of cultures, ways of life, religious choices; but the migrants' cultures and practices are almost always considered to be inferior to "ours"', which, in final analysis, manifests racism, or better neo-racism[6] (Balibar, 1988: 33) subjacent or open, according to the case.

What's more, it seems to us that the discourse on integration, adaptation, assimilation and so on, is an extremely deceitful discourse; as Sayad (1999: 309) puts it *"the concept of integration is eminently polysemous, with the particularity that every new meaning given to it – occurring from a new context – does not completely erase the old meanings. [...] The word integration, as we understand it today, inherited the meanings of other concomitant concepts like for instance, those of adaptation, assimilation. Each one of these concepts is supposed to be new, but actually, they are all only different expressions, at different times, in different contexts and for different social uses, of the same social reality, the same sociological process. [...] All occurs as if, having to name the same process in different social and mental contexts, each era needed to give itself its own taxonomy"*.

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[6] The neo-racism, "forms part of a 'racism without races' [...]: a racism whose dominating topic is not biological heredity, but the irreducibility of the cultural differences; a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups compared to others, but 'only' the harmfulness of the obliteration of borders, the incompatibility of ways of life and traditions: what one could rightly call a differentialist racism" (Balibar, *op.cit.*)

For the above reasons, although that we will try to explore if any social inclusion of Albanians in Thessaloniki is taking place, the objective, here, will not be to "measure" the degree of Albanians' adaptation, integration or assimilation to the host society.

Spatial proximity and social distance: Albanians in Thessaloniki

Before proceeding to the presentation of our empirical findings[7], it seems essential to underline some basic characteristics of our sample, essentially our respondents' Greek language qualifications and educational level, as well as the length of their stay in Greece. And this, because having social relations with the host society demands – in most cases – a certain degree of understanding and using of the "hosts'" language, which – in turn – is function of the length of stay, but also of educational qualifications overall.

Vis-à-vis the level of education, almost one out of three individuals has completed 12 years of education in Albania, while hardly 1% of the respondents had barely any schooling (only 4 years). In general, the average years of study for our

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[7] We will be using, in general – for questions for which we do not consider that the place of residence (Thessaloniki or elsewhere in Greece) plays a significant role – the percentages concerning the whole survey in Greece, and not only the one in Thessaloniki. The reason for this is that the overall percentages are statistically more reliable; in view of the very large number of variables used (number of questions in the questionnaire) an important number of respondents needs to be taken into consideration. This cannot be achieved if we use uniquely Thessaloniki's sample.

On the contrary, for questions concerning directly the space of residence (for instance neighbour relations, etc.) we will be also using data concerning Thessaloniki, in comparison to the overall results.

sample is 10,6 years. Additionally, more than ⅓ of the respondents declared to have a good knowledge of the Greek language, more than 70% has good, very good or excellent knowledge, and less than 1% declared that they can hardly speak Greek or cannot speak Greek at all. In other words, most of the respondents declare speaking Greek more or less fluently, which was rather expected considering the large number of respondents living in Greece for quite a long time.

Indeed, as far as this last issue is concerned, more than half of the sample has been living in Greece up to 10 years (only 8% have been living there for less than 5 years, while 10% more than 15 years) and more than 82% from 5 to 14 years. The average stay in Greece is 9,5 years, which means that only a small percentage of our respondents are *primo-migrants*. If we take into account that Albania's border first opened just after 1990, we can firmly maintain that a large number of the respondents belong to the first migratory wave from Albania (Kotzamanis, 2006: 5, 7).

Regarding the socio-economic context within which the process of migrant inclusion or exclusion takes place, a key role is played by the immigrants' integration into the local labour market. Besides, other indicators of their socio-economic situation in the host country, such as their living conditions, are – in an important part – functions of their position in the labour market and, consequently, of their monthly income. Exclusion from the labour market and lack of access to formal registered employment form serious obstacles to immigrants' incorporation and are related to a tendency towards their marginalisation (Hatziprokopiou, 2003: 1040).

A considerable amount of literature deals with the vulnerable character of the immigrant employment in Greece (Iosifides & King, 1998; Fakiolas 2000; Lazaridis, 1999; Psimmenos, 1998 and 2001). As for Albanians, more particularly, they are, generally, believed to be a migrant group facing conditions of poverty and social

exclusion, employed mainly in the informal labour market and thus performing unstable jobs without access to social security (Lazaridis, 1999; Lazaridis & Psimmenos, 2000; Iosifides & King, 1998; Psimmenos, 1998 and 2001). More recent research, however, as for instance the empirical findings of Hatziprokopiou (*op.cit.*) from Thessaloniki question and refine this dominant perception about Albanians' integration in the labour market. Indeed, Hatziprokopiou finds no evidence of absolute exclusion from the labour market in general, i.e. unemployment. Exclusion from the formal labour market is, as he adds, more common, along with limited access to "dignified" jobs and considerable exploitation in terms of wage, working hours and social security. However, Hatziprokopiou observes a tendency towards accessing better jobs, more stable employment, higher wages and social security (Hatziprokopiou, *op.cit.*, 1045).

Our findings are slightly different and could be placed somewhere between these two points of view, a highly pessimistic and a rather optimistic one. Regarding the first occupation found when they entered Greece for the first time, 70% of our respondents were daily-paid employees, 40% working in agriculture, breeding, etc. (primary sector) and another 25% in constructions (secondary sector). Yet, we can observe a little improvement of the situation compared to the current occupation in Greece: while 67% remains daily-paid, more than 70% are full-time workers, a fact implying their integration into the labour market and a certain amelioration of their situation. The percentage of those working in the construction sector has increased enormously from 25% to 47%, while the number of primary-sector workers decreased in 13%, compared to the percentages of the first occupation in Greece. In general, we can observe a clear movement, during Albanians' stay in Greece, from the agricultural

sector to constructions (where the percentage has been doubled) and secondarily, to services (that were also doubled).

In addition, more than 70% of the sample stated that their job is officially registered and that they are currently insured. However, if we look closely at the insurance stamps collected, we can see that the highest rate (27% of the sample) corresponds to the law's minimum number of social security stamps annually requested in order to obtain a residence permit. This means that even if they are insured, employers pay the minimum insurance for them. Still, 20% of the sample is not insured, while 18% has fewer stamps than the minimum demanded for the residence permit's renewal. It becomes clear, then, that while we cannot talk of exclusion from the labour market, or even from the formal labour market since the majority of jobs are officially registered, we can neither maintain that Albanians in Greece enjoy a sufficient inclusion into this market, mainly because of their inadequate social security.

Yet, almost 20% of our sample has never been unemployed. From the rest, less than one out of ten received unemployment benefits. This underlines, once more, the fact that the majority of our respondents are not properly insured, which results in their exclusion from any unemployment benefits, and which, in the long term, could turn into a more permanent exclusion from the labour market and finally to some kind of marginalisation.

Half of the respondents declared that their monthly income is less than 700 euros, while 28% earns 700-800 euros per calendar month. The financial instability in a year's span, due mainly to seasonal and occasional jobs, is noteworthy: almost 40% declares a minimum income of less than 300 euros monthly, while 30% of the sample stated as maximum monthly income more than 1100 euros (Kotzamanis, 2006: 8-9).

The monthly incomes' variation during a year underlines once more our doubts about the sufficient inclusion into the labour market, and consequently to society as well.

Indeed, one person interviewed out of four considers that his/her living standards are 25% lower from the Greeks' living standards and another 20% that they are 50% lower from the Greek living standards. Regarding their payment compared to the average payment (for the same labour done by a Greek worker), less than ⅓ of the respondents declare that they are equally paid, while 6 over 10 persons believe that they are unequally paid. From those that declared being paid less than Greeks, approximately 50% think that they earn up to 30% less than a Greek, and ⅓ declare they get paid 30-50% less. As for the problems faced at work during the last year, the main problem encountered is payment delays, while being less paid than agreed seems to be another major problem (Kotzamanis, 2006: 11, 13).

It seems, therefore, that Albanians' incorporation into the labour market, which is considered to be an essential step for the immigrants' social inclusion to the host society, presents a rather complex image of inclusion – exclusion; Albanians, without been excluded from the formal labour market, since their jobs are registered and they themselves are socially insured, they are neither fully included. That is why, as aforesaid, employers pay for their Albanian employees the minimum possible to the insurance services, which, in turn, does not allow them to access unemployment benefits as the rest of workers in Greece. This certainly is a form of social exclusion that can take – in the long term – severe dimensions. In addition, in accordance to other authors' findings, immigrants consider they are generally paid less than

nationals (for the same work), what then influences their living standards, which are also thought to be far behind Greeks'[8] living standards.

Housing is one more of the faces that social exclusion may take. In view of the sample's housing, only a very low percentage seems to live under poor conditions (e.g. in temporary structures or hotels) while 93% live in a house or apartment. Regarding the dwellings' ownership, as expected, the great majority lives in rented residence and only 3% own their dwelling; whereas for 8% of the sample, housing is provided by the employer. Yet, one should not be misled by those findings, since 10% of the dwellings have toilet facility outside the house, while 1% does not have any toilet at all. Similar is the case regarding the supply of hot water in the house; approximately one person out of eight benefits from hot water in the dwelling. Only one person out of two has heating in the entire house, which means that immigrants' housing conditions are, finally, rather poor. Regarding household assets, however, the situation is more than satisfactory: all respondents have a television and 32% of them a satellite TV, 55% have a Hi-Fi stereo, 70% DVD or VCR, 85% a washing machine, 50% own a car and 26% a motor-bike, though only 20% possess a P.C. (Kotzamanis, 2006: 5, 13).

Nonetheless, more than half of the respondents (54%) declared to have encountered difficulties in purchasing or renting a house. The respective percentage for Thessaloniki, more particularly, is more than 63%. When asked about the two main difficulties, those who had such problems pointed out the high cost of rent (half of them). An impressive percentage of 43,5% specifically pointed that landlords refused to rent them a house because they are Albanians. This result underlines an

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[8] Greeks that do the same job with them.

important discrimination specifically towards Albanian immigrants in this field. In addition, 16% of the respondents concerned had problems in renting a house, because of their foreign origin in general. In other words, almost 6 out of 10 persons interviewed had difficulties in purchasing or renting a house because they weren't Greeks (Kotzamanis, 2006: 5).

It is then understood that under these conditions we cannot easily talk of Albanians' social inclusion into Greek society. As for Thessaloniki, from those having difficulties in finding a house (63%), half of them pointed out that "everything was too expensive", while 58% referred to the landlords' unwillingness to rent to people coming from Albania. Besides, the refusal to rent to foreigners overall (Albanians or others) reaches 67% of the answers. Those percentages are considerably higher than the respective for Greece as a whole.

Still, what is interesting is that, in spite of those results, 70% of the respondents declare feeling very good in their neighbourhood; 21% feel they are different from the others – they are the foreigners –, and only 4% declare to feel excluded[9]. However, it is to be noticed that the question concerns the present situation. Indeed, if we take into consideration that almost half of the sample lives in Greece for more than 10 years, we could suppose that they start "integrating" into the Greek society (Kotzamanis, 2006: 12-13).

Nonetheless, this does not appear to be a satisfactory explanation, particularly in combination to the discrimination Albanians are facing when renting a house. Surprisingly, in Thessaloniki, where landlords' racism is much more important from Greece overall, the percentage of those feeling "very good in their neighbourhood"

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[9] This was a question with multiple answers. The total, thus, is not 100%.

surpasses 79% (contrary to 70% for Greece as a total), while there was none to feel excluded. This could be interpreted in two ways: either Albanians respond "feeling good in their neighbourhood" so as not to underline their difference to Greeks, which might also be the case for the rest of Greece; or in Thessaloniki, due to its size – a big city but not as huge as Athens –, the sense of the "neighbourhood" is still present, what could then explain the emergence of vicinity solidarities and of a certain type of social bonds – including Greeks – based on this spatial proximity, that could, in turn, explain why Albanians are feeling "that good" in Thessaloniki. This, however, is quite a "risky" hypothesis and needs to be further explored.

Apart from issues dealing with the labour and the housing market, a serious indication of a process of social inclusion is the social bonds – friendly, etc. – with members of the host society. The majority of the sample (57%) mainly associates, in its free time, with co-nationals. However, an overwhelming percentage of respondents, reaching 79%, declare having Greek friends. Among them, 18% say that they have many Greek friends, and 60,5% a few. Those results must be analyzed after taking in consideration the fact that, by "friends", respondents often refer to their colleagues or their boss with whom they have a friendly, but formal – in the strictly work context – relationship (Kotzamanis, *op.cit.*, 15). Besides, the fact that one out of four individuals has been working with the same employer for 2-5 years and one out of five for more than 5 years (*op.cit.*, 8), rather explains the familiarity with their bosses (and their bosses' families) and their "friendly" relations with them. Yet, it does not confirm any social relation with them outside the work context. This assumption is rather reinforced by the important percentage of respondents who mainly associate with other Albanians.

Indeed, concerning the common characteristics with their friends, 7 respondents over 10 chose as answer "their language", in the sense that what relates respondents to their friends is the common language, i.e. Albanian; 60% of the sample points out as a common characteristic with friends the fact that they are Albanians and 39% the fact that they come from the same village/town (*op.cit.*, 13). In other words, for the majority of the sample, the common characteristics with friends are associated – in one way or another – to the common origin. As for Thessaloniki, the results are similar.

In addition, in the question if there is, in the city/ village of residence, a place of meeting with other country fellowmen, more than one person over two answered that there was such a place (53%). Among the concerned respondents, 53% meet their co-nationals in a café/bar (owned by a Greek), 41% in houses, and 28% in squares/streets[10]. As for the frequency of those meetings, it varies between 2 and 3 times per week for 29,5% of them, while another 23% meet almost every day, contrary to 30% who meet their county fellowmen only once a week (*op.cit.*, 12).

It becomes rather obvious then that our respondents mainly – and maybe uniquely – associate with other Albanians, even if they declare having also "Greek friends". The amount of indirect questions indicating so (such as the common characteristics with their friends, the place of meeting other Albanians, as well as the frequency of those meetings, etc.) provides sufficient evidence for such an assumption. Social proximity – as it is meant herein – does not seem, therefore, to be the case between Albanians and Greeks, despite their spatial proximity. Naturally, the social bonds of employers and employees exist, but they rather constitute an

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[10] Up to two answers were demanded; the total, therefore, is not 100%.

"obligation" for both groups: for Albanians, because they need to work, whereas for Greeks because they need to employ "cheaper" workers. We cannot deny, of course, the possible nuances of this. Still, social bonds other than employee- boss relations do not seem to be a universal rule, but rather the exception to it.

Another indicator of social exclusion is the problems – or their absence – concerning children in the school. From those of the respondents who have children that attend school and are, thus, concerned (39%), ¼ consider that their child/children face problems in their school environment. Isolation from their fellow pupils appears to be the main problem encountered, and concerns more than half of the children who have problems in the school (54,5% of them). Other significant problems encountered are language difficulties (27%) and unequal treatment by teachers (27%)[11]. Regarding the social life outside school (of children that attend school), only 11% of the respondents consider that their children face problems, and almost 96% of them declare that their children associate and play with Greek children and visit their houses very often (30%) or often (37%), (Kotzamanis, *op.cit.*, 14).

In view of the problems faced at school and the considerable percentages of concerned children, and taking into consideration that Albanian children attend the schools of their neighbourhoods, what then signifies that their classmates are very possibly their neighbours too, the 96% of respondents declaring that their children associate with Greek children seems rather exaggerated. Because, if so many Albanian children play with Greeks outside school, why do they have problems of isolation on the part of Greek children in school, especially when those latter are probably also the neighbours with whom they are supposed to associate with outside

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[11] Question with multiple answers. The total, therefore, is not 100%.

school? It seems therefore highly possible that we are dealing, in this case, with a similar issue to that of adult Albanians and their "Greek friends". When the question is direct "do you associate with Greeks" or "do you have Greek friends", the answer is always positive, because – very possibly – we do not want to appear "isolated", "excluded" and thus "different" from the dominant society, who, besides, constantly stigmatises immigrants of Albanian origin[12]. Yet, in questions more subtly expressed, answers are quite different and apparently more franc.

The issue of stigmatisation plays a key role to our study of Albanians' social exclusion/ inclusion in Greece. An important majority (62%) of the respondents declares not to have ever encountered any problems affiliated with their Albanian descent when served in Greek shops/restaurants. However, when the same question refers to public institutions/services, the percentage decreases to 39%, and those who had such an experience attain 58%. In other words, approximately 6 over 10 persons of the sample have experienced a discrimination of any kind due to their Albanian descent. Vis-à-vis the frequency of this experience, 21% among them declare that it happens sometimes, 18% most of times, 10,5% rarely and 8% always.

In addition, as for whether or not the respondents have been treated badly because of their Albanian descent in several different cases, the answers are highly negative: only 22% of the respondents declare having been treated badly by their employer, whereas the respective percentage regarding colleagues at work hardly attains 15%. What's more, when children are concerned and their treatment at school on the part of teachers, hardly 3% of the concerned parents declare having any problems with that. In view of these results, it seems to us that, once again,

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[12] For this issue, see – among others – Psimmenos, 2001; Psimmenos & Kassimati, 2004; Baldwin-Edwards, 2004; Tsoukala, 1999: 78-89.

respondents hesitate to directly reveal discrimination issues (if this was the case). Still, it has to be noticed that if by "treated badly", we imply racist violence or verbal violence, our respondents were very unlikely "treated badly", since this kind of incidence in Greece is not that current. This, however, is not the case when it comes to the police, where "treated badly" can absolutely signify all kinds of violence. Indeed, our respondents' answers reveal that 41% of them had problems with the police, while 44% in public services.

The considerable stigmatisation of the Albanian immigrant in Greece has generated phenomena of "identity dissimulation": an important number of Albanians in Greece proceed in an informal – or in some cases an official – change of their names[13] (Psimmenos, 2001: 184 ; Lamprianidis & Lymperaki, 2001: 173-185, 198; De Rapper Gilles, 2002; Pratsinakis, 2005; Hatziprokopiou, 2003; Kokkali, 2003: 67). As for our respondents, a great part of them (70%) declare never to have concealed their Albanian nationality, but a non negligible part of 26% did so. Besides, 61% declare not to have used a Greek name instead of their own, but, here again, an important percentage, reaching 35% – and for Thessaloniki in particular 42% – did so. In other words, more than one over three persons has indeed used a Greek name instead of his/her own. Among those, 62,5% acted in this way when went to get a job for the first time (Kotzamanis, *op.cit.*, 14-15).

Dealing with this last issue of stigmatisation and discrimination due to the Albanian origin has rather confirmed our doubts about the inadequate social inclusion of Albanians in Greece, and in Thessaloniki more particularly. If 6 persons over 10 experience discrimination of any kind due to their Albanian descent – this happening

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[13] Changing the Albanian name, when is or sounds Muslim, for a Greek one that is used in the contact with Greeks and sometimes in the domestic sphere too.

sometimes or most of times for 40% of the respondents concerned –, and if almost 1 individual out of 2 faces problems with the police because being Albanian, and if – last but not least –more than one over three persons had to change their Albanian names for Greek ones, it becomes rather obvious that we cannot talk of social inclusion of Albanians in Greece.

Some conclusions and remarks

We have tried in this paper to illustrate the spatial pattern that Albanian migration takes on in a Greek metropolis. By mapping the Albanian households' location in Thessaloniki, we have maintained that their community hardly makes up a precise geographical substance in the city contrary to other migratory groups, i.e. Bulgarians.

Having used as a departure point this "omnipresence" in urban space and the consequent vicinity of Albanians to Greeks, examined via the case of Thessaloniki, we have attempted to confirm, once again, the thesis according to which the spatial proximity does not necessarily involve social proximity too. It is to underline that by "social proximity" we did not imply the belonging to similar social classes but rather the existence (or eventually the absence) of social relations between Albanians and Greeks.

Being interested, therefore, in exploring the existence or absence of social relations between Albanians and Greeks, but not at all interested in issues of integration of Albanians to Greek society, we have mainly looked into three dimensions that we consider as significant to the study of social exclusion/ inclusion processes: labour market integration, housing and living conditions, as well as social

relations and discrimination in several different cases (such as the work place, public services and stores, school when children are concerned, etc.).

Through an empirical study based on semi-directive questionnaires, and after analysing our respondents' answers, our conclusions concerning social inclusion, or social proximity (as meant herein), were rather discouraging. Despite their spatial proximity, Albanians and Greeks do not really seem to associate to each other in a context other than the work context. There again, their association seems to be of one and only type: the employer – employee relation. When it comes to other social bonds, essentially friendship, our respondents' common characteristics with their friends are systematically "common language" and "common origin" – national or local. And even if they declare having "Greek friends", this does not really seem to be the case.

As for issues of integration to the labour market as well as of housing questions, Albanians' situation offers a complex image of exclusion – inclusion processes: we can certainly not affirm a total exclusion of Albanians in Greece and in Thessaloniki, but neither a satisfactory inclusion. In view of this, and if we wished to talk in terms of "integration" to the Greek society overall, a model of "differential exclusion" seems to better characterise this complex situation. By differential exclusion is meant that the migrants are accepted and incorporated in certain fields of the society (especially the labour market), but, on the other hand, the access to other fields (social security, citizenship, political participation, etc.) is refused to them (Castles & Miller, 1998: 244-249).

All in all, it becomes comprehensible that we cannot hypothesise social proximity of Albanians to Greeks, due to their spatial proximity. Yet, we can neither affirm the total absence of social interaction between them; generally, in a

neighbourhood level the two groups seem to get on well. But in order to confirm such a hypothesis closer qualitative research should be carried out.

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Migrants in the Greek urban area:
The example of Nea Ionia – Athens

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Abstract

Greece is known as a traditional country of emigration, while immigration to the country has become an issue during the 1980s and especially the 1990s. Nevertheless, besides this history of emigration well known and thoroughly analysed there has been a neglected history of immigration to Greece throughout its history as a Nation-State. From the elite immigration through which the administration apparatus has been formed, the case of heterochtones (subjects of the ottoman empire who migrated to the newly founded state) and the recruitment of skilled labour for the early industry and the public works during the second half of 19th century, to forced migrations of the early decades of 20th century and the new immigration since the 1970s, Greece seems to always have been a host country of several types of migrants.

Athens has always been a migrant city. Its development, concerning population as well economy, has always been based upon new migrants coming either from abroad or from rural areas. The actual metropolitan character of Athenian conurbation is not but the result of such successive flows. Departing from the case study of Nea Ionia, a close-to-the-centre suburb, we will investigate these transformations placing them into a historical perspective. Beginning with the foundation of the city in 1925 by refugees who arrived from Minor Asia after the defeat of the Greek Army in 1922, Nea Ionia has accepted successive waves of internal migrants who were coming to work in the flourishing textile industry. In the 1970s and early 1980s and after the crisis of textile industry, it was the turn of new international migrants to start arriving.

This triple transformation described above is narrowly linked to other transformations which have to do with local economy and labour market. Nea Ionia has been historically called the "little Manchester" because of its important textile industry. So, we could suggest that it has gradually transformed from "little Manchester" to "little Manchester", following the example of the "big Manchester", as far as industrialisation and deindustrialisation are concerned. If the first generation of its inhabitants has created through several difficulties and contradictions the industrial development of Nea Ionia and the second generation has followed upon this pattern, which is the role reserved for the third generation of settlers?

Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that immigration to Greece is not a merely recent phenomenon as the vast majority of relevant studies propose. We will give a brief overview of several kinds of migratory movements towards Greece during its short history as a Nation-state insisting on a precise socio-historic example, that of Nea Ionia in Athens.

A historical approach is not necessary only because it can provide us with the *possibilities* of the present (*virtualités du present*: Lefebvre, 2000), but mostly because it can put into perspective many of contemporary discourses and analyses on the migration phenomenon. An indicative example which demonstrates that very often some phenomena related to migration processes are presented today as merely new and transformative is the *transnationalist discourse*. Nevertheless, as Donna Gabaccia (2000) has clearly pointed out, transnational practices are from being new:

> "For most families touched by migration, a transnational way of life meant mainly the construction of family economies across national borders. Initially, family economies linked work camps populated by wage-earning Italian men (the "men without women") and rural Italian villages housing disproportionate numbers of women and children awaiting their return. Between 1870 and 1914, male work camps and rural Italian villages had more communication with each other than with the national societies that surrounded either". (Gabaccia, 2000, 82-83)

An overlooked history of immigration: the foundation of a society through immigration

In the case of Greece, every attempt of analysis commences with the repetitive assertion that "Greece has been transformed from an emigration country to an immigration one during the 1990s". Nevertheless, a more perspicacious regard upon Greece's social history provides us with numerous examples and types of migrant mobility. As Iordanis Psimmenos puts it:

> "The region historically has always experienced migratory flows of different magnitude, and Greece, not to mention Athens and Salonica (i.e. the two largest cities in the country), has always attracted labourers or traders from the Balkans or refugees

from Minor Asia, Cyprus and the Middle Eastern countries. In fact one could argue that *migration and displacement constitutes the contemporary history of Greece* if one includes the migratory flows that took place during the Ottoman empire, the two world wars, the civil-war and the contemporary flow of migrants and political refugees from Egypt (1957), Cyprus (1974), Kurdistan (1980s) as well from Pontos (1980s, late 1980 – 1990s)". (Psimmenos, 2000, 82; our emphasis)

Beginning from the very moment of the foundation of the Greek Nation-state, one could argue that the administration apparatus as well as the first urban centres have been both formed almost exclusively through in-migration movements. In the first case, there has been an organised recruitment procedure of administrative and scientific personnel from Bavaria and other regions of Western Europe (one could speak of an *elite immigration*); in the second case, one could safely argue that all the cities of the newly-founded State where in fact formed and developed through continuous migratory movements, especially from regions of the Ottoman Empire. This is clear whether we look at the case of the first industrial and commercial centre of the country, Ermoupolis, which was initially founded by refugees from Chios (see among others Kardasis, 1991), whether we look at the case of the first capital of the State, Nafplion, where the natives represented only the 2.5% of the total population in 1825 (see Table 1), whether in the case of "Manchester of the East" (*Μαγγεστρία της Ανατολής*), Piraeus, which was populated through official settlement policies by immigrants from Chios, Hydra and Crete (Tsokopoulos, 1984).

Table 1: Migrant cities I: Nafplion (1825)

Place of origin	Households	Individuals	%
Nafplion	105	391	**2,5**
Rest of Peloponnese	1 572	6 889	**43,5**
Central Greece– Euboea	341	1 301	**8,2**
Agrafa – Pindos	17	52	**0,3**
Epirus	82	291	**1,8**
Thessaly	20	86	**0,6**
Macedonia	89	221	**1,4**

Eastern-Western Thrace	19	64	**0,4**
Istanbul	55	189	**1,2**
Ionian Islands	86	321	**2**
Crete	250	825	**5,2**
Dodecanese	14	50	**0,3**
Eastern Aegean Sea islands	33	114	**0,7**
Chios	78	260	**1,6**
Cyclades	28	78	**0,5**
Islands of Saronikos Gulf	40	170	**1,1**
Northern Aegean Sea islands	11	24	**0,2**
Moschonissos	12	49	**0,3**
Cyprus	15	53	**0,3**
Minor Asia	436	1 544	**9,8**
Diaspora communities	8	27	**0,2**
Europe – Balkans	45	178	**1,1**
Not declared	452	2 651	**16,8**
Total	3 808	15 828	**100**

Source: Komis (2003), 243.

Table 2: Migrant cities II: Ermoupolis (First inhabitants)

Place of origin	Individuals	%
Chios	4 500	30
Central Greece	1 000	6,7
Izmir	1 500	10
Ayvalik – Moschonissos	2 000	13,3
Psara	250	1,7
Ionian Islands	500	3,3
Foreigners	200	1,3
Istanbul	1 000	6,7
Peloponnese	1 000	6,7
Hydra	200	1,3

Aegean Sea	250	1,7
Ottoman Aegean Sea	2 600	17,3
Total	**15 000**	**100**

Source: Ambelas (1997), 600-601.

Table 3: Migrant cities III: Piraeus (Population growth, 1836-1870)

Year	Individuals	% of change
1836	1 011	
1840	2 033	+101,1
1845	4 247	+108,9
1850	5 286	+24,5
1856	5 292	+0,1
1861	6 450	+21,9
1870	10 963	+70

Source: Tsokopoulos (1984), 92.

In fact this immigration has been so massive and important that lead to a relative crisis between the *heterochtones* (subjects of the Ottoman Empire who migrated to the newly founded state) and the *autochthones* (natives) during the Constitutional Assembly of 1844. Even though contemporary discourse sees these migrants as non-migrants, because of their ethnic origin, the vocabulary as well as the arguments evoked by the representatives of the Assembly and the press is rather indicative: this population is described through terms such as "foreigners", "immigrants", "newly arrived" (νεήλυδες), while the arguments pro and con the heterochtones refer directly to classic immigration patterns:

> "The 1789 French constitution posed as condition for the acquisition of political rights the one year stay in the country, while its population was 25 millions and not 500 thousands, as in Greece. In addition, how America has been populated? By natives? Of course not. It has been populated by foreigners who could find there equality of political rights". (Athanassios Petsalis. In: Dimakis, 1991, 35-36)

And from the other side:

"Greece needs inhabitants in order to cultivate its deserted lands, in order to bring industries – who chases them away? But we do not want people for the public offices. We do not want tyrants (αγάδες) upon our heads, we want workers." (Dimitrios Coliopoulos – Plapoutas. In: Dimakis, 1991, 51)

It is indicative that at the aftermath of the controversial discussions in the Assembly about qualifications of the Greek citizen, citizenship and civic rights, even the "national historian" Constantinos Paparrigopoulos (co-founder with Spyridon Zambelios of the theory of continuity of the Greek nation from the antiquity to modern times) was obliged to resign from his post as a public servant because of the fact that he was a heterochtone.

The "foreign" foreigners

Apart from the particular types of immigration mentioned above, one can find consecutive flows of "foreign" foreigners (if it is to follow the ideological anachronisms of a great part of historiography which insists on the ethnic origin of early immigrants). A problem always mentioned during the early stages of industrialisation has been the lack of capital as well as of skilled labour force (Zolotas, 1926). These lacks have been diachronically covered through import of capital and labour from abroad. Thus, the first industries created mainly by diaspora entrepreneurs employed systematically foreign labour. Such examples are the first silk-mills in Peloponnese where Italian workers from Fossombrone were recruited in the 1830s by a Greek entrepreneur from Ancona (Chatziioannou, 1991). In Ermoupolis-Syros dockyards, from the 1850s and on, French, Italian and German refugees work and create very active trade-unions (Moskof, 1978; Kordatos, 1972). In Patras, the first massive socialist organisation in the country, the *Democratic Association* (*Δημοκρατικός Σύλλογος*) is founded by Italian Garibaldians in 1877 (Aroni-Tsichli, 2003). In the mines of Lavrion, skilled workers come from Spain while the unskilled ones from Italy, Malta and Montenegro; in this city the first merely industrial quarter, *Spaniolika*, will be constructed in the 1870s in order to provide shelter to Spanish workers (Petraki, 2002; Chatziiosif, 1993; Agriantoni, 1986).

The same procedure is followed in the majority of infrastructure public works from the 1850s and on. To give just some examples, one can mention the construction of the telegraph network in Athens, Syros, Egion and Patras in the early 1860s by Bavarian workers (Agriantoni, 2003), the Athens-Piraeus railway in the late 1860s by English workers (Leontidou, 2001), the construction of Corinth canal by Armenian workers in the early 1890s (Tsakonas, 1896) or the railway network constructed mainly by Italian workers (Malingoudis, 2005; Koliou, 1988).

The introduction of foreign labour force has continued until the first decades of the 20th century, as the following data show: in 1907, the percentage of foreign workers in secondary and tertiary sectors of industry was rising up to 11.1% in the whole country (Leontidou, 2001), while in 1917, foreign skilled workers made up about 10% of labour force in Athens and Piraeus (Zolotas, 1926). With the arrival of more than 1.2 millions of refugees from Minor Asia in 1922, not only labour force shortage was covered, but an urgent social need of integration into the labour market arose. A significant part of these refugees were settled in the Athenian conurbation, where in the 1920s refugees constituted 28.2% of the total population, contributing greatly to the metropolitan character of the city. Thus, we come to the final part of this presentation.

Nea Ionia: continuities and discontinuities through successive migrant flows

Nea Ionia represents a very eloquent example of the Athenian conurbation formation and transformation. Founded in June 27, 1923 by refugees from Minor Asia, it has been developed through decades within successive migrant flows. The initial population counted about 14,000 refugees from several regions of Minor Asia who created six separate quarters according to their origin (those who came from Saframpolis in the Black Sea region created the quarter named until today Saframpolis, those from Inepolis the quarter called Inepolis and so on). In 1934 those quarters were united with others in order to form the municipality of Nea Ionia which today counts twelve quarters or neighbourhoods.

Table 4: Neighbourhoods of Nea Ionia

Centre	Inepolis
Eleftheroupoli	Perissos
Ionia	Saframpolis
Lazarou	Néapolis
Irini	Calogreza
Anthrakorychia	Alsoupolis

From the beginning of its existence, Nea Ionia became an important centre of textile and carpet industry. Already during the 1920s, the first big factories of silk, wool and carpet industry were created and in the early 1950s, 500 small and big units function in the city, justifying its title of "little Manchester". One of the consequences of this industrial boom was the increasing numbers of immigrants from rural areas throughout the country who came in the city in search of a job. Thus, Nea Ionia is gradually transformed from a refugee to a classic working class city where the second generation refugees constitute only 30% of the total population.

Another transformation began to occur by the late 1970s when textile industry entered a period of deep crisis. Industrial production falls sharply especially after the accession of Greece in the European Community and the subsequent abolition of import duties. Within this process of deindustrialisation the economic character of the city profoundly changes not only in terms of production but in terms of work relations as well. More precisely, the fordist character of the previous dominant economic patterns (big units of massive production, stable working arrangements and relations etc.) gives its place to post-fordist ones, where fragmentation of production, flexibility of labour and deregulated working arrangements and relations are the case. On the other hand, manufacturing industry loses its importance in favour of service industry, especially trade. One could say that Nea Ionia, as "little Manchester", has in fact followed similar paths of transformation as the "big" Manchester; thus we could argue that from "little Manchester" it has been transformed to "little Manchester".

Within this framework of deregulation which reminds the social conditions of interwar period, where the early refugees demonstrated an admirable *know-how polyvalence* (*polyvalence de savoir-faire*: Noiriel, 1986) in order to survive and

integrate into the labour market and into society in general, the new international migrants have begun to appear since the late 1970s. Another analogy with the early stages of the history of the city is the fact that the remaining old refugee houses are now lodged by migrants, at least during the initial stage of their stay bringing to mind the *succession* concept elaborated several decades ago by the *Chicago School*.
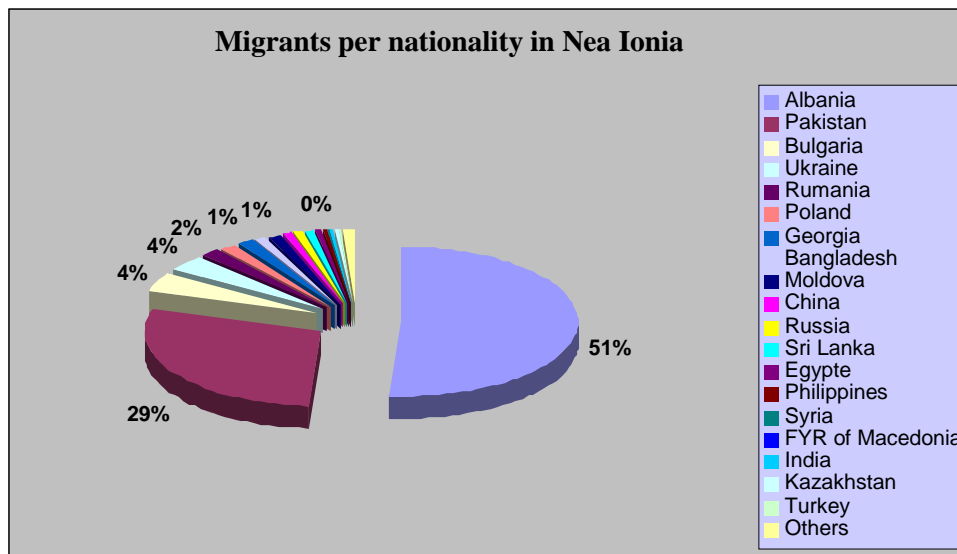
New immigration in the limited space of Nea Ionia follows the general scheme of new immigration in Greece, it nonetheless manifests some specificities linked directly to the socioeconomic characteristics of the district. Thus, we meet there the largest Pakistani community within the Athenian conurbation (where in any case the vast majority of Pakistani migrants are concentrated); according to the data collected from the Immigration Bureau at the municipality of Nea Ionia, 28.6% of the total migrant population in the city are Pakistani citizens, while in the country they represent just 2.5% of total migrants. This has to do largely with the fact that many Pakistani workers are employed in the remaining small textile industries contributing in the survival of many little enterprises.

Figure 1: Migrants in Greece
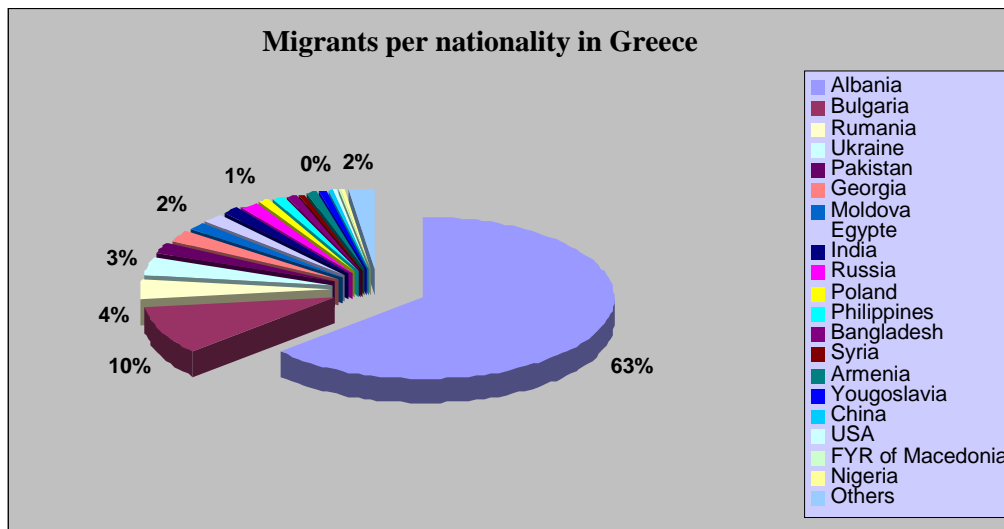
Source: Ministry of Interior, Department of Residence Permits (2004)
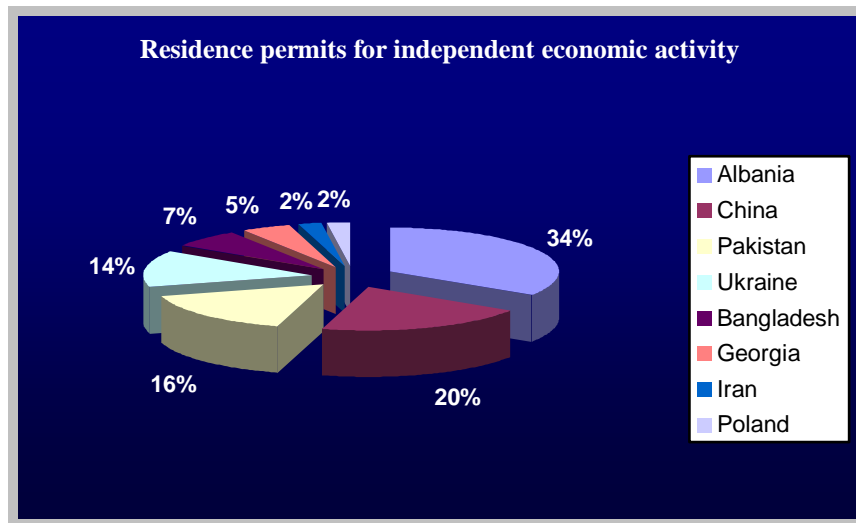
Figure 2: Migrants in Nea Ionia

Migrants per nationality in Nea Ionia

■	Albania
■	Pakistan
■	Bulgaria
■	Ukraine
■	Rumania
■	Poland
■	Georgia
	Bangladesh
■	Moldova
■	China
■	Russia
■	Sri Lanka
■	Egypte
■	Philippines
■	Syria
■	FYR of Macedonia
■	India
■	Kazakhstan
■	Turkey
■	Others

51%
29%
4%
4%
2%
1% 1%
0%

Source: Municipality of Nea Ionia, Immigration Bureau (2004)

Beside the "hidden" work in old sweatshops, migrants are gradually gaining access into the public space of economic activities: Pakistani and Indian video clubs and mini markets, Chinese and African traders at the city centre are some examples of ethnic business where migrant visibility transforms the urban space. As the figure below shows small migrant businesses have already appeared at the area. It is important to note that residence permits issued for independent economic activity do not follow the general pattern of nationalities' distribution: here, the part of Albanian migrants is less important. On the contrary, Chinese migrants show a clear tendency to commerce, followed by a significant part of Pakistanis (due to their overrepresentation in the city), Ukrainians and Bangladeshis.

Figure 3: Ethnic business in Nea Ionia

Residence permits for independent economic activity

- Albania
- China
- Pakistan
- Ukraine
- Bangladesh
- Georgia
- Iran
- Poland

34%
20%
16%
14%
7%
5%
2% 2%

Source: Municipality of Nea Ionia, Immigration Bureau (2004)

Conclusion

The conviction that immigration to Greece is a phenomenon that appeared just in the early 1990s seems to be dominant in public and in academic discourse. Nevertheless, statements such as "(…) when in the early 1990 Greece has been transformed from an emigration to an immigration country, State's lack of experience and society's embarrassment were reasonable" (Papadopoulos, 2003, 5) do not serve but as alibi for the contemporary policy deficiencies. Within this paper we tried to deconstruct this dominant myth by referring to several examples of migrant mobility that occurred throughout the short history of Greek nation-state.

An eloquent example of such a diachronic history of mobility is the urban space of Nea Ionia, where successive flows of in-migration constitute until today *the* main factor of social transformation. One could say that migrants are already an organic part of a city which has always been a space of incorporation of social and cultural diversity. As the "third generation migrants", according to their self-definition during interviews I have conducted and during several social events focused on the new migrants I have participated in, always put forth: 'here we know what expatriation (ξενιτιά) means". Therefore, new immigration is nothing else but the most recent

chapter in the continuous and dynamic history of migrant mobility; a metaphor that is valid, as we have seen in the first part of this presentation, for the overall history of the country.

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