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Räumliche Nähe und soziale Distanz in Fällen von  
vertikaler Segregation: Nachweise aus Athen

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A black and white photograph of a city skyline silhouette against a cloudy sky. The buildings are dark and jagged, creating a stark contrast with the lighter, textured sky. The sky is filled with soft, white clouds. The overall mood is dramatic and urban.

BOURLESSAS *Panagiotis*

Dissertation:  
*“Spatial proximities and social distances  
in cases of vertical segregation:  
Evidence from Athens”*

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## Abstract

This dissertation discusses the relation between social distance and spatial proximity. Vertical segregation is used as the theoretical construct under which the interrelation is investigated. Vertically ethnically and socially differentiated residential buildings in central Athens are used as case studies representing examples of social mix. Nevertheless, a plexus of social and spatial dimensions reveal alternative forms of marginalization, inequality, exclusion and hence distances which remarkably combat spatial nearness. Segregation is investigated qualitatively while diverse social groups might not be as close to each other as they seem.

*Not to the ones looking for a view from basements; to those struggling to escape the basements.*

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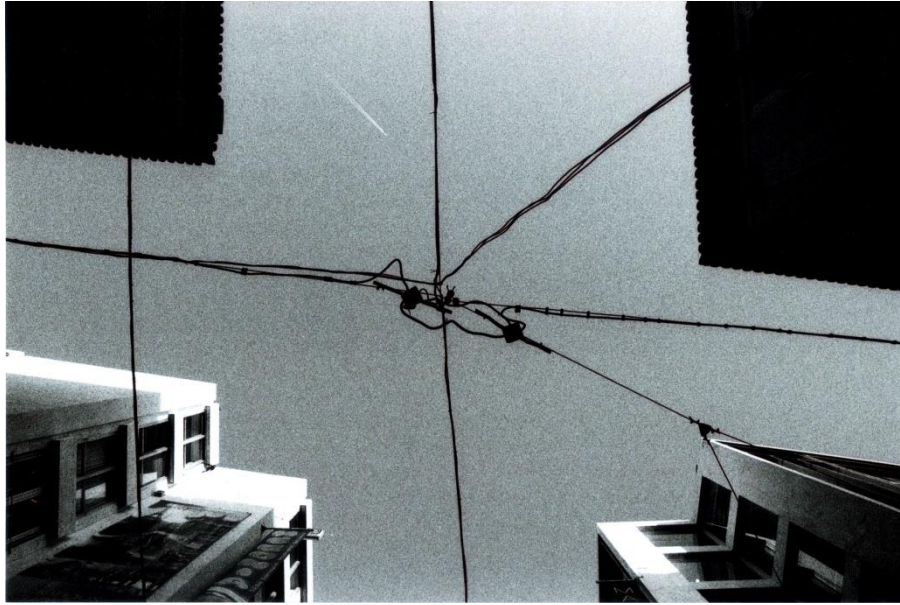
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*Own picture, captured with Ilford HP5 400 B&W, Ermou street, central Athens*

## INTRODUCTION

Excavations in the prehistoric city of Çatalhöyük, Southern Anatolia, have triggered researchers' interest and pure enthusiasm. The archaeological dig unveiled an unexpected city structure which was characterised by an absolutely equal distribution of amenities amongst the households of the cumulative human settlement. The residential type was one replicated by 1500; all equal in quality. Spatial equality entailed social equity too and hence no room for social differentiations was left. Beyond architecture, burial findings remarkably corroborate that no classes existed in Çatalhöyük of 7300 BC; as a result of a classless society, the population was not segregated in either residential or socio-economic terms. The societal wealth was fairly distributed as a consequence of the egalitarian social organisation, a society which thrived for around 1.200 years (Brosius 2005). The lack of organisation had brought about an even, unified, coherent socio-spatial organism as a pure expression of this mere class-nonexistence.

Nevertheless, what followed in history was differentiated social relations which produced respectively diversified societies as their projections; societies so rigidly and inherently stratified that make nowadays the paradigm of Çatalhöyük hard to perceive. Centuries after Plato articulated the division of the city population into poor and rich, Marx and Engels accentuated the stratification of modern world: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of

class struggles” (1848, p.25). A number of echelons is presented to be the major component of the manifold societal structure of the capitalistic world; a world which sometimes extraordinarily coincides with its cities. The class struggle is expressed not only in social but also in physical space too through an interplay of distance and proximity amongst classes and groups on actual site. Social hierarchy generated spatial hierarchy chiefly in symbolic terms.

In 1845 Engels notably described the living conditions of the working-class in the English industrial cities, through an analytical prism of stratification and hierarchy. His extraordinary observations, followed by a precise documentation of the way working-class residential quarters were organized and the strikingly bad accommodation and unsanitary conditions people were obliged to survive in, explicitly confirm the intrinsic bond between society and space. Urban populations are spatially separated as the spatial division emanates from the social one; each population group is related to a specific piece of urban land according to its social position. “Every great city has one or more slums, where the working-class is crowded together” (ibid, p.23). And this discrimination becomes obvious by the implied proximity to an absolutely contradictory part of the city; the “broad, splendid avenues” (ibid: 24) used by the rich and surrounding chaotic, dense, filthy residential districts where only poor people reside. These quarters of general backwardness were always hidden from the most advantaged classes but sometimes even in high proximity to palaces. The shocking contradictions dominating Dublin, London or Leeds constitute the evidence of the time that cities follow a dualistic order both in social and spatial terms: two worlds in total propinquity.

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Webber (1963, p.201) finds that the notions of city and society are becoming indistinguishable; “if we lack consensus on an organizing conceptual structure of the city, it is mainly because we lack a structure for the society as a whole”. Drawing a parallel line, Simmel (1903) proposed that “the urban” possesses three dimensions: heterogeneity, density, size. Although interaction is absolutely implied in the first two aspects and their mutual interplay, we could possibly enhance the above approach using Webber’s contribution according to which human interaction is “the quintessence of urbanization” (ibid, p.208). Henceforth, the city is understood as the actual topography of communication in the modern world. Human interaction materialises through space (Webber ibid) and space is eventually transformed into place via mere interaction.

The interrelation between space and people also arises in the use of language. Mathieus and Matlock (2011) fruitfully point out that people use the “same spatial terms to describe other kinds of distance as well, including distance in social relationships” (ibid: 185). What is more, White (1983) pinpoints the linkage between human contact and spatial segregation by suggesting that segregation is two-fold: sociological and geographical. The former refers to the lack of social

interaction and the latter connotes the spatial separation of urban groups. Considering the interaction amongst people's assemblages, social distance refers to how "distant" a social group feels from another (Bogardus 1933). Like an extension of this linguistic affiliation of the two notions, it is generally argued that spatial closeness can create social intimacy too as a result of the frequent, random actual contact.

Farther this conceptual relation, the induced spatial adjacency in the metropolises' human geography might not necessarily indicate proximity in social terms too. Academic debates have revealed the fragile correlation between spatial and social distance. Anyway, extreme paradigms stand to embody the social distance domination albeit high spatial propinquity such as India's Cast system or the Hacienda organization of Latin American societies (Feitosa 2010). Maloutas & Karadimitriou (2001) underline that spatial contiguity is not necessarily an incentive for social interaction; on the contrary, it can be highly related to the concept of conflict too. Alternatively, the generally unanimous belief that social mix is a prerequisite for equal social relationships is just a paradigm normative non critique for Remy (2004).

Notwithstanding, albeit the vast majority of illustrations used in order to visually address the "geography of class inequality" construct (Garrido 2012) and refer to a *horizontal* socio-spatial division of the city, a hidden *vertical* dimension appears to be of high significance in cases of high spatial proximity. The shift from the former type to the latter necessitates another simultaneous shift in terms of scale. This unique socio-spatial vertical organisation becomes visible beyond the overall, breathtaking segregation maps of the urban fabric as a whole; vertical social differentiation occurs at the city's micro-scale. Human interactions, social struggles and cultural fermentations materialize at the small, basic scale; big scale is the terrain for their overall aggregated effect though.

## HYPOTHESIS

This work takes fundamentally into account the vertical social differentiation which is a particular but widespread phenomenon in the central neighbourhoods of Athens. A variety of social groups, sometimes even representing the polarity of the Greek society, is found in the dominant residential entity of the Greek capital, the *polykatoikia*. In this case, distant social strata appear to share the same residential space and hence live in high proximity one with each other. Nevertheless, amongst others Wetherell, Plakans & Wellman (1994) claim that close spatial propinquity between groups should not be automatically considered as a precondition for community and successful social networks. Additionally, "space remains important but social relationships define community" (ibid: 645) while alternative forms of exclusion and

marginalization might be dissimulated by any proximity (Kokkali 2007). Consequently, the hypothetical basis can be encapsulated as such:

*In cases of close spatial proximity, social proximity does not necessarily emerge.*

## RESEARCH QUESTION

After delving into literature of community and vertical segregation and the socio-spatial aspects of distance, this research aims at providing with an answer the following focal question:

*What is the social distance to emerge in cases of condominiums of inter-class vertical segregation?*

Yet, a number of supporting questions are spiraling around this axis in order to achieve the final finding; they were constantly emerging during the process of conceiving and formulating the principal one. A simultaneous effort is hence made in order to answer the following enriching items:

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*What are the different socio-economic conditions which can be understood as distance between residents within one condominium?*

*What is the level and essence of their interaction?*

*How do people “see” each other and what is the perceived “nearness” amongst them?*

*How inequalities manifest themselves and are reproduced when people of different origins co-exist in cases of low community segregation?*

*Does this spontaneous mix of social groups work as a community?*

## METHODOLOGY

*“[...] social relations are frequently correlated with spatial relations, and hence are in a degree measurable”,  
Robert Park (1926, p.1)*

## Research design & method

Although the field of social distances (hereafter SD) has been extensively elaborated, vertical segregation is seemingly quite a particular phenomenon to such an extent that there is little relevant evidence. We should consider the fact though that the phenomenon as presented in this thesis is rigidly linked to the Greek context (inter-class cohabitation) and this leads to a relatively limited amount of literature, the majority of which originates, as expected, from “native<sup>1</sup>” researchers. Regarding the main research question, only Maloutas and Karadimitriou (2001) refer to this when arguing that “neither end of the social hierarchy has chosen to coexist in these vertically segregated areas” and hence the “other is at best tolerated” (ibid, p.715). Explicitly the authors doubt the social interaction and hypothetical mutual understanding amongst residents of the Athenian apartment blocks who represent different, even polarised socio-ethnic categories. The interaction in this particular case of social mixture is a field of study which has not been investigated so far, especially encompassing the SD concept.

Eisenhardt (1989) supports that building theory from case study research is the appropriate methodological pattern in the early stages of investigation on a topic. As a result, the present research is generally based on this proposed line, while at the same time required variations are inserted in order to adjust it to the emerging necessities of the ongoing process. In addition, this approach can embrace a multi-level analysis and this fact meets the requirements of the threefold dimension of SD this dissertation is focused on: the objective, the perceived and the interactive.

Although, according to Eisenhardt (ibid), the ideal in this research method is to be clean of prior theories and hypotheses, an initial definition of the hypothesis is important in order to focus on the research of specific data. The above stated hypothesis is the outcome of both the very first conversations with the interviewees and a reflective penetrator in literature related to the two major topics, i.e. segregation and social distance. Embracing literature is a significant stage for the methodological process as the number of cases supporting the emerging facts is often limited. A broad range of bibliography provides the ground for a comparison of the emergent concepts with the already existing research on the field. As a result, improved validity, generalizability to a greater extent and improved conceptual levels are expected to be achieved.

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<sup>1</sup> The word is stated in quotation marks by virtue of its obscurity and subjectivity, as perceived by the writer. Its -even arbitrary- use may appear implicitly discriminatory against foreign nationals and inherently reproduce the dominant discourse.

## Data collection

The data collection is multiple based on the combination of qualitative and quantitative sources, as proposed by Eisenhardt (ibid). To quote Bryman (2006), this multi-strategy can provide the researcher with a “wealth of data” (ibid, p.110). This amalgamation renders triangulation and substantiation of constructs possible. In other words, qualitative data are used in order to comprehend the relationships which are previously unveiled during the quantitative research. For Mintzberg the latter uncover relationships while the former explain them (cited in Eisenhardt ibid). For instance, the existing inequalities amongst the residents of each apartment block can be proved by the documentation of the housing and economic conditions while qualitative semi-structured interviews are expected to indicate what is hidden behind this unequal relationship of upper and lower floors. Furthermore, quantitative data are expected to confirm results of the qualitative part and vice versa. To follow Bryman’s (ibid) justification for the combination, triangulation between the two types, complementarity and enhancement of the results and expansion of the breadth of inquiries.

While entering the field of research, one realises that it is an ongoing process of high dynamism. Consequently, the collection and the analysis of the acquired data overlap. Extensive and spontaneous field notes during interaction with people and personal observations fostered the formulation of the final questions to be answered throughout the analysis.

To be more accurate, considering the objective SD, mostly quantitative data are being collected i.e. educational background, occupation, financial conditions, ownership or renting and housing amenities. For the second dimension of SD, the interactive one, a two-fold table is designed: one part stands for the frequency and one for the nature of the contact. Moreover, people are asked to fill in the table their neighbours’ names themselves; in this way people implicitly indicate whom they are closer to and more distant from. The final aspect (perceived distance) is investigated through a combination of questions and the Bogardus’ Social Distance Scale. The former aims at unveiling the perceived community feeling of the building while the latter is adjusted to the ethnic origins of the residents in order to quantify and measure the SD towards the different nationalities and ethnicities represented in the condominium. While filling the tables in, the participants are free to give further details and comments, something which is anyway unavoidable due to people’s inherent spontaneity.

Finally, the whole process of the field research can be encapsulated in the following sequence of stages –the first two ones are used in order to gain data which were essential for the formulation of the main body of the research i.e. steps three to five:

- i. Contact with the person in charge of the operation of the building. The operator provides basic information such as the distribution of the people living in the building, their floor of residence, nationalities, costs etc.
- ii. Unstructured interviews/conversations with dwellers in order to orientate the main questionnaire towards the right direction based on the conceptual glossary used by the interlocutors. This step is used for the instrument development (see Bryman *ibid*).
- iii. Unstructured/unfocused interviews with the residents for the perceived community of the building.
- iv. Interaction table for the intensity and the nature of the people's contact with simultaneous comments
- v. Bogardus Scale including the nationalities of the residents of the building. This tool is used so that the general attitudes towards the ethnic groups residing the condominium are shown. As a result, no connection or reference to individuals is made here, participants are asked to think of the groups as wholes and isolate them from individuals.

Regarding the conducted interviews, the method of unstructured/unfocused interview was followed (see Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998) in an attempt to mitigate the unavoidable invasive identity of the researcher. For that reason, a natural, spontaneous conversation is aimed around a specific thematic line. Questions were not openly read to the interviewee but indirectly inserted in the conversation; a more spontaneous correspondence is expected since the pressure of a formal, structured interview is alleviated.

Last but not least, it has to be made clear that, as shown in the final analysis, emphasis is put upon the qualitative data, mainly stemming from the conversations, since it is accepted that hierarchies and unequal social positions within groups are reproduced in patterns detected in communication.

## Difficulties

Difficulties during the interviews were encountered since the researcher was for the first time called to carry out such a task. The main factor behind complications is the personal issue of ethics. The interviewer did not intend to put any pressure on the interviewee and respected both the dedicated time and the cultural lines people use in order to protect themselves when communicating. Alertness was also present in the researcher's mind considering personal limits in communication between strangers and the precariousness of personal displeasure. Each time the

interviewee avoided to give an answer or provide information no further pressure was put upon him/her.

Especially with the two interviewed of foreign background the conversation structure was adjusted in respect to the cultural particularities. As well, the disadvantaged position of immigrant groups in Greece was taken into serious account bringing even more to the fore the predominant ethical question. Attention should be drawn here for the immigrants' strikingly positive stance towards the researcher in an era of economic crisis, scapegoating of the "other" and alarming escalation of extreme-right ideology and actions within the Greek society, even including governmental tactics<sup>2</sup>.

## Data analysis

The analysis of the objective data (i.e. housing conditions and storey, occupational status, education etc.) and the ones deriving from tables filled in by the interviewees (i.e. Bogardus scale and interaction) is based on their aggregation for each condominium so that socio-economic differences are revealed and interaction patterns are interpreted.

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The interviews are investigated on the basis of the critical discourse analysis (see Fairclough 1989; Wodak 1989). A racist perspective is detected throughout the transcripts of the eight conducted conversations since race consciousness is a determinant factor of SD. From this approach, ethno-racial discrimination is understood as a major element for the construction and the propagation of SD between population groups. The several facets of the analysis are adequately presented in the equivalent part.

It is of great significance that comparison is embedded in the analytical part. During the presentation of the attained data, a parallel, continuous comparative angle is underlying emphasising on "*natives*"/*immigrants* or *upper/lower floor* relations so that in-between differences are exposed and understood.

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<sup>2</sup> For example, see the inhumane detention camps -recently turned into locales for immigrants' riots and hunger strikes- or the "cleansing operations" in the Athenian city center explicitly aiming at minority groups of foreign nationals.



## Case study selection

In line with Prêteceille's (2004) logic, neither a priori social categories nor a priori urban units exist in the segregation research. At first the most suitable population categories have been selected, i.e. Greeks and immigrants (ethno-racial segregation), due to the visibility of the distinction as well as the strongly present racial aspect of SD. Secondly, the spatial urban division had to be decided. The issue of scale is inevitably stressed since social practices happen on different scales (Prêteceille *ibid*) and segregation "occurs at any geographic level" (Arapoglou 2006, p.19). Even the building level can reveal micro-segregation practices; the condominium is hence considered as the most appropriate urban unit of focus in SD terms. The micro scale is understood here as the level at which everyday social practices and personal decisions appear in a way that social reality is constructed by and for the urban dwellers; micro scale entails personal experience, space appropriation and relational forms and is therefore significant for any social changes.

For the selection of case studies, three distinct methodological levels are used: the city, the district and the building. Firstly, Athens is the only case throughout Europe for which there is scientific evidence for the existence of inter-class vertical segregation. The city itself is at the focus of the researcher's interest due to his personal bonds with it. Considering the second stage, literature delivers quantitative data for the segregation indices and socio-ethnic complexity of urban areas. As indicated in segregation maps and tables (representative ones used hereafter) the central and peri-central districts are highly diverse due to the strong presence of foreign populations; hence, these densely-built areas can provide examples of vertically segregated condominiums. Within this belt, specific areas appropriated by the researcher and predominant on his mental map were chosen. Last but not least, apartment blocks were selected during a process of detecting ethnically diversified buildings by examining the labels of the bells in order to detect both "native" and foreign names. The cases have to provide as much extreme examples of the vertical segregation phenomenon as possible, so that the process of interest is "transparently observable" (Pettigrew 1988, cited in Eisenhardt 1989). In the four residential buildings under investigation, the top floors are occupied by middle or lower-middle class Greeks while the lowest storeys dwelled by people of foreign background, sometimes even undocumented. The reason the examples have this significant feature in common is that a sort of pattern is expected to occur in the findings so that the emerging theory can be replicated. According to Eisenhardt (*ibid*), multiple examples within one category can result in repetition of results and hence theory.

Eisenhardt also argues that the ideal number of cases ranges between four and ten. By virtue of the small scale of my research and the time limitations, four residential buildings are selected as case studies and eight interviews have been achieved expecting that the desired saturation of evidence will be reached.

## SOCIAL DISTANCE

*“[...] too great distance or proximity hinders our view”*, Blaise Pascal (1623–1662)

Space is more than mere dimensions, physical characteristics or Euclidean geometry; it entails a plurality of invisible but intrinsically present factors which, while existing in it, shape it and are constantly reproduced within it. Hadjimichalis & Vaiou (2012) highlight the threefold nature of space introducing, beyond geometry, the symbolic and representative aspect as well as the one of interrelations. Space is human. Human beings live, act and think in actual space and consequently the latter becomes the primal, natural terrain of interactions, tensions, hierarchies and powers which reproduce society. Bichi (2008) states that “space and its organisation are, ab origine, products of the system of values and categories in which culture and knowledge get produced socially” (ibid, p.491). Society itself is reproduced through numerous actions which take place within the inevitable tangible terrain of life: space. Massey (2005) further suggests an alternative and more concrete understanding; space itself *is* a product of interrelations. Thus we must recognize space “as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny” (ibid, p.9). From this point of view, kinds of interaction can be found anywhere and in a plurality of forms: from the complex network of global metropolises up to a small condominium located at a niche of a city. In addition, space is defined by Bourdieu (1989) as a “system of relations” (ibid, p.16). Interactions are omnipresent in space, even symbolically if seemingly absent. When seen through this particular prism of interrelations physical space turns into social space where agents are related to each other with strong or weak bonds. Relatively, we can argue that those geometric distances which are visible in the actual space can be respectively replaced by immaterial, finally *social* in the social space. Additionally, Ossowski & Patterson (1963) highlight that perceptions of the social stratification deploy words with spatial connotations albeit people do not always acknowledge the hidden metaphor in them. Space is above all things social even before the birth of the “social space” concept. This whole complexity renders the definition of other supportive notions necessary in order to elucidate SD itself.

## Social space

The roots of SD theory can be detected in notions such as Durkheim's "social morphology" and mostly Simmel's "social geometry"; such ideas implied the existence of social space way before the term was coined. Accentuating the processes and principles of differentiation, Bourdieu (1985) supports that "the social world can be represented as a space" (ibid, p.723). It is within this particular form of space where different agents of the society occupy specific positions and are simultaneously defined by these positions. Nevertheless, Bourdieu's particular focus is on the division of society into classes adopting Marx's and Durkheim's paradigms; social classification results in the formation of the equivalent "regions" in the social space. Each region is occupied by a specific stratum of the classification and the symbolic distribution of these regions points out the dominant character of hierarchy and competition in the whole process. Therefore, social space is primarily interpreted as a field of objective relations of supremacy and capital possession as representations of power; in this concept, production practices alone do not define social classes any more. On the other hand, in Sorokin's structuralistic way of thinking, social space embodies the "interrelationship between space and distance" (cited in Bottero & Prandy 2003, p.179).

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Following Bourdieu's logic, Bottero & Prandy (ibid) stress the significance of social space as a field where hierarchy and inequality manifest themselves. The social interactions which take place in social space are indicative of these patterns and can be simultaneously seen as representations of and in relation to social nearness and distance. The pivotal role of such interactions has to be emphasized: social space should be explored through interaction patterns (in)visible in it and not only from a restricted, objectivistic point of view. For Park (1926) status is anyhow a matter of SD and therefore the emerging distances have to be investigated beyond the major axes used by Bourdieu that is prestige or status. "Relations of intimacy and similarity" (Bottero & Prandy ibid, p.190) are mapped in distance and propinquity. Social relationships are one of those basic actions which foster people to reproduce their SD and sustain social proximities according to their preferences. The existing ordering of the society is infinitely reproduced in similar relationship patterns such as friendship, marriage or intergenerational continuity. Yet subjective interpretations ought not to be ignored since the link between the objectivist and subjectivist approach is dialectical (Bourdieu 1977). Reversely, the aforementioned system of patterns and actions corroborates social space via its mere predominance within it.

## Social position

By accepting the being of social space we should automatically agree on the presence of some sorts of distance appearing within it, in metaphoric or social terms though. Both notions presuppose fixed positions in the invisible social landscape because distance and proximity are demonstrated in amongst them. Positions are absolutely essential so that subjects holding them are somehow interwoven. Park introduced the idea of social position back in 1926. His attempt to “spatialise” social theory through human ecology led to the occurrence of inherent positions, which are occupied by people interacting with each other. In this sense, human relations can be estimated in terms of the in-between distance (Park *ibid*).

Although Park takes account of human interactions, his emphasis ends up being on positions and locations in the geographic urban space. Population groups have spatial positions and the several movements amongst geographic locations result in changes within society. Consequently, spatial segregation arises as its visible aftermath in the cities. The distances between two geographic positions represent equivalent distances in social terms though. One weakness of the theory is that the occupation of positions is considered as a matter of social selection. The fact hence that specific groups are often targeted and then “pushed” by market laws or even state policies towards particular, disadvantaged residential areas is remarkably ignored, especially considering the recent segregation viewpoints and critics. In such cases which constitute the rule in competitive capitalistic societies and cities, these population groups suffer from low social rank and remarkably limited options regarding their choice to reside in places of their preference. Nevertheless, the aforementioned dynamism in urban geography has the potentiality of an essential interpretation in social terms. Besides, SD is a “uniquely sociological concept, irreducible to spatial or biologic distance” (Karakayali 2009, p.540)

Tarde was the very first one to question the existence of social proximity and distance between two groups as a matter of cultural similarity under the catalytic influence of imitative processes (see Karakayali 2009). The evolution of his theory emphasized the role of classes and, as a result, SD is detected amongst the echelons of a social hierarchy. Nonetheless, in sociology Simmel’s “stranger” can be argued to be the primal theoretical persona to encapsulate SD back in 1923. What a stranger represents is the modern individual who, while leaving one social circle, finds himself/herself in a position of personal struggle in order to be accepted in the new sphere. SD can be therefore found between the stranger and the members of a *banlieu* in which he/she possesses no position yet. To illustrate the notion, each person is surrounded by his/her personal sphere and “the radius of that sphere, so to speak, marks the distance” (Simmel 1906, p.45). In this sense, SD is for Simmel a “complex understanding of sociality as forms of distance” (Ethington 1997) both in geometric and metaphoric terms.

## Social distance

For Poole (1927), distance in sociology can diverge from personal to social. The former refers to relations between individuals. More precisely, how people conceive their relations with other individuals, what is the kind and the nature of their contact as well as actual dissimilarities between them (e.g. in cultural terms) are included; “what you think an individual to be determines your treatment of him” (ibid, p.100). The latter form though switches the interest from the individual to group phenomena. Respectively, SD is identified in the conception of people belonging in a specific group in relation to persons appearing as out-group to them. The term also accounts for inter-group cultural differences which function as obstacles for potential interaction. According to Banton (1960) the investigation of inter-group relations should involve discriminatory and non-discriminatory behaviour; the meaning of SD lies in the range of this discriminatory attitude.

The year following the “stranger’s” birth, Park clearly defines SD as “the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterise personal and social relations” (1924, p.339). This definition marks Park’s attempt, first of all, to differentiate social from spatial relations, to apply distance to human reality and then to quantify and then measure social phenomena. In order to simply describe SD, Park (1924) talks about individuals who are *close* or *distant* to each other and concludes that this intimacy’s level indicates the influence agents have over each other. Obviously, his initial emphasis is explicitly on SD between individuals: “a person is simply an individual who has somewhere, in some society, social status; but status turns out finally to be a matter of distance –SD” (1926, p.10). Individuals are seen in a competitive analysis framework as subjects struggling over the domination of a specific status.

Besides the mere definition of SD itself though, Park’s contribution is unquestionably multiple. The point of “race consciousness” is stressed as a key element of SD. Competition in society adopted a racial form and racial conflict occurred as its aftermath. Ethnic groups play a crucial role in Park’s approach; it is amongst these population assemblies that SD is demonstrated. At the same time, prejudices constitute the ground on which SD grow and are reproduced while the main focus progressively switches from persons to groups. Race consciousness functions hence as a hindrance to people’s understanding of each other. The question of democracy remarkably appears in his work as a parallel question: a society in which race consciousness is predominant cannot claim to be democratic. If racial, ethnic or class distinctions exist, the society is simply aristocratic and distant from democratic values. Last but not least, Park highly contributed to the field with the idea of interaction of urban groups as the way to elucidate SD (Ethington 1997). All these interlinked factors and elements create the puzzle of Park’s striking contribution in the dawning of a considerable theory.

Nevertheless, over the years, the theoretical context has been evolved, dynamically transformed and enriched and, accordingly, SD has followed novel paths of definition. Bottero and Prandy (2003), while defining SD as *not* the mere degree of economic conditions, argue that “relationships of intimacy are affected not just by economic advantage of labour market position, but also by issues of cultural background, social networks, contiguity and opportunity of access [...]” (ibid, p.190). This definition encapsulates respectively the two sides of the concept: the economic and the relational. Alain adopts the same twin logic and describes social proximity as the resemblance of households’ socio-economic circumstances and the sympathy amongst people in cultural terms (cited in Kokkali 2007). Yet SD and proximity are comprehended in direct relation to interaction by the majority of writers, a fact that obscures the economic aspect of the concept. For example, according to Lecourt & Baudelle social proximity is equal to the existing relationships that define social ties between individuals and groups. (cited in Kokkali ibid). For Poole (1927) distance in sociology can be detected in the “in-group norms regulating in-group man’s interaction with out-group man” (ibid, p.99) while Bogardus (1925) describes it as the “grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterise pre-social and social relations in general” (ibid, p.216). Likewise, Cesareo (2007) defines it as “the lack of availability and relational openness [...] of a subject in regard to others perceived and acknowledged as different on the basis of their inclusion in a social category” (2007, cited in Bichi 2008). Interaction is definitely the leading element in the definitive prism of SD and absolutely required in the term’s understanding.

## Objective Social Distance | Subjective Social Distance

After it is defined, SD appears in the international bibliography under a broad and chaotic categorisation so that it fits any concept and meets any researcher’s requirements; a considerable number of works introduces different classifications of the idea (for example see Bichi 2008; Karakayali 2009; Poole 1927). A variety of categories is more precisely unfolded and described in the following subchapter. Nevertheless, there is a very basic, principle and dichotomizing subdivision around which most of the further types are developed and which is embraced by the majority of the researchers. To begin with, Bourdieu (1989) reveals the twofold nature of social science in general which symmetrically balances between objectivism and subjectivism. The former aggregates in general Marx’s and Durkheim’s theories on social stratification while the latter exemplifies people’s personal interpretations of social reality. The primitive analytical division of SD can be presented in a respective way as following.

Bottero and Prandy (2003) claim that the broadness of SD lies in between a structural - with direct reference to Sorokin- and a psychological edge -which encapsulates past theoretical branches related to intimacy and perceptions. Hence, SD can principally be separated into objective and subjective; and these dimensions cross each other vertically and mutually.

On the one hand, objective social distance (hereafter OSD) is rigidly linked to the classification of society, existing inequalities and material as well as cultural divergences amongst population groups. Bichi's (2008) approach accentuates the role of hierarchies, positions, status as well as possessions of economic and social capital interweaving at the same time with Bourdieu's particular viewpoint on the concept. Socially constructed groups occupy specific positions in the social space (the aforementioned *regions*) and tend to come close to representatives of classes assimilating them while at the same time distancing the "others" in a self-protective tactic. Such distances can be detected in elements indicative of the life quality, material adequacy, facilities and social prestige i.e. residential location, housing amenities, type of occupation, access to health and education, cultural consumption, insurance, unemployment benefits and so forth. Based on the above stated criteria, population groups have to be seen in a two-dimensional spectrum of advantaged and disadvantaged arrangement. *Positioning factors* like them are vital for the occurrence of objective social differences and subjective attitudes which distancing processes are based upon (Bichi 2008). Nevertheless, Pool (1927) adopts a more cultural perspective, similar to Bourdieu's, and defines OSD as the actual cultural differences between groups or individuals. Further elaborating, OSD -followed by explicit spatial metaphors of nearness and farness- affirms that members of a society adopt specific patterns of socialization and correspond to the actual ordering of space in which people interact. In other words, social stratification can certainly be considered as an alternative conception of OSD.

On the other hand, the subjective part of social distance (hereafter SSD) stands for the perception of individuals towards social groups or other individuals. In general, SSD is the one to differentiate "us" from "them" regarding human behaviour, personal contact and perceptions of whom people feel close to or far from. Karakayali's (2009) statement best illustrates the very essence of the term: "those who *are* socially close to us are those we *feel* close to and vice versa" (ibid, p.540). To put it differently, when SD is investigated in its subjective form it demonstrates the degree of an individual's openness in terms of relations towards people of different social rank (Bichi 2008). If people perceive a satisfactory level of similarity in relation to others they sustain close SD in interaction; in the opposite case, the one of perceived dissimilarity, people maximize SD by escaping interaction -consciously or subconsciously. The subjective subdivision's multiple nature will be demonstrated and its meaning will be further enhanced with the following assortment of more elaborated types, mostly related to the SSD.

By and large, the two sides of the key dichotomy are rigidly interdependent and should not be explored separately. According to Levine “behavioural criteria” have to be adopted during the interpretation of orders and classifications (1990, cited in Bottero & Prandy 2003) whereas in Bichi’s (2008) work SD is symbolized with a sphere in which both objective and subjective dimensions coexist in a reciprocal and never-ending dialogue.

## Aspects

The purpose of this part is not to exhibit every single aspect of SD by presenting an epitome of the existing literature; such an attempt would exceed the overall perspective and technical borders of this thesis. However, a considerable number of aspects of SD, in line with the concept, is hereafter defined. The criteria used for the selection are, at first, the compatibility in regard to the research question and context leading this work and, secondly, the supplementary and holistic definition of SSD.

The polysemy of SD becomes obvious in its multiple lines. To begin with, Bottero and Prandy (2003) conclude their research while mingling OSD and SSD distance as such: “social distance approaches look at the way in which hierarchy and inequality are routinely reproduced through social interaction [...]” (ibid, p.193). The role of subjective/interactive SD is therefore stressed and this type is dominating the examples to be exposed below.

Karakayali (2009) provides us with a remarkably multi-dimensional view of SSD. *Affective distance* represents the nature of emotions people have towards others and borrows its fundamental elements from Bogardus’ theory. On the other hand, *normative distance* is mainly focused on membership and the degrees of it in relation to groups. Using Simmel’s “stranger”, it is in this particular aspect that the “us” – “them” differentiation is constructed and sustained through “collectively recognized norms” (ibid, p.541); such norms define who can be accepted or not, who is seen as a stranger and to what extent (see also Poole 1927). The third type is separated from the previous line and related to interaction; *interactive distance* is simply determined by the frequency of interaction and contact characterising inter-group circumstances. In addition, networks of friends and acquaintances ought to be considered too. The last aspect suggested by Karakayali (ibid) assimilates Bourdieu’s ideas as such: *cultural and habitual distance* encompasses the degree of cultural dissimilarities and the imitation mechanisms generated by classes; Tarde’s influence is evident.

Correspondingly, Bichi (2008) introduces three other aspects of SSD: the *perceived* as the distinct distance in which individuals are involved and identify themselves, both consciously and



subconsciously; the *expressed social distance* comes automatically as the consequence of the previous type and consists of the deliberate deeds of creating and sustaining distance towards others; lastly, the outcome of this process of distancing manifests itself in the *undergone social distance*.

Social interaction distance is used as well by Bottero & Prandy (2003) as an essential component of stratification; it is investigated in connection to the degrees of advantage or disadvantage. The social structure itself is embedded in the interaction patterns.

As presented up to here, emphasis is put upon interaction either implicitly (e.g. Bichi) or explicitly (e.g. Karakayali, Bottero & Prandy). To encapsulate, SSD appears to be of a more debatable and diversified nature than the OSD which is more easily and uni-dimensionally defined apparently by virtue of the general agreement on the predominance of social stratification and inequalities within it<sup>3</sup>.

## Bogardus Social Distance Scale

The social distance scale of Bogardus is “synonymous with the concept today” (Williams 2007). It is hence vital to dedicate a small part of this work to the “father” of SD theory; otherwise the approach would lack the determining influence of the person who realized Park’s ambition to quantify and measure SD. In addition, a brief reference to the logic backing the scale will contribute to a deeper understanding of the particular concept of SD used in this research.

In the middle thirties SD theory was flourishing right after its outstanding appearance in science. Wark & Galliher (2007) present a historical overview of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as far as immigration and ethnic conflict are concerned in the USA. Two considerable immigration waves as well as discriminatory public policies (e.g. “alien land law”, official labeling such as “dangerous aliens”) scapegoated the “others” who were found in a foreign land and, as a result, triggered the academic interest in the occurring SD. As happened with segregation studies, the presence of immigrants in urban areas is rigidly linked to the birth of SD theory; this new-born population group was considered by white Americans as a competitor on the scarcity of sources. Bogardus’ contact with professors from Chicago –Park was a major figure amongst them- strongly affected his interest and perspective.

Bogardus argued that favourable and unfavourable experiences result respectively in social nearness and farness. Farness’ origins can be detected either in the lack of knowledge -

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<sup>3</sup> Objective distance is *objectively* measured and objectivity, we may argue, is equal to a generally accepted subjectivity.

Park's prejudicial approach is almost identical- or the knowledge of identifiable differences between groups (Williams 2007). According to Banton (1960, p.171), Bogardus defined SD as "the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, person and group or group and group". Additionally, "sympathy" describes reactions of favourable feelings and "understanding" means the knowledge of people which results in favourable attitude; sympathetic understanding is in "linear relation with nearness" (Karakayali 2009, p.541). Various sources of distance are possible; negative connotations and sensory impressions regarding others, tradition, particular social relations of classification, experiences related to ethnic groups, absence of cultural similarities or the mere social ordering.

The initial account of the scale was published in 1925 after Park's instigation while a revised form was ready in 1933. Seven statements are used and the interviewed is asked to indicate the highest level of social contact he/she is willing to have with other racial or ethnic groups. The instruction given was "mark as many columns as you find appropriate to accurately reflect your feelings towards each of these individual groups" and the items were the following:

1. Close kinship by marriage
2. In my club as personal chums
3. In my street as neighbours
4. Employment in my occupation
5. Citizenship in my country
6. Visitor in my country
7. Bar from my country

Each single statement represents a level of acceptability and consequently social relation, intimacy and proximity. For instance, when someone accepts a member of another group as a kin, he/she considers the two groups as "social equals" (Kalmijn 1998, cited in Bottero & Prandy 2003). The results are absolutely based on personal attitudes, emotions and perceptions about social groups which they do not belong to. Bogardus undoubtedly took account of the SSD while Bottero & Prandy (ibid) include his perspective in the psychological side of the SD range. Furthermore, we should stress the point here of the ethnic issues which constructed the foundations of Bogardus' work; immigration as a key element of the ardent situation of his time along with observations of the spatial distribution of foreign nationals in the city of Chicago led him consider the invisible demarcation amongst ethnicities as a challenging characteristic of modern society.

To close, the SD scale still remains an influential, commonly accepted tool of social phenomena, used all over the world and applied to variable social groups.

## Social Distance in the Polykatoikia<sup>4</sup> concept

As highlighted above, social space and geographic space are strongly interrelated and should not be isolated while analysed. Spatial segregation can be interpreted as the final outcome of a process in which people who feel close together in social space are located in spatial propinquity to each other (Bourdieu 1989). As a result, households coming from the same or similar classes of the social spectrum are to be found aggregated in specific residential locations of homogenous characteristics. Spatial discrepancies emerge in the urban tissue according to each area's dominant social echelon. This geographic differentiation can be either optional, mainly for the higher strata, or an obliged necessity –e.g. low classes normally have no other option than being aggregated in low-cost and run-down residential districts.

Seen from above though, the Athenian polykatoikia of the central communities does not necessarily corroborate the above argument. The social mix to be found in these typical residential units exemplifies the coexistence of different socio-economic or ethnic categories in one building but might obscure other forms of segregation; in cases of vertical social differentiation, the apparent mix ought to be seen also vertically in order to acknowledge any invisible forms and structures of inequality and exclusion; respectively, community segregation is seen horizontally.

Back to the SD issue, Bichi (2008) highlights that any social changes and particularities should be taken into account when SD is researched; there is a necessity to adapt the concept to the social conditions of each case. This paragraph aims at elucidating the ideal aspects to be taken into consideration during the investigation of social distances within the polykatoikia concept; within the broad scale of approaches presented above the most adequate ones have to be selected for this particular analysis. It is absolutely legitimate to adequately define social distance and the attached theoretical constructs to be used in regard to the selected case-studies. The adopted perspective derives from the polysemy of the idea itself as portrayed in the preceding parts while carefully collects different items and rejects possibly conflictive aspects. Banton (1960, p. 173) implies that no a priori definition for SD exists when he states that:

Each form of distance must be defined in its own terms, for it is an analytical construct which does not have to reflect the full variety of inter-personal distance as an empirical phenomenon.

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<sup>4</sup> *Polykatoikia* (greek: πολυκατοικία) is the Greek word for the apartment block. It signifies many residences together and is extensively used in this work replacing other ones -such as *condominium*- by virtue of its symbolic essence and emblematic influence for the Greek society.

More concretely, in her work “Spatial Proximity and Social Distance: Albanian migrants’ invisible exclusions”, Kokkali (2010) questions the Albanians’ integration in the Greek society and attains the interesting finding that the residential dispersion and spatial desegregation of a population group might possibly dissemble other types of marginalization and inequality. The particular social mix of big Greek cities is hence disputed. For her research on the –spatially “invisible”- Albanian population in the city of Thessaloniki, northern Greece, she used two main theoretical pillars in order to achieve a profound apprehension of SD as opposed to spatial proximity: the socio-economic situation, including housing and labour conditions, and the social relations, accounting for discrimination and linked to the group’s foreign national background. The result of the process proves that the Albanians’ integration is “more fictive than real” (ibid, p.15) as substantial inequalities are revealed between them and the “native” citizens. This imaginary nature relies upon unjust prerequisites such as the absence of concentrations of Albanian infrastructure throughout the city, the family structure which is similar to the Greek model and the dissemblance of the Albanian culture. According to this evidence, the Albanian inclusion in the Greek society cannot be labeled as successful any more.

Kokkali’s joint method covers a holistic theoretical array by balancing the diversity of SD qualities and at the same time taking into consideration the particular Greek context. Consequently, it is decided that the present work follows a rather similar dual line as the one Kokkali recommends. A combination of both OSD and SSD is deemed as necessary because the former type is expected to expose the existing inequalities while the latter to indicate ways of inequalities’ reproduction amongst residents of the same apartment blocks. More precisely, the OSD here, forming the first main pillar, complies with the stratification theory rather than the cultural aspect as suggested by Poole or, even more extensively, by Bourdieu. Hence, it accounts for housing and economic features of the households as measurable elements of comparison and indicators of inequality. On the other hand, the SSD is focused on the interactive social distance and the perceived social distance amongst the residents of the same building.

To conclude this part, OSD in this work entails the dissimilarities in the housing, economic and working situation of dwellers, all as indicators of inequalities (in relation to Allain 2000, cited in Kokkali ibid). SSD is defined as the level of intimacy or distance people perceive themselves to have towards others (combining Bichi and Bogardus) as well as the frequency and nature of the interaction amongst them (from Karakayali, 2009). Of course, other interpretations and aspects, such as normative social distance (Karakayali ibid), are always interweaving and therefore not disregarded when occurring in the analytical process; to the contrary, such elements are used as enhancing and supportive facts in the overall process. Ways and tools of attaining results for all the selected dimensions are already stated in the methodological part of the thesis.

## SEGREGATION

*“For [cities] are each one of them many cities, not a city, as it goes in the game.*

*There are two at the least at enmity with one another,*

*the city of the rich and the city of the poor”*

-Plato, *The Republic*

**Segregation** = 1540s, from Latin *segregatus*, past participle of *segregare* "separate from the flock, isolate, divide," from \**se gregare*, from *se* "apart from" + *grege*, ablative of *grex* "herd, flock" (Online Etymology Dictionary)

### Content & Definition

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Crossing any highly populated urban settlement throughout its structure may result in a rather diversified perceived image. Building stock, public facilities and commercial infrastructure differ in terms of quantity and quality. Respectively, population groups residing or using particular areas indicate dissimilar characteristics regarding ethno-racial origins, occupational status, age, sex, religion, consumption habits, income or even lifestyle; all these elements intertwine and re-produce specific spatial patterns of distinct features. Reversely distinct features attract distinct dwellers and users.

As reflected primarily in literature and following in public policies, it is widely acknowledged that cities are separated. This separation connotes division in the actual space as well as regarding the urban social spectrum. According to Marcuse (1993) the concept is not new-born since there is a historical perpetuation of segregation; examples such as slavery enclaves in ancient Rome and Athens or middle-age ghettos inarguably corroborate the above statement while at the same time represent contemporary fears for emerging patterns which have to be avoided. Engels' (1845) descriptions of the life in the industrial world of Britain revealed in a similar way the co-existence of a two-fold, polarised urban realm, the one of the rich and the one of the poor. Following the same line, in the Dictionary of Human Geography (2009) it is supported that the very first concentrations of human settlements were internally divided adopting a pattern related to the different population groups. The walls of ancient cities also

prove a principle spatial division: the one between the urban and the rural (see also Häussermann 2005).

Since Plato's magnificent words, a variety of terms has been used in an endless effort to portray the concept of a segregated city, such as Mollenkopf's and Castells' (1991) "dual city" or Feinstein's (1995) "divided city". Segregation remains nevertheless the dominant word to describe the phenomenon of inequalities and hence the resulting uneven distribution of a diversified populace throughout the urban tissue. The term originates from Mendel's law and expresses the "separation of allelic genes that occurs during meiosis" (Maloutas 2012, p.4). The term's transition from biology to urban studies is an achievement ascribed to the Chicago School which set the fundamentals of human ecology in the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Accordingly, segregation described the separation of population categories of different ethnic and national background considering their residential locations. In page 673 of the Dictionary of Human Geography (ibid) segregation is presented as the condition in which "two or more groups occupy different spaces within the same city, region or even state". This definition, however, hinders the ample and overall comprehension of the term due to the absence of the potential reasoning for segregation. In order to enrich the aforementioned definition, points from Musterd (2005) can be borrowed stressing that this spatial differentiation occurs not naturally or independently but as a result of the social and economic positions the different groups might hold in a stratified society. In more measurable terms, other definitions focus on the *degree* of the spatial separation between two groups which reside in distinct parts of the city (Massey & Denton 1988).

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Socio-spatial segregation reveals its significance and social impact when seen as a process, not as an outcome. The problematic derives from the unequal access to sources and hence the unequal access to urban land and amenities. Fujita (2012, p.285) defines class inequality as "income differences made by income classes which are highly correlated to education levels and the kinds of occupations" while, at the same time, drawing attention to the fact that there is a high correlation between residential segregation and class inequality but not in every city this association is evident. For Leal (2004, p.82) "segregation within urban space is found where social inequality meets heterogeneity". Poverty is strongly related with low quality of education and health, high unemployment levels and groups in underprivileged social positions (Cheshire 2007) while the concentration of such negative features in particular neighbourhoods reduce opportunities in education, labour market, political representation and culture (Musterd 2005); subsequently, residential segregation arises as the spatial articulation of inequalities as far as social classification is concerned. It is during this process that inequalities are propagated and social stratification is sustained as segregation may have an impact on both living conditions and social mobility perspectives. According to Maloutas (2012, p.11), "capitalism tends to transform any form of difference into hierarchy and inequality" and segregation, we can argue, is the

manifestation of hierarchy and inequality in capitalistic cities. Furthermore, in research literature segregation is often conversely correlated to social integration (see Fullaondo & Musterd 2008) although the association is vague since the former is a spatial while the latter an a-spatial concept (Leal *ibid*). In order to fully comprehend the role of inequality and hierarchical norms of a society, segregation has to be investigated not as a mere, sterile consequence but as a fragment of a dynamic plexus embracing numerous actors.

## Economic perspective

Socio-spatial segregation is inherently connected to and can draw basic explanations from location economics. Emmanuel (2008) attributes the turf demand/supply balance to a socio-economic pertinence, i.e. the combination of the social status and the average characteristics of the respective residential locations.

There are three basic models explaining the mechanism of the urban population's distribution. Firstly, the neo-classical model of Alonso, Mills and Muth, influenced by von Thünen's land use model. The bid rent theory mainly focused on the land rent and the distance between residential and production locations. Hence, transportation costs between the sites play a crucial role in the allocation of people's housing. Secondly, Tiebout's (1956) hedonic choice model introduced a novel perspective: the spatial antagonism is the result of factors such as the residential zones and their qualitative attributes, the social strata, their income as well as the utility they expect to get from the location they reside in. Consequently, the building stock is subject to a sorting process. Accordingly, the available housing infrastructure is distributed chiefly with respect to price and then depending on attributes (Wilson & Hammer n.d., p.6) and as a result households create clusters "according to their ability to pay". Both in the neo-classical and hedonic perspectives the major outcome is a spatial antagonism amongst population groups. The third model is Schelling's (1971) agent based model in which individual agents decide to concentrate or dissociate according to their disposition of "thrust" against other agents. In other words, segregation can be seen as a macro-scale event but it is generated by individual's residential choices, i.e. the micro-level.

According to Emmanuel (*ibid*), all the aforementioned models suffer significant drawbacks though: the absolute socio-spatial segregation occurs as the inevitable outcome of the filtering process while the big-scale social mix is evident nowadays in big cities. In addition, the households' distribution throughout the built environment is not always attributed to choice or taste since households allocate themselves with respect to the costs. Factors such as the

households' composition, socio-economic status, social networks and nativity have to be taken into account as well (see Wilson & Hammer *ibid*).

To counteract such downsides, Chamberlin's theory of *monopolistic* or *imperfect competition* can be adopted instead, a theory which enabled the development of modern location theory (Bellante 2004). According to this approach, differentiated characteristics result in equally differentiated products, a fact that brings about impacts almost identical to the monopolistic ones; in other words "society gets as much product diversity as it is willing to pay for" (Bellante *ibid*, p.17). The social struggle is echoed in the spatial competition and a social division of urban land emerges; land owners and housing providers are leading actors in the system (Emmanuel, *ibid*).

### 3 approaches

In global literature a threefold approach is adopted in order to describe the evolution of the scientific field through time. The three approaches are Chicago School's, the Marxist approach and the Global City theory (see Bogus 2008; Häussermann 2005; Maloutas 2012; Préteceille 2004;). Variations exist of course: Häussermann (2005) includes Simmel as a fourth, distinct line while Van Kempen & Murie (2009) suggest an alternative triple partition which embraces the Chicago School, the behavioural approach and the "choice" school before accentuating the Global City contemporary debate.

To begin with, the Chicago School of Sociology is the birthplace of urban sociology and segregation theory. Having the then remarkable migration flows as the starting point and adjusting ecologic models to the dynamic human geography of the city, this paradigm dominated the field from the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century till its culmination in the 1950's. Influential figures such as Park, Burgess, Hoytt, Wirth and McKenzie interpreted Chicago's urban tissue as a social laboratory in order to investigate it and combined the then concerns of American sociology – such as criminality, unemployment, racism etc.- with a novel, formal and systematic analysis based upon data collection (Lutters & Ackerman 1996). Burgess' (1925) concentric models proposed that different urban zones, the so-called "natural areas", are suitable for housing certain population groups which reside these areas through a process of invasion, succession and dominance. The suggested dynamic schemes showed a correlation of the foreign population's spatial segregation and gradual social integration with socio-cultural relations and the restructuring of urban form. According to Fujita (2012) racism was considered as the generating force for segregation through its discriminatory processes which resulted in clusters of minority groups; concentration areas are characterised by population homogeneity in terms of race or



ethnicity. By and large, the competition and struggle over the urban land automatically engender urban development and transformations. Albeit the unequivocal contribution of the Chicago School to urban sociology and segregation studies though, the model has been under considerable stricture. The most widespread opposing argument is related to the naturalistic understanding of the human phenomena happening in the urban environment. Häussermann (2005) stresses the point that the role of politics is totally omitted while Lykogianni & Vaiou (2008) highlight that this naturalization has led to unilateral spatial explanations to the complex processes appearing in a city. Since the then segregation connoted the formation of “natural areas”, we can argue here that the acceptance of such zones in the city indicates a deterministic approach implying that specific groups suit specific areas a priori while obscuring the forces and powers amongst several actors interacting in the city and determining its human geography; such actors are economic, cultural, administrative as well as taste and social classes and the absence of them renders the approach simplistic and inadequate. Accordingly, the biologic model did not leave any space for choice, preference and social action to be considered (Van Kempen & Murie 2009).

The neo-Marxist approach of the 1960's and 1970's drew explanatory inspiration by the Marxist Sociology and is inherently related to the New Urban Sociology. This new perspective analysed the mechanisms of production of urban segregation and was lead mainly by Castells (1977), Lojkin and Harvey (1974). The Marxist debate brought to the fore the role of social inequalities and saw segregation as a manifestation of the former. The economic analysis rendered the approach valid for capitalistic societies, not socialist (Häussermann 2005). Moreover, the ideological basis of the social struggles and state's influence on the processes was then set. The struggles take place in cities, i.e. the locales of collective consumption, are interpreted as struggles over infrastructure and this results in segregation as the production of space (Häussermann *ibid*).

Although Marcuse (1993) states that the “dual city” concept was first mentioned in the 1860's by Disraeli, it is since the beginning of 1990's that the term has been massively used in combination with the Social Polarisation Thesis (Sassen 1991) which the contemporary predominant paradigm derives from: the Global City. In general, what the model suggests is that globalization processes result in one single urban pattern which tends to be identical in big urban centers around the world; and this is feasible by virtue of the global cities' function as “strategic places for global capitalist management” (Maloutas 2012, p.1). Due to neoliberal reforms, the job structure is characterised by two major poles: one of highly paid occupations and another of low economic profile. Intermediate jobs are abandoned due to the rapid de-industrialisation and the domination of the service sector while the demand and supply of jobs are not congruent any more. In other words, the occupational structure is influenced by severe changes in the

production processes of the society (Leal 2004). Consequently, cities are dominated by a clear dualism regarding their structure. In other words, the paradigm indicates a direct relation between social and spatial changes and dynamics. According to Sassen (ibid), the social polarization to be found in global cities is mirrored in a dualistic spatial division and she claims the universality of the model.

The Global City debate is rather ardent and hence considered as worthy dedicating some lines to summing the most considerable critics linked to it. Several grounds have been used for the criticism of the Social Polarisation Thesis and this mere fact proves the significance of Sassen's controversial theoretical suggestions. To begin with, Garrido (2012) is concerned about the ideological drawbacks of Sassen's assumptions criticizing that the construct does not take into account the global South. Marcuse (1989) characterises the term "global city" as a "muddy metaphor" and juxtaposes the *quartered city* in order to suggest an alternative model which includes a more complex and diversified explanation of modern segregation. In other words, he considers Sassen's concept as "either wrong or badly incomplete" (ibi, p.698) and argues that reality is multidimensional, not dual. In a similar logic, Soja (2000) opposes the simplistic, inadequate interpretation of the *dual city* by introducing a counter-model of spatial fragmentation according to which inequalities are dispersed throughout the urban space and the social mosaic is ever-changing (*exopolis*). Fujita (2012) concludes that a considerable number of investigated cities unveil rather diversified patterns and considers the urban convergence of the *global cities* ungrounded while according to Arbaci (2007, p.406), it is "difficult to find income polarisation in Europe". What corroborates this argument is the considerable expansion of the middle classes of the social scale. In addition, Sassen does not seem to account for the connection of the global with the local dynamics (Arbaci 2007; Häussermann 2005) while the accurate outcomes of globalization in cities is not backed by any important consensus or empirical evidence (Maloutas 2012; Musterd, Ostendorf & Breebart 1997). Last but not least, the nonexistence of the welfare state's role and the contextual differences is stressed by Maloutas (2012) and Marcuse (1989). In a nutshell, we could haltingly argue that the Social Polarisation Thesis and the Global City model are useful for an understanding of the contemporary conditions and general tensions around the globe or maybe even of the forthcoming consequences of the process rather than the process itself. Time will prove whether Sassen is a prophet of our era or just a herald of a theoretical fallacy.

## Dimensions

In their outstanding work “The Dimensions of Residential Segregation”, Massey & Denton (1998) set the foundations for a multidimensional understanding of the phenomenon: “Residential segregation is a global construct that subsumes five underlying dimensions of measurement, each corresponding to a different aspect of spatial variation” (ibid: 283). The dimensions are not isolated from each other but rather overlap empirically. A very brief but essential listing of the aspects is following:

- ◇ *Evenness*: diverse spatial distribution of two distinct social groups amongst urban units.
- ◇ *Exposure*: possibility of contact or interaction between members of minority and majority groups within urban spatial units.
- ◇ *Concentration*: percentage of actual space which is occupied by a minority group in relation to the overall urban surface.
- ◇ *Centralisation*: the extent of a group’s spatial concentration in proximity to the city center.
- ◇ *Clustering*: the degree minority urban units adjoin each other or form clusters in the urban environment.

## Context

Segregation is not one single model, omnipresent in every city all over the world. Even its significance varies as well as the effect it has on the reproduction of urban inequalities (Fujita 2012). Each city has its own dynamics, moulded by different social, political, economic, historical conditions. Even the same global forces may produce different shapes of exclusion in the urban environment (Musterd & Ostendorf 1998). As a result, the researcher has to clarify these differences and take into consideration the specific context in order to analyse and understand spatial patterns.

The primal debate to focus on contextual variations is the one in regard to the two sides of the Atlantic which remain still different, although there exist fears for the “Americanisation” of European cities (see for example Häussermann 2005). Préteceille (2004) states that there is a global agreement as far as vocabulary, methods and approaches of segregation are concerned and strongly criticizes the domination of the USA model within this “globalization of science” (ibid, p.108); numerous counter-models challenge this reign. Furthermore, Van Kempen & Murie

(2008) suggest the establishment of a distinct Western European City Thesis. Though, the American city has been established as the most widespread way of thinking in segregation studies. To portray a very basic difference, in US cities segregation has rigid ethno-racial roots while European cities are segregated mostly in terms of class, not origin (Arbaci 2007). The former have the reputation of highly segregated comparing to the latter; social housing and public transportation are crucial factors (Musterd 2005) as well as the level and type of suburbanization (Maloutas 2012; Van Kempen & Murie 2008).

Nevertheless, Europe is far from a clear-cut type of segregation patterns. Contextual discrepancies are obvious amongst European cities located in different regions all around the continent (Arbaci 2007; Maloutas & Fujita 2012; Van Kempen & Murie 2008); the “continent is highly fragmented and diversified” (Musterd 2005, p.331). For instance, according to Musterd (*ibid*), such divergences may arise due to the state, the specific city in a state or even the particular group under investigation while for Arbaci (2007) the patterns and levels of segregation are merely the consequences of the variable combinations of housing provision and land supply simultaneously determined by the tenure composition. Remarkably enough, even within the same capitalist regimes, forms of segregation does not occur identical, as expected, due to contextual differences and the intervention of several institutions (see Fujita 2012); in a similar way Häussermann (2005) explains that there appear some common patterns in the capitalist societies but the stages of economic development amongst them vary to such an extent that urban segregation follows different types. Van Kempen & Murie (2008) elucidate that variations in physical and institutional legacies lead to considerable divergent patterns within Europe while Leal (2004) emphasizes the importance of different educational and health systems, unemployment benefits and housing strategies throughout Europe.

The differential approaches between Europe and USA are also reflected in the official policies adopted by each side in order to counteract segregation (Musterd 2005). Préteceille (2004) criticizes the fact that segregation is considered as something acceptable in the US – possibly due to the naturalized approach inherited by the Chicago School- and, as a result, there is no necessity for political initiatives opposing segregation. The personal effort of the American dogma in accordance with social mobility dynamics will create the opportunity for minorities to upgrade their residential and occupational situation; the notion of “equal chances” is strongly promoted. The “busing” policy focusing on school segregation exemplifies the American way of addressing the issue. On the other hand, policies in Europe mainly spiral around the “social mix” approach. The spatial mixture of different social groups is seen as a means to cure the segregation’s neighbourhood effects. The downsides of residing in deprived areas are related to “role model effects and peer group influences, social and physical disconnection from job-finding networks” (Manley et al 2011, p.3) etcetera. Nevertheless, extensive unfavourable comments have

been made with regard to the healing effects of social mix policies (for example see Cheshire 2007; Galster 2007).

## Welfare State

Besides the still influential past of slavery and racial discrimination in the USA, contemporary analyses focus on the welfare state as a determining factor of the divergent segregation patterns between the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean. More precisely, the deviation emerged when the role of landowners in the formation and reproduction of urban space in Europe was replaced by the state through democratisation processes (Häussermann 2005). Albeit this durable historical aspect, the role of state has not been brought to the fore until very recently and is subject to changes under globalization forces (Van Kempen & Murie 2008). There is no correlation between segregation indices and either the percentage of ethnic groups or the size of the cities (Arbaci *ibid*, p.409). Yet, it is the weak or strong presence of welfare policies that respectively intensifies or counteracts segregation dynamics (Fujita 2012). The association is not necessarily as such though. For instance, although welfare tactics aim at sustaining poverty down to low levels, an action that clearly counteracts segregation, urban uprisings in social housing neighbourhoods of European cities such as Paris or London unveil that the welfare advantages may be limited to only some of the social echelons. Moreover, the concentration of low-quality services and inadequate facilities in combination with the lack of political representation and the prevailing discriminatory stereotypes in social housing estates, indicate that welfare policies have the potential of unexpectedly discriminating the urban dwellers (Fujita *ibid*).

More precisely, Espring-Andersen (1996) proposes a threefold categorisation of the welfare state, each of which results in a different composition of housing system and segregation patterns. The types can be briefly concluded as such:

1. *Liberal Regimes* are characterised by the low levels of housing de-commodification, income distribution and equal access to services; North America and Australia exemplify the model.
2. In *Corporarist Welfare States* official mechanisms and institutions, such as the church and family, maintain the stratification embedded in income differentiations; Germany, France or Belgium are archetypes in which the state replaces free market in welfare provision.
3. *Social Democratic Welfare regimes* are ruled by principles such as the universal de-commodification and the equal distribution of welfare rights; Scandinavian societies perfectly comply with this model.

4. Arbaci (2007) proceeds to a significant enhancement by adding the *Latin-Rim Welfare* cluster in order to delineate the South European regimes, mainly described by the strong family welfare and patrimony, very limited income re-distribution and illegal access to employment or services.

Therefore, the welfare's nature is a determinant regarding the level of re-distribution and de-commodification. Housing, as a principle source in human societies, is a key element in the process, substantially influenced by welfare levels; the role of states in housing distribution is already stressed (see Van Kempen & Murie 2008; Musterd 2005). According to Arbaci (ibid), the population distribution in terms of place of residence is hence accordingly articulated via a number of interrelated distributive mechanisms between the state and the market. The first mechanism is, namely, the housing provision and land supply. As far as the production and promotion of dwellings are concerned, the involved actors vary from large builders or developers in liberal states and supervised big builders in Social Democracies to a fragmented model of construction of Corporatist regimes and small-scale, speculative development of the Mediterranean societies. Furthermore, in terms of supply, in Corporatist and Socio-Democratic conditions the state provision aims at an easily accessible housing supply. On the other hand, in Latin-Rim regimes fragile planning strategies and traditional norms (e.g. families) lead to informal alternative housing methods which reproduce the spatial segmentation.

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The second prominent apparatus is the dominant housing tenure of each regime. Each welfare cluster is symbolically located closer to either the unitary or the dualist rental system (see Kemeny 1996, cited in Arbaci ibid). The former embraces the Socio-democratic and Corporatist regimes where social and private housing markets are combined, public land ownership is high and the aim is to achieve socio-tenure mix; the provision spreads over all social groups. On the contrary, the latter type includes Liberal and Latin-Rim regimes and social and private market are distinct so that the private sector is competition-free; as a result, the gains stemming from development are mobilized towards the remunerative market niches.

The complex nexus described by Arbaci defines the levels and patterns of socio-spatial segregation by respectively complicated results considering the size of development plots, the level of homogeneity of urban sprawl and the amount of mixture in tenure and land-use. As expected, contextual differences are to be found even within the same cluster by virtue of numerous nexuses. To encapsulate, the “embedded in each housing system” (Arbaci ibid, p.426) stratification is a key element for the understanding of the mechanisms; as Van Kempen and Murie (2008) have stated, the current restructuring of the European welfare model may result in novel forms of housing market diversity and stratification.

## THE SOUTH EUROPEAN DISCOURSE

*“Post-modernism celebrates difference and diversity, thus offering a way out of absurd caricatures of cities not conforming to “expected” patterns” –Leontidou (1996, p.180)*

Beyond the North/South global division which replaced the First/Second/Third World partition, a very similar cleavage occurs in the European continent as well. The European South, or the Mediterranean countries with regard to Braudel’s concept, stands for particularities as far as culture, history, development and forms of capitalism are concerned. An alternative categorisation is the one based on the center-periphery model of European integration (see Coppieters et al. 2004).

Leontidou’s (1990) work attracted abundant attention as it constituted an unprecedented effort to understand and explain the particularities embedded in the Mediterranean cities which shaped a distinct, divergent urban development model within the capitalist system. The principle she based her investigation upon is the multiplicity of ways for a society to traverse from feudalism to the capitalist regime; Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece followed a distinct transition line compared to their northern counterparts and explicitly contrasted the dominant prototypes of the Anglophone world (see also Maloutas & Fujita 2012). The first divergence of the Mediterranean metropolises is to be found in the “inverse-Burgess” pattern of urban expansion. According to Maloutas & Karadimitriou (2001, p.701), it was Schnore to coin the term in order to portray city growth in the capitalist periphery; the pattern describes the “relation between social rank and distance from the city centre” in a reversed way than Burgess’ suggestion. Soja (2000, p.239) put the famous model of concentration under stricture focusing on transformations of US cities though:

Fordism simultaneously accentuated centrality, with the concentration of financial, government, and corporate headquarters in and around the downtown core; and accelerated decentralization, primarily through the suburbanization of the burgeoning middle class, manufacturing jobs and the sprawling infrastructure of mass consumption that was required to maintain a suburban mode of life.

Nevertheless, Leontidou uses the “inverse-Burgess” model in order to describe the stay of affluent urban dwellers in the central areas albeit the cities’ severe expansion; simultaneously, low classes resided mainly in peripheral urban settlements as well as central areas where residential space was available. The result of these dynamics, i.e. an intermixture of socially

distant groups, reveals a second pivotal point of differentiation between South and North European cities: the intermingling not only of social classes but also of economic activities and places of residence. The outcome of the aforementioned combination is a fragmented urban space or a diversified spatial distribution; a “patchwork of economic activity and social classes” (Leontidou *ibid*, p.12). Fullaondo & Musterd (2008) validate this argument by stating that the particular socio-urban and socio-economic context of the South has resulted in segregation levels lower than in the North or the West.

Using Gramsci’s notion of spontaneity, Leontidou (*ibid*) mainly attributes the Mediterranean discrepancies to a spontaneous urban development which appeared along with capitalism and has even been “functional to it”<sup>5</sup> (*ibid*, p.5). Spontaneity –which is defined as the product of an absentee systematic mechanism and control- entails two aspects: the urban growth resulting from popular movements, not from official planning, and the popular perception of land and housing as not speculative but exchange values. Informal settlements and the influx of rural population can be included in the component parts of spontaneity.

In housing terms, Allen et al. (2004) discuss the Mediterranean particularities embracing primarily welfare and then family and demographic conditions as integral parts of the analytical framework. In agreement with Leontidou (*ibid*), the belated arrival of industrialisation is stressed. Some shared features amongst the countries are listed so that the degree of dissimilarity to the European North is clarified: high share of home ownership, very limited social housing sector, legal and illegal self-promotion and self-production as well as strong presence of second and vacant dwellings. Family has replaced welfare policies in the production and provision of accommodation while simultaneously facilitated the reproduction of a characteristic culture. More precisely, the family is rigidly linked to housing, standing for the institution of social organisation and reproduction. On the other hand, the characterised by “clientelism and populism” (*ibid*, p.8) welfare state, has been proved weak in housing policies since they aim not at housing *per se* but directly at the economic growth through the construction apparatus. Maloutas (2003) labels the welfare situation of the European South as “dualistic”; on the one hand it provides public sector and full-time employment with substantial protection while, on the other, is not capable of adequately supporting irregular, precarious and personal employment. Hence, within this blurred welfare landscape, family stands for solidarity and reciprocity as well and is a key factor in both aggressive and defensive housing strategies (Allen et al *ibid*). As expected, housing patterns are shaped accordingly.

Besides the family though, social reproduction in Southern Europe marks differentiations in broader terms. For instance, northern societies have been organized by

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<sup>5</sup> Leontidou mainly lays emphasis upon the Greek case here as well as throughout her whole work.

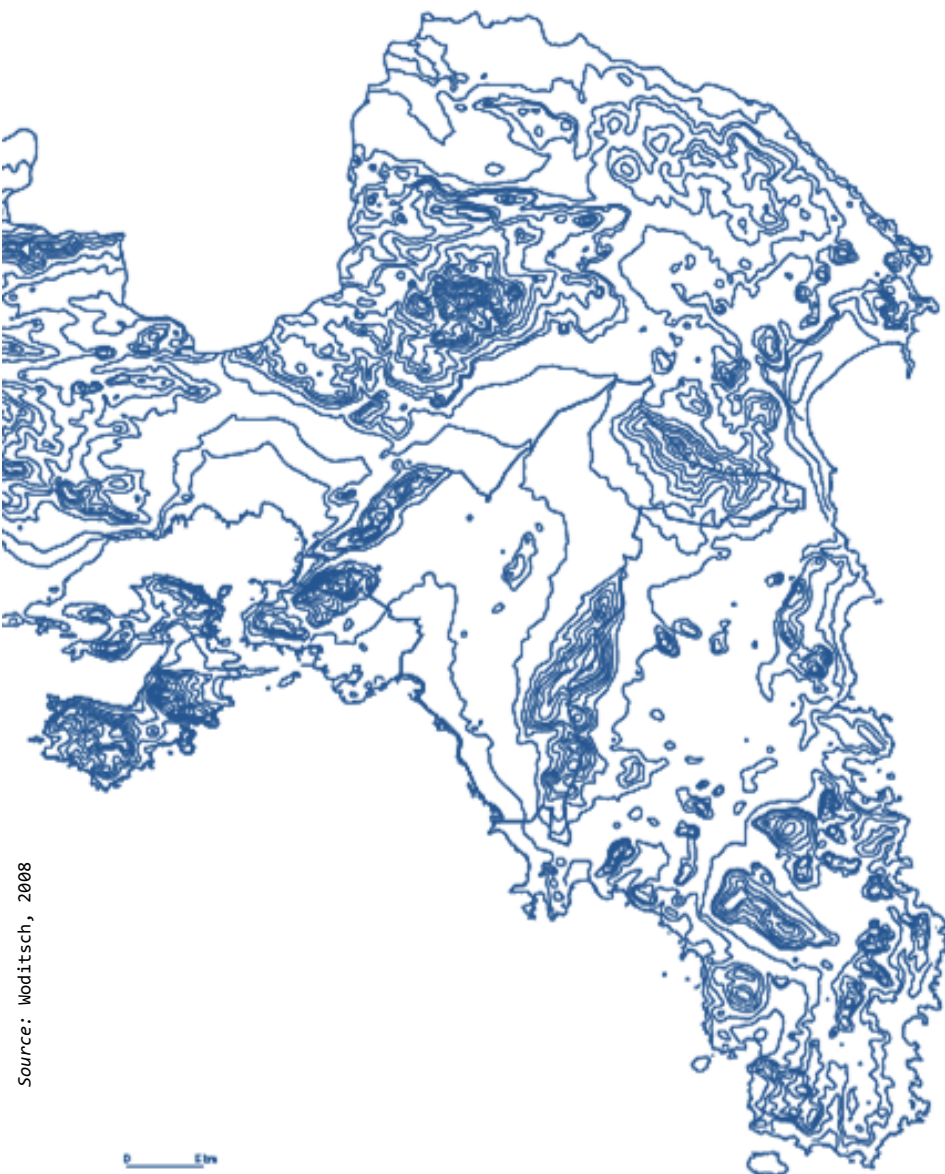


substantial welfare states in respect to industrial production as the chief economic wheel while urbanization was industrialisation's next step; on the contrary, their southern equivalents transformed the then dominant rural activity into a vast urbanization in which social integration could be achieved by the members through the urban growth per se and not via salaried work (Maloutas 2003). Within this unique process, housing as a social element replaced employment and became indispensable for social integration; "the right to housing became synonymous to the right to home ownership" (Maloutas *ibid*, p.106).

The effort for Southern European cities to be inserted to segregation discourse is quite recent (see for example Arbaci 2007; Fullaondo & Musterd 2008). The turning point for the amplification of interest appeared when the Mediterranean countries registered as inflow places for international migration in the beginning of 1990s (Arapoglou & Sayas 2009; Fullaondo & Musterd 2008; Leal 2005; Vaiou et al 2007). What followed the post-war emigration of these societies towards the northern parts of the continent was a metamorphose: they became net immigrant receivers after having been net deliverers of migrants for many decades (Fullaondo & Musterd *ibid*); the European immigration map substantially changed. Specific conditions render this migration influx possible, i.e. the permeability of national –coastal- borders, the very limited police control within cities, the high levels of job opportunity in the widespread unofficial economic activity of the Mediterranean region (Vaiou et al. 2007). As a result, these cities have ever since experienced significant ongoing modifications in their human landscape.

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Fullaondo & Musterd (*ibid*) shed light upon the different pathways of residential shapes between Northern and Southern European cities by briefly stating the following differential points, all of them linked to the pivotal, controversial immigration issue: strong migration regulation towards the North compared to the South; as well, more robust welfare states to support underprivileged groups, such as immigrants, characterise the European north and the share of social rented housing is higher than the equivalent South European percentages. By and large, the welfare state in countries of the European south is considerably weaker. Last but not least, in southern Europe ethnic groups are escalating their presence with a parallel increase in numbers of undocumented migrants. The aforementioned elements can be seen as complementary ones to the characteristics stated above by Allen et al (*ibid*) so that the portrait of North/South discrepancies is further illuminated.



Source: Woditsch, 2008

## ATHENS

*“My house, as your house,  
enters other people’s houses  
in such narrow streets  
with so many human beings.  
So close we all live to each other that sometimes  
it makes me believe that we all share the same bed  
brush our teeth with one toothbrush  
and eat the same food”.*

Katerina Gogou, *Troias 35a*, 1978 (own translation)

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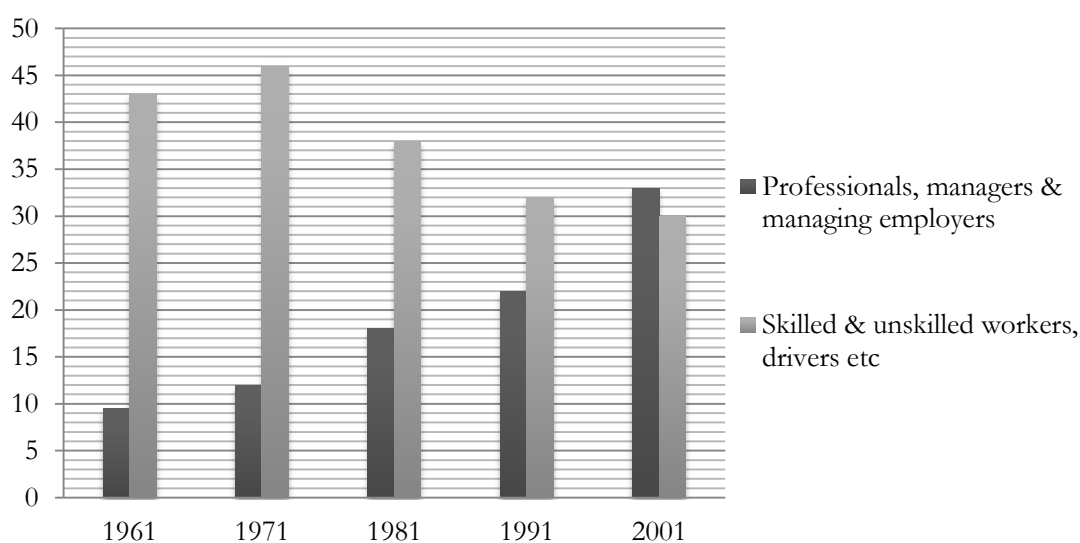
The view of Athens from one of the hills scattered throughout the plain is breathtaking; it may even confuse the visitor about whether he/she is facing a European cityscape or not. A vast land coherently covered with white cement cubes, leaving no visible open space apart from the high spots of its ancient topography that is the surrounding mountains and the embraced hills which struggle to escape the urban mass and touch the glorious sky of Attica; then the city opens up to the sea. And the Acropolis stands out as decreed by fate in the middle of this liquid-like urban sprawl, linking this tangible modernity and an invisible but omnipresent past.

The city of Athens absolutely and perfectly embodies the whole transition of the Greek society from a particular industrial era to a new modernity. In Greece, the post-war period has been characterised by the shift of the focal site of the society from peripheral villages to the growing, major urban settlements of the time. The capital city was delivered the leading role in this thorny process; it is densely built exactly like the amount of aggregated economic and social capital it is carrying.

In a rather unique plexus of historical incidents, cultural and societal particularities, weak interventionist state, important geopolitical location, clientelist and populist politics and specific labour structure, the Athenian socio-spatial context has been gradually but in compressed time articulated. Respecting its geographic position and hence diverging from the dominant industrial and post-industrial urban development model the European North and West have followed, Athens, according to Maloutas et al (2012), owes its growth to factors indirectly linked to it, coming from the outside. Four major stages can be detected: the massive wave of refugees from Asia Minor settled in the western periphery of the city in the 1920's; after the end of the civil war in 1949 rural population seeking anonymity in urban centers dwelled the capital; during the 50's

and 60's, the rural wave was substantially amplified with a parallel economic transition from rural to urban; the last, but certainly not least, stage includes an immense migration flow which occurred in the early 90's and altered the Athenian ethnic consistency. Consequently, post-war Athens became a national triple pole: for manufacture, trade and transport; for centralized political representations and the state's administration; and for an unprecedented construction industry which advanced the domestic economy and rapidly provided the rural immigrants and working-class offsprings with massive, low-cost housing units (Maloutas et al. *ibid*). This pole functioned in conditions of high upward social mobility for the urban dwellers and a pivotal point within this pole is the dramatic decrease of skilled and unskilled working force and a parallel rise in upper-intermediate categories. Graph 1 illustrates the expansion of the middle classes which dominated the socio-economic changes of the post-war decades. In terms of segregation, the big share of higher occupational classes outstandingly influences residential patterns since they are spatially more mobile than the lower echelons (Maloutas et al. *ibid*).

**Graph 1: Percentage of major occupational categories in the active population in Athens (1961–2001)**



Source: Leontidou (1986: 97) for 1961 to 1981 and EKKE-ESYE (2005) for 1991 and 2001 in Maloutas et al. 2012

## Class & occupational structure

Brief conclusions about the occupational rates and dynamics in Athens can be drawn from the following table in comparison to the European average. Divergences are obviously present; Leontidou (1996: 180) states that “the political economies of societies where Fordism seldom

took root has been based on late industrialisation, a feeble bourgeoisie, and informal labourers rather than a proletariat”. Strikingly, small business owners, independent crafts and farm owners form a rather widespread occupational echelon, almost three times bigger than its European counterpart. It can probably be argued here that a significant segment of the Greek middle class is dominated by this group. Nevertheless, the rate of change indicates a substantial decline, the most rapid one amongst all the categories. At the same time, high categories, i.e. A and E, appear remarkably more limited than in Europe. As well, clerical and service jobs rise in numbers while employees in manual production, construction and agriculture increase but at a low pace.

#### Occupational changes in Athens (1991–2001)

Classification of occupation	ESS 2003 %					
	European results	1991 individuals	1991 % shares	2001 individuals	2001 % shares	% change 1991-2001
A	9	51.595	4,2	45.949	3,2	-10,9
B	24,1	323.369	26,3	393.352	27,4	21,6
C	22,5	279.653	22,7	311.863	21,7	11,5
D	5,3	227.872	18,5	195.917	13,6	-14
E	24,2	237.327	19,3	283.167	19,7	19,3
F	14,9	108.314	8,8	205.779	14,3	90
<b>TOTAL</b>	100	1.228.130	100	1.436.027	100	16,9

*Source:* IRUS-NCSR-2001 Census data, in Arapoglou & Sayas 2009

**NOTES:** A= Managers & executive personnel. B= Sales, administrative & clerical occupations. C= Manual production & construction workers & farm workers. D= Small business owners, independent crafts and farm owners. E= Professionals, technicians and semi-professionals. F= Skilled & unskilled service workers

Discussing the potential labour polarisation in Athens, Arapoglou & Sayas (2009, p.349) use as starting points the growth of services and the ever-evolving fragmentation of job market in order to conclude that essential occupations for the former industrial organisation are reducing with a parallel growth of services and sales positions. There is hence an “evidence of polarisation without a contraction of the working class”.

## State & housing production

Manolopoulos characterises the Greek regime as “Mediterranean clientelist capitalism” (2011, cited in Fujita 2012). In a populist and clientelist state, housing became a mobilizing tool for the flows of capital as well as social integration while the real housing needs of a continuously increasing urban populace was being put in the far background. As well, the policies’ major objectives have been the political support and the intensification of economic activity through the housing construction (Maloutas 2003). There are no big social housing estates to interrupt the fragmented Athenian urban fabric; the political parties in power opted for alternative housing strategies or non-strategies<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, Fullaondo & Musterd (2008, p.95) state that “in many societies private property is increasingly celebrated as the mainstream tenure and the withdrawal of the state in general is becoming the dominant philosophy”; homeownership in Athens was declared as the leading tactic for integration of new-comers to the urban society. Two principal systems were followed: self-promotion/self-construction, in many cases even illegally, and the *antiparochi* system. The former was typical for the then Mediterranean settlements while the latter appeared as a novel even radical way of housing production.

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As far as self-promotion methods are concerned, small-scale, private initiatives met the housing needs of the rural migrants settled in the city’s traditional working-class western periphery. According to Maloutas (2003) this practice required affordability as well as technical and organizational abilities for rural masses. Regarding the former ingredient, the low cost of construction was achieved mainly through personal effort and informal labour while the peripheral urban land was legally segmented into affordable lots and sold to the people in need. The final product was individual, self-constructed dwellings of very limited initial amenities and poor characteristics; although the constructions were rather solid thanks to the building skills of the arrivals, Sariyannis (2008) considers these widespread settlements as slums. Maloutas et al. (2012) regard self-production’s effect on the socio-spatial form of the city as contradictory; although it rendered the emerging and consolidating of vast, homogenous working-class neighbourhoods possible, it also produced a type of built environment and social networks which functioned as obstacles to additional shifting and sorting of the population.

The second predominant system, i.e. *antiparochi*, was implicitly branded as the symbol for the then total restructuring of the Greek economy and society. *Antiparochi* replaced the self-promoted housing production by providing affordable housing units in the 60’s and 70’s. According to the process, three parts have to coalesce: primarily a small landowner to provide the urban lot and a small builder to construct a condominium, and then a number of purchasers for

<sup>6</sup> The authorities’ clean hands and abandon of the issue may be alternatively considered as strategies within a vortex of clientelism and populism.

the produced apartments. But the resulting property had to be attractive for all the sides. Therefore, the landowner would get a small share of the block of apartments for his/her own use and speculation; for the constructor the venture would be profitable only if buyers would pay for the final product. Of course, for a growing population in urgent accommodation and social integration need, the abundant low-cost modern apartments occurred as the solution and ended up being the focal point of the economic transactions of the time. Consequently, the areas surrounding the urban core are nowadays densely built and the Athenian condominium has dominated the urban tissue by an endless proliferation at the expense of the old individual residences<sup>7</sup>. Last but not least, the aforementioned speculative approach to the housing problem along with the rather segmented property structure produced a coherent urban fabric which considerably lacks open spaces. The second system's impact on the segregation map of the city has also been proved contradictory (Maloutas et al. *ibid*); on the one hand the segregation levels of the formerly dominated by the upper classes central districts declined while, on the other, it is the key element for the depreciation of the living conditions which has led to the suburbanization of the higher and intermediate categories and the creation of the most socially homogenous suburban zones.

## Segregation

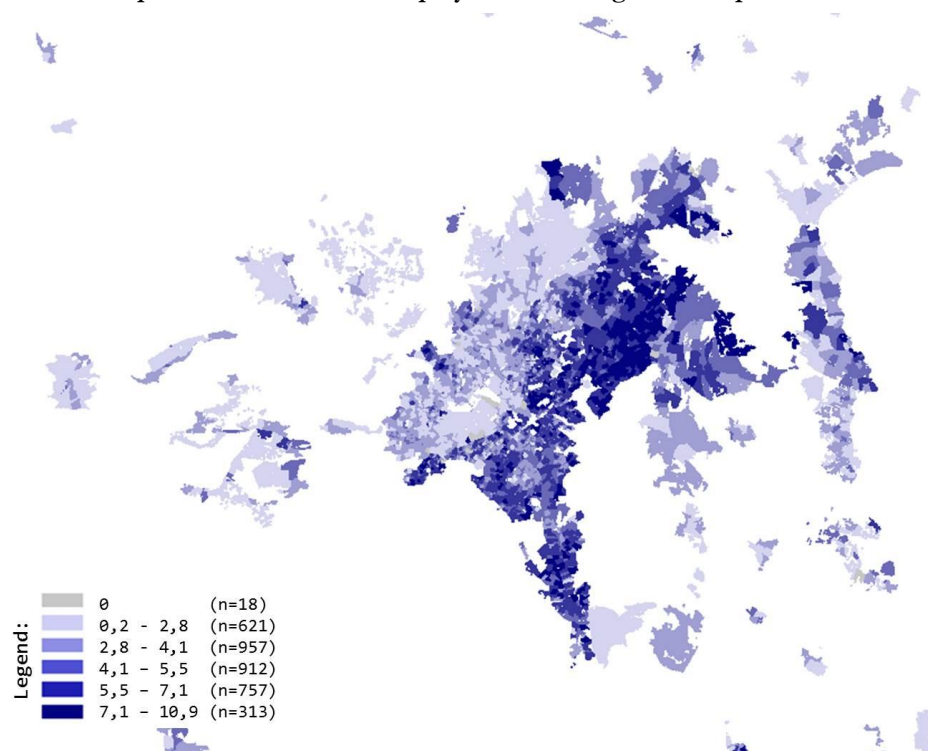
In order to explain residential patterns in class terms, three segregation maps<sup>8</sup> of Athens have been created and hereby presented. An “extensive filtering-down process” emerges after 1971 according to Leontidou (1990, p.132). The current social morphology of the urban tissue is a result of the middle class' residential mobility towards the north-eastern and southern suburbs after the mid-70's. On the other hand, the western peripheral areas remained the strongholds for lower strata of limited spatial mobility albeit the “all-out invasion of the working class” during the urban sprawl (Leontidou *ibid*, p.223). A clear east/west distinctive pattern is visible on maps 2 & 3 without “threatening the cohesion of the city” though (Maloutas et al. 2012, p.260). Besides the dichotomy between the higher and lower occupations, map 3 proves a rather considerable dispersion of intermediate categories through a big part of the city. Moreover, Maloutas et al. (2012) emphasise that almost half of the urban dwellers reside in socially mixed areas.

<sup>7</sup> The typical Athenian individual houses still impressively survive through nostalgic narrations of older dwellers, pictorial arts, abundant music pieces and written works; e.g. in Tsirkas' *Lost Spring*, the writer appears nostalgic about an era when “...Athens was building at human-scale”. Tangible residues of that time, squeezed in-between high condominiums, trigger the flâneur's imagination.

<sup>8</sup> Own maps have been created using the *Hartothiki* software distributed by the National Center for Social Research, using official data from the 2001 census.

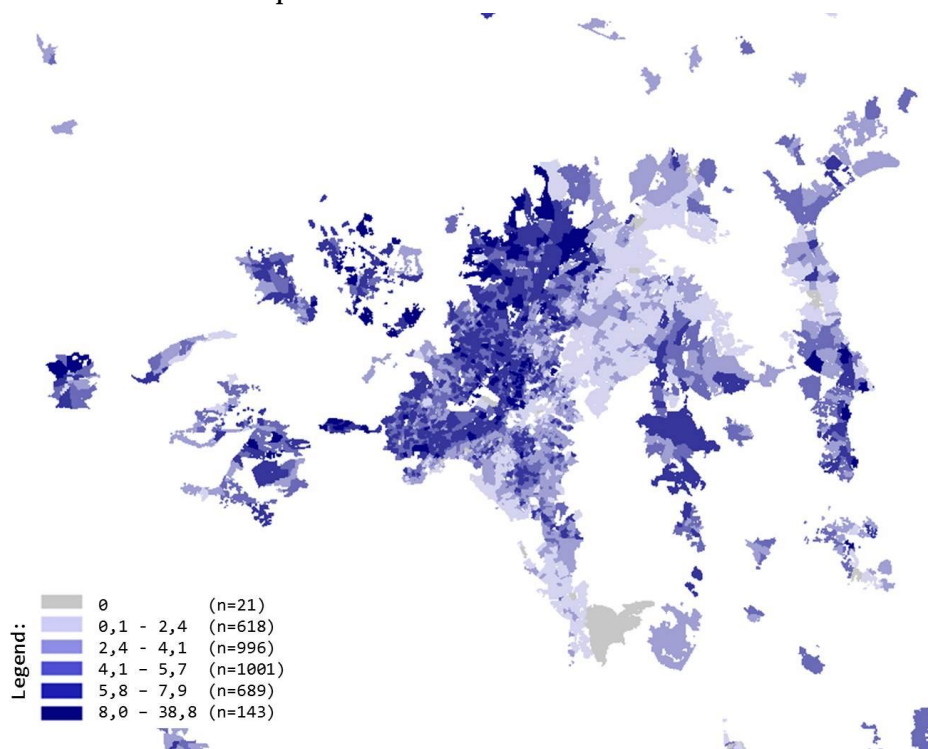


**Map 1: Intermediate self-employed and managerial occupations**



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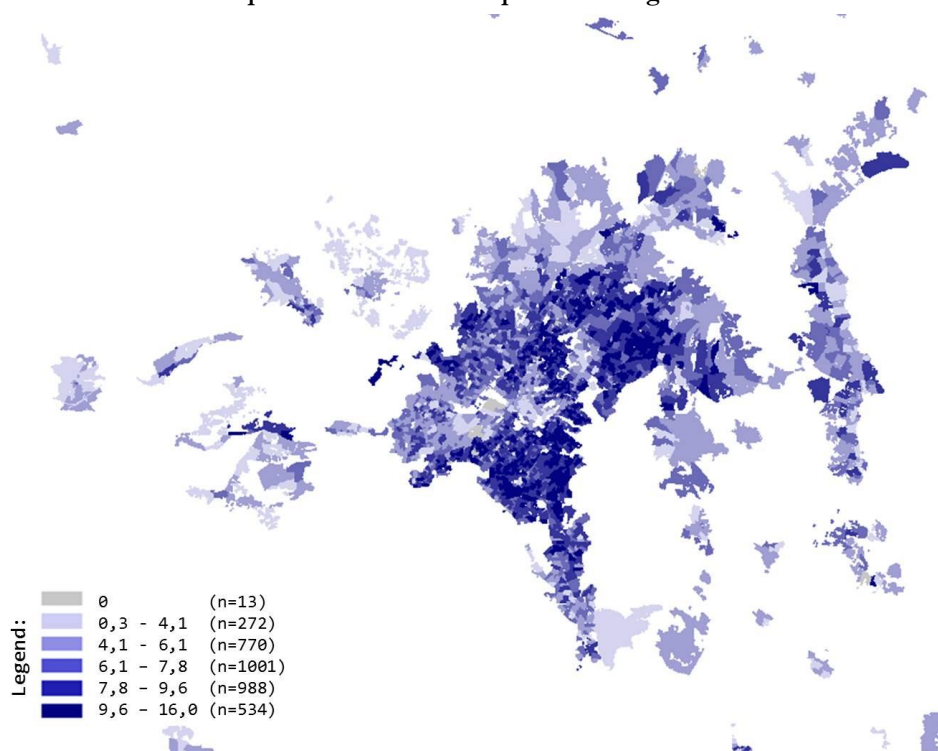
**Map 2: Skilled workers and technicians**



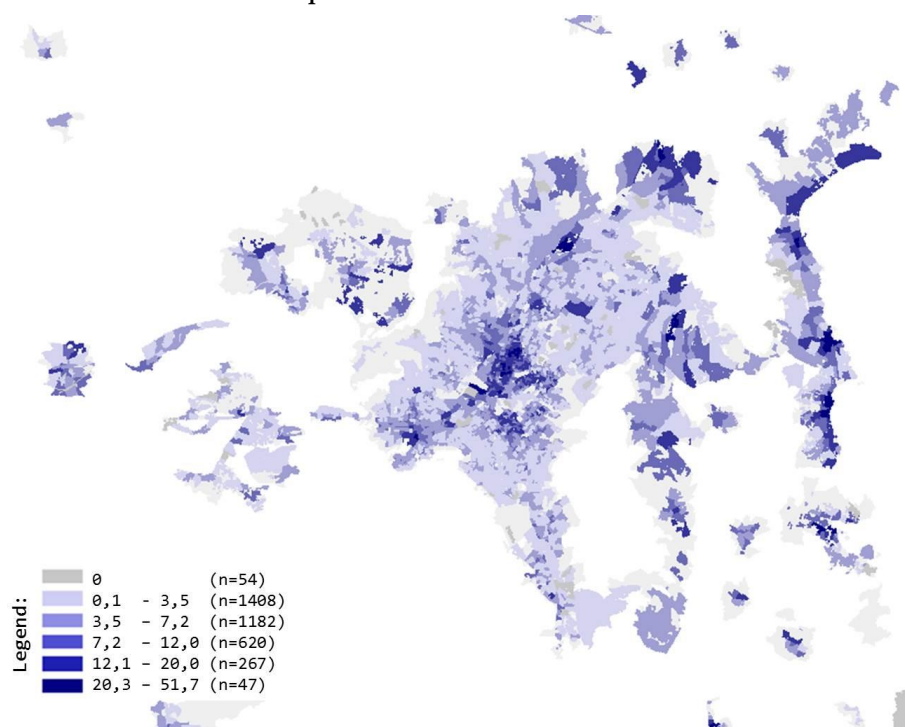


Emmanuel (2008), investigating the role of socio-economic classes in the Athenian residential morphology, lists significant factors which lead to low segregation indices. On the one hand, the nonexistence of public housing followed by an ethno-racial discrimination in the mechanism and the weak role of local administration counteract segregation effects. On the other, the fragmented land ownership resulting in a diverse spatial production, the self-production methods and the high urban density along with the pivotal role of the small or middle-sized condominium render population mixture possible at the neighbourhood level and hence prevent segregation.

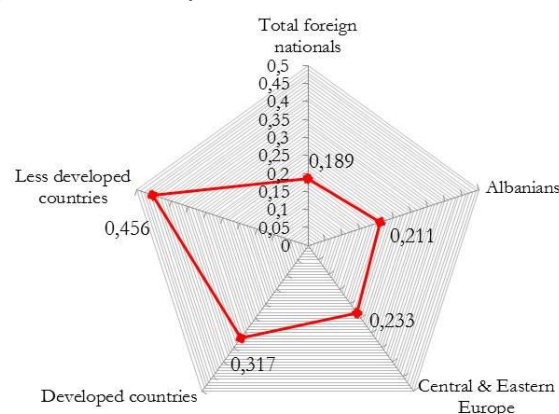
**Map 3: Intermediate occupational categories**



Yet Fujita (2012) classifies Athens in the “Mediterranean Clientelism” group along with Madrid and Istanbul and includes it in the “together but unequal” cluster (ibid, p.292). With the latter he labels cases which show remarkably low segregation indices and coinciding evergrowing social inequalities. The spatial co-existence does not entail declined inequalities which are sustained even in the same building (Arapoglou & Sayas 2009). Moreover, the broadening of public sector and the Mediterranean familism along with spatially entrapped social mobility (Maloutas 2004) counteract possible segregation effects. In addition, segregation is not considered as a principle factor for propagating inequalities.

**Map 4: Distribution of Albanians**

Since the 1990's, residential segregation has attracted ample attention due to its novel ethno-racial dimension and the city's post-fordist transformations. The 2001 census revealed a human mosaic of 212 nationalities that is nearly 10% of the overall population of Athens; the presence of immigrant groups in the central municipality doubles (Kandylis, Maloutas & Sayas 2012). Maloutas et al. (2012) make clear that the districts where "natives" dominate in numbers are significantly more than the ones indicating a foreign rate higher than the metropolitan average while the inflow of the immigrants induced lower segregation ranks. Albanians are the dominant group exceeding half of the overall foreign population and their spatial dispersion (Map4) influences the general indices which remain low (Arapoglou 2006; Kokkali 2007).

**Graph 2: Dissimilarity Indices for non-Greek citizens in Athens, 2001**

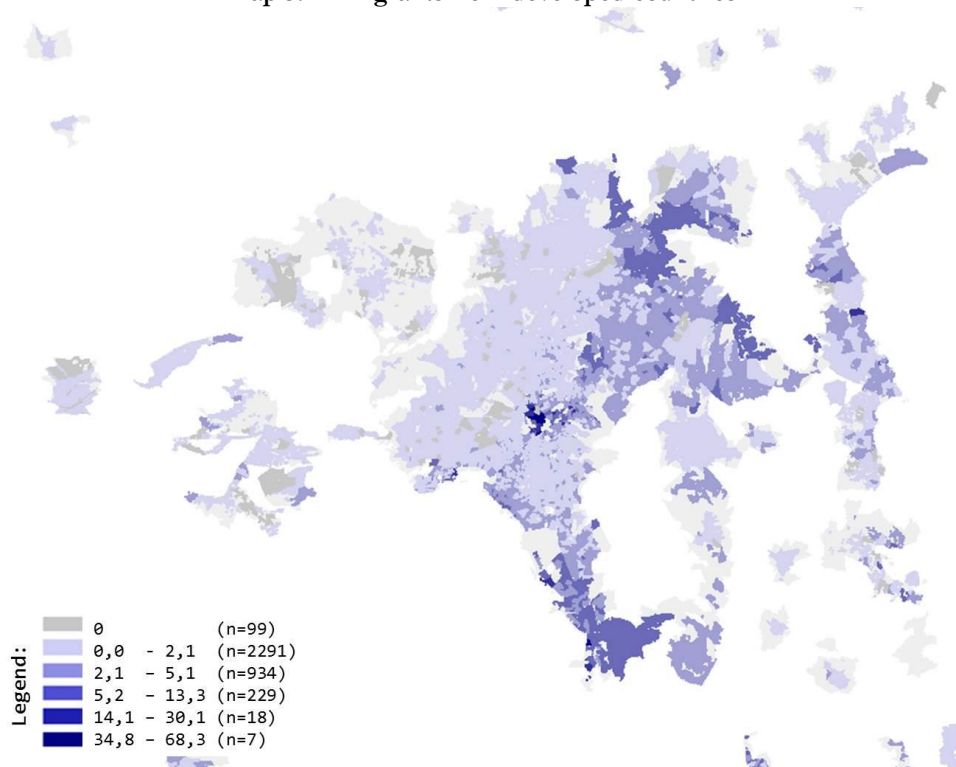
Source: IURS/NCSR-NSSG (2005), own graph based on table in Arapoglou 2006, p.20

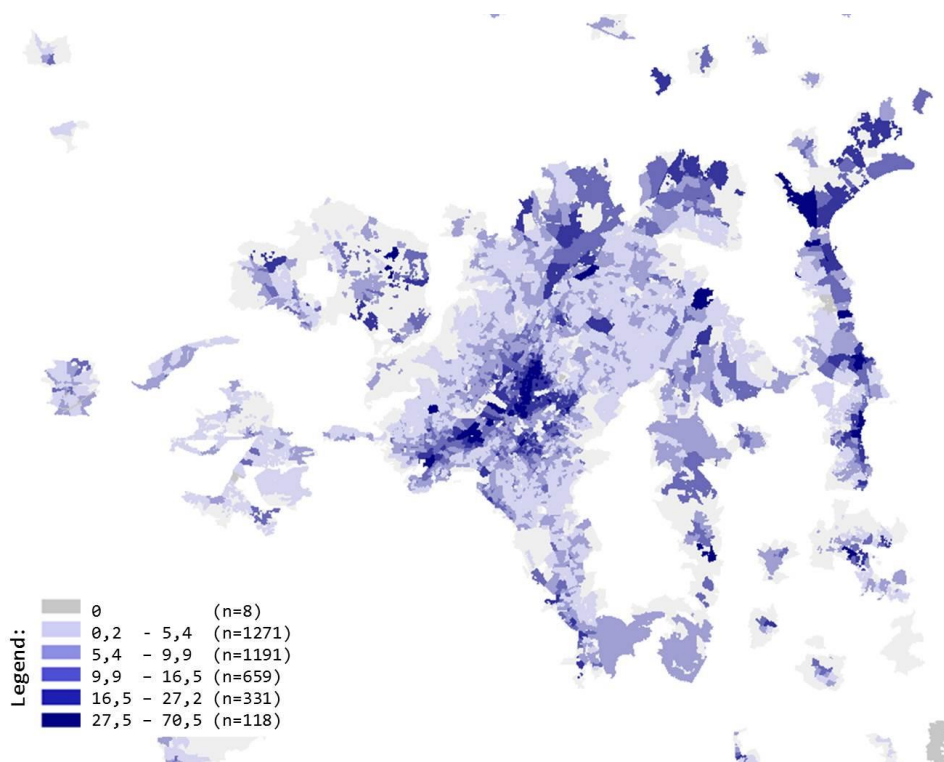
Nevertheless, considerable divergences appear when examining foreign nationals in detail. Albeit the overall even distribution of immigrants, graph 2 shows a differential pattern when specific of reign backgrounds are considered. For example, the population coming from less developed countries reaches remarkably higher levels of dissimilarity index than the total one.

Immigrants from developed countries indicate a spatial tendency similar to the one of the “native” middle-class, attracted by the north-eastern and southern residential areas (map5).

On the contrary, foreigners originating from developing countries follow a more complex and interesting residential morphology. As shown in map6 this group is both centralized and de-centralised; Arapoglou (2006) labels this distribution as concentric. The first suburban ring experiences weak foreign representation. Dissimilarity indices show considerable spatial concentrations for smaller foreign groups (0,50 to 0,83 while 0,33 for Albanians) due to their small numbers and the social and kinship networks which strongly magnetise new arrivals (Arapoglou *ibid*; Maloutas et al. 2012).

**Map 5: Immigrants from developed countries**



**Map 6: Immigrants from developing countries**

The work of Kandylis, Maloutas & Sayas (2012) further explores the concept of unequal positions distinct ethnic segments occupy in the Greek capital's landscape. Within the overall foreign group a pattern of differential social positioning appears according to specific origins. Hierarchies and discrepancies in terms of age, gender, education, housing conditions, tenure and occupational status prevail in a social space of high ethnic variety and without foreign enclaves dominating urban neighbourhoods<sup>9</sup>. Spatial and social integration is met within a broad array. For instance, people from the Indian Peninsula (present in the sample of this study) give the urban tissue a very particular morphology of two major concentration poles: the city center and the peripheral zones of agricultural and industrial activities. Job locations are a catalyst for immigrants' allocation and should be closely investigated (see Kandylis 2008). Furthermore, Albanians show a considerable level of home-ownership (an indicator for social integration) compared to the other minority groups although still rather low when compared to the "native" equivalent. By and large, socio-economic transformations result in an unceasingly formulated plexus of socio-cultural diversity physically demonstrated throughout the city's fabric.

<sup>9</sup> The question about the development of "ghettoes" in central Athens is deliberately studied by the Greek media and in parallel reflected in official policies which reproduce the dominant discourse (e.g. the cleansing operations under the ironic title of "Xenios Zeus").



Own picture, captured with Ilford DELTA B&W, Miaouli street, central Athens

## Vertical Social Differentiation

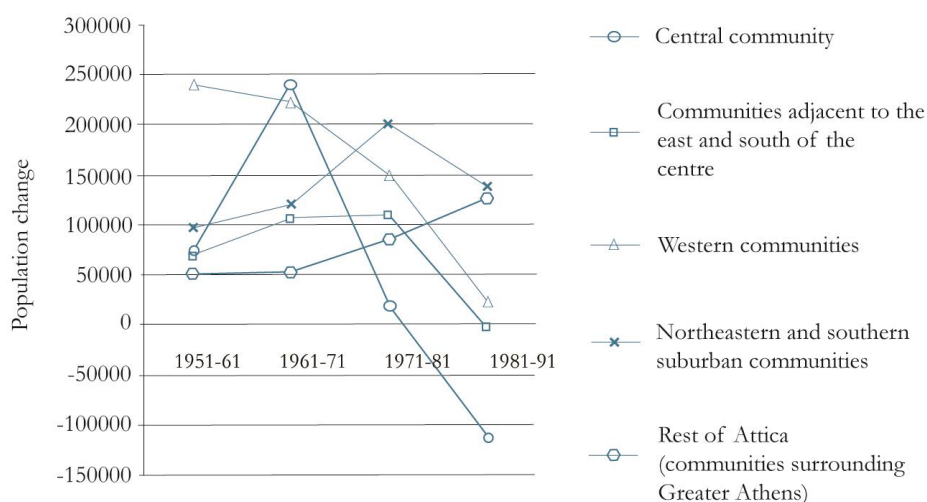
According to Préteceille (2004), there exist segregation counter-models opposing the US domination in urban patterns and their interpretations. In this sense, *vertical segregation* contradicts the most widespread type known as *horizontal* or *community segregation*. White (1984) understands vertical segregation as a remainder of an era which antedated industrialism in cities; in mercantilism, people belonging to different segments of the social spectrum coexisted within the same residential buildings without spatially distancing the “other”. More specifically, explaining socio-spatial patterns of Athens, Leontidou (1990, p.133) argues that the middle and working classes mingle “due to the alternative to community segregation, encountered throughout Southern Europe: vertical differentiation”. Nevertheless, the only considerable research work focused on vertical segregation in Athens has been carried out by Maloutas & Karadimitriou (2001) who also stress the different contexts of South European cities and the absence of a generalised scientific evidence for this phenomenon in the Mediterranean.

The pattern arises when two prerequisites meet: first, apartment features are vertically differentiated within a building; second, residents are allocated via market mechanisms throughout the dwellings. Furthermore, they prefer to use the term *vertical social differentiation* (VSD) since segregation connotes farness and an intended separation of people. This alternative



term possibly embraces as well Leontidou's statement about a commonly shared ideology of different social classes reflected in the inverse-Burgess growth.

**Graph 3: Population change in wider sub-areas of greater Athens (1951 – 1991)**



Source: Maloutas & Karadimitriou 2001

The overall process behind the phenomenon can be explained using the above figure. The central municipality went through a massive population growth during the 1960's when this rise started narrowing till the population loss of the 80's. This evolution should be seen in relation to the suburban areas. The municipalities surrounding the center follow a very similar pattern although with a delayed timing. The western communities progressively stagnated in population till the 1980's showing a decline of their growth. Nevertheless, northeastern and southern suburbs seem like absorbing the populace flying the city center after the 70's. In other words, a population interplay amongst these areas occurred: working-class strongholds remained stable, middle-upper class suburbs noticeably grew while the city center experienced population loss.

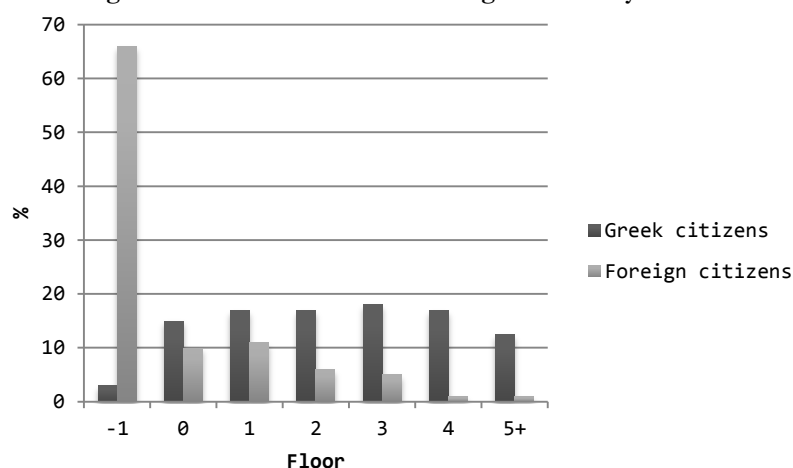
The pivotal element in the emergence of VSD is the *antiparochi* housing production system. The tactic resulted in a vast production of dwellings ready to massively welcome intermediate professionals in central and adjacent neighbourhoods. Albeit the positivities of a new available housing stock, the densely built setting altered the character of central districts; overcrowding, a consequent unprecedented use of private cars and lacking public infrastructure which by no means followed the growing population's demands. Maloutas & Karadimitriou (ibid, p.714) briefly describe the process as such:

It is the combination of downgrading living conditions in the centre with the suburban alternative for the more affluent households that triggered the accelerated filtering-down process and vertical social differentiation.

This great escape of higher classes provided the central communities with abundant empty domestic space at the lower storeys of the condominiums since upper floors were less affected by the conditions' worsening and sustained their dwellers who "refused" to relocate.

However, this low quality housing stock of "vertically differentiated flats" (Leontidou 1990, p.233) has been proved to be the only opportunity of accommodating the late population influx for which alternative solutions, such as home ownership, are inaccessible. Immigrants from developing countries form a big share of this arrival since the widespread home ownership and the absence of kinship and reciprocal networks have automatically forced them towards the bottom end of the housing hierarchy. Maloutas & Karadimitriou (ibid, p.715) conclude that "neither end of the social hierarchy has chosen to coexist in these vertically segregated areas". Leontidou's romanticized approach about an ideological unity of different groups is under stricture. We might encapsulate as such: from a spontaneous urban development attention ought to be drawn to a resultant *spontaneous social mix* stemming from the intermingling of absent welfare policies for housing needs, a market driven housing allocation system, family networks excluding the arrivals who cannot rely on kinship and a differential distribution of domestic features which attracts a respectively diverse residential crowd.

**Graph 4: Percentage distribution of Greek and foreign citizens by floor of residence**



Source: Maloutas & Karadimitriou 2001

The aforesaid research provides interesting facts. In brief, the unequal allocation of housing attributes throughout the condominium's levels produces a general "positive correlation between social rank and floor of residence" (ibid, p.706). In detail, a correlation of residential floor with occupational status, number of years in the city, domestic size, tenure and the

“nativity” is evident. About the latter, 66% of the local foreign population resides in basements while the “native” rate is 3,1% (see graph4). As well, ownership prevails at the top apartments while for the lower floors the tenure choice is renting, probably as a consequence of an “absentee ownership” as suggested by Häussermann (2005).

## Polykatoikia

Polykatoikia is the mere product of the antiparochi housing system; this condominium type is the most widespread building typology of the capital. Countless polykatoikias formulate a coherent, massively built environment which appears rather iconic before the viewer’s eyes. The word stands for “many residences together” and conveys high symbolic value for the Greek society by epitomizing modernity, economic development, rapid urbanization, mounting social mobility and the resultant social change. Due to the absence of previous infrastructural networks, the polykatoikia is seen as “infra-structure”; at the same time, its absolute predominance renders it the “superstructure” of the urban tissue (Aesopos & Simeoforidis 2001). Wooditsch (2008, p.58) states that the polykatoikia is “designed directly for people with simple and recognizable desires and needs”. For the needs of this work, polykatoikia is seen as a socio-spatial entity in which patterns of community arise through everyday practices of approaching and distancing in social terms. Each condominium is a small cradle of the Athenian social structure, a cell of diversified experiences within population blends. Anyone living in or using central polykatoikias may acknowledge its magnificent variety of visible persons and invisible stories.



*Own picture, captured with Ilford DELTA B&W, central Athens*



## DATA ANALYSIS

*“[...] at the ground floor my seas  
Are filled with water and rubbish [...]”*

Takis Sinopoulos, *O hartis*, 1977 (own translation)

### Objective Social Distance

In order to discuss the OSD occurring within the co-existence of “native” and foreign residents, an anatomy of each condominium is attempted. Social hierarchies in socio-economic terms are expected to emerge within each apartment block. As mentioned in the theoretical part, household dissimilarities according to Kokkali (2007) are crucial elements in this analysis and are seen as “positioning factors” (Bichi 2008) in the spatial and symbolic allocation of households.

The most detailed information was attained for the polykatoikia in Arktinou street; this building is hence presented as the major case study for the OSD investigation. Illustrations accompanied by important remarks are used for every polykatoikia.

#### Arktinou 1, 11635, Athens

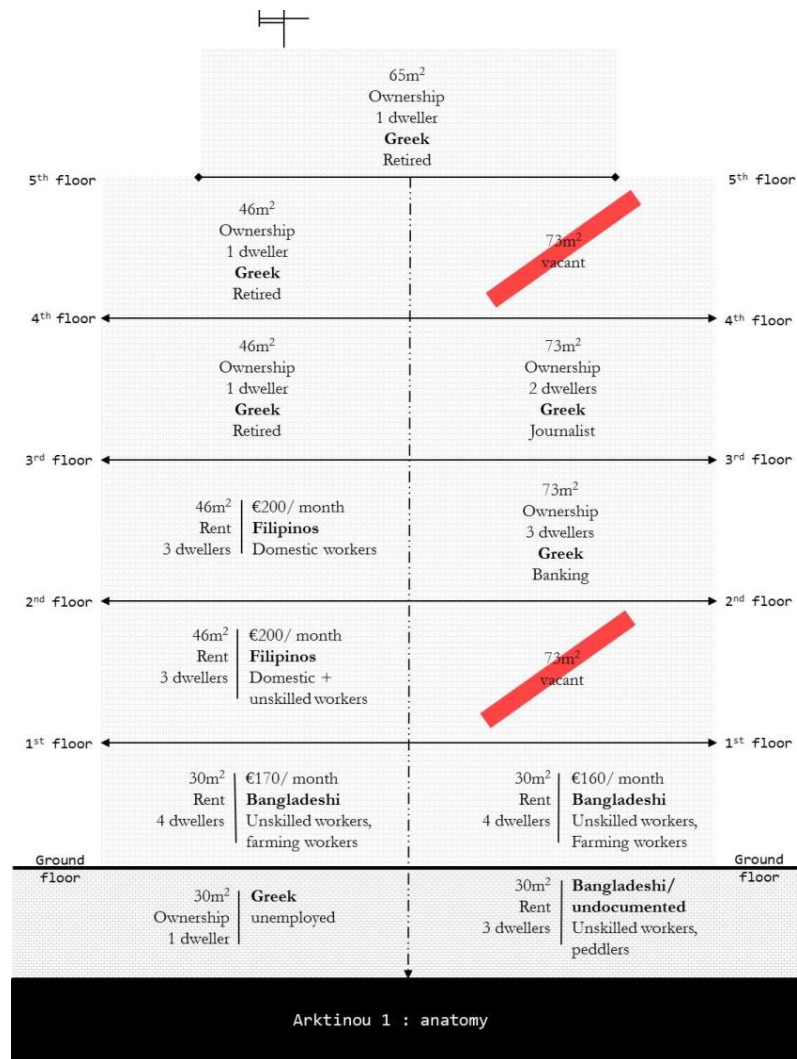
The striking ethnic diversity of the building mirrors the general mixture of Pangrati area, central Athens. To begin with, homeownership is rigidly connected to the ethnic background. All the Greek dwellers are homeowners; on the contrary, all the immigrants are tenants.

As illustrated in the graph, a relationship between ethnicity and floor of residence turns evident. The lower storeys are dominated by foreign nationals and the Greeks become more and more distinct while moving upwards. The basement is shared between a Greek and undocumented immigrants from Bangladesh. Both flats of the ground floor are occupied by “legal<sup>10</sup>” Bangladeshis while Filipinos reside at the next two levels, sharing the second floor with a Greek family. Merely Greeks are located at the three top floors. According to AR, in charge of the building’s administration, Filipinos were the first immigrants to accommodate the place. Once their arrival, they occupied the then empty flats of the basement or the ground floor. While their economic conditions were being upgraded, they ascended in spatial terms as well by moving up to higher storeys. As a result, the level of residence might be correlated to the years of

<sup>10</sup> In quotation marks because the researcher reckons that people can be neither legal nor illegal. The word is stated here instead of “documented” and in order to implicitly oppose the widespread appropriation of the terms.

presence in the city –a fact corroborating the findings of Maloutas & Karadimitriou (2001)- and hence to the integration level as well.

In terms of rental costs, the higher the floor, the more expensive the rent is, a fact indicating the deterioration of housing conditions of the lowest levels and the resultant depreciation; ventilation and luminosity are decreasing while noise and air pollution are increasing at the lowest levels –a fact experienced by the researcher himself while visiting the bottom flats. Heating facilities exist in every single apartment.



Graph 5: distribution of characteristics in Arktinou 1, own figure

Overcrowding appears as a pivotal element since calculations revealed interesting discrepancies: 10,7m<sup>2</sup> of living space account for each foreign dweller while the equivalent average for the “natives” is more than three times above (37m<sup>2</sup>). Nevertheless, investigating the non-Greek residential group in detail reveals further striking differences. For the Bangladeshis, the average domestic space is 8,18m<sup>2</sup>/person and for the Filipinos the number almost doubles

(15,33m<sup>2</sup>). This detail might also reflect the collective or shared lifestyle of immigrant groups on the one hand, and the more individualized housing habits of Greek households.

The vertical socio-economic differentiation of the polykatoikia is also demonstrated through the diverse occupational structure of the residents. Dwellers from Bangladesh are employed either as unskilled workers or in agriculture of peri-urban areas. Also, one of the Bangladeshis residing in the basement works as a peddler at the traffic light of Pafsaniou street, three blocks away from Arktinou. When asked for health insurance and unemployed benefits, the three foreign residents of the basement responded negatively; five out of the eight people of the ground floor gave positive replies. The Filipinos of the building appear more “privileged” in the occupational categories. Women are domestic workers in Greek middle and upper-class houses – an indicator for integration- while the male Filipino of the first floor is an unskilled employee; all of them claim to be properly registered. Three Greeks of the higher floors are retired; the heads of two households have intermediate occupations (journalist, banker) while the remaining one, residing in the basement, is unemployed. Hence, marginal and precarious professions are more intensively present at the lower storeys.

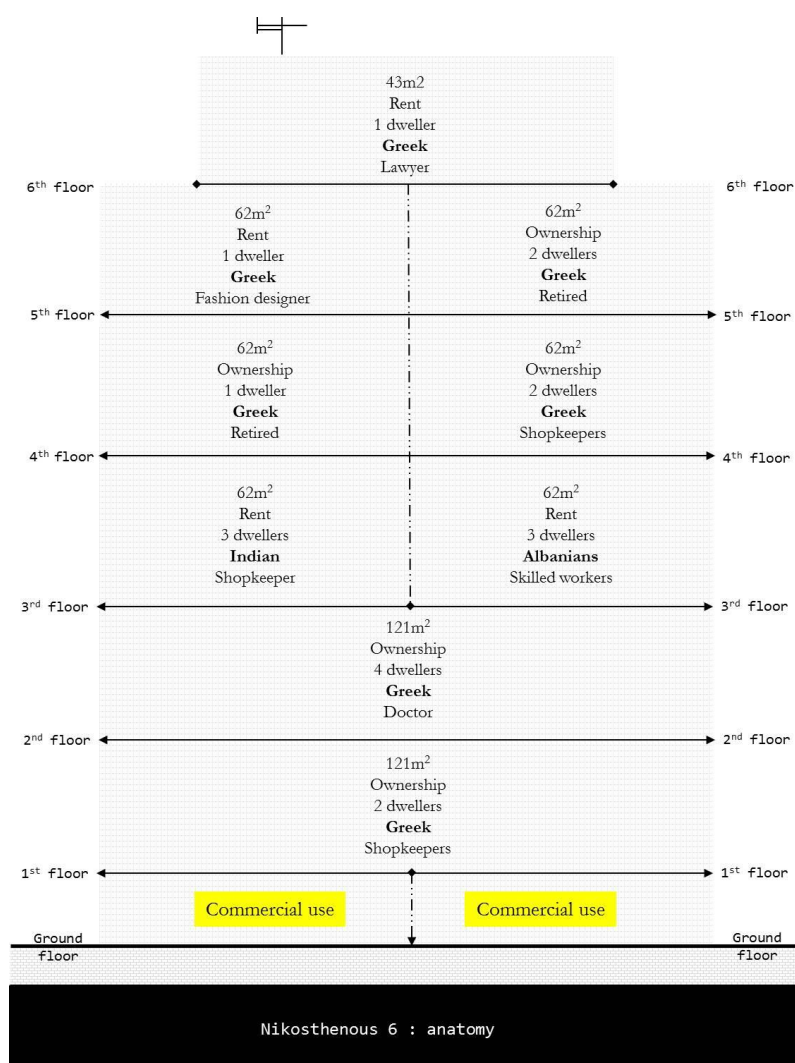
The gender issue has to be raised here since out of the twelve dwellers of the two bottom floors –both Greeks and non-Greeks- only one is female. Women become substantially visible at higher floors within the small population of Filipinos; four out of six people are women. This fact ought to be closely investigated in direct relation to the specific origins of the groups as well as the nature of their occupations -for instance domestic or agrarian- but such an exploration would go far beyond the aims of this work.

By and large, the revealed hierarchical vertical differentiation of socio-economic positions can be seen as an alternative, symbolic manifestation of the social pyramid of the Greek capital in which advantaged and disadvantaged positions are occupied by different population groups and individuals in which objective social distances take place. The classified structure brings to the fore the issue of integration of immigrant groups and questions of inequality while occurs in line with the stratification theory.

### **Nikosthenous 6, 11635, Athens**

In Nikosthenous there is no basement. Even the ground level is dedicated to commercial use and therefore the building’s residential part begins at the first floor. Out of the nine apartments two are occupied by immigrants and seven by “natives”. One would expect the former to reside at the lowest storeys. Nevertheless, the Indian and Albanian households are both located at the third

floor, adjacent one to the other. Considering the first two storeys, none of them is divided into smaller flats; one dwelling per floor. The big residential space involves high prices in the free housing market, a fact that renders such houses inaccessible by economically weak groups such as immigrants. To the contrary, out of the seven dwellings of considerably smaller size, foreign households occupy the lowest ones, at the third floor. Their residential choices are constrained by a nexus of surface, floor and mostly price.



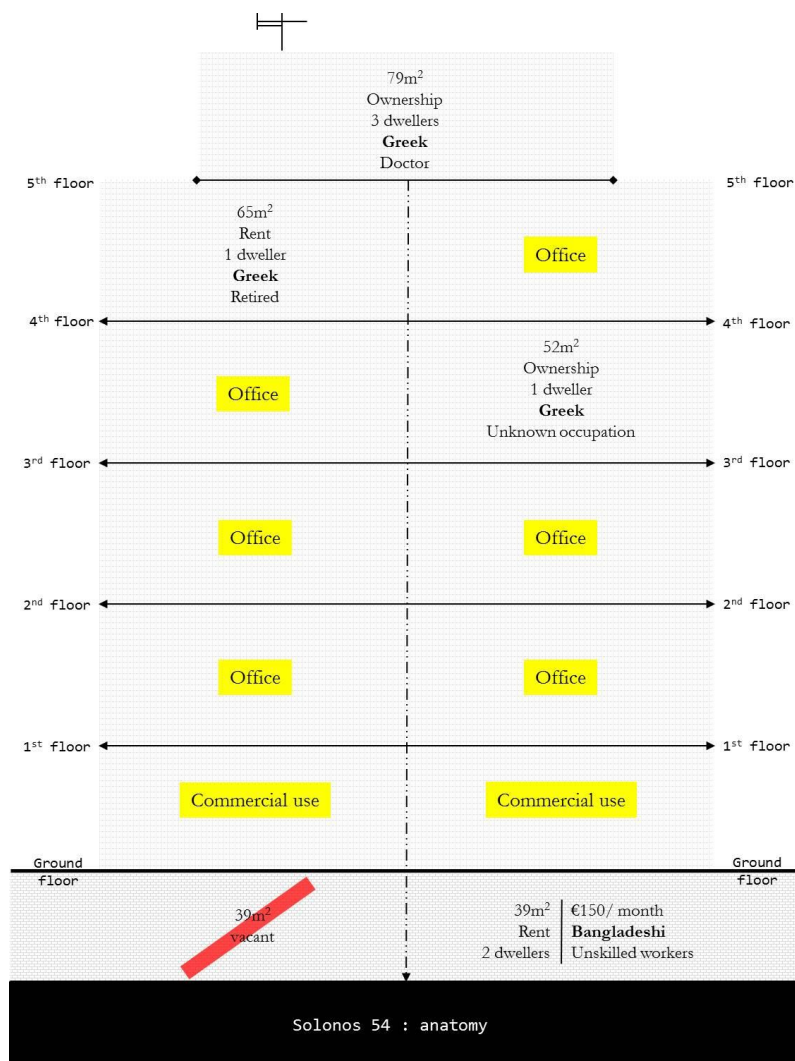
Graph 6: distribution of characteristics in Nikosthenous 6, own figure

As expected, both the foreign families rent their houses while six out of seven Greek residents are homeowners. For the former, 20,66m² is the average living space per dweller, half of the equivalent for the polykatoikia's "natives" (41m²). In terms of housing conditions and compared to the Arktinou polykatoikia where the basement and ground floor are key elements situation is considerably improved for the Indian and Albanian families whose flats face the neighbouring park and are equipped with balconies.

Regarding demographics, the condominium is more oriented towards the family-centered household model since the shared/collective type to be encountered in Arktinou is totally absent here. Both immigrant households consist of core families. The Greek group consists of one family of four members, two couples and three individuals. In terms of gender situation appears rather balanced compared to the previous case study.

## Solonos 54, 10672, Athens

This polykatoikia is a particular case. Located on a very central, commercial street, at the edge of Kolonaki, one of the middle-upper class enclaves of the city center, the building is dominated by shops at the ground level and offices scattered all over its altitude. Nevertheless, remarkable facts can be found considering vertical residential patterns.



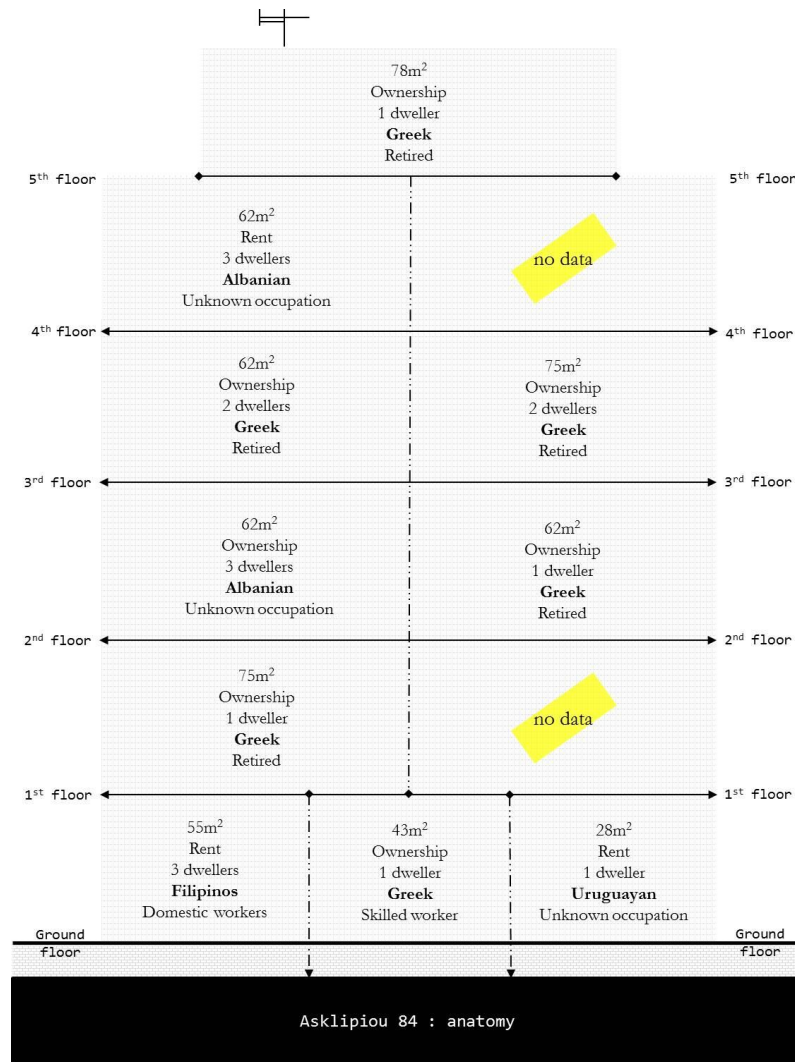
Graph 7: distribution of characteristics in Solonos 54, own figure

Households are settled at the basement, third, fourth and fifth storeys. Two Bangladeshi men reside at the 39m<sup>2</sup> flat of the basement for €150 per month. Until recently the place was shared by one more person but, according to the remaining ones, he abandoned the house before the contract expired. They both work as unskilled workers. FK was interviewed for the purposes of the research. He has been educated in Bangladesh holding a bachelor degree in history. Nevertheless, his current job could not be characterised neither as precarious nor as secure; working at a nearby elegant bar, he earns an official amount of €400 plus extra €300 unofficially. He has health insurance and employment stamps related only to the former amount although works for 12 hours on a daily basis with one day off per week. A considerable part of his earnings is dedicated to remittances for his family. FK's flat is dark with only one window and a door leading to a small backyard surrounded by the high rear sides of adjacent buildings. There is humidity in big parts of the interior and the heating was not available last winter; FK and his housemate are for some months awaiting the owner to repair the walls.

The closest to FK residence is located at the third floor. As well, one flat is used as habitation at the fourth and another one at the top, fifth, floor. All of them accommodate Greek households while the one of the fourth floor is rented and not owned. In order to adopt a comparative perspective, the monthly rent rises up to €500 for this flat while, as already mentioned, the basement's apartment costs €150/month. The price difference reflects the discrepancies as far as housing amenities and conditions are concerned. Additionally, the utility bills were documented for June and July 2013 which reveal a broad array of economic dissimilarities within the building: to mention the two edges as representatives, €3<sup>65</sup> account for the bottom level while €43<sup>14</sup> for the top apartment. Indicatively, 19,5m<sup>2</sup> is the average residential space for FK and his housemate and 39,2m<sup>2</sup> for their Greek neighbours.

### Asklipiou 84, 11471, Athens

The data gathered for this polykatoikia are inadequate on account of the absence of the person running the building's common issues. JM was interviewed as a resident but was not aware of the overall situation of the building and the presentation is incomplete. Nevertheless, a very basic x-ray is attempted mainly regarding the allocation of ethnic groups. For practical reasons a very simplistic scheme is designed containing only the flats for which adequate information are available.



Graph 8: distribution of characteristics in Asklepiou 84, own figure

The building consists of 29 apartments highly diversified in terms of size. At the moment of the research, 8 dwellings were vacant. Out of the 21 settled ones, four are occupied by people of immigrant background. Three Filipinos live in one flat of the ground floor and a Uruguayan man in another. The two remaining immigrant households are both Albanian and located higher, at the second and fourth floor of the building. The Albanian group in Greece is considered as the most integrated minority as well as the dominant one in terms of numbers (51% of the overall immigrant population). This can be corroborated by the fact that one of the flats is owned by its Albanian inhabitant (2<sup>nd</sup> floor). Out of the 17 Greek households, 14 dwell self-owned houses while, besides the Albanians of the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, all the immigrants are tenants.



## Subjective social distance

Building	Interviewee	Nationality	Floor
<i>Arktinou</i>	AR	Greek	5
	GP	Greek	3
	KM	Greek	3
<i>Nikosthenous</i>	PP	Indian	3
	VG	Greek	5
<i>Solonos</i>	FK	Bangladeshi	-1
	RD	Greek	user
<i>Asklipion</i>	JM	Greek	1

### Critical Discourse Analysis<sup>11</sup>

Considering the perceived and SSD, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodological tool is being conducted (Fairclough 1989, Wodak 1989). As Wodak (2001, p.2) puts it, CDA “aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use”. Seven interviews of people residing in ethnically mixed condominiums and one of a user of one of the buildings are the basis of the following examination. The analysis entails the study of verbal forms and norms at the micro-level (individual) and the extraction or revelation of more general structures propagated at the macro-level.

Poole (1927) accentuates that the SSD is a fertile terrain for the relationships between racial groups due to the construction of in-group and out-group patterns. Hence, racism, i.e. the group dominance in this case “by white (European) groups over ethnic or racial minorities, refugees or other immigrants” (van Dijk 1996, p.90) is understood as a crucial factor for the reproduction of socio-racial inequalities and the establishment of social distances as something entrenched in people’s oral communication. A detailed overview of the transcripts which stemmed from the interviews results in common linguistic patterns which reproduce inequalities both in mitigated and overt forms. The dominant discourse is omnipresent either because the subject follows the related leading norms or because he/she merely opposes its predominance via verbal usage. A very basic grouping of linguistic elements is hereafter endeavored; for such a task, “natives” and “foreigners” are seen as two distinct groups so that each side is investigated with respect to the other; the following points are particularly examined (see van Leeuwen 2008):

<sup>11</sup> **Appendix I** includes collective tables (1 to 9) with exact words and phrases linked to the analysis as well as the lines they appear in so that they can be easily detected within the transcripts aggregated in **Appendix 2**. The aim is to render finding references in the conversations easier.



- i. various ways the 2 groups are self or other (re)presented as social actors in their discourses
- ii. social actions they appear to engage in
- iii. legitimization of racist discourse through evaluative devices and storytelling

Afterwards, study is elaborated on the immigrants' perspective focusing on the linguistic means they use in order to "respond" to the dominant discourse.

### *in-group/out-group representations of social actors*

According to Banton (1960, p.172), "the association between membership of a minority and low rank is such as to give rise to distinctively racial status". Considering the representation of social actors, the natives indicate the tendency to attribute negative nominalizations in order to label neighbours of foreign background as "others". Table<sup>12</sup> 1 contains the elements used by the interviewees in order to construct an out-group, distant relation with immigrants. These statements of *identification*, i.e. representation of social actors "in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are" (ibid: pp.42-45) attribute negative features to out-group people dwelling the condominium; racial characteristics (e.g. "dark") and others accentuating the non-Greek origins ("immigrants", "foreigners") and the different conditions of negative appraisalment ("starving and exhausted") are mentioned. It is remarkable that one of the two interviewed immigrants identifies himself as a non-member of the Greek community ("I am a foreigner", stated twice) appropriating the dominant discourse.

All the "native" interviewees use *ethnic classification devices* such as labeling the foreign nationalities of their neighbours, indicating the difference and hence distance between Greeks and non-Greeks. Moreover, out-group members are seen in a vertically differentiated prism in which their position is often described by their floor of residence ("the bottom ones"). Nevertheless, the in-group/out-group duality is supported in the reversed way as well. The identity of the in-group has to be consolidated and hence indirectly opposed to the out-group subjects. Table 2 summarises the words and phrases mentioned during conversations with Greeks in which the in-group identity is stressed; anything included entails a positive connotation of self-presentation. It is significant to mention that "native" interviewees frequently use *specification techniques*, i.e. they refer to in-group Greek residents as specific individuals by their names or surnames, indicating solidarity bonds and social proximity, while the "others" are "genericized" and "assimilated" (Leeuwen 2008, pp.35-37).

<sup>12</sup> All the hereafter tables in **Appendix 1**.

An alternative in-group/out-group aspect is illuminated in relation to home ownership classification, e.g. “seven out of the thirteen owners [...] are a kind of community” since they are “a group with common goals”. Ownership occurs as a prerequisite for social contact: “The ones who are mainly in contact are the owners”, “I know the names of the owners. Not the tenants”.

### *Representations of social action & mitigation patterns*

As far as the representations of social actions are concerned, elements of racism traced in the linguistic choices of the “native” group of interviewees are understood here as demarcating social areas and positions which may lead to the recycling of stereotypes. Immigrants may occur as the source of a problem (“they don’t pay the rent”) or may have annoying habits for the native interviewees (“they speak too loudly”, “the food they cook smells bad sometimes”) or provoke undesired feelings (“I am afraid of them”). Negative characteristics sometimes progressively culminate in terms of intensity: in GP’s interview, the foreign girl in the beginning “talks” on the phone while later on the verb used for the same action is “shouting” and even more intensified by “a lot”. Clear statements of social distance and negative attitudes are remarkable: phrases such as “I dislike the immigrants who live here” and “I would bar from my country” indicate obvious racist attitudes and an absent tolerance towards people of foreign background dwelling the condominium; the tone is directly evaluating against the “other” (see Table 4).

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Nevertheless, discrimination is not always obvious. When the debate for multi-cultural and “open” societies was substantially raised in the public discourse, the overt racist speech was automatically adjusted to the novel imposed conditions. Verbal mechanisms of mitigation are adopted by the dominant discourse supporters and covered racism, hierarchies and social distances are achieved in linguistic forms (van Dijk 2008). In other words, statements are used as means of self-correction and mitigation of previously mentioned negative accounts; afterwards, positive features are attributed to foreign neighbours. Phrases such as “not always, just sometimes”, “they don’t bother us” or even “I am a humanist” function in a specific way in order to alleviate or even cancel formerly articulated statements. Results are aggregated in Table 5.

### *Storytelling & evaluative devices*

Storytelling is interpreted in our case as a way to formulate and establish arguments supporting personal stances towards groups or individuals (De Fina 2003). Storytelling standing for racist and discriminatory perspectives is highlighted here. Table 3 summarises points in the interviews

which include storytelling techniques in order to convey discriminatory ideas against residents of foreign background. What is remarkable is the use of future narrations in order to support racist points: “They will stop paying rents [...] they will cause damages” and “will definitely sub-rent it” were alleged by KM regarding immigrants of the building. As well, third persons are inserted in the narration as supportive elements. For instance, “my daughter was told” and “another friend said” were used by VG as starting points for storytelling. Additionally, GP uses storytelling with a nostalgic tone of a past when neighbours were Greeks and the community was stronger. “In the beginning that Hourdakis was living here” social contact was more intense. In one of her stories, she refers to a person residing the ground floor and the fact that “he was Greek” is stressed; it is implicit that immigrants might function as obstacles for the community. In other words, through this nostalgic prism of discriminatory perspective, the Greeks are considered as socially proximate while immigrants as distant. By and large, storytelling and narrations are alternative ways for the propagation of discrimination and social hierarchies through communication and language; hence, they can be used in order to justify social distances.

### *The immigrants' perspective*

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Three attention-grabbing general characteristics have been traced in FK and PP's interviews, which either emphasise discrimination or constitute an effort to hide experienced social distances.

### **Dominant discourse appropriation**

By appropriating the dominant discourse, foreign nationals adopt attitudes and express viewpoints mostly attributed to majority members, i.e. “natives”. The interview with PP provides several examples found in Table 6. He clearly acknowledges the fact that since he is a non-Greek, it is possible that he resides in a basement (“I am a foreigner, I might need to live in a basement one day”). As well, his migrant background is presented as the reason behind any potential trouble with “natives” (“I will say that I am a foreigner and I understand”) while it was important for him to elucidate that his neighbours “are all very nice people”. On the other hand, FK seems to consider the big number of offices in the condominium as the main reason for the complete lack of contact between him and the Greek residents.

## Dominant discourse opposition

Yet the dominant discourse might be opposed by minority members as a tactic of manifesting disagreement and combating stereotypes reproduced within the society and language against them. FK appears to be subtly complaining about his housing conditions ("There is humidity on the walls") although mentioned that he is "happy with" the flat. Continuing, he mentions that they "have asked the owner to fix it" but the problem still remains; FK expresses opposition to his underprivileged position and indirectly states a complaint about the non-fixed walls. Furthermore, PP clearly states that his wife "is Indian" resisting the integration requested by the dominant discourse. On top of that "she couldn't be Greek or Albanian"; he is powerfully defending his national identity. Nevertheless, FK offers a *par excellence* dominant discourse opposition by stating "I would like to live normally here"; it is explicit that the discussant considers his position as socially marginal. Points opposing the dominant discriminatory discourse function as subtle efforts to resist prejudices and stereotypes and defend minor social groups; table 7 presents an overview of similar statements.

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## Positive self/other-presenting

This category can be seen in direct relation to the dominant discourse appropriation. Interviewed immigrants present their conditions in a very positive, even idealistic sometimes, way; such statements are mostly linked to the majority group; as a result, the immigrants' position in relation to the Greek neighbours is displayed here glorified. Discrimination and social marginality is hidden behind positive verbal exaggerations (table 8). PP repeatedly highlights that the "owner is very good" and "human" while stressing that "it is very-very good to live here". Accordingly, FK lays emphasis on the good reputation of his neighbourhood ("here it is Kolonaki") and that he is "happy with" the apartment. In a parallel level of interpretation, the aforementioned statements can be included in the minority members' effort for integration after having perceived their out-group position.

### Bogardus social distance scale: the results<sup>13</sup>

As Bogardus suggested, each statement of the scale accounts for a grade; a scale between 1 and 7 is applied with 1 representing the closest relationship (kinship) and 7 standing for the lowest level of social proximity the interviewee is willing to have with a specific population group (bar from the country). Aggregating, the lowest overall score, the highest social nearness and vice versa.

For Arktinou, the three Greeks who were asked to fill the tables in provided the following results: the group of “natives” has the highest average score of social intimacy (1). Considering the foreign nationalities of the co-residents, social distance emerges, at different ranks though. Discrimination exists since the Filipinos are seen in a more positive way than the Bangladeshis who are preferred to be distant; the former group marks 3,33 while the latter is subject to significantly higher distance, i.e. 5,33 points. The more extreme stance is demonstrated by AR who believes that Bangladeshis should be barred from the country, “some of them at least”. Accordingly, KM would accept this ethnic group only as visitors in the country. The Filipinos are ranked higher by both interviewees while GP accepts both nationalities at the same level of intimacy.

In Nikosthenous no aggregate results or scores are possible. Yet, GV and PP’s tables can be seen in relation to each other as they belong to different groups. More precisely, PP would accept higher intimacy (“personal chums”) to the “natives” as an out-group member than VG would do considering Indians (“neighbours”). This result may be interpreted as an effort of the out-group member to be closer to the majority group, an action respective to the above analysed dominant discourse appropriation. However, at the same time a Greek would not be accepted up to close kinship, a stance of dominant discourse opposition proudly accompanied by the words “my wife is Indian”. As far as the third national group is concerned, both interviewees indicated higher social distance than for the inter-group relation between them. Nevertheless, PP accepts Albanians one level higher (“neighbours”) than VG does (“co-employees”); the fact that the former belongs to a minority as well might act as a crucial point of empathy.

FK in Solonos puts both nationalities represented in the building, Bangladeshis and Greeks, at the highest level of intimacy, expressing at the same time an unsatisfied desire to be closer to and have connections with “natives”; the out-group member sees the two groups as social equals in an effort to reduce social distance between himself and the majority group.

Last but not least, JM would accept high social proximity (“personal chums”) with Albanians and supports her stance with statements such as “I really appreciate Albanians” and

<sup>13</sup> Each Bogardus table to be found within each person’s transcript, **Appendix 2**.

storytelling in which Albanian individuals are presented in a very positive way. This manner affirms Bogardus' explanations about favourable experiences which result in social nearness (in Williams 2007). The integrative perspective of the Albanian group through JM's table is also proved by contrasting the degree of this nationality with the two remaining ones who are ranked considerably lower; both Uruguayans and Filipinos are accepted up to the "citizenship" level. Hence, Albanians are considered as socially closer than the other foreign nationals.

To sum up, besides FK, all the interviewees recognized only in-group members as social equals.

### Interactive Social Distance: the results<sup>14</sup>

Bottero & Prandy (2003) argue that social inequality entails a mere relational essence. Accordingly, interaction forms and shapes help us to conceptualise social distance as the gap appearing between unlike groups and as the proximity between similar groups. Due to the complexity of the appearing patterns at this analytical stage, it is deemed as necessary to present the results for each person individually.

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GP stated that up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, she only accidentally interacts with her neighbours and there is no relation between the two sides; the nature of their contact is labeled as "indifferent/formal". A slight differentiation occurs considering the Greek dwellers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor with which she on average interacts once a month and the type of interaction is ranked one level above ("collaborative"). Exactly the same level both in terms of frequency and nature is perceived regarding KM who lives right next to her. With the residents one floor above hers she interacts as well on a monthly basis but the rank of the contact's type is slightly decreased ("indifferent/formal"). The only person with whom GP interacts considerably frequently is the condominium's administrator, AR of the top floor. According to her, they contact each other more than once a week and she characterises the relationship as "mutual help".

As far as the lower storeys are concerned, AR provides us with a similar pattern. As GP, up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor he only accidentally contacts people. Nevertheless, the nature of interaction is upgraded comparing to GP since AR considers it as "collaborative". This particular case might be influenced by AR's administrative role in the polykatoikia; it is important for him to collaborate with all the residents in order to achieve the gentle administration of common affairs. Only with the Filipinos of the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor the contact is indifferent/formal. Furthermore, he contacts the Greeks of the 2<sup>nd</sup> storey once a week in a "mutual help" framework. With GP he appears to have

<sup>14</sup> Each interaction table to be found within each person's transcript, **Appendix 2**.

the most intense interaction considering both regularity and nature; his response meets the one of GP since they see each other more than once a week and AR understands the type of interaction as “mutual help”. He only contacts KM of the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor accidentally and their relation is formal. With the 4<sup>th</sup> floor dwellers he is in considerable contact (more than once a week) characterised by collaboration.

KM’s results are not surprising. The pattern considering all the residents up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor (including the Greeks) is repeated. He interacts with them either never or by accident and always in a formal way. GP, living next door, is encountered everyday even in a friendly way –a paradox when seen in relation to GP’s equivalent response. With the 4<sup>th</sup> floor contact drops again back to “accidental” but the essence of it is slightly improved (collaborative) comparing to the up to 2<sup>nd</sup> floor residents. The paradoxical perception appears again in relation to AR who is perceived by KM as “friend” and is contacted on a daily basis.

During observations for five days (July 2-6, 2013) at the entrance of the condominium, a very interesting result regarding interaction amongst residents occurred: in four out of the five afternoons, the doors of both the ground floor flats remained wide open. The Bangladeshi dwellers of the basement and ground floor used to physically gather at the entrance of the building and obviously interact. People from the one flat accessed the other one several times indicating a strong community, collective atmosphere. Hence, the main entrance which the doors of the Bangladeshi households face is used as a public space for intensive interaction within a particular ethnic group. This fact can be also interpreted as an evidence for the lack of space within the apartments as well as the very limited housing conditions which render indoor gathering difficult. As a result, immigrant groups appropriate public or semi-public spaces as a surviving and socializing tactic.

Complexity characterises the interaction pattern between VG and her neighbours. The most frequent contact is this with the Greek residents of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> floor (more than once a week). The type of interaction varies in a limited range between collaboration and mutual help. Nonetheless, she has a friendly relationship only with dwellers from one floor below even though they contact each other once a month. The Albanian family of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the Greeks of the 4<sup>th</sup> floor are ranked equally as contacted once a month in a collaborative way. The same type of communication characterises VG’s relationship with the PP and his family although she contacts them more frequently than once a month.

For PP the contact with Greeks from the 1<sup>st</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> floor is seen as friendship and happens on a weekly basis. In general, all the Greeks are seen as friends while the ones from the floor below his are contacted more than once a week. The adjacent Albanian family is ranked noticeably lower; the frequency is once per month and the nature of interaction labeled as

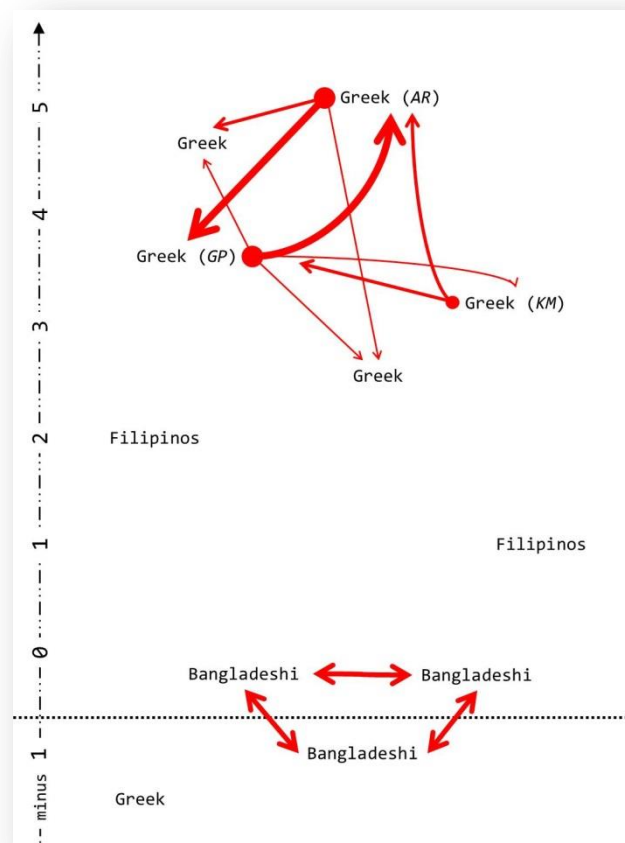
collaborative. By ranking Greek co-residents in such a way, PP probably attempts to increase his membership status in the “native” community and oppose the “us-them” differentiation.

JM indicates important interaction with some of her neighbours. She interacts with two of them, ground and 3<sup>rd</sup> floor, every day and the contact is characterised respectively by mutual help and friendship. A Greek woman of the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor is seen on a quite frequent basis (more than once a week) and mutual help portrays the interaction. Another one residing at the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey is considered as a friend although they contact each other less frequently than the other persons (more than once a month). The retired man of the top level is met as well on the same basis but the connection is only formal. Considering the rest of the condominium’s dwellers, JM interacts with them only accidentally in a formal or indifferent way. All the people individually mentioned by her are of Greek origins while all the immigrants are included in the “rest of the residents” group.

FK’s interaction lines are simple and the resulting pattern is clear. He interacts with none of the Greek residents unless accidentally and he sees whichever possible contact between them as formal or indifferent.

The following graph attempts to illustrate the relational patterns revealed during conversations and observations for the Arktinou condominium.

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Graph 9: Visualisation of interaction clusters in Arktinou 1, own figure





*Own picture, captured with Kodak T-MAX 400 B&W, Arktinou 1, central Athens*

## CONCLUSION | DISCUSSION

*“Whether, as the intensity of seeing increases, one’s distance from Them, the people, does not also increase”*

*I know, of course I know, I can enter no other place [...] ”*

-George Oppen, *Of Being Numerous*, 9, 1967

This dissertation does not aim at generating generalisations. Instead, the objective is manifold: to bring to the fore a qualitative insight in segregation studies, introduce a joint perspective of segregation and social distance, focus on micro-scale dimensions, enhance vertical segregation discourse by introducing a novel insight, reveal influential interrelations which formulate urban dwellers’ lives and accentuate the role of hierarchy and its reproduction through fundamental practices.

An alternative “layered city” as suggested by Marcuse (1993) may be revealed in central Athens, a city continuously alive due to a residential coexistence of highly differentiated households. Leontidou’s (1990) assumptions of ideological unity seem to collapse in the examined cases of vertical social differentiation, conceived as appropriate examples of spatial propinquity and diversified populace. In the analysed Athenian polykatoikias any alleged harmony of coexistence is replaced by an unbalanced line of social distance and proximity on which Greeks and foreign nationals hold leading roles. Throughout the investigation, the two groups’ data are presented in a constant comparative perspective relating to residential floors. In line with Park’s (1924) “class” and “race consciousness”, an analysis has been conducted on the social distance principle. In other words, the concept is adopted as either a matter of class (see Tarde, Durkheim) or a matter of race (see Bogardus, Park); the former meets the OSD while the latter the SSD terms. Within nearness hence forms of stratification and distance are established, covered by desegregation norms.

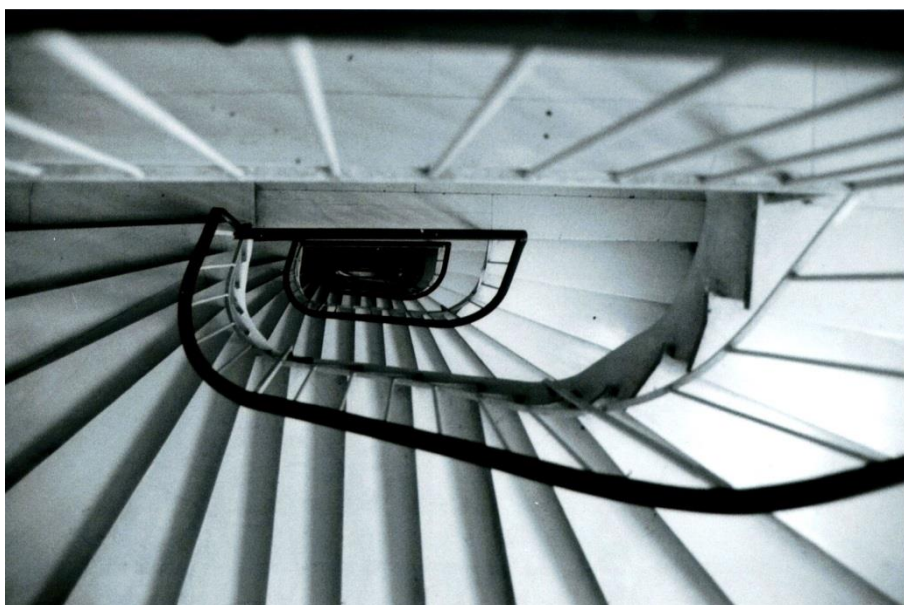
When spatial nearness is inevitable, social distances are manifested in different ways. Dominant discourse is proved a chief tool for preserving such distances. In-group/out-group borders are strongly demarcated within the coexistence as shown in the conversations. Immigration may contest the majority’s national identity (Karakayali 2009) and consequently social distances emerge from the “native” side; besides one immigrant, all the discussants accept only in-group members as social equals. Socio-cultural dissimilarities seem to oppose the *spontaneous* social mix’s potential ability of social mingling and mutual understanding; therefore, close relationships are prevented and social distance produced. Nevertheless, minorities seem to

be socially closer. Besides origins, home ownership is pivotal element for the “us/them” differentiation. As well, specific roles, e.g. building’s administrator, have enhancing functions in relations.

Social actions detected and analysed in the discourses indicate a routinely propagated social distance without always being acknowledged by the subjects. Hierarchy and stratification are strikingly demonstrated even symbolically through a vertical uneven allocation of households: low floors represent low social status and vice versa. Immigrants appear not only distant but also *invisible* by occupying basements and not being perceived by “natives” in close social proximity.

In interaction terms, “native” residents form a cluster albeit not including every Greek of the building. In other words, it is rather possible that Greeks have relatively intensive interaction only with in-group members. Respectively, as shown in the case of Arktinou, foreign nationals of the close to the ground flats appear in a distinct cluster of intra-group communication; ethnic background is essential for inter-group contact.

Social distance regarding spatially proximate subjects is based on specific contexts, roles, social positions and group dynamics and should not be investigated without such accounts. Kokkali’s (2007, p.17) words for an “invisible diversity” could be paraphrased since the polykatoikia’s diversity is totally visible but at the same time pushed down even beneath the ground level in order to be hidden. Toiskallio’s idea of an “urban taxicab” in which physical proximity and social distance coexist amongst passengers (1994, cited in Ethington 1997) may relive in order to alternatively delineate the polykatoikia’s character.



Own picture, captured with Ilford HP5 400 B&W, Solonos 54, central Athens

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## APPENDIX 1

Table 1: Out-group

Negative outgroup attributes	Frequency	Reference
<i>Colour oriented attributes</i>		
"pretty dark", "dark ones"...	2	GP 25, 102
"black"	1	GP 25
"All the races of Israel"	1	GP 887
<i>Vertical discrimination/ Hierarchy</i>		
"from the basement"	1	GP 16
"the bottom ones"	1	GP 128
"people from the basement or the ground floor"	2	AR 238
<i>Characteristics</i>		
"immigrants"	7	KM 366, 384, 412, 415/ JM 602
"foreigners", "come from foreign countries"	10	GP 31, 87, 88, 91, 157/ KM 374, 416/ AR 288
"those ones"	3	GP 15, 31, 157/ AR 274, 284/ JM 702
"starving and exhausted"	1	AR 295
"legal or illegal"	1	AR 309
"poor people"	1	KM 422
label nationalities	38	AR/ KM/ VG/ JM/ GP
"I am a foreigner"	1	PP 803

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Table 2: In-group

Positive in-group attributes	Frequency	Reference
Names & surnames of "native" residents	58	GP/ AR/ KM/ VG
"I had a good contact with her mother" (for Greek neighbours)	1	GP 44
"I had good relations with HH" (a Greek neighbour)	1	GP 63
"the rest of the building"	1	GP 88
"I trust him" (for a Greek neighbour)	1	GP 96
"When HH used to live here, we were friends"	1	GP 98
"his name was MM, he was Greek... he came to help me"	1	GP 113
"With Greeks, of course! We are Greeks!"	1	GP 135

"with Greeks we have a warmer contact"	1	GP 158
"Our relationship is closer to friendship"	1	GP 162
<hr/>		
"The foreigners are not included" (about the community)	1	AR 201
"the thirteen owners of flats are a kind of community"	1	AR 203
"We are a group with common goals"	1	AR 205
"The seven of us"	1	AR 204
"We all agree"	1	AR 208
"Another one [...] agrees with us as well"	1	AR 208
"I myself might cook something [...] offer it to the lady..."	1	AR 234
"all the Greeks, I don't discuss it"	1	AR 264
<hr/>		
"I only talk to Mr Raftopoulos and Ms Petrou. The rest is foreigners"	1	KM 373
"Did the rest [...] mention that immigrants are too many in here?"	1	KM 383
"we share five thoughts"	1	KM 388
"Did the rest say so too?"	1	KM 392
"Marriage only with Greeks, of course"	1	KM 406
"What did the operator tell you about them?"	1	KM 409
"Did he say that they never pay the rent?"	1	KM 410
<hr/>		
"even with Greeks"	1	VG 498
"the ones who are mainly in contact are the owners"	1	VG 498
"I know the names of the owners"	1	VG 567
<hr/>		
"we let the owner of the house know"	1	JM 698
"My close friends are all Greeks"	1	JM 728
<hr/>		

"I talk to people every day"	1	PP 809
"we are all one family"	1	PP 810
"we are a team"	1	PP 810
"They are like friends"	1	PP 814
"I like thinking that we are all friends there"	1	PP 815
"we all live under the same tree"	1	PP 815
"One father and all the sons and daughters"	1	PP 816
"Everyone underneath the tree"	1	PP 816
"I would ask anyone for help"	1	PP 823
"Greeks are friends"	1	PP 834
<hr/>		
"I would like to have connections with Greeks"	1	FK 893
"I would even be friend with Greeks"	1	FK 893
"I would get married to a Greek woman"	1	FK 893

**Table 3: Storytelling**

Statements	Frequency	Reference
"The other day..."	2	GP 14, 102
"Another day I was going out... they left the door wide open"	1	GP 18
"There is a black girl living there too..."	1	GP 25
"In the beginning that HH was living here..."	1	GP 110
"One day he was complaining to me..."	1	GP 153
<hr/>		
"I have asked the neighbours not to go to the roof top..."	1	AR 188
"My request was not to make use of the roof top [...] people from the basement and the groundfloor want to talk..."	1	AR 237
"One rents it and five live there in fact"	1	AR 281
<hr/>		
"They will stop paying the rents at some point, they will cause damages [...]"	1	KM 378
"[...] will definitely subrent it [...]"	1	KM 382

"Some people from Albania used to rent..."	1	VG 538
"When we came to Athens from the countryside"	1	VG 541
"My daughter was told"	1	VG 545
"another friend said"	1	VG 546
<hr/>		
"We used to have troubles in the backyard..."	1	JM 690
"And then the rest started complaining..."	1	JM 712
<hr/>		

**Table 4: Overt racist speech**

Statement	Frequency	Reference
"they have friends and they bring them here"	1	GP 12
"of course, without having papers"	1	GP 12
"she was fat"	1	GP 26
"even male Filipinos have come"	1	GP 40
"so many foreigners"	1	GP 87
"We don't have bonds... because we have the foreigners"	1	GP 91
"the Bangladeshi shout a lot, sometimes they even fight"	1	GP 102
"where the hell they come from"	1	GP 103
"they speak too loudly"	1	GP 104
"not a close friend of course"	1	GP 136
"I would never love any of them"	1	GP 137
"What else could I have with them? Friendship?"	1	GP 139

"They don't go to the street, outside the building. They come to the roof"	1	AR 239
"If their children go to Greek schools and speak the language..."	1	AR 267
"[...] one day they will conquer Europe"	1	AR 270
"Europe [...] away from Muslim or Islam"	1	AR 270
"they should be as many as the country can handle"	1	AR 272
"Why don't they hire Greeks?"	1	AR 274
"if you start hiring Greeks [...] you will have troubles with them"	1	AR 273
"No one will protect me. This is why I have some friendly relations with some of them"	1	AR 275
"some of them might have hostile feelings"	1	AR 277
"Such people I keep in distance myself"	1	AR 278
"I would bar from my country"	1	AR 282

"I am afraid of them"	1	AR 282
"Those ones are not approachable, illiterate, refugees"	1	AR 284
"I cannot trust them"	1	AR 289
"I would never have them in my bedroom"	1	AR 291
"They should adopt our culture and civilisation"	1	AR 291
<hr/>		
"I dislike the immigrants who live here"	1	KM 365
"there are too many"	1	KM 366
"I would never rent it to a foreigner"	1	KM 380
"Only the food they cook, it smells bad sometimes"	1	KM 391
"they shout at the ground floor"	1	KM 392
"With Pakistani and Bangladeshi? What would we do with them?"	1	KM 406
"Do we need more poor people than we already have?"	1	KM 407
"I would bar Albanians from my country"	1	KM 407
"[...] they don't pay the rent"	1	KM 411
"they should respect the country's legislation"	1	KM 414
"They have to respect the polykatoikia's rules too"	1	KM 415
"Here it is not an asylum"	1	KM 415
"Bangladeshi and Pakistani are the same"	1	KM 418
<hr/>		
"they have shown meanness"	1	VG 539
"they were causing troubles"	1	VG 539
"[...] sometimes Albanians cause problems"	1	VG 544
"I am suspicious with Albanians"	1	VG 546
<hr/>		
"The only complaint I hear is about the immigrants at the basement"	1	RD 596
"That [...] their food is very stinky"	1	RD 597
"it is dangerous to have immigrants living in the basement"	1	RD 600
"she asked me if I was afraid of being raped by them"	1	RD 601
"I have the feeling that they don't want them in the polykatoikia"	1	RD 611
<hr/>		

Table 5: Covered &amp; mitigated racist speech

Statement	Frequency	Reference
"they look kind"	1	GP 18
"probably she could not hear in the flat due to the signal"	1	GP 27
"not always, just sometimes"	1	GP 104
"I am a humanist"	1	GP 119

"these ones from Bangladesh, I pity them, very good people, we never had trouble with them"	1	GP 120
"Once they helped me with my trolley..."	1	GP 121
"There is even the language issue, you cannot have a conversation"	1	GP 139
<hr/>		
"The ones from Bangladesh or Pakistan have no jobs [...] they have no money to save for such purposes"	1	AR 227
"The signal in their apartments is not good..."	1	AR 238
"we don't get annoyed"	1	AR 245
"The tenants of the basement and the ground floor do not pay any money for the lift [...] they use the roof top and they go up there by the elevator"	1	AR 246
"I would help anyone living in the building"	1	AR 250
"I don't want to say that they were working under me"	1	AR 266
"We have not had any problems so far"	1	AR 279
"They don't bother us"	1	AR 280
"some of them at least"	1	AR 282
"they are kind of friendly"	1	AR 285
"You can even have an occupational relation with them"	1	AR 285
"we cannot communicate"	1	AR 286
"it is impossible to express your feelings"	1	AR 287
"they don't really speak the language"	1	AR 312
"Otherwise it is a mess"	1	AR 314
<hr/>		
"Maybe to a foreign family, a proper one"	1	KM 381
"[...] never to an individual coming from Pakistan who will definitely sup-rent [...]"	1	KM 382
"sometimes"	1	KM 391
"I would accept Filipinos as friends but they are very distant people"	1	KM 409
<hr/>		
"I am a bit skeptical towards them"	1	VG 537
"[...] I try to see them in a nice way"	1	VG 542
"with Indians I could have a closer relationship though"	1	VG 547

Table 6: Dominant discourse appropriation

Statement	Frequency	Reference
"I am a foreigner, I might need to live in a basement one day"	1	PP 797
"For tomorrow I don't know"	1	PP 803
"You never know"	1	PP 804

"[...] I will say that I am a foreigner and I understand"	1	PP 817
"They are all very nice people. Note this down, please"	1	PP 820
"What did the other lady tell you?"	1	PP 826
<hr/>		
"there are so many offices in the polykatoikia and this plays a role"	1	FK 884
<hr/>		

**Table 7: Dominant discourse opposition**

Statement	Frequency	Reference
"My wife is Indian, she couldn't be Greek or Albanian"	1	PP 832
"The baby is Indian"	1	PP 833
<hr/>		
"There is humidity on the walls"	1	FK 873
<hr/>		
"[...] we have asked the owner to fix it and he replied that we should be patient and he will fix it"	1	FK 873
<hr/>		
"I had been robbed twice and even beaten once"	1	FK 878
<hr/>		
"I would like to live normally here"	1	FK 895
<hr/>		

**Table 8: Positive self-presenting**

Statement	Frequency	Reference
"The house is very good, very clean, no humidity"	1	PP 795
"There is a park next to me, we are on the third floor"	1	PP 795
"We have three balconies"	1	PP 796
"It is very-very good to live there"	1	PP 796
"The owner is very good"	2	PP 800, 825
"no complaints about him"	1	PP 800
"He is human"	1	PP 802



"we are fine with the owner, with everyone in the polykatoikia"	1	PP 804
"we are humans"	1	PP 805
"no problems"	2	PP 810, 811
"nobody ever complained about me"	1	PP 816
"no one bothers us with habits"	1	PP 820
"If I had any issues I would tell you"	1	PP 826
<hr/>		
"I am happy with it"	1	FK 871
"here it is Kolonaki"	1	FK 877
"I had been robbed twice and even beaten once"	1	FK 878

**Table 9: Stance adverbials**

Statement	Frequency	Reference
"As a result"	1	AR 228
"Nevertheless"	1	AR 247
"But"	1	AR 320
<hr/>		
"definitely"	1	KM 383
"but"	1	KM 411
<hr/>		
"first of all"	1	VG 520
"although"	1	VG 539
"I think"	1	VG 546
"sometimes"	1	VG 568
<hr/>		
"Of course"	1	JM 651
"But"	2	JM 652, 728
<hr/>		
"But"	1	FK 874
"in case"	1	FK 885

## APPENDIX 2

### Transcripts & conversation data

#### 1 Interview: PG

2 Address: Arktinou 1, Athens

3 Age: 81

4 Sex: Female

5 Nationality: Greek

6 Floor, flat: 3<sup>rd</sup>, 46m<sup>2</sup>

7

8 **The discussant was asked to give a description of the building and the residents:**

9

10 Basement:

11 “I don’t know who lives there, are they from Bangladesh? They switch every second month.  
12 They have friends and they bring them here as well and they switch, do you get it? Of course,  
13 without having papers and so on, they are not documented.

14 The other day the girls from the shop of the ground floor found a big bottle outside and she  
15 called me saying “there is somebody there as well”. I went there to check myself and it was those  
16 ones, from the basement. And one said to me “cockroach, cockroach, a lot”. I told him “we just  
8 17 had the pest control, what else can I do?! You should clean the place yourselves too”. He said  
18 they do clean. I saw them, they look kind. Another day I was going out for shopping and they  
19 were leaving too and they left the door wide open. I asked them why they did not close the door  
20 and they replied “we are going right next, we will be here”. They go and hang out outside the  
21 building to get some fresh air. Well, are they from Bangladesh? They were from there, what can I  
22 say? I don’t know, AR should know. Of course, he may even not know”.

23 Ground floor:

24 “On the ground floor some others used to live there, not Pakistani, Afghans! They were Afghans  
25 I think. These ones now are from Bangladesh? Yes, they are pretty dark, yes! There is a black girl  
26 living there too, the last days I do not often hear her, I don’t know, she was a fat one and was  
27 talking on the phone all the time, on her mobile phone, standing at the window. Probably she  
28 could not clearly hear in the flat (due to the signal). And she was shouting a lot.

29 The second flat of the ground floor, Bangladeshi and so on again. They used to be from  
30 Bangladesh and Afghanistan. They were mixed, I don’t know. Are they gone now? Anyway, in  
31 both flats there are those ones, foreigners, living, Bangladeshi, Afghans and so on”.

32 First floor:

33 “One floor above there are Filipinos, in the small flat. The adjacent flat was empty for long and  
34 now Filipinos rent it as well. They are either Indians or Filipinos, but most probably Filipinos”.

35 Second floor:

36 “On the second floor, the two-room flat has Filipinos too but they are here only in the weekends.  
37 They live where they work and have weekends off so they come back home. The Filipinos had  
38 come here a long time ago, even before the Albanians, they came from the 80s. Rich ladies from  
39 Kolonaki used to find them through the embassy and invite them here to work. Now they even  
40 come by themselves, back then only with invitations. Now even male Filipinos have come, they

41 bear children and so on, you understand what is happening. A man owns the flat, he bought it  
42 straight from the first land owner.

43 A family from the island of Kos has the other one of the second floor. They live here now, I  
44 don't know whether the father lives here as well or not. I had a good contact with her mother".

45 Third floor:

46 "The flat next to mine is owned by K, he is a journalist, from Salonika. KM, he was running for  
47 the local elections but did not succeed. He bought it from HH. HH had bought the flat from the  
48 very beginning, when the polykatoikia was firstly built".

49 Fourth floor:

50 "On the fourth floor, it is LL. They are renovating now and they drive me insane due to the  
51 noise. I don't know where the girl is now, her mum used to live here. Her dad is a professor at  
52 the university, a geologist or something like this, I don't know what the hell he is. They are  
53 divorced, the woman used to live in Brussels for many years, the daughter finished school there.  
54 Her dad was the first one to have the flat.

55 The big one on the fourth floor is empty, is owned by someone... I don't know. What did AR  
56 tell you about it? The first owner was an old man, he had the flat but no children, so a nephew  
57 of his inherited it. He had lived in Zakynthos too. He worked for the bank. A very nice  
58 gentleman, we used to talk a lot but then his nephew had the flat. The family that used to live  
59 there has gone now".

60 Fifth floor:

61 "On the top floor it is AR living, he bought it from RR's daughter, RR was dead back then".

62

63 "I had good relations with HH, I was even asked to get money for him from the bank when  
64 needed. He was born in 1911, he got his degree from the School of Law"!

65

66 **Economic & Housing Conditions:**

67 **Education:** Secondary

68 **Occupation:** Retired

69 **Health insurance:** Yes (public)

70 **Tenure:** ownership

71 **Access to housing:** Social Housing Bank loan

72 **Economic conditions:** Average

73 **House facilities and conditions:**

74 "My house is very convenient for me, since I live by myself. As you can see yourself, I have  
75 repaired many things, it is pretty nice. At the moment there is nothing really urgent, we even  
76 renovated the bathroom which was crappy but now it is more than fine".

77 **About the intention to move out if possible:**

78 "Firstly, I would not change neighbourhood, I cannot, I like it here, I have been living here for so  
79 many years, it is so central. I mean, I just walk a bit and find myself at the national garden. I  
80 cannot imagine myself taking the bus or the metro to come here from Patissia, for instance. And  
81 the building I don't mind even if it is old. The construction is very good, the balconies are

resistant and of good quality, they will never break or get rusty. And the water pipes are new too, we installed new ones, I face no problems”.

### Perceived Building community:

#### Community feeling:

“Look, here we live all the races of Israel together, so many foreigners have settled here. Foreigners are on the bottom parts. And in here, the rest of the building... everyone lives by himself/herself, I live by myself too, the next one alone too, we do not hang out together, we say “hello” and so on but nothing more than that. I have contact mostly with AR because he is the operator of the building. We don’t have bonds... Because we have the foreigners and because each one of us is alone. When I used to be in charge of the operation myself, I used to know everyone and talk with everyone”.

#### Friends in the building:

“Look, AR really helped me when I had the issue with my leg, I cannot complain, he even bought medicines for me, went to the doctor. He even withdrew money for me from the bank. I trust him. But no one else, I have no close bond with any other person. I would love to have a family living next door so that we could have some real bonds. As it was when HH used to live here, we were friends, I was asking if they needed anything every time I was going to the market. Now the man living there is totally alone, in solitude, quite young, at his 40s”.

#### Neighbours’ habits:

“No, nothing, just the dark ones, the Bangladeshi shout a lot, sometimes they even fight. The other day they were shouting at each other. But the other ones as well, where the hell they come from, the Filipinos, were shouting too, fighting. They kind of speak too loudly to say... not always, just sometimes”.

#### Help and solidarity:

“In case I need help I will call a friend who lives somewhere else. Among the people living here I would only call AR but still I cannot trust him totally, I will call my friend in case it is too late in the night”.

“In the beginning that HH was living here, I was doing things for them, was helping them a lot. Once HH, some time before he was dead, he fell on the floor. They rung my bell at two o’ clock in the morning, they told me what happened, I went down to the ground floor, I found the young man living in the small flat, his name was MM, he was Greek, I told him what had happened and he came to help me. We managed to lift him and put him on his bed. I myself was never in need of anything. Only when I had my stomach, I went to that friend of mine, Anna, she does not live in the building. Nothing else has happened so far. With HH we had strong bonds because they were a family, I was going to their flat, his wife was coming to mine too. They used to go to Vouliagmeni every now and then”.

“I help everyone, I have no problem, I am a humanist, I want to help as many people as possible. And these ones from Bangladesh I pity them, poor ones, very good people, we never have trouble with them. Once they even helped me with my trolley, one of them carried it for me till the elevator, I have no problems. Before them it was an Egyptian living down there, he has children, in Egypt though. He said once that he loves Greece because it gave food to him. I still say “good morning” to him when we meet in the street”.

127

Common spaces, roof:

128

“I dry my clothes at my balcony and at the main entrance no problems. The “bottom ones” use the roof, they dry their clothes up there, they have no room for this in their houses”.

129

130

131

132

**Bogardus Social Distance scale:**

	Greeks	Filipinos	Bangladeshi
To close kinship by marriage	X		
To my club as personal chums			
To my street as neighbours		X	X
Employment in my occupation			
Citizenship in my country			
Visitor in my country			
Bar from my country			

92

133

134 **While filling in the table:**

135 “With Greeks, of course, we are Greeks”!

136 “In the best case, I would have a Filipino as a friend, not a close friend of course, just friend, and  
137 would never love any of them”.

138 “I would accept them as neighbours, we even live in the same building”.

139 “Mainly for neighbours, what else could I have with them? Friendship? There is even the  
140 language issue, you cannot have a conversation”.

141

142

143

144

145

146

147

148

149

150

**Interaction (Interactive Social Distance)**

		Floor/ Flat												
		-1 A	-1 B	0 A	0B	1A	1B	2A	2B	3A	KM	PL	4B	AR
Frequency	Every day													
	More than once a week													x
	Once a week													
	More than once a month													
	Once a month								x		x	x		
	Never or accidentally	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
Nature	Friendship													
	Mutual help													x
	Collaboration								x		x			
	Indifferent/ formal	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x		
	Conflict													
	Hostility													

93

151

152 **While filling the table in:**

153 For the Greek dweller of the basement: “One day he was complaining to me for the “basement  
 154 ones”, and he told me “You live on the third floor, you are not in touch with them, you don’t  
 155 give a shit. He is always drunk. He is drunk quite often, once I found him lying on the  
 156 pavement”.

157 “Those ones are foreigners, just formally, five words and that’s it. They are foreigners but with  
 158 Greeks we have the same contact. No, with Greeks we have a warmer contact. Not hostile, we  
 159 have no bonds, not in close contact, just saying hello, I never bothered them, they never did so to  
 160 me either”.

161 “With the third floor a bit better. I know the girl on the fourth floor. I don’t know her mum”.

162 “I interact with AR quite often. He helps me many times, our relationship is closer to  
 163 friendship”.

164

165

166 **Interview: RA**

167 Address: Arktinou 1, Athens

168 Age: 62

169 Sex: Male

170 Nationality: Greek

171 Floor, flat: 5th, 64m2

172 Lives in the building for 18 years.

173

174 **Economic and Housing Conditions:**

175 **Education:** Tertiary/ University

176 **Occupation:** retired

177 **Health insurance:** public

178 **Tenure:** Ownership

179 **Access to housing:** Bank loan

180 **Economic conditions:** average

181 **House facilities, conditions:**

182 “The top floors need improvements. Above all things, insulation on the roof, for cold, for heat.  
183 Double-glass windows and doors are needed. Noise insulation is important too. The street is very  
184 busy during the day. The location is dusty too. I need to clean the terrace every single day. I  
185 repeat, the most important thing is the roof and the noise pollution. On top of that, the elevator’s  
186 mechanism is close to my bedroom. Every time someone makes use of the lift, I hear it. It can be  
187 at 4 in the afternoon, it can be after midnight. I have asked the neighbours not to go to the roof  
188 top to hang their clothes from 3 to 5 in the afternoon because I use to rest then. Some of them  
189 also go to the roof top at 11 in the evening or even at midnight. They walk and I can hear them,  
190 no matter I am in my bedroom or in the living room”.

191 **About the intention to move out if possible:**

192 “I like the neighbourhood. It is very central, I am close to Syntagma square, the National Garden  
193 and the center. If I would find an equivalent apartment, on the top floor but two or three blocks  
194 away I would move. I cannot stand noise and pollution. Here it is quite from 4a.m. to 6a.m..  
195 After six the street is very busy. And I don’t like using the air-condition, I prefer having my  
196 windows open while sleeping”.

197

198 **Perceived Building Community:**

199 Community feeling:

200 “There is not a big community in the building. The community I would say is me, GP, TT. The  
201 foreigners are not included. It is mostly the ones I mentioned, myself, GP, TT, KM, AA –but he  
202 is a bit strange. I would say that seven out of the thirteen owners of flats are a kind of community  
203 because we are all in agreement to improve some things here. The seven of us can influence the  
204 rest and move the things the direction we want. We are a group with common goals.  
205 Relationships also depend on the economic crisis, they always depend on the money you ask for

improvements and restorations. In terms of interaction and contact, I mostly would consider GP, TT, KK, KM. These four or five we have relations. KK as well. We all agree. Another one who lives in the countryside and I am responsible for taking the rent of his tenants and deposit the money, agrees with us as well, we never had troubles. Though, I would not say that as a whole we have contact, we don't. The ones I mentioned mostly knock on each other's' doors in case there is a need. It is important that I am in charge of the operation of the condominium for the network. GP as well was the operator years ago and people who still live in the building know her and have some connection. We are the links amongst them, especially because some owners don't live here.

We don't have serious issues. I had a big struggle some years ago in order to convince some of the inhabitants and gather some money in order to change the heating gas infrastructure. Some of them are strange and not interested in such issues. Now that the bills are reduced by 30% they like it and are happy. The same happened with the façade of the polykatoikia. I took the initiative to renovate the façade which had not been painted since it was built. We had some support by the municipality so the money we spent on that was not much. But still some people did not want to think about it and discuss. Of course, now they like the condominium more. The chimney pipes pass through the basements. This is not legal, it causes humidity because of the hot and cold air. I am trying now to convince them to save some common money in order to improve this installation. We do not have much saving in case something breaks down in the building and needs to be fixed immediately. It is very difficult to gather money here. The ones from Bangladesh or Pakistan have no jobs or sell stuff at the traffic lights. They have no money to save for such purposes. As a result, the whole community moves backwards in terms of money".

#### Friends in the building:

"GP and TT are kind of friends to me. We don't go out together though. With the rest who are owners but don't live here we have a good, formal relation. With the ones living here it is a bit different, it is better. GP for instance will offer me some food for lunch in case I visit her for some common issues; I myself might cook something and on the way down take some food and offer it to the lady downstairs with her kid".

#### Neighbours' habits:

"My request was not to make use of the roof top from 3 to 4:30 in the afternoon. But at night people from the basement or the ground floor want to talk on their mobile phones. The signal in their apartments is not good so they end up talking on the roof, above me. They don't go to the street, outside the building. They come to the roof. And they prefer that time of the day due to the time difference between Greece and their countries. I asked them at least not to walk while talking. Sometimes we discussed not to hang clothes on the balconies facing the street but it is not easy to sustain. If it is convenient for some of us you cannot ban them from doing so. Some people are bothered because others on top of them wash their balconies and throw water on theirs and so on. But such things are normal, we don't get annoyed.

The tenants of the basement and the ground floor do not pay any money for the lift, they don't have to because they do not use it supposedly. Nevertheless, they use the roof top and they go up there by the elevator. What should I do? Change the rules and make them pay"?

#### Help and solidarity:

"The people I mentioned above help each other. I would help anyone living in the building. The other day, the guy living on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor left to Brussels and his girlfriend arrived but she could not enter the flat because he had locked the main door using the matrix-key. So, she could not access the flat because only his key was valid any more. I helped her to open the door and called the service. But he didn't know this would happen. By the way he has not paid the water bill but he spent 300 euro for the new security door".



255

Common spaces, roof:

256 “One has installed new solar panels for the water heating next to mine but in such a position that  
 257 shadows mine for some hours of the day. There is the problem with the use of the terrace I told  
 258 you before”.

259

260

**Bogardus Social Distance scale**

	Greeks	Filipinos	Bangladeshi
To close kinship by marriage	X		
To my club as personal chums			
To my street as neighbours			
Employment in my occupation			
Citizenship in my country		X	
Visitor in my country			
Bar from my country			X

96

261

262 **While filing in the table:**

263 “At first, all the Greeks, I do not discuss it. In every stage, every kind of relationship”.

264 “For Filipinos, look, I had some people as domestic workers so I would accept collaborating with  
 265 them since I don’t want to say that they were working under me. Relation of collaboration. I  
 266 would accept them as citizens in my country as it happened with the Greeks in the USA. If their  
 267 children go to Greek schools and speak the language and know the Greek history should be  
 268 citizens. It is something to be argued by both left and right wing parties. They should not allow  
 269 them to think that one day they will conquer Europe. Europe throughout history has been a  
 270 continent away from Muslim or Islam. So, they can come, work here, preserve their religions, do  
 271 whatever they want but in terms of numbers they should be as many as the country can handle. I  
 272 see something else now: in every single gas station there are Pakistani and Bangladeshi people  
 273 working. Why don’t they hire Greeks? But, on the other hand, if you start hire Greeks and those  
 274 ones become unemployed, you will have troubles with them. No one will protect me. This is why  
 275 I have some friendly relations with some of them and, on the other hand, I seem more distant  
 276 and strict towards others. Especially when I see that some of them might have hostile feelings, I  
 277 don’t want to be friendly myself. Such people I keep in distance till I see myself what kind of  
 278 people they are. Here, in the building, we have not had any problems so far, we greet one each  
 279 other. They don’t bother us. But owners rent the flat and leave, they don’t know who lives in  
 280 there anymore. One rents it and 5 live in fact. Anyway”.

281 “The Bangladeshi I would bar from my country, some of them at least. The reason is that I am  
 282 afraid of them. The Filipinos are better, not because they are Christians but they are in general  
 283 more civilized. Those ones (pointing at the Bangladeshi) are not approachable, illiterate, refugees,  
 284 they are kind of friendly. You can even have an occupational relation with them, for instance to

employ them as gardeners. Communication is a very important issue, we cannot communicate. With the Filipinos you can, at least, speak English. With the other ones it is impossible to express your feelings or some more intimate issues. They come from foreign countries with mud, they are starving and exhausted, I don't know what they have in their minds, I cannot trust them. It would not be possible to have any other relation than to have them in my garden, in my shop, in my fields and have a friendly connection. But I would never have them in my bedroom. They should adopt our own culture and civilization".

### Interaction (Interactive Social Distance)

		Floor/ Flat												
		-1 A	-1 B	0 A	0B	1A	1B	2A	TT	GP	KM	4A empty	PT	5
Frequency	Every day													
	More than once a week									x			x	
	Once a week								x					
	More than once a month													
	Once a month													
	Never or accidentally	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x		
Nature	Friendship													
	Mutual help								x	x				
	Collaboration	x	x	x	x	x	x						x	
	Indifferent/ formal							x			x			
	Conflict													
	Hostility													

Interviewee lives here

301 **While filling the table in:**

302 The reason I interact with some of the residents is issues of the building and the money  
303 collection I am in charge of. All the rest of the contact is accidental. Just good morning, good  
304 evening and so on.

305 About the names of the tenants: We don't know who live in the basement, only the owners know  
306 their names, we don't even know the names of the rent's record. I don't know whether they have  
307 a passport, if they are legal or illegal. Once they are gone, other ones come and live here. Ground  
308 floor and basement, we don't know them.

309 The empty flat of the first floor is now occupied by Filipinos. They contact me once or twice a  
310 year in case they have troubles with the heating or the water. They come to me saying "Mr. AR,  
311 this has happened, we have that kind of problem" and so on.

312 On the ground floor there are foreigners as well. They might contact me in case something  
313 happens. But, on the other hand, what can we say? They don't really speak the language. The  
314 interaction problem is a linguistic one, you know, especially with people from Bangladesh or  
315 Pakistan. Some of them might learn 50 Greek words and start forming sentences. Otherwise it is  
316 a mess.

317 I would say our relationships with the basement and the ground floor are collaborative due to the  
318 money collection I carry out once a month. With the Filipinos of the first floor situation is closer  
319 to friendship. They contact me more often for problems and they speak better Greek than the  
320 Bangladeshi. They also speak English but still their Greek is quite good. They have to because  
321 they work in Greek houses. The Filipinos started from the very low levels. Year by year they  
322 moved upwards, on higher floors. They left the basements and are live higher now. They work a  
323 lot, save money and send it back to their country. The same happened with the Albanians in  
324 general.

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340 **Interview: KM**

341 Address: Arktinou 1, Athens

342 Age: 45

343 Sex: Male

344 Nationality: Greek

345 Floor, flat: 3rd, 65m2

346 Lives in the building for 10 years. Always in the same flat. Before moving here he used to live in  
347 Thessaloniki.

348

349 **Objective Social Distance (economic and housing conditions):**

350 **Education:** Master's degree

351 **Occupation:** Journalist

352 **Health insurance:** Yes

353 **Tenure:** Ownership

354 **Access to housing:** Bank loan

355 **Economic conditions:** average/ middle

356 **House facilities, conditions:**

357 It is noisy and there are many in the building. The flat itself is fine because I renovated everything  
358 and it looks brand new now. However, there is too much noise coming from the street, the street  
359 is very busy, very central, I can hear cars and buses coming and going all the time. In general I  
360 would like it to be a bit bigger as well. Air pollution is serious too. I even have double-glass  
361 windows and still I can hear noise from the street. I never leave the windows open, I always have  
362 them closed while sleeping and turn the air-condition on to cool down the place a bit.

363 **About the intention to move out if possible:**

364 Of course, I would move out! The neighbourhood does not bother me, I would like to have a  
365 bigger place. I would start from the city center, such as Herodou Attikou or Kolonaki, then I  
366 would look at Ekali, Psychico, Kifissia. To be honest the neighbourhood is not very good. I  
367 dislike the immigrants who live here, there are too many. On the other hand I like the security of  
368 the area due to the number of embassies which are around; the area is safe. To be precise, we are  
369 not really Pagkrati here. We are on the other side, we are closer to Herodou Attikou, Kolonaki  
370 and so on. I don't know if the others said this.

371

372 **Perceived Building Community**

373 Community feeling:

374 There is not a community here, there is no communication amongst us. I only talk to Mr. AR and  
375 Ms. GP. The rest is foreigners. I think this is the problem, people are locked in themselves, they  
376 cannot communicate. The owners rented their flats to anyone without considering who rents  
377 them, what kind of people are going to live there. This happened obviously for economic  
378 reasons. They are going to pay for this mistake, they are gonna get the "bill" for this in the long  
379 term. I mean, they will stop paying the rents at some point, they will cause damages in the houses

380 and so on. To rent a house is not only a matter of money, it also has a social dimension. And they  
 381 should consider this but they don't. If I owned another flat myself, I would never rent it to a  
 382 foreigner for instance. Maybe to a foreign family, a proper one, yes. In that case maybe I would.  
 383 But never to an individual coming from Pakistan who will definitely sub-rent it to someone else  
 384 for five, six and seven times. Never. Family is an indicator for stability and seriousness. Did the  
 385 rest you interviewed in the building mention that immigrants are too many in here?

386 Friends in the building:

387 Of course I would say that AR and GP are friends of mine. I do not know anyone else in the  
 388 polykatoikia. Neither names nor faces I know. With GP and AR it is different, we say "good  
 389 morning" to each other, we exchange a "good evening", we share five thoughts.

390 Neighbours' habits:

391 Up to now I have no issues with neighbours. Even if they are renovating the flat above me and I  
 392 have some noise it is fine, not a big thing. Only the food they cook, it smells bad sometimes. And  
 393 they shout at the ground floor, I always say this. Did the rest say so too?

394 Help and solidarity:

395 I would contact the two persons I mentioned before. If none of them is here, I would knock on  
 396 no one else's door. It never happened to me to be asked for help so far.

397 Common spaces, roof:

398 The entrance is horrible, the elevator as well. Did anyone else mention this too? We should  
 399 refurbish the building's main entrance. You know, the entrance is the profile of the building. It  
 400 has to look beautiful and represent the people living inside. As well it is a matter of security.  
 1401 Aesthetics and security. Ours looks horrible at this moment. Considering the users, we have no  
 402 issues.

403

404

#### Bogardus Social Distance scale

	Greeks	Filipinos	Bangladeshi
To close kinship by marriage	X		
To my club as personal chums		X	
To my street as neighbours			
Employment in my occupation			
Citizenship in my country			
Visitor in my country			X
Bar from my country			

405

406

407 **While filling in the table:**

408 Marriage only with Greeks, of course. What Pakistani and Bangladeshi? What would we do with  
409 them? Do we need more poor people than we already have? (laugh) I would bar Albanians from  
410 my country.

411 I would accept Filipinos as friends but they are very distant people, very enclosed. What did the  
412 operator tell about them? Did he say that they never pay their rent? It is over one year. Note this  
413 down. All the immigrants do this, they don't pay the rent. He (the operator) should collect the  
414 money from the owners then, straight from the owners. If the tenant does not pay you, you go to  
415 the owner in order to get the money. You should note this down: they should pay the common  
416 expenses, all of the immigrants, and they should respect the country's legislation. Note this down  
417 for all the foreigners. They have to respect the polykatoikia's rules too. Here it is not an asylum.  
418 A polykatoikia is an organized community. Unfortunately we do not have a proper state to take  
419 care of such issues.

420 Bangladeshi and Pakistani are the same.

421

422

423

### Interaction (Interactive Social Distance)

101

		Floor/ Flat												
		-1 A	-1 B	0 A	0B	1A	1B	2A	2B	GP	3B	4A empty	4B	AR
Frequency	Every day									x				x
	More than once a week													
	Once a week													
	More than once a month													
	Once a month													
	Never or accidentally	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	
Nature	Friendship									x				x
	Mutual help													
	Collaboration												x	
	Indifferent/ formal	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					
	Conflict													
	Hostility													

424

425 **While filling the table in:**

426 No contact with the flats of the basement. Basically it is the same with everyone except for Ms.  
427 GP and AR, we almost meet everyday, we say a few words. In fact it is everyday for both.

428 With AR and GP I would say we do have a friendly relationship. The contact we have with the  
429 rest is neutral. There is not interaction at all, what else could it be? No conflicts with any

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457 **Interview: GV**

458 Address: Nikosthenous 6, Athens

459 Age: 62

460 Sex: Female

461 Nationality: Greek

462 Floor, flat: 5th, 62m2 (second to last floor- δώμα)

463 Lives in the building for 21 years.

464 *Does not know PP's name, nor that he owns a shop in the same street. She thought he continues working at the*  
465 *airport.*

466 The building was built in 1958. There is no basement. The ground floor is of commercial use  
467 (small shops). The apartments in total are 9. 2 are occupied by immigrants (who are tenants) the  
468 rest by Greeks (all owners besides the one living on the top floor- illegal dwelling). Immigrants  
469 live on the 3rd floor: an Albanian and an Indian family. Vassiliki is the operator of the building.

470

471

472 **Economic and Housing conditions:**

473 **Education:** Technical School for Woman's fashion

474 **Occupation:** Fashion designer

475 **Health insurance:** Yes

103

476 **Tenure:** Ownership

477 **Access to housing:** Savings

478 **Economic conditions:** average or below average

479 **House facilities, conditions:**

480 "I am very satisfied with my flat. I renovated everything step by step, everything was quite old  
481 when I bought it. I even installed new windows and recently gas pipes. I am very satisfied".

482 **About the intention to move out if possible:**

483 "I would never leave my flat and my neighbourhood. Residents of the area are attached to it.  
484 There is also the park in front of the polykatoikia, I like it although the conditions are not that  
485 good anymore. When my daughter was a child it used to be an oasis. Really an oasis! All the  
486 children of the neighbourhood were playing there in the afternoons. There were many flowers  
487 throughout the park. Now we cannot even walk during the night. People oppose the opening of  
488 a café inside the park. Why? I would like to be able to enjoy my coffee in the park when I get old,  
489 to go there with my neighbour and have a coffee and talk. Why should I stay in my solitude? It  
490 used to be a place full of life. We were sitting on the benches. Plenty of people used it. Now it is  
491 like an abandoned place. The place itself could be beautiful again. When I return home late in the  
492 evening –sometimes I work till late- I can smell the trees of the park and I feel amazing. There is  
493 drugdealing during the night. I can see everything because I love on the top of the building".

494

495



496

**Perceived Building Community**

497

Community feeling:

498 “I feel that we are a community. I personally have a personal attitude towards the residents of the  
 499 building as a whole, as a group. Nothing negative to mention, we are fine. Of course we are not  
 500 close friends –even with Greeks- we don’t really hang out. The ones who are mainly in contact  
 501 are the owners. I don’t know the family of the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor because I contact the flat’s owner, I don’t  
 502 know them at all. I know the Indian man just a bit but we only meet randomly in the main  
 503 entrance. I know the owner of his flat more, I contact him instead. Even when I need to collect  
 504 money for the common expenses of the building, I am in touch only with the owners. When we  
 505 meet, for instance, to discuss and make some decisions, I have the feeling that we are a medium  
 506 community. The problem behind this is the money issues. If there is a problem such as with  
 507 water pipes leaking, then people have to spend some money on it and they dislike it. In such  
 508 occasions we are a very weak community, some of us want to avoid paying and then the  
 509 atmosphere is negative. They oppose these issues. But when we have no money troubles, we are  
 510 all fine”.

511

512

Friends in the building:

513 “I have some friends on the fourth floor and the first floor. But mainly on the 4<sup>th</sup>, the ones who  
 514 are absent now. With the ones of the first floor not that much. I used to share things and time  
 515 with them “.

516

Neighbours’ habits:

517 “Nothing to worry about so far. I just don’t like hearing people arguing which does not happen  
 518 often luckily”.

519

Help and solidarity:

520 “Anyone. I would ask anyone for help. From the fourth floor, first of all, then the first floor and  
 521 the rest afterwards. I would pick them spontaneously. Nothing has really happened so far, no one  
 522 has really been in a situation of necessity but, I think, that it would be fine for anyone to ask help  
 523 from anyone else in the polykatoikia. And, of course, I would not deny providing anyone with  
 524 help. I believe no one would do so”.

525

Common spaces, roof:

526 “I never use the rooftop. No issues”.

527

528

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**Bogardus Social Distance scale**

	Greeks	Indians	Albanians
To close kinship by marriage	X		
To my club as personal chums			
To my street as neighbours		X	
Employment in my occupation			X
Citizenship in my country			
Visitor in my country			
Bar from my country			

537

**538 While filling in the table:**

539 “For Albanians: although I have some kind of contact with them, I am a bit skeptical towards  
540 them. I would trust Indians more. Some people from Albania used to rent one shop on the  
541 ground floor and they triggered some troubles. They have shown meanness. They were causing  
1542 troubles back then, that family. My daughter owns a flat and she is now renting it to an Albanian  
543 family. They try to be nice, you know. When we came to Athens from the countryside, back then,  
544 people here used to see us in a very similar way. This is why I try to see them in a nice way and  
545 not be suspicious. They were considering us as belonging to a lower class than they did. We had  
546 to work a lot, to do several types of works in order to earn money. But, I think, sometimes  
547 Albanians cause problems. My daughter was told by them that they would fix something that  
548 broke but they never did, another friend said the same as well. I am suspicious with Albanians,  
549 with Indians I could have a more close relationship though”.

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**Interaction (Interactive Social Distance)**

		PE	LV	3A (Albanian residents)	3B (Indian residents)	BH	AA	5A (empty)	5B	6
<b>Frequency</b>	Every day									
	More than once a week	x	x							x
	Once a week									
	More than once a month				x					
	Once a month			x		x	x			
	Never or accidentally									
<b>Nature</b>	Friendship						x			
	Mutual help		x							
	Collaboration	x		x	x	x				x
	Indifferent/ formal									
	Conflict									
	Hostility									

Interviewee lives here

106

562

563

564 **While filling the table in:**

565 “Working hours and schedules are important”.

566 “With PP we meet only accidentally, either at the entrance or in the elevator”.

567 “It is important that I am the operator of the building for ten years now. I need to collect money,  
568 to talk to them sometimes for common or individual issues”.

569 “I know the names of the owners. Not the tenants”.

570

571

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576

**Interview: DR [user]**

577 Address: Solonos 54, Athens

578 Age: 27

579 Sex: Female

580 Nationality: Greek

581 *She works as a lawyer on the fourth floor, for almost three years. The head of the office she is working at is as well*  
 582 *the operator of the building.*

583

584

585

**Perceived Building Community**

586

Community feeling:

587 “From what I see in the building I cannot say that there is a feeling of community in here.  
 588 Nobody hangs out with anyone amongst the few residents, there are no friends. When someone  
 589 has to complain about someone else he or she contacts my boss, who is the operator of the  
 590 building. He always has to interfere; they don’t talk straight to each other”.

591

Friends in the building:

592 “The only thing I know is that the woman on the fourth floor, next to our office hangs out  
 593 sometimes with another woman who lives on the second floor. There are four flats used as  
 594 houses in the building, they are not a lot, the rest is offices. It is the woman next to us, the one  
 595 on the second floor, the ones in the basement and some new ones on the fifth floor who are  
 596 absent now”.

597

Neighbours’ habits:

598 “The only complaint I hear is about the immigrants in the basement. That they cook every  
 599 afternoon and evening and their food is very stinky. This has been mentioned several times first  
 600 of all by the operator and others working in my office, from the lady next to us and from some  
 601 guys running a photo-copy shop on the ground floor. Their shop is facing the ventilation tube  
 602 and the smell apparently reaches them. The secretary of my boss was saying once that it is  
 603 dangerous to have immigrants living in the basement. As well, one day I had to go to the  
 604 basement and she asked me if I was afraid of being raped by them; she said I should go with  
 605 someone else, not by myself”.

606

Help and solidarity:

607 “I don’t really know. To be honest the situation here is a bit strange because of the number of  
 608 offices. But, in general, whoever needs help contacts my boss. Farouk from the basement told me  
 609 once that the only person he is in contact with is Mr. Barkas, a lawyer working on the third floor.  
 610 He is the mediator between him and the owner of the flat. He said that they have no problems in  
 611 general, the place is fine.

612 I don’t see any particular bond amongst the residents and the people working in the polykatoikia.  
 613 To be honest, I have the feeling that they don’t want them (meaning the people living in the  
 614 basement) in the polykatoikia”.

615 *Do you personally, as a user, have any interaction with the residents?*

“No, not really, I sometimes meet the guys from the basement in the entrance but almost every time I don’t even say “hello” because they kind of run downstairs or outside. They walk fast as if they want the encounter to be quick, as if they don’t feel comfortable being in their own house

### Interview: JM

Address: Asklipiou 84, Athens

Age: 60

Sex: Female

Nationality: Greek

Floor, flat: 1st, 76m2

### The building:

*Immigrants reside at the ground floor (Uruguay), ground floor (Filipinos), 2<sup>nd</sup> (Albania), 4<sup>th</sup> (Albania) floor, all rented.*

### Description of the building and the residents:

“I have no problems at all with the residents of the condominium, neither Greeks nor immigrants, there is someone in the building though who does not want them here. She used to say “they have dogs, we don’t know what is their jobs, we don’t know what they do, we should call the police to kick them out”. We do have some similar incidents”.

### Objective Social Distance (economic and housing conditions):

**Education:** Tertiary

**Occupation:** Teacher, retired

**Health insurance:** Public

**Tenure:** Ownership

**Access to housing:** Loan

**Economic conditions:** average

### House facilities, conditions:

“I don’t like the structure, the design of the apartment, it is not convenient to me; it is fragmented, small rooms which could be united and create a bigger space instead of several small ones. There is some humidity in my daughter’s room, just a bit, because the building is adjacent to another. No other problems, it is quite luminous, just the terrace is rather small. And we have done nothing here as a community to improve the situation. For instance we could make use of the roof. Unfortunately we did not do any common action for this, any kind of mobilization. Of course, I have to admit, I did not take the initiative myself either but I have realized that even if I do something like this, nothing happens”.

655 **About the intention to move out if possible:**

656 “I like it here, I would not move out. It is close to the hill, close to Syntagma square and  
657 Exarcheia, I like it here”.

658

659 **Perceived Building Community**

660 Community feeling:

661 “There is no community feeling in the building. Neither there is a type of community which I am  
662 not included myself in. I am gonna tell you something, from the moment I got Lela (the dog) I  
663 started walking around the neighbourhood, in streets I never frequented before. Once I found a  
664 dog, a skinny one which was starving and with some other people from the building as well as the  
665 broader neighbourhood and the owner of the pharmacy next corner, we managed to find the  
666 owner of the dog. Through this process I came closer to the woman operating the building. Due  
667 to this incident, we approached one each other. Before, and for many years, me and Marina (the  
668 operator of the building) were just saying a “hello” every time we meet accidentally. We came  
669 close. The same with people in the neighbourhood. On the other hand I dislike some facts about  
670 gossiping. Another world is being revealed around me. And I am questioning myself whether was  
671 it better before that I was not very social, I am concerned about this.

672 Besides Marina (the woman in charge of the operation of the building) I mostly have “formal”  
673 relationships with the rest. I also talk with Eleni but Marina does not like her. Some of them  
674 dislike our dogs and so on”.

675 Friends in the building:

1676 “There is a couple, Eva and her husband (3<sup>rd</sup> floor), who live one level above and I consider as  
677 friends. Marina (3<sup>rd</sup>) as well, I can trust her. And Darani, a librarian, I have approached her but  
678 we are not very close to each other yet, we are not that close. I label her as “friend” but not a  
679 very close one. She lives on the second floor”.

680 Neighbours’ habits:

681 “I have the feeling sometimes that we, me and my daughter, disturb some of the neighbours with  
682 our arguments. I am concerned about this, I think sometimes that with our arguments we annoy  
683 people. I told her earlier this morning too.

684 Some of them also dislike our pets but they still tolerate it. For instance, we put some water for a  
685 dog and one man threw everything away”.

686 Help and solidarity:

687 “I would ask help from people in the building. First of all, Marina and if she is not here, Eva and  
688 her husband of the third floor and Darani as well. These people I ask for help from. With some  
689 of them it is mutual, Marina asks for my help and advice too sometimes while Eva has her  
690 husband and apparently he helps her. I myself help everyone”.

691 Common spaces, roof:

692 “We used to have troubles for the backyard but the ones triggering the trouble have gone now.  
693 They were Albanians, they did not allow us to go there, with no reason. Just their window was  
694 facing the yard and they thought that we were looking into the window, at their private space.  
695 But I just wanted to water my plants and had no intention to look inside. They argued that their  
696 apartment is next to the yard, on the ground floor, and that everyone is banned to access the  
697 place besides the cleaning lady. I said that I am an owner, I have my own plants there and I have  
698 the right to access it, to make use of it. Even if I was not an owner but just a tenant, I would have

699 the same right. The backyard is a common space. They were quite aggressive shouting that they  
 700 would call the police and we would be in trouble. Then we let the owner of the house know and  
 701 he kicked them out so that the situation is peaceful again. He is my former owner. He did not  
 702 want us to have troubles. Of course, it is not a matter of racism, the next tenant, the one still  
 703 living there is from Uruguay, so he does not mind having immigrants living in his house. Those  
 704 ones were just a couple in the beginning, later on a brother of his came to settle as well and a  
 705 friend. In total four people in a flat for two, more or less like the size of mine”.

706

707

Complains:

708 “About the financial situation with the common expenses, the gas and so on. I myself had some  
 709 issues with a person living on the ground floor because I think he is secret policeman. Everyone  
 710 has some complains for others. I myself like everyone till the moment he/she behaves in a way I  
 711 disagree. I try to have some values.

712 There are some complains about the Albanian guy who lives on the 4th floor. He is a very nice  
 713 person and he really works hard, extraordinary person. But he has a dog, a big one. And the dog  
 714 used to poo inside the flat sometimes and there was smell coming out. And then the rest started  
 715 complaining and saying that we don’t know who he is and where he comes from and he moved  
 716 in the flat during the night, we should call the police for investigation. There is fear. Everyone has  
 717 installed security doors besides me, I have not done so yet. We are also asked to lock the roof  
 718 door twice. In general we don’t interact that much but we don’t really have big issues either. Of  
 719 course there is some kind of distance amongst the residents. I liked a lot the Polish girl who used  
 720 to live here a few years ago”.

721

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722

723

**Bogardus Social Distance scale (perceived social distance)**

	Greeks	Uruguayan	Filipinos	Albanians
To close kinship by marriage	X			
To my club as personal chums				X
To my street as neighbours				
Employment in my occupation				
Citizenship in my country		X	X	
Visitor in my country				
Bar from my country				

724

725

726

727 **While filling in the table:**

728 “The girl Filipinos is very kind but we never talk”.

729 “I really appreciate Albanians”.

730 “My close friends are all Greeks”.

731 “Amongst the foreign groups, Albanians are the closest ones. I believe that there is a potential to  
732 be very close friend with Albanians. I also had many Albanian students while teaching at school”.

733 “I feel close to Albanians because I had so many students at school. I also read recently that even  
734 racially we are very close, racially cousins. We have a close connection in terms of genes.  
735 Amongst foreigners they are the ones to have worked harder and socially moved upwards. One I  
736 know has bought his own house in Gerakas (a suburb of Athens), another one studies graphic  
737 design and went back to Tirana to work, another one used to help me with the library –he died at  
738 his 20s”.

739

740 **Interaction (Interactive Social Distance)**

111

		Eleni, 0	Darani, 2	Eva, 3	Marina, 3	Mr. Kaltsas, 5	Rest
Frequency	Every day	x			x		
	More than once a week		x				
	Once a week						
	More than once a month			x		x	
	Once a month						
	Never or accidentally						x
Nature	Friendship			x	x		
	Mutual help	x	x				
	Collaboration						
	Indifferent/ formal					x	
	Conflict						
	Hostility						

741

742

743



744 **While filling the table in:**

745 *She named the persons she personally knows. The rest of the residents she said that she has the same kind of*  
746 *interaction. She wanted to group them.*

747 “With Eva we were very close but now she has gone to the island where she comes from. Hence,  
748 we do not have any frequent contact but the relationship stays strong. We just don’t go further”.

749 “With Darani we are friends but not very close ones. We have the opportunity to come closer,  
750 for instance she always invites me at her place for knitting but –I don’t know why- I never go. It  
751 is a pity. We have not approached one each other that much”.

752 “With Eleni we do have some conflicts. She is unjust with some people and situations. She likes  
753 triggering trouble in the building. She is strange, I don’t intend being very close to her. I would  
754 not collaborate with her but sometimes she supports me”.

755 “The former head of the Archaeological museum lives here too but he is a bit distant with  
756 everyone. I heard two days ago that he is homosexual. They say that he avoids meeting us  
757 because he dresses up like a woman and he does not want us to know. Gossips, I don’t like  
758 entering the building and listening to such things. She has a bond with a woman on one of the  
759 top floors but nothing else”.

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780 **Interview: PP**

781 Address: Nikosthenous 6, Athens

782 Age: 41

783 Sex: Male

784 Nationality: Indian

785 Floor, flat: 3rd, 62m2

786 *He lives in the building for 11 years.*

787 *Before he used to live in a basement.*

788 *He calls the operator of the building with a wrong name.*

789

790 **Economic and Housing conditions:**

791 **Education:** Ten-year school in India

792 **Occupation:** Shop owner

793 **Health insurance:** Yes

794 **Tenure:** renting

795 **Economic conditions:** "It is very difficult".

796 **House facilities, conditions:**

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797 "The house is very good, very clean, no humidity. There is the park next to me, we are on the  
798 third floor. We have three balconies. It is very-very good to live there. I don't like to live in  
799 ground floors or basements. It is good for the baby too. Look, I am a foreigner, I might need to  
800 live in a basement one day".

801 **About the intention to move out if possible:**

802 "The owner is very good, I don't think of moving out. I have no complaints about him. It has  
803 been three months since the last time I paid the rent and he has not come to me to ask for  
804 money. Once I gather the money, I give it to him. He is human. Till now I never thought about  
805 moving somewhere else. Thank god. For tomorrow I don't know. If you yourself who lives here  
806 now needs to move to Thessaloniki next year? You never know. So far we are fine with the  
807 owner, with everyone in the polykatoikia, we are humans".

808

809 **Perceived Building Community**

810 Community feeling:

811 "Yes, we are a family. I talk to people every day. The lady on the second floor, I meet her often,  
812 we say "good morning", "how are you?" and such things. We are all one family, no problems. We  
813 are a team, no problems with anyone. Because I come back home at midnight every day, I lock  
814 my door and we are fine".

815 Friends in the building:

816 "They are like friends. It is up to us to think that we are all friends. If we don't think this way, we  
817 are not friends. I like thinking that we are all friends there. I like thinking that we all live under  
818 the same tree. One father and all the sons and daughters. Everyone underneath the tree. Nobody

819 ever complained about me. And if they do so I will say that I am a foreigner and I understand.  
820 Till now no problem. Thank god”.

821 Neighbours’ habits:

822 “No one bothers us with habits. I leave in the morning and return at night anyway. They are all  
823 very nice people. Note this down, please”.

824 Help and solidarity:

825 “Nothing has happened so far. I would ask anyone for help”.

826 Common spaces, roof:

827 “I have no problem with these places. The owner is very good and the other people in the  
828 polykatoikia too. If I had any issues I would tell you. What did the other lady tell you”?

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830 **Bogardus Social Distance scale:**

	Indians	Greeks	Albanians
To close kinship by marriage	X		
To my club as personal chums		X	
To my street as neighbours			X
Employment in my occupation			
Citizenship in my country			
Visitor in my country			
Bar from my country			

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833 **While filling in the table:**

834 “My wife is Indian, she couldn’t be Greek or Albanian. I wanted to marry someone from my  
835 country and have children with her. We have a baby already. The baby is Indian”.

836 “Greece gave food to me when I came here. Greeks are friends”.

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**Interaction (Interactive Social Distance)**

		1	2	3A (Albanian residents)	3B	4A	4B	5A (empty)	5B	6
Frequency	Every day				Interviewee lives here					
	More than once a week		x							
	Once a week		x			x	x		x	x
	More than once a month									
	Once a month			x						
	Never or accidentally									
Nature	Friendship		x	x		x	x		x	x
	Mutual help									
	Collaboration			x						
	Indifferent/ formal									
	Conflict									
	Hostility									

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843 Nothing mentioned while filling in the table.

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856 **Interview: FK**

857 Address: Solonos 54, Athens

858 Age: 37

859 Sex: Male

860 Nationality: Bangladeshi

861 Floor, flat: basement, 29m2, shared with another Bangladeshi

862 *Lives in the building for 2 years, one left before the contract is expired. The owner lives on an island and he is*  
 863 *always in touch with a lawyer from the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor as the mediator. Rent=150 euro for the whole flat*

864

865 **Economic and Housing conditions:**

866 **Education:** Tertiary/ University (bachelor degree in History)

867 **Occupation:** 12-hour/day as a kitchen assistant

868 **Health insurance:** public (officially he earns €400 per month and unofficially €700)

869 **Tenure:** Renting

870 **Access to housing:** A Greek co-worker found it for him

871 **Economic conditions:** “bad to average”, he sends remittances to his family in Bangladesh

872 **House facilities, conditions:**

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 873 “It is not cold as the previous place. I am happy with it. The building has central heating, not  
 874 independent, but last winter the heating infrastructure has been out of order due to the economic  
 875 conditions. We used an individual heating device. There is humidity on the walls, we have asked  
 876 the owner to fix it and he replied that we should be patient and he will fix it”.

877 **About the intention to move out if possible:**

878 “It is central, close to the work location. With this amount of money I don’t believe I can find  
 879 anything better. I don’t think about moving as a possibility at all. Anyway, here it is Kolonaki, I  
 880 used to live in Koumoundourou square before, I had been robbed twice and even beaten once”.

881

882 **Building community (perceived social distance)**

883 **Community feeling:**

884 “I don’t feel that I belong to a community here. I have no friends here, I know no one, nobody  
 885 ever asked me for help and I myself would never ask anyone else for anything in case of need.  
 886 Also, there are so many offices in the polykatoikia and this plays a role.

887 I have no clue who lives in the upper floors, we never met, I have never seen them”.

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**Bogardus Social Distance scale**

	Greeks	Bangladeshi
To close kinship by marriage	X	X
To my club as personal chums		
To my street as neighbours		
Employment in my occupation		
Citizenship in my country		
Visitor in my country		
Bar from my country		

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894 **While filing in the table:**

895 “I would like to have connections with Greeks, I would even be friend with Greeks. And I would  
896 get married to a Greek woman in case I was not already married to my wife in Bangladesh. Since  
897 I live in Greece, I would like to live “normally” here”.

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Interaction (Interactive Social Distance)

		-1345			
Frequency	Every day	Lives here			
	More than once a week				
	Once a week				
	More than once a month				
	Once a month				
	Never or accidentally		x	x	x
Nature	Friendship	Lives here			
	Mutual help				
	Collaboration				
	Indifferent/ formal		x	x	x
	Conflict				
	Hostility				

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Panagiotis N. Bourlessas **/CURRICULUM VITAE/**

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**SURNAME:** Bourlessas

**NAME:** Panagiotis

**NATIONALITY:** Greek

**FATHER'S NAME & SURNAME:** Nikolaos Bourlessas

**MOTHER'S NAME & SURNAME:** Demetra Avramidis

**BIRTHDAY:** August 25, 1986

**BIRTHPLACE:** City of Patras, Achaia

**POSTAL ADDRESS:** 5, Stratigou Sissini Str., 27050, Vartholomio -GREECE

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E-mail address: pan.bourlessas@gmail.com

**EDUCATION:**

- ♦ **2011- 2013:** Master student of the interdisciplinary master programme "4CITIES UNICA Euromaster in Urban Studies" (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Universität Wien, Københavns Universitet, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid).
- ♦ **2011, Higher Education:** Bachelor of Arts in Business Administration (4 years/ 240 ECTS), Athens University of Economics and Business (A.U.E.B.) (*specialization in "Business Information Systems"*) - Grade: 7,13/10 ("Very Good")/ 264 ECTS
- ♦ **2004, School:** Lyceum of Gastouni, *Classical/ Literary course* (Grade: 18,7/20 "Honours")

**MA Dissertation title:** *"Spatial Proximities & Social Distances in cases of Vertical Segregation. Evidence from Athens"*

**LANGUAGE SKILLS:**

- ♦ *Greek Language:* Native speaker
- ♦ *English Language:* Proficient user- "Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency in English"
- ♦ *German Language:* Fluent user- "Goethe Zertifikat Deutsch"

**COMPUTER LITERACY:**

- ♦ *Operating Systems:* MS Windows, Macintosh, Linux
- ♦ *Programs:* Microsoft Office (Word, Access, Power Point, Excel, Frontpage), Workflow BPR (process creation, analysis and enhancement), SPSS, GIS, Adobe Photoshop.
- ♦ *Skills:* Administration problems resolution using MS Office tools.

**CONFERENCE ATTENDANCE:**

- ♦ 2<sup>nd</sup> Conference on Entrepreneurship: *"Entrepreneurship & New Technologies"* (hosted by: Athens University of Economics & Business-AUEB)
- ♦ AUEB Conference on *"Energy-Environment: The great challenge of the 21<sup>st</sup> century"*
- ♦ *"Implementation Lab on Industrial Zone Liesing"* joint project, Department of Geography & Regional Research (University of Vienna) and the Municipal department 21B of the Vienna City Administration



- ♦ *CESIE: Euromed at work for active citizenship - EWAC training course (Action 3.1 of the Youth in Action Programme)*, Palermo, Italy, November 3-11, 2012
- ♦ *2012 URBACT ANNUAL CONFERENCE "Cities of tomorrow, Act today"*, Copenhagen, Denmark, December 2-3, 2012
- ♦ *3<sup>rd</sup> "Autumn School for Anthropology/ Sociology & Ethnology of Labour"*, University of Ioannina, Zagori, Greece, September 7-14, 2013

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

- ♦ **June- August 2006:** *KYKNOS GREEK CANNING COMPANY* (Ilia region): warehouse assistant
- ♦ **March- May 2008:** *HELLENIC POSTBANK*: Internship/ Loan branch and Information
- ♦ **October 2008- May 2009:** *HELLENIC BROADCASTING CORPORATION S.A. (ERT S.A.)*: Telecast "To the end"/ Administrator of the web site, responsible for the communication with the audience
- ♦ **March- May 2009:** *PIRAEUS BANK GROUP CULTURAL FOUNDATION (PIOP-[www.piop.gr](http://www.piop.gr))*: Internship/ Assistant of the Photographic and Historical Archives/ Preparation of the Marketing Plan of the Museums' e-shop
- ♦ **February- May 2011:** *HELLENIC STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (EL.STAT.)*: «General Population and Housing Census 2011»/ Sector Head

#### MILITARY SERVICE (Completed):

- ♦ November 10, 2009- August 10, 2010

#### PURSUIITS:

- ♦ Literature, Cinema, Music, Photography, Theatre, Fine arts, Natural/ Urban Environment, Internet, Architecture, Urban planning
- ♦ *CULTURAL CLUB OF THE NATIONAL & KAPODESTRIAN UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS*: Cinema Field (2005-2006)/ Photography Field (2006-2008): participation in Photography galleries/ Theatrical Field (2009-2011): participation in the theatrical play "*Grande pantomima*" (by Dario Fo), Hellenic Festival of Amateur Theatrical Teams
- ♦ *Seminar Sessions organized by the FREE UNIVERSITY OF THE BOOK ARCADE*: Attendance of the terms «Course of 10 lectures on Linguistics» (2006-2007)/ «Course of 5 lectures on Physical Environment & Pollution» (2007-2008)/ «Course of 5 lectures on Communication & Civilization» (2007-2008)/ «Course of 5 lectures on Cosmology- Cosmogony» (2009)/ «Course of 10 lectures on Creative Writing & Reading» (2010)/ «Course of 5 lectures on Greek History» (2011) [*Attendance certificates available if required*]
- ♦ Participation in "MONUMENTA- web magazine for the protection of natural and architectural heritage in Greece and Cyprus" ([www.monumenta.org](http://www.monumenta.org))/ Photography, articles -Documentation of the Athenian Architecture (funded by Stavros Niarchos Foundation)
- ♦ Two years of classical piano lessons, two years of classical guitar lessons