Thesis Report:

Migrants' Spatial Practices and Experiences in Athens, Greece

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August 2014
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Acknowledgements

INTRODUCTION

The last 20 years have brought to Greece important social changes: the country has become an important migrant destination for people coming mainly from Eastern Europe and the Balkans but, also increasingly so, from far-away countries in Asia and Africa. Today 11% of the country's population is foreign born and 7.5% is foreigners according to Eurostata data published in July 2012[1] (Triandafyllidou, 2014). In terms of geographic distribution, the privileged area of immigrant settlement has been the central municipality of the city where they accounted for 20% of its population in 2001; more than 37% of immigrants live in that area compared to less than 18% of Greeks (Maloutas, 2007: 748).

In the last 5 years, the number of irregular migration and asylum seekers from Asia and Africa towards Greece has intensified. Increasing numbers of people arrive from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and North African countries (Triandafyllidou and Maroukis, 2012). These new immigrants have some special features that make them stand out from the settled Balkan and East European immigrants of the former 15 years: they are predominantly young men (unlike the case of migrant women from Bulgaria or Georgia for instance, or the case of migrant families from Albania), they are darker, they are Muslim in the vast majority and they are trapped into an irregular status as no regularisation has been implemented in the past 7 years and the asylum system was basically not working until 2011 (Triandafyllidou and Kouki, 2013). In addition, because of their position in the informal labour market (often haphazard street vending), these new arrivals have been concentrated to a large extent in the centre of Athens, becoming particularly

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[1] http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-11072012-AP/EN/3-11072012-AP-EN.PDF, last accessed on 30 June 2014.

visible to the public eye.

Even if Greece already has been an immigrant host country for 20 years, its migrant integration policies are still rather under-developed. Greek governments until 2009 have been particularly hesitant to encourage the settlement and socio-political integration of migrant populations. The dominant view has been that migrants are a convenient, albeit temporary, labour force that should go home when their job is finished and who, in any case, were not welcome to stay and become part of the Greek nation (Triandafyllidou, 2010).

Meanwhile, the most recent economic and political crisis in Greece since 2009 marks a shift in political discourse towards an ethnocultural direction of closure and intolerance (Triandafyllidou and Kouki, 2013). Official political discourse and public attitudes towards migrants have worsened significantly in the last 2 years, with overt xenophobia and racism taking the toll. As job opportunities have been drying up, the lack of any local or national policy for addressing this issue has turned migration into a pressing social problem as well as an election campaign issue. Rising insecurity has also contributed to the spectacular rise of extreme right-wing forces since 2009, gathering approximately 8% of the national vote in the last election of June 2012. Anti-immigrant rhetoric and xenophobia has turned into mainstream discourse, while Neo-Nazi discourse and practices by far-right groups are tolerated to a large extent by both the official political establishment and by public opinion (Triandafyllidou and Kouki, 2013: 711).

Within this vein, phenomena of social conflict, racism, violence and insecurity in public space are currently on the rise in central Athens (Nousia and Lyons, 2012). The movement of Aghios Panteleimonas Square has been the most prominent example of this situation. In late 2008, two hundred people demonstrated against what they called 'the ghettoization of our area' in Aghios Panteleimonas Square. The so-called 'Residents' Committee of Aghios Panteleimonas' condemned the widespread insecurity and fear as well as the hygienic deterioration that foreign immigrants imported in public space. In May 2009 the 'Residents' Committee closed down the playground on Aghios Panteleimonas Square due to the incapacity of the authorities to protect the square from being a place where immigrants sleep or spend their free time. During the summer of the same year, patrol groups mobilised by extreme right wing groups and silently supported by police inaction ensured that the square would remain free from immigrants and public anti-racist activities (Kandylis and Kavoulakos, 2011).

What could be at first glance viewed as a coincidental local manifestation of the wider racist discourse in Greece (see for example Christopoulos, 2004; Ventoura,

2004; Lawrence, 2005), proved to be both enduring and influential. After the national elections in October 2009, there have been several attempts to disperse the paradigm of Agios Panteleimonas in other places in central Athens, by establishing other local 'Residents committees'. The neighboring Attiki square was also progressively 'cleansed', after several violent attacks against immigrants, immigrants' stores and the nearby unofficial mosque (UNHCR, 2010; ANTIGONE, 2010). In April 2011, another committee under the name 'Residents of the Mouseio area' emerged to attack the office of the Somali community, not more than 800 meters away from the initial point of Agios Panteleimonas Square (Kandylis and Kavoulakos, 2011). Such incidents underline the instability of informal co-presence and intercultural interaction in urban public spaces (Lafazani et al., 2010: 13-14).

In this context, spaces of encounters acquire renewed importance at times of crisis, when even minimal acts of reciprocity and mutual support may be crucial for survival and may mobilize processes of inclusion (Kalandides and Vaiou, 2012). The spaces of encounters examined here enact a politics of belonging; that is, negotiations and power struggles over boundaries that define who belongs to a particular local and national community and place and who does not (Leitner, 2012: 830). Any geographically oriented discussion of belonging inevitably leads to an investigation of power: power to claim and to control space, to inscribe space with particular meanings, and to regulate who and what can be fully part of any given place (Nagel, 2011: 121). Belonging takes shape in the multitude of interpersonal encounters that one finds in schools, workplaces, neighborhoods, places of worship, cities, and so on. Such encounters reflect, inform, and reinforce societal understandings of who belongs and where they belong (Nagel, 2011: 121).

Nagel (2011) prompts us to think about the different dimensions of belonging. She identifies four dimensions – emotional, formal, normative, and negotiated – even though she emphasizes that this is not an exhaustive list. The main point she tries to convey in exploring these particular dimensions is that belonging is necessarily political. The term political is typically associated with the workings of states and governments – the realm of legislation and public policy. This understanding of political is certainly relevant to understanding belonging. The term political, though, also has a broader meaning that refers to the exercise of power in interpersonal and societal relationships, whether in the 'private' or 'public' realm (Nagel, 2011: 121).

So far there has been an increasing literature on spaces of encounters (ex. Laurier and Philo, 2006; Amin, 2006; Thrift, 2005). These studies however, remain too abstract and fail to address how encounters with difference are experienced. This empirically based study attempts to fill this gap by giving concrete, accurate evidence of how individuals experience encounters with difference in everyday life

and what spatial practices subsequently employ. This study seeks to examine the role of encounters with difference in everyday time-space paths of two immigrant groups, namely Pakistani and Egyptians, as well as the spatial practices these immigrant groups develop in the context of Athens, Greece, in order to maneuver encounters with difference. This study formulated the following research questions:

1. What is the impact of ethnicity, language, educational level and years of residence on migrants' daily patterns?

2. What is the impact of ethnicity, language, educational level and years of residence on migrants' embodied experiences?

The two immigrant groups, Pakistani and Egyptians, were selected because they are the two most deprived immigrant groups in Athens (Kandylis et al., 2012). Pakistani belong to the most deprived group in terms of education, position in the labour market, living conditions and integration prospects. Egyptians belong to the second most deprived group in terms of education; seemingly better positioned in the labour market owing to independent commercial activity (often haphazard street vending); with average living conditions and integration prospects (Kandylis et al., 2012). In addition, both groups of immigrants consist of a significantly vulnerable young population, which is targeted by groups of far-right activists. The Against Racism organisation[2] recorded 154 attacks during 2012. Most victims were from Central Asia and North Africa, particularly Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Egypt.

This study starts building the theoretical perspective in the following chapter. The second chapter first, briefly examines how the various structures and practices have developed historically in the social context of Athens. Second, provides the research design of this research and finally, draws on three different components of the institutional background of Athens, namely Golden Dawn, the Police and the vigilante groups, that appear to have nurtured anti-immigrant sentiment in Athens. The third chapter reflects upon the in-depth interviews and migrants' mental maps to describe migrants' everyday life and to identify the spatial practices that migrants pursue. The fourth chapter tries to get a deeper understanding of their embodied experiences and practices. The last chapter draws the main conclusions and attempts to unravel the current situation in central Athens as well as to give recommendations for further research.

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[2] Against Racism was set up in 2011 by a consortium of 30 NGOs, including the national chapters of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Doctors of the World, Amnesty International and the Red Cross. Its express purpose is to record violence whose victims are too intimidated to talk to the authorities, or who would face deportation if they did so.

CHAPTER 1 THEORETICAL PART

The spaces of encounters examined here enact a politics of belonging; that is, negotiations and power struggles over boundaries that define who belongs to a particular local and national community and place and who does not. This politics of belonging is simultaneously a politics about cultural and racial boundaries, boundaries of place, and entitlements to economic and political resources. All these elements contribute to defining the boundaries between the 'we' and 'them' and are at stake in these struggles (Leitner, 2012: 830).

This study utilizes three highly pertinent lines of scholarship: politics of belonging that reflect the different spatialities and spatial practices associated with belonging; ethnic boundaries studies that critically examine the interaction between the privileged groups seeking to legitimize their position and those of subordinate ones to alter, through various strategies, their own; Time-Geography and embodiment that draw on everyday time-space paths and can shed light on how encounters are played out in and through space. The following chapter elaborates on these three strands of scholarship.

1.1 Politics of belonging

Most of the discussion in this chapter revolves around migration and migrants. Belonging certainly is relevant beyond the issue of migration, and geographers have addressed belonging in relation to young people (e.g., Vanderbeck et al., 2004), nationalist movements (e.g., Hakli, 2001), urban planning (e.g., Fenster, 2004), and historical memory (e.g., Mills, 2006). While this chapter draws on insights from all of these literatures, it gives special attention to migrants because they force a rethinking of who belongs and on what terms. The rethinking and reconfiguration of

belonging that accompanies migration takes place at multiple levels and geographical scales, from the nation - state itself to the everyday spaces of cities and neighborhoods where migrants and non - migrant encounter, confront, and interact with one another.

Drawning on Nagel's (2011) conceptualization of belonging, this chapter identifies four interrelated dimensions of belonging that reflect the complex meanings of this concept and the different spatialities and spatial practices associated with belonging. The first dimension is the emotional dimension, which refers to people's attachments to places and the ways they construct a sense of belonging in, and in relation to, particular places. Second, the formal dimension of belonging that examines how citizenship, immigration, and border control policies create formal parameters of membership in nationally defined communities. Third, the normative dimension of belonging that often accompanies legal frameworks of belonging and that encompasses the everyday, 'informal' practices and narratives through which social actors construct particular places as belonging (or not belonging) to certain groups. Finally, the negotiated dimension of belonging that refers to the ways marginalized groups actively contest their exclusion from places and engage with dominant groups to widen the boundaries of belonging (Nagel, 2011: 109).

The Emotional Dimension of Belonging

Geographers have long made belonging central to their analyses of space and place. In the 1970s and 1980s, geographers engaged with the humanistic perspective and explored the ways in which places evoke deep feelings of belonging among their inhabitants. Buttimer (1976) suggested that the aim of geography is to uncover how and why people endow certain places with special significance, and she proposed a phenomenological approach that would bring into focus people's perceptions and awareness of place, their everyday experiences of place, and the meanings and identities they give to the places they inhabit – in short, their 'sense of place'.

Humanistic geography's concerns with belonging, place-based meanings, memories, and emotional attachments, in some ways can seem naive to contemporary readers. Humanism had relatively little to say about the role of gender, race, and class relations in structuring people' s relationships and identifications with places. Nevertheless, humanistic concerns with meaning, memories, and emotional attachment remain important impulses in social and cultural geography and, indeed, have gained new resonance (e.g., Sibley, 2003; Thrift, 2004). These contemporary approaches vary in content and in the particular vocabularies they use, but they tend overall to situate attachments to and identifications with place within broader discussions of inclusion and exclusion, and the politics of place.

This re-engagement with notions of belonging becomes especially relevant to the millions of migrants in the world today – guestworkers, refugees, exiles, and transnational elites – who have been rendered displaced or placeless. How do such groups construct places of belonging? How do places come to have meaning for these groups? One particularly rich vein of scholarship has used the term diasporic to describe contemporary migrants' experiences and spaces of belonging. Diasporic practices involve the production and reproduction of collective memories of places and the inscription of these memories into new places. Blunt (2003) has described the process of spatializing belonging among displaced or placeless people in terms of 'productive nostalgia'. Productive nostalgia, she elaborates, involves often gendered (re)enactments of home through social practices, ritual, and the actual work of constructing domestic and community spaces. Mavroudi (2008) describes such a process in her account of Palestinian exiles in Athens who use the space of the community house, or parikia, to socialize with one another and to convey their political and emotional commitment to Palestine. Another example is Fortier' s study of Italian émigrés in Britain and their various performances including outdoor processions and distinctive religious liturgies that serve to reiterate the Italian identity of their former London neighborhood (Fortier, 1999: 50).

The politics of belonging within migrant and minority groups become enmeshed in wider political struggles vis-à-vis dominant, 'host society' groups. Dominant groups interpret minority cultural traditions and performances in relation to their own narratives of identity and their own norms. For instance, the annual procession of British Italians in an old Italian neighborhood described by Fortier (1999), is significant not only for what it means to the British Italian community, but also for what it means to a British mainstream in between the 'celebration of multiculturalism'.

The Formal Dimension of Belonging

In revealing the practices and performances through which migrant groups produce and reproduce their identities in places of settlement, and the tensions and ambivalences that surround these practices and performances, scholars of diaspora take a decidedly political view of belonging – one that regards place-based meanings as both products and reflections of unequal and contested power relationships. Political geography has, until recently, tended to view the nation-state as the main locus of power and, therefore, as the main unit of analysis. This perspective has been rightfully criticized for reifying state power – that is, for treating the nation-state as a 'monolithic' entity that possesses agency and 'acts' of its own accord – as well as for

sidelining the multiple relationships and spatialities of power that people, and especially marginalized people, experience in their everyday lives (see Staeheli and Kofman, 2004). Yet it would be a mistake to ignore the formal, territorial dimensions of belonging and the ways in which powerful actors at the nation-state level implement and enforce the boundaries of social membership.

While very few scholars claim that the nation-state has become irrelevant or obsolete, many have demonstrated that the nation-state no longer serves as an exclusive container of power, and that social, political, and economic processes are increasingly organized at different scales (Taylor, 2000; Purcell, 2003; Brenner, 2004). As Brubaker (2010: 64) points out, the politics of membership plays itself out in a great variety of sites. The question 'who belongs' can be contested— and hence, in the broadest sense, politicized—at sites as diverse as cities, neighborhoods, workplaces, clubs, associations, churches, unions, parties, tribes, and even families.

A great body of literature has explored, on the one hand, how shifting political structures within and beyond nation-states enable or constrain citizenship practices among migrants, and how, on the other hand, migrants enact new, more complex modes of political belonging by situating themselves both 'here' and 'there'. The phenomenon of transnationalism signals the multiplication of migrants' political memberships across national borders (Baubock, 2003).

Overall, these literatures suggest that belonging is no longer contained, bounded, or exclusive. Memberships appear to be proliferating, and people appear to be oriented toward multiple polities and political spaces (Nagel, 2011: 115). For some, they have led to new diasporic modes of belonging, or to new forms of cosmopolitan belonging (Amin, 2006; Thrift, 2005). Others point to a devaluation of citizenship in the nation state and offer new modes of multiple belonging across national borders.

The Normative Dimension of Belonging

Having just provided an account of the formal dimension of belonging, a description of the normative dimension will follow. The normative dimension refers to the articulation and contestation of belonging in the more intimate spaces of everyday experience and interaction (Nagel, 2011: 116). Earlier in this chapter, when describing the emotional dimension of belonging, there was a reference to the tensions that can emerge between diasporas and dominant host society groups. The discussion here considers how dominant groups enforce the boundaries of membership through the production and reproduction of social norms.

Norms operate within and through a multitude of spatial and discursive practices and are internalized in such a way that they are seldom acknowledged by those who abide by them (Nagel, 2011: 116). Indeed, norms often are not apparent to group members until they are challenged by the visible presence of 'others', such as immigrants, minorities and other marginalized groups. These groups give rise to efforts by dominant groups to defend norms and to define more clearly what it means to belong. Such efforts often involve setting rules of appropriate behavior in certain spaces (see for ex. Kandylis and Kavoulakos, 2011).

Mitchell (1997) gives an account of the conflicts that have arisen in the 1980s in Shaughnessy, a wealthy, upper class neighbourhood located in the west side of Vancouver, over the transformation of the built environment by Hong Kong Chinese immigrants. The starting point for these conflicts was the so-called 'monster' houses, a residential form in stark contrast with the architecture of the pre-existing streetscape. Mitchell emphasizes that Chinese residents were not passive through the debate about Chinese houses. On the contrary, they responded to white angst quite vigorously by invoking notions of rights, liberties, and well as the superiority of Chinese values. In doing so, they challenged the Canadian norms and terms of belonging articulated by white residents.

The Negotiated Dimension of Belonging

In the previous three sections it has been demonstrated that belonging is necessarily relational: it involves the construction of boundaries that distinguish between 'us' and 'them'. The politics of belonging involves negotiations between dominant and subordinate groups through which the latter attempt to shift the terms of belonging as defined by dominant groups. These negotiations are central to interactions between immigrant and host society groups and between ethnic minorities and majorities. For those in subordinate groups, negotiations may involve subtle changes in voice, comportment, or appearance either to assert sameness or to mark difference as a challenge to existing norms. Such subtle actions may not be noticed or remarked upon, but they infuse common interactions with meaning and significance (Nagel, 2011: 118).

Group members might attempt, for instance, to 'preserve' cultural differences, to make them visible, and even to bring wider societal recognition and validation to distinctive cultural practices, such as language, dress, or religious rituals (as in the case of the Italian processions in London; Fortier, 1999). In contemporary societies, these sorts of claims are often embedded into discourses of multiculturalism and cultural diversity.   Others, in contrast, might attempt to reduce the sense of

foreignness that surrounds them by eliminating visible differences or by sequestering these differences in 'private' cultural spaces. Such is the case with many of the British Arabs who have tended to view visible differences, especially those linked to Islamic practice, as stigmatizing Arabs and perpetuating the association between Arabs and religious extremism (Nagel and Staeheli, 2008).

For contemporary migrant groups, negotiations of belonging are situated in multiple spaces and are shaped by political processes and narratives operating within and beyond nation-state borders. Ehrkamp (2005), in her work on Turkish immigrants in Germany, sees neighborhood spaces as part of a wider 'negotiated reality' that is simultaneously local, national, and transnational. In Marxloh, a working-class neighborhood in the industrial city of Duisburg, neighborhood spaces are constituted through residents' ongoing connections with Turkey evident in the plethora of local shops selling Turkish goods, in the satellite dishes and the use of Turkish language by residents. The creation of a 'Turkish' landscape in Marxloh becomes central to the struggles of Turkish immigrants to achieve full membership in German society. For example, the request by local mosque to amplify calls to prayer sparked widespread opposition among German residents of Marxloh, who argued that this would be both bothersome and out-of-place. The issue, however, went far beyond Marxloh and quickly was taken up by national media as an example of the supposed Islamization of Germany. This incident has heightened Turkish residents' sense that Germans are unwilling to accept cultural differences (Ehrkamp, 2005).

The negotiated dimension of belonging reiterates the idea that belonging is, above all, a political process through which different groups continuously produce and reproduce the boundaries of membership. The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, and the struggles to alter these dynamics, are experienced very differently within and across groups. Negotiations of belonging are often highly localized and focus on the use of and access to spaces by particular groups. But these negotiations are also part of wider sets of politics, through which subordinate groups attempt to re-work existing norms and discourses and generate new, counter-narratives about societal membership (Nagel, 2011: 120).

1.2 Boundaries and boundary making perspective

Having examined the concept of belonging, this study will draw on the concept of boundary. A boundary displays both a categorical and a social or behavioral dimension. The former refers to acts of social classification and collective representation; the latter to everyday networks of relationships that result from individual acts of connecting and distancing (Wimmer, 2008a: 975). Lamont and

Molnar (2002) point to the relationship between symbolic and social boundaries. The former exist at the intersubjective level whereas the latter manifest themselves as groupings of individuals. Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality. Only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon can become social boundaries, i.e., translate, for instance, into identifiable patterns of social exclusion or racial segregation (Lamont and Molnar, 2000: 168-69).

Boundaries have been understood as essential to ethnic phenomena since the pioneering work of the anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969). Barth urged analysts to attend to the dynamics of ethnic boundaries. Such boundaries could not be discerned from any inventory of cultural traits (language, customs, way of life etc.). Social and symbolic boundaries emerge, rather, when actors distinguish between different ethnic categories and when they treat members of such categories differently. Each identification ('I am Swiss') obviously implies a categorical boundary (the non-Swiss); each corresponding action (e.g. helping another Swiss) implies discriminating against those on the other side of the divide (Wimmer, 2013: 3). Out of the wide range of cultural differentiae only few are selected by actors as diacritical markers or signs of ethnic difference, while other cultural markers are simply not relevant to ethnicity. That is to say that ethnic boundaries could be maintained in the absence of major cultural distinctions.

Even though Barth's (1969) paper signaled an important shift toward a dynamic and processual understanding of ethnic boundaries, many critics have criticized that Barth threats ethnic groups as bounded entities (as summarized by Jenkins, 1997: 20-21). As Wimmer (2008b: 1027) argues, Barth's original collection of essays was comparatively static and focused mostly on the features of the boundaries themselves and the processes of their maintenance. Many authors have tried to dynamize this approach: to show how boundaries emerge in the first place and how they might be redrawn to include new groups of people or exclude accepted ones, how they might become blurred, fuzzy and porous, or remain stable over time (Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Wimmer, 2008a, 2013).

After the influential work of Barth (1969), the second development in the study of boundaries is the emergence of a literature that calls attention to the social constructedness of ethnic and racial distinctions (Nagel 1994; Omi and Winant 1994). As social constructivists have argued, the representational process of defining an 'other', whether somatically or culturally, is at the center of racialization. Different authors assign different meanings to racialization, emphasizing different aspects of othering- aspects of physical corporeality and embodiment versus aspects

of culture and ideology (for a detailed study, see Barot and Bird, 2001). This body of literature has produced a new understanding of the potential mutability of ethnic and even racial boundaries, epitomized by the so-called whiteness literature.

In Human Geography, critical analysis of race from the 1990s contributes to the Critical whiteness studies by theorising the complex interaction of multiple factors - race, class, history, space, and emotion. Geographic research has put emphasis on the historical and geographical contingency of both white identities and processes of Othering and racialization, contributing to theorizing the relationship between social identities and space. Anderson's (1991) work on Vancouver's Chinatown shows how Canadian state policies institutionalized the racial category of 'Chinese' that became inscribed both in material space, through the spatial configuration of 'Chinatown', and in people's minds. Pred's (2000) study on cultural racism amidst economic and social crisis in Sweden looks at racism as typical of particular places associated with hideous events.

After the whiteness literature, the third development in the study of boundaries lies in the beginnings of a literature on boundaries (Zolberg and Long 1999; Lamont 2000; Lamont and Molnar 2002). It demonstrates that boundaries are not all alike and that boundary-related change cannot be conceptualized in terms of a single set of processes. For example, Baubock (1998) is concerned with the ways in which immigrants introduce new forms of cultural diversity and a new source of anxiety in several societies. He examines changes in the language of integration and multiculturalism across a range of settings and argues that international migrants blur three kinds of boundaries: territorial borders of states, political boundaries of citizenship, and cultural (symbolic) boundaries of national communities (Baubock, 1998: 8).

Similarly, Zolberg & Long (1999) turn to the incorporation of immigrants in the United States and France. They analyze how in Europe, religion and, in the United States, language are used extensively to construct symbolic boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. They distinguish among boundary crossing, blurring, and shifting as three possible outcomes of the negotiations between newcomers and hosts. This distinction, as Wimmer (2008b: 1030) argues, is general and abstract enough to encompass strategies pursued by various types of actors. However, it is not exhaustive enough because it excludes some individuals' strategies that aim not at the topography of the boundaries, but rather at the hierarchical ordering of existing categories.

Wimmer (2012) offers a multilevel process theory of ethnic boundary making, which assumes that ethnic boundaries result from the interactions between actors who

pursue different strategies and are equipped with various means of boundary making. The model consists of three basic features of three characteristics of a social field that together determine which actors will pursue which strategy of ethnic boundary making in that particular field. First, institutions provide incentives for actors to draw certain types of boundaries. More specifically, the modern nation-state provides elites and subordinates with the ability to distinguish between ethnic 'us' and 'them', rather than between man and woman, rich or poor, for example (Wimmer, 2012: 90).

Second, the position in the hierarchies of power that the institutional environment establishes determines which strategy of ethnic boundary making an individual will pursue. An actor will pursue the particular strategy that promotes his interests, given the economic, political and symbolic resources he possesses. Even within the same ethnic category, individuals can choose between different strategies in order to claim an advantageous position vis-a-vis other individuals (Wimmer, 2008a: 993-994). Lamont and Molnar (2002), for example, show how African Americans draw social boundaries to counter the stigmatization and exclusion. They pursue a strategy of inversion by emphasizing the 'hipness' of black culture.

Power resources not only determine which strategy of ethnic boundary making an individual will pursue, but also which means of boundary making are at his disposal (Wimmer, 2012: 94). Categorization practices (defining relevant groups) and identification practices (determining who belongs to which groups) use discursive and symbolic means to draw a boundary. Visible markers represent a way to identify individuals and groups. Particularly efficient are somatic diacritics that cannot be changed, or only at great costs. Immigrants in the United States, learn that given the color of their skin there is no other position for them in the black-white boundary than being 'black' (Wimmer, 2012: 64-65).

Third, political networks determine where exactly the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' will be drawn. This can be illustrated with examples of the process of nation building and the role that networks of political alliances play. Antony Marx (1999) explains how different constellations of conflict and alliance led to the inclusion of large part of the population of African descent into Brazil's nation building project and to their exclusion in the United States. These three field characteristics thus determine which actors will pursue which strategies of ethnic boundary making (Wimmer, 2012: 64-65, 110).

1.3 Time Geography and embodiment

Having presented the politics of belonging and the boundary-making perspective, a presentation of time-geography as a theory will follow. Time-geography, founded by Torsten Hägerstand (1970), opens-up a certain perspective to the study of processes in time-space. The core of time-geography is the relationship of the individual to the surroundings. Emphasis is placed on the physical embeddedness of various processes. The world is regarded as a physical and concrete time-space context within certain processes unfold. In time-geography, processes consist of individuals' paths and projects in concrete time-space contexts. 'Project' refers to the activities of the individuals, while 'path' describes positions and movements of individuals in time-space (Aquist, 2003: 127-28).

Time-geography offers several advantages for studying the everyday. First, it gives a different view of the use of time compared to traditional studies. Since paths and projects of individuals are followed in time-space contexts, time-geography illuminates how various activities are connected and where they take place, that is, their relative location. Second, the activities of the individual can be studied without being categorized from the start into work, consumption, leisure etc. or (Jenelle, 2003: 127-28).

From the point of view of the constraints in time-space, an environment can be studied in terms of possibilities and restrictions presented to an individual in that environment. The paths people take through time and space are shaped by three constraints: capability, coupling, and authority constraints. Capability constraints embrace biological, mental, and instrumental limitations and affordances. Coupling constraints refer to the necessity for people and things to come together at certain times and locations for joint activities. Authority constraints pertain to the regulation of access of individuals to activity places through social rules, laws, financial barriers and power relationships (Dijst, 2009). These constraints determine the level of flexibility a person experiences in moving between primary activity locations or bases (McQuoid and Dijst, 2012).

Many authors have employed time geography to bring women's daily activities into focus. Palm and Pred (1978), following Hägerstrand, illustrated the extent to which North American cities pose problems for women in carrying out typical daily routines. These included difficulties in co-ordinating work with childcare obligations and other household functions, the segregation of work from residential environments, the isolation of many suburbs from basic services, the timing of opening hours for facilities that preclude their use by many, and the overall design of cities which forces dependence on automobiles.

Criticisms of classical time geography have been offered by structuration theorists, feminist geographers, and those interested in relational perspectives of geography (Dijst, 2009). Giddens (1984) criticized time geography for treating people as if they are independent of their social settings in daily life, omitting the origins of space–time constraints. Feminist geographer Rose (1977: 44–45) observed that Hägerstrand's 'homogenous' treatment of time is undisturbed by the impact of 'other physical, psychological or social irregularities'. Rose (1993) also pointed out that although corporeality is a basic notion in time geography the 'body' is reduced to a neutral vessel carrying the person along a path through time and space.

McQuoid and Dijst (2012) drawing on small case study of low-income single mothers living in San Francisco, California, seek to understand poverty as a situational embodied experience by merging spatio-temporal and emotional conceptualizations within a time geographical framework. They attempt to demonstrate that an analysis of activity patterns can shed light on the conditions that face poor people in a modern metropolis. They call for an analysis of emotional experiences of environmental attributes to be addressed more explicitly in time-geographic analysis.

The notion of 'embodiment' can help to consider the emotional and social meanings of the body within contexts. An 'embodied ontology' takes the body as the starting point for understanding how individuals experience the world and feel about themselves, acknowledging corporeal physicality as the basis of 'being in the world' (Hubbard, 2005; Davidson and Milligan, 2004). This 'corporeal physicality' refers to the bodily or corporeal appearance, like biological traits (e.g. race, gender, age, and weight) and cultural or lifestyle expressions (e.g. wearing clothes, glasses, jewelry, and crutches) which have a social meaning. Encounters between the biologically and culturally inscribed individuals and the world are possible through the sensory capacity of the body (sight, sound, touch, taste, and smell) and its physical engagement with its surroundings. This means that our experiences in various geographical contexts cannot be separated from our own corporeality (Davidson, 2001). From this dynamic corporeal engagement with the world arise emotional reactions to contexts, which are emergent rather than pre-given (Hubbard, 2005). While new and unexpected emotional reactions may arise from interactions with the environment, individuals also often anticipate certain emotional reactions within various contexts based on past experiences and socially informed perceptions (McQuoid and Dijst, 2012: 27).

Here, it is useful to draw on the work of Merleau-Ponty (1998), who relates perception precisely to the intercorporeality of being with others. Perception is about how we touch and are touched by others (Weiss, 1999). The intercorporeality

of perception depends on histories of reading that come, as it were, 'before' an encounter between subject and another takes place. Racism can be seen as a particular form of intercorporeal encounter: a white racist subject who encounters a racial other may experience an intensity of emotions (fear, hate, disgust, pain). That intensification involves moving away from the body of the other, or moving towards that body in an act of violence, and then moving away. The 'moment of contact' is shaped by past histories of contact, which allows the proximity of a racial other to be perceived as threatening, at the same time as it reshapes the bodies in the contact zone of the encounter. These histories have already impressed upon the surface of the bodies at the same time as they create new impressions (Ahmed, 2004: 31).

The perception of others as the origin of danger is shaped by histories of racism in which the presence of others is already read as an invasion of bodily territory as well as the territory of the nation. The repetition of signs is what allows others to be attributed with emotional value: as being hateful in the first place (see Fanon, 1986). Hence the contact both depends on histories of association, at the same time as it generates its object, for example the immigrant (Ahmed, 2004: 31-32). In this way, emotions can be theorized as performative: they both repeat past associations as well as generating their object (Butler, 1993).

Together these three strands of scholarship can provide a richer understanding of migrants' daily patterns and embodied experiences. Specifically, the politics of belonging can attend to the ways migrants reproduce or negotiate the boundaries of membership in public spaces. Ethnic boundary studies can help to trace the diacritical markers (e.g. language, skin colour etc.) that may hinder migrants' movement in public spaces. Time-Geography can assist in understanding the constraints that migrants experience in moving through public spaces. Embodiment can examine how encounters between migrants and non-migrants are played out on the body.

This study seeks to examine the role of encounters with difference in everyday time-space paths of two immigrant groups, namely Pakistani and Egyptians, as well as the spatial practices these immigrant groups develop in the context of Athens, Greece, in order to maneuver encounters with difference. It is expected that migrants deploy various spatial and temporal strategies to avoid 'no-go' areas whenever possible.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGICAL PART

In a metropolis like Athens, that is the wider field of this research, neighbourhoods that are historically formed are always in a process of becoming, 'in a process that is never closed and finished' (Massey, 2005). The settlement of a great number of migrants in particular places in Athens is a significant component of local history. It contributes to a different dynamic of social relations and leads to a renegotiation of place boundaries, as it forges new relations between immigrant and non-immigrant residents (Lafazani et al., 2010). This chapter first will examine briefly the Athenian context. The second part of this chapter will draw on three different components of the institutional background of Athens, namely Golden Dawn, the Police and the vigilante groups, that appear to have nurtured anti-immigrant sentiment in Athens. The third part outlines the research design of the present study.

2.1 Research context: Athens

Immigrants in Greece were rare before the early 1990s when their number became rapidly substantial. Within that decade the percentage of foreign citizens in Athens increased from less than 2% to 11%; their percentage being higher in the active population (13%) (Kandylis et al., 2008: 122). In terms of geographic distribution, the privileged area of immigrant settlement has been the central municipality of the city where they accounted for 20% of its population in 2001; more than 37% of immigrants live in that area compared to less than 18% of Greeks (Maloutas, 2007: 748).

Figure: Residential distribution of immigrants in Athens, 2001
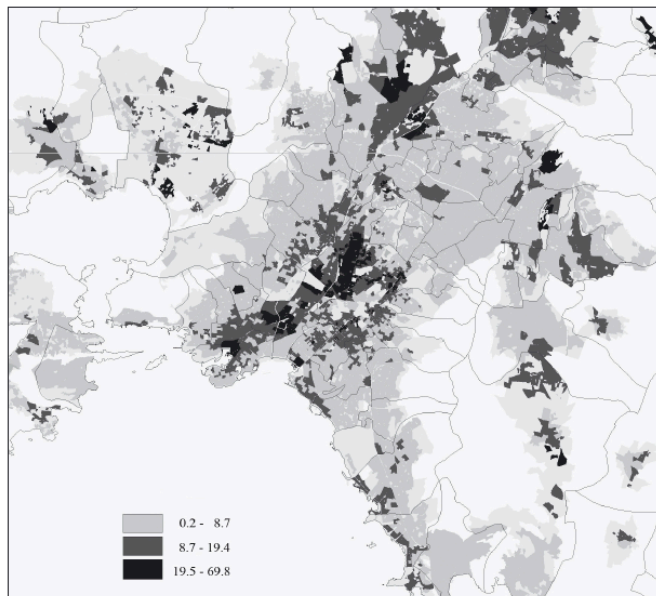
Data source: EKKE-ESSYE (2005); map by Maloutas (2013: 199).

New immigrants from Africa and Asia have become a visible presence, transforming residential, commercial and public spaces. This presence is imprinted in different ways in housing, in shops, in the use of public space and local services. Main commercial streets and public space are no longer the space of old-established native residents and shop owners. Pakistani and Egyptians immigrants have opened small shops (minimarkets, calling centres, hairdressing and sewing shops), filling vacancies and contributing to a revitalization of the business landscape. Extensive field work in Kypseli and other neighborhoods of Athens, including detailed land use mapping, revealed a considerable number of shops addressed to migrants, as well as shops owned or run by them (see also Vaiou et al., 2007). These shops do not only serve the different ethnic groups living in the area, but also a broader community of customers, including many Greeks, from the immediate vicinity and sometimes from other parts of the city.

Migrant presence is also very pronounced in public spaces and forms an important part of urban transformations in Athens. At times, public squares and parks are used as temporary sleeping places for newcomers, usually men; but most intensely they are used as meeting and recreation spaces for various ethnic groups. Satellite TV antennas, groups of people who speak unknown languages, music and food from every part of the globe, shops bearing advertisements in languages incomprehensible to 'locals', children who flock local schools and kindergartens - all testify to the presence of a multi-ethnic crowd and to the changes in the neighbourhood (Lafazani et al., 2010: 17).

Old-established native residents have experienced dramatic transformations of their

livelihoods, communities, and places. For many, immigrants have become symbolic bearers of the loss of the idealized ways of life and neighborhood. The past of Aghios Panteleimonas, for example, is idealized and constructed in a nostalgic way as a time when people of high social status lived in peace and harmony in a built environment characterized by middle class apartments and shops that attracted people from the entire city. This untroubled past is juxtaposed against a troubled present associated either explicily or implicitly with the arrival of immigrants (Kandylis and Kavoulakos, 2012).

As Kandylis and Kavoulakos (2012) show immigrants' concentration is described as 'ghettoization', a process that threatens the social status of the native residents. Nevertheless, not all immigrants are considered as equal threat. New immigrant groups from Asia and Africa that came to Athens in the last 4-5 years are mainly targeted. Although these groups are ethnically diverse, they are perceived as homogenous because they share some common characteristics. They differ from the natives in social, racial and cultural terms. Their social exclusion is considered as social failure that is attributed to their race and culture. Their everyday life that is not inscribed in the normal triad 'work – home – family', their incomprehensible language and religion, their color and their immoral behavior that makes their difference always visible are factors that prevent their social inclusion. Immigrant groups that arrived earlier, like Polish and Albanians, tend to be accepted because they do not differ racially and they are integrated in the 'normal' way of life (Kandylis and Kavoulakos, 2012: 171-72).

Racist discourses of old-established native residents are generally associated with everyday encounters with immigrants on the street, in the supermarkets, at work and in the neighborhood. In the eyes of old established residents, immigrants' spatial practices are opposed to 'ours'. 'They' crowd in public spaces; 'they' live in overfull apartments with no normal family relations; 'they' breach hygienic conventions. Their practices incite feelings of annoyance, fear, and so on, along with expectations that immigrants should become more 'like us'- adopt Greek values and norms (Kandylis and Kavoulakos, 2012: 171-72).

2.2 Institutional Background

2.2.1 Golden Dawn

In recent years, populist, right-wing parties such as Golden Dawn, have gained strength and popularity in part because of their exploitation of anti-immigrant sentiment. Golden Dawn secured enough votes in the June 2012 national elections to enter Parliament for the first time in its history. Golden Dawn is an unabashedly

neo-fascist party with a logo reminiscent of the Nazi swastika; its manifesto calls for the creation of a People's Nationalist State which does "not ignore the law of diversity and difference in nature" and asserts that "[b]y respecting the spiritual, ethnic and racial inequality of human we can build equity and law in society."[3] The leader of the Golden Dawn, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, won a seat on the Athens municipal town council in local elections in November 2010; he was filmed doing the Nazi salute in the Athens town hall in January 2011.[4] In an interview with Human Rights Watch before the elections, Michaloliakos explained, "We want Greece to belong to the Greeks. We are proud to be Greek; we want to save our national identity, our thousands-year history. If that means we are racist, then yes we are. (HRW, 2012).

In spring 2009, patrols of neo-Nazi groups affiliated with Golden Dawn (GD) declared the Athenian Piazza of Agios Panteleiomnas, a no-go zone for migrants, and started attacking migrants. After the IMF/EU/ECB loan of May 2010 this extreme-Right tendency started taking more concrete shape and coming together more firmly, multiplying and escalating racist attacks within and outside the particular neighbourhood (see HRW 2012; Kandylis & Kavoulakos 2011). Recent examples of the neonazi expansion outside Agios Panteleiomonas can be seen in Attiki as well as in an Athenian suburb of Nikaia, where in July 2012, members of GD issued an ultimatum to foreign shopkeepers to close down their businesses and leave the area (Dakaloglou, 2012).

Besides the case of Agios Panteleimonas, another typical example of this process took place in May 2011. In Ipirou Street, in the centre of Athens an armed robbery – the victim of which was a Greek man who was stabbed to death by robbers of foreign origin – triggered a series of organised group attacks against migrants and anti-Nazis. This lasted for several days and included the beating of migrants and stabbings, along with attacks against some of the Athens Anarchist squats (HRW 2012; Dalakoglou 2011).

There are explicit and conspicuous allegations that Golden Dawn often operates in collaboration with formal state apparatuses. Indeed the close links between police and Golden Dawn became apparent in the elections of May and June 2012, when approximately half of police officers on duty in the headquarters of Athens Police voted for Golden Dawn (Dakaloglou, 2012). According to a month-long investigation into Police links with Golden Dawn, 'out of the 15 officers arrested for various

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[3] Golden Dawn manifesto, "Identity – I am a Golden Dawner means," http://www.xryshaygh.com/index.php/kinima (accessed May 6, 2014).

[4] The video can be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XCKwQMvuM74&noredirect=1 (accessed May 7, 2014).

offences during the probe, 10 were linked directly or indirectly with illegal activity carried out by the party. Six were former members of police-assigned security detail of Golden Dawn MPs and one was the head of the security or detective unit at Agios Panteleimonas station'. (Enet, 31 October 2013)[5]. The investigation did find a sharp rise in cases of alleged excessive use of force by police officers, with most in the incidents reported in greater Athens, in high-crime areas including Omonia and Agios Panteleimonas.

Image: Greek police officer (right) watches as a member of the Golden Dawn far-right party enters the party's headquarters in Athens, September 18, 2013.

Source: REUTERS photo.

2.2.2 Police

The main state actor in the field of urban security in Greece is the Hellenic Police, whose Chief is accountable to the Minister of Public Order and Citizen Protection. There are currently around 55.000 officers in the Hellenic Police, one of the highest rates per 100.000 inhabitants in Europe. Over the years a number of special police squads have been established to undertake street-level tasks. The official role of this squads ranges, from protecting public buildings, metro stations and other sites (Special Guards), to tackling social unrest (the riot police or MAT), to using motorcycle patrols to prevent common crime in urban areas (the DIAS team), to protecting businesses in the capital's centre from vandalism (the DELTA team) and

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[5] Enet Greek Independent Press Eleutherotupia, available at
< http://www.enetenglish.gr/?i=news.en.article&id=1577>, access 28 March 2014.

responding to emergency calls (the ZETA team). Officers of the DIAS team have also participated in mass 'sweeps' of immigrants populations (Xenakis and Cheliotis, 2013: 305).

There have been numerous reports to date that a culture of violent policing is prevalent amongst these squads. There are at least two police squads, namely the armed riot police (MAT) and the Special Guards that have been criticised for its aggressiveness, particularly after a Special Guard shot dead a fifteen-year-old boy in Exarchia, a bohemian district of Athens, in 2008 (Xenakis, 2012). The allegations of extreme violence carried out by police had increased rapidly since 2009. Of the 142 cases of extreme police violence reported, the investigation found that 83% occurred in Attica. The data showed that most of the reported cases of police violence occurred in areas known to have a strong Golden Dawn presence. The fact that police violence peaked in 2012, the same year that Golden Dawn entered parliament, has been seen by some observers that Golden Dawn members had given a green light to act by the police (Enet, 31 October 2013).

Local authorities also play a part in the management of urban security. The Municipality of Athens, for example, organizes and runs policing operations, including regular police core tasks such as searches. Municipal authorities also participate in Local Crime Prevention Councils. The formal mission of these Councils includes encouraging local communities to actively support crime prevention programmes and assisting the police and other institutions whose work may contribute to preventing crime (for example drug rehabilitation units), yet Councils have generally failed to get off the ground since their establishment at the end of the 1990s (Xenakis and Cheliotis, 2013: 305-6).

2.2.3 Vigilante groups

Over the past several years, "citizens' groups" have formed in Athens neighborhoods like Agios Panteleimonas and Attiki, in the center of the city, as self-appointed neighborhood watch groups. These groups claim to fill the void left by financially strapped police forces by patrolling the streets at night to protect residents and rid the streets and parks of migrants. In 2009, a group claiming to be local residents locked the gates of the playground next to the Agios Panteleimonas church, to keep immigrants out. Graffiti in blue and white letters (the national colors) on the pavement reads "Foreigners out of Greece" and "Go to Hell" (HRW, 2012).

Picture: Slogan written outside of Aghios Panteleimonas church 'Foreigners Out of Greece', 'Go to Hell'

There are persistent allegations that these "citizens' groups" are responsible for vigilante violence against migrants and asylum seekers (HRW, 2012). The number of organized and spontaneous attacks against immigrants, far-left, and anarchist targets by groups of far-right activists appears to have climbed over the 2000s.[6] The Against Racism organisation[7] recorded 154 attacks during 2012. Most victims were from Central Asia and North Africa, particularly Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Libya and Egypt. Responsible for these attacks were Greek males in their late 20s, operating in small groups. 'Most attacks happen after sunset or in the early morning hours', the report says. 'The commonest form of attack is a "patrol" of blackshirts, on foot or on motorcycles, acting as self-appointed vigilantes, who attack refugees and immigrants on the street, on squares or public transport waiting areas' (Enet English, Wednesday 24 April 2013).

There are also serious accusations that Golden Dawn has mobilized these groups, and that members of Golden Dawn participate in their violent actions[8]. It is striking

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[6] See, e.g., Nasos Theodorides, 2009 Annual Report of the Information and Documentation Centre on Racism 'ANTIGONE' [in Greek] (Athens: Antigone, 2010: 114; ''The Year of the Black Terror'' [in Greek], Eleftherotypia 3 January 2010; ''Grenade Attack in Exarchia'' [in Greek], Ta Nea, 25 February 2009; ''Syriza: New Outbreak of Racial Violence in Agios Panteleimonas'' [in Greek], I Avgi, 9 September 2009; ''Racist Attacks Fuelling Tensions,'' Kathimerini, 19 November 2010.

[7] Against Racism was set up in 2011 by a consortium of 30 NGOs, including the national chapters of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Doctors of the World, Amnesty International and the Red Cross. Its express purpose is to record violence whose victims are too intimidated to talk to the authorities, or who would face deportation if they did so.

[8] See for example, "Greek Minister Warns of Neo-Nazi Political Threat," AFP, March 31, 2012; Joanna Kakissis, "Fear Dimitra," Foreign Policy, June 23, 2011, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/23/fear_dimitra (accessed April 18, 2014).

that Golden Dawn party members have been implicated in specific attacks. Themis Skordeli, one of the three people standing trial for the September 2011 stabbing of an Afghan asylum seeker, ran as a candidate in the electoral district encompassing central Athens on the Golden Dawn roster in the May and June 2012 elections. She was not elected. Two party members who won parliamentary seats in the May 2012 were detained, along with the daughter of Golden Dawn leader Michaloliakos, and questioned by the police in connection with anti-immigrant violence during a Golden Dawn rally on June 1, 2012. During the rally, a number of participants, who evaded arrest, assaulted a Pakistani man who had to be hospitalized. The party members were released without charge; Golden Dawn denied any involvement in the violence[9] (HRW, 2012).

Golden Dawn's perceived role in cleaning up neighborhoods and protecting residents from crime is often cited as the reason for the party's success in the 2010 Athens municipal elections, giving party leader Michaloliakos a seat on the city council. In a January 2012 interview, Michaloliakos told Human Rights Watch that while "there is no organic relationship between Golden Dawn and these groups, we support their activities. Not illegal activities, however… Many of their members voted for us, and members of Golden Dawn belong to these groups, but the crimes don't come from these groups."[10] He said Golden Dawn members found to be involved in unprovoked violence would be kicked out of the party.

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[9] Paul Hamilos, "MPs from Greek neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn arrested over racist attack," The Guardian, June 2, 2012, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jun/02/greek-neo-nazi-golden-dawn (accessed May 3, 2014); Makis Papasimakopoulos, "Golden Dawn denies role in migrant attacks," Athens News, June 2, 2012, http://www.athensnews.gr/portal/9/55993 (accessed May 3, 2014).

[10] Human Rights Watch interview with Michaloliakos, Athens, January 12, 2012.

Image: Attacks in central Athens documented by Human Right Watch

2.3 Research design

The neighborhood of Patisia was chosen as representative of a much wider group of neighborhoods around the center, which belonged until the 70s in the high-middle and middle classes and then faced rapid social change that led to the dominant presence of low-middle class and immigrants. This area is of particular importance because of the high proportion of immigrant population (more than 20% of its population in 2001) and the changes shown internally, which are linked directly with the issue of social cohesion (Maloutas, 2006: 120). The area of Patisia is the last decades in a process of social degradation. According to planning reports, it is one of those problematic areas in Athens, with high densities, pollution, traffic and parking problems, very few open and green spaces and inadequate infrastructure (Economou, 2001).

In-depth interviews were conducted in order to grasp interviewees' biographies and their subjective interpretations of others and social interaction. The issues that were approached had to do with the characteristics of each respondent, the organization of their everyday lives, the particular places they conceive as 'dangerous' and the factors that determine them as such (see Appendix 1: Interview Guide). At this point, it was important to tackle the power of past negative events of the respondents (or somebody of their social network) in shaping these places as 'dangerous'. Finally, the

key interest was to identify the spatial practices that respondents employ to avoid such places. The discussions lasted approximately one hour and most interviews took place at the workplace of the respondent, except one that took place in a cafe.

Interviewees were asked to draw mental maps of their neighborhood. Mental mapping is useful when studying spatial practices and trying to determine differences in activity spaces, spaces of belonging, landmarks, etc. (Nagar, 1997; Ehrkamp, 2013). Interviewees' explanations of what they were drawing were tape recorded along with the interviews. All interviewees, except one, agreed to draw mental maps, and their maps varied greatly according to everyday mode of transport, place of work and years of residence.

Access to the research field was initially difficult, as immigrants faced with fear and distrust the research topic. The ability to enter the research field begun by finding some initial contacts, namely old-established immigrants that introduced the researcher to new immigrants. The snowball technique (Gomez and Jones III: 81, 2010) in which the initial contacts led to others relied on social networks. This technique was quite difficult and time consuming, however, managed to gain access into a hard to reach group. During the initial period of this research, over 20 informal conversations with neighborhood residents (both immigrant and non-immigrant residents) were conducted. These conversations often took place at public squares, small stores and cafes.

Interviewees were selected from the two most deprived immigrant groups in Athens (Kandylis et al., 2012). Both groups of immigrants, namely Egyptians and Pakistani, consist of a significantly increasing young population that is going to increase more in the future. Egyptians, for example, display 46.25% increase of the overall population from 2001 to 2008 (census data 2001; Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2008). Pakistani belong to the most deprived group in terms of education, position in the labour market, living conditions and integration prospects. Egyptians belong to the second most deprived group in terms of education; seemingly better positioned in the labour market owing to independent commercial activity (often haphazard street vending); with average living conditions and integration prospects[11] (Kandylis et al., 2012). In addition, both groups of immigrants consist of a significantly vulnerable population, which is targeted by groups of far-right activists. The Against

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[11] Kandylis et al. (2012) in order to identify immigrant group hierarchies in Athens have clustered immigrant groups according to variables belonging to three sets of hierarchies (the personal characteristics, the living conditions, the degree of integration and their social mobility prospects) as well as to variables expressing demographic and other forms of diversity. This clustering resulted in six immigrant hierarchical groups (HGs) with HG6 mainly from the Indian peninsula and HG2 mainly from the Middle East consisting the most deprived groups.

Racism organisation[12] recorded 154 attacks during 2012. Most victims were from Central Asia and North Africa, particularly Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Egypt. Both groups are male dominated with male Egyptians consisting 83.24% and male Pakistani 96.37% of the overall population (according to resident population by citizenship and age in 2008 by Hellenic Statistical Authority).

Ten interviews were conducted with immigrants and three interviews with old-established residents of Greek origin. All interviewees had lived in the neighborhood for at least five years and thus had enough time to develop a stable vision of the local environment. Given the young, male-dominated groups of immigrants, interviews were conducted with male respondents aged 20-55 (this age group accounts for 93.62% and 81.18% of the overall population of Pakistani and Egyptians respectively).

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[12] Against Racism was set up in 2011 by a consortium of 30 NGOs, including the national chapters of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Doctors of the World, Amnesty International and the Red Cross. Its express purpose is to record violence whose victims are too intimidated to talk to the authorities, or who would face deportation if they did so.

Table 1: Characteristics of interviewees

Immigrants

	Name	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Education	Profession	Years of residence in Greece	Residence street	Workplace street
1	Xoussein - Street-wise	Male	38	Pakistan	Hairdresser Diploma	Hairdresser	23	Seleukou	Paioniou
2	Geash- Vulnerable	Male	46	Pakistan	5 years	Sewist	14	Acharnon	Chalkidos
3	Massaud- Vulnerable	Male	29	Pakistan	4 years	Hairdresser	8	Menidi	Acharnon
4	Naser- Street-wise	Male	25	Pakistan	5 years	Hairdresser	7	Voda	Voda
5	Aladita- Vulnerable	Male	52	Pakistan	High school	Construction worker	14	Voda	Gritsa
6	Ali- Street-wise	Male	38	Pakistan	High school	Worker	19	Nikaia	Unemployed
7	Arshad- Vulnerable	Male	37	Pakistan	4 years	Hairdresser	7	Serifou	Acharnon
8	Sanid- Street-wise	Male	19	Pakistan	4 years	Hairdresser		Nikopoleos	Acharnon
9	Asher- Vulnerable	Male	34	Egypt	4 years	Owner of minimarket	8	Voda	Voda
10	Kail- Vulnerable	Male	32	Egypt	Law studies	Employee in minimarket	13	Agiou Meletiou	Agiou Meletiou

Old-established residents

	Name	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Education	Profession	Years of residence in Greece	Residence street	Workplace street
11	Edem	Male	58	Greece	Technical Engineer	Owner of Antiques shop	-	Fylis	Eftichias
12	Eleni	Female	41	Greece	Studies in Biology and Chemistry	Housewife	-	Paioniou	Unemployed
13	Veta	Female	54	Greece	High school	Civil servant	-	Alkiviadi	Retired

CHAPTER 3 MIGRANTS' EVERYDAY LIFE

This study seeks to examine the role of encounters with difference in everyday time-space paths of two immigrant groups, namely Pakistani and Egyptians, as well as the spatial practices these immigrant groups develop in the context of Athens, Greece, in order to maneuver encounters with difference. The first section of this chapter will describe migrants' daily patterns. The second section will examine migrants' spatial practices drawing on migrants' mental maps. The two sections together will try to examine the impact of ethnicity, language, educational level and years of residence on migrants' daily patterns.

3.1 Migrants' daily patterns

In general terms, these migrants experience a high degree of constraint in daily life. As low-paid workers, primarily in hairdressers or mini-markets, their daily routine is determined to a large extent by their working hours (10-12 hours per day). For almost all interviewees, travel is slowed by a high reliance on public transportation. Respondents' daily paths are geographically concentrated as there is very little free time beyond work. In fact, workplaces are also used as spaces for socializing by inviting friends over for tea or dinner. Having money to spend for leisure is closely connected with their labour and economic situation as well as their migration plans. Migrants that have family in their home countries are very concerned to save money in order to help their families, who are left back, to contribute to family income and/or to their children's education. This is one of the main reasons why they avoid going to places where they have to pay.

Sanid (male, 19, Pakistan, hairdresser): *You know we came here to make something to send back; we didn't come here to live here. When somebody comes here to stay, he invests here; he builds a house, he has a girlfriend everything. We came here to work so as to live better. We send something back and we keep something for us here.*

Research Area - General Map

The different ways in which they use the public spaces of their neighbourhood and the city can be attributed to a variety of factors, closely related to their migration plans; labour conditions and economic situation; legal status; family and compatriot social networks; educational level; physical appearance. Respondents differentiate between 'street wise' and vulnerable subjects. The wise subject, the one who knows where and where not to walk, how and how not to move, who and who not to talk to, has an expertise that can be understood in terms of years of residence. Respondents that live in Greece more than fifteen years have acquired techniques of knowledge that allow them to 'prevail' (Andreson, 1990: 231): to leave and return home and still maintain a safe distance between themselves and dangerous dangers. As a 38 year old respondent that lives in Greece for 19 years said "*I have walked around Patisia day and night but I' m not afraid. I can't beat but I know how to protect myself. I can run; I can defend myself. I have learned that so far*".

Respondents of this study involve not only the wise subjects who can move through dangerous places, but also the vulnerable subjects, who are most at risk. This category includes respondents that live in Greece only for few years and/or do not speak the Greek language well. That is the case of Massaud, Geash and Asher. This category also includes respondents that have experienced serious acts of violence. That is the case of Aladita, Geash and Kail. Despite the fact that these three respondents live in Greece for almost fifteen years, they have become figures of vulnerability after their negative experiences in the past. As a result, the way they move in public spaces is defined by anxiety and uncertainty, which inhibits social interaction. In the following, three case studies will be presented. Massaud's and Aladita's practices and experiences reflect the vulnerable type of migrant, while Naser's practices and experiences reflect the street-wise migrant.

Naser

Naser is a 25-year old migrant from Pakistan. He arrived in Greece alone 7 years ago seeking a better life and job opportunities. '*I came to Greece to work because in my country we had problems for many years. I didn't come here to stay. I want to work for some years and then leave again*.' As for the majority of the interviewees of this study, family and compatriot networks also played an important role in Naser's life in Athens, in terms of helping with his settlement.

> Naser (male, 25, Pakistan, hairdresser): *When I first came here, I didn't know anybody. I went to "Acharnon" [street] in a cafe and I met a guy that I knew from the way he was speaking that he would be probably from the same area with me. I asked him "where are you from?" and it turned out that he is from a village really close to mine. Then I asked him "do you know these people" and in the end we found that we even had mutual friends. After that I felt really comfortable to ask him if he knew any place where I could stay and he said "just come and stay where we live". I stayed one month with this guy and then I became friends with another guy from Pakistan and moved together with him for the next eight months. Then he had to move back to Pakistan and I couldn't afford the place alone. But I found a third guy again from Pakistan who told me about a smaller place where I moved in afterwards. This is how it goes: You meet people and they help you out. The owner I have now is also a friend of mine and once told me "if you have any problems, you can always count on me". It's nice to know that, you know.*

It is important to note that Naser's first and second residence is at the same street 'Michail Voda' where his workplace is. Naser works full-time in a hairdresser which is only few minutes walking distance away from his home. Michail Voda Street concentrates migrants from different backgrounds. In the early 90s, Polish were the first to settle followed by Albanians and later on, early 2000s, by Egyptians and Pakistanis (Vaiou, 2007). Over the course of the years, migrants have opened small minimarkets, cafes and hairdressers

Picture: Street Michail Voda

Source: Author

As Naser cannot afford a car, walking and taking the metro are his primary modes of transport. On the diary day (see Naser's map), Naser spends 8-10 hours in the hairdresser. Typically after finishing work, he goes by foot at home where he invites friends over. Sometimes after work, he walks to Omonoia Square to have dinner in a Pakistani restaurant or to Fokionos Negri Street, in Kypseli, a neighborhood close to Patisia, to have a coffee with friends. On a weekly basis, he takes the metro from Agios Nikolaos station to go for a walk at the center of Athens, at 'Monastiraki' or 'Thisio'.

Picture: 'Kill the racists', Leoforos Ionias street, outiside 'Agios Nikolaos' station

Source: Author

Naser's map
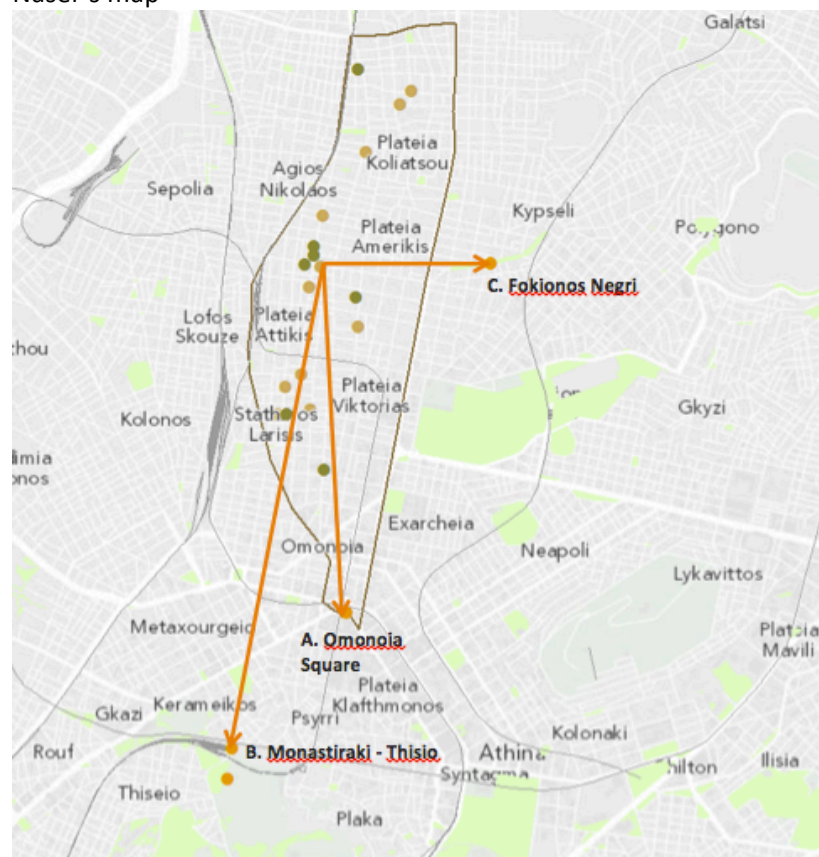
Massaud

Massaud is a 29-year old migrant from Pakistan. He arrived in Greece alone 8 years ago as asylum seeker seeking a better life. Today he has the red card, which gives residence and work permit, but as an asylum holder he cannot leave Greece. Massaud first lived in Menidi, a suburb in the northeast part of Athens, and then moved to three different suburbs due to the proximity to his workplace. Since 2010 he has moved back to Menidi. '*In "Menidi" I know all people. We are friends. Even when I come back home 11-11:30 I don't have a problem. We all know each other.*'

Massaud works in a hairdresser, located at the main street Acharnon. On the diary day (see map), Massaud leaves home at 8 a.m. taking a 45 min bus trip direct to his workplace. He works from 9 a.m. till 9-9:30 p.m. After work he takes the same bus 'G9' back to his home. He arrives back at home 10-10:30 p.m. It is striking that Massaud has never used any other public transport mode. '*I have never been in the metro. The month card for the metro costs 45 euros and for the buses 20 euros. I always buy ticket and I only take bus G9. I have never taken another bus.*'

During the day Massaud is confined to his workplace. '*I am from work to home and back again. Here we meet; here we eat [at the hairdresser]. Everyday the same.*' As many other interviewees pointed out, the workplace is used also as a meeting point where they invite friends over. The only places Massaud visits during the day are a bakery, only few minutes from his workplace, where he gets a coffee in the morning and a Bangladeshi restaurant right next to the hairdresser. As he explains, '*I don't have free time. Normally, I finish at 9 but even at that time if we have a customer, I close the hairdresser at 10.*' The inefficient situation of his base location largely explains his long travel duration. In addition, his reliance on slow public transportation exacerbates this travel time. Even though Massaud has a similar daily life with Naser, his action space is by far more restricted than Naser's. It is important to note here that Massaud, in contrast to Naser, does not speak Greek well. This can explain why he is not comfortable to move around the neighborhood.

Massaud's map

Aladita

Aladita is 52 year-old migrant from Pakistan. He arrived in Greece 14 years ago and thereafter worked as a construction worker. He first lived in 'Aspropirgos' (a suburb of Athens in the West Attica) where his work was, then he moved to 'Peristeri' (a suburban municipality in the northwestern part of the Athens) and finally in 2008 he moved to 'Kato Patisia' because of the cheap rents, as he pointed out. Aladita works as a construction worker in Gritsa (15min from Aspropirgos). On the diary day (see map), he leaves home at 4:30 a.m. taking a 2.5 hour bus trip to his workplace. First, he takes the bus from 'Kato Patisia' to 'Omonoia;, then from 'Omonoia' to 'Aspropirgos' and from 'Aspropirgos' to 'Gritsa'. It is important to note here that Aladita is confined to take the bus, as he does not possess a private mode of transport. His reliance on public transportation exacerbates his travel time (2.5 hours for 40 km). Aladita starts working at 8 a.m. and he finishes at 4 p.m. Normally, he comes back home round 6 – 6:30 p.m. Aladita on a weekly basis (mostly on Sundays) walks to the National Park at 'Sintagma' (Parliament) where he spends a couple of hours and then he goes for dinner either at McDonalds or at a Pakistani restaurant in Omonoia. On Saturdays he goes for shopping at Promitheos street where he can find many cheap Polish and Romanian mini markets. As can be seen in

Aladita's map, his action space includes various places inside and outside the research area. The fact that Aladita lives in Greece for 14 years can explain why he is familiar with the center of Athens. However, after the serious attack he has experienced in 2009 he does not move as confidently anymore.

Aladita's Map
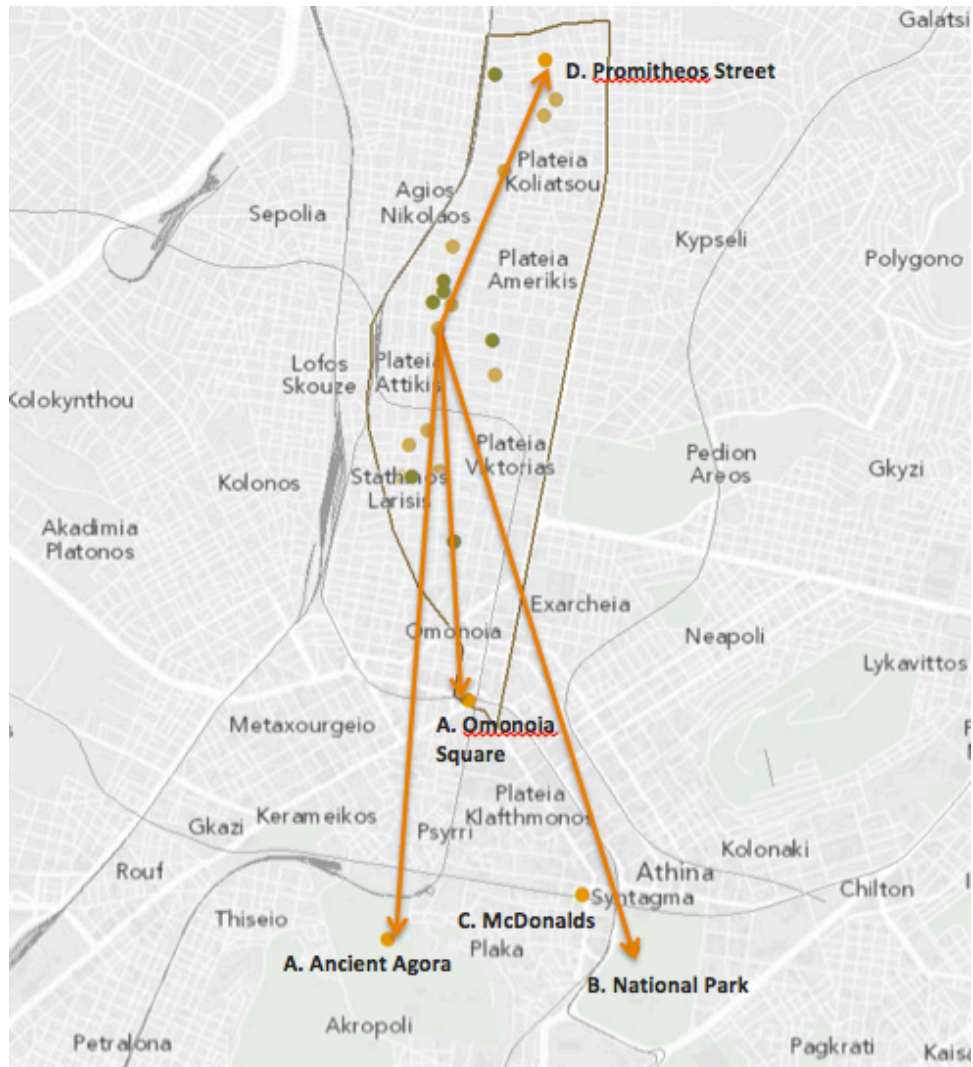
3.2 Migrants' spatial practices

After gaining a sense of the everyday life of the migrants, this section examines the spatial practices migrants employ to maneuver public spaces. The most frequent practice migrants develop, that is walking around with company. As Aladita (male, 52, Pakistan, construction worker) explains: *'When you walk with 2-3 other people its easy. But when you are alone its dangerous.'*

Interviewer: Do you prefer walking alone or with company?

Naser (male, 25, Pakistan, hairdresser): *You don't know exactly when something might happen. Even when I walk together with other people, one can tell where we are from. They don't know from which country exactly but they think "ok, Pakistan, Bangladesh everything is the same". So, it depends, sometimes I want to walk alone and other times I prefer walking with friends.*

Another important spatial practice that the majority of the respondents in this study develop is to restrict travel to light hours whenever possible, self-constraining their space–time paths.

Naser (male, 25, Pakistan, hairdresser): *I never go out at night. I stay at home. Even when I want to go out, I never walk these areas. I take the metro or the train.*

A common spatial practice most migrants deploy is to avoid carrying bags in order to discourage unwanted interactions and potential robbery. Geash below refers to this practice.

Geash (male, 46, Pakistan, sewist): *One night I was passing Attiki Square and there were three 'mafia' from Romania, Bulgaria I don't know. I was holding a bag with my passport, my papers and money and they took it. Police saw them and started to run after them. In the end, they reached them and arrested them. Police took the bag from them and gave it to me.*

- Interviewer: How do you feel after that?
- Geash: *I'm afraid now. Whenever I pass Attiki, I 'm always aware. I look around me in case something happens. I never carry a bag with me. I have my papers always in the jacket.*

Another strategy few migrants deploy is the use of the motorcycle over walking to avoid potential troubles with right-wing activists or the Police. It is important to note at this point that only two of the interviewees owned a motorcycle. It is striking that some of them that could not afford a car bought a bike in order to protect themselves. Respondents reported that the bike provides greater control over one's environment compared to walking. Houssein below expressed his preference for motorcycle.

Houssein (male, 38, Pakistan, hairdresser): *When I have to close the shop I always use the motorcycle, I never go by foot. Because nobody stops a motorcycle, whereas when you walk alone is dangerous.*

Migrant men interviewed for this study identified three areas, namely 'Agios Panteleimonas', 'Atiiki Square' and 'Omonoia Square', as forbidden areas. These three areas are associated with serious attacks on migrants and asylum seekers documented extensively by the media as well as by international organizations such as Human Rights Watch. All mental maps drawn either depicted the particular places as disliked places or explicitly omitted them. Their spatial practices in and around them rendered these areas dangerous.

Picture: Agios Panteleimonas church

Source: Author

To illustrate how migrants maneuver public spaces three mental maps taken from three interview analyses will be presented in the following. Naser's mental map (Figure 1) only depicts a cross '+' where he omitted the entire square of 'Agios Panteleimonas'. After clarifying what he was expected to draw, 'am I just supposed to put "good" or "nice" places on it?' and my affirmation that 'no, you can put anything on your map that you want to, positive or negative,' Naser deliberately – and with repeated pen strokes – crossed out the portion of 'Agios Panteleimonas' square that he considered dangerous space (depicted on the map). He also left a blank space among the main street 'Acharnon' where the square 'Agios Panteleimonas' is and the 'Voda' street where his workplace and home are. This blank space silences this portion of the neighborhood as Naser removes it from his

map, thereby removing some of the past negative events from his imagination of the neighborhood.

Naser (male, 25, Pakistan, hairdresser): *I have friends that live there [Agios Panteleimonas]. They were beaten and I have seen it with my own eyes. Also, I heard many other stories. I prefer to go out in "Fokionos Negri" and avoid these areas [...]*

Image: Fokionos Negri

Source: Athens Guide.

While drawing his map, Naser commented that the Agios Panteleimonas' square as well as the 'Attiki' square were the only areas in Patisia that he was afraid to cross and attempted to avoid whenever possible. Even though Naser disliked to cross these areas, he lived in a street, named 'Voda' (also depicted on the map), that was relatively close to the square of 'Agios Panteleimonas' and he often had to walk along the main street 'Acharnon' when trying to get to the center of the neighborhood, for example, to eat at a Pakistani restaurant at 'Omonoia' Square. As he was unable to entirely avoid this area, he devised an alternative way of making his way around it. His mental map reflects how he maneuvers public space: he often crossed the sidewalk opposite to the square in order to go to the center.

Naser (male, 25 Pakistan, hairdresser): *When I go to "Omonoia" I have to pass "Agios Panteleimonas" but I rather not to cross the square; I walk in the*
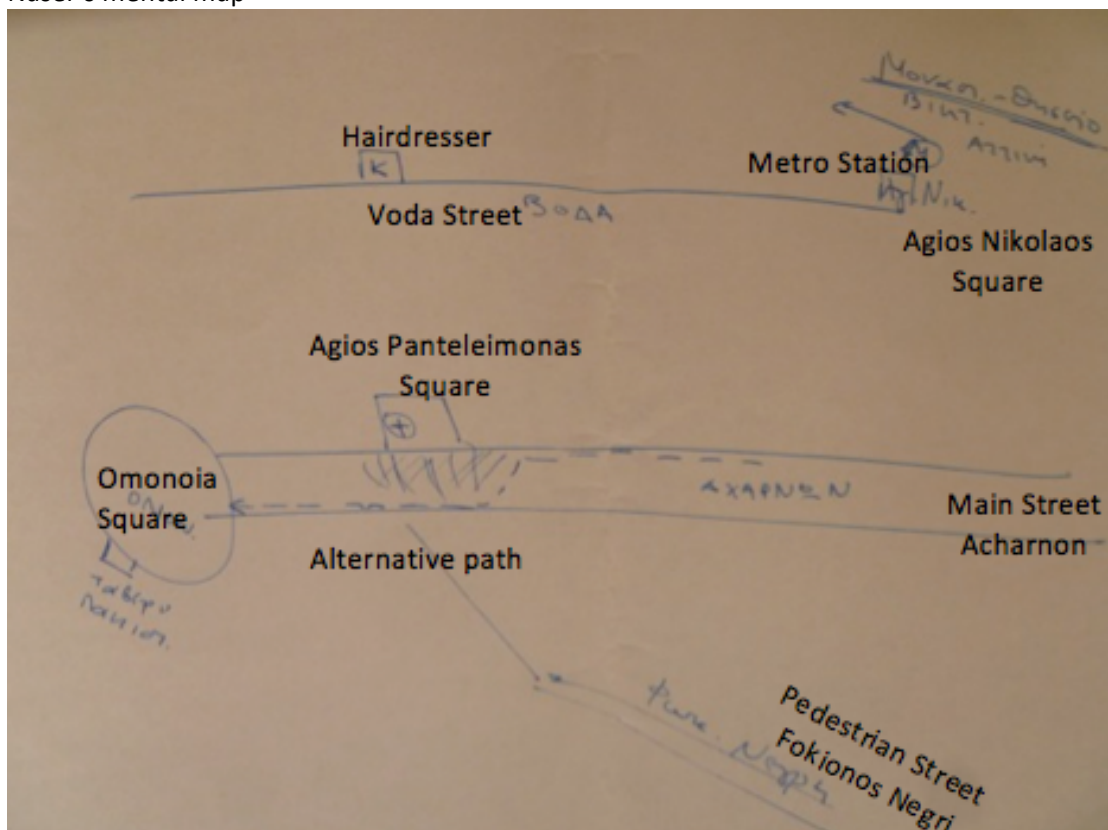
sidewalk of "Acharnon" [street] across the square. "Agios Panteleimonas" and "Attiki" are the places I am always afraid when I walk there.

Picture: Agios Panteleimonas church; view from the main street 'Acharnon'

Source: Author.

Naser's mental map

Naser deliberately chose not to depict 'Attiki' square, thereby rendering this space external to his representation of his everyday life. This is probably related with a bad personal experience when he had to go often to 'Omonoia' Square, as the following quote explains.

> Naser (male, 25, Pakistan, hairdresser): [...] *Some time ago I had to go to the hospital "Gennimata" many times and you know I was a bit afraid. On the way to metro station I was thinking that something might happen. The problem is always there; "Attiki" Square, "Omonoia" Square, "Agios Panteleimonas" Square.*

It is striking that Naser despite his young age has acquired techniques of knowledge that allow him to walk safely in public spaces. The fact that he knows where to walk and where not to walk, how and how not to move give him an expertise of a street-wise subject.

Aladita's mental map (Figure 2) similar to Naser's both highlights and omits elements of landscape. His map conveys an intimate knowledge of the neighborhood after 14 years in Athens as evinced by the detailed sketch and careful labeling of the numerous streets. However, Aladita deliberately omitted the 'Attiki' square. Pointing to this portion of his map and stating:

> Aladita (male, 52, Pakistan, construction worker): *I never go to "Attiki". I know there are always problems there and I don't need to go there. I take the bus from "Omonoia" square.*

Despite the years of residence in Athens, Aladita can be considered a vulnerable subject. The serious attack he experienced in 2009, when extreme right-wing people visited his home, makes his case unique and different from other respondents. Aladita left a blank space on the down left corner that disrupts an otherwise detailed map. This is the area of 'Agios Panteleimonas' in close walking distance from his home. This blank space silences this portion of the neighborhood as Aladita removes it from the representations of his everyday life. In doing so, he seeks to remove his negative experience in the past. It is thus necessary not to simply dismiss silences and gaps in mental maps as a lack of experience or knowledge of these spaces. While their spatial practices affirm that acts of resistance are not external to, or removed from exertions of power (Foucault, 1978), the silences in their mental maps show how migrants grapple with and maneuver public spaces.

Aladita's mental map
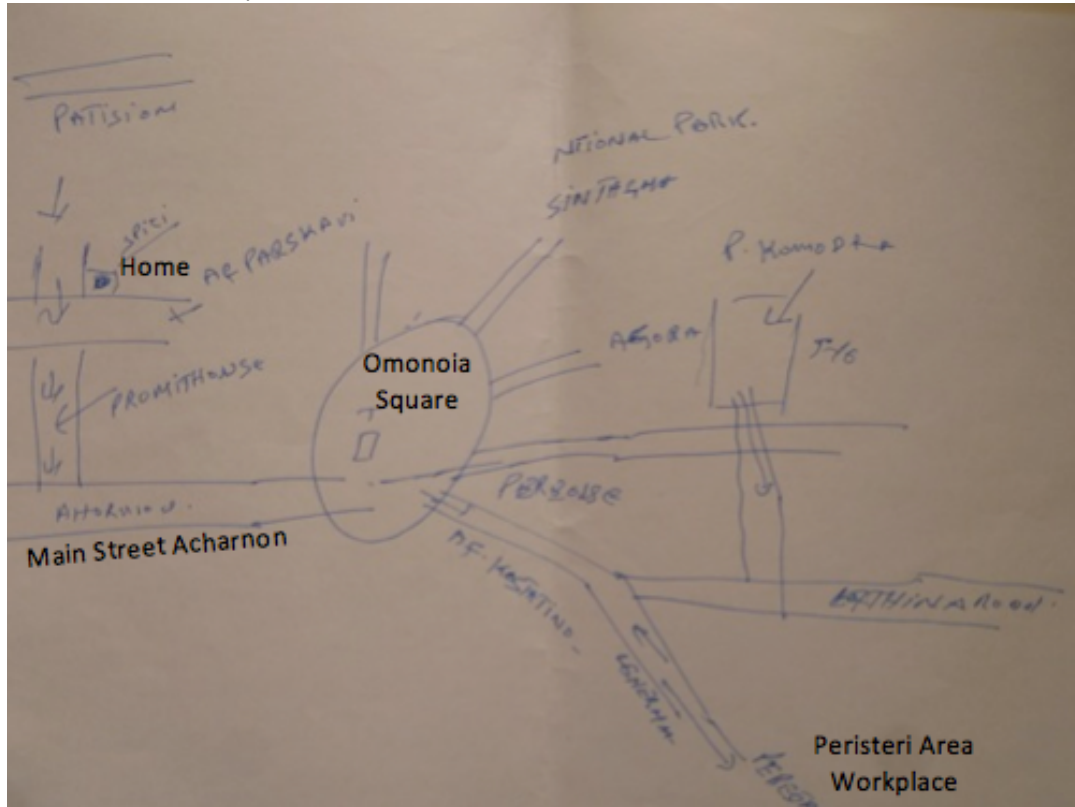
Migrants' practices are spatially and temporally differentiated as they variably avoid, maneuver, transgress, and sometimes openly defy local residents' exertions of power. Walking through exclusionary spaces is a transgression that allows migrants at least temporarily to remove themselves from the 'space of the other' (de Certeau 1984, 37). Massaud, for example, despite feeling uncomfortable every time needed to cross 'Acharnon' street, he frequently transgressed "Acharnon" street simply because the main street was the shortest and most convenient way of getting to the bus stop that leads to his home (see Figure 3: Massaud's mental map). Similarly, Aladita often transgressed "Omonoia Square" because there was no other but stop that leads to his job. Although these practices are not conscious acts of defiance, these transgressions still temporarily challenge the exclusion of migrants.

> Massaud (male, 29, Pakistan, hairdresser): This is "Acharnon" [street]. This is our hairdresser, "Acharnon" 44. This is the station that leads to "Menidi" where our home is. Here is the street I have to pass to go to the station to take bus G9.

> Aladita (male, 52, Pakistan, construction worker): The bus station is there. What can I do? Every morning I have to go to "Omonoia" station. There is no other bus to "Aspropirgos". It's also dangerous at night when I come back

from work. They know that these times many people go to or come back from work.

Massaud's mental map.
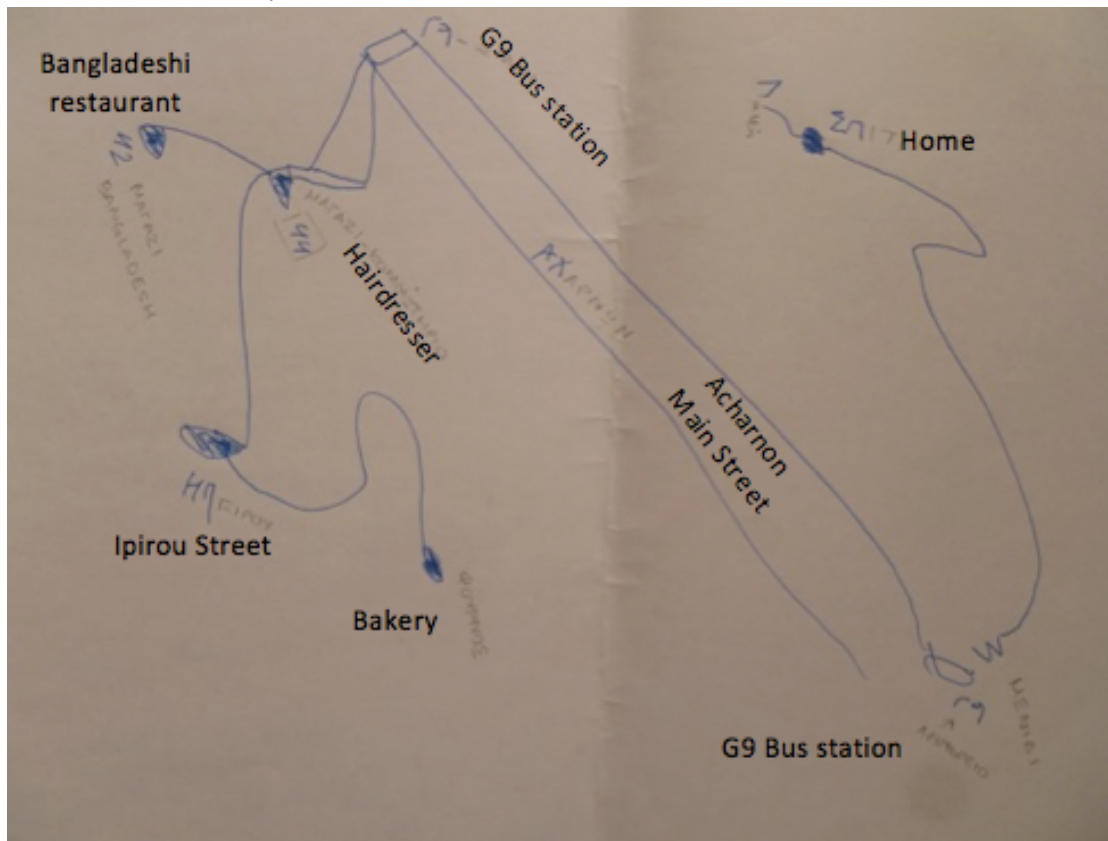
Migrants' spatial practices of avoiding areas of the neighborhood had tangible consequences for owners of small stores that migrants omitted from their mental maps and tried to avoid.

> Ali (male, 38, Pakistan, worker): Before all these troubles with Golden Dawn started, I used to go out every Saturday at Omonoia for dinner.

Ali's interpretation suggests that migrants' spatial practices may influence economic processes and neighborhood space, which is plausible as the men in this study depicted Omonoia Square as the only area where they used to go out for dinner.

In summary, this section demonstrates that migrants deploy various spatial practices to maneuver public spaces the most important of which, is to avoid certain spaces that are determined as 'no-go' areas. In addition to context selection, migrants restrict travel to light hours whenever possible as they feel more safe in daylight. Another strategy migrants develop is to walk around the neighborhood with company. Walking with company provides a comfortable feeling against strangers.

CHAPTER 4 EMBODIED EXPERIENCES

This chapter seeks to gain a deeper understanding of migrants' embodied experiences and practices. This study pursues a theoretical understanding of everyday practices and bodily encounters, arguing that encounters are played out on the body, and are played out with emotions. In this, it focuses on how encounters are reproduced through emotions, passions and attitudes such as fear, love, hatred and so on. In order to illustrate this, this chapter discusses how Pakistani and Egyptian migrants account for their everyday encounters with Greek others and the emotions produced by these encounters. In doing so, this chapter will try to trace the impact of ethnicity, language, educational level and years of residence on migrants' embodied experiences.

The particular public places that migrant men identified as forbidden areas[13] are both inclusive and exclusive, allowing access for local people but keeping migrants out. At times migrants who pass by or enter public squares will be faced as inferior, or with outright stares and comments that make it clear that migrants are not at all welcome. All migrants interviewed said they generally disliked these parts of the neighborhood where local residents passing the time by checking out and provoking passers-by to assert their ownership over public neighborhood space. That dislike became evident when migrants described their embodied experiences. Massaud described how local residents' practices made him feel uncomfortable:

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[13]"Agios Panteleimonas", "Atiiki Square" and "Omonoia Square"

Massaud (male, 29, Pakistan, hairdresser): *After 9 pm, I m afraid. I can ask a friend to go out together but I'm afraid to go somewhere because the people here don't look nice at us. We are "xenoi"*[14]. *I feel dizzy when I go out to drink a coffee [...] The problem is that they can tell from my color of my skin that I am from Pakistan. Once they see that, they think its bad and they start doing "bullshit". They think all black people are not good people.*

To feel negated is to feel pressure upon your bodily surface; your body feels the pressure point, as a restriction in what it can do (Fanon, 1986: 112). It is through such painful encounters between this body and other bodies, that 'surfaces' are felt as 'being there' in the first place. I become aware of my body as having a surface only in the event of feeling discomfort ('I feel dizzy'), that become transformed into pain through an act of reading and recognition ('I feel xenos'), which is also a judgment ('They think it's bad'). This transformation of sensations into an emotion might also lead to moving my body away from what I feel has caused the pain. That is, the transformation effected by recognizing a sensation as painful (from 'I feel xenos' to 'It's bad' to 'Move away') involves the reconstitution of bodily space.

Ali (male, 38, Pakistan, worker): *In order to see some people I used to go at the square at 'Kato Patisia'. I didn't have company or friends. I couldn't feel this place my home. I used to feel 'xenos'. Even now whenever I pass 'Omonoia' Square I feel 'xenos'. Anywhere else no matter how they look at me, I don't feel 'xenos'.*

The above quote concerns the way in which gazes are involved in objectification of the other and/or feelings of being objectified by the other. Such power relations refer to deviations from the 'neutral' body – such as skin colour (see Fanon, 1986). The social body is an imaginary body that is created through the relations of touch between bodies recognisable as friendly and/or strange. Familiar bodies can be incorporated through a sense of community, being with each other as like bodies, while strange bodies more likely are expelled from bodily space and moved apart as different bodies. In this way 'like' bodies and 'different' bodies do not just precede the bodily encounters of incorporation or expulsion, but are also produced through these encounters.

Massaud (male, 29, Pakistan, hairdresser): [...] *Yes, at first we used to go out. But when I saw that things are like this, I didn't feel like going out anymore [...] When I am with company, I m not afraid. I can go out for a walk or a coffee with them. When I am alone, I am afraid. Because here every person is*

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[14] Origin from Greek *xenos* 'stranger, foreigner'

armed with a knife. I have seen that many times. Last week I saw one incident at "Acharnon" [main street]. There was a man holding a knife.

The above quotes rightly point out that encounters are imbued with emotion and affective intensities. There is much that goes unsaid in encounters— gestures, fleeting glances, strained silences and the discreet performances of othering that have come to mark difference. What these daily events and small acts achieve is that they bring the silent, immanent markers of race into emergence (Nayak, 2010). While skin colour may be 'the most visible of fetishes' (Bhabha, 1990), processes of racialisation simultaneously work through a palette of senses including sight, sounds, smells, taste and touch, all part of the silent choreography through which an idea of race becomes intelligible (Nayak, 2011: 554-55).

Following Ahmed (2000, 2004) the sense perception and emotion take place in the 'contact zone of impressions'; they involve how bodies are 'impressed upon' by others. We can consider racism as a particular form of intercorporeal encounter: a white racist subject who encounters a racial other may experience an intensity of emotions (fear, hate, disgust). That intensification involves moving away from the body of the other, or moving towards that body in an act of violence, and then moving away. The 'moment of contact' is shaped by past histories of contact, which allows the proximity of a racial other to be perceived as threatening, at the same time as it reshapes the bodies in the contact zone of the encounter (Ahmed, 2004: 31).

Arshad (male, 37, Pakistan, hairdresser): *One night at 11 o clock I closed the hairdresser and I went out. There were 6 people. I was walking and I didn't see them waiting there. Next minute they come in front of me and hit me in the face. One of these guys was wearing a metallic ring and this left a scar on my face. Once they hit me, I felt dizzy but I started to run. They ran after me but thankfully I managed to escape. This happened near "Agios Panteleimonas" square.*

The racist men's attack does not simply stand for the expulsion of migrants from white social space, but actually reforms social space. The reforming of bodily and social space involves a process of making the skin crawl; the threat posed by the bodies of others is registered on the skin. Or, to be more precise, the skin comes to be felt as a border through reading the impression of one surface upon another as a form of negation. Such impressions are traces on the skin surface of the presence of others, and they depend on the repetition of past associations, through which the other is attributed as the cause of bad feeling. It is through how others impress upon us that the skin of the collective begins to take shape (Ahmed, 2004: 33). Emotional

responses to others involve the alignment of subjects with and against other others. Take the following quote from Eleni.

> Eleni (female, 41, housewife): *What remains strong inside you is the feeling that you are illegal, without papers. You are even afraid of your shadow. I was walking in the street and once I saw a security guy outside a supermarket I used to walk at the other side of the street. There is always the fear for uniforms.*

In this encounter Eleni ends with emotion. It is an encounter in which something has passed. What passes is not spoken; it is not a transparent form of communication. The sense that something is wrong is not communicated, through words and sounds that are voiced. The encounter is played out on the body, and is played out with the emotions. The recognition of others is central to the constitution of the subject ('You are even afraid of your shadow'). The very act through which the subject differentiates between others is the moment that the subject comes to inhabit or dwell in the world. This recognition operates as a 'visual economy' (Ahmed, 2000: 22): it involves ways of seeing the difference between familiar and strange others as they are represented to the subject. Recognition involves differentiating between others on the basis of how they 'appear' ('uniform'). This bodily encounter also ends with the reconstitution of bodily space. The bodies that come together, that almost touch and co-mingle, slide away from each other, becoming relived in their apartness. The particular bodies that move apart allow the redefinition of social as well as bodily space.

> Aladita (male, 52, Pakistan, construction worker): *For 2-3 months [summer 2009] I didn't go to work. I was afraid. Golden Dawn is a big problem here [Agios Panteleimonas area] I had to take the bus at 5 am and I was alone there [Omonoia Square]. Golden Dawn was always there [...] They are always dressed in black and they are big guys. They talk really bad [...] Once they came to my house late at night and they were knocking my door. I was hidden and remained silent. They were standing outside my door for half an hour. They were talking bullshit. In the end they thought I wasn't inside and they left. They were 5 people [...] They watch who comes in and out of a house. Besides I live in a corner ground-floor apartment on my own. It's an easy target. After that incident, I stayed locked at home. I only went to the market next to my house to buy something to eat and called friends but I didn't go out. I was frightened.*

In this encounter Aladita ends with 'fright'. This suggests that, fear emerges as an important element of encounters with difference. For Schutz the stranger is always

approaching – coming closer to those at home (1944: 499). In the sociological analysis of strangers offered by Simmel, the stranger is understood, paradoxiacally, as both near and far (Simmel, 1991: 146). Living in an unstable world and encountering 'strange' others can cause both anxiety and fear (Haldrup et al., 2008: 122).

> Ali (male, 38, Pakistan, worker): *One period I couldn't find a place in 'Kokkinos Mulos' [suburb of Athens] and I rented a place at 'Acharnon' street, 'Kato Patisia'. I didn't like it at all. I couldn't feel safe. Every now and then Police was here because some foreigners caused some troubles. I was walking in the street and I was thinking that Police might stop me.*

All interviewees expressed their dislike when Police officers exert disproportionate authority and aggression over them. The most common practice Police pursue is to stop migrants in the street and check their legal papers. 'To stop involves many meanings: to cease, to end, and also to cut off, to arrest, to check, to prevent, to block, to obstruct or to close' (Ahmed, 2007: 161). Black activism has shown how policing involves a differential economy of stopping: some bodies more than others are 'stopped', by being the subject of the policeman's address. Questions such as 'who are you?', 'where are you from?', 'what are you doing here?' are not addressed to anybody, but to the body that is 'out of place'. This practice does not stop there: the search can be extended by practices of indefinite detention.

> Houssein (male, 38, Pakistan, hairdresser): *The Police might stop you and start bullshit; you know papers etc. This might take up to 3 hours. They take you to the nearest Police station, you just sit there for about 3 hours doing nothing and then they let you leave. They are playing you know? Even if everything is ok with your papers.*

Having the right papers makes no difference if you have the wrong body or name. 'Stopping is both a political economy, which is attributed unevenly between others, and an affective economy, which leaves its impressions, affecting those bodies that are subject to its address' (Ahmed, 2007: 161). 'Being stopped is not just stressful: it makes 'the body' itself the site of social stress' (Ahmed, 2007: 162). The discourse of 'stranger danger' suggests that danger is often posited as originating from what its outside the community, or as coming from outsiders, those people who are not 'at home' and who have come from 'somewhere else' (the 'where' of this 'elsewhere' always makes a difference) (Ahmed, 2007: 162).

> Aladita (male, 52, Pakistan, construction worker): *I live in "Michail Voda" near the Police station. Only this year they took me to the Foreigners Department*

four times; first to the Police station in "Omonoia" for five minutes and then to the Foreigners Department. One day they took me 2 times to "Petrou Rali" [street where the Foreigners Department is]. I was waiting there 4 hours and I lost a day's work. They are doing this only for fun.

Those who get stopped are moved in a different way. For the body recognized as 'could be Muslim', which translates into 'could be terrorist' (Ahmed, 2004a), the experience begins with discomfort. But it does not end there. Having been singled out in the line, at the borders, the body who gets stopped becomes defensive; he assumes a defensive posture, as he 'waits' for the line of racism, to take his rights of passage away.

Ali (male, 38, Pakistan, worker): *I have walked around in Patisia day and night but I 'm not afraid. I cannot beat but I know how to protect myself; I can run I can defend myself. I have learned that so far.*

To be not white is an uncomfortable feeling. Comfort is a feeling that tends not to be consciously felt, as Ahmed (2007) has suggested. 'You sink. When you don't sink, when you fidget and move around, then what is in the background becomes in front of you, as a world that is gathered in a specific way. Discomfort, in other words, allows things to move by bringing what is in the background [...] back to life' (Ahmed, 2007: 163).

What is behind, as a form of inheritance, affects how bodies move in spaces. If you inherit class privilege, for instance, then you have more resources behind you, which can be converted into capital, into what can 'propel' you forward and up. Moving up requires inhabiting such a body, or at least approximating its style, whilst your capacity to inhabit such a body depends upon what is behind you. Pointing to this loop between the 'behind' and the 'up' is another way of describing how hierarchies get reproduced over time (Ahmed, 2007: 160). The quote below by Houssein, a 38 year-old migrant from Pakistan that owns four hairdressers at the moment in Athens, clearly illustrates his embodied experiences are shaped by different power relationships.

Houssein (male, 38, Pakistan, hairdresser): *No I' m not afraid. Here people know me for years. Do you understand? Whatever happens, I report it. For example, today I had an accident with my motorcycle and I called the Police right away. Because I know how things work here after so many years.*

Together these examples suggest that among the various factors (ethnicity, language, educational level and years of residence), which were selected to explain

migrants' embodied experiences, ethnicity has the most significant impact. Analysing migrants' embodied experiences has uncovered that the skin colour is the most important marker that stands for the expulsion of migrants and becomes the text upon which acts of violence are written.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSION

The most recent economic and political crisis in Greece since 2009 marks a shift in political discourse towards an ethnocultural direction of closure and intolerance (Triandafyllidou and Kouki, 2013). Official political discourse and public attitudes towards migrants have worsened significantly in the last 2 years, with overt xenophobia and racism taking the toll. Anti-immigrant rhetoric and xenophobia has turned into mainstream discourse, while Neo-Nazi discourse and practices by far-right groups are tolerated to a large extent by both the official political establishment and by public opinion (Triandafyllidou and Kouki, 2013: 711). It is this situation that has driven the research interest of this study.

This study has tried to examine the role of encounters with difference in everyday time-space paths of two immigrant groups, namely Pakistani and Egyptians, as well as the spatial practices these immigrant groups develop in the context of Athens, Greece, in order to maneuver encounters with difference. In doing so, this study set out to examine the impact of ethnicity, language, educational level and years of residence on migrants' daily patterns and embodied experiences. The neighborhood of Patisia was chosen as representative of a much wider group of neighborhoods around the center of Athens, which belonged until the 70s in the high-middle and middle classes and then faced rapid social change that led to the dominant presence of low-middle class and immigrants. This area is of particular importance because of the high proportion of immigrant population (more than 20% of its population in 2001) and the changes shown internally, which are linked directly with the issue of social cohesion (Maloutas, 2006: 120).

The two immigrant groups, Pakistani and Egyptians, were selected because they are the two most deprived immigrant groups in Athens (Pakistani belong to the most

deprived group and Egyptians belong to the second most deprived group) in terms of education, position in the labour market, living conditions and integration prospects (Kandylis et al., 2012). In addition, both groups of immigrants consist of a significantly vulnerable young population, which is targeted by groups of far-right activists, as the Against Racism organisation has reported. In-depth interviews were conducted in order to grasp interviewees' biographies and their subjective interpretations of others and social interaction. In addition, interviewees were asked to draw mental maps of their neighborhood.

This study has given special emphasis on individual experiences of encounters with difference in everyday life. Drawing on Leitner's (2012) conceptual schema, this study emphasized the role of boundaries that define who belongs to a particular local and national community and place and who does not (Leitner, 2012: 830). Taking into account the four interrelated dimensions of belonging that Nagel (2011) drew out, the present study tried to reflect on the complex meanings of this concept and the different spatialities and spatial practices associated with belonging. Returning to the main goal posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that encounters with difference affect to a large extent migrants' everyday time-space paths and the reverse the time-space paths have an impact on their encounters.

This study has uncovered several factors that affect moving through public spaces, the most important of which is the color of the skin. Respondents have pointed out that people with no obvious racial/ethnic differences walk in or use public spaces more easily. On the other hand, respondents have made clear that their dark skin seems to create a barrier among them and Greeks the latter identifying it with 'alien' or 'inferior' cultures. The ways migrants use public spaces are also related with their educational level, which sometimes relates to their confidence to overcome difficulties of participating in public spaces. Sometimes self-confidence is not a matter of education; it has to do with the age. Young respondents seem to be more confident to enter or walk through public spaces in comparison with older respondents. Furthermore, the legal status seems to play an important role in confidently walking around the neighborhood. As a respondent has said, 'when you are illegal, you are even afraid of your shadow'.

Migrant men identified three areas, namely 'Agios Panteleimonas', 'Atiiki Square' and 'Omonoia Square', as 'no-go' areas. These three areas are associated with serious attacks on migrants and asylum seekers documented extensively by the media as well as by international organizations such as Human Rights Watch. All migrants interviewed said they generally disliked these parts of the neighborhood where local residents passing the time by checking out and provoking passers-by.

Migrants from Asia and Africa have some special features that make them stand out from the settled Balkan and East European immigrants of the former 15 years: they are predominantly young men, they are darker and they are Muslim in the vast majority (Triantafyllidou and Kouki, 2013). Therefore they become particularly visible to the public eye. At times enraged local men mobilised by extreme right wing groups face migrants who pass by or enter these public spaces as inferior, or with outright stares and comments in order to make clear that migrants are not at all welcome. These practices, in turn, made migrants feel uncomfortable, negated or even dizzy when passing by these spaces. Some made explicit that these are the only places where they feel foreigners or out of place.

The empirical findings in this study contribute to understand how migrants maneuver public spaces. Migrants deploy various spatial practices, of which the most prevalent is context selection. By removing certain spaces from the everyday lives, migrants shed light on the constraints extreme right wing groups impose upon them. In addition to context selection, another common strategy migrants develop is to avoid carrying bags in order to discourage unwanted interactions and potential robbery. Another strategy is to restrict travel to daylight hours whenever possible, self-constraining their space–time paths. Another frequent practice migrants develop is walking around with company. As a respondent has explained: *'When you walk with 2-3 other people its easy. But when you are alone its dangerous.'*

While drawing their mental maps, migrants either explicitly depicted the "no-go" areas as disliked places or explicitly omitted them. Some respondents devised an alternative path of making their way around these spaces. Others chose the use of the motorcycle over walking because the motorcycle provides greater control over one's environment as compared to walking. Omitting exclusionary spaces from mental maps and spatial practices of avoidance such as crossing the opposite pavement or moving away entirely from such places allows migrants to at least temporarily remove themselves from the 'space of the other' (de Certeau 1984, 37).

Even though the majority of the respondents attempted to avoid whenever possible exclusionary spaces, few respondents reported that they often walked through these spaces because they were unable to avoid them. Walking in these places made respondents feel immediately cautious. To protect themselves from potential troubles with right-wing activists they employed different practices. As a 46 year-old Pakistani respondent expressed: *'Whenever I pass Attiki, I 'm always aware. I look around me in case something happens. I never carry a bag with me. I have my papers always in the jacket'.*

The evidence from this study suggests that the spatial practices migrants develop differentiate between subjects. This finding supports feminist research that has suggested that safety for women is often constructed in terms of not entering public spaces (Stanko, 1990; Anderson, 1990), while safety for men also involves forms of self-governance in terms of how one enters public spaces. The present study has differentiated respondents between vulnerable and 'street wise' subjects. The vulnerable subject, who is most at risk, represents respondents that live in Greece only for few years and/or do not speak the Greek language well. It also represents respondents that have become vulnerable after having experienced serious acts of violence. Despite the fact that the latter might live in Greece for many years, they experience anxiety and uncertainty when walking in public spaces. This finding contributes to existing literature dealing with the discourse of personal safety (Andreson, 1990; Ahmed, 2000) providing additional evidence that suggests that past negative experiences play an important role in moving through spaces and feeling more vulnerable.

The wise subject, on the other hand, has gained an expertise after living in Greece for several years that allows him to protect himself: to leave and return home and still maintain a safe distance between himself and dangerous dangers. As a 38 year old respondent that lives in Greece for 19 years said "*I have walked around Patisia day and night but I'm not afraid. I can't beat but I know how to protect myself. I can run; I can defend myself. I have learned that so far*". This finding provides additional evidence with respect to the negotiated dimension of belonging between dominant and subordinate groups (Nagel, 2011: 109). Negotiations refer to the ways through which marginalized groups actively contest their exclusion from places as defined by dominant groups. Negotiations of belonging are often highly localized and focus on the use of and access to spaces by particular groups (Nagel, 2011: 120). These negotiations are central to interactions between immigrant and host society groups.

The evidence from this study enhances our understanding of the normative dimension of belonging, which considers how dominant groups enforce the boundaries of membership through the production and reproduction of social norms. Norms often are not apparent to group members until they are challenged by the visible presence of 'others', such as immigrants and other marginalized groups. These groups give rise to efforts by dominant groups to defend norms and to define more clearly what it means to belong (Nagel, 2011: 116). Such efforts emerged in the neighbourhood of Patisia in 2008, when the "Residents' Committee of Agios Panteleimonas and Plateia Attikis" was formed to condemn immigrants' concentration.

The so-called Committee claiming to represent the Greek residents described immigrants' concentration as "ghettoization", a process that threatens the social status of the native residents. Nevertheless, not all immigrants were considered as equal threat. New immigrant groups from Asia and Africa that came to Athens the last 4-5 years were mainly targeted because these groups differ from the natives in social, racial and cultural terms. Their incomprehensible language and religion and their color that makes their difference always visible were the factors that stood for their expulsion from the 'Agios Panteleimonas' Square.

The expulsion of immigrants from 'Agios Panteleimonas' area extends our knowledge of the formal dimension of belonging, which looks at belonging in terms of the power of states to formally structure social membership. The definition of Greek national identity is understood at two connected levels: ethnicity/nationality and religion. Greeks are people of Greek descent – regardless of where they have been born – who are Christian Orthodox (Christopoulos, 2012). People have to be of Greek ancestry even if they do not speak the language. Having Greek ancestry is conceived to bring with it necessarily a Christian Orthodox religious identity. In other words, Christian Orthodoxy is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition while being of Greek descent is a necessary and sufficient condition (Triandafyllidou and Kouki, 2013: 714). Thus, the expulsion of Pakistani and Egyptians immigrants due to ethno/cultural differences reflects the Greek model of citizenship. Citizenship in the nation-state, as Jacobson (2002: 167) notes, signifies more than simply a legal status; it marks at a very fundamental level 'belonging-in-space'.

The findings of this study provide additional evidence with respect to the emotional dimension of belonging, which refers to people' s attachments to places and the ways they construct a sense of belonging in particular places. Respondents in this study have constructed workplaces as spaces for socializing by inviting co-ethnics over for tea or dinner. They also emphasized the importance of Pakistani restaurants as community places in which they feel belonging because they can socialize in their own language and they can eat their own food. A key point made explicit in these accounts is that such performances and enactments of belonging are not simply carried over and reproduced intact from the place of origin. All such enactments of communal belonging involve the selection of particular memories to be commemorated (Nagel, 2011: 112). The same point has been made elsewhere, notably in Mavroudi (2008). She describes such a process in her account of Palestinian exiles in Athens who use the space of the community house, or parikia, to socialize with one another and to convey their emotional commitment to Palestine.

The spatial practices migrants in this study deploy indicate the instability of informal co-presence and intercultural interaction in urban public spaces. This finding is consistent with that of Nousia and Lyons (2012) who state that phenomena of social conflict, racism, violence and insecurity in public space are currently on the rise in central Athens. It appears that the movement of Agios Panteleimonas Square in late 2008 when patrol groups, mobilised by extreme right wing groups, closed down the playground and ensured that the square would remain free from immigrants has been both enduring and influential. The same point has been made elsewhere, notably in Kandylis and Kavoulakos (2011).

This study has contributed to a greater understanding of the role of public authorities in central Athens. The most common practice Police pursue is to stop migrants in the street and check their legal papers. All interviewees have indicated that Police exert disproportionate authority and aggression over migrants when being stopped. In addition, respondents have made clear that policing involves a differential economy of stopping: some bodies are 'stopped' more than others. Migrants with visible racial/ethnic differences, notably migrants with dark skin are subject to policeman's address.

Although the current study is based on a small sample of participants, the findings suggest that migrants' spatial practices of avoiding areas of the neighborhood have tangible consequences for owners of small stores that migrants omit from their mental maps and try to avoid. Whilst this study did not include interviews with storeowners, migrants' mental maps and spatial representations offer some insight into the particular spaces that are explicitly omitted. Specifically, migrants in this study have demonstrated that 'Agios Panteleimonas' Square, 'Attiki' Square and 'Omonoia' Square are the places that they avoid to pass whenever possible even if they used to go often to these places in the past.

It is recommended that further research be undertaken in the economic consequences for storeowners in the neighborhood of Patisia. It is expected that migrants' spatial practices of avoiding areas in the neighborhood have a negative impact on the service sector (e.g. retail trade, cafes and restaurants). A further study could also assess the long-term effects of migrants' economic choices on housing. It is well known that family and compatriot networks play an important role in migrants' settlement in Athens. For that reason, it is expected that migrants' perceptions of the neighborhood will discourage future migrants from settling in particular areas and that might have an impact on housing in the future.

More research is also needed to better understand the various factors such as the legal status, the language, the educational level and the age that affect moving

through spaces in relation with ethnic background. It would be interesting to compare experiences of individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds within the same neighborhood. The results of this study convey the idea that visible minorities are the most vulnerable migrants, who are more at risk. A comparative research that will include both visible and non-visible minorities should provide the evidence necessary for confidently accepting or rejecting that argument.

These findings suggest several courses of action. It is recommended initiatives to be taken to improve levels of trust in public authorities. To date, neighborhood policing has been attached, to regular policing activities and 'sweep' operations against immigrants. Although the possibility of overcoming the impediments to more progressive policy-making seems very slim in the current political and economic situation, encouragement and pressure from domestic and international arenas might stimulate political willingness to tackle urban security challenges.

Given the extent of xenophobia and racism within Greek society, systematic action is required to encourage the respect and acceptance of difference and the rejection of violence towards others. To achieve this challenging task would be a cross-sectoral collaboration that engages both migrant and non-migrant citizens in re-defining and shaping 'public space'. A collaborative programme with a strategic focus on connecting culture, communities and democracy can support and engage a growing number of individuals, collectives and organizations in inspiring democratic actions. The aim of this programme would be to connect a myriad of change-makers who, through their cultural actions and connections to different sectors, will in turn reach out to thousands of people. Under the main idea that culture has a reach and an influence on society that goes beyond its own sector, this collaboration can stimulate a broader network of change-makers.

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Name of interviewee:

Age of interviewee:

Sex of interviewee:

Marital status:

Date of interview:

Country and city of origin:

Educational level of origin and other courses/studies carried out here:

History of the migrant

When did he leave and what were the reasons that led to the decision to migrate

Did he come alone or with other relatives, did he leave behind spouse and children

When did he move to Greece and if there was someone who helped him settle down (relatives or migratory networks)

Does he live alone here or with other people

Difficulties for him to settle here

Does he have a residence and working permit

How often does he visit his country of origin and why

Employment

How did he find his first job in Athens

What kind of job does he do now

Distance from home to the workplace

How does he move from home to workplace

How many and which hours does he work

Free time

How he arranges holidays: when he has free time and how the exploits

If he goes out for recreation alone or with friends

Which are the places for relax

If he participates in associations, schools, etc. (which, why, with whom, relationships there, satisfaction)

Neighborhood and use of public spaces

When did he move to the neighborhood

Which are the reasons of selection of the current place of residence. What determined the decision to stay in this neighborhood e.g. low cost of rent, proximity to home or workplace, facilitating travel by public transport, the environment, or if there is someone in the neighborhood (proximity to relatives or friends etc.)

What areas in the neighborhood does he visit most often (why, when and with whom)

Which are the places that avoid and why; how are these places related to past negative events; what is the impact in everyday time-space paths?

What kind of activities does he have in the neighborhood (if he goes out alone or with friends and what he does in his free time, if he participates in collective activities, etc.)

What kind of facilities/services does he use in the neighbourhood and what is the level of satisfaction

What kind of transport does he use and what is the level of satisfaction

Sense of security, racism or xenophobia in the neighborhood and the city

Sentiment towards the neighborhood: positive and negative elements

Changes in the neighborhood (if he feels that the neighborhood has changed and in what aspects)

Previous areas of residence (it was a village or a town, downtown or in the suburbs what kind of public services he had)

Does he visit other neighbourhoods (which, why)

Satisfaction of living in Athens; main problems faced here; ideas about return; plans for the future

APPENDIX 2: Pictures from the research area.

Picture: 'Death to Golden Dawn members', Leoforos Ionias street, outiside 'Agios Nikolaos' station

Source: Author

Picture: 'No border no nation fight racism', 'Ameriki' Square

Source: Author

Picture: 'Death to fascists', Aristotelous street

Source: Author

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