

3rd LSE PhD Symposium on Modern Greece:
Current Social Science Research on Greece
14 & 15 June 2007, LSE

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

Ifigeneia Kokkali

PhD researcher at the Institut Français d'Urbanisme (Paris 8)

Laboratoire des Théories et des Mutations Urbaines

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

Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

Having arrived principally in 1991, but also in 1997 after the bank crisis in Albania, Albanian immigrants are far too numerous than other foreigners in Greece. Indeed, they constitute almost 58 percent of foreigners residing actually in Greece, their number being officially 438,036 persons, but, according to the current estimations¹ reaching and even surpassing 650,000 persons.

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

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

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

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

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

standards and social classification differences; rather we are interested in showing the absence of social relations between the two groups and more particularly the social exclusion that Albanians may suffer, even if a certain degree of spatial inclusion is taking currently place. As theory and research have previously showed (Park, 1926 and 1929; Chamboredon & Lemaire, 1970), spatial proximity does not provide a measure for the social proximity, and our study, through this specific case, will confirm once more this rule. In order to provide sufficient evidence for all this, we will be using data from interviews with Albanian immigrants in Greece and in Thessaloniki².

Albanians in Thessaloniki: diffusion into the urban territory

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

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

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

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

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

The maps present the Location Quotient (LQ) in Thessaloniki, for Albanians and Bulgarians. The Location Quotient is an index used in order to compare two concentrations of a subgroup: the subgroup's concentration in a geographical unit, compared to the subgroup's concentration into the entire study area³. If the percentage of an (ethnic) group in a local areal unit matches its percentage for the urban area overall, the LQ value is near 1 (in white in the maps), which signifies that, in the spatial entity concerned, the population in question (e.g. Albanians) offers an average distribution compared to the one of the entire study area (e.g. Thessaloniki Conurbation). Therefore, values less than 1 ($LQ < 1$, in colours of the red scale), should be interpreted in a slighter presence of the population in question compared to its average presence in the entire city. Darker colours (blue scale) and values more than 1 ($LQ > 1$) signify the opposite, and blue-black colour, in particular, demonstrates a very important concentration of the examined population in the specific spatial entity.

³ For more, see Brown & Chung (2006: 129). For more on indices measuring the dimensions of segregation see Massey & Denton (1988).

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

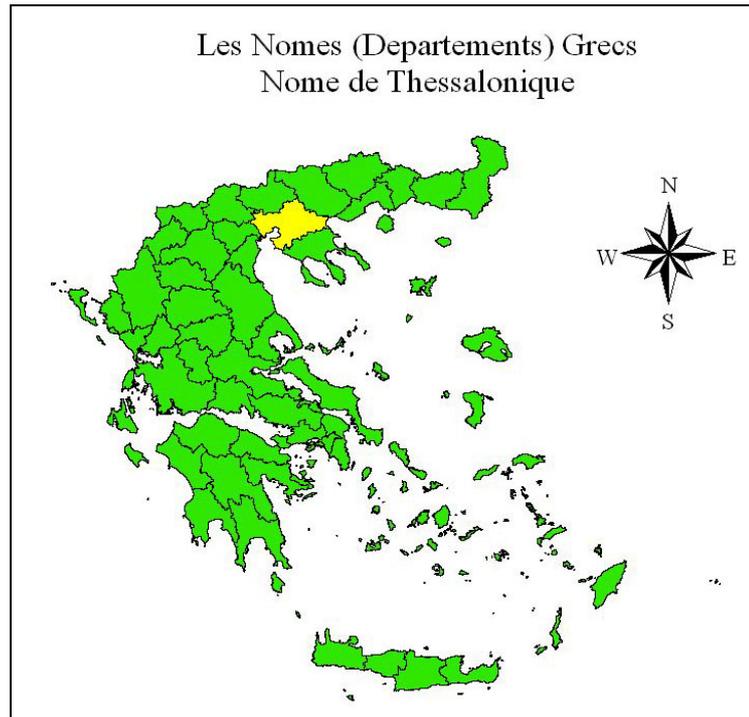
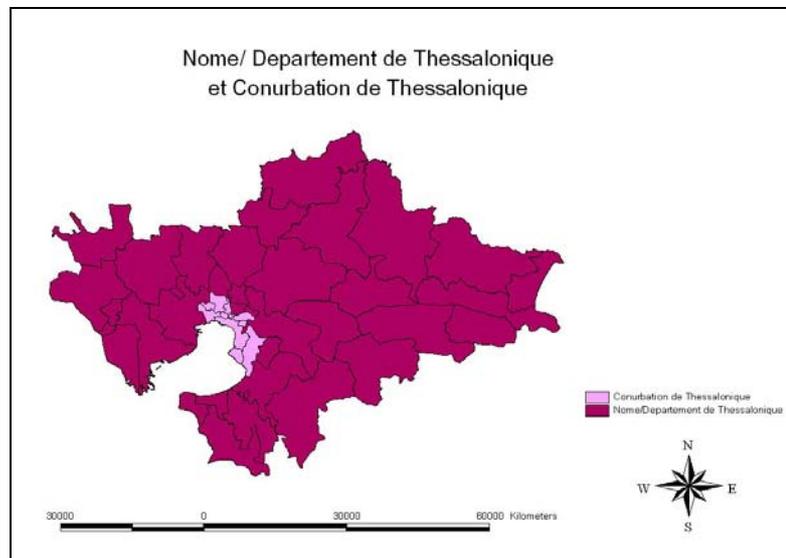


Figure 1b: Department of Thessaloniki (NUTS 3) with its communes and Thessaloniki Conurbation



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

Figure 2a: Albanian migrants in the Department of Thessaloniki

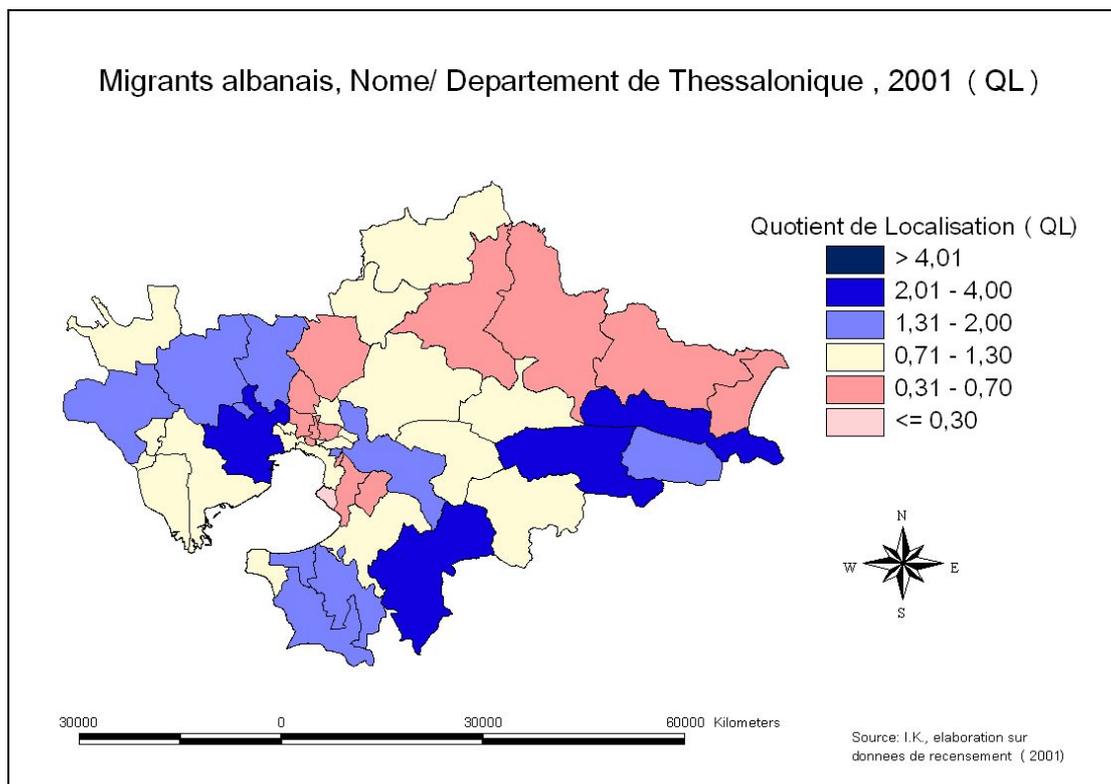
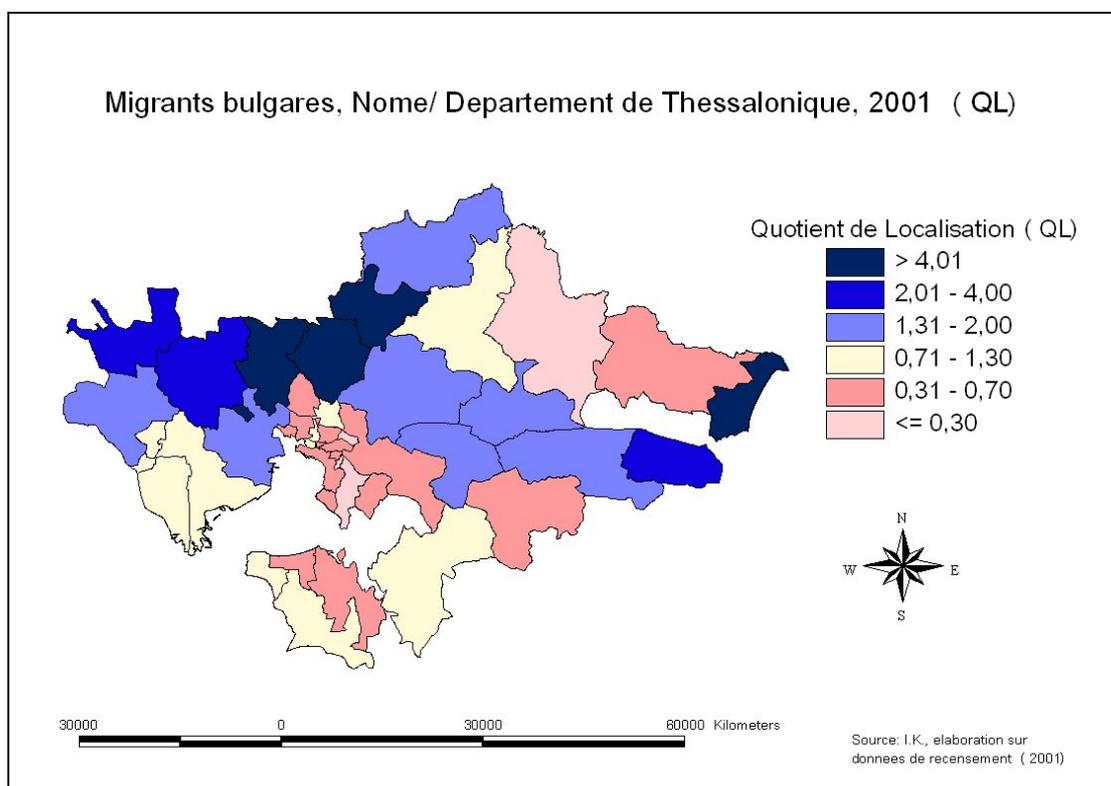


Figure 2b: Bulgarian migrants in the Department of Thessaloniki



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

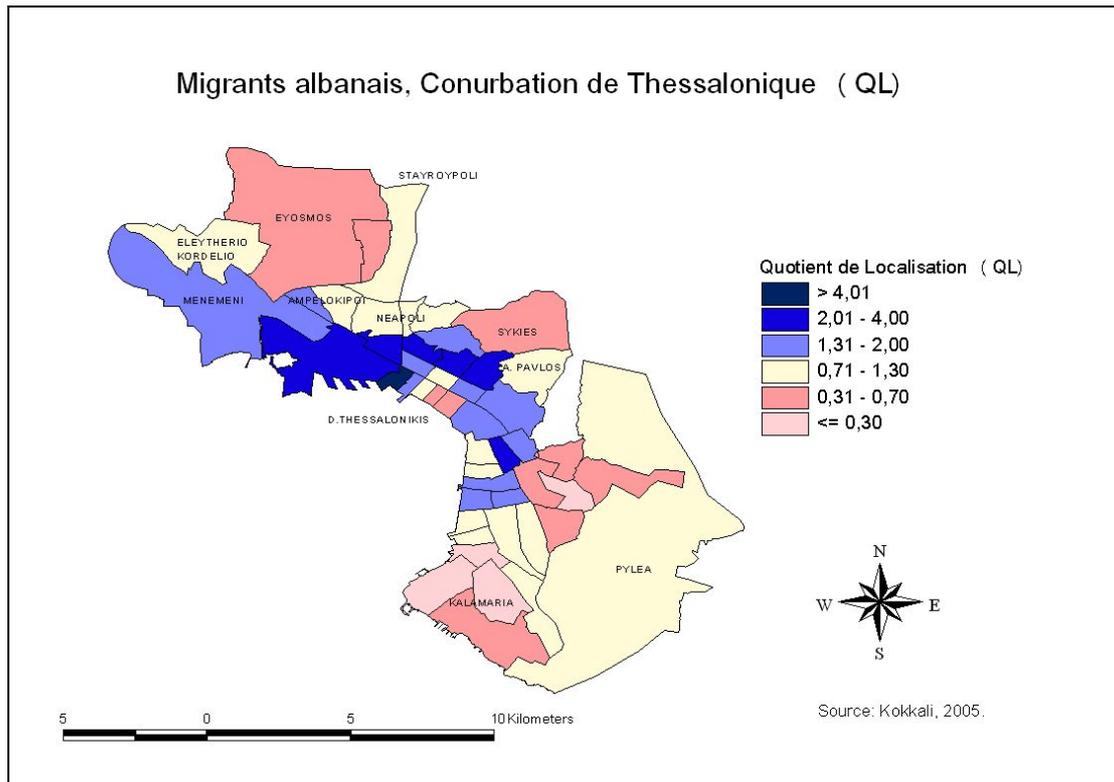
If we examine the households' localisation of those two immigrant communities in a finer scale, we reach the same conclusions. In the subsequent maps, geographical divisions are made on the basis of Postal Codes (PC) within communes/municipalities⁴. In other words, the spatial scale used is the intra-commune Postal

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

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

Code sectors. The data utilised for this purpose is provided by the last Population and Housing Census in Greece (2001). The whole study area is the Conurbation of Thessaloniki, consisted of 15 municipalities and communes⁵.

Figure 3a: Albanian migrants in the Thessaloniki Conurbation

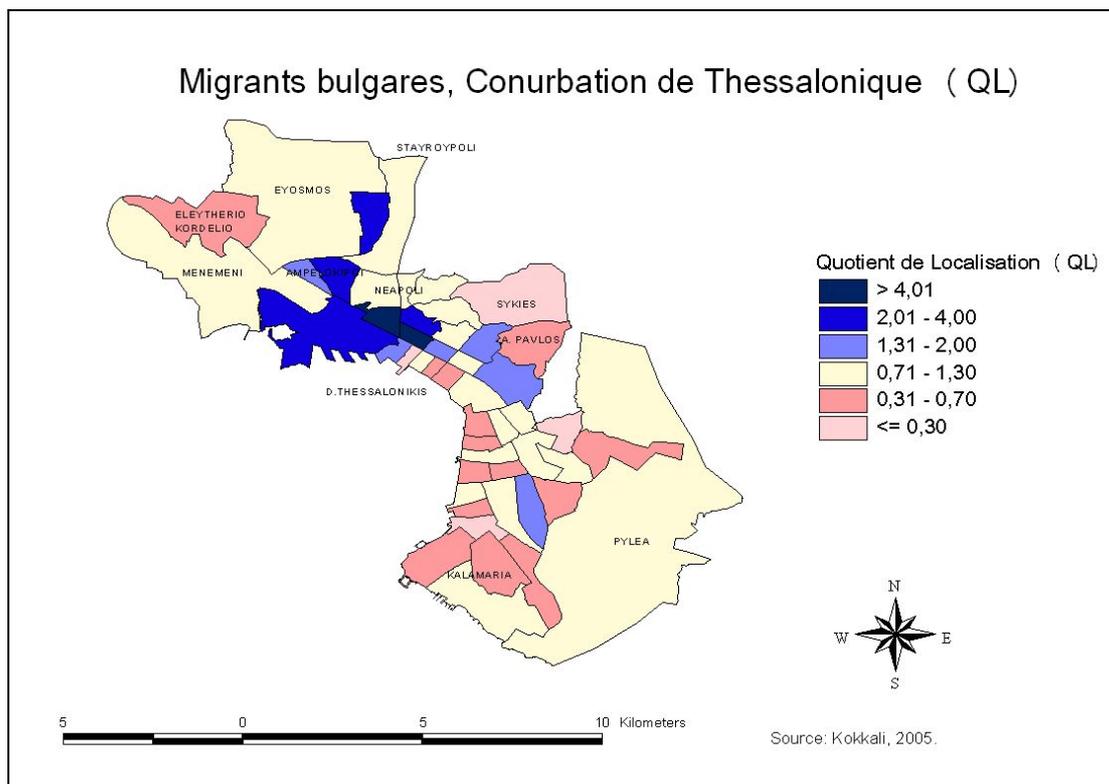


Source: Kokkali (2005), elaboration on census data of 2001.

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

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

Figure 3b: Bulgarian migrants in the Thessaloniki Conurbation



Source: Kokkali (2005), elaboration on census data of 2001.

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

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

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

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

Spatial proximity and social distance

Some definition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“dominant”, that is to say the societies of migrants’ installation. In addition, integration, while involving the migratory population directly, but as aforesaid being always the subject of discourse of the host society, requires the abandonment of every feature calling upon a culture other than the “dominant” culture – and this, whatever the variations of the model may be – as if the migrant never existed before the migratory episode. This implies a hierarchy of cultures, ways of life, religious choices; but the migrants’ cultures and practices are almost always considered to be inferior to “ours”, which, in final analysis, manifests racism, or better neo-racism⁶ (Balibar, 1988: 33) subjacent or open, according to the case.

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

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

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

Spatial proximity and social distance: Albanians in Thessaloniki

Before proceeding to the presentation of our empirical findings⁷, it seems essential to underline some basic characteristics of our sample, essentially our respondents’ Greek language qualifications and educational level, as well as the length of their stay in Greece. And this, because having social relations with the host society demands – in most cases – a certain degree of understanding and using of the “hosts” language, which – in turn – is function of the length of stay, but also of educational qualifications overall.

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

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

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

sample is 10,6 years. Additionally, more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the respondents declared to have a good knowledge of the Greek language, more than 70% has good, very good or excellent knowledge, and less than 1% declared that they can hardly speak Greek or cannot speak Greek at all. In other words, most of the respondents declare speaking Greek more or less fluently, which was rather expected considering the large number of respondents living in Greece for quite a long time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indeed, one person interviewed out of four considers that his/her living standards are 25% lower from the Greeks' living standards and another 20% that they are 50% lower from the Greek living standards. Regarding their payment compared to the average payment (for the same labour done by a Greek worker), less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the respondents declare that they are equally paid, while 6 over 10 persons believe that they are unequally paid. From those that declared being paid less than Greeks, approximately 50% think that they earn up to 30% less than a Greek, and $\frac{1}{3}$ declare they get paid 30-50% less. As for the problems faced at work during the last year, the main problem encountered is payment delays, while being less paid than agreed seems to be another major problem (Kotzamanis, 2006: 11, 13).

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

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

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

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

⁸ Greeks that do the same job with them.

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

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

Still, what is interesting is that, in spite of those results, 70% of the respondents declare feeling very good in their neighbourhood; 21% feel they are different from the others – they are the foreigners –, and only 4% declare to feel excluded⁹. However, it is to be noticed that the question concerns the present situation. Indeed, if we take into consideration that almost half of the sample lives in Greece for more than 10 years, we could suppose that they start "integrating" into the Greek society (Kotzamanis, 2006: 12-13).

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

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

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

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

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

In addition, in the question if there is, in the city/ village of residence, a place of meeting with other country fellowmen, more than one person over two answered that there was such a place (53%). Among the concerned respondents, 53% meet their co-nationals in a café/bar (owned by a Greek), 41% in houses, and 28% in squares/streets¹⁰. As for the frequency of those meetings, it varies between 2 and 3 times per week for 29,5% of them, while another 23% meet almost every day, contrary to 30% who meet their county fellowmen only once a week (*op.cit.*, 12).

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

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

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

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

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

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

school? It seems therefore highly possible that we are dealing, in this case, with a similar issue to that of adult Albanians and their “Greek friends”. When the question is direct “do you associate with Greeks” or “do you have Greek friends”, the answer is always positive, because – very possibly – we do not want to appear “isolated”, “excluded” and thus “different” from the dominant society, who, besides, constantly stigmatises immigrants of Albanian origin¹². Yet, in questions more subtly expressed, answers are quite different and apparently more frank.

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

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

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

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

The considerable stigmatisation of the Albanian immigrant in Greece has generated phenomena of “identity dissimulation”: an important number of Albanians in Greece proceed in an informal – or in some cases an official – change of their names¹³ (Psimmenos, 2001: 184 ; Lamprianidis & Lymperaki, 2001: 173-185, 198; De Rapper Gilles, 2002; Pratsinakis, 2005; Hatziprokopiou, 2003; Kokkali, 2003: 67). As for our respondents, a great part of them (70%) declare never to have concealed their Albanian nationality, but a non negligible part of 26% did so. Besides, 61% declare not to have used a Greek name instead of their own, but, here again, an important percentage, reaching 35% – and for Thessaloniki in particular 42% – did so. In other words, more than one over three persons has indeed used a Greek name instead of his/her own. Among those, 62,5% acted in this way when went to get a job for the first time (Kotzamanis, *op.cit.*, 14-15).

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

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

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

Some conclusions and remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

References

Allain Rémy (2000), « La proximité et la pensée sur la ville », ESO, Travaux et Documents, n°14, pp. 7-12.

Baldwin-Edwards Martin (2004), “Albanian emigration and the Greek labour market: Economic symbiosis and social ambiguity”, *South-East Europe Review*, January, in http://www.migrantsingreece.org/files/RESOURCE_123.pdf

Baldwin – Edwards Martin (2002), “Semi-reluctant hosts: Southern Europe’s ambivalent response to immigration”, in *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. III, Issue 2, Winter.

Balibar Etienne (1988), « Y a-t-il un ‘néo –racisme’ ? », in **Balibar Etienne & Wallerstein Immanuel (1988)**, *Race, nation, classe. Les identités ambiguës*, Editions La Découverte, Paris, pp.27-41.

Brown Lawrence A. & Chung Su-Yeul (2006), “Spatial segregation, segregation indices and the geographical perspective”, *Population, Space and Place*, Vol.12, No,2, March- April, pp.125-143.

Castells Manuel (1983), *The City and the Grassroots*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, p. XV-XXI, Part 3, pp.97-172.

Castles Stephen & Miller Mark J. (1998), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 2ème édition (1993), Macmillan, Londres.

Cavounides Jennifer (2002), “Migration in Southern Europe and the case of Greece”, *International Migration*, Vol.40, No.1, pp.45-70.

Chamboredon Jean-Claude, Lemaire Madeleine (1970), « Proximité spatiale et distance sociale. Les grands ensembles et leur peuplement », *Revue française de sociologie*, Vol.11, No.1, janv. /mars.

De Rapper Gilles (2002), « Crossing borders : migration in an albanian frontier zone », in Kaser Karl, Pichler Robert, Schwander-Sievers Stephanie (Hg.), *Die weite Welt und das Dorf. Albanische Emigration am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Wien-Koln-Weimar, Bohlau, p.1-11.

Emmanouel Dimitrios (2002), “Social segregation, polarisation and disparities in Athens’ geography (1980-2000)”, *Geographies*, No3, spring [in Greek].

Fakiolas Rossetos (2000), “Migration and unregistered labour in the Greek economy”, in **King Russell, Lazaridis Gabriella and Tsardanidis Charalambos (2000) (eds)**, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, Macmillan, London, pp.57–78.

Grafmeyer Yves & Joseph Isaak (2004) (présentation de), *L’Ecole de Chicago. Naissance de l’écologie urbaine*, Flammarion, Paris (1984, Editions Aubier).

Halbwachs Maurice (1913), *La classe ouvrière et les niveaux de vie*, Paris, Librairie F. Alcan, pp.495.

Hatziprokopiou Panos (2003), “Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki, Greece : processes of economic and social incorporation”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 29, No 6, November, pp.1033-1057.

Hatziprokopiou Panos (2004), “Balkan immigrants in the Greek city of Thessaloniki. Local processes of incorporation in an international perspective”, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, No 11 (4), Sage Publications, pp. 321-338.

Häußermann Hartmut & Siebel Walter (2001), “Integration and Segregation - Thoughts on an Old Debate”, *German Journal of Urban Studies Vol.40, No.1*, in http://www.difu.de/index.shtml?publikationen/dfk/en/01_1/01_1_haeussermann.shtml

Iosifides Theodoros & King Russel (1998), “Socio-spatial dynamics and exclusion of three immigrant groups in the Athens conurbation”, *South European Society and Politics*, Vol.3, No.3, pp. 205–229.

Kokkali Ifigeneia (2007), “Albanian immigration and Thessaloniki’s new (population) geography. Exploring the patterns of territorial insertion of an “exemplary” migratory group”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, forthcoming in 2007.

Kokkali Ifigeneia (2005), « Immigration albanaise en Grèce : diffusion et dispersion dans le territoire urbain. Le cas de Thessalonique », Actes du Colloque International « *Migrations, crises et conflits récents dans les Balkans* », Vol.2, Réseau DemoBalk, Association de Démographes de Serbie, Belgrade, 27-29 octobre.

Kokkali Ifigeneia (2003), Immigration et Gouvernance Urbaine : le cas des immigrés albanais à Thessalonique, Mémoire de DEA, sous la direction de François Ascher et d'Alain Bourdin, Institut Français d'Urbanisme, Université Paris 8, Paris, septembre.

Kotzamanis Angélique (2005), « Etat des lieux de l'immigration en Grèce. Les données existantes et les efforts de l'Etat pour mettre en place une législation sur les étrangers des pays tiers et de leurs enfants », Actes du Colloque International « *Migrations, crises et conflits récents dans les Balkans* », Belgrade, 27-29 octobre.

Kotzamanis Byron (2006) (dir.), "Survey on Albanian Immigrants in Greece", Final Report, World Bank – Laboratory of Demographic and Social Analysis, Department of Planning and Regional Development, University of Thessaly, May, pp. 17.

Lamprianidis Lois & Lymperaki Antigoni (2001), Albanian migrants in Thessaloniki, Ed. Paratiritis, Thessaloniki, July [in Greek].

Lazaridis Gabriella (1999), "The helots of the new millennium: ethnic-Greek Albanians and "other" Albanians in Greece", in **Anthias Floya & Lazaridis Gabriella (1999) (eds)**, Into the Margins: Migration and Exclusion in Southern Europe, Ashgate, Aldershot, pp.105–21.

Lazaridis Gabriella & Psimmenos Iordanis. (2000), "Migrant flows from Albania to Greece: economic, social and spatial exclusion", in **King Russell, Lazaridis Gabriella and Tsardanidis Charalambos (2000) (eds)**, Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe, Macmillan, London , pp.170–85.

Lefevre Marie-Pierre (2005), « Proximité spatiale et relation sociale », in **Bourdin Alain, Germain Annick, Lefevre Marie-Pierre (2005)**, La proximité, construction politique et expérience sociale, L'Harmattan.

Lecourt Arnaud & Baudelle Guy (2004), « Conflits d'aménagement et proximité sociale : une réévaluation », *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, Vol.7, No.3, pp.287-301.

Massey Douglas S. & Denton Nancy A. (1988), "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation," *Social Forces*, Vol.67, No.2 (December), pp.281-315.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – OECD (2006b), Statistics; Country Statistical Profiles 2006, in <http://stats.oecd.org/>.

Park Robert E. (1929), “The city as a social laboratory”, in **Smith T.V. and White Leonard D. (1929) (eds.)**, *An experiment in social science research*, Chicago, pp.1-19.

Park Robert E. (1926), “The urban community as a spatial pattern and a moral order”, in **Burgess Ernest W. (1926) (ed.)**, *The urban community*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp.3-18.

Pratsinakis Emmanouil (2005), “Aspirations and strategies of Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki”, *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Volume 7, Number 2, p.p.196-211.

Psimmenos (2001), *Immigration from the Balkans. Social exclusion in Athens*, Papazisi, Athens [in Greek].

Psimmenos Iordanis (1998), “Creating spaces of social exclusion: the case of Albanian clandestine immigrants at the centre of Athens”, in **Kasimati Koula (1998) (ed.)** *Social Exclusion: The Greek Experience*. Athens: Centre for Social Morphology and Social Policy/Gutenberg, 221–73 [in Greek].

Psimmenos Iordanis & Kassimati Koula (2004), “Shifting Work Identities and Oppositional Work Narratives: the Case of Albanian Domestic and Construction Workers in Greece”, in **Inglessi Chrissi, Lyberaki Antigone, Vermeulen Hans, van Wijngaarden G. Jacob (Eds.) (2004)**, *Immigration in Northern versus Southern Europe*, Netherlands Institute at Athens, Athens.

Sayad Abdelmalek (1999), *La double absence*, Seuil, Paris.

Sayad Abdelmalek (1981), “Le phénomène migratoire : une relation de domination”, *Annuaire de l’Afrique du Nord*, XX, Editions du CNRS, p.p. 365-406.

Simmel Georg (1999), *Sociologie. Etude sur les formes de la socialisation*, Paris, PUF, (édition originale : Leipzig, 1908), trad. Muller S., Deroche-Gurcel L., pp.756.

Tarrius Alain (1992), *Les fourmis d’Europe. Migrants riches, migrants pauvres et nouvelles villes internationales*, Logiques sociales ; L’Harmattan, Paris.

Tsoukala Anastassia (1999), « Le discours grec sur la criminalité des étrangers », *Hommes & Migrations, Laïcité. Mode d’emploi* ; No 1218, mars – avril 1999, p.77-89.

World Bank & INSTAT – Instituti i Statistikes (2003), *Living Standard Measurement Survey 2002: Albania. Basic Information Document*, October (updated May 2004).

Ifigeneia Kokkali studied urbanism, planning and regional development at the University of Thessaly, School of Engineering, and obtained her Masters' Degree at the Institut Français d'Urbanisme and Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées in Paris (DEA: "*Mutations Urbaines et Gouvernance Territoriale*"). She is currently a PhD researcher, working on Albanian migration in Greece.

E-mail address: kokifi@yahoo.com