GEITONIES – City Survey Report:

THESSALONIKI

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1. Executive Summary

The preliminary analysis of the data collected in Thessaloniki's GEITONIES survey evinces about the substantial influence of migration background on perceptions about life in the neighborhood. Immigrants are considerably more attached to their place of living and to their neighbors, evaluate more positively their neighborhood while they hold a slightly better image of the relations developed in their neighborhood. They also claim to have fewer problems with their neighbors and think that their neighborhood has a more positive reputation than natives do. Significant differences are recorded across the three neighborhoods yet those are less clear-cut. In many cases differences are mediated by the influence of migration background in such ways that it is difficult to speak about a general neighborhood pattern without referring to the internal division of the population. However, certain characteristics of each neighborhood do emerge. In particular, Nikopoli is pictured as the most problematic area, since it is perceived as the least safe neighborhood with the highest crime rates, while the majority of the respondents claim that they would move out with pleasure. Peraia is the neighborhood which is perceived by residents to have the best infrastructure and reputation, while Chinatown seems to stand somewhere in in-between the other two areas with some degree of identification and attachment. These findings suggest that ethnic concentration, combined with local characteristics (e.g. existence and type of infrastructure, social stratification of the area, etc), may create tensions between different migratory groups. Concerning the issue of public familiarity, a general finding that emerges clearly from the analysis is that anonymity is not widespread in any of the three neighborhoods and that the vast majority of respondents engage in some form of contact with their neighbors. Conflict, interethnic or not, is very rare in all neighborhoods. Immigrants appear more sociable and significantly more prone to develop everyday contact with people of different ethnic backgrounds.

Transgressing the neighborhood space to assess the overall social network of both immigrant and native residents, substantial differences are recorded in terms of its ethnic composition but not regarding its size. It is worth noting that an important component of the respondents' global social network comprises of relatives. Moreover, although interethnic relations are not widespread, immigrants appear to have significantly more ethnically mixed social networks. Also, the data corroborate

previous findings by highlighting the significance of the neighborhood as a field of socialization for immigrants. Approximately half of immigrants in all neighborhoods report that half or more of the people in their global social network live in the neighborhood. A considerably lower segment of the native population includes neighbors in their social network. Among the three neighbourhoods, Peraia is the one concentrating most people of the residents' greater social circle. Lastly, immigrants naturally maintain transnational relationships with people living abroad, especially in Chinatown.

Zooming in to the 'most important people' network, i.e. the respondents' intimate relationships, the findings are actually quite similar. Once more, no substantial differences are observed between immigrants and natives in terms of the size of the networks, while great differences are recorded in terns of the ethnic composition of those networks, as well as between past and present. The size of networks tends to increase over time, while some contacts remain the same. The vast majority of natives tend to socialize with Greek-born people, while immigrants maintain a more mixed circle of friends, partly reflecting the course of the migratory experience and settlement over the years. In general however, all residents tend to socialize more with people born in the same country as them. In that sense, the degree of interethnic contact remains low. In the total number of contacts per neighbourhood, the share of interethnic relations in the three neighbourhoods ranges between 19% and 29% for immigrant respondents, while for native residents it varies from 1% to 3,5%. Narrowing down specifically to immigrants' interethnic contacts, we see that more than half of them, in all neighborhoods, concern relationships with natives. Hence, immigrants do not only have more ethnically diverse social networks but they are also more prone to develop relations with natives than natives are with immigrants. Overall, however, immigrants engage more in interethnic relationships though most likely as a matter of necessity (i.e. being a minority in the country of residence, migrants inevitably come into contact with the majority population, while the reverse is not necessarily the case).

The neighborhood appears once more as a more important place of socialization for immigrants than for natives. After direct blood relatives, neighbors are the second category of most important contacts for immigrants, while for natives it is the third (preceded by colleagues). The role of the neighborhood for the development of contact appears less clear-cut and less significant in comparison to the influence of

the migration background. One thing that clearly emerged is that Peraia is the neighborhood where people have the most intense relationships while at the same time they have the most restricted social circle in general. Both findings indicate the significance of location and function of the neighborhood (Peraia, is a costal suburb rather secluded from the corpus of the city). Concerning ethnic group differences, the Chinese appear to have significantly more mono-ethnic social networks in comparison to the Soviet Greeks and Albanians. It is interesting to note that for all three immigrant groups relations with natives are much more common than relations with people from different ethnic backgrounds.

In what concerns the micro-context intimate relationships had originally been formed, the neighbourhood maintains a key role as a first-instance meeting place, although people usually tend to meet in other parts of the city. Few contacts currently live in the neighbourhood; there are, however, indications that the presence of contacts does play a role for migrants to move in, or that their own presence attracts their contacts in the neighbourhood. The private sphere of home (the respondents' or otherwise) appears to be the chief meeting place, partly reflecting the presence of relatives in social networks, but also revealing different meeting practices between migrants and natives, and implying different neighbourhood characteristics. So this is the case particularly for immigrants as well as for residents of suburban areas, especially in Nikopoli which is both secluded from the rest of the city and with less amenities and public spaces that the other two areas. Open public spaces are quite important in Chinatown and Peraia, but they seem to be located outside the neighbourhood in the former case. The semi-private sphere of the workplace is also generally important as a first contact space, but is a key meeting place only in the case of natives. In their majority, respondents of both native and migrant background tend to socialise mostly with people of the same education level.

Lastly, a Factor and Cluster analysis combined 18 variables to examine the respondents' level of embeddedness in the neighbourhood assuming that this shapes what we may call "modes of (interethnic) coexistence" at the local level. The variables concerned residents' perceptions of the neighbourhood and its people, everyday casual contact and some information on their global social network. The analysis identified three clusters showing respectively a high degree of embeddedness, a low degree but with rather indifferent stances towards the neighbourhood and its people, and a condition whereby feelings about the

neighbourhood are negative. This exercise allowed us to shed additional light in the modes of coexistence in the three areas. Accordingly, residents of Chinatown were rather expectedly found to be quite indifferent about the area, although some migrants appeared to be well-embedded and a few natives held negative views. In Nikopoli, by contrast, the level of embeddedness was high for immigrants, explainable through the overwhelming weight of Soviet Greeks and the ethnic and spatial segregation patterns in the district; while natives were rather indifferent Results appeared to be somehow contradictory in Peraia where, despite evidence of overall neighbourly relations, immigrants appeared to hold negative opinions about the sociability in the neighbourhood and do not trust other people living there, in contrast to natives - possibly reflecting the social and ethnic composition of the population locally. Although it seems that the degree of embeddedness does not relate to the existence of interethnic relations, people with interethnic contacts generally tend to be more caring and less insecure about their neighbourhood, even if they maintain a smaller circle of close friends.

In conclusion, the modes of *interethnic coexistence* are subject to a complex set of interactions, part of which have been explored in this report. The neighbourhood emerges as one (among other) factors and there do exist certain particularities in each neighbourhood - owning to their specific features, in terms of (infra)structure, functions and location in the city, social and ethnic composition of their population. However, the respondents social networks are only partly neighbourhood-based, while they largely come from within the family. There are also specificities regarding the two main groups of residents, i.e. whether they are of native or immigrant background, as well as some indications of differences between migrant groups. Lastly, methodological limitations would require us to acknowledge that important variables were left outside the analysis, e.g. the social stratification of the neighbourhood and the relevant social and ethnic composition of the local population. One should finally take into account the relative novelty of immigration to Greece and settlement in Thessaloniki, going back two decades only: the political questions regarding immigrants' legal status have very recently started to get arranged and there is still space for improvement, while the second generation (entirely excluded from our survey) is only now beginning to emerge. Expectedly then, the data confirm this wider context – showing that interethnic relations in Thessaloniki remain a process under development.

2. Introduction

2.1. The city and the neighbourhoods

The Prefecture of the Thessaloniki (total area of 3,683km^2) belongs to the Region of Central Macedonia, which altogether includes another six Prefectures and is located at N. Greece bordering to the north with Bulgaria and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) (see Map 2.1). Thessaloniki Prefecture is divided administratively in two departments, Thessaloniki and Langada, of which the former shapes the Greater Thessaloniki Area (GTA). GTA is further divided into three parts, namely Thessaloniki Conurbation (CON), Peri-Urban Zone (PUZ) and the Remaining GTA; it altogether includes 31 Municipalities with a total population of 982,000 inhabitants (see Map 2.2 & Table 2.1).

The *city of Thessaloniki* or Thessaloniki Conurbation (CON) is the major spatial unit in the GTA and constitutes the second largest urban centre in Greece after the capital city of Athens, with a population density far exceeding the national average (see Table 2.2). It spreads along the coast of Thermaikos Gulf, and consists administratively of 16 municipalities and communes, concentrating more than 80% of the GTA's population. Nearly half of its residents live in the central Municipality of Thessaloniki itself, the largest of the Conurbation's municipalities, located at the heart of the Conglomeration (see Map 2.2 & Table 2.1). The regional economy relies primarily on industrial and commercial activities (the tertiary's sector employment in the Prefecture reached 68.1 in 2001–see Table 2.2), most of which are concentrated in the urban areas. The strategic location of Thessaloniki's port, which is the second largest in the country, has also created significant opportunities for the city to become a major transportation hub in the Balkan region.

Thessaloniki carries a long multi-ethnic history of more than 500 years, from its conquest by the Ottomans in 1430 to the elimination of the erstwhile prevalent Jewish element by the Nazis during the Second World War, which led Mazower (2004) to describe it as a 'city of ghosts'. Since then it evolved into an expanding southern metropolis exhibiting most of the characteristics of the classic Mediterranean city (Leontidou 1990, 1996) perhaps with exception of history, which has been almost totally erased from its cement-dominated landscape. Today, it appears to be regaining part of its lost multicultural character, as it increasingly hosts people of

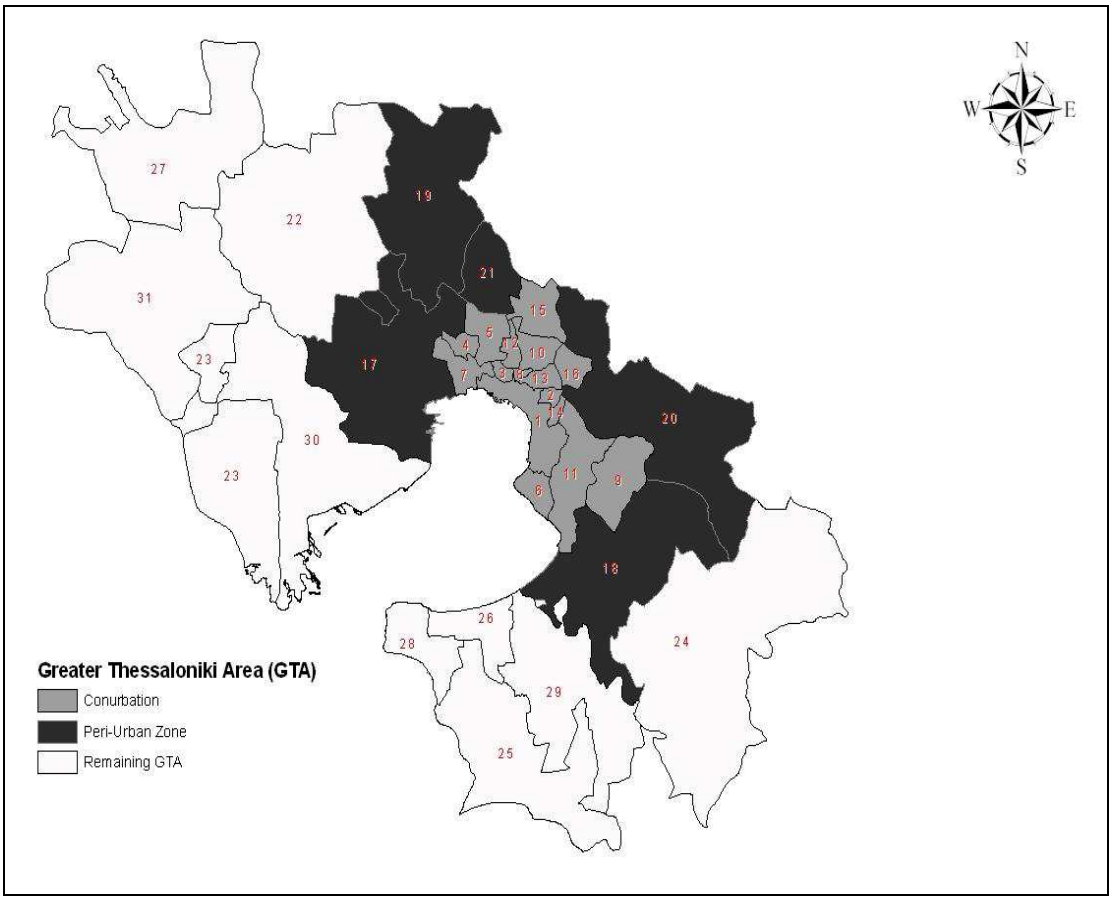
diverse origins and becomes a new home for migrants from Western Europe, the Balkans, the former Soviet Union and other parts of the world.

Concretely, according to the 2001 National Census, Thessaloniki Prefecture gathered almost 67,000 migrants which amounted for 8.8% of the total migrant population in Greece. Almost half of these people were settled in the Municipality of Thessaloniki, with the majority of them being Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Georgians and Russians, while migrants' population in Thessaloniki represented 7.7% of the Municipality's total population in that period (see Table 2.3). There are two important issues that should be noted here: first the figures regarding migrant population in Greece do not reflect on the total number of Soviet Greeks, who are referred by the authorities as '*palinnostoundes homogeneis'*, which translates to "repatriating ethnic Greeks". According to official statistics, the term "immigrants" refers to foreign nationals only. This however does not include the majority of approximately 180.000 Soviet Greeks who settled to Greece since 1989 and have been able to acquire Greek nationality by means of a summary mode of acquisition due to their Greek descent. Consequently, those who had naturalised by 2001, constituting the great majority, disappear from the immigration statistics as recorded by the 2001 Census. At the same time the Census significantly under-recorded the population of "repatriating ethnic Greeks" (only 10,971 migrants in Thessaloniki), which constitutes an important barrier in the efforts to measure accurately the total number of migrant population in Thessaloniki (see Katsavounidou and Kourti 2008).

Second, the available data were gathered almost ten years ago during the last National Census in the country; therefore the total number of migrant population is underestimated, especially for the case of migrants from African and Asian countries (e.g. Nigeria, Pakistan and China). However, it is evident through direct observation that the total number of migrants has increased during the last ten years and ethnic business communities are dynamically emerging in the city (Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou 2010).

Map 2.1 Greece - Prefecture of Thessaloniki

Source: www.in2Greece.com



Map 2.2 Greater Thessaloniki's administrative units*

* See Table 2.1 for labels

Table 2.1 GTA's total population by Municipality

	TERRITORIAL UNITS/MUNICIPALITIES	POPULATION
	PREFECTURE TOTAL	**1,057,825**
	GREATER THESSALONIKI AREA (GTA)	**981,933**
Map Label	**CONURBATION (CON)**	**800,764**
1	THESSALONIKI	363,987
2	AGIOS PAVLOS	7,978
3	AMBELOKIPOI	40,959
4	ELEFTHERIO-KORDELIO	21,630
5	EVOSMOS	52,624
6	KALAMARIA	87,255
7	MENEMENI	14,910
8	NEAPOLI	30,279
9	PANORAMA	14,552
10	POLIHNI	36,146
11	PYLAIA	22,744
12	STAVROUPOLI	41,653
13	SYKIES	41,726
14	TRIANDRIA	11,289
15	EFKARPIA commune	6598
16	PEFKA commune	6434
PERI-URBAN ZONE (PUZ)		**71,328**
17	EHEDOROS	23,924
18	THERMI	16,546
19	KALLITHEA	6,096
20	HORTIATIS	12,866
21	OREOKASTRO	11,896
remaining GTA		**109,841**
22	AGIOS ATHANASIOS	14,387
23	AXIOS	6,780
24	VASILIKA	9,303
25	EPANOMI	8,671
26	THERMAIKOS	20,253
27	KOUFALIA	10,757
28	MIHANIONA	9,425
29	MIKRA	10,427
30	HALASTRA	9,837
31	HALKIDONA	10,001

Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority, *2001 National Census*

Table 2.2 Additional statistical information: Greece & Thessaloniki Prefecture

Variable - Description		Greece	Thessaloniki
Population	***Total***	**10,943,077**	**1,057,825**
Population by sex	***M (%)***	**49.5**	**48.4**
	F (%)	**50.5**	**51.6**
Population Density	***Inhabitants per km²***	**82.8**	**306.6**
GDP per capita	***Purchasing power parities***	**15,094**	**13,791**
Unemployment	***%***	**10.8**	**10.7**
Employment by sector	***Primary (%)***	**13.9**	**1.2**
	Secondary (%)	**26.3**	**30.2**
	Tertiary (%)	**59.8**	**68.6**

Source: Own estimations, data derived from Eurostat and Hellenic Statistical Authority

Table 2.3 Migrant Population in Greece and Thessaloniki, 2001

	Greece		**Prefecture of Thessaloniki**		**Municipality of Thessaloniki**	
	a.n.	%	a.n.	%	a.n.	%
Total Population	**10.943.077**	**100,0**	**1.057.825**	**100,0**	**363.987**	**100,0**
Migrants	761.813	7,0	66.941	6,3	28.040	7,7
of which						
Albanians	438.036	57,5	31.611	47,2	12.966	46,2
Armenians	7.742	1,0	2.962	4,4	1.139	4,1
Bulgarians	35.104	4,6	2.931	4,4	651	2,3
Georgians	22.875	3,0	10.467	15,6	4.966	17,7
Russians	17.535	2,3	4.612	6,9	1.777	6,3
Other	240.521	31,6	14.358	21,4	6.541	23,3
Total migrant population	**761.813**	**100,0**	**66.941**	**100,0**	**28.040**	**100,0**

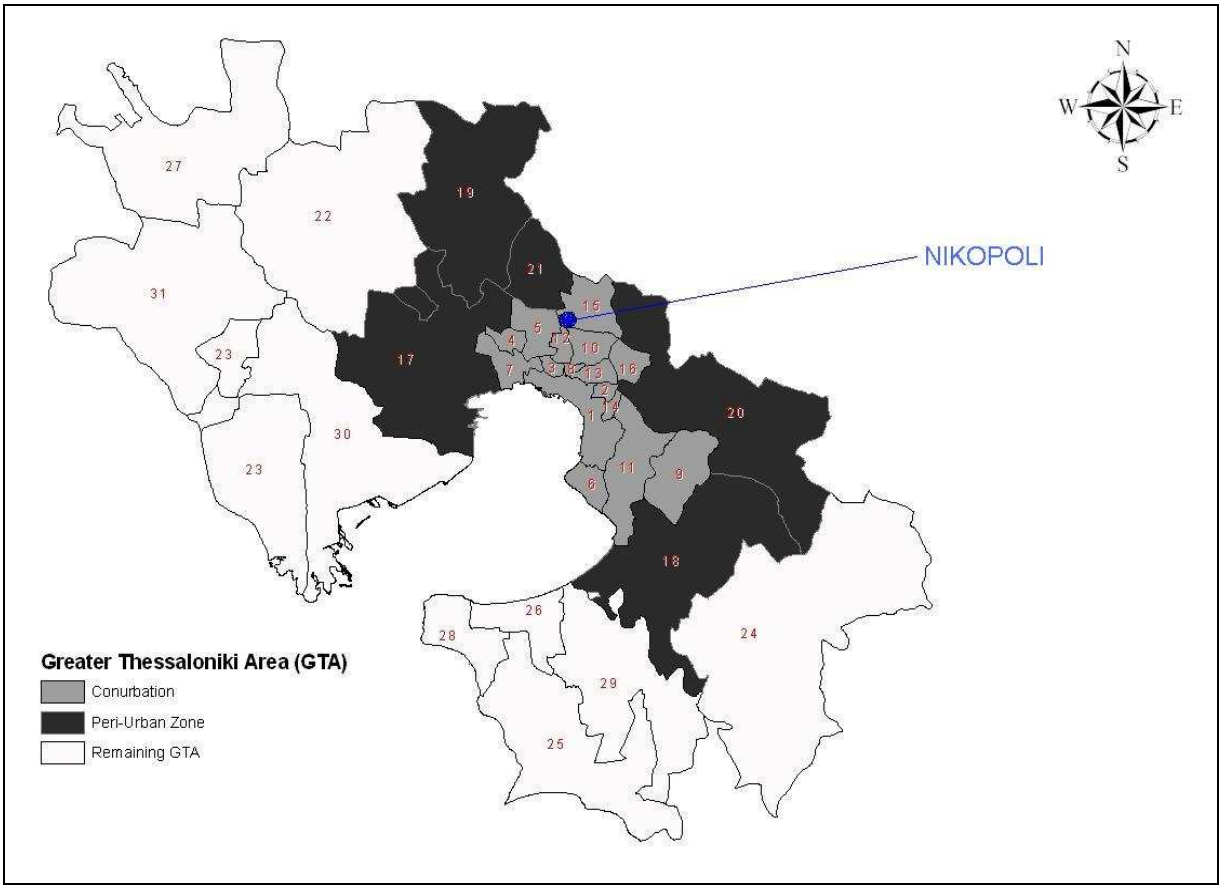
Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority, *2001 National Census: Data for migrant population*

These two caveats of the available data were taken into consideration during the neighbourhoods' selection phase of the project, which les us to examine both the

(rather old) statistical data and other secondary sources, as well as to employ a direct observation procedure in order to locate three areas which present some particularly interesting characteristics *vis-à-vis* migrant's settlement and interethnic relations in Thessaloniki, namely ***Nikopoli, Peraia*** and ***Chinatown***.

Nikopoli constitutes our first case study area and it refers to the territory located at the North-West part of the CON, embraced by the borders of the Municipality of Stavroupoli (west part), Municipality of Polixni (east part) and the Municipality of Efkarpia (north part) (see Map 2.3). It is an area hosting more than 7,000 people of which approximately 55% are Soviet Greeks, 35% native Greeks and the remaining 10% other immigrants. Nikopoli, together with the adjacent region of *Efxinoupoli*, is exceptional in the very high concentration of Soviet Greek immigrants, comprising by far the most segregated neighbourhood in the City. This Neighbourhood has expanded rapidly during the last fifteen years to a large extent by and for Greek descent immigrants from the former USSR and presently hosts more than 1/5 of the total Soviet Greek population of the GTA. These attributes were the main reasons to select the specific area.

Adding on that, Nikopoli presents some unique characteristics as far as the settlement of migrants is concerned. Specifically, this area constitutes an indicative example of the unauthorized construction procedures that were implemented during the post War period, owning to Greek state's insufficiency to provide housing based upon public financing and /or subsidized housing credit to internal migrants (Economou, Petrakos, and Psycharis, 2007). This phase, which lasted approximately from 1960 to 1980 resulted in the formation of the 'old part of Nikopoli', while urban infrastructure was provided later, after the neighbourhood was included in the urban plan in 1988. A second phase of unauthorized construction was implemented after 2000, when Soviet Greek immigrants started to settle in the area and particularly to the North part of our case study area (mainly in Efxinoupoli), encouraged by the provision of housing loans to Soviet Greek families during 2000-2004 by the Greek state.



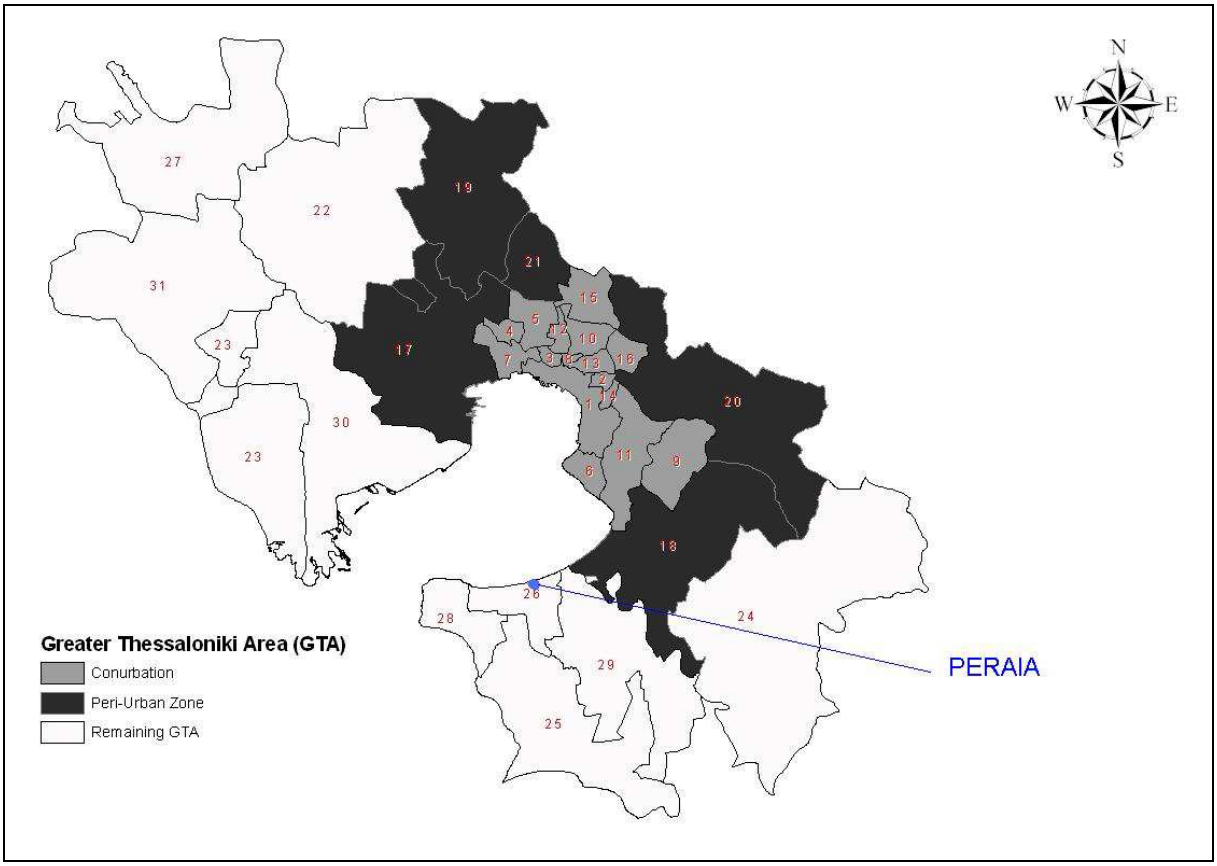
Map 2.3 Location of Nikopoli*

* See Table 2.1 for labels

These processes let to the formation of a neighbourhood with a considerably diverse housing stock, reflecting the area's settlement history and the two phases mentioned before. Adding on that, Nikopoli today is considered to be an under-developed area owning to its deprivation of social functions and the proximity to the industrial zone. The neighbourhood gives the impression of an area under construction, even though a clear distinction is evident between the old and the new part of Nikopoli. However, a progress was lately reported in view of the fact that the national Water Supply and Sewerage Company approved a plan for the connection of Nikopoli to the water network of Thessaloniki. Public light has started functioning from last March and during the present academic year two new schools, a primary school and a middle school were inaugurated.

Photo 2.1 The new (upper) and the old (bottom) part of Nikopoli

Peraia is the second case study area and it refers to the seaside area of the Municipality of Thermaikos, which belongs to the 'remaining GTA' division of the city, at the southern part of Thermaikos Gulf (see Map 2.4). Peraia constitutes a typical example of a suburban area in Thessaloniki, which has experienced a strong population growth between 1991 and 2001 (from 6,000 to 20,000), thus becoming one of the most important 'resort-suburbs' during that period, presenting an intense construction activity of second homes, particularly for retirees. Its short distance from the centre of the city (about 25 km), the coastline which offers a great view of the city across the Gulf, combined with the relatively cheap land values were the main driving forces for the area's development before 2000.



Map 2.4 Location of Peraia*

* See Table 2.1 for labels

This Neighbourhood also presents an interesting history regarding the inflow of migrants, since its origins date back to the late 1920's, when about 1750 refugees from the western coast of Asia Minor and from Eastern Thrace settled in this south-eastern part of the Gulf. The presence of migrants is notably high until today, since they represented almost 20% of the local population in 2001 (3,715 people), a fact that also highlights the diversity of its population, as it hosts large numbers not only of Thessaloniki's major immigrant groups, i.e. Albanians, Soviet Greeks and other migrants from the former USSR, but also a significant proportion of nationals of EU (15) and other Western countries. These attributes were proven to be of extreme importance during the areas' selection process as well.

The strong multi-ethnic presence in Peraia can be partially attributed to cheap house rents which attracted large number of migrants who were in turn able to provide the area with the needed labour force for the construction, catering and tourism-related activities that are flourishing there. At the same time, this Neihgbourhood is located near the airport and the knowledge-intensive area of Thermi, which also hosts

various massive malls and other commercial outlets as well as mass-entertainment industries that would also account for explaining immigrants' presence in the specific region.

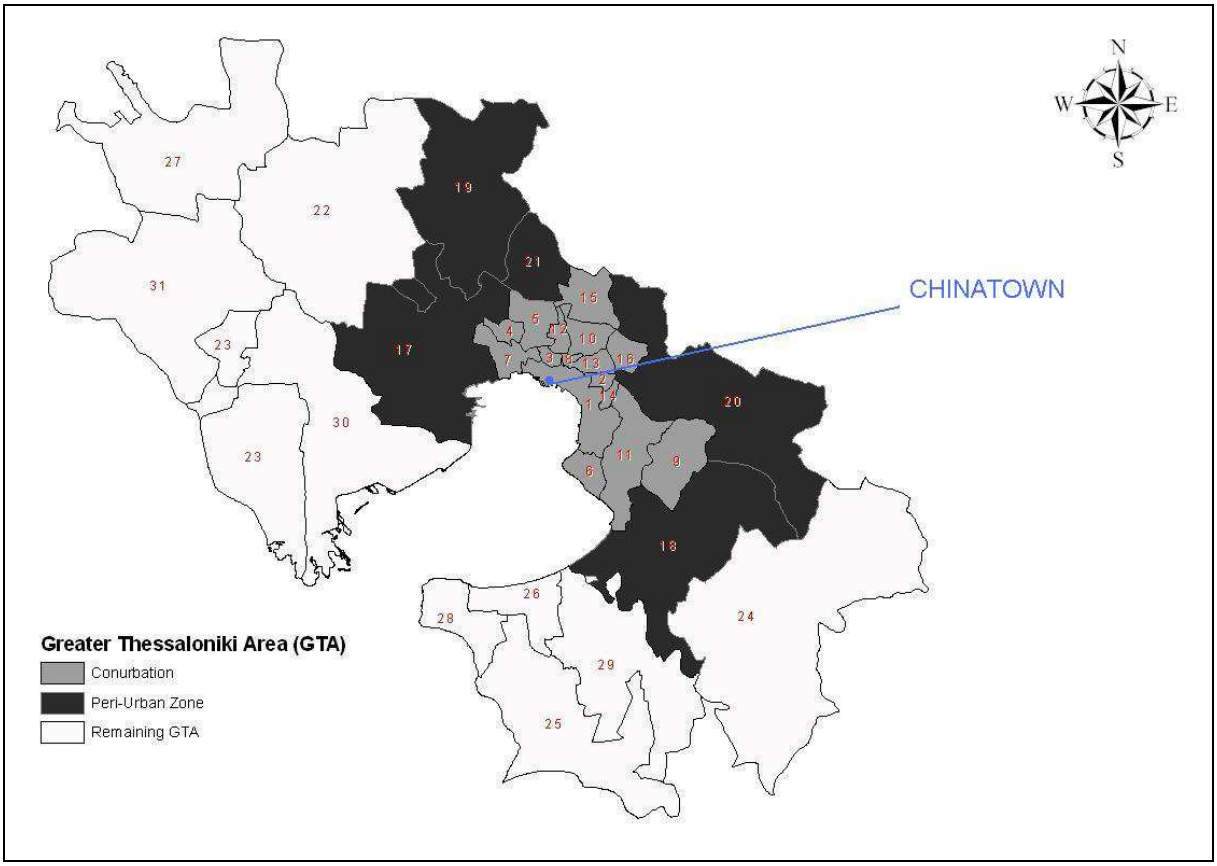
Photo 2.2 Views of Peraia

The third selected Neighbourhood is located near the centre of the Thessaloniki in the area known as 'Vardaris', which is bounded by the city's main Coach station, the old and the new railway station as well as the port. This area concentrates an important number of hotels, open markets and piazzas where immigrants gather in search for casual employment. Although it gathers a notable number of Albanian residents, possibly owning to the presence of the Albanian embassy there, its distinct characteristic involves the rising Chinese business community that includes restaurants, textile commercial shops and stores whose owners tend to cluster in space and present slow rates of integration in the local society. Hence, this area is denoted as an emerging '*Chinatown'* that administratively belongs to the Municipality of Thessaloniki (see Map 2.5).

This district, which is the oldest of the three selected neighbourhoods, holds a significant role in the city's history going back to the Byzantine times, when the city walls divided Thessaloniki in two parts: the inner-city and the part that lay outside the walls, where Vardaris square is located. Communication between these two areas took place through a large double gate, known as 'The Golden Gate'. Outside the Golden Gate there were the inns, flour mills, farm houses and a vast area where the trade fair, 'Demitria', was held as well as many marshes. Due to the intensive commercial activities that continued to take place there, the old railway station was also located in this district. This had been operating until the 1960s and currently it is only in use for commercial purposes.

Today, Vardaris area constitutes a part of what could be called the 'downgraded' neighbourhoods of Thessaloniki presenting characteristics of overpopulation, older buildings and cheaper rents (Hatziprokopiou 2006, 117). Once (in)famous for the notorious "Bara", one of the largest red light districts in Eastern Europe (e.g. see Mazower 2004) and still a major location for the city's sex-trade, it is characterised by a highly mixed land use and hosts a diverse range of economic activities. Especially after the opening of the new railway station, this western part of the centre became a less attractive place to live, owning to the derelict buildings and the whorehouses located there. Still offering cheap rents for an area as close to downtown Thessaloniki, it is marked by immigrant concentrations exceeding 30 per cent and currently undergoing major changes relating to regeneration projects and rapid transformation of its spatial uses. These conditions also appeared favourable to Chinese immigrants which set-up their businesses in the area and took advantage of the lower rents (also) for their houses, thus creating the small, but dynamic 'Chinatown' there.

The rationale in choosing this Neighbourhood is based on this 'unique' presence of migrant entrepreneurs in the area, the spatial concentration of Chinese (86.1 of their total population is settled there), as well as the exceptionally high shares of migrants in the area, which reached 30% in 2001 (mainly Albanians and Georgians) and it is considered to have risen since then due to the general trend of natives to desert the area. Another interesting fact involves the way in which a completely downgraded area is gradually transformed through the presence of migrant entrepreneurs, since the specific location comprises of previously abandoned old buildings, which Chinese migrants were able to take advantage of, establishing their businesses (and residences) there. This fact further supports the argument that migrants in general constitute a strong motive force for the economy of Thessaloniki, boosting the entrepreneurial activities in the city and taking advantage of a –previously- unexploited housing stock and shapes an interesting case study for the examination of interethnic relations in the area.



Map 2.5 Location of Chinatown*

* For labels see Table 2.1

Photo 2.3 Retail stores in Chinatown

2.2. Technical details on the survey

A survey with a longitudinal design, using a calendar format questionnaire, was employed, while the fieldwork in the selected Neighbourhoods was initiated in June 2009 and lasted until May 2010. Our target sample included 100 natives and 100 immigrants in each case study area that equalled to 600 interviews in total, with only a slight deviation at last regarding their respective numbers. This process included three distinct phases: the first one involved the preparation of the study regarding the translation of the questionnaire, printing of posters, meetings with local actors and visits to the neighbourhoods in an effort to familiarize with the prevailing conditions in the areas, as well as to complete the mapping of the households. The second phase was related to the training of interviewers and the preparation of the pilot study in order to eliminate any emerging problems and discuss possible alternations regarding both the sampling method as well as particular parts of the questionnaire. More than 15 interviews were conducted during this phase in June 2009, followed by a meeting with the research team and reporting of the most important barriers. Those involved the extremely low response rates (lower than 10%) as well as a crucial problem regarding the random selection sampling procedure.

Concretely, due to lack of any statistical data regarding household maps, we were not able to implement this strategy in view of the fact of the high number of refusals and the time schedule. Therefore, a slightly different method was employed, which involved the creation of an inventory of houses instead of households. A 'random number generator software' was then used in order to select house numbers and households depending on their total number in each building, following the rule of 'one interview in every four apartments' in order to ensure the randomness of our sample. This slight alternation was approved by the project leader and we were able to start with the fieldwork in July 2009.

The third phase (July 2009 – May 2010) involved the conduction of the interviews and the data entering process for the 600 interviews. Response rates were gradually improved owning to two different reasons: interviewers were acquiring experience and started to employ different successful practices in order to ensure the permission to conduct the interviews. Adding on that, printing of posters as well as letters of recommendation proved to be of significant importance for the smooth completion of the fieldwork phase, as they increased awareness of local population and ensured that any personal information shall not be distributed anywhere else, thus increasing trust between interlocutors. Continuous monitoring of the process ensured that deviations were not evident both in terms of random selection and time schedule. Thus, the fieldwork was completed during May 2010, with a short delay owning to technical reasons and problems that occurred with the data entering system.

The next step involved the cleaning of the data and the preparation of the analysis, which produced the findings presented in the next Sections.

2.3. Basic structure of the samples in the 3 neighbourhoods

This Section presents the most important demographic characteristics of our sample in each Neighbourhood, including migration background in more detail, age groups, gender, length of residence in the neighbourhood and educational level.

Starting from Chinatown, 200 interviews were conducted with 99 immigrants and 101 natives. The majority of residents of *immigrant background* were born in Albania (29.3%) followed by Georgians (27.3%) and Chinese (25.3%), while the remaining 18 people were born in 8 different countries representing a share of 18.1 among total immigrant population (Table 2.4). In Nikopoli, the vast majority of the 102 immigrants interviewed were born in Georgia (61.8%), followed by people born in Russia (15.7%). Similar was the case of Peraia, where Georgians constituted 44.4%

of the total immigrant population who participated in our study, while Albanians represented 32.3% in this area (Table 2.4). It is obvious that almost half of the immigrants in the three Neighbourhoods were born in Georgia, while 1/5 of them were born in Albania.

Regarding their *parents' place of birth*, the respective shares are identical to those presented before and between parents as well in Chinatown (Table 2.5). In the case of Nikopoli, the respective shares for parents born in Georgia are higher compared to those presented above, since in 66.7% of the cases respondent's mother was born in that country and in 71.6% their father was born there. In Peraia, once more, the majority of the participants' parents were born in Georgia (44.4% for mother and 41.4% for father- see Table 2.5). These findings indicate that in general respondents from the former Soviet Union appear to be more open towards people from different national background, compared to Albanians and Chinese, whose marriages more often include partners of the same background.

Table 2.4 Migration background: country of birth

Chinatown			
	Country of Birth	a.n.	%
1	Albania	29	29.3
2	Georgia	27	27.3
3	China	25	25.3
4-12	Other countries	18	18.1
	Total	99	100.0
Nikopoli			
	Country of Birth	a.n.	%
1	Georgia	63	61.8
2	Russia	16	15.7
3	Kazakhstan	13	12.7
4-11	Other countries	10	9.8
	Total	102	100.0
Peraia			
	Country of Birth	a.n.	%
1	Georgia	44	44.4
2	Albania	32	32.3
3	Armenia	5	5.1
4	Kazakhstan	5	5.1
5-12	Other countries	13	13.1
	Total	99	100.0

Source: Thessaloniki fieldwork survey 2009/10

Table 2.5 Migration background: parents' country of birth

Chinatown						
	Country of Birth	Mother			Father	
		a.n.	%		a.n.	%
1	Albania	29	29.3	1	29	29.3
2	Georgia	27	27.3	2	27	27.3
3	China	25	25.3	3	25	25.3
4-12	Other countries	18	18.1	4-12	18	18.1
	Total	99	100.0		99	100.0
Nikopoli						
	Country of Birth	Mother			Father	
		a.n.	%		a.n.	%
1	Georgia	68	66.7	1	73	71.6
2	Russia	14	13.7	2	12	11.8
3	Kazakhstan	10	9.8	3	6	5.9
4-7	Other countries	7	9.8	4-8	8	10.7
	Total	99	100.0		99	100.0
Peraia						
	Country of Birth	Mother			Father	
		a.n.	%		a.n.	%
1	Georgia	44	44.4	1	41	41.4
2	Albania	31	31.3	2	31	31.3
3	Armenia	7	7.1	3	8	8.1
4-12	Other countries	17	17.2	4-11	19	19.2
	Total	99	100.0		99	100.0

Source: Thessaloniki fieldwork survey 2009/10

However, it is useful to note that in the case of Thessaloniki one should take account of the fact that a significant number of migrants from the former Soviet Union with Greek origins have settled in Greece, as previously mentioned. Therefore, Table 2.6 presents the main findings regarding migration background in a more detailed way, in accordance with the origin of immigrants in the three selected Neighbourhoods:

Table 2.6 Migration Background: origin

Chinatown			
	Origin	**a.n.**	**%**
1	Chinese	25	25.3
2	Soviet Greeks	23	23.2
3	Albanians	21	21.2
4	Georgians	12	12.1
5	Albanian Greeks	8	8.1
6	Other countries	10	10.1
	Total	**99**	**100.0**
Nikopoli			
	Origin	**a.n.**	**%**
1	Soviet Greeks	87	85.3
2	Russians	7	6.9
3	Georgians	2	2.0
4	Armenians	2	2.0
5	Albanians	1	1.0
6	Other countries	3	2.9
	Total	**102**	**100.0**
Peraia			
	Origin	**a.n.**	**%**

1	Soviet Greeks	39	39.4
2	Albanians	25	25.3
3	Georgians	9	9.1
4	Armenians	7	7.1
5	Albanian Greeks	6	6.1
6	Other countries	12	12.1
	Total	**99**	**100.0**

Source: Thessaloniki fieldwork survey 2009/10

As far as the sample's *age distribution* is concerned, it is evident from Table 2.7 that in the case of Chinatown the local population is relatively young, since people aged less than 35 years old represent 35.3% of the total surveyed population. This share is particularly higher in the case of immigrants (40.4%) compared to natives (30.4%). In Nikopoli, the higher share is recorded for people aged 35-49 years old, who represent 35% in total among our sample. This figure is higher in the case of natives (39.8%) compared to 30.4% for immigrants. Last, in Peraia we can see that the higher share for people over 65 years old is recorded among the three Neighbourhoods, since they represent 14.5% of the total surveyed population compared to 6.5% for Chinatown and 8.5% for Nikopoli. This fact can be attributed to the strong presence of retirees in the area, as mentioned before. It is also interesting to note that there was not any immigrant in Chinatown aged more than 65 years old, while immigrants in Peraia have altered the local age pyramid owning to the presence of more young people compared to the native population. These data reveal that share of economically active population is higher in the case of immigrants compared to natives, since the majority of the cases involve economic migration.

Table 2.7 Age distribution

Chinatown						
	Natives		Immigrants		TOTAL	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
<35	30.4	31	40.4	40	35.3	71
35-49	34.3	35	40.4	40	37.3	75
50-64	22.5	23	19.2	19	20.9	42
>65	12.7	13	0	0	6.5	13
Total	100.0	102	100.0	99	100.0	201
Nikopoli						
	Natives		Immigrants		TOTAL	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
<35	26.5	26	29.4	30	28.0	56
35-49	39.8	39	30.4	31	35.0	70
50-64	23.5	23	33.3	34	28.5	57
>65	10.2	10	6.9	7	8.5	17
Total	100.0	98	100.0	102	100.0	200
Peraia						
	Natives		Immigrants		TOTAL	
	%	N	%	N	%	N

<35	5.9	6	22.2	22	14.0	28
35-49	41.6	42	29.3	29	35.5	71
50-64	32.7	33	39.4	39	36.0	72
>65	19.8	20	9.1	9	14.5	29
Total	100.0	101	100.0	99	100.0	200

Source: Thessaloniki fieldwork survey 2009/10

Regarding *gender*, females represent the majority in each neighbourhood, similarly to the case for the whole Prefecture as presented in Table 2.2 before. Concretely, their shares are 51.7%, 52.0% and 50.5% in Chinatown, Nikopoli and Peraia respectively (Table 2.8). For natives, the highest share for males is recorded in Peraia where they represent 49.5% of the Greeks who took part in our study. In the case of immigrants, the highest share for males is found in Chinatown and Nikopoli with 49.5% in both cases.

Table 2.8 Gender

Chinatown						
	Natives		Immigrants		TOTAL	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Male	47.1	48	49.5	49	48.3	97
Female	52.9	54	50.5	50	51.7	104
Total	100.0	102	100.0	99	100.0	201
Nikopoli						
	Natives		Immigrants		TOTAL	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Male	49.0	48	47.1	48	48.0	96
Female	51.0	50	52.9	54	52.0	104
Total	100.0	98	100.0	99	100.0	200
Peraia						
	Natives		Immigrants		TOTAL	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Male	49.5	50	49.5	49	49.5	99
Female	50.5	51	50.5	50	50.5	101
Total	100.0	101	100.0	99	100.0	200

Source: Thessaloniki fieldwork survey 2009/10

The next characteristic under examination refers to analysis of the *length of residence in the Neighbourhood*. More specifically there were four groups formed: 1) people who have always lived in the neighbourhood, 2) people who moved their in between one and five years ago, 3) people who moved there in between six and ten years ago and 4) people who moved there in more that ten years ago. In Chinatown the results presented on Table 2.9 show that most people have moved there in between one and five years ago (28.6%). However, the highest share among natives has always lived there, while the highest share among immigrants represents newcomers since they moved in the Neighbourhood in between one and five years ago. In Nikopoli, most of the participants moved thee in between six and ten years

ago (37.7%). The higher share of natives (almost 30%) stands for people who have moved there in more than ten years ago, while in the case of immigrants in Nikopoli, most of them (48%) moved there in between six and ten years ago. These figures reflect the two periods of settlement in the area as described in the introductory part of this Section. In Peraia, most respondents moved there in more than ten years ago, which can be attributed to the dynamic development of the suburb during the decade 1990-2000 as mentioned before. Examining these percentages among natives and immigrants one can see that in both cases the majority of them moved there before 2000 (47.5% and 45.5% respectively). It is also interesting to note that Peraia presents the highest percentage of immigrants who have always lived there among the three Neighbourhoods under consideration, which reached 8.1% (Table 2.9). These findings lead us to conclude that natives have lived for a long time in Peraia and Chinatown, while they can be considered as 'new comers' in the case of Nikopoli. Regarding immigrants, newcomers are mainly located in Chinatown, while they have settled long time ago in the case of Peraia and Nikopoli.

Table 2.9 Length of residence in the neighbourhood

Chinatown						
	Natives		**Immigrants**		**TOTAL**	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Have always lived there	34.7	35	5.1	5	20.1	40
Moved in between 1 and 5 years ago	17.8	18	39.8	39	28.6	57
Moved in between 6 and 10 years ago	13.9	14	34.7	34	24.1	48
Moved in more than 10 years ago	33.7	34	20.4	20	27.1	54
Total	100.0	101	100.0	98	100.0	200
Nikopoli						
	Natives		**Immigrants**		**TOTAL**	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Have always lived there	17.5	17	5.9	6	11.6	23
Moved in between 1 and 5 years ago	25.8	25	36.3	37	31.2	62
Moved in between 6 and 10 years ago	26.8	26	48.0	49	37.7	75
Moved in more than 10 years ago	29.9	29	9.8	10	19.6	39
Total	100.0	97	100.0	102	100.0	199
Peraia						
	Natives		**Immigrants**		**TOTAL**	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Have always lived there	12.9	13	8.1	8	12.9	21
Moved in between 1 and 5 years ago	14.9	15	23.2	23	14.9	38
Moved in between 6 and 10 years ago	24.8	25	23.2	23	24.8	48
Moved in more than 10 years ago	47.5	48	45.5	45	47.5	93

Total	100.0	101	100.0	99	100.0	200

Source: Thessaloniki fieldwork survey 2009/10

Last, the *educational level* of participants was evaluated in each Neighbourhood. The results (Table 2.10) reveal that the highest share for post secondary and tertiary education graduates is recorded in Peraia (41.6%) and the lowest in Chinatown (37.6%). Examining these figures according to ethnic background, we are able to see that in the case of natives the highest share for the specific category is found in Peraia again, where half of the Greek respondents are secondary and tertiary education graduates. In the case of immigrants, only 29.9% of them in Chinatown belong to this educational group, while this share is exceptionally high in the case of Nikopoli, where 46.5% of the surveyed immigrant population refers to post secondary and tertiary education graduates. Interestingly, Nikopoli constitutes the only area where immigrants present higher educational levels compared to natives. This could be attributed to the strong presence the first settlers in the area, who were mostly unskilled internal migrants seeking to take advantage of the housing opportunities prevailing in the area during the period 1960-1980.

Table 2.10 Educational level

Chinatown						
	Natives		**Immigrants**		**TOTAL**	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
No school, primary and first stage of basic (ISCED 0-1)	15.7	14	12.4	12	14.0	26
Lower secondary, second stage (ISCED 2)	11.2	10	18.6	18	15.1	28
Upper secondary (ISCED 3)	27.0	24	39.2	38	33.3	62
Post secondary and tertiary (ISCED 4-6)	46.1	41	29.9	29	37.6	70
Total	100.0	89	100.0	97	100.0	186
Nikopoli						
	Natives		**Immigrants**		**TOTAL**	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
No school, primary and first stage of basic (ISCED 0-1)	20.8	20	5.1	5	12.8	25
Lower secondary, second stage (ISCED 2)	16.7	16	16.2	16	16.4	32
Upper secondary (ISCED 3)	35.4	34	32.3	32	33.8	66
Post secondary and tertiary (ISCED 4-6)	27.1	26	46.5	46	36.9	72
Total	100.0	96	100.0	99	100.0	195
Peraia						
	Natives		**Immigrants**		**TOTAL**	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
No school, primary and first stage of basic (ISCED 0-1)	14.9	14	8.3	8	11.6	22
Lower secondary, second stage (ISCED 2)	11.7	11	26.0	25	18.9	36

Upper secondary (ISCED 3)	23.4	22	32.3	31	27.9	53
Post secondary and tertiary (ISCED 4-6)	50.0	47	33.3	32	41.6	79
Total	100.0	94	100.0	96	100.0	190

Source: Thessaloniki fieldwork survey 2009/10

3. Setting the scene: perceptions of neighbouring and the neighbourhood

In the third chapter we start the preliminary analysis of the data collected in the survey by describing how neighbourly relations and the neighbourhood are evaluated by the key actors. This is a section focused on perceptions rather than actual experiences. In particular, firstly we assess how residents feel about the people in their area, how they evaluate the social relations developed there as well as the degree to which the neighbourhood is perceived as an important field of their social life. Then we go on by exploring how the neighbourhood space is evaluated focusing on issues of safety, infrastructure and social reputation. Finally, at the last sections of the chapter, levels of xenophobia and trust are enquired through a set of attitudinal questions. Throughout the text, differences are explored between immigrant and native residents as well as across the three neighbourhoods; all data are presented in tables. The importance of the demographic factors such as age, sex, education level and length of residence is also assessed through reference to the statistically significant results only.

3.1. Getting along with each other: Perception and evaluation

The majority of respondents in all neighbourhoods consider their neighbours to be **welcoming** towards newcomers. This is slightly less the case in Chinatown and significantly less for natives in Peraia. The latter are the most negative category in that respect: 37 people disagree with the statement that "residents of the neighbourhood are welcoming to new people moving in" and an equal number disagrees. Their views are significantly different from those of the native respondents. The latter are overly positive following the general pattern recorded. Length of residence is statistically significant for the native residents of Nikopoli with the more established residents being more positive.

Table 3.1 Getting along with each other: "People in this area are welcoming to new people moving in", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	56.0	47.2	63.3	56.2	66.0	39.8
Neutral	23.8	32.6	25.5	24.7	14.4	20.4
Disagree	20.2	20.2	11.2	19.1	19.6	39.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	84	89	98	89	97	93

Chinatown: chi square =1.820, df=2; p=0.403;

Nikopoli: chi square =2.335, df=2; p=0.311;

Peraia: chi square =13.683, df=2; p=0.001.

Concerning the issue of **collaboration** of neighbours with the aim to improve their living space, opinions are more divided. Neither populations have been described as particularly uncooperative nor the opposite. It is interesting that there is a considerable uniformity in that respect across neighbourhoods and between immigrants and natives. In all neighbourhoods, there is a slight difference between immigrant and native respondents with the former being more positive but it is bellow the level of statistical significance. Age plays a significant role for differences observed among the immigrant population in Chinatown (p= 0.001), with the 50-65 age group being considerably more positive in that respect.

Table 3.2 Getting along with each other: "People in this area pull together to improve it" by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	47.1	30.9	37.5	29.3	34.5	34.4
Neutral	12.9	9.6	16.7	17.4	32.1	18.8
Disagree	40.0	59.6	45.8	53.3	33.3	46.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	85	94	96	92	84	96

Chinatown: chi square =6.896, df=2; p=0.32;

Nikopoli: chi square =1.470, df=2; p=0.479;

Peraia: chi square =5.240, df=2; p=0.073.

As far as the issue of **familiarity** between neighbours is concerned, following the views of its immigrants' residents, Nikopoli is represented as a very socially cohesive place. Statistically significant difference is observed between them and the native residents. The same pattern is also observed in the other two neighbourhoods even though differences are not statistically significant. At the aggregate level, Chinatown is the neighbourhood where the most respondents conceive it as a place where

people hardly know each other. Sex is an important factor (p= 0.006) for natives in that neighbourhood with more female residents thinking of their neighbourhood as a socially cohesive place.

Table 3.3 Getting along with each other: "People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	42.0	50.0	19.0	34.1	21.3	36.8
Neutral	11.4	18.1	10.0	13.2	19.1	18.9
Disagree	46.6	31.9	71.0	52.7	59.6	44.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	88	94	100	91	89	95

Chinatown: chi square =4.517, df=2; p=0.105;

Nikopoli: chi square =7.099, df=2; p=0.029;

Peraia: chi square =53854, df=2; p=0.054.

Concerning the **quality of relations**, immigrants in Chinatown have a significantly more favourable image of their neighbourhood in comparison to the native population. The residents of Nikopoli are on the whole more positive than the residents of Peraia who are divided in that respect. Length of residence seems to influence (p= 0.016) positively the perception of the neighbourly relations for natives in Nikopoli and age negatively the perception of immigrants in Chinatown.

Table 3.4 Getting along with each other: "People in this area do not get along very well", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	19.0	41.4	25.8	31.8	35.2	43.2
Neutral	22.6	13.8	18.6	18.8	22.7	18.9
Disagree	58.3	44.8	55.7	49.4	42.0	37.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	84	87	97	85	88	95

Chinatown: chi square =10.360, df=2; p=0.006;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.907, df=2; p=0.635;

Peraia: chi square =1.242, df=2; p=0.537.

Concerning perceptions about **tensions** occurring between different social categories in the neighbourhood space, Nikopoli is represented by its residents, both native and immigrants, as the most conflictual. In the same neighbourhood, age (p= 0.030) and length of residence (p= 0.011) appear to influence the perceptions of immigrants and natives respectively. The youngest immigrants and the natives who are settled for the longest period in the neighbourhood agree the most with the

statement that 'there are often tensions between difference categories of people'. As far as Chinatown and Peraia are concerned, statistically significant differences are recorded between immigrant and native residents; considerably fewer immigrant residents believe that there are tensions in their neighbourhood. Combining the findings of this item with the previous one, it appears that the majority of residents assess the neighbourly relations in area of residence in a positive way. Such representations are much more common among the immigrant respondents.

Table 3.5 Getting along with each other: "There are often tensions between different categories of people in this area", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	20.9	34.4	36.7	38.9	18.8	35.8
Neutral	8.8	3.1	10.2	8.9	10.6	8.4
Disagree	70.3	62.5	53.1	52.2	70.6	55.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	91	96	98	90	85	95

Chinatown: chi square =6.042, df=2; p=0.049;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.149, df=2; p=0.928;

Peraia: chi square =6.437, df=2; p=0.04.

3.2. What does the neighbourhood and the people living there mean to the respondents?

Turning to the assessment of **everyday interactions** in the neighbourhood level most residents are rather satisfied. Statistically significant differences are observed between immigrants and natives in Chinatown and Peraia. In the former, immigrants are more satisfied than natives while the opposite holds true for Peraia. Length of residence play a significant role for natives in Nikopoli (p= 0.001) with those who are settled in the neighbourhood longer enjoying more their daily interactions with neighbours.

Table 3.6 Meaning of neighbourhood: "I enjoy the daily exchanges with the people in my neighbourhood", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	60.2	36.7	54.5	47.4	50.5	63.9
Neutral	16.3	25.5	18.8	21.1	29.9	11.3
Disagree	23.5	37.8	26.7	31.6	19.6	24.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	98	98	101	95	97	97

Chinatown: chi square =10.811, df=2; p=0.004;

Nikopoli: chi square =9.156, df=2; p=0.606;

Peraia: chi square =10.204, df=2; p=0.006.

The majority of people in all three areas under research claim to **care about their neighbourhood**. No significant differences are observed between immigrants and natives as well as across neighbourhoods. Length of residence appears important for immigrants in Chinatown (p= 0.005) and natives in Nikopoli (p= 0.01), in both cases inducing concerns about the neighbourhood. Level of education is important in Chinatown for immigrants (p= 0.011) with those having post tertiary education being more carrying.

Table 3.7 Meaning of neighbourhood: "I care about my neighbourhood", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	67.3	75.0	75.0	70.8	72.2	79.0
Neutral	13.3	12.0	13.0	9.4	15.5	11.0
Disagree	19.4	13.0	12.0	19.8	12.4	10.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	98	100	100	96	97	100

Chinatown: chi square =1.719, df=2; p=0.423;

Nikopoli: chi square =2.570, df=2; p=0.277;

Peraia: chi square =1.295, df=2; p=0.523.

The majority of native residents claim that they won't **miss their neighbourhood** if they move away. Immigrants appear more psychologically tied to their neighbourhood in all three areas under research; for Nikopoli and Chinatown those differences are above the statistical threshold of significance. In Nikopoli, except from migration background, sex (p= 0.014) and education (p= 0.019) play a statistically significant role for the native population: women and those with lower secondary education are more attached to the neighbourhood.

Table 3.8 Meaning of neighbourhood: "I would miss the people in my neighbourhood when I moved away", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	52.6	37.0	53.0	34.4	43.3	39.0
Neutral	8.2	10.0	10.0	12.5	33.0	11.0
Disagree	39.2	53.0	37.0	53.1	23.7	50.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	97	100	100	96	97	100

Chinatown: chi square =4.877, df=2; p=0.087;

Nikopoli: chi square =6.982, df=2; p=0.030;

Peraia: chi square =20.312, df=2; p=0.000.

There are more natives than migrants who claim that they are **annoyed by the people in their neighbourhood** in all three areas under research. Differences are statistically significant in Nikopoli and Peraia. However, those are still a minority. Comparing the neighbourhoods no substantial differences in perceptions are recorded in that respect.

Table 3.9 Meaning of neighbourhood: "People in my neighbourhood annoy me", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	11.2	15.7	7.8	21.1	7.3	19.0
Neutral	12.2	7.8	5.9	5.3	19.8	15.0
Disagree	76.5	76.5	86.3	73.7	72.9	66.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	98	102	102	95	96	100

Chinatown: chi square =1.705, df=2; p=0.426;

Nikopoli: chi square =7.045, df=2; p=0.030;

Peraia: chi square =6.048, df=2; p=0.049.

Immigrant residents evaluate much more positively the presence of their neighbours for their **feeling of safety** in the neighbourhood. Statistically significant differences are found in that respect in all neighbourhoods. In Nikopoli, age (p= 0.026) plays a role for immigrants, the oldest ones being more positive, and length of residence (p= 0.008) for the natives, the longer established being more positive.

Table 3.10 Meaning of neighbourhood: "The people in my neighbourhood make me feel safe here", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	62.2	43.6	55.9	39.6	61.2	66.7
Neutral	18.4	20.8	21.6	20.8	25.5	12.1
Disagree	19.4	35.6	22.5	39.6	13.3	21.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	98	101	102	96	98	99

Chinatown: chi square =8.194, df=2; p=0.017;

Nikopoli: chi square =7.409, df=2; p=0.025;

Peraia: chi square =6.731, df=2; p=0.035.

A larger number of native residents claim to feel **threatened by the behaviour of people in their neighbourhood** although those respondents are a minority in all

neighbourhoods. No substantial differences are recorded across the neighbourhoods except from the fact that the native population in Nikopoli singles out as the category that feels the most threatened. In that neighbourhood approximately one third of natives feel threatened, whereas only one tenth of the immigrant population has a similar perception.

Table 3.11 Meaning of neighbourhood: "I feel threatened because of the behaviour of people in this place", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	12.6	19.8	8.9	30.5	6.1	14.1
Neutral	5.3	11.9	14.9	3.2	12.2	9.1
Disagree	82.1	68.3	76.2	66.3	81.6	76.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	95	101	101	95	98	99

Chinatown: chi square =5.255, df=2; p=0.072;

Nikopoli: chi square =19.761, df=2; p=0.000;

Peraia: chi square =3.726, df=2; p=0.155.

Nikopoli clearly singles out as the area which is conceived by its residents as the least safe. Almost half of the immigrant and 60% of the native residents disagree with the statement that their area is a **safe one with low crime rates**. Immigrants in that neighbourhood are divided in sex (p= 0.017) and age (p= 0.027) lines with the female and older respondents being the most negative in that respect. In the other two neighbourhoods the majority of residents, both immigrants and natives, feel that their neighbourhood is a safe place. In Chinatown age (p= 0.027) and education (p= 0.007) influence the perception of the native residents with the most educated and the oldest having the most negative feelings. In no neighbourhood significant differences in the perspectives about safety are recorded between immigrants and natives.

Table 3.12 Meaning of neighbourhood: "This is a safe area with low crime rates", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	66.0	49.0	36.0	31.3	59.8	67.0
Neutral	7.4	13.3	16.0	10.4	13.0	11.3
Disagree	26.6	37.8	48.0	58.3	27.2	21.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	94	98	100	96	92	97

Chinatown : chi square =5,824, df=2; p=0,054;

Nikopoli: chi square =2,465, df=2; p=0,292;

Peraia: chi square =1,093, df=2; p=0,579.

The majority of the residents of the areas under research are not particularly **proud of their neighbourhood**. The only difference that can be observed between neighbourhoods is the fact that fewer residents in Peraia disagree with the statement "I am proud of my neighbourhood". Residents in Chinatown and Nikopoli are more divided in that respect and natives appear less fond of the neighbourhood in comparison to immigrants, although the difference recorded is below the level of statistical significance. Age appears as an important factor in Chinatown both for natives (p= 0.009) and immigrants (p= 0.012) with the older residents being more proud of their neighbourhood. In Nikopoli education influences immigrants' feelings with the highest educated being the least proud of their neighbourhood.

Table 3.13 Meaning of neighbourhood: "I am proud of my neighbourhood", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	38.1	29.0	39.6	27.1	37.1	26.8
Neutral	16.5	23.0	22.8	28.1	42.3	48.5
Disagree	45.4	48.0	37.6	44.8	20.6	24.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	97	100	101	96	97	97

Chinatown: chi square =2.355, df=2; p=0.308;

Nikopoli: chi square =3.474, df=2; p=0.176;

Peraia: chi square =2..386, df=2; p=0.303.

Although more immigrants have declared that they would miss their neighbourhood if they would move out, this is not reflected very clearly in the question about levels of **attachment to the neighbourhood**. In Nikopoli and Peraia, immigrants are more attached with their neighbourhood but only in the latter neighbourhood differences are statistically significant. The residents of Chinatown are the most attached to their neighbourhood as a whole, while there are almost no differences between immigrants and natives. Age is rather a significant factor. In Chinatown older residents, both immigrants (p= 0.03) and natives (p= 0.01), and in Peraia older immigrants (p= 0.025) are more attached. In Nikopoli the residents with lower education (p= 0.02) are more attached as well as those who are longer settled there. Length of residence is also positively related with levels of attachment for natives in Nikopoli.

Table 3.14 Meaning of neighbourhood: "I feel attached to this place", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	52.1	53.9	53.5	40.4	49.5	31.0
Neutral	12.5	10.8	7.9	8.5	17.2	22.0
Disagree	35.4	35.3	38.6	51.1	33.3	47.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	96	102	101	94	99	100

Chinatown: chi square =0.157, df=2; p=0.924;

Nikopoli: chi square =3.478, df=2; p=0.176;

Peraia: chi square =7.136, df=2; p=0.028.

Concerning the extent to which people identify with their neighbourhood, substantial difference is recorded between immigrants and natives in Peraia. The former identifies the most with their neighbourhood while the native respondents of Peraia identify the least with their neighbourhood. Natives in Nikopoli are divided in that respect while the majority of the rest of the categories (residents in Chinatown and immigrants in Nikopoli) identify strongly with their neighbourhood identity.

Table 3.15 Meaning of neighbourhood: "To what extent do you feel [NoR] identity?", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Strongly	45.8	44.1	42.6	34.0	53.6	26.0
Neutral	25.0	25.5	22.8	14.4	20.6	24.0
Weakly	16.7	8.8	17.8	22.7	10.3	20.0
Not at all	12.5	21.6	16.8	28.9	15.5	30.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	96	102	101	97	97	100

Chinatown: chi square =4.815, df=3; p=0.186;

Nikopoli: chi square =6.516, df=3; p=0.089;

Peraia: chi square =17.322, df=3; p=0.001.

Immigrants seem to be slightly less **willing to move out of their neighbourhood** although differences are in all neighbourhoods not statistically significant. On the whole residents in Nikopoli seem to be the most motivated to move out and the residents of Peraia the least. Length of residence is once more an important factor for the native residents. Those who are settled there before turning 18, do not wish to leave the neighbourhood whereas the rest are very highly motivated in doing so.

Table 3.16 Meaning of neighbourhood: "I would move away from here with pleasure ", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	30.2	43.4	45.5	52.7	25.0	33.0
Neutral	12.5	9.1	9.9	12.9	9.4	12.0
Disagree	57.3	47.5	44.6	22.6	65.6	55.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	96	99	101	93	96	100

Chinatown: chi square =3.733, df=2; p=0.155;

Nikopoli: chi square =2.740, df=2; p=0.254;

Peraia: chi square =2.311, df=2; p=0.315.

Concerning the **reasons why people would move** out of their neighbourhood there are statistically significant differences between immigrants and natives in Nikopoli and Chinatown. Many more natives than immigrants have answered that they would move due to reasons relating to the people in the neighbourhood. This finding follows naturally previous items according to which natives in Chinatown enjoy significantly less their daily exchanges in the neighbourhood while in Nikopoli they are annoyed and feel threatened much more than the immigrants.

Table 3.17 Meaning of neighbourhood: "Reasons why people want to move away", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Personal reasons (family, job etc.)	12.5	11.6	21.6	8.3	63.3	51.3
Larger house or better housing conditions	50.0	27.9	21.6	29.2	13.3	15.4
Reasons related with the neighbourhood (traffic, air pollution, public transport etc.)	31.3	34.9	39.2	22.9	0.0	10.3
Reasons related to people in the neighbourhood	0.0	25.6	13.7	39.6	13.3	15.4
Don't know	6.3	0.0	3.9	0.0	10.0	7.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	32	43	51	48	30	39

Chinatown: chi square =13.357, df=4; p=0.01;

Nikopoli: chi square =14.844, df=4; p=0.008;

Peraia: chi square =3.715, df=4; p=0.446.

3.3. Reputation of the neighbourhood: Assessment of outside perception and change of the reputation during the last years

In all research areas, more natives think that their neighbourhood has a negative reputation when compared to immigrants. However, statistically significant differences are recorded only in Chinatown where 71% of the native residents believe that their neighbourhood is viewed by outsiders as an unattractive place as opposed to 37% of the immigrant residents. For the immigrant residents of Chinatown, sex (p= 0.018) and education (p= 0.010) influence their perception, with the female respondents and the most educated ones believing that their neighbourhood is viewed as an unattractive place. When comparing the neighbourhoods, Nikopoli is the area with the largest segment of the residents who feel that their place of residence is conceived as a unattractive place and Peraia is at the other end of the spectrum. 54% and 64% of the immigrant and native population in that area respectively believe that outsiders consider their neighbourhood as an attractive place to live.

Table 3.18 Reputation of neighbourhood: "People who live outside [NoR] think that it is… ", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
An attractive place to live	25.3	6.9	14.7	10.4	54.1	64.0
An unattractive place to live	37.4	71.6	63.7	80.2	15.3	21.0
They don't have any opinion	11.1	6.9	7.8	2.1	2.0	5.0
Don't know	26.3	14.7	13.7	7.3	28.6	10.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	96	98	100

Chinatown: chi square =25.708, df=3; p=0.00;

Nikopoli: chi square =7.773, df=3; p=0.051;

Peraia: chi square =11.827, df=3; p=0.08.

Statistically significant difference is recorded between immigrants and native respondents, concerning their perceptions about changes in the reputation of their neighbourhood. In Chinatown the majority of immigrants consider that their neighbourhood's reputation has remained the same while the majority of natives consider that it has changed in a negative way. The same pattern is also observed in Nikopoli where however there is also a significant share of immigrant residents (31%) who feel that the perception of their neighbourhood has changed in a positive way.

In Peraia, the majority of both immigrants and natives believe that the reputation of their neighbourhood has changed in a positive way over the passed years, although there is a significant share of native residents (33%) who believe the opposite. Education plays a role for the native residents in Peraia (p= 0.017) with the most educated holding a view that the reputation of their neighbourhood has changed in a positive way during the past years.

Table 3.19 Reputation of neighbourhood: "In your perception, has the reputation of [NoR] changed over the last years?…", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
No, remained the same way	43.4	20.6	42.0	27.1	20.2	22.4
Yes, in a positive way	19.2	26.5	31.0	22.9	37.4	37.8
Yes, in a negative way	17.2	44.1	21.0	45.8	13.1	32.7
Don't know	20.2	8.8	6.0	4.2	29.3	7.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	100	96	99	98

Chinatown: chi square =25.732, df=3; p=0.00;

Nikopoli: chi square =13.756, df=3; p=0.03;

Peraia:: chi square =21.557, df=3; p=0.00.

3.4. Assessment of infrastructure

Following the perceptions of the respondents, a clear hierarchy of the neighbourhoods is constructed in terms of the quality of the playing facilities for children. Peraia is the most positively evaluated and Chinatown the least, with Nikopoli taking the middle position. Differences between the perceptions of immigrant and native residents are only observed in Chinatown with natives being even more negative; 91% of the people claim that the facilities are inadequate.

Table 3.20 Assessment of infrastructure: "There are good playing facilities for children in this area", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	14.6	6.0	23.5	21.7	41.9	35.0
Neutral	0.0	3.0	10.8	9.8	16.2	11.3
Disagree	85.4	91.0	65.7	68.5	41.9	53.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	89	100	102	92	74	80

Chinatown: chi square =2, df=2; p=0.043;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.172, df=2; p=0.918;

Peraia: chi square =2.297, df=2; p=0.317.

Concerning the evaluation of local schools there are no differences across neighbourhoods as well as between immigrants and natives. In all neighbourhoods, those who find the schools poor are a slight majority.

Table 3.21 Assessment of infrastructure: "The schools in this area are poor", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	46.9	57.8	38.2	47.1	43.1	50.8
Neutral	8.2	12.5	29.4	17.1	12.1	12.7
Disagree	44.9	29.7	32.4	35.7	44.8	36.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	49	64	68	70	58	63

Chinatown: chi square =2.879, df=2; p=0.237;

Nikopoli: chi square =2.994, df=2; p=0.224;

Peraia: chi square =0.905, df=2; p=0.636.

In all neighbourhoods immigrants perceive the organization and service providers as discriminatory more than native residents. However, differences are statistically significant only in Peraia. Excluding the immigrants in that neighbourhood, for the remaining categories the majority of people disagrees with the statement that organizations and services in the neighbourhood discriminate. The minority of people who feel that organizations discriminate have mostly referred to the local authorities

Table 3.22 Assessment of infrastructure IV: "Organisations and service providers in this area discriminate", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	29.5	19.4	13.3	9.4	45.1	28.4
Neutral	5.1	6.0	40.0	39.1	8.8	20.9
Disagree	65.4	74.6	46.7	51.6	46.2	50.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	78	67	60	64	91	67

Chinatown: chi square =1.965, df=2; p=0.374;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.588, df=2; p=0.745;

Peraia: chi square =7.063, df=2; p=0.029.

Table 3.23 Assessment of infrastructure IV: "Which organisations or service providers discriminate?", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Health centre/doctors	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.1	0.0
Schools	14.3	10.0	33.3	100.0	7.7	0.0
Private landlords	7.1	20.0	0.0	0.0	15.4	7.7
Organisations for social assistance	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	7.7
Police	28.6	10.0	16.7	0.0	15.4	7.7
Local authorities	42.9	60.0	50.0	0.0	30.8	76.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	14	10	6	2	13	13

3.5. Trust in the neighbourhood and society

Immigrants in Peraia clearly single out as the category that is the most reserved towards their neighbours. Statistically significant difference is observed between them and the native residents. The latter follow a similar pattern with the residents in the other two neighbourhoods. However, it should be noted, that the overall picture, including immigrants in Peraia, is one of people being confident that their neighbours are not willing to take advantage of them. Concerning the time dimension no significant differences are recorded between immigrants and natives as well as across neighbourhoods. The great majority of people claim that their feelings in that respect have remained unchanged during the past years.

Table 3.24 Trust on the neighbourhood level I: "People in the neighbourhood try to take advantage of me", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	7.2	5.9	8.2	10.4	18.3	14.4
Neutral	4.1	5.0	7.1	5.2	30.1	9.3
Disagree	88.7	89.1	84.7	84.4	51.6	76.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	97	101	98	96	93	97

Chinatown: chi square =0.198, df=2; p=0.906;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.559, df=2; p=0.756;

Peraia: chi square =15.511, df=2; p=0.000.

Table 3.25 Trust on the neighbourhood level III: "Do you feel that people in your neighbourhood nowadays more often try to take advantage of you than before, does it happen less often, or has it remained more or less the same?", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
More often than previously	2.0	7.0	6.2	4.2	7.2	2.0
Less often than previously	7.1	3.0	7.2	6.3	10.3	7.1
More or less the same	80.8	80.0	79.4	81.3	68.0	80.8
Don´t know	10.1	10.0	7.2	8.3	14.4	10.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	100	97	96	97	99

Chinatown: chi square =4.373, df=3; p=0.224;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.545, df=3; p=0909;

Peraia: chi square =6.478, df=3; p=0.091.

However, in terms of their expectations about being helped by their neighbours, findings are much less clear cut. Although the majority of people agree with the statement that "people in the neighbourhood try to be helpful", there is a significant number of people who disagree. Statistically significant differences between immigrants and natives are only recorded in Chinatown where immigrants are more trustful. In terms of the time dimension, once more the majority of residents feel that the situation has remained the same. Statistically significant difference is recorded between immigrants and natives in Chinatown where the former category considers that their neighbours are more helpful now than they used to.

Table 3.26 Trust on the neighbourhood level II: "People in the neighbourhood try to be helpful", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	57.7	42.4	45.5	50.0	48.9	57.4
Neutral	10.3	25.0	16.2	11.5	33.7	23.4
Disagree	32.0	32.6	38.4	38.5	17.4	19.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	97	92	99	96	92	94

Chinatown: chi square =8.053, df=2; p=0.018;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.990, df=2; p=0.610;

Peraia: chi square =2.443, df=2; p=0.295.

Table 3.27 Trust on the neighbourhood level IV: "Do you feel that people in your neighbourhood nowadays more often try to be helpful, are they less often try to be helpful, or has it remained more or less the same?", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
More often than previously	22.2	9.8	8.3	5.2	21.6	16
Less often than previously	10.1	16.7	14.6	11.5	10.3	21
More or less the same	62.6	63.7	71.9	80.2	54.6	48
Don´t know	5	10	5	3	13	14
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	96	96	97	99

Chinatown: chi square =8.009, df=3; p=0.046;

Nikopoli: chi square =1.991, df=3; p=0.574;

Peraia: chi square =4.844, df=3; p=0.184.

Focusing on the immigrant population[1] the following tables present their perceptions about the risk of being taken advantage by immigrants of their own group, by immigrants of other groups and by native residents. In Nikopoli and Chinatown immigrants are much more trustful than immigrants in Peraia. It is also interesting that immigrants in those two neighbourhoods are the least trustful towards immigrants of their own group. Contrary to that in Peraia immigrants are the most trustful towards their own group and the least towards natives.

Table 3.28 Trust on the neighbourhood level V: "People from my own immigrant group in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me", per neighbourhood for immigrants

	Chinatown	Nikopoli	Peraia
	immigrant	**immigrant**	**immigrant**
Agree	10.7	6.6	12.0
Neutral	3.6	5.5	10.9
Disagree	85.7	87.9	77.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	84	91	92

Chi square =5.961, df=4; p=0.202;

[1] Due to a large number of missing values natives are not included in these items

Table 3.29 Trust on the neighbourhood level VI: "People from (other) immigrant group in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me", per neighbourhood for immigrants

	Chinatown	Nikopoli	Peraia
	immigrant	immigrant	immigrant
Agree	2.4	3.3	7.7
Neutral	2.4	5.5	22.0
Disagree	95.3	91.2	70.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	85	91	91

Chi square =26.632, df=4; p=0.00;

Table 3.30 Trust on the neighbourhood level VII: "Native people in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me", per neighbourhood for immigrants

	Chinatown	Nikopoli	Peraia
	immigrant	immigrant	immigrant
Agree	4.3	1.1	14.9
Neutral	2.2	7.6	19.1
Disagree	93.5	91.3	66.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	92	92	94

Chi square =33.868, df=4; p=0.000.

Concluding with this section, a measurement about trust on the general level is presented. Concerning the expectations of our informants about the behaviour of people (whether they are fair or the try to take advantage of others) no substantial differences are observed between natives and immigrants and across neighbourhoods.

Table 3.31 Trust on the general level I: "Most people would try to take advantage of me if they got the chance or would try to be fair", by migration background, per neighbourhood (on a scale between 0-10)

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	native	immigrant	native	immigrant	native
Most people try to take advantage of me (0)	9.4	14.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	3.2
1-3	12.5	16.0	10.6	13.3	22.1	23.2
4-6	39.6	41.0	40.4	42.2	44.2	46.3
7-9	34.4	24.0	44.7	38.9	31.6	24.2
Most people try to be fair (10)	4.2	5.0	3.2	4.4	1.1	3.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

total abs.	96	100	94	90	95	95

Chinatown: chi square =3.224, df=4; p=0.521;

Nikopoli: chi square =0.874, df=4; p=0.928;

Peraia: chi square =2.994, df=4; p=0.559.

Similar are the findings in terms of expectations about being helped by other people. Once more, no substantial differences are observed between natives and immigrants and across neighbourhoods. On the whole answers about expectations to be helped are more negative in comparison to the answers in the previous item about people trying to be fair.

Table 3.32 Trust on the general level II: "Most of the time people try to be helpful or are mostly looking out for themselves?", by migration background, per neighbourhood (on a scale between 0-10)

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		**Peraia**	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Most people try to be helpful (0)	22.9	21.8	2.0	5.4	1.1	2.1
1-3	21.9	32.7	37.8	25.8	31.6	42.7
4-6	29.2	32.7	36.7	44.1	44.2	40.6
7-9	22.9	10.9	22.4	22.6	22.1	14.6
Mostly looking for themselves (10)	3.1	2.0	1.0	2.2	1.1	0.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	96	101	98	93	95	

Chinatown: chi square =6.821, df=4; p=0.146;

Nikopoli: chi square =4.610, df=4; p=0.330;

Peraia: chi square =4.544, df=4; p=0.337.

3.6. Attitudes towards the 'other' and xenophobia

Opinions about the openness of Greek society towards immigrants are rather divided in all neighbourhoods. It is quite surprising that immigrant respondents appear to hold a more positive image about Greeks than natives do about their own group. Especially in Peraia the difference recorded is statistically significant. Sex seems to be a significant factor about the respondents' opinions in Chinatown and Nikopoli. In the former neighbourhood male immigrants are more positive than female immigrants and in the latter male natives are more positive than female natives.

Table 3.33 Attitudes towards the 'other' and xenophobia: "Native residents of Greece are open for immigrants that settle here", per neighbourhood for immigrants

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	45.8	32.0	37.4	36.8	51.0	36.0
Neutral	22.9	20.6	20.2	12.6	25.5	9.0
Disagree	31.3	47.4	42.4	50.5	23.5	55.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	96	97	99	95	98	100

Chinatown: chi square =5.712, df=2; p=0.057;

Nikopoli: chi square =2.374, df=2; p=0.305;

Peraia: chi square =22.919, df=2; p=0.000.

Less people have a positive opinion about the behaviour of native Greeks in comparison to their ideas about the openness of Greek society towards immigrants; the majority of residents in all neighbourhoods believe that Greeks do not treat fairly immigrants. In Chinatown and Peraia natives have a more positive opinion than immigrants while the opposite holds true for Nikopoli. In all neighbourhoods differences between immigrants and natives differences are below the level of statistical significance. Age seems to influence opinions in Chinatown (p= 0.034) and Peraia (p= 0.013) with a larger segment of the older residents in both neighbourhoods considering that native residents of Greece treat immigrants fairly.

Table 3.34 Attitudes towards the 'other' and xenophobia: "Native residents of Greece treat immigrants fairly", per neighbourhood for immigrants

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	30.1	24.8	25.8	37.9	34.7	30.3
Neutral	30.1	24.8	28.9	24.2	28.6	21.2
Disagree	39.8	50.5	45.4	37.9	36.7	48.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	93	101	97	95	98	99

Chinatown: chi square =2.241, df=2; p=0.326;

Nikopoli: chi square =3.253, df=2; p=0.197;

Peraia: chi square =2.959, df=2; p=0.228.

Concerning the role of immigrants in the economy, the majority of the residents in Chinatown and Peraia evaluate it as positive. Statistically significant differences are observed between the perceptions of immigrant and native respondents in those two neighbourhoods where the former attribute a more positive role to the presence of immigrants than the latter. In Nikopoli opinions of immigrants and native converge and are more negative on the whole. Education appears an important factor in

Peraia where the most educated native residents are the most positive for the role of immigrants in the economy.

Table 3.35 Attitudes towards the 'other' and xenophobia: "It is good for the economy that people from other countries come to live here", per neighbourhood for immigrants

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	63.6	41.8	38.1	31.8	64.8	32.0
Neutral	8.0	24.5	11.3	14.8	9.9	28.9
Disagree	28.4	33.7	50.5	53.4	25.3	39.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	88	98	97	88	91	97

Chinatown: chi square =12.243 df=2; p=0.002;

Nikopoli: chi square =1.019, df=2; p=.601;

Peraia: chi square =21.987, df=2; p=.000

The fear that the proportion of immigrants will become a threat to society in the future is very widespread among natives. Immigrants are more ambivalent in that respect. Views are divided in Peraia while in Chinatown the majority disagrees with this perception. However, there is a significant number of immigrants in both neighbourhoods who believe that the proportions of immigrants will become a threat to the society. In Nikopoli once more the views of immigrants converge with those of the native residents. This could be the outcome of the fact that the vast majority of immigrants in this neighbourhood are Soviet Greeks. Being of Greek descent and officially categorized as repatriates and not immigrants, it is probable that Soviet Greeks align themselves with the dominant group against further immigration of non-Greek descent groups.

Table 3.36 Attitudes towards the 'other' and xenophobia: "In the future, the proportion of immigrants will become a threat to society", per neighbourhood for immigrants

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Agree	37.1	52.5	66.3	75.0	43.4	59.8
Neutral	14.6	8.1	17.3	8.7	19.3	9.3
Disagree	48.3	39.4	16.3	16.3	37.3	30.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	89	99	98	92	83	97

Chinatown: chi square =5.115, df=2; p=0.077;

Nikopoli: chi square =3.205, df=2; p=0.201;

Peraia: chi square =6.073, df=2; p=0.048

In an effort to summarize the extended results presented in this Chapter, we coyld say that by analyzing the data on the perceptions of our respondents on trust, neighborly relations and the neighborhood, it is striking that there is only a very small number of issues on which a general consensus was recorded. The vast majority of residents claim that they care about their neighborhood, while it is only a very small minority of people who are annoyed by their neighbors and an equally restricted number of residents who feel that people in the neighborhood try to take advantage of them; all those are positive statements. On the aggregate level, no issue is singled out as a common problem for both immigrants and natives in all three neighborhoods.

Taking into account that a considerable diversity was recorded, much more nuanced findings emerge if we look our data in more detail. A central finding is that migration background appears to have a substantial significance in influencing perceptions about life in the neighborhood. Migration background was found to be considerably more significant than any of the other independent variables tested (age, education, sex, length of stay)[2]. On the general level it appears that immigrants hold a slightly better image of the relations developed in their neighborhood, they are considerably more attached to their place of living and to their neighbors, while they evaluate more positively their neighborhood. Immigrants also claim to have fewer problems with their neighbors and think that their neighborhood has a more positive reputation than natives do. As far as the other independent variables are concerned age is found to influence positively perceptions about neighborly relations, the older residents have a more favorable view of their neighborhood, while length of stay is found to induce feelings of attachment to the neighborhood.

As it would be expected, substantial differences are recorded across the three neighborhoods yet those are less clear cut. In many cases differences are mediated by the influence of migration background in such ways that it is difficult to speak about a general neighborhood pattern without referring to the internal division of the population. However, although it is difficult to establish a hierarchy of the neighborhoods in the different domains inquired, certain characteristics of each neighborhood emerge clearly.

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[2] It should be noted here that statistical tests on those variables where tested for immigrants and natives separately in each neighborhood (n=100) while migration background was tested at the neighborhood level (n=200). That was done in order to assess the relative importance of those variables for immigrant and native residents. However, this approach might have resulted in an underestimation of their significance.

In particular, Nikopoli is pictured as the most problematic area. It is perceived as the least safe neighborhood with the highest crime rates while the majority of the respondents claim that they would move out with pleasure. Furthermore, it is the place where more residents perceive that tensions exist between social categories and that it is a negatively reputed area. Natives in Peraia and Chinatown share similar views with Nikopoli's residents in some of the above-mentioned aspects (Chinatown reputation, Peraia tensions, both concerning safety). However it is only in Nikopoli that perceptions of immigrants and natives converge. Views about the other two neighborhoods are more ambivalent while there are considerable differences between immigrants and natives. Chinatown seem to single out as the neighborhood whose residents identify with and feel attached to the most, while Peraia is the neighborhood which is perceived by its residents to have the best infrastructure and reputation.

Looking together at the influence of the neighborhood and the migration background, natives in Peraia seemed to be attached the least to their neighborhood. However, they generally hold a slightly more positive opinion about their neighborhood in comparison to natives in Chinatown. However, the strongest finding concerns the significance of the migration background which plays a substantially more important role in influencing the perceptions of residents than the neighborhood itself. In other words, natives in Peraia have much more similar perceptions with natives in Chinatown than they have with immigrants in their neighborhood and vise versa. Concerning the native population in Nikopoli, the length of residence appears to be a crucial factor in many respects. The established residents of that neighborhood single out as very idiosyncratic subgroup of the native population. They are very attached to their neighborhood and they have positive perceptions about the neighborly relations. If we would have excluded them from our sample most probably differences between immigrants and natives would have been pronounced in that neighborhood too. Moreover, Nikopoli would have been represented even more negatively.

Concerning the issue of trust at the neighborhood level, it seems to reflect personal characteristics rather than to relate with perceptions about the neighborhood. No substantial differences are observed between immigrant and natives. Interestingly, the residents of Peraia are the least trustful concerning their expectations about the intensions of their neighbors (if they would want to take advantage of them). The same holds true concerning their perceptions about people in general. Concerning

the attitudes about the "other' surprisingly immigrants in Chinatown and Peraia hold a more positive opinion about the openness of the Greek society and the way immigrants are treated. It should be mentioned that views about the openness of Greeks are divided while concerning the way they treat immigrants are quite negative. As far as the issue of xenophobia is concerned, more natives in Chinatown and Peraia assess the role of the immigrants in the economy as negative and their proportion as threat to the society. The latter idea is found to be quite widespread also among immigrants. Finally, it should be noted that the views of immigrant and native converge in Nikopoli where the vast majority of the immigrant population is of Greek descent.

4. Dimensions of interethnic coexistence

4.1. Contacts with and knowledge of people in the neighbourhood

In all three neighbourhoods there is no statistically significant difference between immigrant and native residents on the degree they know well their neighbours. Approximately one third of both native and immigrant residents in Nikopoli and Chinatown agree with the statement 'I know most of my neighbours by name and I know where they live' while in Peraia the share is higher (44% for natives and 51% for immigrants). For the immigrant residents of Peraia this can be possibly explained by time of residency in the neighbourhood. Almost half of the immigrant population of the sample is settled there for more than 10 years while for Chinatown and Nikopoli only 27% and 20% of the immigrants are. However, for natives longest settled inhabitants (categories 'have always lived there' and 'moved in more than 10 years ago') form a slightly larger segment of the population in Chinatown. Possibly, the living and built environment of seaside suburban Peraia is more inducing to the development some basic relationships with your neighbours than the impersonal downtown densely populated urban setting of Chinatown. Concluding with this item, it provides us with a measure of public familiarity at the neighbourhood level for immigrants and native residents however it does not necessarily indicate the development of interethnic familiarity. Immigrants and native residents are not evenly dispersed in the neighbourhoods. In all three research areas, especially in Nikopoli, internal sub clusters of native and immigrant concentration are found. Knowing well their neighbours might largely indicate familiarity with ethnic peers in those segregated neighbourhood sub-clusters.

Table 4.1 Knowledge of people in the neighbourhood I: "I know most of the people in my neighbourhood by name and I know where they live", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
agree	34.7	31.4	36.3	33.7	51.5	44.4
neutral	16.3	24.5	10.8	3.2	20.2	17.2
disagree	49.0	44.1	52.9	63.2	28.3	37.4
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	98	102	102	95	99	98

Chinatown: chi square = 2.054, df=2; p= 0.358,

Nikopoli: chi square = 5.007, df=2; p= 0.082;

Peraia: chi square = 3.0005, df=3; p= 0.391.

As it could be expected from the findings in the previous item, comparatively less residents of Peraia agree with the statement 'mostly I have no clue who my neighbours are'. Peraia when compared to the other two neighbourhoods, has substantially more residents who 'neither disagree nor agree' to this statement while a larger number of residents disagrees too. However, it should be noted that in all neighbourhoods it is the majority of residents who disagree with the statement (Chinatown = 103, Nikopoli= 107, Peraia= 119) indicating that having some knowledge of their neighbours is the most common condition in all three neighbourhood. In terms of this item there is a statistically significant difference between natives and immigrants in Peraia and Nikopoli. In both neighbourhoods natives are relatively more prone to answer positively to this statement, indicating that a larger number of native residents are less familiar with their neighbours.

Table 4.2 Knowledge of people in the neighbourhood II: "Mostly I have no clue who they are", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**Native**
agree	46.9	33.3	31.4	47.4	14.1	32.3
neutral	5.1	11.8	4.9	8.4	20.2	12.1
disagree	48.0	54.9	63.7	44.2	65.7	54.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	98	102	102	95	99	98

Chinatown: chi square = 5.391, df=2; p= 0.068,

Nikopoli: chi square = 7.592, df=2; p= 0.022;

Peraia: chi square = 11.060, df=3; p= 0.011.

Concerning the statement 'I do not personally know them, but I know what kind of people they are', it indicates an indirect knowledge of neighbours and provides an extra measure to estimating the level of public familiarity at the neighbourhood level. Except from the natives in Nikopoli, the majority of residence in all three neighbourhoods agrees or is neutral to that statement. Significant difference is found between native and immigrant natives in Peraia, where migrants are less negative to this statement, and in Chinatown where they are more positive.

Table 4.3 Knowledge of people in the neighbourhood III: "I don´t personally know them, but I know what kind of people they are", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**Native**
agree	49.5	26.5	42.2	26.0	33.7	37.8
neutral	12.4	30.4	10.8	12.5	30.6	14.3
disagree	35.1	41.2	46.1	61.5	35.7	46.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	94	100	101	96	98	97

Chinatown: chi square = 15.201, df=3; p= 0.002,

Nikopoli: chi square = 6.991, df=3; p= 0.072;

Peraia: chi square = 8.541, df=3; p= 0.036.

Treating the findings in this section as a whole, it can be argued that there is a slight difference between immigrants and natives and their knowledge of their neighbours: a larger segment of the latter category claims having no knowledge at all of their neighbours.

Concerning contact, in all three neighbourhoods the majority of residents, both migrants and the natives, have exchanged a small talk with more than 6 residents during the last three months. Moreover, a share of the total population varying from 25% (natives Nikopoli) to 40.6% (natives Peraia) has exchanged a small talk with more than 21 people. No statistically significant difference is found between immigrants and natives in that respect.

Table 4.4 Interethnic contacts I: "During the last three month, I exchanged small talks with …", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
People	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
21or more	32.3	25.5	29.4	21.4	35.4	39.8
6-20	31.3	37.3	28.4	28.6	38.4	40.8
5-3	23.2	22.5	23.5	27.6	12.1	13.3
1-2	9.1	10.8	4.9	5.1	6.1	3.1
None	4.0	3.9	13.7	17.3	8.1	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	98	99	98

Chinatown: chi square = 1.486, df=4; p= 0.829,

Nikopoli: chi square = 1.993, df=4; p= 0.737;

Peraia: chi square = 3.575, df=4; p= 0.467.

However, in terms of inviting or visiting neighbours, the immigrants of Chinatown and Nikopoli appear significantly more sociable. In Peraia there is no difference between immigrants and natives. The percentage of natives and immigrants are

similar due to the fact that natives in that neighbourhood appear to socialize much more with their neighbours than natives in the other two neighbourhoods. Concerning the issue of having arguments with neighbours during the last three months no statistically significant difference is found between immigrants and natives. In all neighbourhoods it concerns a small percentage of the total population that varies from 16.7 (natives in Chinatown) to 9.9% (immigrants in Peraia).

Table 4.5 Interethnic contacts II "During the last three month, I visited at home/ I welcomed in my home…", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
21 or more	5.1	2.0	10.8	2.0	3.0	1.0
6-20	24.2	5.9	27.5	10.2	22.2	31.6
5-3	16.2	19.6	22.5	26.5	31.3	35.7
1-2	19.2	25.5	8.8	18.4	18.2	12.2
none	35.4	47.1	30.4	42.9	25.3	19.4
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	98	99	98

Chinatown: chi square = 15.614, df=4; p= 0.004,

Nikopoli: chi square = 19.526, df=4; p= 0.001;

Peraia: chi square = 4.784, df=4; p= 0.310.

Table 4.6 Interethnic contacts III: "During the last three month, I got in an argument at least once with …", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
21 or more	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
6-20	2.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-3	1.0	1.0	9.8	1.0	1.0	3.3
1-2	8.1	13.7	11.0	9.8	8.1	6.7
none	88.9	83.3	87.9	89.2	90.9	88.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	98	99	98

Chinatown: chi square = 2.978, df=4; p= 0.562,

Nikopoli: chi square = 1.448, df=4; p= 0.694;

Peraia: chi square = 2.451, df=4; p= 0.484.

As it would be expected, the majority of contact taking place in the neighbourhood level is within ethnic boarders yet interethnic contact is not infrequent. Especially concerning everyday communication in the neighbourhood, with the exception of immigrants in Nikopoli (41.3%), more than 60% of both immigrants and natives have exchanged a small talk with members of the other category. Differences

between immigrants and natives in that respect seem to mirror their relative percentage at the neighbourhood level. While, immigrants are more prone to talk to natives than natives are to immigrants in Chinatown and Peraia this is the opposite in Nikopoli where immigrants are the numerical majority. In all cases however, immigrants have exchanged a talk with more natives than natives have with immigrants. As far as inviting and being invited by neighbours is concerned the data paint a more complex picture. In Chinatown, immigrants appear to have engaged three times more in such a contact with natives than natives are with migrants. In Peraia immigrants have engaged more in this kind of contact but only by 67% while in Nikopoli there is almost no difference (18.4% natives, 18.6 immigrants). The percentages of people who have invited or have been invited by people of different ethnic origin vary from a 32.3% (Immigrants Chinatown) to a 10% (natives Chinatown). In terms of the mean number of people invited or being invited once more it is higher among immigrant residents in all neighbourhoods. Concerning the contact of immigrants with others of different ethnic origin it is the most uncommon kind of interethnic contact in all three neighbourhoods. Comparing the three neighbourhoods in that respect, (contacts between immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds) Peraia singles out as the neighbourhood with the most interethnic contact among immigrants. Finally, as far as interethnic conflict is concerned, for natives it is more common to engage in arguments with other people of native background. Migrants in Chinatown and Peraia have got into an argument more with natives than with migrants yet the percentages are insignificant (2.0% argument with immigrants and 6.0% argument with natives). In Nikopoli where immigrants are over-represented immigrants have got into an argument more with immigrants than with natives but once more the percentages are insignificant (6.9% argument with immigrants and 2.9% argument with natives).

Table 4.7 Interethnic contacts IV: Three statements by different origin and mean Nr of contacts for NATIVES, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	With natives…	**With immigrants…**	**With natives…**	**With immigrants…**	**With natives…**	**With immigrants…**
During the last three month, I exchanged small talks with …						
Yes	92,2	61,1	85,7	60,7	95,5	64,8
No	7,8	38,9	14,3	39,3	4,5	35,2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100
total abs,	102	102	98	98	98	98
Mean Nr of contacts	14,1	6	13,9	6,7	14,3	5,4
sd	13,5	6,7	18,1	6,3	9,1	4,2
During the last three month, I visited at home/ I welcomed in my home…						
Yes	49	10,8	61,2	18,4	76	17
No	51	89,2	38,8	81,6	24	83
total	100	100	100	100	100	100
total abs,	102	102	98	98	98	98
Mean Nr of contacts	4,3	1,5	6,4	2,4	7,1	3,9
sd	4,3	0,7	7,7	1,3	5,9	4,4
During the last three month, I got in an argument at least once with …						
Yes	11,8	5,9	7,1	6,1	6	2
No	88,2	94,1	92,9	93,9	94,0	98,0
total	100	100	100	100	100	100
total abs,	102	102	98	98	98	98
Mean Nr of people	2,9	2	1,4	3,5	6,7	16,5
sd	5,7	2	0,8	5,6	11,5	19,1

Table 4.8 Interethnic contacts V: Three statements by different origin and mean Nr of contacts for IMMIGRANTS, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown			Nikopoli			Peraia		
With people of…	**Same origin…**	**Other origin…**	**Native origin**	**Same origin…**	**Other origin…**	**Native origin**	**Same origin…**	**Other origin…**	**Native origin**
During the last three month, I exchanged small talks with …									
Yes	71,1	39,4	63,6	84,3	29,4	41,2	79,8	52,5	62,6
No	28,9	60,6	36,4	15,7	70,6	58,8	20,2	47,5	37,4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
total abs,	99	99	99	102	102	102	99	99	99
Mean Nr of contacts	12	5,4	12,1	20,3	5,9	10,7	11	7	10,2
sd	11,4	5	11,9	25,2	6,5	18,5	8,7	7,4	12,4
During the last three month, I visited at home/ I welcomed in my home…									
Yes	43,4	8,1	32,3	68,6	18,6	18,6	65,7	19,2	28,3
No	56,6	91,9	67,7	31,4	81,4	81,4	34,3	80,8	71,7
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
total abs,	99	99	99	102	102	102	99	99	99
Mean Nr of contacts	9,3	2,9	4,2	11,8	3,4	5,2	5,5	3	5,5
sd	7,2	3	4,7	14,4	3,9	4	4,9	2	3,6
During the last three month, I got in an argument at least once with …									
Yes	2	4	6,1	6,9	0	2,9	2	2	5,1
No	98	96	93,9	93,1	100	97,1	98	98	94,9
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
total abs,	99	99	99	102	102	102	99	99	99
Mean Nr of people	2,5	1	3,7	2	0	1	2,5	1,5	1,6
sd	2,1	0,1	5,6	1,2	0	0,1	0,7	0,7	0,5

In terms of the evolution of the frequency of contact, significant differences between immigrants and natives are found in Chinatown and Peraia. The majority of immigrants record having more contacts than before while for the majority of natives

the frequency of contacts has remained stable. Those claiming a reduction in the frequency of their contact comprise a minority for both categories in all neighbourhoods yet natives are much more prone to claim reduction of their contacts in the last years. In Nikopoli the percentage of those residents who claim stability in their contacts in the neighbourhood is more or less similar between immigrants and natives. In terms of those who claim increase or stability similar differences to the other two neighbourhoods are found, albeit below the level of statistical significance.

Table 4.9 Evolution of contacts I: "Has contacts with the people in the neighbourhood increased or decreased over the last years, or has it remained the same?", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**Native**	**immigrant**	**native**
More contacts now than previously	49.5	31.4	55.9	40.6	55.1	38.0
Less contacts now than previously	4.0	19.6	9.8	9.4	4.1	15.0
More or less the same	46.5	49.0	33.3	50.0	35.7	46.0
Don´t know	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	5.1	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	96	98	100

Chinatown: chi square = 14.360, df=2; p= 0.001,

Nikopoli: chi square = 6.642, df=3; p= 0.084;

Peraia: chi square = 13.293, df=3; p= 0.004.

Identical to the findings about the evolution in the frequency of contact are the findings about changes in the quality. In Chinatown and Peraia there are statistically significant differences between immigrants and natives with the majority of the former recording amelioration in the quality of contact over time whereas the majority of the later claim stability. A larger number but still minority of natives claims deterioration in those two neighbourhoods. In Nikopoli there is also a difference between immigrants and natives yet it is bellow the level of statistical significance.

Table 4.10 Evolution of contacts I: "Has the quality of contacts with the people in the neighbourhood improved or worsened over the last years, or has the quality of your contacts remained the same?", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**Native**	**immigrant**	**Native**	**Immigrant**	**native**
Better contacts now than previously	47.5	20.6	45.1	32.3	57.1	34.0
Less good contacts now than previously	3.0	17.6	4.9	6.2	5.1	15.0
More or less the same	48.5	61.8	49.0	61.5	32.7	50.0
Don´t know	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	5.1	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	96	98	100

Chinatown: chi square = 23.643, df=3; p= 0.000,

Nikopoli: chi square = 4.578, df=3; p= 0.205;

Peraia: chi square = 19.977, df=3; p= 0.001.

4.2. Contacts in the workplace

As far as interethnic contact in the workplace is concerned, statistically significant differences between immigrants and natives are recorded. In all neighbourhoods immigrants are considerably more prone to work in more ethnically diverse work places. This possibly indicates that employment in ethnic businesses is not very widespread among immigrant residents of all three neighbourhoods. Approximately one out of two of immigrants' colleagues is of different ethnic origin. At the same time the mean percentage of colleagues of different origin for native residents ranges from 11.6 (Chinatown) to 18.3 (Nikopoli). Although, no absolute segregation is recorded for natives, immigrants have much more opportunities to come into contact with people of different ethnic backgrounds in their workplace.

Table 4.2a Contacts in the workplace: "How many of the people you sharing the work floor, are of other origin?", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Mean % colleag. of dif. origin	49.8	11.6	58.5	18.3	56.2	17.6
Std	42.4	19.6	35.6	27.7	34.8	27.8
N of cases	70	74	71	77	75	67

Chinatown: t test = 6.997, df=142; p= 0.000,

Nikopoli: t test = 7.703, df=146; p= 0.000;

Peraia: t test = 7.250, df=140; p= 0.000.

4.3. Overall social networks –dimension and ethnic composition

The general picture concerning the size of the social networks of the respondents is one of no substantial differences between immigrants and natives. For the majority of both immigrants and natives, the confidentiality and help social networks are comprised by 0 to 2 persons. As far as their free time social networks are concerned, the picture is more nuanced. One third of immigrants in Chinatown and Nikopoli are socializing with more than 10 people in their free time, while immigrants have a much more restricted social circle in Peraia. It is only in Chinatown that a statistically significant difference between native and immigrant residents is recorded. Immigrants in that neighbourhood have a substantially bigger free time social network than natives. In Peraia immigrants and natives present very similar distribution in their free time social network while in Nikopoli immigrants seem to be more sociable but the findings are below the level of statistical. A further statistically significant difference between immigrants and natives is found in Peraia and Chinatown in terms of the social networks of help. Natives appear to have significantly larger networks for getting and providing help in Peraia, while in Chinatown the opposite is the case. Concerning the remaining important people of the residents social network (other than those with whom they spend their free time with and those they ask for and give advice and help to), for both migrant and natives and in all neighbourhoods they comprise a very restricted number of people.

Table 4.11 Social network –overall dimension I: "Number of people with whom you spend your free time", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
10 or more	41.4	27.5	37.3	27.6	16.2	16.8
7-10	11.1	19.6	26.5	22.4	19.2	25.7
3-6	22.2	13.7	22.5	33.7	39.4	31.7
0-2	25.3	39.2	13.7	16.3	25.3	25.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	98	99	101

Chinatown: chi square = 10.259, df=3; p= 0.016;

Nikopoli: chi square = 4.212, df=3; p= 0.239,

Peraia: chi square = 1.809, df=3; p= 0.613.

Table 4.12 Social network –overall dimension II: "Number of people with who would ask for advice and who would ask you for advice", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
10 or more	6.1	2.0	7.8	2.0	1.0	3.0
7-10	4.0	9.8	10.8	6.1	2.0	8.9
3-6	34.3	31.4	38.2	41.8	25.3	38.6
0-2	55.6	56.9	43.1	50	71.7	49.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	98	99	101

Chinatown: chi square = 4.668, df=3; p= 0.198;

Nikopoli: chi square = 5.312, df=3; p= 0.150,

Peraia: chi square = 12.143, df=3; p= 0.07.

Table 4.13 Social network –overall dimension III: "Number of people who has actually helped you or who you did actually help during the last three years", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
10 or more	11.1	2.9	7.8	5.1	1.0	3.0
7-10	6.1	6.9	13.7	9.2	3.0	11.9
3-6	33.3	21.6	31.4	32.7	21.2	34.7
0-2	49.5	68.6	47,1	53.1	74.7	50.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	98	99	101

Chinatown: chi square = 10.512, df=3; p= 0.015;

Nikopoli: chi square = 1.860, df=3; p= 0.602,

Peraia: chi square = 14.113, df=3; p= 0.03.

Table 4.14 Social network –overall dimension IV: "Number of other important people not mentioned yet", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
10 or more	2.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7-10	3.0	4.9	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.0
3-6	2.0	5.9	2.9	0.0	9.1	6.9
0-2	92.9	86.3	96.1	98.0	87.9	91.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	99	102	102	98	99	101

Chinatown: chi square = 2.745, df=3; p= 0.433;

Nikopoli: chi square = 3.275, df=2; p= 0.194,

Peraia: chi square = 0.570, df=2; p= 0.752.

Yet major differences are observed between natives and immigrants in all neighbourhoods in terms of the ethnic composition of their overall social networks. In all neighbourhoods for all three kinds of contact for which questions were posed (spending free time, confidentiality and help), immigrants have significantly more ethnically mixed social networks. For more than 90% of natives in all neighbourhoods their social networks are exclusively or almost exclusively comprised by other natives. The percentage of immigrants with exclusively or almost exclusively mono-ethnical social networks is considerably lower varying from 62.9 (free time social networks Peraia) to 81.0 (confidentiality social networks Chinatown). Concerning the remaining important people no statistically significant differences are observed between migrant and natives. As already mentioned, this sample is very restricted since few people recorded other important relationships except from their free time, confidentiality and help social networks.

Table 4.15 Social network –most important people I: "Number of people with whom you spend your free time", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
All/almost all	72.6	93.8	68.3	92.6	62.9	91.5
Approx. half	15.5	5.0	17.8	3.2	23,6	6.4
Few/none	11.9	1.2	13.9	4.2	13.5	2.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	84	80	101	95	89	94

Chinatown: chi square = 13.480, df=2; p=0.001;

Nikopoli: chi square = 18.403, df=2; p= 0.000,

Peraia: chi square = 21.694, df=2; p= 0.000.

Table 4.16 Social network – most important people II: "Number of people with who would ask for advice and who would ask you for advice", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
All/almost all	81.0	94.2	74.5	98.9	74.7	95.6
Approx. half	11.1	5.6	13.3	0.0	9.9	2.2
Few/none	7.9	0	12.2	1.1	15.4	2.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	63	69	98	89	91	90

Chinatown: chi square = 7.250, df=2; p= 0.027;

Nikopoli: chi square = 23.326, df=2; p= 0.000,

Peraia: chi square = 15.553, df=2; p= 0.000.

Table 4.17 Social network – most important people III: "Number of people who has actually helped you or who you did actually help during the last three years", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**Native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
All/almost all	78.3	91.8	70.1	96.6	74.0	95.1
Approx. half	13.0	8.2	16.1	1.1	10.4	2.4
Few/none	8.7	0.0	13.8	2.3	15.6	2.4
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	69	61	87	87	77	82

Chinatown: chi square =6.712, df=2; p= 0.035;

Nikopoli: chi square = 22.058, df=2; p= 0.000,

Peraia: chi square = 13.866, df=2; p= 0.001.

Table 4.18 Social network – most important people IV: "Number of other important people not mentioned yet", by migration background, per neighbourhood

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
people	**immigrant**	**native**	**Immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
All/almost all	83.3	90.9	58.3	100.0	80.0	94.1
Approx. half	16.7	9.1	25.0	0.0	11.4	0.0
Few/none	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	8.6	5.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	12	22	12	7	35	17

Chinatown: chi square = 0.429, df=1; p= 0.512;

Nikopoli: chi square = 3.958, df=2; p= 0.138,

Peraia: chi square = 2.320, df=2; p= 0.313.

4.4. Social networks – dimension and ethnic composition of most important members

In this section we continue with the analysis of the social networks of the residents of the three neighbourhoods by zooming in from the overall social network to the closest persons of the respondents. Here respondents were not asked to count numbers of friends but to give information for the most important people. They were asked to give information for up to two persons for each category of contact while they could also name one or none if that was the case. That gave us the opportunity to get a picture about differences in the size of the most important people social network of the residents. Similar to the overall social network, no statistically significant differences were found between immigrants and natives in that respect. In Peraia however residents, both immigrants and natives seem to have a more restricted social circle of close people in relation to the other two neighbourhoods

Table 4.19 Size of most important people social networks

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
Mean N of friends	3.28	3.29	3.20	2.99	2.60	2.42
Std	1.629	1.465	1.342	1.171	1.497	1.292
N of cases	95	96	101	95	96	91

Chinatown: t test = 0.033, df=189; p= 0.973,

Nikopoli: t test = 1.156, df=194; p= 0.249;

Peraia: t test = 0.910, df=185; p= 0.364.

However, as in the case of the overall social network, very significant differences are observed concerning the ethnic composition of the most important people social network. The first table gives as a measure by presenting the percentage of respondents in each of the three neighbourhoods who include at least one person born in a different country in their 'most important people social network'. In all neighbourhoods a considerably larger share of the immigrant respondents includes people born in different countries. However calculating ethnic relations through the country of birth is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it does not provide information about the interethnic composition of the social networks of the second generation and secondly it counts as interethnic, relations between people of the same ethnic background who have born in different countries. The latter could be significant in the case of research sample. Almost 70% of our immigrant respondents

are born in the Former Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet regime a large share of former Soviet citizens became national minorities in newly formed nation states (Armenians in Georgia and vice versa, Russians in Kazakhstan, Greeks in Ukraine etc). In several cases, the country of birth of those persons does not coincide with their ethnic/national origin. At the same time a number of our native respondents are second generation Greek returnees from Western Europe. Once more their ethnic/national origin is different from their country of birth. To estimate and overcome this bias we carried out a more qualitative analysis of our data,[3] combining data about the actual ethnic origin of our respondents and his/her country of birth, prioritizing the information about the origin. Yet, following this strategy still has a shortcoming; relationships of Soviet Greeks and Albanian Greeks, who mostly claim their origin to be Greek, with native Greeks are not treated as interethnic. Those relationships form an exceptional case. They are seen as both inter and intra ethnic by different actors and depending on the context. Since this group comprises half of our immigrant population and we are interested to see the level of its intermingling with the native society we include two tables for every item: one treating native Greek – Soviet/Albanian Greek relations are interethnic and one as intra ethnic.

[3] We obtained the information about the ethnicity of respondents by the question "do you consider your self of being from any particular origin". If this question was not answered or does not provide information about ethnic/national origin, we made the assumption that his/her origin is the same with his/her country of birth. We followed a similar strategy for the ethnicity/nationality of the contact of the respondent. For the cases of the respondents who claim hyphenated identities-origins, if their contact is claimed to be of an origin that coincides with at least one of the parts of his/her origin then the relationship is not treated as interethnic. We made this choice because in our sample the majority of people with hyphenated identities are children of mixed marriages. There is a minority of our Soviet Greeks and Albanian Greeks respondents who have not answered the question about their 'particular' origin. Possibly this was due to a misinterpretation of the question. It could be that respondents understood 'particular origin' as non Greek origin. If we would have followed the above methodology those would have been counted as non-Greeks (Georgian, Kazakhs, Russians, Albanians etc) although they most probably do not identify nor originate from these countries. The same goes with their contacts too. These cases were treated as missing values.

Table 4.20 Ethnic composition of present social network of most important persons calculated through country of birth. Having at least one person in the social network born in a different country

country of	**Chinatown**		**Nikopoli**		**Peraia**	
birth	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
N of persons with interethnic contacts	31	**6**	**54**	**9**	**37**	**10**
Total N of persons	88	63	95	69	83	75
% person who have interethnic contacts	35.2%	9.5%	56.8%	13.0%	44.5%	13.3%

The tables bellow measure the actual interethnic composition of the most important people social network of the neighbourhoods' residents in two slightly different ways.4.4 Table 4.21 and 4.22 present the number of close interethnic contacts and their percentage over the total number of close contacts developed and Table 4.23 presents the percentage of people with at least one person of different origin in their close people social network. Both tables corroborate the finding of the previous table as far as the differences between immigrants and natives are concerned. In all cases the close social networks of immigrants are significantly more ethnically diverse than those of natives. As presented in Table 4.22, the percentage of interethnic contacts in the total number of contacts for immigrants, ranges from approximately 20% to 30% while for natives it is bellow 4% in all neighbourhoods. Table 4.24 provides more detail about the interethnic composition of the close social network of immigrants. It presents the breakdown of immigrants' 'most important people interethnic network' to native and different origin immigrant contacts. In all neighbourhoods half or more of the interethnic contacts concern relationships with natives. Thus, immigrants are not only more prone to have more ethnically mixed 'most important people social networks' but they are also considerably more prone to include natives than natives are to include immigrants.

Table 4.21 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks. In total number of contacts per neighbourhood. Excluding native – immigrant Greek descent relationships

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**Native**	**immigrant**	**Native**	**immigrant**	**native**
N of interethnic contacts	53	3	37	8	55	8
Total of friends	313	315	305	282	236	228
% of interethnic contacts	16.9%	1.0%	12.1%	2.8%	23.3%	3.5%

Table 4.22 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks. In total number of contacts per neighbourhood. Including native – immigrant Greek descent relationships

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**Native**	**immigrant**	**Native**	**immigrant**	**native**
N of interethnic contacts	60	3	78	8	69	8
Total of friends	313	315	305	282	236	228
% of interethnic contacts	19.1%	1.0%	25.5%	2.8%	29.2%	3.5%

Table 4.23 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks. In total number of contacts per neighbourhood. IMMIGRANTS breakdown by natives and other immigrants. Excluding native – immigrant Greek descent relationships

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
Of whom with	**natives**	**Other immigrants**	**natives**	**Other immigrants**	**natives**	**Other immigrants**
N of interethnic contacts	33	24	9	28	14	35
% of interethnic contacts	57.8%	42.2%	24.3%	75.7%	28.6%	71.4%

Table 4.24 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks. In total number of contacts per neighbourhood. IMMIGRANTS breakdown by natives and other immigrants. Including native – immigrant Greek descent relationships

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
Of whom with	**natives**	**Other immigrants**	**natives**	**Other immigrants**	**natives**	**Other immigrants**
N of interethnic contacts	40	20	50	28	39	30
% of interethnic contacts	66.6%	33.3%	64.1%	35.9%	56.5%	43.5%

If we look at Table 4.25, the results are very similar to the ones presented previously on Table 4.21. More than one third of all the immigrants in all neighbourhoods have at least one contact of their most important people with a person of a different origin while for natives this is much less probable. The percentage of natives having at least one person of different origin in their close social network ranges from 3.1% (Chinatown) to 7% (Nikopoli). Looking at both Tables at the same time, Peraia emerges as the neighbourhood where immigrants have the most diverse social networks followed by Nikopoli and Chinatown.

Table 4.25 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks Percentage of people with at least one interethnic contact

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		*Peraia*	
	immigrant	**Native**	**immigrant**	**Native**	**immigrant**	**native**
N of persons with interethnic contacts	31	3	38	6	39	6
Total N of persons	92	96	94	94	85	90
% person who have interethnic contacts	33.6%	3.1%	40.4%	7.0%	45.8%	6.6%

The next two tables single out the interethnic composition of the social network for the three most numerous immigrant groups. Table 4.26 & Table 4.27 present the percentage of interethnic contacts to the total number of contacts while Table 4.28 & Table 4.29 present the percentage of people having at least one interethnic relationship in their most important people social network. If we include Soviet Greek-native Greek relations in our definition of interethnic relationships (Table 4.27 & Table 4.29) then Soviet Greek appear to be the groups with the most diverse

social network followed by the Albanians. Yet the findings are reversed if we exclude them (Table 4.26 & Table 4.28). In sharp contrast to the two other groups, Chinese appears having a very restricted ethnically social network.

Table 4.26 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks. In total number of contacts per neighbourhood. THREE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS. Excluding native – immigrant Greek descent relationships

	Chinatown			**Nikopoli**			***Peraia***		
	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese
N of interethnic contacts	7	14	3	9	1	0	14	9	0
Total of friends	63	66	25	265	1	0	111	54	0
% of interethnic contacts	11.1%	21.2%	12.0%	3.3%	100%	-	12.6%	16.7%	-

Table 4.27 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks. In total number of contacts per neighbourhood. THREE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS. Including native – immigrant Greek descent relationships.

	Chinatown			**Nikopoli**			***Peraia***		
	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese
N of interethnic contacts	14	14	3	50	1	0	28	9	0
Total of friends	63	66	25	265	1	0	111	54	0
% of interethnic contacts	22.2%	21.2%	12.0%	18.8%	100%	-	25.2%	16.7%	-

Table 4.28 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks Percentage of people with at least one interethnic contact. THREE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS Excluding native – immigrant Greek descent relationships

	Chinatown			**Nikopoli**			***Peraia***		
	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese
N of persons with interethnic contacts	6	5	2	6	1	0	6	7	0
Total N of persons	21	18	25	80	1	0	31	24	0
% person who have interethnic contacts	28.5%	27.8%	8%	7.5%	100%	-	19.3%	29.2%	-

Table 4.29 Interethnic composition of most important people social networks Percentage of people with at least one interethnic contact. THREE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS Including native – immigrant Greek descent relationships

	Chinatown			**Nikopoli**			***Peraia***		
	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese	Soviet Greeks	Albanians	Chinese
N of persons with interethnic contacts	10	5	2	26	1	0	13	7	0
Total N of persons	21	18	25	80	1	0	31	24	0
% person who have interethnic contacts	47.6%	27.8%	8%	32.5%	100%	-	32.2%	29.2%	-

4.5. Interethnic marriages[4]

Concerning interethnic marriages once more significant difference is observed between immigrants and natives, with immigrants appearing to engage much more in interethnic marriages than natives do. The percentages of interethnic marriages for immigrants vary from 23.3% to 27.3% while for natives from 2.5% to 4.5 %.

[4] Interethnic marriages were calculated following the same methodology as for the calculation of interethnic contacts. Marriages of Albanian Greeks and Soviet Greeks were treated as interethnic marriages.

Here, however, the volume of the difference is also an outcome of the specificity of the immigrant population of the city of Thessaloniki. More than half of the immigrant population in our sample refers to immigrants of Greek origin from former Soviet Union and Albania. Living as ethnic minorities outside their ethnic centre, those Diaspora Greeks were inevitably more prone to engage in interethnic marriages. Native Greeks had a much less 'opportunities' to engage into interethnic marriages if one considers the very low immigration population in Greece in the period prior to 1990. If one would compare the post 1990s interethnic marriages or natives with non Greek immigrants, interethnic marriages would still be more common for the immigrant residents yet the differences is expected to be considerably less pronounced.

Table 4.30 Percentage of Interethnic marriages

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		Peraia	
	Immigrant	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**	**immigrant**	**native**
N of interethnic marriages	19	3	21	3	19	2
Total of marriages	81	66	76	78	70	81
% of interethnic marriages	23,5%	4,5%	27,6%	3,8%	27,1%	2,5%

Summarizing our findings here and concerning the issue of public familiarity, a general finding that emerges clearly from the analysis, is that anonymity is not widespread in the three neighborhoods. Peraia appears to be the place where neighbors know each other the most. This can be possibly explained by time of residency for the immigrants and the physical environment that is more inducing for the development of some basic relationships with your neighbors. It is interesting to note that the condition recorded, is not reflected in the perceptions of the residents. As shown, a considerable number of the residents in Peraia, especially the natives, believed that their neighbourhood is a place where people hardly know each other. No substantial difference between immigrants and natives is recorded except from the fact that a larger segment of the latter category claims to have no knowledge at all of their neighbors.

However, turning to the issue of actual contact in the neighborhood, immigrants appear more sociable and significantly more prone to have contacts with people of different ethnic backgrounds. Difference between immigrants and natives are more pronounced in terms of inviting and being invited by people rather than exchanging

everyday small talks with neighbors. A general finding that clearly emerges at the aggregate level is that conflict, interethnic or not, is very rare in all neighborhoods and that the vast majority of respondents engage in some of contact with their neighbors.

Transgressing the neighborhood space to assess the overall social network of our respondents, no significant differences are recorded between immigrants and natives concerning its size. However, substantial differences are recorded in terms of its ethnic composition. Immigrants appear having significantly more ethnically mixed social networks. The data in that section also corroborate previous findings by highlighting the significance of the neighborhood as a field of socialization for immigrants. Approximately half of immigrants in all neighborhoods report that half or more of the people of their social networks live in the neighborhood. A considerably lower segment of the native population includes neighbors in their social network.

Zooming in to the 'most important people' network, the findings are very similar. Once more no substantial differences are observed between immigrants and natives in terms of the size of the networks, while great differences are recorded in terns of the ethnic composition of those networks. In the total number of contacts per neighbourhood, the share of interethnic relations ranges in the three neighbourhoods from 19% to 29% for immigrant respondents while for native residents it varies from 1% to 3,5%. Looking at the breakdown of immigrants' interethnic contacts, we see that more than half in all neighborhoods concern relation with natives. Hence, immigrants do not only have more ethnically diverse social networks but they are also more prone to develop relations with natives than natives are with immigrants. Neighborhood appears once more as a more important place of socialization for immigrants than for natives. After direct blood relatives, neighbors are the second category of most important contacts for immigrants, while for natives it is the third followed by colleagues.

The role of the neighborhood appeared once more less clear cut and less significant in comparison to the influence of the migration background. It could be also argued that the neighborhood factor was less important in influencing the development of relations of residents (both in and outside the neighborhood) than it has been to influence their perceptions about the live in the neighborhood. One thing that clearly emerged from the data is the fact that Peraia is the neighborhood where people have the most intense relationships in the neighborhood while at the same time they have the most restricted social circle in general. This is clearly illustrated in the table

about the share of people from the social network of residents who live in the neighborhood. In Peraia, almost 90% of people with who immigrants spend their free time and 82% of the people they provide and take the help from, live in the neighborhood. The shares for the native residents are also significantly higher in comparison to the natives in the other neighborhoods. In Nikopoli and Chinatown migration background is substantially more significant than the role of neighborhood in shaping the size of the social network of people, their contacts at the neighborhood level and the interethnic composition of their networks. Immigrants in the two neighborhoods had very similar results despite the differences of the neighborhoods and the same holds true for natives. At the same time results are much more different between immigrants and natives within the same neighborhood. One final finding the emerged concerning the influence of the neighborhood is the existence of comparatively sizeable minority of residents in Nikopoli, both immigrant and natives, who appear to be completely alienated from the their place of residence. Concerning ethnic group differences, the Chinese appear having significantly more mono-ethnic social networks in comparison to the Soviet Greeks and Albanians. If we include Soviet Greek-native Greek relations in our definition of interethnic relations, then Soviet Greek appear to be the groups with the most diverse social network followed by the Albanians. Yet the findings are reversed if we exclude them. It is interesting to note that for all three immigrant groups relations with natives are much more common than relations with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Concluding with the issue of interethnic contact we found that in all neighbourhoods immigrants are considerably more prone to work in more ethnically diverse work places; approximately one out of two of immigrants' colleagues is of different ethnic origin. Possibly workplace is as a social field for the immigrant population of the three neighborhood where they come more into contact with people of different backgrounds than in their area of living.

5. The development of interethnic relations

5.1. Characterisation of social networks

5.1.1. Characterisation of global social network

In the previous chapter, in Section 4.3, we have looked at the overall dimension and ethnic composition of the respondents' global social network in the three neighbourhoods. Here, we are going to examine certain additional features related to the dimension and composition of social networks according to different types of relationships. In particular, we explore whether respondents relate mostly to their relatives, people of the same sex, people living in their neighbourhood or not, or the extent to which they maintain contacts abroad. We do this by looking at the different types of contacts. Moreover, we are interested in the factors shaping those relationships; therefore, we examine the dimension of networks in respect to a number of key independent variables, such as sex, age, education level and the period respondents have lived in each neighbourhood.

Table 5.1 illustrates the relevant results regarding the people with whom respondents mostly spend their free time. As shown in the first section of the Table, the vast majority of those contacts in all three neighbourhoods are relatives. However, the respective shares are significantly lower among immigrants, reflecting to an extent an integral aspect of the migratory experience, as most immigrants have left their families behind. By contrast, more than 90% of native respondents in all three neighbourhoods declared that all or almost all of their contacts are relatives, while very few of those living in Nikopoli and Peraia said that few or none of their contacts are relatives – expectedly mirroring a more settled pattern in those suburban and distant from the centre neighbourhoods. These observations are supported by statistically significant relationships between the respondents' background and the shares of relatives in their global social network, with relatively high values for the Pearson's Chi Square statistic. On the other hand, the pattern appears to be different regarding the sex of the respondents as compared to the sex of their contacts. While significant shares in all neighbourhoods said that all or almost all of their contacts are of the same sex, for a good majority this is the case for about half of their contacts. The only exception here concerns immigrants in Peraia, nearly one fourth of whom said they have few or no relationships with people of the same sex; interestingly, this is the only neighbourhood where a significant

statistical relationship may be observed. Expectedly, the shares of those with limited relationships with people of the same sex are tiny, especially among migrants.

The next three sections of the Table present the shares of contacts living in the neighbourhood, elsewhere in Thessaloniki or outside the city. With the exception of Peraia, the majority have very few or not at all relationships within the neighbourhoods. Fewer are those all or almost all of whose contacts live in the neighbourhood, especially in Chinatown; the respective shares are higher for immigrants. In Peraia, by contrast, the majority of immigrants' contacts live in the area, while a more balanced pattern is observed among natives. The statistical relationships between the respondents' background and the shares of their contacts living in the neighbourhood are significant in both Chinatown and Peraia, with high chi square values. Expectedly then, the pattern in Peraia is almost reversed when looking at the shares of close contacts living elsewhere in Thessaloniki. In Chinatown, natives seem to be mostly related to people living elsewhere in the city, while for nearly half of immigrants' close contacts live elsewhere in the city. More balanced distributions are the case in Nikopoli without important differences between natives and immigrants, though no statistical relationship appears. Social networks are mostly concentrated across the city, as shown in last part of the Table. Only in Chinatown, immigrant residents' contacts live outside the city at a share of about 43%. This confirms the status of the area as a first "port of entry" for newcomers, as many migrants, especially Chinese, have not been there for long and, expectedly, they maintain relationships with friends or relatives back home, in other parts of Greece or even Europe. Rather unexpectedly, there is a relatively high share (nearly one fourth) of natives in Nikopoli whose contacts are based outside the city, perhaps reflecting the fact that many originate from other parts of northern Greece – though this is not confirmed by a statistically significant chi-square test.

On a similar vain, Table 5.2 & Table 5.3 show the respective details for the respondents' global network of people with whom they share a certain degree of confidence. Confidence here refers to the types of relationships involving mutually seeking advice or helping out in practical or other matters. There appear certain differences between these types of contact and the people respondents spend their free time with. First and foremost, the shares of relatives are lower here. Moreover, the shares decrease significantly in the case of natives, who seek for or give advice to and help out or receive help from far fewer relatives than immigrants do. Even more, significantly more people said that few or none among their contacts are

relatives, especially natives living in Chinatown. On the other hand, the pattern regarding the sex of people in those types of relationships does not differ much from that of the people they spend time with. The only notable exception here, confirmed by statistical proof, concerns immigrants in Peraia, for an important proportion of whom none or very few of their contacts are of the same sex. Also, again with the exception of Peraia, social networks are not located in the neighbourhood but are rather dispersed at different parts of the city. Finally, although few of the respondents' contacts live outside Thessaloniki, naturally both natives and immigrants maintain confidential relationships with people living elsewhere. For residents of Chinatown in particular, especially immigrants, an important share of their contacts are located outside the city.

We now turn to a comparison of the dimension of social networks between different characteristics of the sample in terms of sex, age, education level and length of residence in the neighbourhood. We examine this by looking at the average numbers of people in the respondents' global social network for the four different types of contact, by each of the variables listed above. We start by looking at the average numbers of men and women as illustrated in Table 5.4. Here, we can observe significant differences between immigrants and natives, but also between men and women. A number of observations are worth to be noted here. Overall, the majority of contacts evidently concern the people respondents spend their free time with, as compared to other types of relationships. Also, immigrants appear to be more "sociable" than locals, i.e. they maintain relationships with larger numbers of people at least in respect to their free time. Further, residents of Chinatown and Nikopoli appear to have larger networks. Lastly, men appear to know more people than women. In respect to the later, for instance, the average numbers of people immigrant men spend their time with in Chinatown and Nikopoli are respectively about 25 and 24, almost double to the equivalent for women. Of course, standard deviations in these particular cases are quite high, illustrating extremely different patterns of people having very small or very large networks. In addition, immigrant men in those two neighbourhoods tend to hang around with far more people than native men. The sizes of women's networks, on the other hand, do not exhibit such extreme differences, neither those of native women's networks as compared to native men. The exceptionality of Peraia found above is confirmed here too. Not only the size of networks is smaller, but also the natives' exceeds that of immigrants as far as confidentiality/advice and help are concerned.

Table 5.1 Spending free time

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	Immigrant	*Native*	*Immigrant*	*Native*	*Immigrant*	*Native*
Contacts are relatives:	**100.0 (N=84)**	**100.0 (N=80)**	**100.0 (N=101)**	**100.0 (N=95)**	**100.0 (N=89)**	**100.0 (N=94)**
All/almost all	72.6	93.8	68.3	92.6	62.9	91.5
More than/almost half	15.5	5.0	17.8	3.2	23.6	6.4
Few/None	11.9	11.2	13.9	4.2	13.5	2.1
Contacts are of same sex:	**100.0 (N-84)**	**100.0 (N=80)**	**100.0 (N=101)**	**100.0 (N=95)**	**100.0 (N=89)**	**100.0 ()**
All/almost all	38.1	33.8	47.5	44.2	62.9	34.0
More than/almost half	60.7	60.0	49.5	51.6	36.0	62.8
Few/None	1.2	6.2	3.0	4.2	1.1	3.2
Contacts live in the NoR:	**100.0 (N=84)**	**100.0 (N=80)**	**100.0 (N=101)**	**100.0 (N=95)**	**100.0 (N=89)**	**100.0 (N=94)**
All/almost all	11.9	6.2	21.8	13.7	73.0	36.2
More than/almost half	40.5	18.8	36.6	21.1	21.3	28.7
Few/None	47.6	75.0	41.6	65.3	5.6	35.1
Contacts live elsewhere in Thessaloniki:	**100.0 (N=82)**	**100.0 (N=80)**	**100.0 (N=101)**	**100.0 (N=95)**	**100.0 (N=80)**	**100.0 (N=91)**
All/almost all	25.6	58.8	32.7	40.0	3.8	28.6
More than/almost half	28.0	25.0	38.6	31.6	21.2	27.5
Few/None	46.3	16.2	28.7	28.4	75.0	44.0
Contacts live outside Thessaloniki:	**100.0 (N=77)**	**100.0 (N=68)**	**100.0 (N=101)**	**100.0 (N=95)**	**100.0 (N=81)**	**100.0 (N=90)**
All/almost all	15.6	5.9	2.0	6.3	0.0	1.1
More than/almost half	27.3	13.2	6.9	17.9	6.2	8.9
Few/None	57.1	80.9	91.1	75.8	93.8	90.0

Relatives: Chinatown: chi square = 13.480, df=2; p= 0.001,
Nikopoli: chi square = 18.403, df=2; p= 0.000;
Peraia: chi square = 21.694, df=2; p= 0.000

of same sex: Chinatown: chi square = 3.086, df=2; p= 0.214,
Nikopoli: chi square = 0.370, df=2; p= 0.831;
Peraia: chi square = 15.431, df=2; p= 0.000

living in NoR: Chinatown: chi square = 12.944, df=2; p= 0.002,
Nikopoli: chi square = 11.057, df=2; p= 0.004;
Peraia: chi square = 31.617, df=2; p= 0.000

living in Thessaloniki: Chinatown: chi square = 22.384, df=2; p= 0.000,
Nikopoli: chi square = 1.415, df=2; p= 0.493;
Peraia: chi square = 23.153, df=2; p= 0.000

outside Thes/niki: Chinatown: chi square = 9.500, df=2; p= 0.009,
Nikopoli: chi square = 8.430, df=2; p= 0.015;
Peraia: chi square = 1.382, df=2; p= 0.501

Table 5.2 Confidentiality and Advice

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	Immigrant	*Native*	*Immigrant*	*Native*	*Immigrant*	*Native*
Contacts are relatives:	**100.0 (N=**63)	**100.0 (N=**69)	**100.0 (N=**97)	**100.0 (N=**89)	**100.0 (N=**91)	**100.0 (N=**88)
All/almost all	47.6	20.3	44.3	39.3	57.1	30.7
More than/almost half of them	22.2	24.6	20.6	23.6	13.2	28.4
Few/None	30.2	55.1	35.1	37.1	29.7	40.9
Contacts are of same sex:	**100.0 (N=**63)	**100.0 (N=**69)	**100.0 (N=**98)	**100.0 (N=**89)	**100.0 (N=**91)	**100.0 (N=**90)
All/almost all	42.9	42.0	58.2	62.9	56.0	58.9
More than/almost half of them	50.8	50.7	37.8	33.7	25.3	35.6
Few/None	6.3	7.2	4.1	3.4	18.7	5.6
Contacts live in the NoR:	**100.0 (N=**63)	**100.0 (N=**69)	**100.0 (N=**98)	**100.0 (N=**89)	**100.0 (N=**91)	**100.0 (N=**89)
All/almost all	14.3	8.7	22.4	23.6	61.5	38.2
More than/almost half of them	30.2	14.5	28.6	15.7	15.4	16.9
Few/None	55,6%	76,8%	49,0%	60,7%	23,1%	44,9%
Contacts live elsewhere in Thessaloniki:	**100.0 (N=**62)	**100.0 (N=**69)	**100.0 (N=**98)	**100.0 (N=**89)	**100.0 (N=**83)	**100.0 (N=**87)
All/almost all	24,2%	49,3%	36,7%	31,5%	9,6%	34,5%
More than/almost half of them	27,4%	24,6%	27,6%	25,8%	9,6%	14,9%
Few/None	48,4%	26,1%	35,7%	42,7%	80,7%	50,6%
Contacts live outside Thessaloniki:	**100.0 (N=**58)	**100.0 (N=**57)	**100.0 (N=**98)	**100.0 (N=**89)	**100.0 (N=**84)	**100.0 (N=**85)
More than/almost half of them	29,3%	15,8%	6,1%	14,6%	10,7%	8,2%
Few/None	15,5%	21,1%	14,3%	12,4%	13,1%	7,1%
More than/almost half of them	55,2%	63,2%	79,6%	73,0%	76,2%	84,7%

relatives: Chinatown: chi square = 12.190, df=2; p=0.002
Nikopoli: chi square = 0.517, df=2; p=0.772
Peraia: chi square = 13.720, df=2; p=0.001

of same sex: Chinatown: chi square = 0.044, df=2; p=0.978
Nikopoli: chi square = 0.451, df=2, p=0.798
Peraia: chi square = 8.051, df2; p=0.018

living in NoR: Chinatown: chi square = 6.816, df=2; p=0.033
Nikopoli: chi square = 4.620, df=2; p=0.099
Peraia: chi square = 11.310, df=2, p=0.004

living in Thessaloniki: Chinatown: chi square = 10.020, df=2; p=0.007
Nikopoli: chi square = 1.012, df=2; p=0.603
Peraia: chi square = 18.610, df=2; p=0

outside Thes/niki: Chinatown: chi square = 3.117, df=2; p=0.21
Nikopoli: chi square = 3.696, df=2; p=0.158
Peraia: chi square = 2.185, df-=2; p=0.335

Table 5.3 Helping Out

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	Immigrant	*Native*	*Immigrant*	*Immigrant*	*Native*	*Immigrant*
Contacts are relatives:	**100.0 (N=69)**	**100.0 (N=61)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=77)**	**100.0 (N=81)**
All/almost all	47,8%	34,4%	46,0%	43,7%	53,2%	39,5%
More than/almost half of them	21,7%	18,0%	21,8%	26,4%	15,6%	30,9%
Few/None	30,4%	47,5%	32,2%	29,9%	31,2%	29,6%
Contacts are of same sex:	**100.0 (N=69)**	**100.0 (N=61)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=77)**	**100.0 (N=82)**
All/almost all	39,1%	37,7%	55,2%	49,4%	50,6%	50,0%
More than/almost half of them	50,7%	50,8%	36,8%	43,7%	31,2%	46,3%
Few/None	10,1%	11,5%	8,0%	6,9%	18,2%	3,7%
Contacts live in the NoR:	**100.0 (N=69)**	**100.0 (N=61)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=77)**	**100.0 (N=80)**
All/almost all	17,4%	9,8%	24,1%	24,1%	68,8%	33,8%
More than/almost half of them	27,5%	14,8%	27,6%	16,1%	14,3%	21,2%
Few/None	55,1%	75,4%	48,3%	59,8%	16,9%	45,0%
Contacts live elsewhere in Thessaloniki:	**100.0 (N=69)**	**100.0 (N=59)**	**100.0 (N=86)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=69)**	**100.0 (N=78)**
All/almost all	23,2%	52,5%	34,9%	33,3%	8,7%	32,1%
More than/almost half of them	13,0%	18,6%	27,9%	25,3%	8,7%	19,2%
Few/None	63,8%	28,8%	37,2%	41,4%	82,6%	48,7%
Contacts live Thessaloniki:	**100.0 (N=67)**	**100.0 (N=53)**	**100.0 (N=86)**	**100.0 (N=87)**	**100.0 (N=70)**	**100.0 (N=76)**
More than/almost half of them	31,3%	17,0%	4,7%	11,5%	8,6%	14,5%
Few/None	19,4%	13,2%	16,3%	16,1%	12,9%	5,3%
More than/almost half of them	49,3%	69,8%	79,1%	72,4%	78,6%	80,3%

relatives: Chinatown: chi square = 4.085, df=2; p=0.13
Nikopoli: chi square = 0.506, df=2; p=0.776
Peraia: chi square = 5.579, df=2; p=0.061

of same sex: Chinatown: chi square = 0.07, df=2; p=0.965
Nikopoli: chi square = 0.866, df=2; p=0.649
Peraia: chi square = 10.180, df=2; p=0.006

living in NoR: Chinatown: chi square = 5.863, df=2; p=0.053
Nikopoli: chi square = 3.695, df=2; p=0.158
Peraia: chi square = 20.480, df=2; p=0

living in Thessaloniki: Chinatown: chi square = 16.260, df=2; p=0
Nikopoli: chi square = 0.333, df=2; p=0.846
Peraia: chi square = 18.820, df=2; p=0

outside Thessaloniki: Chinatown: chi square = 5.267, df=2; p=0.072
Nikopoli: chi square = 2.757, df=2; p=0.252
Peraia: chi square = 3.463, df=2; p=0.1

Table 5.4 Average n. of contacts in Global social network by type of contact and sex

			Spending free time		Confidentiality & Advice		Helping out		Other relationships	
			immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Chinatown	M	M	24.8	9.6	3.7	4.0	6.3	3.7	1.2	3.8
		SD	32.2	11.6	4.7	5.5	8.0	6.2	4.0	11.5
	F	M	12.7	10.5	3.0	2.7	4.0	1.9	0.7	1.1
		SD	19.0	27.5	3.7	3.1	6.6	2.2	2.2	1.8
Nikopoli	M	M	24.2	11.7	6.9	4.0	6.7	3.4	0.5	0.3
		SD	46.5	11.7	14.8	7.1	14.7	3.9	1.6	1.2
	F	M	11.2	8.5	4.6	3.5	4.2	4.3	0.1	0.2
		SD	8.3	7.1	6.1	4.4	5.1	5.3	0.5	1.1
Peraia	M	M	8.0	8.9	2.4	3.9	2.1	4.7	1.2	0.6
		SD	8.1	8.4	2.5	4.3	2.3	5.6	2.1	1.9
	F	M	7.4	6.8	2.7	3.1	2.3	2.8	0.8	0.5
		SD	8.6	5.9	2.0	2.4	2.4	2.7	1.7	1.4

Similarly we may comment on the dimension of networks by age (Table 5.5). In Chinatown, for example, immigrants younger than 50 years old tend to socialise with more people in their free time; a different pattern is observed among natives, whose networks are larger among people aged less than 35 or between 50-64 years old. This is more or less the case for native residents of Nikopoli, but it is rather reversed regarding immigrants here, with people aged above 50 appearing to have more contacts to spend their time with. In Peraia, on the other hand, natives have wider networks of people they spend their time with, but the numbers appear to decrease by age. Turning to the respondents' education level now, shown in Table 5.6, immigrants with low education are far more sociable than the better educated in Chinatown; in Peraia too, but the differences in the average numbers of people they spend time with are not that striking. On the other hand, the networks of immigrants in Nikopoli are generally larger among either the lesser or the most educated respondents. Finally, the period one has been living in the neighbourhood may also play a role – this is illustrated in Table 5.7. For immigrants in Chinatown and Nikopoli, the larger networks appear among those who have been in the neighbourhood for 6 to 10 years (in Chinatown also for 1 to 5 years), reflecting perhaps to some degree the novelty of immigration settlement in those areas, especially in central Thessaloniki. In Peraia, where settlement may have well been in place since the 1990s, immigrants with more than 10 years in the district have more contacts to

spend their free time with. In general, living in the neighbourhood since the age of 18 (or having grown up there) does not mean that people have larger networks, although this appears to work out in other types relationships (Helping out, confidentiality and advice), especially among natives.

Table 5.5 Average n. of contacts in Global social network by type of contact and age

		Spending free time		Confidentiality & Advice		Helping out		Other relationships	
		immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Chinatown	<35	19.3	10.3	2.8	4.6	4.7	4.1	1.2	2.4
	35-49	22.9	8.6	3.4	3.9	5.9	2.8	0.6	2.5
	50-64	8.4	13.1	4.4	1.6	4.3	1.4	1.1	2.7
	>65		8.1		1.7		1.5		0.9
Nikopoli	<35	10.4	10.8	4.2	4.5	3.8	5.8	0.2	0
	35-49	14.5	9.7	6.5	4.3	4.7	4.1	0.4	0.3
	50-64	25.4	10.7	6.4	2.3	7.6	2	0.4	0.2
	>65	19.4	8.2	5.3	3.1	4.4	1.9	0	0.8
Peraia	<35	6.1	10.2	2.9	3.8	2.6	4	0.9	1.3
	35-49	7.8	8.7	2.6	3.2	2.4	3.9	0.9	0.4
	50-64	9.4	8.7	2.5	4.6	2	3.8	1.2	0.4
	>65	3.6	3.9	1.7	2.2	1.7	3.2	1	0.9

Table 5.6 Average n. of contacts in Global social network by type of contact and education

		Spending free time		Confidentiality & Advice		Helping out		Other relationships	
		immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Chinatown	No school, primary	26.4	4.1	2.3	1.9	6.5	2	0.5	0.1
	Lower secondary	32.7	13.7	2.3	1.8	4.8	1	0.6	1.8
	Upper secondary	14.4	6	3.8	2.4	4.1	3.1	1.7	0.4
	Post s/ry & tertiary	11.1	13.7	3.4	4.4	5.9	2.7	0.3	1.1
Nikopoli	No school, primary	22.6	8	3.8	2.4	1.4	2.2	1.4	0.5
	Lower secondary	13.6	9.3	3.8	2.2	3.1	2.4	0.3	0.1
	Upper secondary	9.9	11.5	5.8	4.7	5	4.2	0.1	0.3
	Post s/ry & tertiary	21.7	9.1	4.5	4.4	5	5.5	0.3	0
Peraia	No school, primary	8.9	3.4	1.6	2.3	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.1
	Lower secondary	8.8	8.4	2.6	3.6	2	4.4	1.4	0
	Upper secondary	5.9	4.9	2.5	2.8	2.1	2.7	1	0.6
	Post s/ry & tertiary	6.9	10.4	2.3	3.7	2.4	4.6	0.7	0.6

Table 5.7 Average n. of contacts in Global social network by type of contact and length of residence in neighbourhood

		Spending free time		Confidentiality & Advice		Helping out		Other relationships	
		immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Chinatown	since 18	11.2	8.8	2.6	3.8	3	3.2	0.4	1.1
	1-5 years	18.3	11.8	2.7	3.8	3.8	3.4	1.4	3.9
	6-10 years	26.3	6.6	3.7	4.1	6.9	3.9	0.8	4.1
	>10 years	9.1	12	4.1	2.1	5.3	1.3	0.5	2.2
Nikopoli	since 18	13	10.4	3.7	3	3.5	2.8	0	0
	1-5 years	13.9	10	5.2	4.5	5.4	5.2	0.3	0
	6-10 years	21.2	9.1	6.8	4.6	6.4	3.6	0.4	0.2
	>10 years	12.9	10.7	3.3	2.8	1.5	3.5	0.2	0.6
Peraia	since 18	4.1	8.1	3	3.6	2.5	3.9	0.8	0.7
	1-5 years	5.5	7.9	2.8	3.5	2.7	4.9	1	0.9
	6-10 years	6.1	9.2	2.7	3.7	2.1	3.1	1.3	0.5
	>10 years	10.2	7	2.2	3.3	1.9	3.7	0.9	0.5

5.1.2. Characteristics of social network – most important

Having examined some overall characteristics of the respondents' global social network, we now turn to have a more careful look at the close circle of people whom respondents consider their most important contacts. Some of the questions we are concerned with here are the following: Who has his/her friends in the neighbourhood and who has them somewhere else? What is the role of the neighbourhood for close relations? What is the importance of other places? To what extent are social networks concentrated in the family? We start by exploring the dimension of these networks, complementing thus the relevant discussion opened in section 4.4. We then move on to examine more specific information gathered about all persons in the networks, in terms of the early form of the relationship, the circumstances and place at the time they first met, their education level as compared to that of the respondents, their place of residence then and now, and the forms, circumstances and places of contact at present. As before, we discuss these by taking into account the different types of relationships.

Table 5.8 Dimension of close social networks, by type of contact

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	native	immigrant	native	immigrant	native
Free time	**91**	**90**	**101**	**94**	**95**	**90**
0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.8	6.7
1	15.4	12.2	8.9	4.3	31.6	27.8
2	82.4	87.8	91.1	95.7	52.6	65.6
Confidentiality & Advice	**92**	**92**	**95**	**88**	**95**	**84**
0	13.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	9.5	3.6
1	23.9	14.1	17.9	21.6	37.9	32.1
2	63.0	84.8	82.1	78.4	52.6	64.3
Helping Out	**87**	**86**	**82**	**84**	**88**	**84**
0	2.3	4.7	0.0	0.0	18.2	11.9
1	33.3	24.4	15.9	14.3	34.1	34.5
2	64.4	70.9	84.1	85.7	47.7	53.6
Other relationships	**50**	**41**	**13**	**7**	**61**	**39**
0	56.0	14.6	7.7	0.0	47.5	59.0
1	18.0	26.8	38.5	14.3	36.1	38.5
2	26.0	58.5	53.8	85.7	16.4	2.6

As we observe in Table 5.8, the majority of respondents maintain close relationships with at least two people, with whom they spend their free time, trust enough to seek advice or offer advice themselves, provide and receive help, etc. By contrast, very few are general those who are "isolated", i.e. who don't have anyone close enough to fit in one of the above categories. Exception to this may be the last "Other" type of relationship, which remained undefined in order for respondents to mention additional people not fitting or mentioned in the other three types of contacts. However, one thing one needs to consider is the possibility of methodological differences in the way the survey was performed and the strategies of data collection in each neighbourhood. Hence, all residents of Nikopoli have declared at least one close contact for the three main types of relationships, which has not been the case in the other areas, especially in Peraia. Still, however, the extent to which such methodological bias has occurred remains uncertain and unexplainable, while a degree of reliability in the data collected should be trusted. A simple proof of this are the particularly high shares of people without any close contacts in the case of Peraia, which has been found to be exceptional in respect to the size and composition of social networks in both the previous section on the global social network and the relevant parts of Chapter 4 (smaller network sizes, different patterns).

Let us now take a closer look at certain features regarding the composition of close social networks, illustrated in Table 5.9. These may uncover important elements shaping people's relationships in the three neighbourhoods and thus provide some

answers to the questions posed at the beginning of the section. We start by examining the early phase of the relationships and the circumstances in which people came to know each other. For about half of the migrants in all neighbourhoods, their close social contacts are relatives, especially direct ones. The same stands for one third of native residents in Chinatown, half of those in Nikopoli and 40% of those in Peraia, though the shares of non-direct relatives are lower than in the case of migrants. We may thus assume that immigrants are generally more dependent on their relatives while abroad for socialisation, support and advice. The second most important factors appear to be the neighbourhood and the workplace (or school, university, etc.). Here again we observe differences between immigrants and natives, the former having close contacts at larger shares with people from the neighbourhood while the later socialising more with colleagues (apart for from migrants in Nikopoli). Civic participation (membership in organisations, clubs, etc.) is insignificant for both migrants and natives, though the proportions are slightly higher in Chinatown - reflecting the centrality of the district in the corpus of the city and the availability of such possibilities. About one in ten have mentioned friends whom they met in some other relationship (except of natives in Chinatown and immigrants in Nikopoli).

The next section of the Table further confirms and complements this information. Here we can see that the neighbourhood maintains its key role as a meeting place. This is particularly true in Peraia, the characteristics of which may be assumed to facilitate neighbourly relations. It is also true in the case of Chinatown, perhaps surprisingly considering it is very central location, but not so much if one recounts again the greater density of both residences and the urban landscape, and the many amenities, venues and services that may provide opportunities to meet and socialise. Nikopoli is an exception, as the shares of relationships started in the neighbourhood are relatively low, mirroring its disconnection form the urban core and internal segregation patterns. The vast majority of the natives' close contacts, and good shares among immigrants in Chinatown and especially Nikopoli, were met elsewhere in Thessaloniki, while many among the natives first met in other parts of Greece. For immigrants in all neighbourhoods, on the other hand, the usual place of first encounter has been their own country of origin.

It is also interesting to look at the particular places where acquaintances were made, as these may be revealing of the "contact spaces" fostering social relationships (social capital?) within the city. For residents of Nikopoli and Peraia, and for

immigrants in Chinatown, the private sphere of home – whether the respondents' own home or the home of family or friends – appears to be the chief meeting place; after all we have seen above that a good proportion of the network concerns relatives. Open public spaces (parks, etc.) also seem to be important overall, but more so in central Chinatown as well as for immigrants in Peraia. In the former case we may assume this is because of luck of public spaces in the neighbourhood itself, which leads residents to use such places elsewhere in central Thessaloniki; in Peraia this may take place locally, owing to the existence of open spaces, especially by the seafront. The semi-private sphere of the workplace is also generally important, but becomes a key meeting place only in the case of natives – confirming the large shares of colleagues in native people's networks. A slight exception is found in Peraia, where the pattern is reversed and we assume that this mirrors the differences between migrants and natives in the area (whereby the former are mostly employees while the later are often retired pensioners or people maintaining a second home there). Colleagues as described above also meant fellow students, so the school/university appears important for natives in Chinatown, partly because it is an area of student residence. Other places also hold some importance there due to the diversity of meeting places in the centre of the city (bars and cafes, gyms, businesses and services, etc.), though elsewhere appear to be insignificant.

Finally, in their majority respondents seem to socialise mostly with people of the same education level as theirs. Beyond that, they almost equally have close contacts with people of a lower or higher educational level, though the later is mostly the case in Peraia while the former in the other two neighbourhoods. The high shares of "Don't know" responses in the case of Peraia should be rather considered to reflect biases during data collection related perhaps to the researcher's neutrality facing respondents' unwillingness to compare their education with that of their peers.

Table 5.9 Close social networks: meeting circumstances

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	native	immigrant	native	immigrant	native
Relationship when met (5)	**313**	**317**	**321**	**290**	**245**	**222**
Direct blood relatives	36.7	23	24.3	33.1	28.6	31.1
Other blood relatives	13.7	11	20.6	16.6	19.6	9.5
Residents from the same neighbourhood	19.2	12.9	21.2	14.8	31	22.1
As colleagues, etc.	11.8	29	21.8	22.4	15.1	26.6
As co-members of an organization, club	5.8	5.7	1.9	1	0.4	2.3
In another relationship	12.8	18.3	10.3	12.1	5.3	8.6
Where did they meet (7a)	**237**	**231**	**297**	**280**	**241**	**210**
In my current neighbourhood	25.7	26.8	14.8	13.2	39.4	34.8
Elsewhere in city oR	19	50.6	27.6	59.6	8.7	43.3
Elsewhere in country oR	3	21.6	5.4	23.9	4.1	18.1
In my country of origin	51.5	0	49.2	1.8	47.3	2.9
Elsewhere abroad	0.8	0.9	2.4	1.4	0.4	1
Don't know	0	0	0.7	0	0	0
Where did they meet (7b)	**162**	**233**	**298**	**280**	**236**	**191**
At school/university	4.9	25.3	5.4	7.1	2.1	11.5
At place of work/study	14.8	20.2	14.8	18.9	19.9	15.2
At place of worship	4.9	1.3	0.7	0.4	0	0
At club/association	1.9	3.4	0.7	0.4	0.8	2.1
At my children's school	0.6	2.1	0	0	0	2.1
In the home of family/friends/acq	19.8	9	33.6	21.8	21.2	22
In my home	20.4	11.6	23.2	36.1	31.4	28.3
In a park or other public space	22.2	17.6	16.4	12.9	20.8	14.7
In another place	10.5	9.4	5	2.5	3	4.2
Don't know	0	0	0.3	0	0.8	0
Education level (11)	**294**	**314**	**303**	**279**	**301**	**280**
Higher than mine	20.4	23.2	21.8	23.7	20.6	27.1
Same as mine	48.3	50.3	51.5	40.9	27.2	27.5
Lower than mine	29.6	26.1	23.8	33.3	18.3	12.9
Don't know	3.4	0.3	3.3	2.5	33.9	32.5

Table 5.10 Close social networks: place of residence

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrant	native	immigrant	native	immigrant	native
Where did they live back then (9)	**300**	**315**	**304**	**281**	**234**	**221**
In my home	4.3	7.9	4.6	5.7	13.2	7.7
In my neighbourhood	24.3	22.5	29.9	21	44.4	30.3
Elsewhere in city oR	23	46.3	46.1	55.5	15.8	43.9
Elsewhere in country oR	6	21.3	10.9	13.5	9.4	14
In my country of origin	39	0	7.2	2.5	14.1	1.4
Elsewhere abroad	2.7	1.9	1	1.1	3	1.8
Don't know	0.7	0	0.3	0.7	0	0.9
Where do they live now (12)	**313**	**314**	**309**	**281**	**255**	**221**
In my neighbourhood	30.7	22.9	35.6	26.3	61.6	36.7
Elsewhere in city oR	28.1	51.6	37.2	49.5	19.2	39.8
Elsewhere in country oR	8.3	22	19.7	19.9	9.8	19
In my country of origin	29.4	2.2	4.5	2.1	3.5	3.6
Elsewhere abroad	3.5	1.3	2.6	2.1	5.9	0.9
Don't know	0	0	0.3	0	0	0

Moving on to Table 5.10 presented above, we explore one of the key spatial dimensions of social networks, concerning their location in the past – i.e., at the time when respondents first moved to the neighbourhood - and at present. Starting with the former, we may observe once again that the neighbourhood itself plays a key role: for around one fifth to one fourth of both natives and migrants in Chinatown and Nikopoli and for even larger proportions in Peraia, their closer contacts where already living in the neighbourhood at the time they moved there. This observation may give the spatial role of networks a key role as a qualitative non-market factor influencing population distribution and concentrations within the city, in that - to some extent - people chose to live close to their peers. The general picture, however, is that the majority of contacts lived elsewhere in Thessaloniki - suggesting that people's social networks were dispersed across the city. Natives in particular have a good share of their close relationships in other parts of Greece, especially those living in central Chinatown – perhaps because the area hosts larger numbers of people originating from elsewhere. The same is also the case for immigrants in Nikopoli and Peraia, though to a lesser degree. In the case of migrants, a good share of their contacts used to live in their country of origin. This was the case for the majority of immigrants in Chinatown, and still concerns a major share of their contacts as to where they live now. On the other hand, the part of social networks based elsewhere in Greece or in other areas of Thessaloniki has increased over the years for both natives and locals. For immigrants in particular, this may suggest that gradually they form relationships in their country of residence, which – perhaps due

to migrants' increased mobility in search for work – are over time dispersed across the city, or – to a lesser extent – the country. Peraia has been exceptional to such a development, apparently due to the fact that the share of close contacts now living in the neighbourhood have significantly grew, mirroring both its popularity and accessibility as an affordable suburban seaside district. This, at a lower rate, has though been the case in Chinatown and Nikopoli too, especially for migrants. So, in a similar way that people may have "followed" their peers when moved to the neighbourhood at a first place, more peers are gradually joining them over the course of time. This finding further reinforces the spatial importance of social networks suggested above.

Table 5.11 Close social networks: keeping in touch and meeting spaces

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		**Peraia**	
	immigrant	native	immigrant	native	immigrant	native
How do they keep in touch	**311**	**313**	**115**	**122**	**123**	**115**
Face to face	58.2	80.8	85.2	90.2	82.9	98.3
Talking over the telephone/skype	63.3	63.3	28.7	38.5	57.7	49.6
Chatting on line, email, letters	12.5	4.8	5.2	2.5	8.1	0.9
Where do they meet	**199**	**266**	**270**	**234**	**204**	**175**
In the neighbourhood	30.2	14.9	17.8	24.2	59.5	29.7
Elsewhere in Thessaloniki	47.2	41	48.9	34.3	53.2	46.3
Elsewhere in Greece	19.6	39.9	31.1	36	8.8	32
In country of origin	8.5	7.5	1.9	2.1	0	4
Elsewhere abroad	0.5	0.0	0.0	2.1	1.0	0.0
Where do they meet	**195**	**266**	**273**	**233**	**199**	**169**
At school or university	0.5	2.3	0	0.9	4	2.4
At place of work/study	9.7	6.4	3.7	3.9	9	4.7
At place of worship	0	0.4	0.7	0.9	0	0
At club/association	0	1.1	0.7	0	0	1.2
In the home of family or friends	11.3	9	28.9	33.5	5	14.2
In his/hers home	52.8	40.2	49.5	43.8	65.8	65.7
In a park or other public space	23.1	29.3	10.6	15.9	39.2	25.4
In another place	8.7	16.5	5.5	1.3	9	5.3

Lastly, we take a look at the forms and circumstances of socialisation at present; in particular, the means through which respondents keep in touch with their close contacts, the places and venues they usually meet. The results are presented in Table 5.11. The relevant questions in our survey allowed for multiple responses here, so percentages do not add up to 100%. With the exception of migrants in Chinatown, people overwhelmingly prefer (and manage) face-to-face contact with their peers. The presence of immigrants from distant lands in Chinatown may partly explain the lower, though still important proportion, of actual physical meetings there. This is counterbalanced by means of distant communication, especially talking over the

telephone, which is also very important, especially in Chinatown and Peraia. On the other hand, using the internet (or more traditional forms of communication such as letters) are not a first option for many, though still we encounter significant differences between natives and migrants (higher shares of whom communicate via online chat, e-mail, etc.), for rather obvious reasons.

The majority meet their close contacts outside the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood however remains an important meeting place, especially among migrants in Chinatown, and to a lesser extent in Peraia. Quite unexpectedly though, significant proportions meet their friends and relatives in other parts of Greece, especially residents in Nikopoli – who seem to have more contacts based elsewhere in the country – and native people in Chinatown – many of whom originate outside Thessaloniki. A relatively significant share of both immigrants in Chinatown naturally meets some of their contacts in their countries of origin; interestingly the share is also quite important among native residents of the area. Regarding the actual venues meetings take place, the private sphere of home, especially the respondents' own home, is overwhelmingly the primary meeting space. The homes of friends and relatives are only significantly important among residents of Nikopoli, perhaps again due to the characteristics of the area, e.g. absence of local amenities and public spaces. The shares of immigrants and natives meeting their peers in parks or other public spaces in Nikopoli are obviously not unimportant, but do not have the same weight as meeting spaces as they do in Chinatown and Peraia. The workplace, finally, maintains a limited though worth-mentioned importance as a meeting space among migrants in Peraia and Chinatown.

5.2. The evolution of interethnic contacts

In this section we are concerned with the evolution of social networks over the course of time. At this stage, and for the purposes of this report, we explore this by comparing the respondents' current social networks (of most important people) with those of the past. A methodological limitation was that the questions on past social networks in the survey were asked only to those who moved to the neighbourhood after they turned 18 years old; therefore we only take this section of the sample in respect to present-day social networks. We begin by an assessment of the changes in the size and dimension of close social networks, looking also at the different types of contacts. We then comment on findings regarding changes in the share of relatives among past and present networks, as well as in their ethnic composition by country of birth, in order to account for the development of interethnic relationships.

Table 5.12 Number of contacts in past and current social networks

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		Peraia	
	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Past network	**85**	**60**	**88**	**74**	**86**	**71**
0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	10.5	5.6
1	16.5	10.0	5.7	9.5	19.8	21.1
2	28.2	35.0	44.3	50	46.5	52.1
3	21.2	15.0	23.9	12.2	5.8	8.5
4	24.7	21.7	15.9	21.6	12.8	11.3
5	4.7	6.7	4.5	1.4	1.2	0
6-8	4.7	8.3	5.6	5.5	3.5	1.4
Current network	**89 (+4)**	**63 (+3)**	**95 (+7)**	**78 (+4)**	**89 (+3)**	**78 (+7)**
0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	3.8
1	10.1	4.8	2.1	2.6	11.2	14.1
2	23.6	33.3	36.8	44.9	41.6	47.4
3	21.3	17.5	16.8	14.1	14.6	11.5
4	22.5	25.4	30.5	28.2	15.7	14.1
5	11.2	3.2	6.3	5.1	3.4	5.1
6-8	10.1	15.9	7.4	5.1	6.7	3.8

Table 5.12 shows the shares of numbers of most important people in the past and at present. Some people's networks have increased in terms of size, as becomes apparent by the greater numbers of close contacts appearing at present (and certainly keeping in mind that we have only included here those who moved to the neighbourhood after they turned 18). This is also evident if we look at the shares of those including greater numbers of peers in their close network: for instance, the shares of those who mentioned five or more people have increased by nearly 13% among migrants in Chinatown, 4.1% among natives in that area, 3.6% and 3.1% respectively among residents of Nikopoli, and 5.4% and 7.5% respectively in Peraia.

Table 5.13 Share of contacts repeated in both past and current social networks

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
0	35.5	31.8	19.8	24.7	42.9	44.8
1-2	37.6	40.9	53.1	48.1	42.9	46.0
3 or more	26.9	27.3	27.1	27.2	14.3	9.2
Total (N)	**93**	**66**	**96**	**81**	**91**	**87**

Moreover, in many cases relationships which were important in the past remained so at present. Table 5.13 illustrates the shares of the numbers of people included in both the past and current network. In fact, this was the case for about 65% and 68% respectively among migrants and natives in Chinatown, 80% and 75% respectively among residents of Nikopoli and 57% and 55% in among respondents in Peraia. The percentage is slightly lower among immigrants in Chinatown, while in both other neighbourhoods immigrants tend to maintain their close contacts at a higher rate than natives. For the majority, at least one or two of their close contacts of the past remain important at present. However, while in the case of Chinatown and Nikopoli more than one fourth keep in touch with at least three of their old contacts, in Peraia the equivalent proportions are much lower.

Table 5.14 repeats here the results on the dimension of close social networks by type of contact, as done in the previous section (Table 5.8), though now comparing numbers of people in past and present networks. Once again, the growth of the size of the network over time is confirmed, with greater absolute numbers appearing in each category of contacts, particularly among immigrants in Chinatown and Nikopoli and among natives in Peraia (the higher numbers appearing in comparison to the data on Table 5.12 are due to people repeated across different types of relationships). Moreover it is rather evident that, for both natives and immigrants in the three neighbourhoods and across all four different types of contacts, the shares of respondents including two of their peers have increased, while the shares of those mentioning nobody have overall dropped down (the only - minor - exceptions concern immigrants in Chinatown and natives in Nikopoli). The largest shares of respondents mentioning two important contacts are observed among relationships concerning the respondents' free time, as was also the case in the past.

We now move on to some comparisons regarding the ethnic composition of social networks, whereby we may observe interesting differences between immigrants and natives and between their past and current social networks. As shown in Table 5.15, the vast majority of natives' close contacts in the past were born in Greece (the relevant shares were 84.5%, 90.5% and 87.1% respectively in each neighbourhood).

Immigrants, on the other hand, used to socialise mostly with people born abroad – expectedly, perhaps, as "abroad" should mostly refer to the migrants' countries of origin (the shares in the three neighbourhoods were 81.9%, 82.4%, 8.8%). Fewer people maintained close relationships with both Greek-born and foreign-born people and these used to be more in Chinatown, then in Nikopoli and far fewer in Peraia – though without much difference between immigrants and natives.

Table 5.14 Dimension of past and present social network, by type of contact

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		**Peraia**	
	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Past Social Network						
Spending Free time	**81**	**57**	**85**	**71**	**85**	**66**
0	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.0	24.7	10.6
1	25.9	22.8	12.9	12.7	34.1	28.8
2	74.1	73.7	87.1	87.3	41.2	60.6
Confidentiality & Advice	**78**	**55**	**80**	**68**	**82**	**63**
0	10.3	3.6	0.0	0.0	14.6	11.1
1	29.5	32.7	20.0	16.2	43.9	33.3
2	60.3	63.6	80.0	83.8	41.5	55.6
Helping Out	**71**	**53**	**63**	**67**	**77**	**62**
0	1.4	3.8	1.6	0.0	22.1	22.6
1	39.4	34.0	17.5	17.9	42.9	32.3
2	59.2	62.3	81.0	82.1	35.1	45.2
Other Relationships	**40**	**24**	**14**	**5**	**56**	**32**
0	72.5	16.7	28.6	0.0	58.9	65.6
1	17.5	54.2	28.6	0.0	32.1	25.0
2	10.0	29.2	42.9	100.0	8.9	9.4
Current Social Network						
Spending Free time	**86 (+5)**	**59 (+2)**	**95 (+10)**	**77 (+6)**	**88 (+3)**	**77 (+11)**
0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.0	6.5
1	16.3	16.9	6.3	2.6	31.8	26.0
2	82.6	83.1	93.7	97.4	51.1	67.5
Confidentiality & Advice	**86 (+8)**	**60 (+5)**	**89 (+9)**	**73 (+5)**	**88 (+6)**	**73 (+10)**
0	12.8	1.7	0.0	0.0	10.2	4.1
1	23.3	21.7	16.9	19.2	37.5	28.8
2	64.0	76.7	83.1	80.8	52.3	67.1
Helping Out	**81 (+10)**	**55 (+2)**	**76 (+13)**	**70 (+3)**	**82 (+5)**	**72 (+10)**
0	1.2	1.8	0.0	0.0	18.3	13.9
1	35.8	27.3	14.5	14.3	34.1	31.9
2	63.0	70.9	85.5	85.7	47.6	54.2
Other Relationships	**48 (+8)**	**27 (+3)**	**12 (-2)**	**7 (+2)**	**58 (+2)**	**33 (+1)**
0	56.3	14.8	0.0	0.0	48.3	60.6
1	18.8	29.6	41.7	14.3	34.5	36.4
2	25.0	55.6	58.3	85.7	17.2	3.0

Table 5.15 Changes in the ethnic composition of the network: country of birth

	Chinatown		Nikopoli		Peraia	
	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Past network	**83**	**58**	**85**	**74**	**64**	**70**
All born in Greece	4.8	84.5	9.4	90.5	10.9	87.1
All born abroad	81.9	1.7	82.4	1.4	82.8	8.6
Born both in Greece & abroad	13.3	13.8	8.2	8.1	6.2	4.3
Current network	**89**	**63**	**93**	**78**	**87**	**77**
All born in Greece	9	90.5	9.7	88.5	5.7	89.6
All born abroad	13.5	0	9.7	0	8	0
Born both in Greece & abroad	77.5	9.5	80.6	11.5	86.2	10.4

If we now look at the same kind of information at the current social network, the picture changes substantially. The share of people born in Greece remains overwhelmingly important among native Greeks, but the shares are actually even higher: 90.5% in Chinatown, 88.5% in Nikopoli and 89.6% in Peraia. It would be interesting then to explore whether these include persons who may have been born in Greece but are of an "immigrant" origin – because if not, interethnic relations may have been hampered after moving to the neighbourhood. On the other hand, the majority of immigrants appear now to socialise mostly with people born both in Greece and abroad (77.5%, 80.6%, 86.2% in the three neighbourhoods respectively), while the proportions of close contacts born abroad have decreased dramatically. This may be indicative of the course of the migratory experience and settlement over the years and is interesting in respect to interethnic relations in at least two respects. Firstly, because to an extent there may be included people of the same origin who have though been born in Greece - which obviously does not tell us much about interethnic relationships. Secondly, because some relationships with compatriots are kept, while new ones are formed which include people from the country of residence – and this obviously suggests the development of interethnic relationships from the part of the migrants, though mostly as a matter of necessity (i.e. being a minority in the country of residence, migrants inevitably come into contact with the majority population, while the reverse is not necessarily the case). Interestingly, the shares of native Greeks having mixed close relationships have decreased in Chinatown, which is a more diverse but also transcended space due to its location and functions, while they have increased in Nikopoli and more than doubled in Peraia, both emerging as neighbourhoods of longer-term settlement.

Some of the above limitations partly result from the fact that we examined the ethnic composition of networks irrespectively of the country of birth of the respondents

themselves. Table 5.16 attempts to take this into account, in order to provide a more accurate response to the question on the evolution of the ethnic composition of the network. The Table illustrates the proportions of contacts in the network who are born in the same country as the respondents. Accordingly, we may observe that for the vast majority more than half of their close contacts in both past and present were born in the same country as them. This was particularly the case for natives as compared to migrants, who tend to maintain more interethnic contacts as we have seen. The overall trend has been that respondents socialise with more people born in the same country as them at the time of the fieldwork than in the past.

Table 5.16 Changes in the ethnic composition: shares of same-born contacts

	Chinatown		**Nikopoli**		**Peraia**	
	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives	immigrants	natives
Past Network	**85**	**58**	**88**	**74**	**79**	**73**
0-25%	14.1	3.4	28.4	0.0	34.2	13.7
26-50%	10.6	10.3	11.5	5.4	10.1	2.7
51-75%	14.1	1.7	5.7	4.1	0.0	1.4
76-100%	61.2	84.5	54.5	90.5	55.7	82.2
Current Network	**88**	**63**	**95**	**78**	**83**	**75**
0-25%	10.2	1.6	29.5	0.0	12.0	9.3
26-50%	10.2	3.2	13.7	5.1	21.7	0.0
51-75%	11.4	3.2	10.5	6.4	10.8	2.7
76-100%	68.2	91.9	46.3	88.5	55.4	88.0

	Past network	**Current Network**
Chinatown	chi-square = 12.487, df=3, p=0.006	chi-square = 12.423, df=3, p=0.006
Nikopoli	chi-square =30.226, df=3, p= 0.000	chi-square = 38.665, df=3, p=0.000
Peraia	chi-square =14.658, df=3, p=0.002	chi-square = 26.218, df=3, p=0.000

There are, however, differences between the three neighbourhoods, confirmed by statistically significant chi-square tests. Chinatown exhibits the highest shares of immigrants most of whose friends are same-born, as compared with Nikopoli and especially Peraia; even more, the share of those with at least half of their friends born in a different country have dropped from about one fourth to one fifth. On the other hand, the highest shares of immigrants with less than half of their friends born in the same country (hence implying that most of their close contacts were born in a country different to theirs) are indicative of some degree of interethnic relations in Nikopoli and Peraia in the past. In Peraia the proportion of migrants with at least half of their friends born in a different country used to approach 45%, but it has dropped dramatically to just 23.7% at the time of the fieldwork. Nikopoli is the only neighbourhood where this proportion has grown, from about 40% to more than 43%. Similar drops are observed among the respective shares for natives, especially in the

cases were natives used to socialise more with people born elsewhere: in Chinatown (from 13.7% to less than 5%) and Peraia (from 16.4% to 9.3%).

How are we to interpret these findings? Are these indicative of a negative evolution of interethnic relations in Thessaloniki, contrary perhaps to what one would expect to happen in the course of time? Although the data presented here might imply indications of this, we have already depicted some degree of interethnic contact (e.g. see section 4.4). In order, however, to be able to account for its evolution, certain methodological limitations remain in the context of this report. For example, country of birth alone would not tell us as much as a combined analysis looking also at the origins of both respondents and their peers. This however would be an enormous task to undertake at this stage, since origin of both respondents and their contacts are based on self-definition and there are no objective criteria to evaluate relationships. In addition, the fact that we have excluded a number of cases from our analysis here, addressing only those who moved to the neighbourhood after turning 18, may have had a distorting effect because we loose, for instance, second generation migrants who have been brought up, schooled and socialised in the neighbourhood. Moreover, some of the possibilities previously discussed may remain while some others may take a new turn in the light of Table 5.16. So, for instance, the possibility of Greek-born natives socialising with Greek-born migrants but not with foreign-born ones remains open (unless we check the origin of people in the network as compared to the origin of respondents). This is not so regarding migrants, who now also appear to socialise more with same-born people in their close group of contacts; an assumption here could be that their peers from their countries of origin have joined them in Greece/Thessaloniki, which has been partly implied in the previous section, but obviously this does not reveal any interethnic relations.

Some of these close contacts are relatives, as we have seen; another aspect thus of the evolution of networks over time concerns the extent to which relatives have remained important. This is explored through Table 5.17 bellow, which is based on responses on "direct blood relatives" and "other blood relatives" in our question on the initial circumstances of the relationship (How did you meet). Evidently, the proportion of respondents who had not included any relatives in their past network has now dropped in all neighbourhoods for both immigrants and locals, suggesting that now people tend to socialise more closely with their relatives. Although statistically significant chi-square tests were found only in the cases of direct blood relatives for migrants in Chinatown (χ^2=9.618, df=2, p=0.008) and of other relatives

for natives in Peraia (χ^2=7.239, df=2, p=0.027), this partly sheds additional light to the previous discussion on the evolution of interethnic contacts, as people's relatives would have in most cases been born in the same country as them. For migrants in particular, the most dramatic drops occurred in respect to their direct blood relatives in Chinatown and Peraia, while the share of those whose networks comprise mostly of direct blood relatives (more than half) have considerably increased.

Table 5.17 Changes in the composition of networks: shares of relatives

		immigrant background		native background	
		direct blood relatives	other relatives	direct blood relatives	other relatives
Past network					
Chinatown	none	48.4	69.9	51.6	78.1
	up to half	29.0	25.8	31.2	17.2
	more than half	22.6	4.3	17.2	4.7
Nikopoli	none	59.4	68.8	48.1	74.1
	up to half	26.0	22.9	24.7	14.8
	more than half	14.6	8.3	27.2	11.1
Peraia	none	78.0	72.0	66.7	84.5
	up to half	15.9	17.1	15.5	8.3
	more than half	6.1	11.0	17.9	7.1
Current network					
Chinatown	none	31.5	66.3	50.0	72.7
	up to half	39.1	31.5	39.4	24.2
	more than half	29.3	2.2	10.6	3.0
Nikopoli	none	58.3	59.4	42.0	70.4
	up to half	24.0	33.3	30.9	19.8
	more than half	17.7	7.3	27.2	9.9
Peraia	none	50.6	67.1	51.8	84.7
	up to half	35.3	22.4	30.6	10.6
	more than half	14.1	10.6	17.6	4.7

This is again may reflect two dimensions of the migratory experience. Firstly, over time immigrants may be joined by relatives who had initially stayed behind, and hence include them in their close group of contacts; secondly, immigrants are more dependent on their relatives than natives as far as socialisation is concerned, as also shown in 5.1.2. Chinatown emerges as the district whereby immigrants tend to socialise more with their relatives; perhaps its centrality fosters anonymity and indifference (Simmel's "blazee" attitude), hence the family emerges as a refuge out of need. By contrast, natives in Chinatown are not likely to include relatives among their close networks, while they do so in both Nikopoli and Peraia. Natives in general socialise to a lesser extent with their relatives, and although they tend to include them in their close group of contacts over time, relatives do not generally form an

overwhelming proportion of their networks (in fact, the proportion of those whose networks comprise mostly of relatives has decreased in all three neighbourhoods).

In conclusion, the analysis presented in this chapter concentrated on people's social networks, especially the group of important contacts they frequently socialise (spending their free time, sharing mutual confidence and help). This type of social networks - intimate relationships of the kind Grannoveter (1983) has described as "strong ties") are shaped by complex interactions, partly dependent on characteristics that have been explored here: sex, family, education, background, country of birth, etc. Other criteria, however, such as social class, income and profession, have been left outside the analysis. The neighbourhood emerges as one among other factors shaping such relationships and there do exist certain particularities in each neighbourhood owning partly to their specific features, in terms of (infra)structure, functions and position in the city, as well as to the social and ethnic composition of their population. There are also specificities regarding the two main groups of residents, i.e. whether they are of immigrant or native background. Although indicative of some degree of interethnic relations, especially among migrants who are somehow forced by necessity to interact with the majority population, these are not yet to be found in the intimate contacts of the residents of Thessaloniki. These contacts are only partly neighbourhood-based and even in this case they mostly stem from within the family. Therefore the people's close social network does yet not appear to be the locus of interethnic relations at large.

Obviously this should be taken as the picture emerging from the type of data collected and the analysis performed: we have come across a number of methodological limitations which hamper us from capturing the real extent of interethnic contact among people's social networks, and how this evolved over time. However, some certainty should be trusted in respect to two issues. Firstly, one should take into account the relative novelty of immigration to Greece and settlement in Thessaloniki: this goes back two decades only; the political questions regarding immigrants' legal status have very recently started to get arranged and there is still space for improvement. Moreover, the second generation – excluded entirely from our survey (as were natives born and bred in the neighbourhood in respect to their past networks) – is only now beginning to emerge. Expectedly then, the data confirm this wider context – showing that interethnic contact in Thessaloniki is not given but rather a process under development. Secondly, we should underline the local conditions of contact. Beyond people's intimate relationships, the everyday

modes of interethnic coexistence should be sought in perceptions, daily contact and practices in the neighbourhood at a local level, as we do in the following chapter.

Concluding, in this Chapter we have examined the dimension and composition of people's social networks. The analysis begins with the different types of relationships in the global social network. In respect to the people respondents spend their free time with, the vast majority in all three neighbourhoods appear to be relatives and of the same sex, though to a lesser extent for immigrants as compared to natives. With the exception of Peraia, the majority have very few or not at all relationships within the neighbourhoods. In Chinatown, natives seem to be mostly related to people living elsewhere in the city, while for nearly half of immigrants close contacts live elsewhere in the city. More balanced distributions are the case in Nikopoli without important differences between natives and immigrants, though no statistical relationship appears. Finally, social networks are mostly concentrated within Thessaloniki; only in Chinatown, immigrants' contacts live outside the city. Regarding relationships of mutual confidentiality and help, the shares of relatives are lower, especially among natives. With the exception of Peraia, social networks are not located in the neighbourhood but are rather dispersed at different parts of the city. There are significant differences between not only the networks of immigrants and natives, but also between those of men and women, younger and older people, as well as those who have been living for long in each neighbourhood and newcomers.

The rest of the chapter focuses on the close social network of most important contacts. The majority of respondents maintain close relationships with at least two people, with whom they spend their free time, trust enough to seek advice or offer advice themselves, provide and receive help, etc. For about half of the migrants and for important shares among natives in all neighbourhoods, their close social contacts are relatives, especially direct ones. Neighbours are important especially for migrants, while work/study colleagues come second in the case of natives. The neighbourhood maintains its key role as a first-instance a meeting place, although actual outside meetings usually take place in other parts of the city. The private sphere of home appears to be the chief meeting place, particularly for immigrants and for residents of suburban areas. Open public spaces also seem to be important overall. The semi-private sphere of the workplace is also generally important, but becomes a key meeting place only in the case of natives. In their majority, respondents seem to socialise mostly with people of the same education level as theirs. Most of people's

contacts do not live in the neighbourhood; however there are indicators that the presence of contacts does play a role for migrants to move in.

The size of networks tends to increase over time, while some contacts remain the same. The vast majority of natives tend to socialize with Greek-born people, while immigrants maintain a more mixed circle of friends, partly reflecting the course of the migratory experience and settlement over the years. Overall, however, immigrants engage more in interethnic relationships though most likely as a matter of necessity (i.e. being a minority in the country of residence, migrants inevitably come into contact with the majority population, while the reverse is not necessarily the case). In general however, all residents tend socialize more with people born in the same country as them. In that sense, the degree of interethnic contact remains low. This may be partly due to methodological limitations and statistical bias, but also reflects the broader migratory context, i.e. the relative novelty of immigration to Greece and settlement in Thessaloniki, the political questions regarding immigrants' legal status have very recently started to get arranged and there is still space for improvement and the issue of the second generation – excluded entirely from our survey, as were natives born and bread in the neighbourhood in respect to their past networks – is only now beginning to come into the picture.

This type of social networks explored here - intimate relationships - are shaped by complex interactions, partly dependent on specific characteristics such as sex, family, education, background, etc. Other criteria, however, such as social class, income and profession, have been left outside the analysis. The neighbourhood emerges as one among other factors shaping such relationships and there do exist certain particularities in each neighbourhood owning partly to their specific features, in terms of (infra)structure, functions and position in the city, as well as to the social and ethnic composition of their population. There are also specificities regarding the two main groups of residents, i.e. whether they are of immigrant or native background. Although indicative of some degree of interethnic relations, especially among migrants who are somehow forced by necessity to interact with the majority population, these are not yet to be found in the intimate contacts of the residents of Thessaloniki. These contacts are only partly neighbourhood-based and even in this case they mostly stem from within the family. Therefore the people's close social network does yet not appear to be the locus of interethnic relations at large.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Reflection on the research questions

The results presented here are the outcome of a rather primary analysis performed for the total amount of data collected through the 601 interviews that were conducted in the three selected neighbourhoods in Thessaloniki. Even though the report forms the starting point in the exploration of the data at the national level, we do think that the findings presented already shed light on the issues of interethnic relations, the role of the neighbourhood in their development, as well as to other factors that seem to influence both the perceptions and the behaviour of immigrants and natives in the city.

Before moving on into summarizing our main findings, it is useful to note that the coexistence and the relationships between immigrants and natives on the local level is strongly affected by policies and the institutional environment at a national level, which imposes a specific role for immigrants within the Greek society. We have to bear in mind that the migratory phenomenon in the country is rather new; hence, there are important barriers with regards to immigrants' presence and settlement in the country. Specifically, the rise of migrants' inflow in the country gained momentum in the early 1990s, when the Greek administrative structure and legislative framework was unprepared and, despite the successive initiatives, it still presents weaknesses and deficiencies that affect the immigrant population in various ways, including their legal status, their integration in the labour market, their rights to vote and -ultimately- the natives' view of them. An indicative example refers to Soviet-Greeks, a group of immigrants that could be characterised as a 'privileged' one, owning to the Greek State's supportive measures towards them, which has created a clear distinction between immigrants with Greek ethnic origins and those without. A restrictive policy framework kept most "foreign" immigrants in a limbo throughout the 1990s, leaving the majority undocumented and dealing with their status with successive regularisation programmes that started as late as 1998. This has only been replaced a decade earlier and further rationalised in 2005, while procedures for a more inclusive citizenship were just voted in 2009. Such a political context has not only created difficulties regarding immigrants' employment issues or access to services, but also - alongside an overall hostile media discourse - fostered

xenophobic stances in the wider society, scapegoating Albanians during the 1990s and Asian and African migrants in the last few years.

We argue that this fact has an important impact on our survey and the obtained results in different ways, including the tendency to receive 'politically correct' answers both in the case of immigrants and the natives, even though the interviewers put a great effort in that respect. Immigrants, generally state that they do not face any difficulties with the native population, while natives hold an overall positive view towards them, even though they do not actually interact with them, as the majority of our findings indicate. However, evidences of discrimination are apparent, while direct observation in the surveyed neighbourhoods confirmed the argument made above. On the other hand, in certain cases, natives sense that the presence of immigrants can constitute a threat in the near future, a fact that could be also partially attributed to the results of the economic crisis in the case of Greece. Therefore, we think that the reader should take account of these qualitative attributes when trying to evaluate the results of the present study. On the other hand, these issues, which we have been able to identify through our fieldwork, require a more focused approach and a comparison with the prevailing conditions in other urban centres in Europe, a step we shall take in the near future.

As far as the general assessment of the Neighborhood is concerned, substantial differences are recorded across the three case study areas. In particular, Nikopoli is pictured as the most problematic area, since it is perceived as the least safe neighborhood with the highest crime rates, while the majority of the respondents claim that they would move out with pleasure. Peraia is the neighborhood which is perceived by its residents to have the best infrastructure and reputation, while Chinatown seems to stand somewhere in the in-between the other two areas with some degree of identification and attachment These findings suggest that ethnic concentration, combined with local characteristics (e.g. existence and type of infrastructure social stratification of the area, etc) may or may not create tensions between different migratory groups. This is the case for instance in Chinatown, characterized by a dense urban landscape of a diverse but rather working-class majority population, while good local infrastructure seems to affect positively the attitude towards the "others", as the example of Peraia shows. Combined with our preexisting qualitative and empirical knowledge of each of the three districts, and the primary data regarding the demographic profile of the neighborhoods, our discussion

of the respondents' social networks and the factor and analysis performed in chapter 6 highlight additional characteristics. Accordingly, Chinatown emerges as an extremely diverse but rather transcended space, owning to its location within the city, its infrastructure, functions, ethnic and social composition of its population, whereby residents appear to be largely indifferent towards their neighbors. Nikopoli, on the other hand, a suburb disconnected from the urban core, appears to foster in-group relationships which suggest clear lines of segregation between migrants, especially Soviet Greeks, and natives. Peraia, lastly, seems to be an area fostering neighborly relations, but with a less coherent pattern observed in different parts of the analysis in respect to the position of the migrants at the local level.

Regarding the modes of interethnic coexistence in Thessaloniki, a general and clear distinction was evident between immigrants and natives, since in most cases the former are those who tend to establish interethnic networks more often compared to the latter, including both their global social networks, as well as their 'most important people' network. This is obviously a 'paradox" in the sense that most immigrants state natives as part of their interethnic networks and not immigrants of different origin, which gives rise to a plausible question: which Greeks are included there, since they do not tend to interact with immigrants? The answer, we think, lies partly within the immigrants' tendency to argue that they are well embedded in the neighbourhood and accepted by the native population, while it could also be attributed to the answers given by immigrants with Greek origins who form interethnic networks with natives. Above all, perhaps, one should not underestimate the fact that immigrants are forced by necessity to interact with and relate to the majority population, while the opposite is not necessarily the case.

In a more detailed way, the dominant form of interethnic contact involves relationships in the workplace, since the share of immigrants who answered that they share the work floor with people of different ethnic background exceeds 50% in all Neighbourhoods. Once more, this finding can be related to the institutional setting, which constitutes a barrier for immigrants to establish entrepreneurial activities, thus forcing them to work as employees in firms and stores owned by natives. At the same time, though, it exhibits the dual form of institutional deficiencies, since owning to this reason, interethnic relations between immigrants and natives are enhanced in the work place. Still, however, our analysis of social networks highlights the workplace as an important meeting space, especially among natives. It is therefore

reasonable to assume that interethnic contact may be fostered in employment environments.

Regarding the role of the Neighbourhood in the process of establishing interethnic networks, it is evident from our findings that the impact of the local institutional and physical environment is less important than the prevailing conditions on the national level. At the same time, the Neighbourhood acquires a more meaningful notion in the case of immigrants, compared to natives who in certain cases feel threatened there and would move away with pleasure. Once again, this finding is related to the general conditions regarding the immigrants' presence in a specific location and broader characteristics of this particular location. In Thessaloniki, we could argue that immigrants do not always have a real choice in their decision to settle in the case study areas. In Chinatown, a declining red-light and workshop district hosting a Roma camp until recently, it was the cheap rents and the unexploited housing stock, which led especially the Chinese immigrants to settle there, since they could open their stores and live near them. In Nikopoli, Soviet Greeks were gathered owning to the incentives given by the Greek State, while in Peraia demand for housing stocks has dropped as it lost part of its reputation as a coastal suburb, leading Albanians and other immigrants to rent houses that were supposed to be liveable only during the summer season and were abandoned by natives.

Adding on that, the presence of friends and relatives who act as a type of 'local brokers" is extremely valuable for immigrants, who have to face the difficulties emerging from the (often negative) attitudes of the native population or the Greek polity towards them. Thus, the Neighbourhood becomes their 'safe place', they are embedded there and they are not that willing to move away, even if this is not their the ideal place but a convenient one they can afford. Thus, positive representations of all three neighbourhoods are much more common among immigrant respondents, who appear to hold a slightly better image of the relations developed in their neighborhood, they are considerably more attached to their place of living and to their neighbors, while they evaluate their area more positively. Immigrants also claim to have fewer problems with their neighbors and think that their neighborhood has a more positive reputation than natives do.

On the other hand, the maintenance of interethnic relations seems to affect the general assessment of the neighbourhood, since respondents who belong to this group tend to know their neighbours better and feel secure there. Familiarity

between the two sides (natives/immigrants) is obviously affected by time, since interethnic relations for natives are most common in Peraia, which is an area where immigrants have settled a long time ago, as compared to Chinatown. What we argue here, though, is that it is not the Neighbourhood that affects the development of interethnic networks, but rather the general attitude towards immigrants and a sense of mutual familiarity between the two sides, which both evolve over time. Adding on that, we could turn this relationship around by arguing that intense interethnic relations seem to ·influence positively the general assessment of the Neighbourhood by both immigrants and natives. In general however, all residents tend to socialize more with people born in the same country as them and very few have ethnically mixed social networks. In that sense, the degree of interethnic contact remains low.

Another interesting finding which emerged primarily through the factor and cluster analysis refers to the relationship between the size of social networks and the tendency to have interethnic contacts. Concretely, it is important to note that those respondents who present high social interaction are more likely those who have not interethnic relations (put differently, those having interethnic relationships tend also to relate to smaller groups of people). Moreover, national background and family proved to be the most significant factors for the formation of close social networks, as the respective figures revealed in all cases. More precisely, apart from direct blood relatives, neighbors are the second category of most important contacts for among immigrants, and the third one for natives followed by colleagues, which again shows that the Neighborhood appears as a more important place of socialization for immigrants than for natives. Moreover, we came across interesting differences when we looked at specific nationalities among respondents of immigrant background; accordingly, the Chinese appear to have significantly more mono-ethnic social networks in comparison to the Soviet Greeks and Albanians, while Soviet Greeks appear to be the group with the most diverse social network followed by Albanians.

Lastly, bearing in mind that immigrants are those who are more likely to develop interethnic networks in Thessaloniki, while the vast majority of natives tend to socialize with Greek-born people, the findings about immigrants' close social networks reveal that public spaces and the private sphere of home are the most common meeting places. This, leaving aside potential cultural customs, obviously reflects their income status which hinders socialisation through consumption, leading

to practices which are familiar to "traditional" Greek lifestyle (hosting friends in your house, using open public spaces such as squares or parks, etc.).

The type of social networks mostly explored in this report (Chapters 4 and 5) – the close contacts with most important people refer to rather intimate relationships - are shaped by complex interactions, partly dependent on specific characteristics such as sex, family, education, background, etc. Other criteria, however, such as social class, income and profession, have been left outside our analysis. The neighbourhood emerges as one among other factors shaping such relationships and there do exist certain particularities in each neighbourhood owning partly to their specific features, in terms of (infra)structure, functions and position in the city, as well as to the social and ethnic composition of their population. Therefore, we could argue that interethnic relationships in Thessaloniki are in the process of taking shape rather than a given, stable and unchanging reality. In fact, interethnic relations form an constantly unfolding reality, which may depend on both national (e.g. the migrants' legal status) and very local conditions, perceptual, relational and practical such as the ones analysed in chapter 6, but also structural ones that were outside the focus of this report (e.g. social class) and will be explored in later phases through the multilevel cross national analysis.

6.2. Lessons learned: Local and national policy recommendations

It is obvious from the quantity of the data presented in this report that an in-depth analysis focusing on additional issues or casting a different eye in some of those hereby explored is essential in order to obtain a more accurate picture, which could lead us to formulate suggestions and recommendations on national policy level. We do believe that this process should take account of the relevant findings in the other urban settings examined during the research phase of this project, in order to assess the implemented practices in different countries and evaluate any possible 'best practises'. However, we were able to identify some key-issues related to the Neighbourhoods and the respective local institutional settings, which on the one hand require a more focused approach, but on the other hand could be mentioned here, mostly as directions for future research.

As previously mentioned, we argue here that the development of interethnic relations and networks in the case of the three areas examined are generally affected by the institutional and legislative framework on the national level, which defines the attitude of native residents towards their immigrant neighbours. We understand that the current situation does not encourage the development of interethnic networks, owning to the overall negative image and the position immigrants occupy within Greek society at large. The process of altering this position cannot of course have short-term results, neither is it an easy and straightforward process; however, specific measures could be taken, both on a short-term and on a longer-term basis, in order to improve the current situation.

Firstly, the existing legislative framework regarding the immigrants' presence and settlement in the country should be aligned with the existing needs, taking into account both the spatial concentration of immigrants in specific territories as well as their occupational status, which in essence defines their role within the Greek society. This "shift" towards legalisation for immigrants who live and work in Greece could encourage the development of interethnic relations and enhance the effort to minimize the fears regarding their presence in the country. These efforts have been visible during the last few years; however they have not yet proved to be successful in terms of changing the legal status for numerous immigrants who have been living and working in Greece for the past years. At the same time, they have not managed to hinder the formation of 'ghettos' in certain parts of the country, with Athens being the most indicative example that includes alarming and potentially explosive situations in specific downgraded districts, which amidst the turmoil of the current financial crisis have a negative impact on the general assessment of the migratory phenomenon by natives. In Thessaloniki, similar signs are evident in the case of Chinatown as well as Nikopoli, though for entirely different reasons – even though to a definitely far more moderate extent as compared to Athens- and this is something policy makers should take account of.

Secondly, in a long-term perspective, the role of mass media is crucial regarding the shaping of the immigrants' 'image' in the case of Greece, bearing in mind especially the effect television programmes and series have on public opinion. Taking into consideration that a large part of daily press and television channels are adopting a xenophobic standpoint towards immigrants, specific measures are crucial by the

monitoring authorities in order to discourage negative representations of immigrants in certain media, especially electronic ones.

Adding on that, the educational system can affect this process as well, since as the findings of our survey reveal, well-educated natives are more likely to realize the benefits of immigrant presence in the country or at least education minimizes negative feelings towards it. At the same time, the presence of second generation immigrants at schools, although a largely successful story so far, despite the difficulties and problems, is likely to create tensions in the near future, owning to their growing numbers which can affect the perceived quality levels for locals, as our findings indicate. Therefore, pro-active measures on a local level are also essential to prevent this phenomenon.

Inevitably, immigrants' position will be gradually improved in Greece with the evolvement of time. The share of interethnic marriages already follows an upward trend and will be higher in the near future, while more intensive interethnic relations are likely to be developed in the future, not only due to increased familiarity between immigrants and natives, but also because of relationships formed on the ground in the contact spaces of a plural society – especially when a second generation of both migrants and natives who have been brought up and schooled side by side. However, time alone cannot be the only defining factor; a new approach is essential regarding policies on both national and local level, bearing in mind that even though the migratory phenomenon in Greece is relatively new, it has already been here for almost 20 years now.

7. References

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