

Criminological Studies

PANTEION UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY - SECTION OF CRIMINOLOGY
POSTGRADUATE PROGRAMME "CRIMINOLOGY"

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VOLUME 1

*Are there ghettos in the centre of Athens?
Criminological research of social attitudes and representations*

Christina Zarafonitou and Eleni Chrysochoou

ATHENS 2015

CRIMINOLOGICAL STUDIES

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Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

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PREFACE

The Programme of Postgraduate Studies (MA) “*Criminology*” operates as an officially recognised Postgraduate Programme by the Ministry of Education in the Department of Sociology of Panteion University since the academic year 2003-2004. More specifically, it is the succession of the Postgraduate Seminar of Criminology, operated in the Section of Criminology, with a relevant decision of the Senate of Panteion University, since 1984.

Under this Programme many studies and researches of high scientific value are conducted not only by the teaching staff but also by the postgraduate students and the Ph.D. candidates. The value of the aforementioned scientific work is important and recognised since many of these studies are presented in national and international conferences and are published in distinguished scientific Greek and European journals. This academic activity, which is not funded, is a reflection of the interest for the science of Criminology, the character of which is not only theoretical but also practical. The understanding of the complex social phenomena requires their theoretical and empirical investigation. This interdependent relationship between research and theory contributes to the development of scientific thought and also highlights the “practical” utility of Criminology in the field of crime policy. The project launched by the present publication, under the annual regular budget of the MA “Criminology”, aims to highlight the important research work produced in this area, by publishing some of the most significant empirical studies. The bilingual version was chosen in order to contribute to the exchange of scientific knowledge and experience at an international level.

The study which is published in the first issue and launches the Series “*Εγκληματολογικές Μελέτες/Criminological Studies*” deals with a contemporary and timeless topic of Criminology, the formation of ghettos in the center of large cities which is specified through the empirical investigation in the center of Athens. The originality of such a topic for Greek reality coupled with the use of combined and approved methods as well as the conduct of a follow up study give scientific validity and originality on the overall project.

Athens, January 2015

Professor Christina Zarafonitou

Director of the M.A. “Criminology”

Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

***Devoted to all the students of the Postgraduate
Programme of Criminology of Panteion University***

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Professor Dr. Christina Zarafonitou

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME AND INSECURITY IN URBAN AREAS IN THE LIGHT OF ENVIRONMENTAL CRIMINOLOGY

*Christina Zarafonitou, Professor of Criminology,
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I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of the relationship between environmental factors and crime goes back to the 19th century while all contemporary criminological approaches take into account the size of a residential community. Furthermore, there has been a great development in crime mapping techniques by using modern models of crime mapping and geographical analysis of crime, while special attention is given to crime prevention through environmental interventions. By attempting a brief historical review, we notice that although many of the above concepts had become apparent through the approach of human ecology and they are being reexamined by environmental criminology.¹

A. Quételet and A. M. Querry, who were the founders of the French- Belgian Cartographic School, introduced the first spatial and ecological perspectives of crime. In the early 19th century they explored the geographical distribution of crime and mapped crime patterns.² The French-Belgian Cartographic School contributed in laying the foundations of the science of Criminology. More specifically, in 1825, they did not only develop the first-worldwide- national crime statistics in France (Compte Général de la Justice Criminelle) but they also incorporated elements of geographic criminology by using, for the first time, the technique of crime mapping. Within such a framework, they explored the spatial variations of crime combined with a series of socioeconomic, cultural and other factors.³

The French-Belgian Cartographic School influenced not only the Chicago School of Human Ecology but also subsequent ecological studies of crime.⁴

¹ Wortley R. & Mazerolle L. (eds.), *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*, Willan Publ., USA, Canada, 2008.

² Zarafonitou Ch., *Empirical Criminology*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., Athens, 2004, p. 48 (in Greek).

³ *Ibid*, p.54s.

⁴ Farsedakis I., The European precursors of the (criminological) Chicago School, in N. Tatsis, M. Thanopoulou (eds.), *The Sociology of Chicago School*, Papazisis Publ., Athens, 2009, pp.104-9 (In Greek).

The theory of human ecology attempts to explain and interpret the social mechanisms as a result of competition and survival between nature, humans and other living. In short, they proposed a parallel between the distribution of various plants and animals in the eco-system and the organization of human life in societies.⁵ The starting point for the Chicago School was R. E Park's, E. Burgess's and R. Mackenzie's thoughts. Their theoretical assumptions were presented in a collection of articles titled "The City" which was published by the University of Chicago in 1925. According to their approach, within human societies there are "natural areas", like the natural areas in plant and animal communities.⁶ Within such a theoretical framework, the city could be thought of as a product of human nature and as an "organic unit" or a "natural habitat" of humans.⁷ Park, Burgess and McKenzie expanded their theoretical approach ("zonal hypothesis") by formulating the so-called model of concentric cycles which could be applied to other American cities too. According to the model, a city is divided in the following zones: at the center is the first zone, the so-called "business district". The second zone around the centre is the "zone of transition", where businesses and industry grow at the expense of residences. This zone has experienced the greatest degradation of the quality of life. The third zone is occupied by workers and their families (zone of working class homes) who have escaped from "zone of transition", while the fourth zone is the "residential zone" with the more expensive apartments. Finally, beyond the city limits are the suburban areas (commuter zone) the so-called "satellite cities"- which can be occupied by a large number of residents.⁸

Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay used the above theoretical model as the basis of their well-known study titled "Juvenile Delinquency in urban areas".⁹ Their longitudinal study led to the conclusion that within the city there are certain areas- the most disorganized ones- where the delinquency is considered to be a reflection of a "social tradition" which exists side by side with the conventional tradition of the residential community. In such areas, juveniles are socialized by being exposed to a value system that contradicts the mainstream values. "Criminal career" rises as an alternative "career" for those juveniles who engage in criminal groups or other organizational forms

⁵ Georgiou A., "Natural and social environment, correlations and interaction", in Zarafonitou Ch. (ed.) *The protection of environment from a criminological perspective*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., Athens, 1996, pp. 25-49(27) (In Greek).

⁶ Zarafonitou Ch., *Empirical Criminology*, 2004, *op.cit.*, p. 138.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Burgess E., "La croissance de la ville. Introduction à un projet de recherche" in Y. Grafmeyer & I. Joseph (Présentation) *L'école de Chicago. Naissance de l'écologie urbaine*, Aubier, RES, Champ urbain, Paris 1984, pp.127-142(131).

⁹ Shaw C., McKay H., *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, University of Chicago Press, 1942.

of crime. Crime mapping within the city of Chicago demonstrated that the highest delinquency rates were found in the “zone of transition” which was the most deprived area in the city.

Such a finding was considered to be a reflection of the failure of the community socialization in areas within big cities which consisted of industrial or commercial zones with run-down housing, with high population density, low rates of family income and owner-occupancy and high rates of foreign and national minorities.¹⁰ The above characteristics were indicative of “social disorganization”¹¹ which impeded not only the normal socialization of the juveniles but also the exercise of an effective control over their behavior.¹² Consequently, in 1932, Shaw launched the Chicago Area Project –the first environmental program for the prevention of crime- in order to reform the residential communities. The project was implemented in six areas of the Chicago city and was comprised of various programs for the redevelopment of the areas and the reinforcement of the social bonds among the residents.¹³

In 1960, a new trend based on the role of architectural design emerged, according to which characteristics of the built environment were considered to be inherently criminogenic. Jane Jacob’s book titled “*The death and the life of great American cities*”¹⁴ is indicative of the above trend. In her book, she underlines the correlation between the feeling of safety and space. From such a point of view, the unsafe areas are characterized by the lack of surveillance and informal social control of certain unfunctional quiet, poorly lit and deserted public spaces (parks, malls, streets, subways). Therefore, she argues that such public spaces should be converted to multifunctional areas in order for the social activities not to be disrupted.¹⁵

Architectural determinism was embodied most famously in the work of the American architect Oscar Newman and his book *Defensible Space*.¹⁶ Newman

¹⁰ Zafaronitou Ch., *The protection of environment from a criminological perspective*, 1996, *op.cit.*, pp.11-23 (15) (In Greek).

¹¹ Sutherland Ed., *Principles of Criminology*, Philadelphia, Lippincott Co, 1934, Wirth L., “Urbanism as a way of life”, *American Journal of Sociology*, 44/1938, 1-24, Kubrin C. E. and Weitzer D., “New Directions on Social Disorganization Theory”, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 40, 2003, p.374.

¹² Hughes G., *Understanding Crime Prevention, Social Control, Risk and Late Modernity*, Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1998, p.45.

¹³ Zafaronitou Ch., *Prevention of crime in local level. The modern trends of criminological research*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., Athens, 2003, p.31 (In Greek).

¹⁴ Jacobs J., *The Death and the Life of Great American Cities*, N. York, Vintage, 1961.

¹⁵ Zafaronitou Ch., “Urban areas and fear of crime: factor empirical research and preventive strategies”, in *Memory II, Offering to I.Daskalopoulos, K.Stamatis, Ch.Mbakas, A.Sakkoulas, Athens 1996, Vol. C*, pp.801-818 (807) (In Greek).

¹⁶ Newman O., *Defensible Space*, N. York, MacMillan, 1972.

defined ‘defensible space’ as “a range of mechanisms, real and symbolic barriers, strongly defined areas of influence, and improved opportunities for surveillance that combine to bring an environment under the control of its residents”.¹⁷ He maintained that the crime rates are three times higher in poorly designed building complexes consisted of high-rise towers, which are occupied by low income residents and display a high residential density compared with the adjacent building complexes consisted of lower-rise towers with identical population composition and density.¹⁸ The communal spaces of the first type of building complexes (high-rise tower blocks) are overwhelmed by fear and crime. Thus, the only “defensible space” for the residents is their apartment. The failure of such residential complexes is due to the residents’ inability to identify the communal spaces as theirs. Consequently, the public space is in a state of decline which increases the rates of crime.¹⁹ Based on the above approach, the proposed solutions emphasize the role of an architectural design which facilitates social contacts, surveillance and the use of “physical barriers” in order to reduce the opportunities for criminal attacks. However, Newman’s approach overlooks the role of delinquency displacement and it relates to the development of “fortress-cities” through the expanding of electronic surveillance and situational crime prevention (security systems, CCTV etc.).²⁰

The contemporary theorizing within the field of Environmental Criminology focuses on crime prevention and is marked by the following assumptions:

- The “*Patterns in crime*” or “*crime pattern theory*” developed by Brantingham & Brantingham²¹ focuses on how crimes are committed in relation to space and time as well as on their evaluation for the benefit of their prevention. This theoretical approach is based on the concept of “crime template” which is formulated and reformulated on the basis of information and symbolizations derived from everyday life. Such patterns exist in all social activities and thereby, in criminal activities and are determined by spatial, social, legal and psychological environment. Finally, according to such patterns there is a “good” (suitable) and a “bad” (non-suitable) target or victim for the commission of a crime.²²

¹⁷ Muncie J., “*Defensible Space*”, E. McLaughlin & J. Muncie (eds.), *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*, Sage Publ., 2006, p.115.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Taylor R. B., Gottfredson S. D. and Brower S., “Block Crime and Fear: Defensible Space, Local Social Ties, and Territorial Functioning”, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 21, 1984, p. 4.

²⁰ Tonry M. & Farrington D. (eds.), *Building a Safer Society*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1995.

²¹ Brantingham P. & P., *Environmental Criminology*, Sage, B. Hills, California, 1981. See also Brantingham P. & P., *Patterns in crime*, MacMillan, N. York, 1983.

²² Andresen M.A., “The place of environmental criminology within criminological

▪ “*Routine activity theory*” is considered to be the most representative theoretical approach within the field of Environmental Criminology. Within such a theoretical framework, the focus is put on crime –as a product of routine activities of everyday life– rather than on the criminal – with the exception of cases where the criminal displays some kind of abnormality or pathology. Most criminal acts are committed in “suitable” environments and are closely related to three elements:²³

- A likely offender
- A suitable target
- The absence of a capable guardian

As mentioned above, anyone could be a ‘likely offender’ even though some population groups are overrepresented, such as young men, with poor school performance and who are unemployed . ‘Suitable targets’ can be a person or object that is seen by offenders as vulnerable or particularly ‘attractive’. Finally, ‘guardians’ are people who engage in routine activities of everyday life, since police or security guards are rarely present at the crime scene during the commission of the crime²⁴.

Although the above approach seems to be better applied to crimes against property, its theorists argue that it could be also applied to other types of crime underlining that each type of crime requires specific circumstances for its commission. John Eck’s “*Basic crime triangle*” describes the relationship between offender-target-space and time and mechanisms which could affect crime opportunities and circumstances.²⁵ Based on the ecological approach of Chicago School this theory emphasizes the important role of the environment in human life. However, the environment is only one of the aspects of human life. Furthermore, the role of the environment and the daily activities related to it play an equally important role in the understanding of delinquency.

Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson define the term “routine activities” as “*any recurrent and prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual need, whatever their biological or cultural origins*”.²⁶ They also argue that changes in routine activities over time account for the changes in the features of crime. The reference to the period after World War II, when the economic boom was followed by (not as expected from sociological

thought”, in Andresen M.A., Brantingham P.J., Kinney B.J., *Classics in Environmental Criminology*, Simon Fraser University Publ., CRC Press, Taylor and Francis Group, Canada, N. York, 2010, pp. 5-28(26 s.).

²³ Felson M., Boba R., *Crime and everyday life*, Sage Publ., 4rth ed., 2010, p.28.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 47.

²⁶ Andresen M.A., “*The place of environmental criminology within criminological thought*”, *op.cit.*, 2010, pp. 5-28(15).

approaches) a corresponding increase in crime rates (mostly against property) highlights the explanatory value of the theory.²⁷ This explanation was based on the assumption that the economic improvement led to an increase in activities away from households (shopping, entertainment etc.). At the same time, more social and cultural changes occurred (women's empowerment, increasing numbers of young people who dropped out of school and rapid growth of young population due to rising birth rates after World War II). Such an increase in routine activities away from households accounted also for the rising crime and victimization rates. Furthermore, the relationship between income and delinquency is not linear due to the impact of the structure of the daily routine activities on it.

Within the framework of a macro-level analysis, Felson & Cohen²⁸ investigated the development of burglaries in U.S.A. between the years 1950-1972. Their research findings revealed three important indicators: the participation of young people, the majority of whom lived away from their families, and the existence of multiple targets-opportunities. This approach is considered to be a better 'predictor' -at a mid-level of analysis- than the theory of social disorganization. Furthermore, at a micro-level, it could be useful for the prediction of the probability of victimization. Indicative of such a micro-level analysis, is Kennedy and Forde's study²⁹ in Canada which resulted in a typology of the most 'probable' victims based on the structure of their everyday life. More specifically, the most 'probable' victims were found to be single young men, with low-income, whose daily routine involved work, sports, hanging out in drinking places, cinemas etc. and who usually walked or drove alone.

▪ All the above mentioned theoretical approaches are based on the concept of rational choices made by the acting subjects (offenders-victims). Thus, while according to social disorganization theory, the environments can be differentiated on the basis of their characteristics, rational choice theory focuses on four basic criteria which determine the individual/subjective rational decision for committing a crime. These criteria are the following:

- Whether or not to commit crime at all
- Whether or not to select a particular target
- How frequently to offend
- Whether or not to desist from crime.³⁰

²⁷ Ibid., p.16s.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 17.

²⁹ Kennedy L.W. and Forde D.R., "Routine activities and crime: An analysis of victimization in Canada", in *Criminology*, 28/1990, pp.137-152.

³⁰ Andresen M.A., "The place of environmental criminology within criminological thought", 2010, *op.cit.*, p.24

Clarke & Cornish³¹ pointed out that it is a conscious decision based on a series of subjective and objective factors. It should be mentioned that within such a theoretical framework the decision varies by the type of offense and thereby, if someone decides to steal, this does not mean that he/she will also decide to commit murder. Such an observation is very useful for the making of crime policies based on the type of delinquency.

All the aforementioned theoretical approaches predominantly relate to situational prevention³² devoting the majority of their attention to environmental interventions. The systematic and coordinated environmental interventions are called *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)*.

■ In any case, these approaches focus not only on crime but also on the fear of crime and its association with areas that display characteristics of physical and social disorder.³³ The feeling about the lack of crime control in areas that are overwhelmed by criminal or threatening activities is considered to be the factor which accounts for those informal social reactions. The trust gap observed in these areas towards the mechanisms of formal and informal social control largely accounts for the insecurity caused by such lack of trust.

Furthermore, the well-known theory of “*broken windows*” also relates to the absence of control in an area as well as to the association of such an absence with crime and insecurity. The “*broken windows*” theory was first introduced in 1982 by J. Q. Wilson and G. L. Kelling³⁴ and its core idea centers around the relationship between social disorganization and crime. The picture of broken windows was used in order to explain the deterioration of neighborhoods in areas characterized by “incivilities”, “disorder” and crime, if not handled carefully. A broken window left unfixed transmits to criminals the message that no one cares, and if another window gets broken the message transmitted

³¹ Clarke R.V. and Cornish D.B., “Modeling offenders’ decisions: A framework for research and policy”, in *Crime and Justice, An annual review of research*, 6/1985, pp. 147-185.

³² Clarke R.V., *Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case studies*, 2nd ed., Albany, N. York, Harrow and Heston, 1997.

³³ Zafonitou Ch., *Fear of crime. A criminological approach and inquiry based on an empirical phenomenon within the city of Athens*, European Studies in Law, A. Sakkoulas Publ., Athens-Komotini, 2002, (In Greek/English). See also Zafonitou Ch., “Fear of crime in contemporary Greece: Research evidence”, in Ch. Zafonitou (Guest Editor), Special Issue: *Fear of crime. A comparative approach in the European context*”, in *Criminology*, October 2011, pp. 50-63.

³⁴ Wilson J. Q. and Kelling G. L., “Broken Windows”, *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1982, 29-38 as well as Kelling G. L. και Coles C.M., *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in our Communities*, N. York, Touchstone Books, 1996.

will be that 'disorder' is tolerable. Through an interdependent process of 'disorder', insecurity and crime, such areas are avoided by passers-by and gradually are overwhelmed by antisocial activities. This approach was based particularly on the reinforcement of policing and related to "zero-tolerance" policy³⁵. The "zero-tolerance" policy was first implemented in N. York becoming later particularly influential in the contemporary trends of crime policy in all western societies. The linkage between the crime and insecurity and the areas characterized by 'disorder' and social disorganization usually relates to images of intense urban segregation and cultural diversity. The so-called ghettos are the most indicative form of such images³⁶. The environmental dimensions of the phenomenon are largely used by the contemporary approach of urban criminology for its better understanding and prevention³⁷.

The key characteristic of environmental criminology is that according to its theoretical framework the *"criminal events must be understood as confluences of offenders, victims or criminal targets, and laws in specific settings at particular times and places"*³⁸. The relative studies, when combined with the appropriate techniques of crime mapping, are considered as being particularly useful not only for the understanding of crime but also for its prevention through environmental design³⁹.

³⁵ Tzannetaki T., *Neo- conservatism and zero-tolerance policy*, A. Sakkoulas, Athens-Komotini, 2006 (In Greek).

³⁶ Zarafonitou Ch., with the collaboration of Chrysochoou E., "Environmental degradation, the image of ghettos and the fear of crime in the centre of Athens: research evidence", in *Proceedings of the International Conference on "Changing Cities": Spatial, morphological, formal & socio-economic dimensions*, ISBN: 978-960-6865-65-7, Skiathos island, Greece, June 18-21, 2013, pp. 726-734.

³⁷ Zarafonitou Ch., Fear of crime, victimization and quality of life within the Greek Capital, in Ch. Zarafonitou (ed.), *City, crime and insecurity in times of economic crisis*, Conference Proceedings of the MA "Criminology" of Panteion University in collaboration with Institute for Democracy Constantinos Karamanlis and the National Center for Social Research, Dionikos Publ., Athens, 2013, pp. 23-43.

³⁸ Wortley R. & Mazerolle L., "Environmental criminology and crime analysis: situating the theory, analytic approach and application", in R. Wortley & L. Mazerolle (eds.), *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*, Willan Publ., USA, 2008, pp.1-18(1).

³⁹ It is the well-known and so-called *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* (CPTED), according to which *"the proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime and an improvement in the quality of life"* (T. Crowe, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: Applications of Architectural Design and Space Management Concepts*, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000, 46).

II. The peculiarity of the Greek capital

Athens is now characterized by the current high concentration of population and the great heterogeneity due to gradual processes of urbanization. Such urbanization is positively correlated with waves - decisive for the capital's history and evolution - of external and internal immigration. However, the capital was not developed on the basis of an organized urban design and its physiognomy was determined by coincidental policies, social changes and internal rivalries concerning housing.

The rapid urbanization that characterized both the decade 1960-1970 and the last twenty five years was accompanied by great heterogeneity⁴⁰. After 1990, the central areas of Athens were largely affected by the first contemporary immigration influx mostly from Balkan countries. After 2005, a new bigger and more heterogeneous tide of foreign immigration from Asian and African countries affected the physiognomy of the capital's social life and especially the social life of its center. This new immigration tide coincided with the emergence of a global economic crisis, the impact of which was particularly felt in Greece during the last years.

Under such conditions, a corresponding intensification of social problems, combined with the respective unequal distribution of them, is observed within the areas of the capital, with its center being the most affected. Crime, the quantitative and qualitative evolution of which indicates its general worsening, is included among such social problems⁴¹.

International studies establish a strong correlation between fear of crime and specific neighborhood characteristics according to which a neighborhood is defined as a 'deprived area'⁴². Such neighborhood characteristics are broken windows, graffiti, litter, abandoned buildings, poor lighting of public spaces, drug use in public spaces etc. According to this model, criminal opportunities increase in these areas when the daily routine circulation of the residents and their conventional activities decrease, due to the fear caused by the areas' bad reputation as well as due to the perception of ineffective control of crime exercised in such areas.

The stages through which certain areas of the city convert into 'unsafe zones' concern mostly the areas of the city center which are gradually abandoned by their permanent residents of the middle and upper social classes. These

⁴⁰ Zafaronitou Ch., *Criminalité violente en contexte urbain. A Athènes, produit d'urbanisation rapide*, Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris II, 1989.

⁴¹ Zafaronitou Ch., "Fear of crime, victimization and quality of life within the Greek Capital", *op.cit.* 2013, pp. 23-43.

⁴² G. Hideg & R. Manchin, *Environment and Safety in European Capital, based on the data of the European International Crime Survey (EU ICS)*, Gallup Europe, E U I C S Working Papers, 2005.

residents are being replaced by temporary populations with many social problems according to the theorizing of the ecological school of Chicago. The alteration of the physiognomy of the areas' residents lead to the loosening of pressure for better public services and consequently the beginning of activities which give a bad reputation to the area is almost inevitable.

All our empirical studies conducted in the Greek capital revealed that there is a differentiation of fear of crime while the most important observation was that the center of the city displayed consistently the highest rates of fear⁴³. The insecurity of the residents of Athens' center relates to a series of dimensions of the degradation of the quality of everyday life such as:

- The environmental degradation
- The extensive drug related problems
- The uncontrolled prostitution-trafficking
- The unduly large number of immigrants-refuges etc.
- The great cultural heterogeneity
- The particularly widespread parallel market
- The decline of commercial activity
- The delinquency

By mapping the above mentioned problems we observe that they are located in enclaves of the Athen's center and occur cumulatively. Consequently, these areas are characterized by:

- Relocation of the traditional residents
- Variable, heterogeneous and unstable population
- Unifunctional social activities
- Emergence of illegal control of the areas
- Signs of poverty
- Conflicts between resident groups

The fact that most problems are located around the central squares is easily explained within Greek reality, due to the special nature of the public space. Public space is defined as opposed to private space and is therefore perceived as "non-control" and "non-interest" space or simply as a space that does not belong to anyone. Consequently it can easily be occupied by different interests on a case by case basis.

⁴³ Ch. Zarafonitou, "Fear of crime in contemporary Greece: Research evidence", *op.cit.*, 2011.

CHAPTER ONE:

CONCEPTUAL DELIMITATIONS OF THE TERM “GHETTO”⁴⁴

I. CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS

In Europe the ghetto relates directly to the segregation of Jews from the rest of the population. The first formations that could be characterized as ghettos emerged during the 13th century in Spain, Germany and Portugal. The term ‘ghetto’ denotes “an urban area where a minority lives in isolation”⁴⁵ and its name⁴⁶ originates in the homonymous district of Venice where in the early 16th century the Jews were forced by law to reside⁴⁷. A massive expansion of such geographical units was recorded during World War II, when the Nazis -under the implementation of the ‘Final Solution’- gathered Jews in isolated urban areas, the so-called ‘destruction ghettos’. In U.S.A. the emergence of ghettos relates directly to waves of European immigrants as well as to an intense internal relocation to urban areas. At the end of 19th century, the first ghettos consisted of Germans, Italians, Polish and Irish. Although, they were initially living under conditions of intense exclusion they were soon absorbed into local communities⁴⁸. The ‘Great Migration’, a consequence of industrialization, caused the movement of six million African Americans from the south to the north (1890-1930). The most popular ghettos are those of Chicago, N. Orleans, N. York and Gary in Indiana.

⁴⁴ The present chapter is based on the article: Zarafonitou Ch., in collaboration with Georgallis Andreas, Georgopoulos Christoforos, Mousxi Danai, Tatsi Christina, Chrysochou Eleni, “Are there any “ghettos” in Athens? A criminological reconstruction of the social representations of the area’s residents”, in *Volume in Memory of the Professor Christos Dedes, N. Courakis (Ed. and Coord.)*, A. Sakkoulas Publ., Athens-Komotini, 2013, pp. 149-178.

⁴⁵ Vasileiou Th. A., Stamatakis N., *Dictionary of Human Sciences*, Gutenberg, Archive of Theoretical Education, Athens, 1992, p.79.

⁴⁶ According to an opinion it has its roots in the Jewish word “ghett” (an act of separation or divorce) which was disputed by many. (Vasileiou Th. A., Stamatakis N., 1992, *op.cit.*).

⁴⁷ Schuman A., “Ghetto: A Word and its USage through the Twentieth Century”, *Proceedings of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture (ACSA)*, 91st Annual Meeting, Louisville, March 2003, p.2.

⁴⁸ Peach C, “Does Britain Have Ghettos?”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1996, pp. 216-235(217).

According to Kenneth Clark's theoretical perspective ghettos, as ethnicities⁴⁹ are defined as the "the restriction of persons to a special area and the limiting of their freedom of choice on the basis of skin color" (Dark Ghetto, 1965)⁵⁰. Marcuse defined the ghetto as "an area of spatial concentration used by forces within the dominant society to separate and to limit a particular population group, externally defined as racial or ethnic or foreign, held to be, and treated as, inferior by the dominant society"⁵¹. Marcuse also made a further distinction between a *traditional ghetto* which is integrated in the dominant society economically in order for the society to exercise effective control on the activities of the ghetto's population and a *new or outcast ghetto* which relates to the exclusion of specific groups (unemployed, petty offenders, involved in the informal economy)⁵². The class-racial ghetto is defined on the basis of the combination of poverty and racism. Wacquant highlights this double basis as a component of "hyperghetto", a term he put forward in order to underline the qualitative change of the ghetto based on class distinction⁵³. Within such a framework the role of the state is also highlighted with respect to the abandonment of urban areas, the configuration of road networks and the housing spatial segregation policies.

II. TYPES OF "GHETTOS"

Within the scientific literature great emphasis is placed on the distinction between the ghetto and similar concepts. A *ghetto* is forced and negative compared with the *enclave* which expresses the voluntary segregation of a group⁵⁴ even in its most extreme form. Furthermore, Massey and Denton strictly defined the ghetto as "a neighborhood which is occupied by one single population group and in which reside all the members of that particular group"⁵⁵. In this case, the ethnic origin as an identifier of the population which

⁴⁹ Clarke, C., Ley, D., and Peach, C., (Ed), *Geographic and Ethnic Pluralism*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1984.

⁵⁰ Small M.L., "Four Reasons to Abandon the Idea of the Ghetto", *City and Community*, Vol. 7, No. 4, December 2008, p.392.

⁵¹ Marcuse P., "The Ghetto of Exclusion and the Fortified Enclave", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 1997, p. 314.

⁵² Ibid pp.316-7.

⁵³ Wacquant L., "Ghettos and Anti- ghettos: An Anatomy of the New Urban Poverty", *Thesis Eleven*, Sage, 2008, pp.113-118.

⁵⁴ Peach C. "Slippery Segregation: Discovering or Manufacturing Ghettos?", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2009, p. 1391.

⁵⁵ Massey, D., and Denton, N., *American Apartheid, Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, Schuman A., 2003, p. 3.

inhabits the ghetto is not precluded. Yet, in practice, the double condition required is found only in racial ghettos of black people in U.S.A. Finally, the sociologist Camilo Vergana⁵⁶ proposed a very broad definition describing the ghetto as “an area in which, census-based, at least 40% of its population live under the poverty line⁵⁷. Such a definition ignores the racial criterion, the ethnic origin and the role of the state. Wacquant characterized this approach as bureaucratic and a-sociological⁵⁸.

The model of hyper-segregation of U.S.A. cannot be applied in British reality, where the majority of the population in urban areas rarely consists of minority populations.⁵⁹ There is no high concentration of ethnic populations and the relative groups are scattered over different neighborhoods within the cities without displaying any clustering.

U.S.A. and Britain are characterized by two key differences: (a) the nature of British ghettos is based on the ethnic not the racial origin and it relates directly to the intense tide of European immigration of the last years and (b) in Britain there is no strong state intervention or it is not implemented through formal policies like it was in the U.S.A. (formulation of the city plan by law in order to form ghettos and implementation of relevant housing projects).

III. PREREQUISITES REQUIRED IN ORDER DEFINING AN AREA AS A “GHETTO”

According to international bibliography, in order to determine the existence of ghettos, the following elements must be present⁶⁰:

A) *High concentration of a minority in an urban area* which displays overpopulation. The minority group is expected to dominate in percentage in the area in question. Almost all suggested definitions accept the numeric prevalence of only one dominant group (racial, ethnic or religious).

B) *Segregation*. The minority population lives in isolated conditions, is socially weakened and politically marginalized⁶¹.

⁵⁶ Vergana C., *The new American ghetto*, Rutgers Univ.Press, New Brunswick, 1995.

⁵⁷ Peach C., “Social Geography”, in *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 282-288.

⁵⁸ Wacquant L., “Ghettos and Anti- ghettos: An Anatomy of the New Urban Poverty”, *op.cit.*, 2008.

⁵⁹ Peach C., “Does Britain Have Ghettos?”, *op. cit.*, 1996, p. 232.

⁶⁰ These elements are derived from the aforementioned work of Wacquant, Marcuse, Peach, Small, Schuman, about ghetto.

⁶¹ According to Marcuse P., “Enclaves Yes, Ghettos No”, *op.cit.*, p. 16, 1996, forced segregation –not simply segregation- is a key element and consequently voluntary self-segregation of specific groups is not included in the definition of ghettos.

C) *Social disorganization*. It indicates intense accumulation of social problems: poverty, unemployment, criminality, drugs⁶².

D) *The minority group is treated by the rest of society as inferior, foreign, different*. This fact appears not only as a prerequisite but also as a consequence of ghettoisation⁶³.

E) *The factor of the state's role*. Perhaps it will be active, even institutionalized, through legal ordinances. However, it is usually limited to a more indirect, tolerant stance.

These elements have been examined in relation to our surveys concerning the perception of the existence of ghettos in the center of Athens.

⁶² Crane J, "The Epidemic Theory of Ghettos and Neighborhood Effects on Dropping Out and Teenage Childbearing", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 96, No. 5, 1991, pp.1226-1259.

⁶³ Marcuse P., "The Ghetto of Exclusion and the Fortified Enclave", *op.cit.*, 1997, p. 314.

CHAPTER TWO: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

I. THE RESEARCH'S PHYSIOGNOMY

i. Methodology

The present study attempts, for the first time, a systematic examination of the topic from a criminological point of view based on the existing international theoretical and research experience. The basic research hypothesis is the exploration of the characteristics of the areas around the center of Athens which are inhabited mostly by immigrants. Furthermore, the examination of such characteristics is conducted on the basis of a typology drawn from the international scientific experience in order to provide a scientific answer regarding the existence or non existence of ghettos in the town center. This study which was conducted in 2011 and repeated in 2013 explores the relationship between the above groups and crime as well as the social representations of the Greek residents of the Center regarding the aforementioned and the state's attitude, especially, police's attitude. The follow-up research was considered to be necessary due to the implementation –from 2012 onwards- of the measure of intensive policing of Athens Center entitled “Xenios Zeus”.

In this direction, three research tools were used in combination.

First of all, an extensive and rigorous observation on-spot combined with a mapping of the research area were conducted. More specifically, the research area consisted of Theatrou Square, Kotzia Square, Vathis Square, St. Constantine Square, Victoria Square and the streets around those areas. The on-spot observation took place during the period from 30 April 2011 to 4 June 2011 and during the same period in 2013. Furthermore, the on-spot observation of the above mentioned areas was carried out at different times of the day (from 9 a.m. to 2 a.m.) in order to obtain an overall picture of their characteristics. The choice of the squares was based on the fact that these squares and their surrounding areas are populated mostly by immigrants. In addition, such a choice was made on the basis of the squares being central districts of Athens, which affects the established land uses and activities.

In the second stage, one hundred (100) questionnaires were completed by conducting personal interviews with Greek shopkeepers and residents (20 in each square) who included a total of 24 mainly open-ended questions regarding the research carried out in 2011 and 26 questions regarding the follow-up research in 2013. In addition, during the follow-up research, 27

questionnaires were also completed by interviewing immigrants who reside or work in the above areas.

ii. Sample characteristics

In 2011 61% of the sample were men and 39% were women. The overrepresentation of men is due to the commercial character of the above areas. The average age of the sample is 47.3 years (47.1 years for men and 47.5 years for women). As far as concerns the occupational status of the respondents, the physiognomy of the sample is the following: 36% were employees or public servants, 28% were self-employed, 23% were traders-businessmen, 7% were pensioners, 2% were unemployed, 3% were housewives and finally, 1% were college students. The educational level of the respondents was relatively high. More specifically, 60% had completed Junior High School or High School and 36% had completed tertiary education. In contrast, only 4% had completed primary education while there were no cases of illiterate respondents.

The picture of the sample is completed by presenting the results regarding the years of residence in the area. It is worth mentioning that the vast majority of the respondents (76%) reported that they reside/work in the area for more than 10 years and only 4% of the sample for less than a year. The remaining 20% is divided equally between 1-5 years and 5-10 years respectively.

In general, the participants of the research belong to the middle-class and they are considered to be permanent residents of these areas.

During the follow-up research in 2013, the total sample consisted of more men (69%) and less women (31%) due to the aforementioned reason, that is, due to the commercial character of the above areas. The average age of the sample is 49.41. With respect to the occupational status of the respondents, the physiognomy of the sample is the following: 25% were employees or public servants, 28% were self-employed, 33% were traders or businessmen, 8% were pensioners, 1% were unemployed, 2% were housewives and 1% were college students. Finally, 2% of the sample reported that their occupation did not fall within the above categories. The educational level of the respondents was relatively high, even though it was slightly lower compared with the educational level of the respondents in 2011. More specifically, 52% had completed Junior High School or High School and 38% had completed tertiary education. A smaller proportion of the sample had completed primary education (8%) or had never attended school (1%). Finally, 1% did not answer the question.

The picture of the sample is completed by presenting the results with respect to the years of residence/work in the area. The percentage of the respondents residing/working in the area for more than 10 years was particularly high (76%), as already observed in the original research in 2011.

Moreover, 12% of the sample reported having been residing/working in the area for 5-10 years, 11% for 1-5 years and 1% for less than a year.

As far as concerns the immigrants, most of them were men (82.38%) while only the 17.62% of the total sample were women. The average age of the sample was 39.98 years and most of them were married (74.05%). A large proportion of them (41.67%) had completed Junior High School or High School (the respective levels of the education system of their country), 34.76% had completed tertiary education, 16.9% of the sample had completed primary education while 6.67% did not answer the question. Furthermore, 69.76% of the respondents stated that they reside or work in the area for more than 10 years, 11.67% for 5-10 years, 15.71% for 1-5 years and 2.86% for less than a year.

The comparison of the findings of the two researches reveals a common picture for Greek people and immigrants who reside or work in the areas of the center of Athens. They were middle-class people (mostly the Greeks) who reside or work in the above mentioned areas for more than ten years.

iii. On-spot observation

The characteristics of the environment relate to the quality of life of the residents and affect the feeling of their (in)security. The American and British studies focused very early their attention on the examination of factors relative to the so-called 'environment disorder' or 'signs of incivility'⁶⁴, such as broken windows, graffiti, litter, deserted buildings, poorly lit public spaces etc. According to this model, the criminal opportunities increase in these areas when the conventional daily routine circulation and activities decrease due to the fear caused by the areas' bad reputation⁶⁵. Consequently, in the various forms of 'environmental disorder' behaviors indicative of 'social disorder' are added. Such behaviors give the impression that the public order is absent and the social control is ineffective⁶⁶.

The present study explored the characteristics which relate to the degradation of an urban unit. These characteristics are being presented both separately (by region) and as a whole in order to be able to make the necessary comparisons between the areas.

⁶⁴ It is the American theoretical scheme of "signs of incivility". See W. Skogan & M. Maxfield, *Coping with crime: Individual and neighborhood reactions*, B. Hills, Sage Publ., 1981, D.A. Lewis & G. Salem, *Fear of crime: Incivility and the production of a social problem*, New Brunswick, Transactions, 1986, and A. Reiss, "Why are communities important in understanding crime?", in A. Reiss & M. Tonry (eds.), *Communities and crime*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986, pp.1-33.

⁶⁵ Zarafonitou Ch., "Criminological approaches of the fear of crime and (in)security", in *Penal Justice*, issue 8-9, 2006, pp. 1031-1039 (1036) In Greek.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

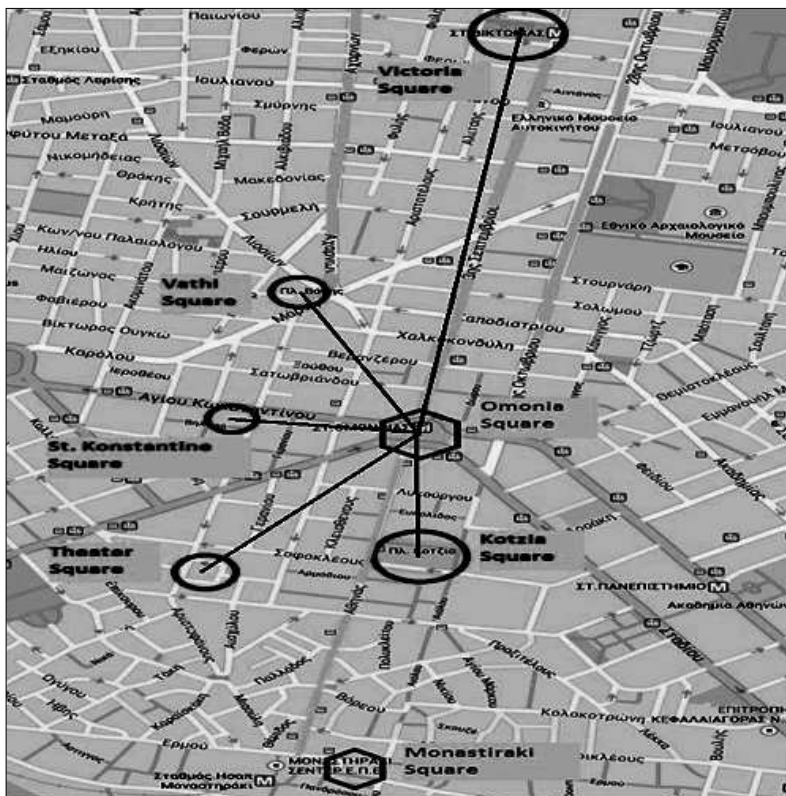
II. RESEARCH FINDINGS

A. The impression of the researchers

As mentioned above, the empirical research included both field observation of the study areas and recordings of the views of residents or employees of these areas. In this way, both the points of view of the researchers and that of the residents/employees, for each area, are reflected. This comprehensive approach is, nevertheless, the basis on which the typological analysis is centered on, which assesses, based on international scientific knowledge and experience, the existence or non-existence of ghettos in the research areas.

All the squares, with the exception of Victoria Square, are in very close proximity to Omonia Square, which, along with Syntagma Square, is the central square of the Greek capital. Theatrou Square is adjacent to Kotzia Square and is very close to St. Constantine Square, which, sequentially, neighbors Vathi Square.

Map 1: The research areas



Source: www.google.gr/maps

Due to the gigantism⁶⁷ of Athens and the expansion of the Centre and the related aspects to the nature of the activities of the centre⁶⁸, the regions of “old” Athens, with its famous historical buildings of great architects, deteriorated gradually after 1950. In recent years, the population consists largely of newly arriving immigrants looking for the cheapest accommodation⁶⁹.

In the first part, the results of the filed observations are summarized, and in the second part, the attitudes and perceptions of the research subjects are presented. The data were analyzed comparatively, since they concern both the first survey (2011) and the follow-up study (2013). The data are presented in four time periods that include: the morning (09:00-12:00), early afternoon (12:00-15:00), late afternoon (15:00-20:00) and night-time (20:00-02:00).

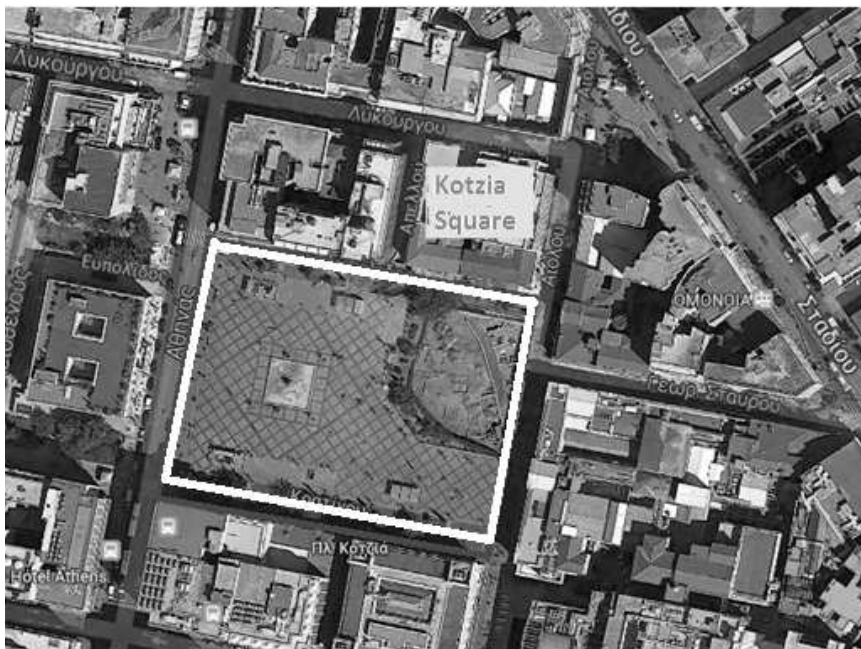
i. Kotzia square

Kotzia Square - which used to be called Loudovikou Square - was named in 1951 in honor of the late Mayor K. Kotzia. Located close to Omonia Square, it is characterized by the establishment of the Town Hall of Athens and the Varvakeio Market (one of the oldest and the only central traditional market of Athens). Its position in the commercial and financial centre of the capital, with many banks and the stock exchange surrounding it, explains the strong economic nature of its activities and the limited number of residential houses. Its proximity to predominantly degraded areas such as Theatrou Square, as well as to areas with a strong touristic character, such as Monastiraki, presents a “collective” and heterogeneous character.

⁶⁷ It is clarified that the reference to «Athens» refers to the so-called «big Athens» and not only to the Municipality of Athens. For the evolution of Athens, see. instead of others: Biris K., Athens. *From the 19th to the 20th century*, Melissa, 1996, 2005.

⁶⁸ Zarafonitou Ch., *Criminalité violente en contexte urbain. A Athènes, produit d'urbanisation rapide*, Thèse de Doctorat, Université Paris II, Paris, 1989.

⁶⁹ Indicatively: Markaris P., *Athens of one course*, Gavrielides, Athens, 2013, p.124-5: «In the last decade the population around Omonia has changed radically. In the square and surrounding streets, immigrants of all nationalities and ethnic origin, have created their hangouts, points of information exchange, and, for those who succeed, their itinerant exhibitions, or their stores... “Under” Athens, you can no longer find any Greek shops. Those shopkeepers left, looking to sell their shops to the Chinese and the Pakistanis and leave».

Picture 1: Kotzia square

Source: www.google.gr/maps/@37.9819066,23.7280542,226m/data=!3m1!1e3

From the field observation of Kotzia Square and of the streets around it, it was found that:

A) During *morning hours*, the traffic, both pedestrian and motor, fluctuates within a normal range. In 2011, the number of foreigners and Greeks was almost the same, while in 2013 there were more Greeks. Since there is a small amount of residential houses in the area, the report is primarily based on the main street stores, such as those on Athinas street, most of which belong to Greeks and which operate normally. In 2013 opposite the Varvakeio market and next to the Athens City Hall, there was a daily gathering of many drug users, something which was not observed in 2011. Also, in contrast with 2011, in 2013 there was a strong police presence on a daily basis, which included pedestrian and motorized patrols.

B) In the *early afternoon hours*, although the traffic gradually decreases, it still remains quite high. On working days shops are open until about 15:45. On Sundays and public holidays, when no shops are operating, the square and the surrounding streets are empty. In 2013 police presence is still intense.

C) In the *late afternoon*, Kotzia square is nearly empty, unlike the surrounding streets where there is a fair amount of pedestrian (consisting mostly of foreigners) and motor traffic. The shops of Athinas Street remain open until

the evening, while the shops of Socratous and Eolou streets close on 19:00. In 2013 the police remain present.

D) *At night time*, Kotzia square is empty. On Athinas Street, the motor traffic remains, however there are rarely any pedestrians passing by. Around the Varvakeio market, there are a few foreigners in groups and many foreigners frequenting small lanes and side streets. In 2013, groups of drug users converged around Kleisthenous street (behind City Hall).

ii. Theatrou square

Theatrou square, which neighbors Kotzia square, owes its name to the creation of the first theatrical stage, in 1835.

Picture 2: Theatrou square



Source: www.google.gr/maps/@37.9811791,23.7248949,230m/data=!3m1!1e3

Nowadays, this square, «one of the nicest small squares of Athens»⁷⁰, “is the largest drug trafficking and user market of Greece ... Here, the simple, peaceful, people prefer to change roads”⁷¹. The “milestone” of the transformation of this area into an “illegal ghetto” has been considered the establishment, in 2003, of OKANA (the organization against drugs), as well

⁷⁰ P. Markaris, *Athens of one course*, *op.cit.*, 2013, p.123.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

as the riots of December 2008⁷². Our field observations in 2011 and 2013 resulted in the following depiction:

A) During *morning hours*, the traffic in Theatrou Square, both pedestrian and motor, is within the normal range, with more foreigners and fewer Greeks. Especially in 2013, it was observed that the presence of foreigners gradually increases towards Piraeus Street (near Omonia). In the streets around Theatrou Square, most shops (restaurants with international cuisines, clothing or electronics stores, super markets, barber shops) are run by foreigners. Both in 2011 and in 2013 the phenomenon of the illegal sale of clothes, cigarettes, mobile phones and bicycles, through the black market, mainly around the streets which “border” Theatrou Square, was observed. The area has many old buildings, which are inhabited largely by foreigners. In the few apartment buildings inhabited by Greeks, there are no immigrants. The roads in the area are highly littered and there are many abandoned houses. Police presence is evident with one permanently parked police van on Menandrou road, which links Theatrou Square with Piraeus Street, and foot patrols in the surrounding streets, up until the early afternoon. However, illegal activities such as drug trafficking, illegal sale of clothes and food, through the black market, and petty theft against passersby (involving, according to the testimony of shopkeepers, mostly foreigners) are not prevented. In 2013, residents and workers in the area informed us that the police van was filled, periodically, with foreigners, who were transferred to the Immigration Department of the police for identification and were subsequently released.

B) It is of particular interest that stores which are run by Greeks close daily between 14:00-15:00 and that only the shops of foreigners remain open, something which was observed both years. As a result, the presence of foreigners is intense during those hours. In some ways, the massive concentration of foreigners on certain streets seems to prevent the locals from crossing them on foot, fearing victimization, as they themselves pointed out in their interviews. However, the police still remain present in a central location in the region (Menandrou and Sophokleous street), during the period of our observation. In 2013 police presence was more prominent, with both pedestrian and motorized patrols. Trading through the black market in Socratous Street continues, as well as the exchange or sale of drugs on the streets behind Theatrou Square (these were observed at a greater extent in 2013). On weekends, the presence of foreigners in the area around the square is higher.

⁷²The reports and the descriptions are from the report of L. Giannarou, “Theatrou Square is a ghetto of illegals?”, Newspaper *Kathimerini*, 3-5-2009, <http://www.kathimerini.gr/356837/article/epikairothta/ellada/gketo-paranomwn-h-plateia-8eatroy>

C) In *the late afternoon*, Theatrou Square is nearly empty, unlike the streets around it, where there is an increased movement of immigrants. The shops of the Greeks have been closed for the day, while the shops of foreigners remain open. In the 2011 survey, in the afternoon, the police withdrew from the area, which was not the case in 2013. The drug trade continues and drug users are concentrated in the area (and are numerically more in 2013, compared to 2011).

D) In *the evening*, Theatrou Square is empty, except for the presence of certain prostitutes and of their “procurers” on Socrates Street and of a few immigrants on the surrounding streets. Drug trafficking continues. In 2013, there were police patrols in the wider area until late at night (03:00- 04:00).

iii. St. Constantine square

The square was named after the remarkable temple that was built in the late 19th century in honor of King Constantine the First, of the same name⁷³. It is the closest square to Omonia and is characterized by the remarkable neoclassical buildings and the National Theatre (designed by Ernst Ziller). Up until a few years ago, the area housed many public services, most of which have been transferred to other parts of the capital (such as the Criminal Records Registry of the Athens Court of First Instance).

⁷³ See http://athensville.blogspot.gr/2010/01/blog-post_14.html, where it is stated, accordingly, that “few notice it, in recent years, apart from former Soviet immigrants, every Sunday, who talk about their lives wearing thick “shabby” jackets”.

Picture 3: St. Constantine square

Source: www.google.gr/maps/@37.9847061,23.7253186,230m/data=!3m1!1e3

A) In both phases of the research, *during the morning*, there was a fair amount of traffic in the square and surrounding streets, both motor and pedestrian, with the predominant presence of Greeks, on weekdays. In the square, there were also many homeless people. Unlike the weekdays, on the weekends, a high concentration of foreigners was observed, mainly consisting of former Soviet Union and Balkan people, although there were also Pakistanis⁷⁴. In 2013, on Sundays, there was a high observation of foreigners due to the bazaar that takes place in St. Constantine square, which consists mainly of black market products. Police intervention and the seizure of illicit goods were frequently noticed. The shops and dining establishments are closed, while kiosks and tourist shops in the area operate normally. In 2013, on Socrates Street there was a prominence of drug use. As far as policing was concerned, in the region, there was almost a permanent presence of a police van and of groups of police officers near the square.

⁷⁴ As P.Markaris, mentions, (as above, 2013, 124) «For example, the lanes around the church of St. Constantine, at the height of the National Theatre is the area of the Slavic-speaking immigrants. But, as one moves towards Menandrou Street, the human landscape changes and immigrants from Asian countries gain the “upper hand”.»

B) In 2011, during *the early afternoon*, the landscape gradually changes. Initially, there is a concentration of foreign women coming from former Soviet countries, at the cross section of Menandrou and St. Constantine streets. In the square, especially, on St. Constantine Street, there are crowds of many Roma and Africans who sell counterfeit goods. The presence of drug addicts and homeless beggars is also observed. Police presence remains. The landscape changed in 2013, since the traffic in the square has been reduced, especially after 15:00 when the few public services of the area close for the day. There is extensive drugs use in the area, with a permanent “hotspot” on the corner of St. Constantine and Koumoundourou Street. In various streets, such as on Zenonos street there is a noticeable black market trade of cigarettes, and on Satovriandou Street there is illegal prostitution. Police are not permanently located on the square, but there are patrols in the area.

C) During *late afternoon*, in 2011, the presence of pedestrians in the square and the surrounding streets remains strong and, in contrast, motor vehicle traffic reduces considerably. The Greek shops are mostly closed for the day and the streets are frequented mainly by foreigners in groups of 3 to 4 persons. In contrast, in 2013, traffic, in general, appears to be reduced in the afternoon. The shops and stalls in the area are closed. By 19:30, the church doors of St. Constantine church, which is located on the square, are also closed.

D) In 2011, the square is empty at *night-time*, unlike the surrounding streets in which foreigners, in small groups, are noticed, but not at the same rate as is observed during the afternoon. However, the closer one gets to Vathis square, by Menandrou street, the presence of foreigners becomes more noticeable. In 2013, traffic, in general, is reduced compared to the rest of the day. However, in the square there are many homeless people who sleep there (the numbers grow after midnight), drug users, and groups of foreigners who sit in the square and drink beer. An increased movement of immigrants is seen on Zenonos, Voulgari and Agesilaus road. On Satovriandou Street, illegal prostitution is increased, and there is a prominent presence of foreigners who “control” it. The police mostly conduct foot patrols in the area. Occasionally, “operations” of the police to arrest drug addicts or to verify the identity of foreigners were witnessed.

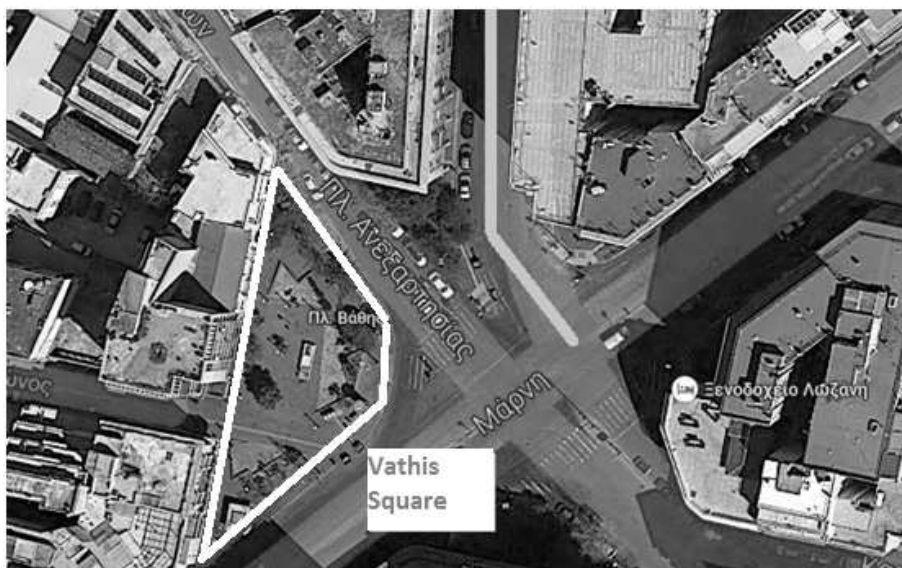
IV. Vathis square

Continuing our research “journey”, within walking distance from St. Constantine Square, we approach Vathis square⁷⁵. It is one of the representative districts

⁷⁵ For its namesake see, amongst others, Kairofyla G., *Place-names of Athens, Piraeus and environs*, Fillipotis, Athens, 1995, p.39, according to which it “must have come from the “abdomen” (kilon) of the area, where the ground was lower, where water

of “Old Athens”, which changed its character after the rapid urbanization of the 1960s, in accordance to the changes of the whole center of the capital. Especially after 1970, the area has been degraded significantly in terms of area activities and property value. It has been rightly stated that “Vathis became a working class area in the center of Athens. The brothels along Liosion Street quickly followed. The area especially, in the evening has gained a bad reputation”⁷⁶. Environmental degradation was followed by social degradation, with the arrival of illegal prostitution and drugs in the area⁷⁷.

Picture 4: Vathis square



Source: www.google.gr/maps/@37.987337,23.7261603,255m/data=!3m1!1e3

The field observations, during both years, lead to the conclusion that this is a very deprived area, with many homeless people, drug users and prostitutes. Residents of apartment buildings are, for the most part, foreigners. So are the “permanent residents” of the square and surrounding areas.

of the Kyklovorou torrent, which came down from the area where Marne now is, stagnated”.

⁷⁶ See <http://astyries.com/2013/10/13/έλα-να-μάθεις-στη-πλατεία-βάθης/> where it is also mentioned that “Even today, the area seems impassable and dangerous. Petty crimes have now become organized crimes and exploitation, even outside the steps of the City Hall”

⁷⁷ Giannarou L., Karanatsi E., Onisenko K., “The public squares are threatening after dark”, Newspaper *Kathimerini*, 14.09.2008, <http://www.kathimerini.gr/334261/article/epikairothta/ellada/oi-plateies-to-vrady-ginontai-apeilhtikes>

A) In the *morning*, pedestrian and motorized traffic is high, and the proportion of foreign and Greek people is about the same, apparently, due to the operation of stores and public services in the area. In 2013, there were several homeless people and drug addicts in the square and the streets around it.

B) In the *early afternoon*, the presence of foreigners increases inversely to that of the Greeks. Police presence is strong through “inspections” of foreign passersby. Finally, the presence of many foreign female prostitutes around the square is noticeable.

C) In the *late afternoon*, motor vehicle traffic remains, unlike pedestrian traffic, which is reduced considerably. The pedestrians of the area at this time are mostly foreigners (Asians, Africans and many women with a hijab or burqa). The same applies in the surrounding streets, where pedestrian traffic remains low and most Greek shops are closed, except for on some main roads (eg. Socratous and Marne Streets). The presence of prostitutes and drug addicts at the square and the streets around it is still intense. The only difference, between the two years of the survey, is that police presence was evident mainly in 2013, through pedestrian and motorized patrols and inspections or sometimes arrests.

D) At *night time*, there is an increased movement of foreigners and there are virtually no Greeks on the square. Motor vehicle traffic is constant, as it is during earlier hours. A high concentration of drug addicts on the Square was observed, and there were some patrols of the motorized police team DIAS⁷⁸. Most stores are run by foreigners and stay open until very late. Unlike the center of the square, the adjacent streets have decreased pedestrian movement. There were several prostitutes in the streets around the square. Unlike 2011, in 2013, police presence was strong with constant patrols in the area.

V. Victoria square

The name of Victoria Square (formerly Kyriakou square) is attributed to Queen Victoria of England (1819-1901)⁷⁹, after the bestowment of the Ionian Islands to Greece, in 1864, and the rise, to the Greek throne, of William George. It is the most remote, compared to the other four squares of our research, from Omonia and lies on the axis between the center of the capital and the densely populated middle-class neighborhoods of Kipseli and Patisia. On the square there is a train stop for the oldest train line, Piraeus-Kifissia, while on the main street,

⁷⁸ Zarafonitou Ch., “*New forms of policing and the feeling of (in)security among the shopkeepers in Athens and Piraeus*” in the Volume in honour of Professor Martin Killias, A.Khun, Ch.Swarzenegger, P.Margot, A.Donatsch, M.Aebi, D.Jositsch (eds.), *Criminology, Criminal Policy and Criminal Law in an International Perspective*, Stampfli Verlag, Berne, 2013, 485-498.

⁷⁹ http://www.istorikathemata.com/2012/01/blog-post_25.html

Patision, the Economics University and the OTE (the Greek telecommunication organization) headquarters are located, while the Greek Polytechnic University and the National Archaeological Museum are situated a bit further (towards Omonia square), to mention some of the important services of the area.

Picture 5: Victoria square



Source: www.google.gr/maps/@37.9931517,23.7295215,113m/data=!3m1!1e3

This is an area that flourished from the 1960s until about 1980, when the bourgeois inhabitants began to move towards the Athenian suburbs. This change was accompanied by a corresponding change to the activities in the area, through the creation of large commercial and economic zones in the area. This change gave it more of a “central”, rather than a “domestic” character. However, the biggest change in the landscape occurred from 1990 onwards. The mass arrival of foreigners⁸⁰, coupled with the economic crisis of the recent years contributed to the further abandonment of the area by the

⁸⁰ Markaris, (*Athens of one course*, *op.cit.*, 2013, p.138) mentions: “Nowadays, the appearance of Victoria square has completely changed. Not only because it was made of soil and they renovated it with cement and flower beds, but because, now, the immigrants spread their “sheets” onto the square, with all sorts of goods. Access from the exit of the train station to the center of the square is equal to an exercise in acrobatics. The immigrants sell everything there...”

middle-class residents and to the progressive deterioration of the area⁸¹. From our field observations the following were observed:

A) Both in 2011 and 2013, in *the morning*, the traffic in the square is sparse, while the presence of tourists (due to the archaeological museum) is noteworthy. Around the central streets (Acharnon, Tritis Septemvriou, Patision) pedestrian and motor traffic is normal. Unlike what was observed in other areas of our research, most shops belonged to Greeks and operated according to the standardized opening hours for stores in Athens. The presence of the police in the morning and early afternoon hours was noticed mainly in the 2013 follow up study, but without being particularly strong. The ratio of foreign to Greek persons was equal but there were more foreigners in the areas “west” the square. It is worth noting that, according to testimonies of residents, foreigners tend to use Greek names on door bells so that it isn’t evident that the apartments are inhabited by foreigners. There was a large amount of black market trading in 2011 on Victoria Square, but this shifted to Patission Street in 2013.

B) During *the early afternoon*, the appearance of the square changes slightly, with the most significant differentiation being the stronger police presence during the follow up study.

C) During *late afternoon*, Victoria Square is crowded. The majority of people are foreigners, coming mainly from Asian countries (Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh) and North Africa. The foreigners, at the square, form small groups, or they are there with their families, something which was not seen in any of the other research areas. This applies for both time periods of research⁸². The pedestrian traffic, in the surrounding streets, appears reduced, except from on Fylis street, where customers continue to come and go. The Greek shops stay open during the afternoon hours, while in the streets west of the square (Acharnon) and east of it (Patision) the black market flourishes. In 2011,

⁸¹ Indicative article of Professor Lianos Th., «Illegal immigrants in Athens», Newspaper *To Vima*, 9-1-2011: <http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=377038>, which states: “All in all, Athens has become an unpleasant, dangerous and wicked city. In some areas, the situation, according to the testimony of residents, has become unbearable. So much so that, as soon as the shops close for the day, the people are afraid to walk in their neighborhood. This is what they say. If you think they’re overreacting, go for a walk, in the evening, to various neighborhoods of Patissia, Victoria square, Metaxourgeio, and you will feel the same fear that they do”.

⁸² It is worth mentioning, however, that the appearance of the area, today, is different. The traditional coffee shops of the square are almost all functioning again and their customers are almost all Greek. The black market has disappeared from the square and shop owners have been expressing a much more positive attitude towards the situation of the area.

police presence is not noticeable, while in 2013 police forces are significantly reduced compared to earlier hours of the day.

D) During the late afternoon pedestrian traffic on Victoria Square and the surrounding streets is maintained up to *the evening*, but, as time passes, pedestrians- especially Greeks- reduce significantly. In 2013, it was observed that after midnight there were also less foreigners walking around the square and surrounding streets. Foreigners gather in their stores run by people of the same ethnic origin as them, while there are almost no Greeks walking around “below” the square. The main roads still maintain a high amount of motorized traffic. In the evening, police presence in the area was noticeable during both years, but was much stronger in 2013.

The overall “picture” of all the study areas, reflects the concentration of important environmental and social degradation problems. However, the situation seems improved between the initial and follow up study, with the important role of policing. The improved impression is evident in Victoria Square, which is differentiated from the other areas both because of its greater distance from Omonia square and due to the large number of homes that remain in the areas, despite the expansion of trade and of the economic activities which developed since the early 1980s onwards.

The above detailed description of the research areas, is accompanied by the testimonies of their own residents, which follow, and which will form the basis of the examination of the existence or not of the characteristics of a ghetto.

B. The opinions of the inhabitants

As mentioned above, the methodology of this research is combined and consists of field observations, documentation of the views and perceptions of the residents or workers in the study areas and the typological analysis of the research data on the basis of the typology resulting from international research and theory on the existence ghettos. The above methodology reflects the targeting of our research on the study of social representations concerning the creation of such spatial units with special demographic and social characteristics that evoke the “impression” of a ghetto.

As a result, the above described process of field observations that captured the perception of the researchers, as was formulated through a systematic study of the structural and functional characteristics of the research areas and their established activities, is followed by the next phase, of capturing the views of the research subjects. The questionnaires, which were completed both in the initial and follow up studies, are, in essence, “guided” interviews, because of their open-ended questions. This selection was aimed to highlight the cognitive and experiential elements that structure social representations

and which are organized through the synthetic procedure which is undertaken in the third step of our methodology⁸³.

i. Reported criminality in research areas

On the basis of recording the views of the residents themselves, or of employees in the aforementioned areas, through questionnaires (mainly open questions to a total sample of 100 respondents, equally derived from the five areas), which were completed with a personal interview by the researchers, both in the initial and in the follow up studies, the following information concerning reported crime was revealed, for each survey area. The below mentioned types of crime represent the main categories of crime against property (theft, burglary, robbery, vandalism) against the person (bodily harm, crimes of a sexual nature), while a large percentage concerned drugs. The main characteristics of crime are inferred on the basis of the answers of the sample in response to crimes which occur “often” in their area.

Table 1: Kotzia Square

Committed crimes	2011				2013			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.
Car burglary	65%	30%	5%	0%	45%	35%	10%	10%
House/store Burglary	65%	25%	5%	5%	30%	35%	20%	15%
Petty thefts	90%	0%	5%	5%	85%	15%	0%	0%
Vandalism	25%	55%	10%	10%	35%	40%	25%	0%
Public drug use	95%	5%	0%	0%	85%	15%	0%	0%
Aggressions	25%	0%	60%	15%	15%	45%	20%	20%
Racial attacks	35%	35%	25%	5%	35%	15%	40%	10%
Conflicts between foreigners	45%	45%	5%	5%	20%	45%	30%	5%

⁸³ For the study on the attitudes of the “public”, see, amongst others, Zarafonitou Ch., *Punitiveness. Modern tendencies, dimensions and criminological questionings*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., Athens, 2008, p. 24s. Also Zarafonitou Ch., *Empirical Criminology, op.cit.*, 2004, p. 196s.

The above table shows the main characteristics of reported crime in the area of Kotzia square:

- Public drug use (95% in 2011 and 85% in 2013) is a dominant illegal activity in the area, even with its slight decline during the follow up study.
- The same applies to the theft of personal belongings on the streets of the area (90% in 2011 and 85% in 2013), which includes the theft of mobile phones, bags, wallets, and jewelry as a result of an attack.
- The reports regarding car (65% in 2011 and 45% in 2013), house and shop (65% in 2011 as opposed to 30% in 2013) burglaries is important, although there is significantly reduced reporting during the follow up phase of our research.
- Conflicts between foreigners also decreased by half (45% in 2011 as opposed to 20% in 2013).
- Reports on racial attacks remained stable (35% in both phases of the investigation) while
- Vandalism (25% in 2011 and 35% in 2013) is the only criminal activity which was shown to have increased during the follow up study.

Table 2: Theatrou Square

Committed crimes	2011				2013			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.
Car burglary	70%	25%	0%	5%	40%	50%	10%	0%
House/store Burglary	55%	35%	0%	10%	40%	50%	5%	5%
Petty thefts	95%	5%	0%	0%	85%	15%	0%	0%
Vandalism	30%	35%	25%	10%	15%	35%	50%	0%
Public drug use	75%	20%	5%	0%	90%	10%	0%	0%
Aggressions	40%	15%	25%	20%	30%	30%	25%	15%
Racial attacks	20%	35%	35%	10%	20%	30%	45%	5%
Conflicts between foreigners	70%	25%	0%	5%	50%	40%	5%	5%

In Theatrou Square, reporting on criminal activity also has much in common with Kotzia square. More specifically:

- Theft of personal belongings on the street is the most frequently reported criminal behavior (95% in 2011 and 85% in 2013)

- The same applies to public drug use, which, in fact, was shown to have increased during the follow up study of 2013 (from 75% in 2011 it rose to 90% in 2013).
- There was a significant reduction, on the other hand, of car burglaries (70% in 2011 versus 40% in 2013), vandalism (30% in 2011 and 15% in 2013) and of conflicts between foreigners (70% and 50% in 2011 and 2013 respectively).
- As in Kotzia square, the rates of racial attacks remain the same (20%).

Table 3: St. Constantine Square

Committed crimes	2011				2013			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.
Car burglary	80%	20%	0%	0%	60%	35%	0%	5%
House/store Burglary	80%	20%	0%	0%	55%	45%	0%	0%
Petty thefts	100%	0%	0%	0%	95%	5%	0%	0%
Vandalism	60%	30%	5%	5%	20%	60%	10%	10%
Public drug use	95%	5%	0%	0%	95%	5%	0%	0%
Aggressions	60%	25%	15%	0%	50%	35%	5%	10%
Racial attacks	45%	25%	25%	5%	5%	50%	25%	20%
Conflicts between foreigners	90%	10%	0%	0%	50%	45%	5%	0%

In the area of St. Constantine square, all crime rates, with the exception of public drug use, have been largely decreased. The results are summarized as follows:

- Drug related crimes are the most dominant crimes and their high percentage was unchanged during both periods of the study (95%)
- A similar depiction emerges from the theft of personal belongings in the street which has decreased slightly (from 100% in 2011, 95% in 2013)
- In contrast, the reduction of reported racist attacks (45% in 2011 compared to 5% in 2013), vandalism (60% and 20% in 2011 and 2013, respectively) and conflicts between foreigners (90% in 2011 and 50% in 2013) was impressive.

Table 4: Vathis Square

Committed crimes	2011				2013			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.
Car burglary	85%	5%	0%	10%	50%	45%	0%	5%
House/ store Burglary	65%	20%	0%	5%	50%	45%	0%	5%
Petty thefts	95%	0%	0%	5%	80%	15%	0%	5%
Vandalism	20%	50%	20%	10%	20%	35%	30%	15%
Public drug use	95%	5%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Aggressions	30%	55%	5%	10%	15%	55%	0%	30%
Racial attacks	30%	45%	0%	25%	5%	35%	35%	25%
Conflicts between foreigners	55%	25%	5%	15%	40%	35%	10%	15%

The observed reduction of most of the reported crime also applies to Vathis square, during the follow up study of 2013. The exceptions remain in accordance to the following:

- Public drug use, which was at 95% in 2011 (an extremely high rate), reached 100% in 2013.
- In contrast, racist attacks (30% in 2011, 5% in 2013), attacks against persons (30% in 2011 and 15% in 2013) and car burglaries (85% and 50% in 2011 and 2013 respectively) fell significantly.
- Home and shop burglaries did not change significantly (65% versus 50%)
- Neither did conflicts between foreigners (55% in 2011 versus 40% in 2013), while
- Vandalism remained unchanged (20%)

Table 5: Victoria Square

Committed crimes	2011				2013			
	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.	Often	Sometimes	Never	D.K./N.R.
Car burglary	75%	10%	5%	10%	10%	60%	25%	5%
House/store Burglary	55%	35%	0%	10%	25%	75%	0%	0%
Petty thefts	95%	5%	0%	0%	75%	20%	5%	0%
Vandalism	20%	35%	35%	10%	5%	30%	65%	0%
Public drug use	80%	20%	0%	0%	35%	30%	30%	5%
Aggressions	40%	40%	10%	10%	15%	30%	50%	5%
Racial attacks	50%	45%	5%	0%	25%	30%	45%	0%
Conflicts between foreigners	60%	35%	0%	5%	30%	40%	30%	0%

Victoria Square presents the biggest change between the study areas which were examined, between the two phases of research, due to the reduced reporting on all types of crime reported by respondents.

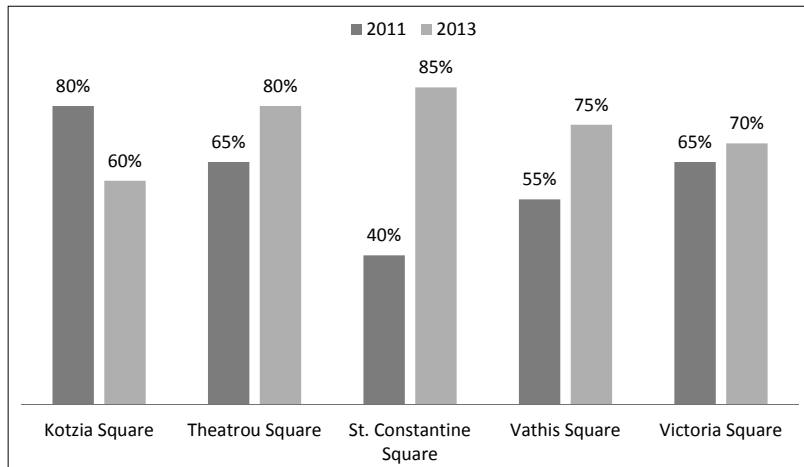
- Thefts of personal belongings in the street decreased by 20% (from 95% in 2011 to 75% in 2013).
- The biggest change observed was for car burglaries from 75% in 2011, to only 10% of respondents in 2013 answering that this was a frequent phenomenon.
- Similarly, burglaries of homes / shops were reported at 55% in 2011 compared to 25% in 2013.
- Vandalism, from 20% in 2011, was limited to 5% in 2013.
- Public drug use decreased from 80% to 35%.
- Attacks against the persons, from 40%, reduced to 15%.
- Racist attacks were reported at 50% in 2011, in contrast to 25% in 2013, and
- Conflicts between foreigners, from 60%, decreased to 30%.

ii. Reported victimization

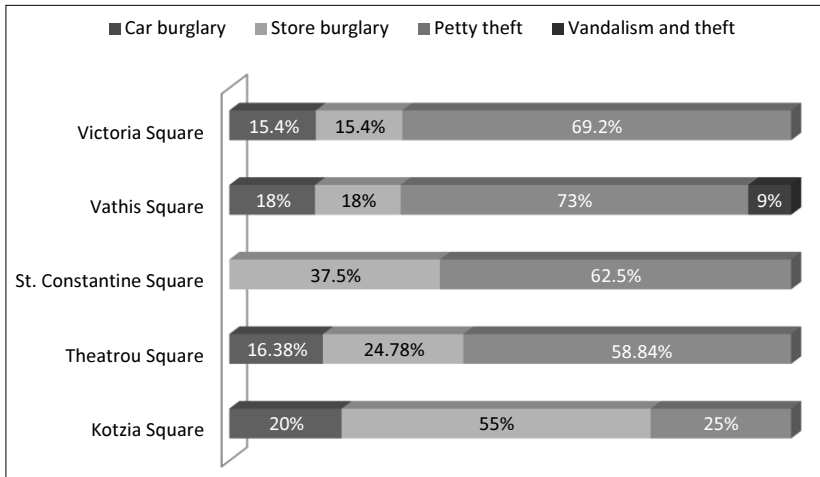
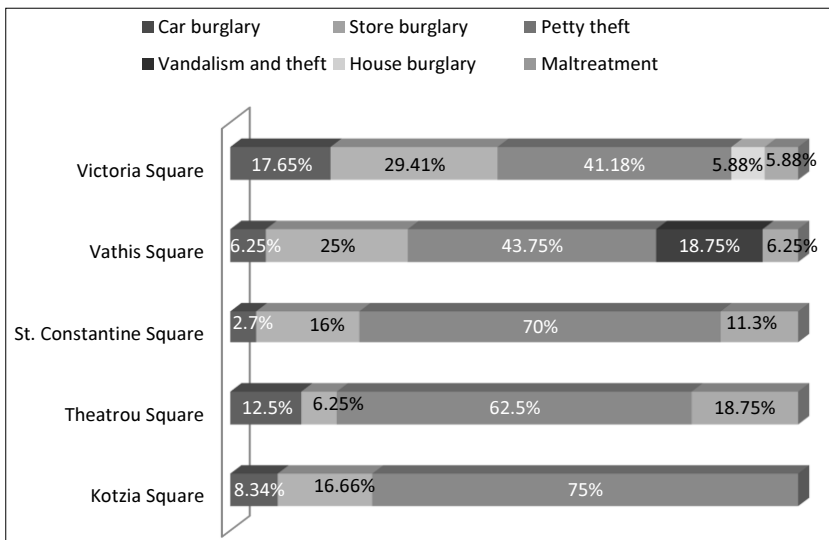
The above data relate to the sample's perceptions on crime in their area. In this section, the same respondents reported on their victimization, and the data are evaluated through the convergences or divergences for the years 2011 and 2013, when the two phases of the research took place.

A first observation from the study, portrayed in the diagram below, concerns the following “inconsistency”: although, according to the answers of the respondents, illegal activities seem to have decreased in all the study areas, victimization rates have increased. In the case of St. Constantine square the victimization rate in 2013 is more than double that of 2011 (40% in 2011 and 85% in 2013). The only exception is Kotzia Square, where there is a reduction of 20% in the victimization rates of respondents.

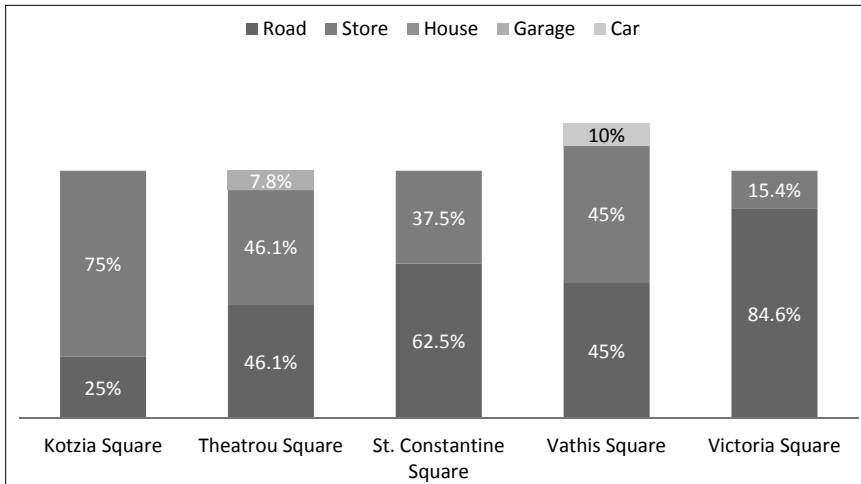
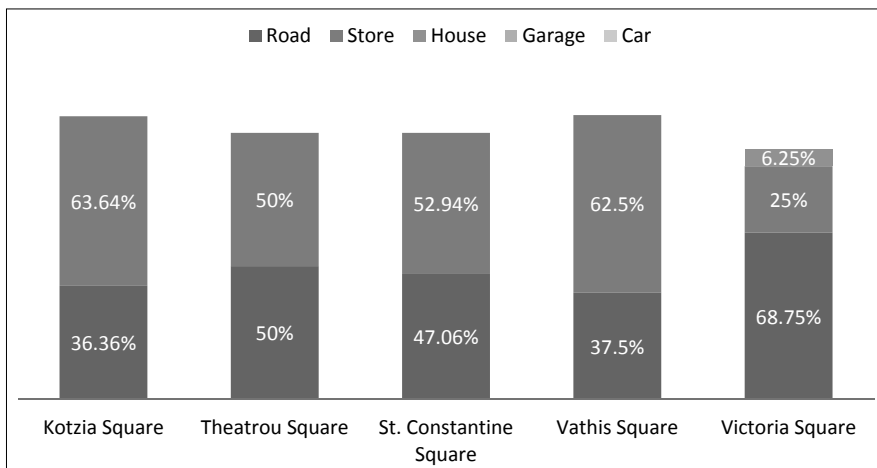
Figure 1: Reported Victimization, 2011 & 2013



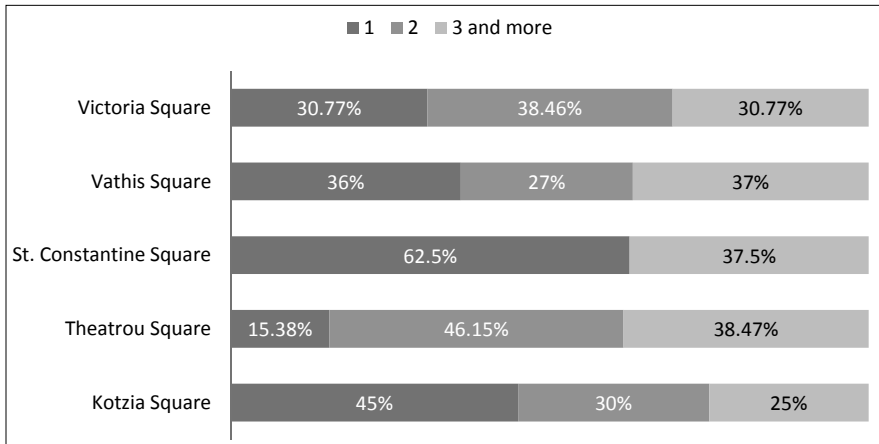
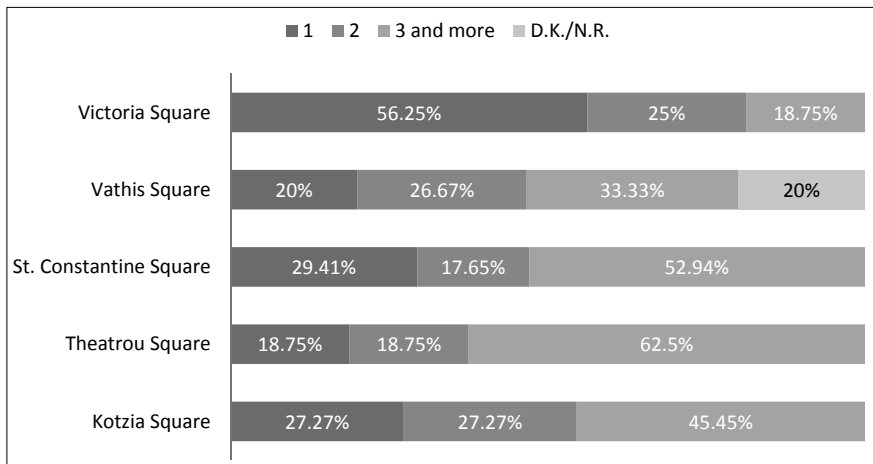
According to the charts below, the most common forms of victimization are car burglary, store burglary and theft of personal belongings on the street. It is worth noting that physical attacks were mentioned for the first time in the 2013 survey and, indeed, in all squares except Kotzia square. In addition, home burglaries were also mentioned for the first time in Victoria Square. Finally, there was a higher rate of reporting for vandalism, which both in the 2011 and 2013 studies was reported only for Vathis square.

Figure 2a: Forms of victimization, 2011**Figure 2b: Forms of victimization, 2013**

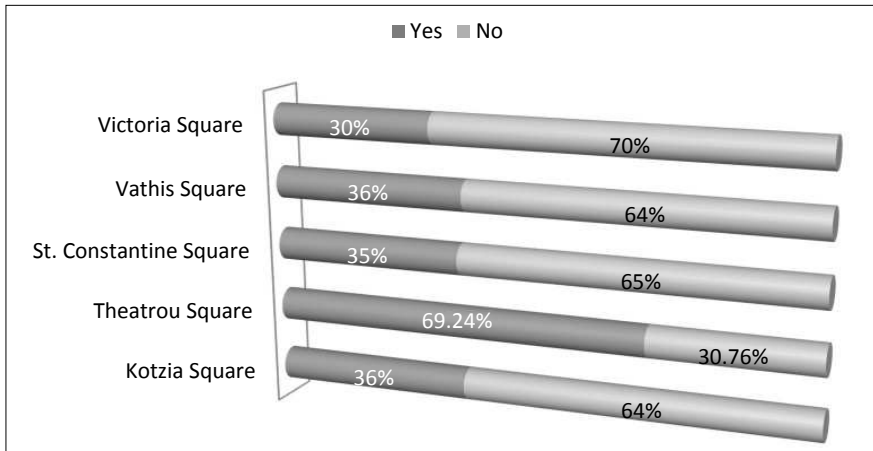
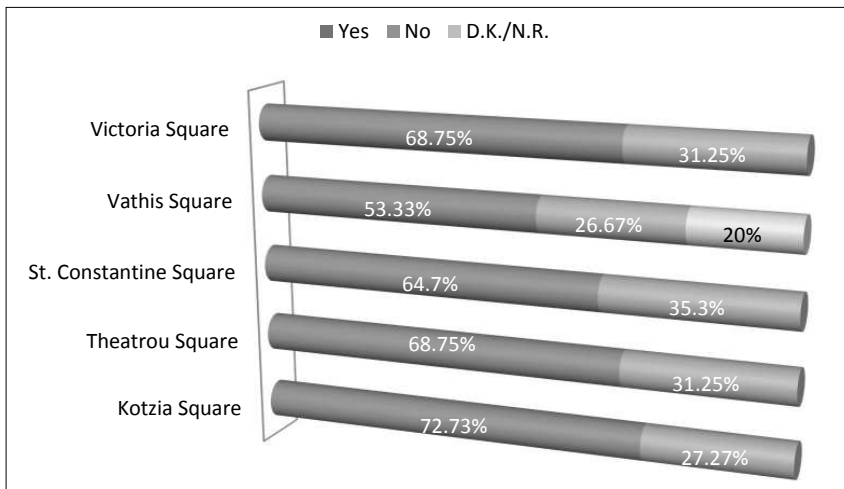
The majority of victimization occurs either on the road or in the respondent's shops. In 2011, some incidents of crimes occurring in garages or cars, and in 2013 crimes which occurred in homes, were reported.

Figure 3a: Where the victimization took place, 2011**Figure 3b: Where the victimization took place, 2013**

According to the answers of respondents, most people were victimized more than once. However, there is a relative increase of repeat victimization rates in 2013, with the exception of Victoria Square, in accordance to the aforementioned.

Figure 4a: Repeated victimization, 2011**Figure 4b: Repeated victimization, 2013**

Without reference to the national origin of the perpetrators, the respondents replied that they recognized their nationality to a percentage of 41.25% in the 2011 survey and at a much larger percentage in 2013 (67.65%). Our answers refer to foreign offenders who the respondents did not wish to name.

Figure 5a: Recognition of offender's nationality, 2011**Figure 5b: Recognition of offender's nationality, 2013**

Regarding reporting their victimization to the police, the victims answered affirmatively in both phases of the investigation, except for the victims of Victoria Square, in accordance to the table below.

Table 6: Report to the police

Report	2011				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Yes	75%	53.84%	37.5%	73%	25%
No	25%	38.46%	62.5%	27%	75%
D.K./N.R.		7.69%			

Report	2013				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Yes	72.73%	62.5%	58.82%	66.67%	37.5%
No	27.27%	37.5%	29.41%	33.33%	56.25%
D.K./N.R.			11.76%		6.25%

The high rates of reporting to the police do not seem to reflect, however, the positive assessment of the police's efforts in combating crime. This conclusion is drawn from the sample answers on the effectiveness of the police. Positive ratings do not exceed 30% in 2011 but are much improved in 2013, reaching 60%. Once again, the most positive "depiction" is for Victoria Square. It is worth, however, considering this information in combination with insecurity rates, in accordance to the following.

Table 7: Police's Effectiveness in the area

Police's effectiveness	2011				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Yes	30%	30%	30%	20%	30%
Moderate					
No	70%	70%	70%	80%	70%
D.K./N.R.					

Police's effectiveness	2013				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Yes	55%	40%	30%	55%	60%
Moderate	10%	10%	5%	15%	5%
No	35%	50%	65%	25%	35%
D.K./N.R.				5%	

One of the main reasons for conducting the 2013 follow up study is the introduction of an intensive policing measure at the centre of the capital, in accordance to the aforementioned. Therefore, the following questions are focused precisely on the role of these changes, and only for 2013.

Table 8: Has anything changed in the policing of your area during the last year?

Changes in policing the last year	2013				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Yes	60%	65%	60%	65%	80%
Few things					10%
No	40%	30%	40%	30%	10%
D.K./N.R.		5%		5%	

On the basis of the answers given from the participants, it appears that the new policing measures were noticed by the majority of residents / workers in the areas of research, where 66% of respondents said they have noticed changes in policing in the area during the last year, mentioning the operation of the police to combat crime in these areas, called «Xenios Zeus».

However, security measures seem to be a continual common practice in the central areas of Athens which mainly have a “commercial” character. As shown in the table below, the majority of the sample responded that they had taken security measures to prevent their victimization. The affirmative answers show, however, a 20% reduction in Kotzia square, in 2013. This change is likely to have resulted from these increased policing and patrol measures in the center of Athens, and especially in the area where the mayor of Athens was reinstated in 2012.

Table 7: Safety Measures

Safety measures	2011				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Yes	80%	60%	90%	70%	75%
No	20%	40%	10%	30%	25%

Safety measures	2013				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Yes	50%	60%	90%	65%	70%
No	50%	40%	10%	35%	30%

iii. (In)security and quality of life

From the above data, the burden of the above areas, with everyday crime problems, is evidently shown, which is combined with environmental degradation and which affect the quality of life of residents or employees of the areas.

Besides, the image of the sample regarding the progression of crime in the last five years, in the area, is indicative. According to the respondents' answers, which are reflected in the equivalent graphs, there is a dominant perception of the worsening of crime, at very high levels that reach even up to 100% in 2011. Although the overall picture is not different, it is, however, moderated by the rates in expression, which do not exceed 75% in 2013.

Figure 6a: Evaluation of criminality the last 5 years, 2011

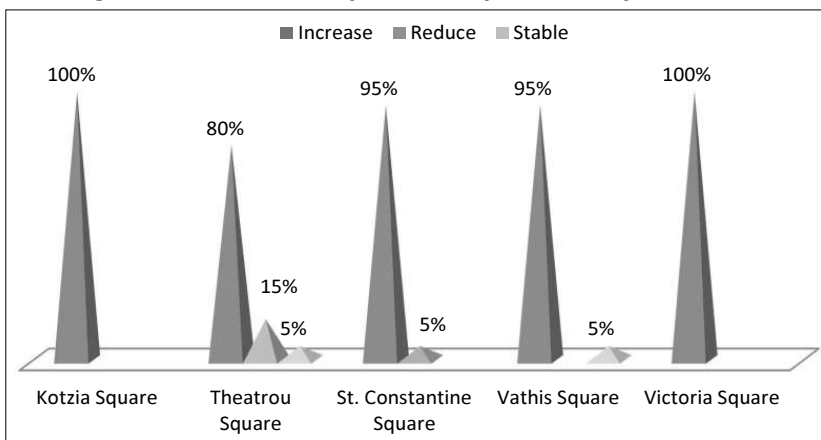
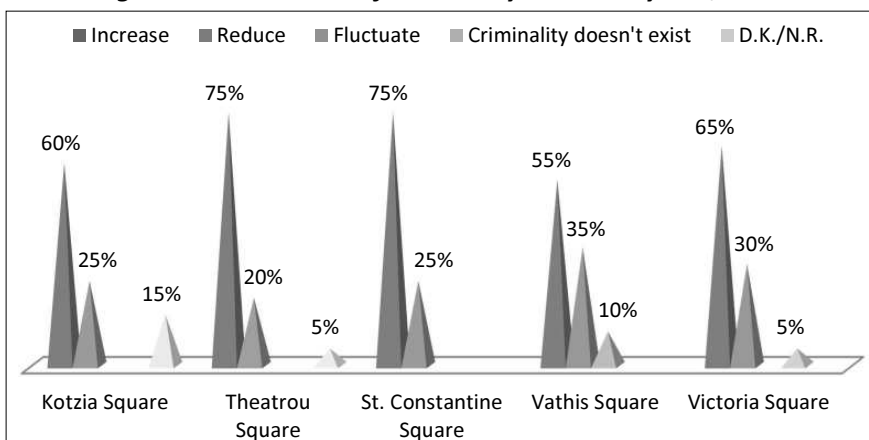


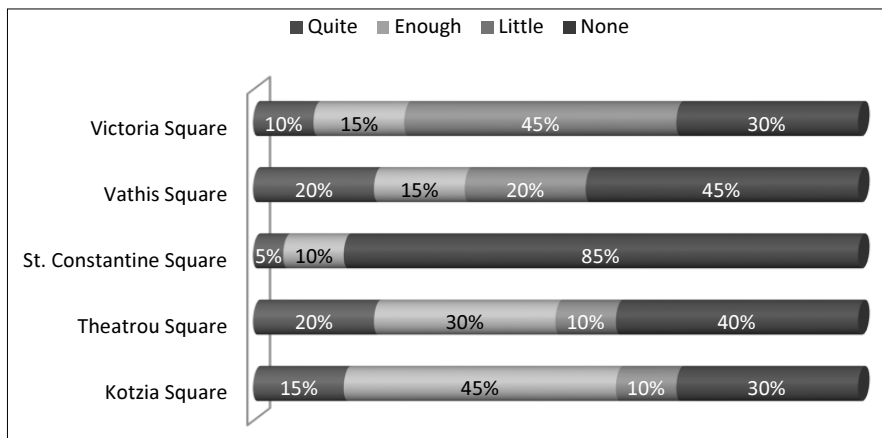
Figure 6b: Evaluation of criminality the last 5 years, 2013



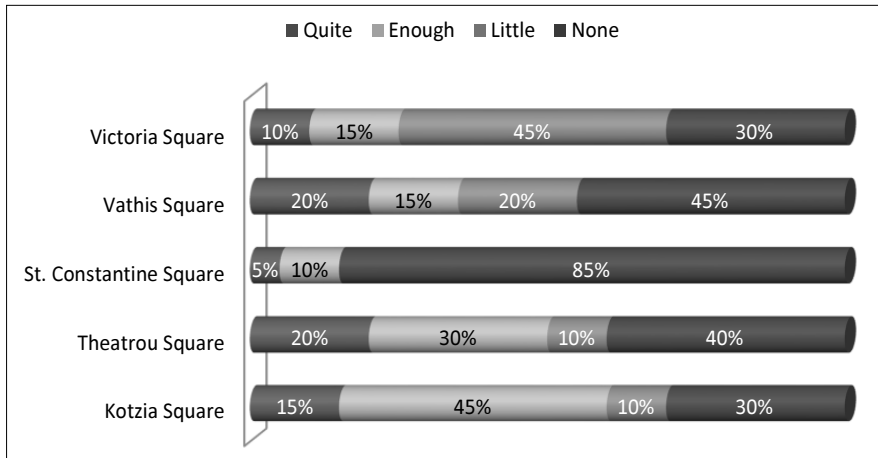
In this environment, which the residents themselves describe as being heavily burdened by crime problems, the feeling of (in) security, was examined during both phases of the research. To the question “How safe do you feel when walking alone in this area?” the answers are distributed into four available options of “*very, quite, a little, not at all*”⁸⁴.

The charts below illustrate the insecurity rates exhibited by respondents in the area where they reside or work. Accordingly, in 2011, the squares with the highest rates of insecurity (“*a little or not at all safe*”) were St. Constantine square (85%) and Victoria Square (75%), while the lowest percentage was recorded in Kotzia square (40%). In 2013, St Constantine square continued to show the highest rate of insecurity (70%), although it was slightly lower than in 2011, along with Vathis square (70%). As in 2011, Kotzia Square had the lowest rate of insecurity (30%), while there was a remarkable reduction in the rate of insecurity recorded in Victoria Square (30% versus 75% in 2011). The reduction of insecurity, in this case, is consistent to the increase in positive assessments of the effectiveness of police, according to the above (Table 7).

Figure 7a: (In)security, 2011



⁸⁴ The methodology which was followed is based on international and Greek research regarding fear of crime. Amongst other, see: Zarafonitou Ch. (Guest Editor), “*Fear of crime. A comparative approach in the European context*”, Special Issue of *CRIMINOLOGY*, October 2011.

Figure 7b: (In)security, 2013

The following questions, which read further into the expressions of insecurity (only those who answered “a little or not at all safe”) were only posed during the follow up study of 2013. In this way, to the question “*Where do you feel most insecure?*” most respondents referred to the “street” with the sole exception of, once more, Kotzia square. However, the high percentage of respondents answering “everywhere” is remarkable, indicative of the general insecurity. And in this case, the percentages are lower in Kotzia Square and Victoria Square, where policing is intensive and where environmental degradation is not as high as in the other squares and their surrounding areas.

Table 8: Insecurity areas

More insecure areas	2013				
	Kotzia Square	Theater Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
House	16.67%	8.33%			
Store	33.33%	16.67%	14.28%	14.28%	33.33%
Road	33.33%	50%	57.14%	50%	66.67%
Everywhere	16.67%	25%	28.57%	28.57%	16.67%
Other				14.28%	

The question in relation to (in)security was presented with no time reference⁸⁵, in order to allow respondents to identify their feelings on their

⁸⁵ The corresponding question in the international victims survey is presented as follows: “How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark? Do you feel

own. Therefore, it was preferred to pose the question “*During what hours, within the 24 hour day, do you feel more insecure?*” to those respondents who answered “*a little*” or “*not at all*” for the previous question. The answers are shown in the table below.

Table 9: More insecure times of the day

Most insecure times of the day	2011				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
During the day	5%	5%		15%	
Night	95%	65%	55%	60%	90%
All		20%	40%	10%	10%
None		10%	5%	15%	
D.K./N.R.					

Most insecure times of the day	2013				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
During the day					
Night	100%	66.67%	100%	78.57%	100%
All		33.33%		14.28%	
None					
D.K./N.R.				7.15%	

On the basis of the above, it was observed that the vast majority of the sample feels more insecure at night. The small percentage of respondents who stated “*during the day*”, was recorded only in 2011, while the corresponding percentages to respondents who stated “*at all hours*”, were limited to two areas (Theatrou and Vathis square) in 2013.

As is clear from the current and previous studies, the fear of crime rates is very high in all central areas of the capital⁸⁶. This generalized insecurity, which far exceeds the one recorded by the Crime Victimization Survey fear rates in the Greek capital in 2005⁸⁷, is connected to crime problems, but is

very safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe or very unsafe?”, van Dijk J., van Kesteren J., Smit P., *Criminal Victimization in International Perspective Key findings from the 2004-2005 ICVS and EU ICS*, WODC, 257, Boom Juridische uitgevers, 2007, 130.

⁸⁶ For previous studies see Zarafonitou Ch., “Fear of crime in contemporary Greece: Research evidence”, as above, 2011.

⁸⁷ “Fear of crime” rates in the Greek capital were at 55% in 2005 were the highest

intensified by the general social problems that contribute to the deterioration of the quality of life of the inhabitants of these areas. The consequences of this degradation are most noticeable in areas where there is already a high concentration of problems, such as in the areas of this study.

In this respect, it is interesting to note the intentions of the inhabitants to relocate, as is reflected in the following graphs, which refer to both years of our research.

Figure 8a: Local people's intention to leave from the area, 2011

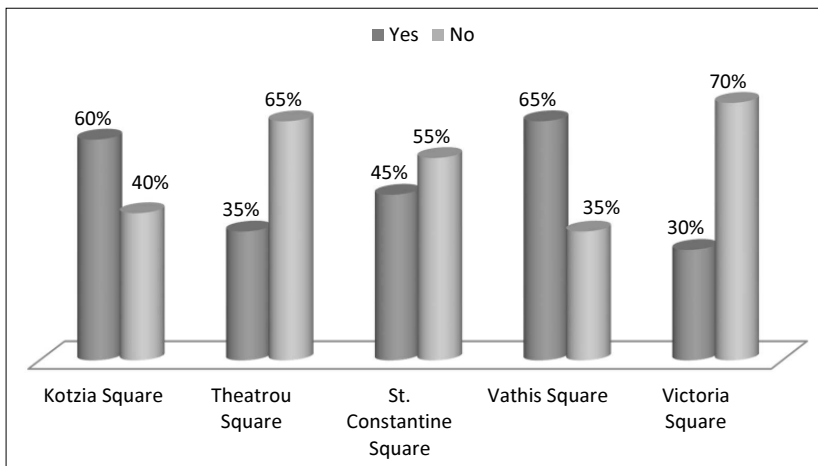
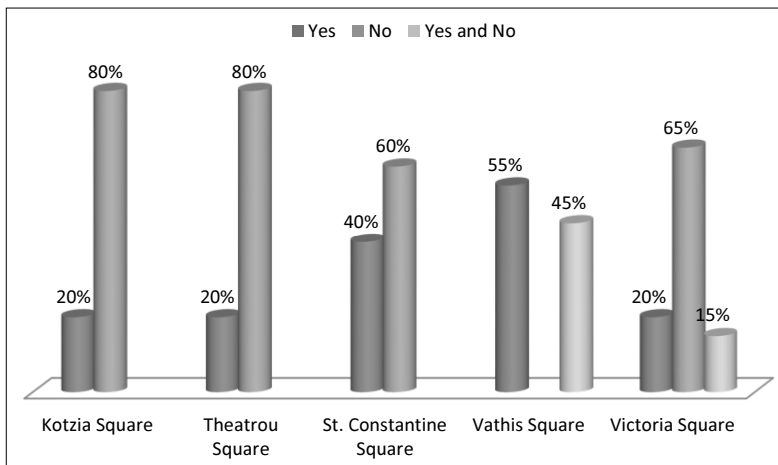


Figure 8b: Local people's intention to leave from the area, 2013



amongst the European capitals. See van Dijk J., van Kesteren J., Smit P., *Criminal Victimisation in International Perspective Key findings from the 2004-2005 ICVS and EU ICS*, as above, 2007, 131.

As is seen from the above data, in 2011 the positive response rates ranged between 30% and 65%, while, two years later, the variation is limited between 20% and 55%. In other words, despite the variations between each area, the “*last resort*” of relocation which reflects the degree of frustration of residents, seems to be significantly reduced in 2013. The attitude of the residents summarizes, in the most concise way, the perception of quality of life, which although still has strong elements of degradation, nevertheless seems improved compared to two years ago.

iv. Minorities and “minority”

One of the major factors of the change in the appearance of the city centre, and of the further degradation of some of its neighborhoods, is the mass immigration over the past two decades. According to the aforementioned model of the Ecological School of Chicago, it is in the most deprived areas that the most vulnerable populations of newcomers settle, and, in this way, the “*vicious cycle*” of degradation continues.

The data presented in this section examine this factor and the social attitudes towards the relevant issues concerning the settlement of foreigners. Starting from the attitudes of the residents on their enumerative observations concerning this phenomenon, we notice that the “*high concentration of foreigners in the region*” is an indisputable assumption in all areas of research. The rates for all of the areas are absolute (100%) in 2011 and slightly more moderate in 2013, in accordance to the graphs below.

Figure 9a: High concentration of foreigners in the area, 2011

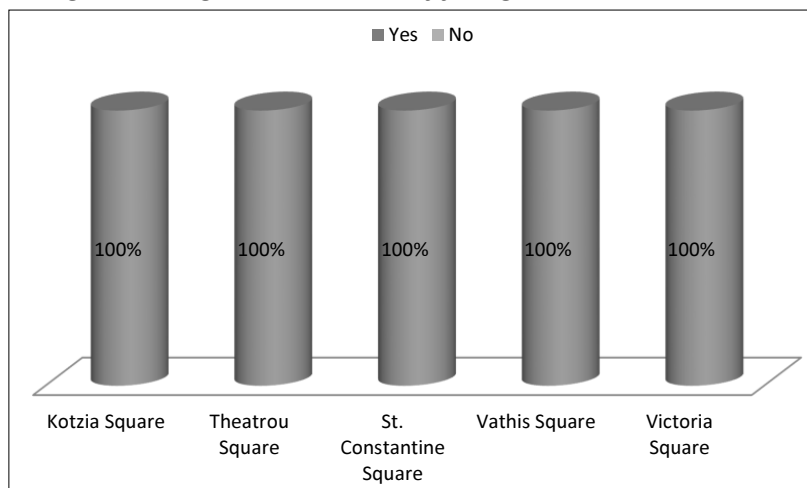
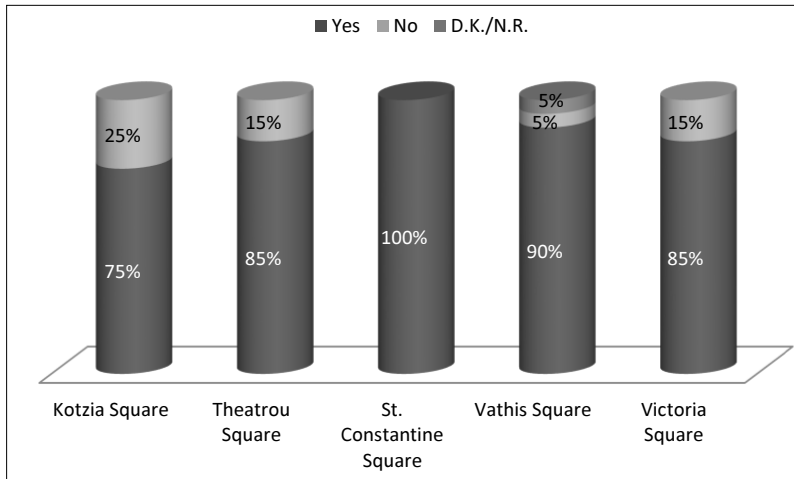


Figure 9b: High concentration of foreigners in the area, 2013

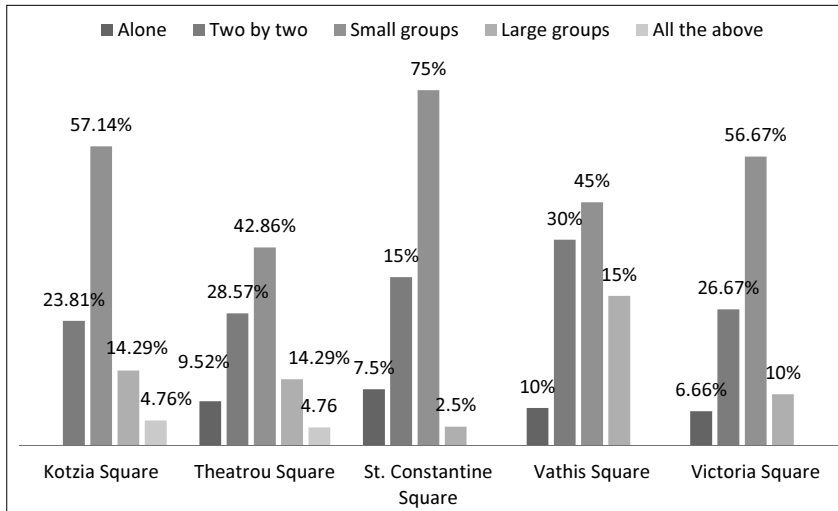
The forms, through which the presence of the immigrants is manifested, are experienced through their main characteristics. One of these forms is their presence in the area. As it is apparent from our research data, foreigners make their presence noticeable in outside – public and semipublic – areas. Many of the Greek residents refer to parks and squares as areas frequented by foreigners. Several responses refer to apartment building entrances, while there is a high response rate indicating their strong presence “everywhere”, according to the table below.

Table 10: Places with high concentration of foreigners (only 2013)

Areas frequented by foreigners ⁸⁸	2013				
	Kotzia Square	Theatrou Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
Squares- Parks	53.33%	30%	55%	12%	26.09%
Coffee places- restaurants	6.67%	10%	15%	12%	
Outside the buildings		5%	25%	12%	8.7%
Other	20%	10%	5%	32%	13,04%
Everywhere	20%	45%		32%	52.17%

Apart from the high concentration of foreigners in public areas, another factor contributing to their noticeability is their moving in groups of 2 to 5 people, and sometimes in even larger groups of 5 to 10 people.

⁸⁸ Other answers have also been given

Figure 10: Public presence of the foreigners (2013)⁸⁹

One of their “distinct” features that contribute to their pronounced presence is their “culture”, when it affects their clothing, appearance or behavior. This factor was answered by the majority of the sample during both years of the research and indeed, the relative reluctance of 2011 was followed by the relative certainty of 2013, as shown by the percentage of responses “*Do not know/No answer*” that touched 70% and declined in favor of affirmative answers from zero to 10% at most.

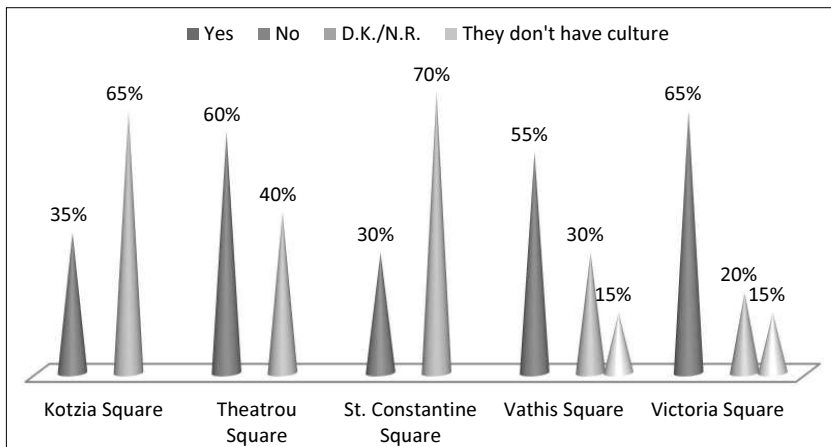
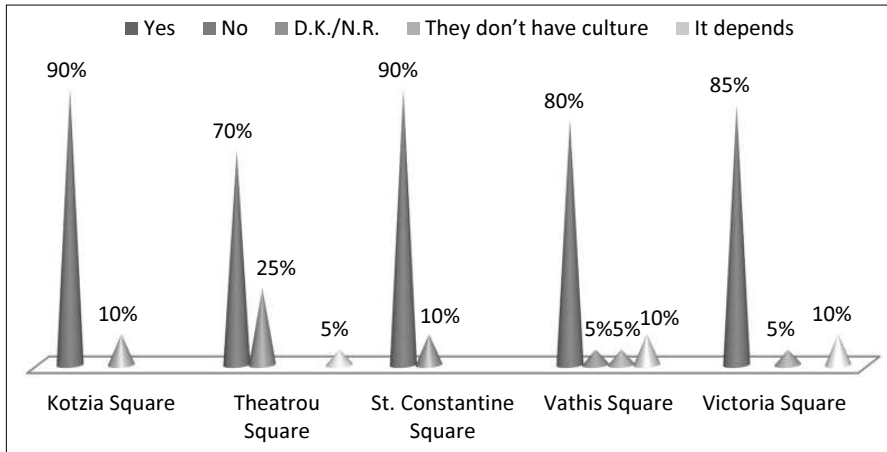
Figure 11a: The role of the foreigners’ culture to their lifestyle, their appearance, their behavior? (2011)⁸⁹ As above

Figure 11b: The role of the foreigners' culture to their lifestyle, their appearance, their behavior? (2013)



One of the key components of the “peaceful” co-existence is the acceptance of diversity. Given the high multiculturalism of these areas, our sample was asked about the relationships developed between different ethnic/racial groups. Most answers point to the confrontational nature of these relationships, in both years of research, and the small variations within the sample do not affect the overall picture.

Figure 12a: Tolerance between ethnic/racial minorities (2011)

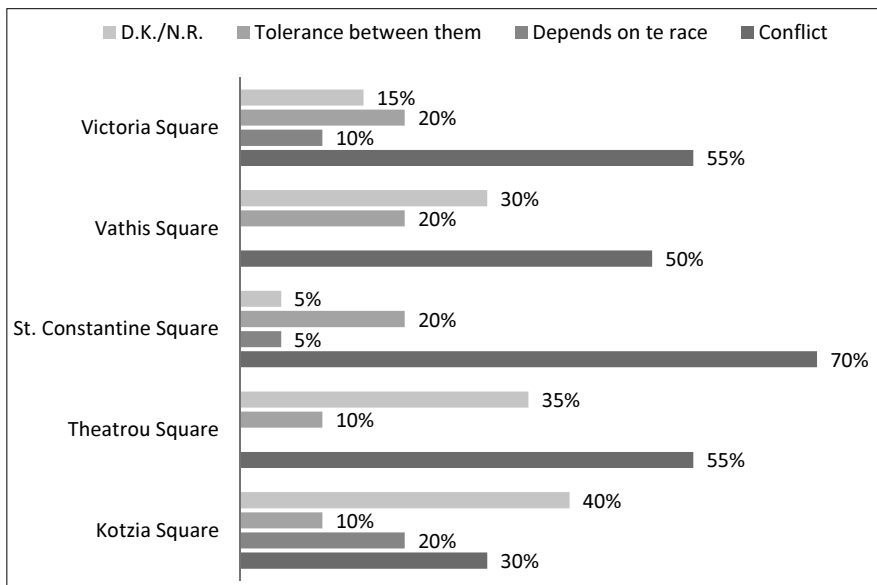
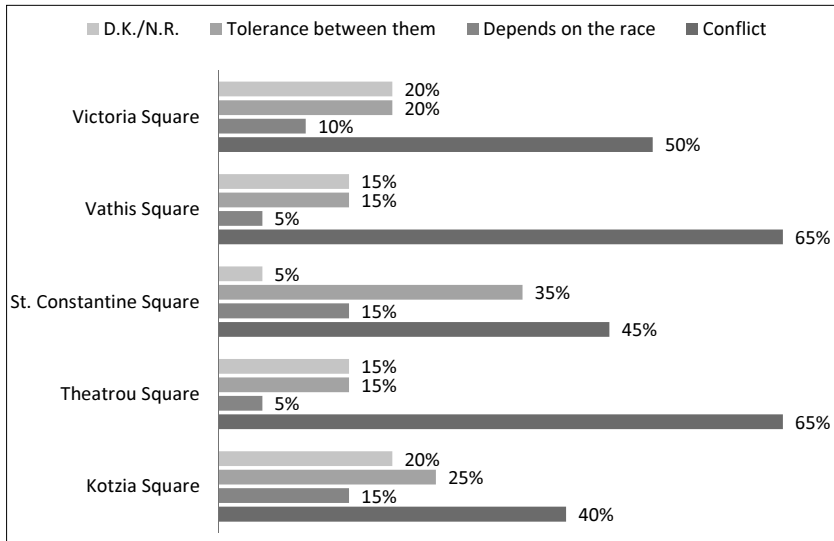
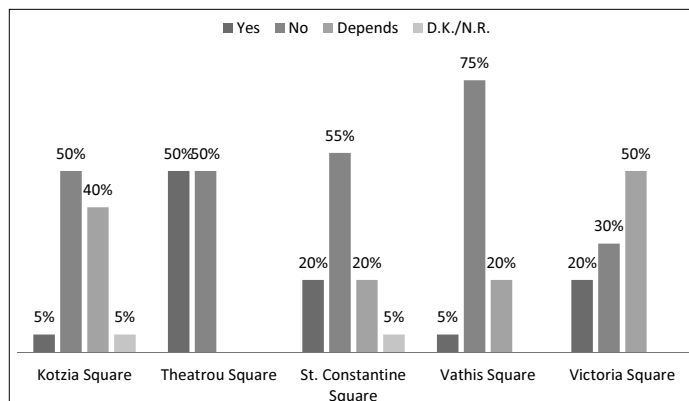


Figure 12b: Tolerance between ethnic/racial minorities (2013)

Based on the above, the attitude of the sample on the status of integration of foreigners, which is predominantly negative, with the sole exception of Victoria Square, where respondents have a more moderate attitude towards foreigners, is to be expected. Of those who answered negatively to the question above, in 2011, 43%, in average, believe that foreigners want to be integrated into Greek society, while the corresponding figure in 2013 is less than half (20%). This element, combined with the aforementioned on the characteristics of their culture and the question concerning the confrontational relations between the different ethnic/racial groups, highlights the withdrawal from the intention of integration.

Figure 13: Immigrants' integration in Greek society (only 2013)

The positive responses of the sample, on whether they agree or disagree on the subject of integration of foreigners into Greek society, are shown at a relative majority in 2011, while they are a lot higher in 2013 reaching 90%.

Figure 14a: Do you agree with their integration? (2011)

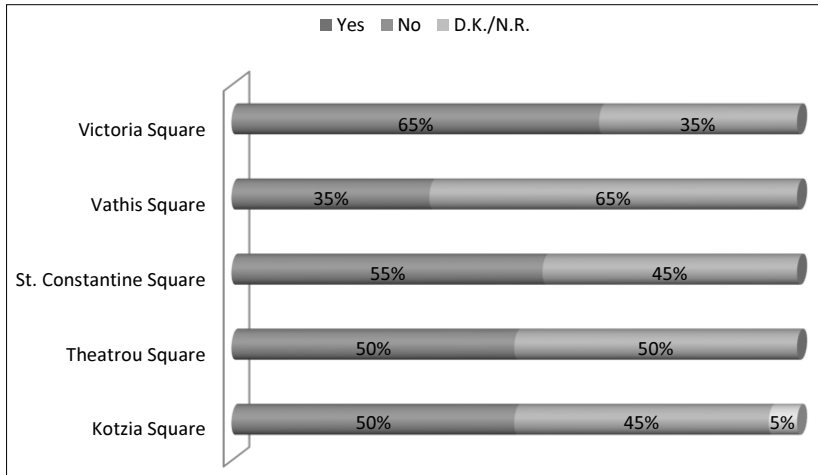
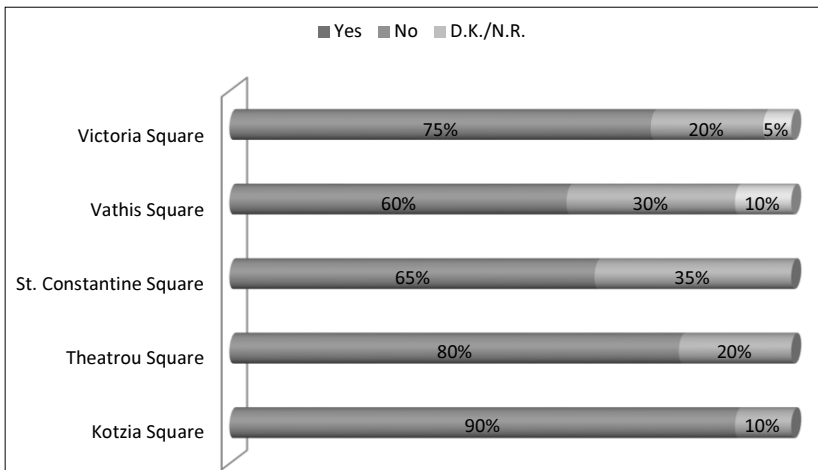
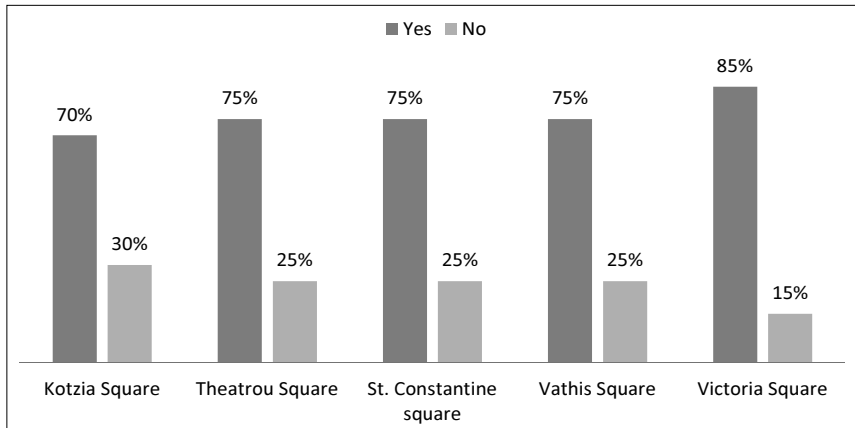
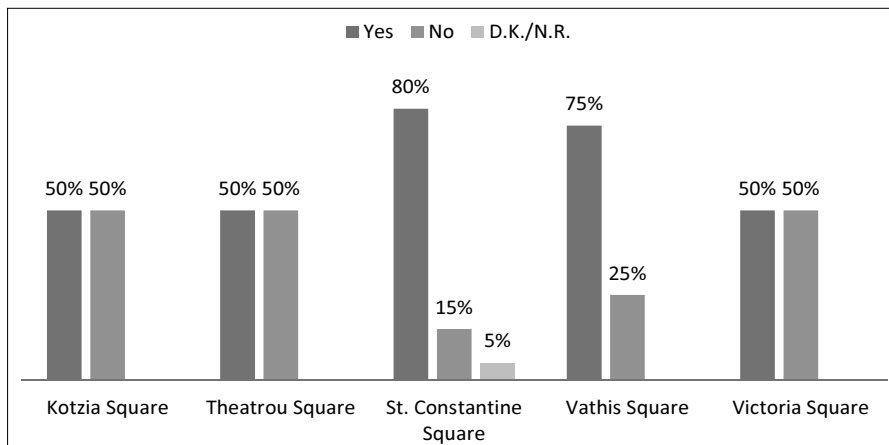


Figure 14b: Do you agree with their integration? (2013)



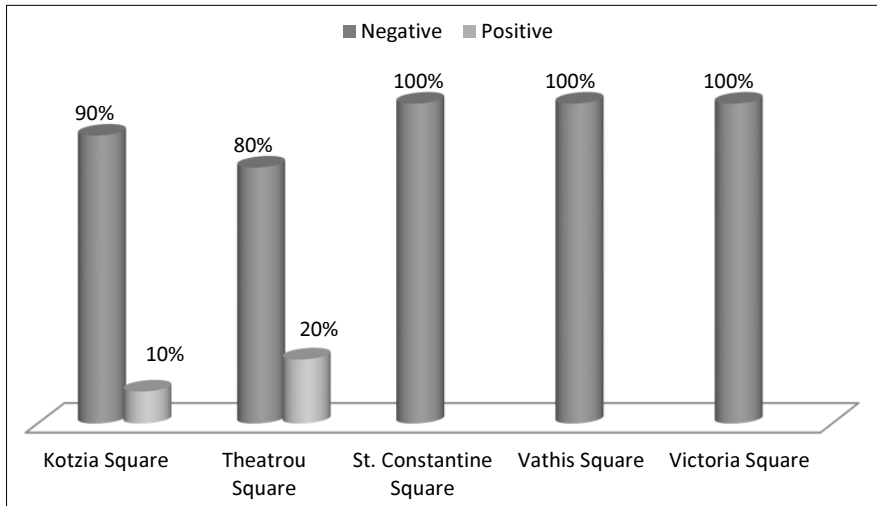
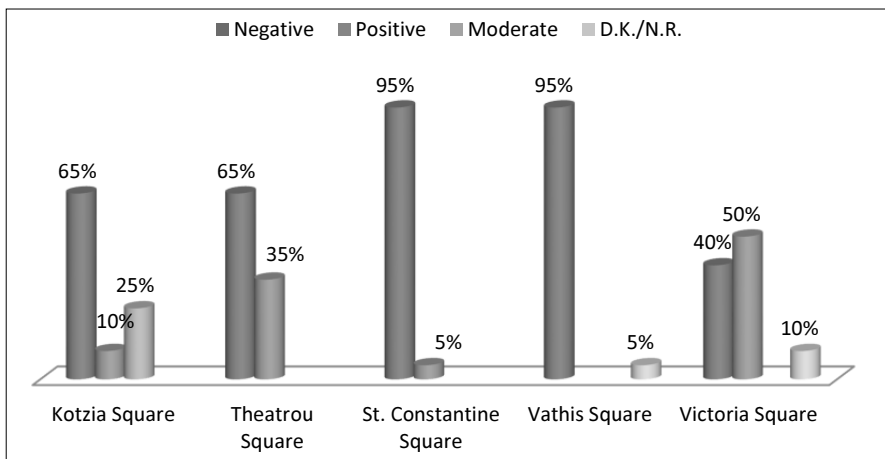
Given that the subject of this section is the minorities, and the answers which were given revealed their existence, the next question attempts to identify the possibility that the participants see themselves as a “minority” in the area in which they live or work. From their responses, it is indicated that they, indeed, consider themselves minorities. The intensity of this feeling, as it is reflected in the response rates, is, nevertheless, higher in 2011 (70%-85%) compared to 2013 (50%-80%).

Figure 15a: Feeling of the locals that they are a “minority”, 2011**Figure 15b: Feeling of the locals that they are a “minority”, 2013**

v. Overall perception of their area

The final part of the questionnaire aimed to identify the suggestions made by residents themselves to improve their area. These proposals, however, come after the overall picture of the relevant areas and the evaluation of its development in recent years.

As shown in the graph below, this overall picture, in 2011, was absolutely negative (100% negative responses) for St. Constantine, Vathis and Victoria square. In 2013, the picture is more or less improved. However, in St. Constantine and Vathis square the negative answers reach 95%. It is noteworthy, in this regard, that the negative responses reduced from 100% to 40% in Victoria square.

Figure 16a: Assessment of their area of residence, 2011**Figure 16b: Assessment of their area of residence, 2013**

The respondents were asked, in 2013, to compare the situation in their area two, five and ten years before the time of the survey, and the results, as a general conclusion, were that the situation was better a decade ago, and it was worse two or five years before the survey. This “picture” is, indeed, in accordance to the significant changes that had occurred, and which is heavily dependent on immigration and the economic crisis. The following charts reflect the responses to the question “*Could you make a comparison to 2, 5, 10 years ago*”.

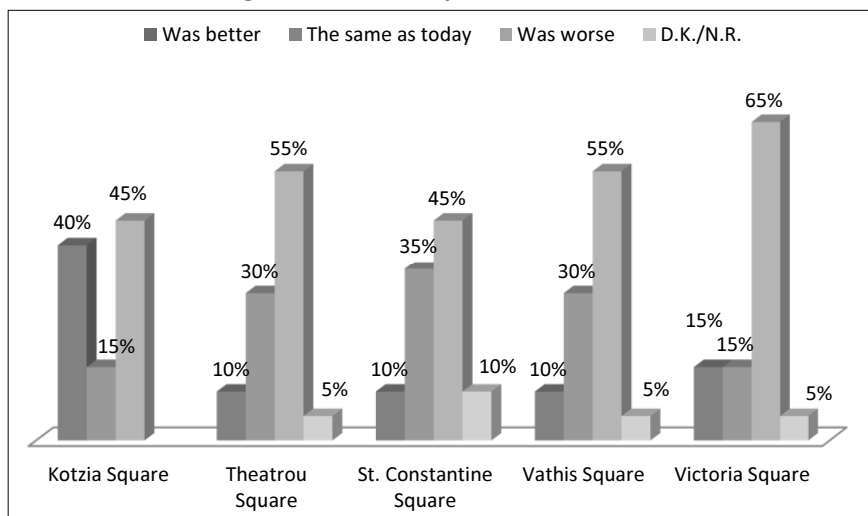
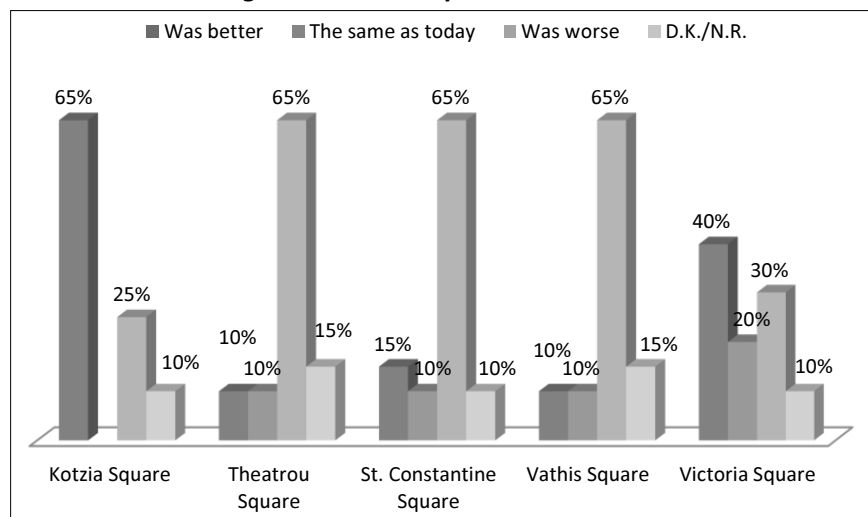
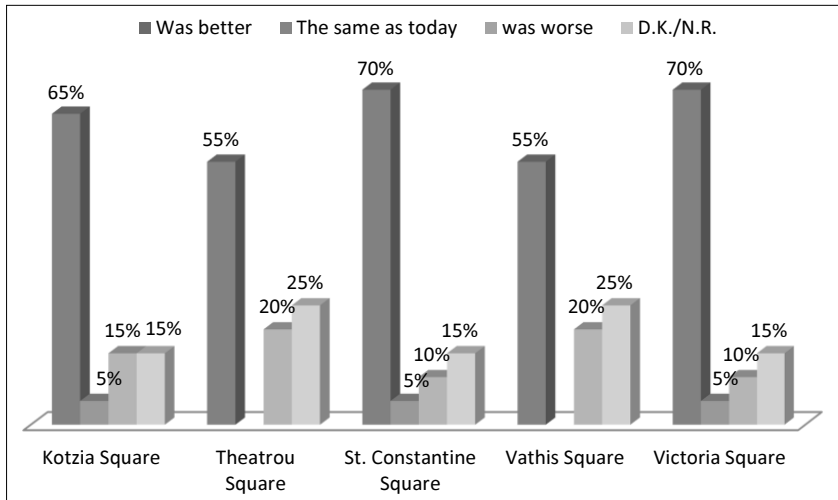
Figure 17a: In comparison with 2011**Figure 17b: In comparison with 2008**

Figure 17c: In comparison with 2003

vi. Suggestions of residents to improve their areas

Having reported on a series of major problems for their residential or working areas, the respondents submitted numerous proposals to improve their area. Their proposals refer either to general government policies, to migration policies or even to specific environmental upgrading policies, according to the following classification:

A) State intervention (50 answers)

- Better policing to address the black market, drug trafficking and use, controlling and closing brothels, limiting the actions of “Golden Dawn” (30)
- Improved State interest (6)
- Creation and maintenance of laws (5)
- Financial support for businesses to help cope with the crisis (4)
- Enhanced control of the center of Athens and of the illegal persons who settle or move to it (2)
- Operation of more public services in the area (2)
- Prohibition of protests- demonstrations (1)

B) Renovation and upgrading of the area (48 replies)

- Area redevelopment (tree planting, lighting, pavements, improving buildings) and for the area to “gain life” (25)
- Cleaning (12)
- Utilization of ruined buildings, landscaping (5)
- Development – use of the centre (3)

- Cultural events (2)
- Improve traffic conditions (1)

C) Immigrants (16 replies)

- Removal of illegal immigrants and placement of rules for residence and work for legitimate immigrants (13)
- Changing the attitude towards immigrants – to become friendlier towards them (3)

D) Other answers (9 replies)

From the answers of the sample it is indicated that there is a need for compliance with the laws, under the responsibility of the state and particularly the police, through the control of both illegal immigrants and crime in general. Emphasis is also placed on the financial consequences of the economic crisis on trading activity as well as on the abandonment of the Athenian Centre by the state. Especially for foreigners, the proposals made concern immigration policy, separating legal from illegal immigrants and their integration into Greek society.

C. THE ATTITUDES OF IMMIGRANTS

During the follow up study, there was a pilot exploration of the attitudes and opinions of foreign residents of the study area, through the completion of questionnaires by personal interview of a sample of 27 individuals, whose characteristics are the following:

- The countries of origin of the foreigners which were interviewed were: Pakistan (16.19%), Bangladesh (14.52%), Egypt (9.52%), Afghanistan (9.52%), Albania (9.05%), Bulgaria (9.05%), Georgia (6.67%), China (5%), Syria (3.33%), Kurdistan (2.86%), Ukraine (2.86%), Jordan (2.86%), Eritrea (2.86%), Congo (2.86%).
- The majority of the foreigners are workers (74.05%).
- While most said they came to Greece without their family or friends (71.19%), only a few of them live alone, and most (68.8%) reside either with their family or with other people.
- When asked whether they wish to leave the area where they reside or work, rates are divided. 54.52% said they would like to relocate, with the highest rates occurring in Theatrou Square (71.43%) followed by Vathis (66.66%) and Victoria square (66.66%)⁹⁰. In contrast, in Kotzia square 75% responded negatively to the above question.

⁹⁰ For the Greeks, Vathis square came first, as a response, followed by St. Constantine square, according to the above.

- When foreigners were asked if they felt like the minority in the area where they reside or work, 56.4% responded negatively. Interestingly, many immigrants responded that they felt like the minority in the area because there are many foreigners, or black people.
- Half of the respondents (50.72%) stated that they feel “a little” or “*not safe at all*”, in their area. It is noteworthy that, in the case of St. Constantine square, the majority (71.43%) said they did not feel safe at all in the area⁹¹. 53.33% feel very insecure everywhere, 43.33% when walking on the street and only 6.67% when they are at home.
- 49.76% of foreigners are satisfied with policing in the area, with rates in Kotzia and Victoria square appearing as being extremely high (75% and 83.33% respectively)⁹².
- When asked if they or their relatives have been victims of crime, 68.33% answered positively⁹³. The highest victimization rate concerns the theft of personal belongings on the street (55%), followed by attacks (36.67%). 70% of respondents have been victimized once, while 25% have been victimized more than 2 times. Almost all (93.33%) were able to distinguish the nationality of the perpetrator/perpetrators. It is worth noting that in Theatrou Square, where all victimization related to attacks, 75% of perpetrators were reported as Greeks. Respectively, in Victoria Square, 50% of perpetrators were reported as Greeks, and especially as being members of Golden Dawn. The majority of respondents (71.67%) complained to the police.
- When asked about their relationship with Greeks, 94.3% stated that they had good relations, while 5.7% said that there are no relations between them and the Greeks.
- Regarding their relationships with foreigners from different ethnic/racial origin, the responses are divided. 42.38% responded that the relationship between them and immigrants of different origin is good, 23.33% answered that it depends on the country of origin of the immigrants, 14.76% responded that there are no relations between themselves and foreigners of different nationalities/races and finally 11.67% responded that there is a bad relationship.
- 60.24% of foreigners feel integrated into Greek society, as opposed to 26.42% who do not feel as being a part of Greek society.

⁹¹ This is also the area which has the highest amount of insecurity for Greeks.

⁹² In these areas, the effectiveness of the police is also considered as being the highest by Greeks, in 2013.

⁹³ A percentage which is significantly lower than that answered by Greeks.

- Finally, when foreigners were asked to assess the area in which they reside or are employed, most (73.09%) judged it negatively, with only 24.05% having a positive image of the area.

Although the sample of foreigners is not representative, the great homogeneity of their responses means the sample is indicative. In this way, there is no difference in their responses, and there is a general consensus regarding the degradation of the research areas or as far as the crime problems that occur in them are concerned. It is worth highlighting the sense of “minority” which is expressed here by foreigners, and which was also conveyed by Greeks, and the desire for relocation, because of the great heterogeneity of the population. However, the desired integration and inclusion, into Greek society, is undisputed.

In conclusion, the overall “picture” that emerges from the residents of the study areas verifies the image that was captured in our field observation. Despite some variations, the problems characterizing these areas are numerous and serious with dominant population heterogeneity, crime, environmental degradation and poverty.

The comparison between the results of the two researches of 2011 and 2013, results to the conclusion of an improvement of the depiction of the areas of central Athens. Despite the increased percentage of victimization, insecurity and the desire for relocation of residents/workers have decreased and their perception on quality of life has improved. The reference to the greater effectiveness of policing, in conjunction with the implementation of new forms of policing, since 2012, highlights the important role of these changes.

CHAPTER THREE: PATTERNS ANALYSIS

The research data, mentioned above, and which are derived both from the field observation and from the answers of the residents or workers, themselves, in each area, are classified in the third stage of this methodology so as to allow the formulation of some conclusive assessments about the existence or non existence of ghettos in the centre of Athens. The following table includes the above mentioned fundamental prerequisites for the classification of a ghetto, on the basis of the aforementioned international scientific literature, and the question on whether or not these prerequisites are attested, through the above research findings.

Table 11: Verification of ghettos' characteristics per area

Ghettos' characteristics	Theatrou Square	Kotzia Square	St. Constantine Square	Vathis Square	Victoria Square
High concentration of a minority in an urban area	~	~	~	~	~
Segregation	-	-	-	-	-
Social disorganization	~	~	~	~	~
The minority group is treated by the rest of society as inferior, foreign, different	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
The factor of the state's role	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-

~ = relative verification

+ = yes

- = no

+/- = more or less

On this basis, we observe that the above prerequisites are sometimes verified and sometimes they are not. More specifically:

A. Overpopulation of a national minority

According to the literature, the excess numbers of national minorities refer to the dominance of *one* ethnic group in a particular area. In the case of central Athens there was an indisputably high concentration of foreigners, without, however, this being limited to a *single* dominant ethnic group. Notwithstanding the lack of detailed statistical data, the first criterion for the existence of the ghetto is not fully verified. It is demonstrated; however, when considering that,

as far as concerns the above urban units, there is an observed overcrowding of immigrants with the cultural and quantitative dominance of certain racial groups (Asians in Victoria Square, former Soviets in St. Constantine etc.).

B. Separation

This criterion refers to the (intentional or unintentional) isolation and marginalization of ethnic groups. To a large extent, we could say that this is observed through objective data (lower rent in the area, networks of contact with people of the same ethnic origin, activities undertaken in these areas). However, these ethnic groups successfully coexist with Greeks and with people of other ethnic origins. In addition, many foreigners work as employees in Greek shops. This depiction does not lead to the conclusion that they are isolated. Nevertheless, it appears that the over-concentration of groups with common or related ethnic origin or with common racial and cultural characteristics substantially prevents their integration into Greek society. As a result, this characteristic is not verified either, although the situation is not the same in all areas.

C. Social disorganization

Instances, of a lack of social cohesion, demographic and cultural heterogeneity and, sometimes, of a conflict of values, are more or less located in the areas of central Athens. And by taking into account the crime problems and conflicts which often occur (especially during the first year of the survey) between foreigners and Greeks, or between different ethnic groups, it could be argued that there are signs of social disorganization and cultural conflict which are more or less visible, depending on the area. Subject to the differentiation between the two years of research, this element is considered as having been established, to a certain extent.

D. Considering a minority groups as being inferior

In order for an ethnic group to be considered as being inferior and foreign, two factors must be observable: the diversity of a group should be a prerequisite and a consequence of ghettoization. In this case, according to the respondents, ethnic groups were “different” because of their distinctive characteristics of their own “culture”. However, this was not assessed as a basis to their choosing to live and limit themselves to these areas. Nevertheless, the effects attributed to these characteristics of grouping, over-concentration and conflicts between ethnic groups, create the depiction of their difficult integration into society.

This issue cannot confirm the fundamental address of these groups as ‘inferior groups’, especially since the majority of responses were in favour of their integration. Therefore, this information is not explicitly confirmed, although it probably remains an underlying assumption.

E. Absence of state intervention (direct or indirect):

This issue presents the largest variation between the initial and follow up studies. During the first phase, in 2011, the absence of state intervention was undisputable. The vast majority of respondents expressed the view on ineffective or even non-existent policing, as well as commenting on the indifference of the state to citizens’ problems. Although legislation did not prevent the massive and continued, for over two decades, entry of illegal immigrants, and did not successfully regulate issues pertaining to the regularization of immigrants, the residents of the areas felt much safer during the iterative phase of research and commented on the police being more effective. This change of their attitude is due to, seemingly, the police Action Plan “Xenios Zeus” that came into effect after 2012, and which consisted of increased patrols and intensified inspections of illegal immigrants. As a result, although the residents continue to address the absence of effective government interventions to upgrade their area, they also comment on the improved quality of life, and they maintain that they feel safer. Therefore, this factor ceases to be fully verifiable.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

On the basis of pre-existing scientific knowledge and experience, and through the typological characteristics derived from this study concerning the areas of the centre of the Greek capital, as determined through the five aforementioned squares, the existence of a ghetto was not verified, in a clear and absolute manner. The absence of a dominant minority group and of a directed and entrenched segregation of a minority population, are the most important reasons that contribute to the above conclusion. However, the picture that emerged from both our direct field observations and from the testimony of its own residents/workers in all five study areas was that there is a clear reflection of an ostensible concentration of immigrants. This concentration significantly affected the “image” of the central areas, and, in conjunction with the accumulation of serious problems associated with the economic crisis, everyday crime and insecurity, has contributed significantly to the intake of the general deterioration in the quality of life of the residents. The situation is exacerbated by the confrontational climate that arises from cultural diversity and from problems concerning the integration of newly settling populations, and, for this reason, many “local” respondents declare that they are convinced that “the region is now ghetto”.

The conclusions from our first study⁹⁴ found a clear tendency towards the existence of ghettos, when keeping in mind that the conditions, which were determined, were characterised as “transitional” towards that direction. For this reason, we highlight the need for an immediate and regulatory state intervention to reverse this condition, as well as the need for the involvement of the local community to take appropriate and rational initiatives, so that the centre of Athens does not to validate the role of the ‘transition zone’ according to the ecological approach of the Chicago School.

Our findings of the follow up study, which took place two years after the original study (2013), recorded a change of attitude of the people, for the better, which is mainly due to the change in policing for these regions. According to the above, the evaluation of police effectiveness was positive, the perception towards quality of life was improved and insecurity was reduced, compared to 2011. However, self-reported victimization increased in

⁹⁴ Zarafonitou Ch., with the collaboration of A.Georgalli, Georgopoulou Ch., Mouschi D., Tatsi ch., Chrysoschoou E., “Are there ‘ghettos’ in the center of Athens? A criminological reconstruction of social representations of the inhabitants of these areas”, 2013. Also, Zarafonitou Ch. & E.Chrysoschoou (coll.), “Environmental degradation, the image of ghettos and the fear of crime in the centre of Athens: research evidence”, *op.cit.*, 2013, 726-734.

2013. The “paradox”⁹⁵ confirms, once again, our established opinion that the relationship of crime and insecurity / fear of crime is not linear, since informal social reactions towards crime are affected by a number of different factors which determine the perception of individual and social “vulnerability”. The non establishment of a causal correlation does not mean, of course, the absence of association. Both victimization and crime problems, in the residential areas, are determinants of fear of crime⁹⁶.

Furthermore, the hitherto empirical investigation of crime and insecurity in the capital, and particularly in the central areas⁹⁷, has highlighted the dimensions of a serious problem requiring immediate scientific planning to tackle the short term and long term measures and policies to further counter and prevent degradation, while supporting the upgrade of the quality of life for citizens⁹⁸.

PS: Just as the present edition is in the final stage of printing, the centre of Athens is receiving the immigrants who are being let out of the specialised “centres of hospitality” and are being transferred to Omonoia square. It is a new development, the consequences of which are not included in the present study and could be the subject of a new empirical research.

⁹⁵ Zarafonitou Ch., “Criminal Victimisation in Greece and the Fear of Crime: A ‘Paradox’ for Interpretation”, *International Review of Victimology*, 16 (3), 2009, 277-300.

⁹⁶ A. Tseloni, Ch.Zarafonitou, “Fear of crime and victimisation: A multivariate multilevel analysis of competing measurements”, *European Journal of Criminology*, vol.5, 2008, 387-409.

⁹⁷ Zarafonitou Ch., “Fear of crime in contemporary Greece: Research evidence”, *op.cit.* 2011.

⁹⁸ Zarafonitou Ch., “Fear of crime, victimization and quality of life in the environment of the Greek capital”, *op.cit.*, 2013.

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