

**Title:**

**Social and Spatial Dimensions of Homelessness in Athens:  
Welfare Networks and Practices of Care Professionals**

**By**

**Vassilios Petrou Arapoglou**

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis questions the official views that there is no homelessness in Athens by exploring the social constructions of homelessness adopted by central state, local state, church, and voluntary agencies that manage the homeless. In particular it explores whether available welfare provisions and the ensemble of networks of providers shape who and how many the homeless are, and where they reside.

In Greece the issue has only recently been recognized, so existing literature is limited. Drawing upon the international literature I argue that the main dimensions of homelessness should be documented and analysed on different geographical scales. However, given the differentiated powers of providers within a welfare regime, their ideologies are crucial for the formal recognition and the every day treatment of homelessness. I suggest that the Greek welfare regime is a variant of familistic southern European ones, including networks between formal and informal providers, which contribute to socio-economic inequalities and to traditional social control of the urban poor.

Using primary and secondary data I provide updated estimates for the extent of various levels of visible and invisible homelessness in Athens and I apply principal components analysis to map the distribution of homeless shelters and housing deprivation in the city. I find that substandard housing and makeshift arrangements conceal a poor population in city fringes and inner city areas and that asylums become poles hiding the homeless, and scattered charity shelters accommodate those without family support.

From analysis of official documents, interviews with providers and observations from my own participation in various projects, I argue that four providers form distinct philanthropic networks and discourses, which I term bureaucratic, political, civil, and religious. Constrained by limited resources, fragmentation, and hierarchy, professionals resort to philanthropic discourses to acknowledge responsibility for different kinds of recipients exposed to different risks of homelessness. Exclusions select deserving from undeserving clients. These practices do not facilitate access to housing, income, employment, or good quality of care for the homeless.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

**CMP: Capitalist Mode of Production**

**CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis**

**DEPOS: Public Enterprise for Urban Planning and Housing**

**EAPN: European Anti-Poverty Network**

**FEANTSA: European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless**

**GNP: Gross National Product**

**HUD: United States Department of Housing and Urban Development**

**LHS: Land-Housing System**

**NCSR: National Centre for Social Research**

**NGOs: Non-governmental Organisations**

**NIMBY: Not In My Back Yard**

**NSSG: National Statistical Service of Greece**

**RMI: Revenue Minimum d' Insertion- Minimum Insertion Wage**

**SCP: Simple Commodity Production**

**SCJ: Society for the Care of Juveniles**

**SROs: Single Room Occupancy Hotels**

**UNCHS: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)**

# CHAPTER 1: Introduction

## 1.1. Scope and Objectives of the Thesis

In Greece there is no official definition of homelessness or data on its extent, although the right to housing is constitutionally endorsed. Nonetheless, since the 1990s, homelessness has become visible in inner city areas of Athens where Greek citizens, refugees and immigrants can be found sleeping rough in marginal conditions of shelter. Homelessness is less visible across space as deprived Greek citizens either have to rely on institutionalised care, asylums and poor quality shelters, or together with immigrants to make use of a deteriorating housing stock in the centre and on the periphery of the city.

Central state, local state, non-governmental and church agencies are the main providers of shelter and social services. Competing definitions conceal the magnitude of homelessness and provide justifications of charity. Governments, policy makers, local politicians, and administrators resort to a narrow definition of visible homelessness as can be clearly seen in the following extract from an interview with the Deputy Mayor of Athens:

‘There are 300-350 persons in the city of Athens who literally have no place to sleep, to reside. They are the ‘homeless’ (*in English*), as they are called internationally, persons who for individual reasons are in this position and consequently they are a problem for the city but mainly a problem for themselves’.

Furthermore, homelessness has hardly been an issue for empirical investigation, with only one exception: the research undertaken by the correspondent of the European Observatory of Homelessness established by FEANTSA. Successive reports of the Observatory provide rough estimates of various homeless groups and clients of the available services (Sapounakis 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999-2000). The reports have opened up the research agenda on homelessness in Greece but are

constrained by the theoretical and methodological limitations of research in most European countries (see Avramov 1999, Neale 1997, Pleace 2000). Estimates are based on controversial assumptions, data on the allocation of shelters is sparse, information about the management and the quality of services is based on administrative views. It must be acknowledged that such flaws partly stem from real and technical difficulties such as lack of official data, lack of finance to undertake large surveys, and misconceptions of shelter administrators who forward relevant data.

Nonetheless, the limitations of the reports are also due to the lack of theoretical references to the international debate. Reports rely on a fragmented understanding of the Greek welfare regime and the historical transformation of urban space in Athens. Particularly, spatial and social inequalities of the Greek welfare system are not adequately addressed. Moreover, there is very limited treatment of the ideological constructs of providers in managing the homeless. Theoretical limitations do not concern only the explanatory framework of reports but also have had empirical consequences in underestimating both visible and hidden homelessness. By uncritically accepting administrative and political views, the reports of the Observatory have, contrary to their intentions, contributed to a narrow understanding and treatment of homelessness in the country.

Last but not least, international reference to existing research in Greece, along with references to other countries of the European South, does not adequately address the limitations of Mediterranean regimes and remains constrained by lack of data or by contradictory explanations (for example, Daly M. 1999, Paugam 1999, Harvey 1999). In this sense, the Greek case remains a missing piece in the fuzzy European puzzle. Advancing a critical theoretical stance from the European South may contribute to breaking out of a vicious circle between lack of data, theoretical misconceptions, ideological distortions, and policy neglect.

This thesis aims to challenge official views and charity justifications, which inhibit the empirical documentation of homelessness and potential improvements in services for the homeless in Greece. The thesis also aims to allow meaningful comparisons of homelessness in Greece with other countries and to provide empirical evidence and



theoretical insights for further cross-national research. The specificity of the Greek case will be stressed but within a wider conceptual framework, allowing identification of common international trends. For this purpose I focus on the urban complex of Athens and explore how various levels of housing and social deprivation are distributed unequally among city areas and amongst Greek citizens.

The first objective of the thesis is to provide updated data and examine changes in the social and spatial dimensions of homelessness in Athens: how many persons experience lack of adequate shelter, which are the most vulnerable groups, and where they reside. The second objective is to examine whether the ensemble of networks of shelter and care providers, their differentiated positions, in terms of power and resources, and their social constructions contribute to shaping patterns of homelessness in the city.

## **1.2. Outline of the Thesis**

Following the introduction (Chapter 1), the next three chapters have a strong theoretical orientation. Chapter 2 establishes a conceptual framework to show that key explanatory themes recently advanced in the literature of homelessness as well as the main research questions of the thesis can be elaborated on different geographic scales. Chapter 3 reviews some of the international literature of homelessness, focusing on the U.S. and the European context to highlight the significance that the differentiated powers, the spatial allocation, and the ideology of shelter providers have for the recognition and the treatment of homelessness. Chapter 4 illustrates housing and welfare strategies developed to cope with the historical transformation of the urban complex of Athens, and evaluates how the major approaches on the Greek Welfare State take account of new urban poverty and homelessness.

Chapter 5 provides quantitative evidence of the main dimensions of homelessness in Athens. I distinguish various groups exposed to different risks of homelessness by using both primary data from shelters and secondary data from censuses and I apply principal component analysis to map the distribution of shelters for the homeless and housing deprivation in the city.

Following quantitative investigation, the role of providers in responding to the needs of homeless persons is examined. Chapter 6 compares the management of central state, local state, church and voluntary agencies with regard to the official discourses, key positions, regulations, and financial capacity. Chapter 7 contrasts professional discourses on homelessness with everyday practices in selection and treatment of different kinds of aid recipients. Conclusions (Chapter 8) summarise the findings and discuss policy implications for Greece. Empirical evidence and theoretical reflections of the thesis are located within wider international discussions.

### **1.3. Research Methods**

Quantitative and qualitative data have been collected through interviewing and participant observation. A significant part of information was collected through the interviews with 40 organisations. Nonetheless, an important part of the documentation of the thesis comes from participant observation that took place between February 1998 and February 2001. A continuous feedback developed between interviewing and participant observation as is explained below. The combined use of the two methods provides a dynamic picture of the dialectical process between discourse and practice; in plain words, it served to contrast deeds with words, practices with rhetoric.

#### ***1.3.1. Interviewing***

Interviewing aimed to obtain quantitative data to estimate the extent of homelessness, to draw the management profile of agencies and the profile of their clients, as well as to explore the social constructions of policy-makers and administrators. For this purpose a structured questionnaire was used to obtain quantitative data from shelters and community services (Appendix 1 contains the structured questionnaire). In-depth interviews were conducted in a wide range of settings to include policy makers, local politicians, priests, shelter administrators, and front-line staff. These interviews were unstructured adopting the narrative technique (Bauer 1987, Roe 1994) and assisted by the use of an interview guide (see Appendix 2). In the first phase of the interview I

was inviting individuals to elicit the history of their organization based on their own experience. Following the 'main narration' was a second phase of 'questioning' aimed at exploring representations of homelessness and linking them to the context of the organisation. During this phase I was also introducing relevant observations from the setting or inside information obtained from other sources to explore differentiations from official policies and compare alternative views over significant issues – 'events' in the narration. This phase was crucial to contrast discourse with practice, and to link interviews with information from participant observation.

Interviews are representative of the services on offer and the clients served. Of the organisations interviewed eleven (11) were central authorities, five (5) interviews were undertaken in prisons and psychiatric hospitals, and twenty-four (24) concerned shelters and community or street services.

Table 1.1 presents the total number of bodies that have been interviewed on the basis of a dual classification: the type of administration and the type of service offered. The main part of the analysis is based on organisations that offer shelter and street or community services. They consist of fifteen shelters and nine community and street work organisations. A significant number of interviews (eleven) were undertaken with central administration authorities. The majority of them (ten) were conducted with central state authorities and include the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the Ministry of Public Works & the Environment, and Directorates of Welfare in Prefecture Administration. The eleventh was with the Director of Solidarity in the Archdiocese of Athens. Those interviews aimed at understanding how needs expressed to street and front-line workers were centrally monitored and managed. Five more interviews were taken from psychiatric hospitals and prisons. They aimed at obtaining a picture of a 'hidden' homeless population whose urgent need for housing is not always expressed or cannot be met in shelters. All sixteen interviews were also particularly helpful in examining how shelters are located in networks of welfare and control agencies.

**Table 1.1: Total Number of Bodies Interviewed**

	Church	Local	State	Voluntary	Total
Central Administration	1	0	10	0	11
Prison	0	0	2	0	2
Psychiatric Hospital	0	0	3	0	3
Shelter- Long Term	4	0	0	1	5
Shelter- Short term	1	3	4	2	10
Street/ Community	0	0	1	8	9
Total	6	3	20	11	40

Nonetheless, the focus of the thesis is practices and social constructions of front-line administrators and street workers interacting with homeless persons. Thus, shelters were the first sites to visit. Table 1.2 distinguishes between short-term and long-term accommodation. All shelters except the Church homes are units of short-term accommodation. In the progress of fieldwork I included organisations with unique experience, in the Greek context, in street work and tradition in community work. The main reasons for their inclusion in the study were: a) They are working with a homeless population largely excluded from shelters (toxic substance abusers, immigrants, and psychiatric patients); b) their action takes place in open public spaces and this extended the spatial reference to locations other than shelters. The end result was of considerable use because it provided insights into how exclusion from shelters and 'clean-ups' of public spaces contribute to the circulation of the homeless population in various inadequate shelters. Moreover, it served to explore how practices in different locations dialectically shape different discourses of homelessness (for example, outreach techniques of NGOs served to reveal hidden homelessness as compared to treatment in state shelters aimed at concealing it).

The total number is 24 shelters and community services, as broken down in table 2. The number is also qualitatively representative of the type of accommodation, administration and groups served. The selection followed the elaboration of surveys of the Ministry of Welfare, the Guide to Mental Health Services, and the Greek Observatory on Homelessness.

**Table 1.2: Shelters and Community Services Interviewed**

ADMINISTRATION	Shelter- long term	Shelter- short term	Street/ Community	Total
Church	4	1	0	5
Local	0	3	0	3
State	0	4	1	5
Voluntary	1	2	8	11
Total	5	10	9	24

Table 1.3 below provides an initial picture of the specialisation of each sector in serving the needs of different homeless groups. The analysis in subsequent chapters explains how this specialisation is constructed through a categorisation of a wider population of welfare recipients. Central state and local state shelters are the main providers for the 'genuine homeless'. Voluntary organisations take care of groups excluded from shelters (migrants, ex-convicts, juvenile delinquents) but the majority do not provide accommodation. Voluntary organisations mainly work in the community. One state and one voluntary agency have developed street work units for drug addicts who are also excluded from shelters for the 'Homeless'. The Church hosts mainly the elderly poor and also develops community programmes.

**Table 1.3: Shelters and Community Services Interviewed**

ADMINISTRATION	Church	Local	State	Voluntary	Total
'Homeless'	0	2	3	2	7
Drug-Addicts	0	0	1	1	2
Elderly	4	0	0	0	4
HIV patients	0	0	1	0	1
Immigrants	1	0	0	3	3
Mixed Clients	0	0	0	2	2
Offenders	0	0	0	2	2
Women	1	1	0	1	3
Total	5	3	5	11	24

### *1.3.2. Participant Observation*

Participant observation took place between February 1998 and February 2001. The first period was a rather short one that ended in April 1998. It involved my work as an employee of a private planning and management consultant company ('PRISMA'). I was in charge of an E.U. funded project to develop training and employment services for the newly founded 'Office for the Homeless' in the City of Athens. Observations from my participation in this project enrich the formal interviews with the Deputy Mayor and the social workers of the municipality.

The second period, from May 1998 to February 2001, was a period of independent research that went in parallel with my active involvement in a team of volunteers of a third sector organisation, ARSIS. ARSIS is an organisation for the social support of young people facing social exclusion, its clients are aged 15-25 years old and about 1/3 are juvenile delinquents. It runs a shelter for juvenile delinquents and is the only Greek organisation that is a member of FEANTSA<sup>1</sup>.

My participation in the activities of ARSIS started shortly after I undertook a formal interview with two of its founding members. The work of ARSIS makes extensive use of volunteers organised in teams working on particular fields and subjects. I was invited to become a member of the 'team for Housing'. The team consisted of four regular members. The main tasks of the team were 'networking' and 'reflection'.

My introduction to the activities of the team came in a period during which ARSIS was preparing to host the Meeting of the Administrative Council and the Executive Committee of FEANTSA in Athens. My work involved processing of documents forwarded by FEANTSA, taking guided walks in deprived areas of the city and visits to the shelters, and participation in a working group that shaped the policy guidelines of FEANTSA in response to the European Agenda 2000. As my involvement in networking activities progressed, I acted as a 'liaison' between ARSIS and other organisations in the field. In this context, I collaborated with the street magazine 'DROMOLOGIA' and the organisation 'VOLUNTARY WORK' in training of

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<sup>1</sup> FEANTSA: European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless

volunteers, in recruiting vendors and assisting them in selling the magazine. In due course I became the representative of ARSIS in an attempt to organise a Greek Network on Homelessness, which involved 10 Greek NGOs. The networking task gave me the opportunity to visit the sites of work of other organizations, and obtain inside information, which was then introduced and elaborated in interviews. Moreover, it provided me with insights I had not been aware of in interviews and provided a plurality of perceptions or competing views over the events presented in narrations.

Another significant task of the team was that of reflection. We were responding to issues raised by the daily running of the shelter and informed other teams (working in prisons, preparation for employment) about the significance of housing. Because of this reflecting role I became involved in many of the activities undertaken by the other teams and units of ARSIS. I therefore had the opportunity to visit the Female Prisons of *Korydallos* and the Juvenile Prisons of *Avlona*. 'Networking' and 'reflection' were mutually reinforced. Reflection was a channel for transferring information and knowledge from/ to other organisations in a learning process. Similarly, networking was gradually escalating from simple exchange of information to pressure for policy-making. Both processes made me realise the significance of discourse in building collective identities that sustained individual practices.

## **CHAPTER 2: Theoretical framework**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The theoretical framework of the thesis addresses four explanatory themes that have been recently advanced in the U.S. and the European literature on homelessness. Theoretical discussions make extensive reference to: a) the welfare state literature to provide cross-national comparisons of institutional changes and their effects on homelessness; b) theories of governance and policy networks to explain local responses to homelessness; c) different conceptualisations of social exclusion to depict processes of multiple deprivation and individual trajectories to homelessness; d) social constructions and discourses to examine how professionals define homelessness. The theoretical framework aims to show that these themes and their complex interrelationships can be adequately addressed when placed on different analytical levels. Similarly, the same levels can be used to pose research questions of the thesis, to document and analyse homelessness in Greece.



## 2.2. A suggested framework for research on homelessness

The conceptual framework is informed by theoretical elaborations of the so-called structuration school<sup>1</sup> but also allows interfaces with constructionist approaches emphasising the significance of language as a power medium<sup>2</sup>. The framework also integrates contributions by Wolch and Dear (1987, 1993), Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001), Mingione (1998), and Poulantzas (1985a, 1985b) in attempting to grasp how changes in the Welfare State give shape to new urban poverty and homelessness. In elaborating the conceptual framework, reference to particular studies is made in a specimen way as to most relevant, or recent contributions. A detailed discussion can be found in the review of the international literature.

The framework aims to promote a holistic approach that will facilitate the comparative analysis of welfare policies and practices at different spatial scales (Perrons 2001). Diagram 1 brings together various concepts and presents their dialectical relationships<sup>3</sup>. The main concepts are grouped on three analytical levels, namely the social formation (box A), the urban complex (box B), and the management context (box C). Dynamics between the three levels may provide explanations and depict historical or individual trajectories to homelessness. Nonetheless, processes developing through different spatial scales (right-hand side of the diagram) are to be distinguished from the main dimensions and maps of homelessness (left-hand side of the diagram).

The three levels are further elaborated below. The thesis outlines the dynamics between the 'social formation' and the 'urban complex' in the historical development of housing and welfare strategies in Athens (Chapter 4). A typology of shelter spaces

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<sup>1</sup> As, for example, influences of the later work of Giddens in Neale (1997), Pleace (2000). Nonetheless, my approach draws from the earlier work of Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1990, 1997). Bourdieu (1992) himself comments critically on the homelessness literature.

<sup>2</sup> As for example contributions in the collective volume edited by Hutson and Clapham 1999, Cloke et al 2000b develop similar interfaces between discourse analysis, resources and positions of policy actors. Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) provide methodological guidelines for a 'structural-constructivist' application of Critical Discourse Analysis.

<sup>3</sup> Dear and Wolch (1987), Wolch and Dear (1993), Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) develop similar conceptual diagrams for the study of homelessness in the U.S. My diagram is also inspired by Glidden's (1984) 'circuit of social reproduction', and Thrift's (1996) 'major components in the process of structuring'.

and mapping of homelessness will be given in Chapter 5. Relationships, tensions and collaboration between networks of agencies responsible for managing the homeless will be analysed in Chapters 6 and 7.

**DIAGRAM 1**

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

**Dimensions and levels of Homelessness**

**Spatial Scale**

Global/ National  
Maps

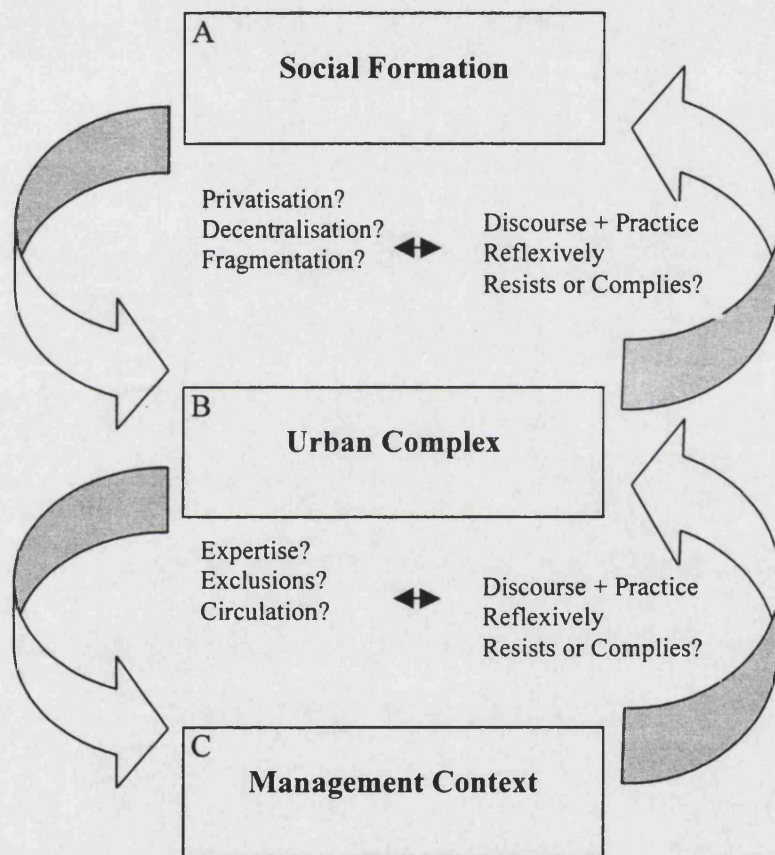
Urban Maps

Shelter Depictions

Global-National

Urban-Local

Highly Local



## **2.3 Dimensions and levels of homelessness**

Taking into account criticisms over positivist definitions, political and ideological biases in documenting homelessness, which has particularly developed in the 1980s in the U.S. (Rossi 1989, Jencks 1994, Blau 1992) it can be argued that it is necessary to distinguish between the main dimensions of homelessness and explanations of homelessness.

Survey techniques in the U.S. have provided methodological tools to quantitatively document key variables including: a) The extent (how many); b) the material conditions of shelter (levels of homelessness); c) The spatial distribution (where); d) social composition of most vulnerable groups (who); e) The persistence and duration (when and for how long). Although these variables are interrelated their relationship should not be considered as primarily a causal one. Their distinct grouping provides the unique character of the phenomenon in different historical periods and geographic scales. As such they may be treated as the main dimensions for the diagnosis of homelessness.

The main concern of geographic inquiry, as well as the main objective of the thesis, is to overcome difficulties and document as accurately as possible the relationships between the first three variables. The study of the spatial dimensions of homelessness also includes institutional elements as best examined in 'landscapes of despair' (Dear Wolch, 1987) or 'functional shelter spaces' (Hopper 1991). However, I am stressing the distinction between spatial forms and the structural or ideal processes shaping them. Hence, spatial constraint or capacity is not to be found in descriptive measures or various maps of homelessness. Otherwise we run the risk of objectifying deprived spaces, in the way in which individualistic approaches have objectified homeless individuals by turning their characteristics into causes (Blau 1992).

Furthermore, spatial dimensions of homelessness can be documented and depicted on different scales (as the left-hand side of diagram highlights). Respectively, there are global and national maps of homelessness (UNCHS 2001, Burt *et al* 1999), urban maps of shelter allocations and social segregation (Zajcyk 1996, Wolch and Dear

1993), and descriptions of shelters and makeshift arrangements (Rollinson 1998). Studies in localised settings stem from laborious ethnographic work but as to advancing the spatial scale quantitative methods predominate. Censuses, surveys, and extrapolations have been a major concern in the US with a view to reaching a national picture of the extent of homelessness (Jencks 1994). The thesis adopts Hopper's (1991) fourfold taxonomy of visible/invisible and formal/informal homelessness, aims to provide estimates for their extent, and to map their spatial distribution in the city of Athens.

## **2.4 The scaling of dialectical explanations**

The main dimensions of homelessness are shaped by the dialectical relationship between (a) structural forces and (b) actors practices that can be identified and analysed across different spatial scales. The dialectical relationship implies that structures can have an influence on actors and, vice versa, that actors can change structural elements. This can be done only by 'positioning of actors' in given institutional settings regulating their differential access to material and cultural resources. A dialectical relationship implies also that structural influences can be both enabling (inclusive) and disabling (exclusive).

Different degrees of 'institutionalisation', 'systemness', or 'habitation' of human conduct can be found as we move across the spatial scale. Acknowledging that social practices and power relationships may exist outside the institutional realm allows us to identify processes of change/reproduction and resistance/ domination in informal settings. Similarly, actors exercise their powers at different levels.

As Thrift (1996) argues, to overcome dichotomies and to establish a link between structure and agency, the social scientists need a third dialectical level. This third level is usually presented as the 'institutional', 'systemic' level, or the 'habitus' (Wolch and DeVerteuil 2001, Bourdieu 1997, 1990, Thrift 1996, Giddens 1984). I suggest there is significant variation of formalisation, power and legitimacy of action across the space-time continuum. Respectively, the hierarchy of contexts within

which collective and individual action develops prompts consideration in terms of incremental processes and networks linking actors on different spatial scales.

To serve the objectives of this research, I introduce between the macro level (the social formation, including the Welfare State as a whole) and the micro level (interaction in the management context) a mediating level (the urban complex). Nonetheless, this is not an institutional level *per se*, to be distinguished from a 'deeper structure' and to be opposed to 'actors'. This is the terrain upon which collective identities and local institutions are built, and equally material resources distributed and exchanged. At all levels, space is not a 'passive' terrain but one already filled with politics and ideology (Keith and Pile 1993). Consequently, all levels are open to struggles in both ideological and material terms. Nonetheless, institutionalisation and legitimisation of competing interests on larger scales exercise significant pressures upon actors attempting to reshape them on smaller scales. Interdependencies and power asymmetries become evident in networks linking national, urban and local actors. Furthermore, change depends on the capacity of actors to move beyond their immediate context-scale and, consequently, networking is a form of collective action and shaping of identities. As state pluralisation and social differentiation advances, change increasingly depends on state-civil society negotiations and societal alliances spanning across different spatio-temporal scales (Keith 1997, Pile 1997).

As actors are always 'positioned' or 'situated' it would seem impossible to distinguish between systemic influences and actors' effects. A similar analytical hazard is a refined 'double translation' (Bourdieu 1990), i.e., a single cause is expressed in two different languages (systemic discourse and action discourse) and as a result we may give the false impression that we are talking of two different causes. To avoid such risks at the conceptual level there are two criteria that enable us to discern the influence of 'practices' from 'systemic' influences: Reflexivity and Domination. Reflexivity refers to the capacity of individual and collective actors to monitor and articulate 'routinised practices', 'institutional arrangements', or 'systemic processes' and their consequences, and respectively modify them. Moreover, reflexivity is a form of knowledge interfering in the formation of collective identities and communities by shared representations, meanings, and discourses (Lee 2000, Lash 1994).

However, reflexivity is a necessary but not adequate condition for change. Moreover, changes may be in the interest of most powerful individuals and groupings within a given institutional setting. Consequently, systemic action is that, which either reproduces existing 'institutions' and 'identities' ('no change') or enforces changes in the direction that existing institutionalised powers wish ('change but no change'). Non-systemic action is that aimed at institutional changes and reshaping of identities in a direction that challenges the existing balance of power ('real change'). Hence, resistance can be understood as a form of non-systemic action, occasionally in direct confrontation to, and, occasionally, outside institutionalised powers and spaces of domination (Keith 1997, Pile 1997).

At all three levels, social constructions regulate and legitimate access of actors to material resources (urban and rural land, means of survival -reproduction and means of production). Competing discourses define possible 'world orders', 'regimes of truth', 'communities', and 'networks'. Dominant constructions sustain social relations across different scales, include or exclude people and places in circuits of social reproduction (cf. Lee R. 2000, 1996, 1995).

## **2.5 The social formation**

Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) discuss the role of changes at the welfare state on the national scale. They emphasise the relative autonomy of the state and the lack of synchronicity between responses to global economic circles and localized social inequalities. Lack of synchronicity and the relative autonomy of the State need be emphasised but their attempt to account for global changes downplays economic interests within a national formation. Similarly, they tend to emphasise the role of ideologies and institutions at the local level and downplay their influence at the national level. In other words, their analysis tends to conflate the economic with the global scale, the political with the national scale and the institutional-ideological with the local scale. Perhaps this picture best depicts different socio-economic powers in the U.S., but this is subject to empirical investigation in other contexts. I am arguing that it is still useful to retain the concept of 'social formation' and address the relative autonomy of the state on the national scale (Poulantzas 1985a, 1982). Moreover, the concept of the social formation allows us examine how the question of land allocation

is linked to institutional arrangements within the state. Thus, we may understand how the articulation of material and ideological relations give birth to national specificities as well as to common cross-national features in welfare regimes.

In order to compare how welfare states perform in alleviating homelessness, it is necessary to compensate for the neglect of various typologies (Leibfried 2000, Abrahamson 1999, Esping Andersen 1990) in dealing with land and housing systems. It has been acknowledged that differences in housing systems put a strain on existing welfare typologies (Kleinman 1998). Limitations of existing welfare models are most evident in difficulties in taxonomising the Greek welfare regime. Depending on the theoretical preferences of authors and their particular subject of study it has been classified as 'residual' (Stassinopoulou 1993), 'corporatist' (Abrahamson 1999, Katrougalos 1996), 'statist-paternalist' (Petmesidou-Tsoulouvi 1996), 'rudimentary' (Leibfried 2000, Matsaganis 2000).

I suggest that the autonomy of the welfare state, its spatial organization and intervention in various spheres of social reproduction can best be understood if we consider the crucial question of land allocation. The resolution of the peasant question, as Mingione (1998) argues, resulted in different institutional and ideological arrangements within the welfare state, reflecting a differentiated class basis beyond capital and labour. Baldwin (1990) historically examines how parliamentary mediation of agrarian and working class coalition prompted in Europe different welfare arrangements in response to global economic pressures.

However, Mingione (1998) does not emphasise processes of social control within various regimes of social regulation. These were best analysed by Poulantzas (1985b) when elaborating how governance of the population and normalisation of the poor within the Welfare State are linked to transitions from an agrarian society to extensive and intensive regimes of accumulation. He further analyses how increasing individualization has been sustained by state intervention in the social sphere facilitating the extraction of relative surplus value. A network of social, employment, housing, reformatory, and psychiatric services develops in parallel with changes in the labour process and manifests a spatial matrix of capitalist relations of social

reproduction. Poulantzas (1985b) was able to detect that policies shift from control of deviance to a generalized management of risks at an individual level.

Nonetheless, a fragmented regime of accumulation prompts a retreat of the state from the social sphere and promotes a mix of welfare providers who hold competing norms and values. Traditional and modern institutions respond differently to risks threatening social reproduction (Perrons 2000, Beck 1992). Thus housing, care and control is undertaken by a Shadow State (Warrington 1994, Wolch and Geiger 1986) of religious and voluntary organisations lacking financial resources and democratic accountability.

Integrating insights from Poulantzas (1985a,b), Mingione (1998), Baldwin (1990), Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) may allow an understanding of the relative autonomy of the state when responding to class interests differentially affected by international changes. Moreover, we might be able to examine how policies addressing homelessness in particular social formations interlace care with control, access to housing with moralistic values. For example, have radical proletarianisation and individualisation in the U.K. contributed to a model of management of the poor different from the one sustained by partial proletarianisation and familism in Southern Europe? Do southern regimes experience processes of depoliticisation, decentralisation, and fragmentation? Is the household economy and small land property the economic base of the Shadow State in southern European countries? What is the institutional and spatial configuration of the Shadow State in southern Europe? Does it consist of traditional (religious and secular charities) agencies linked to centralised and despotic state agencies?

The thesis aims to place the formation of the Greek Welfare State within a broad historical period to examine its somewhat stable properties and then to investigate if new processes are giving rise to social cleavages and dislocations in urban complexes. The review of the main approaches to the Greek welfare state is enhanced with historical sources and contemporary evidence to emphasise the significance of land allocation in shaping ideological and spatial tensions as the state on the one hand responds to external economic changes and on the other hand accommodates internal conflicts.



## 2.6 The urban complex

Increased fragmentation, decentralisation, and privatisation of welfare provisions have been coupled with rhetoric about 'welfare pluralism' and 'urban governance' to guide suggestions for the treatment of homelessness (UNCHS 2001, Hoch 2000, Pleace 2000). To examine novel capacities and constraints of urban actors in enabling access of the homeless to housing and care, it is vital to examine both the rhetoric of their intervention and economic relations as to the (re)productive use of urban land. Moreover, the Balkans in their economic and political development have a distinctive urban culture (Vaiou 1999, Leontidou 1990, Todorov 1986) within which competing discourses of homelessness should be placed.

Historically, the Chicago School and the Disaffiliation School in the U.S. have stressed the moral demise of neighbourhoods in the formation of ghettos and skid rows. Numerous theorisations and critiques of the early approaches of the Chicago School (Marcuse 1996, Hopper 1991, Roppers 1988, Harvey 1988, Wolch and Dear 1987) tend to converge in recognising how deindustrialisation and real estate markets contribute to the spatial segregation of the poor. These processes have been intensified by the victimisation and criminalisation of the homeless, in other words, by local responses directed towards maintaining social order rather than serving the housing and care needs of the homeless. Particularly, the location of services in deprived areas contributed to asymmetries in provisions and circulation of the homeless (Wolch and DeVerteuil 2001, Burt *et al* 1999, Wolch and Dear 1993). A mix of liberal and conservative discourses has sustained the growth of a 'shelter industry' and constrained federal provisions in the fields of housing and income assistance (Hoch 2000, Rossi 1988).

Local variations and policies to address homelessness have but recently been explored and theorized in Europe (Cloke *et al* 2001, Somerville 1999, Mingione 1998, Avramov 1996). Particularly interesting are contributions linking intra-urban concentration of provisions with spatial segregation and the ideology of insertion projects with local environments (Tossi 1998, Wacquant 1998, Zajczyk 1998,).

A British concern, influenced by the literature on 'governance' and 'policy networks', has been to investigate how the issue of homelessness reaches policy arenas (Cloke *et al* 2000, Somerville 1999). Others have stressed that citizenship asymmetries underpin and facilitate the governance of homelessness (Dean 1999, Carlen 1996). Although policy networks transcend divisions between policy implementation and policy formulation as well as between public and private actors the literature remains confined to the study of more or less formalised administrative or political venues. This is a theoretical limitation for the study of homelessness in Greece when informal provisions and makeshift arrangements need be considered alongside access of the homeless to formal venues and services.

Urban land property and informal strategies may facilitate the analysis of homelessness and the contest between global and national pressures in cities of developing countries and in the European South. In this case, local struggles and cultures contest and reshape the establishment of state and civil institutions. The history of Greece as well as the history of Latin American countries<sup>4</sup> provides examples of this process. Leontidou (1989, 1990) and Maloutas (1988, 1990) in Greece emphasise how informal housing strategies have promoted social integration in the absence of formal institutional arrangements.

Nonetheless, the thesis aims to show the limits of informality in sustaining reflexive collectivities and in promoting social integration. It also aims to explore how charity and informal strategies interweave in social control of the poor. Firstly, it addresses the localisation pattern of religious, civil, local and central state agencies in the social fabric of the city and sketches the profile of their clients. Then it examines the administrative and financial autonomy or dependence of agencies on central national and urban authorities. Emphasis is given to common values and hierarchies consolidating networks of shelter and service providers, varying with regard to their clients, the type and quality of services, and their organisational, and financial capacities.

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<sup>4</sup> Mouzelis (1986, 1987) provides a comparison of political institutions and Leontidou (1985) a comparison of urban land struggles

## **2.7 The management context**

Contemporary explanations of homelessness tend to converge and emphasise that vulnerabilities of the homeless are a result of cumulative disadvantages (Hoch 2000 in the US, Pleace 2000 and May 2000 in the UK). However, emphasis on vulnerabilities by official policies has occasionally downplayed the social skills and housing needs of the homeless and furnished justifications of professional interests responding to the temporary needs of the homeless (Wolch and DeVerteuil 2001, Hoch 2000 for the U.S.). Professional dilemmas as well as contradictory representations of homelessness in various management contexts have also been extensively reported in Europe (Soulet 1999, Tossi 1999, Hutson and Liddiard 1994).

Therefore, it is worth examining how the management of agencies responds to national and urban changes, shapes every day practices, and feeds back to the formulation of social policies. Research questions address and contextualise professional dilemmas, distortions and inconsistencies. Is management infiltrated with familistic or individualistic values? Does interaction with the homeless change professional views and every day-practices? Do professionals feel constrained by hierarchy and limited resources or do they resort to given identities of charity and expertise to justify success and failure? Do they habitually exercise exclusions and control over their clients or do they enhance participation and solidarity?

Continuous and multifaceted disqualification of the homeless has been a prominent theme of the European emphasis on social exclusion. Despite different political and theoretical traditions (see Silver 1998, Levine 1996) there is a tendency to emphasise relational factors such as family breakdown, lack of social ties, or mental health problems of the homeless (see Paugam 1999, Avramov 1999, Bernart 1997, Daly M. 1992). This strongly contrasts with US studies that have substantiated significant societal ties and networks amongst the homeless (Wolch and Dear 1993, Law and Wolch 1991).

Over-emphasis on social exclusion as a social-relational problem downplays power asymmetries in service delivery and access to secure housing. In the U.S. the rise of new homelessness in the 1980s prompted critical views that social constructions and individualistic views enhanced vulnerabilities of the homeless rather than addressing housing insecurity (Barak 1992, Hopper 1991, Blau 1991). On the one hand, various studies have provided vivid descriptions of shelter life and interaction between professionals and the homeless, stressing tight bureaucratic rules, surveillance and moralising practices (Wright 1997, Williams 1996, Passaro 1996, Ruddik 1996, Liebow 1993, Golden 1992). On the other hand, policy analysis has focused on how powerful professional interests were consolidated to official policies prioritising care and emergency measures (Hoch 2000, Daly G. 1996). A vicious circle between policy formulation and implementation inhibits real change.

In Europe there has been recent emphasis on social representations, particularly through constructivist influences, to examine how discourses shape policy responses and everyday professional practices (for example, in the U.K. Cloke *et al* 2000a,b,c, Hutson and Clapham 1999, Somerville 1999, Haworth and Manzi 1999, Saugeres 1999, Carlen 1996). This type of analysis advances the significance of actors in shaping their context, contrasts rhetoric to practices, and addresses power differences amongst professionals and the homeless. The framework of the thesis aims to take some of these accounts further to examine how networks are consolidated by professional discourse and practice in a spiral mode. Firstly, hierarchies and dominant discourses infiltrate every day practices of professionals. Then, feedback of interactions with the homeless is transferred via asymmetrical channels to a centralised system of decision-making.

Consequently, 'social exclusion' does not take place in a social sphere of problematic family/interpersonal/informal networks disjoined from an institutional sphere of formal/governance/policy networks. Shelters and social agencies are nodal points where professionals of the shadow state and members of deprived households meet. Similarly, client referrals, professional links, and political affiliations interweave with street and communal ties in shaping individual trajectories to homelessness. Whether these encounters enable or

disable the homeless largely depends on resources available to professionals but also on their capacity to reflect upon their context. In Greece, social exclusion may be produced not only by expert and managerial discourses but also by familistic, paternalistic or religious values distinguishing the deserving from the non-deserving poor, the 'genuine' from the 'non-genuine' homeless. Stereotypes of homelessness may conceal the needs of vulnerable groups (women, youth, children, immigrants) as shelter administrators, social workers, priests, psychiatrists, and probation officers decide upon their treatment.

## **CHAPTER 3: Homelessness in theory and policy practice: an international perspective**

### **3.1. Introduction: a historical and geographical view**

The literature review in this section takes an international perspective to highlight the variety of meanings that homelessness takes on different geographical contexts in the developed world. Reference to third world cities is made simply to highlight the significance of land property and widespread informality. By focusing on the US and the European literature, attention is drawn to the institutional context of the welfare state. Most importantly, it is stressed that many policy formulations and theoretical approaches conceal a significant part of the homeless population and neglect structural causes. Moreover, selective and short-term measures often ignore the needs of the individuals they are supposed to serve. Such policy and theory gaps can be practically assessed by their visible consequences, the increasing number of homeless persons. Nonetheless, policies have not been formulated and implemented without attracting criticisms, evidence for their failures has been produced, and alternative remedies have been suggested. In many cases not much has changed. In search of a knowledgeable theory and effective policy it is best to consider these failures as 'malign neglect' (Wolch and Dear 1993).

The main theme of this chapter is that the institutional and the spatial reconfiguration of the welfare state have profound effects on the main dimensions of homelessness. The sections, which follow, elaborate the argument that this is often a two-stage process. Firstly, wider welfare reforms, which facilitate changes in the modes of capital accumulation, may give rise to poverty and homelessness. Secondly, homelessness is partially acknowledged, managed and ultimately reproduced by selective and fragmented programmes. This process involves many actors in a variety of hierarchically linked institutions and agencies holding competing definitions and

interpretations of the problem. Thus, policy outcomes depend on power differences and struggles and are subject to empirical investigation. The review focuses on structural and constructionist interpretations to inform and develop the conceptual framework of the thesis. However, disaffiliation and individualistic approaches are not ignored but are historically evaluated for their capacity to inform effective policies.

### *3.1.1. A historical outline of homelessness in the USA*

In the USA public attention was first drawn to the problem when after the Civil War a rapidly growing economy required a mobile work force of transient workers, called tramps, travelled across the states to industrial cities to supplement the labour force of settled working-class families. The scale of this movement was closely linked with public order concern, and policing of the dangerous classes (Hoch 1987). Apart from poor housing the tramps were sheltered in police lodgings, which were gradually replaced by public lodging houses instituted by middle-class reformers and philanthropists aiming at rehabilitation via the application of confinement and scientific observation (Hoch 1987). During the inter war years the economic depression increased the number of the poor and homelessness and fuelled local political debates. Some upper-class reformers responded with proposals for larger scale confinement but public support grew for proposals aiming to improve employment and reduce uncertainty of the poor. Such demands were also promoted by a growing class of welfare professionals who, on the one hand, denounced conservative morality but, on the other hand, adopted refined methods of social control (Hoch 1987). 'Tramps', 'hobos', 'bums' as well as charity and reform projects in skid rows were best depicted in studies of the Chicago school (Anderson 1923, Park 1928, 1952, Park and Burgess 1925).

The New Deal, the growth of the War industry, and post-War economic growth brought urban renewal programmes to skid rows and changed the composition of the homeless, who until then had been predominantly the 'old homeless', white, retired, disabled men (Rossi 1992, Ropers 1988). These were depicted by the disaffiliation school, stressing retreatism, alcoholism, and deviance (Bahr and Caplow 1974, Bahr 1973). Examining a variety of municipal lodgings, warehouses, asylums and generalised social control Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) argue that the whole period

from 1830s to 1960s was one of institutionalisation of the poor. Since the 1960s, deinstitutionalisation strategies have attracted the attention of researchers, welfare professionals, and urban administrators because the 'mentally ill' were added to the population of the old homeless and the concentration of traditional charities in downtown areas came to include an increasing number of psychiatric and rehabilitation services (Ropers 1988, Wolch and Dear 1987).

The 1980s have been considered as a shift in the history of homelessness by many of the established figures in the USA literature (Wolch 2001, Blau 1992, Shlay and Rossi 1992, Hopper 1991, Ropers 1988, Hoch 1987). Indeed theoretical and methodological discussions of homelessness have proliferated in the light of a fierce political debate and the rise of new homelessness involving women, families, younger ages, and minorities, who are no longer concentrated in skid row areas. Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001), Blau (1992), Hopper (1991), Ropers (1988) emphasise the underlying processes of deindustrialisation and welfare cuts by the Reagan administration. However, it is necessary to take a critical distance from this period and discern longer-term tendencies, which underlie the politics of the 1980s, and are still in operation today despite political changes. To this end, Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) have argued that a new type of urban poverty management has emerged according to which agencies of the post Fordist welfare state use bureaucratic expediency to displace the homeless and to purify urban public space.

### *3.1.2. A historical outline of homelessness in Europe.*

Homelessness in Europe has its own distinct history and has been associated with vagrancy since the feudal ages. Wars, famines, epidemics, and economic crisis have increased the numbers of the rootless and the poor travellers whilst the feudal rules linked community support to spatial confinement of the labourers (for example, Humphreys account for England, 1999). The rise of capital and industrialisation introduced more tensions in regulating the mobility of the landless or small farmers to cities. Historically, three main modes of capital accumulation have been identified – extensive, intensive and fragmented, for each of which different regimes of social regulation and management of the poor can be explored across various spatial scales (Wolch and DeVerteuil 2001, Mingione 1996a, 1998).



As an extensive mode of accumulation was gradually established the government of population and early social policy approaches attempted to alleviate the detrimental consequences of poverty by constructing and confining certain problem populations (the poor, criminal, sick, insane). In this process the treatment of the homeless has always been subject to policing and restricted entitlements. The historiography of vagrancy documents many contradictory regulations and categorisations amongst rogues, vagabonds, and beggars, as charity and rehabilitation were based on work ethics and on the distinction between those willing to work and those not (Humphreys 1999, Golden 1992, Adams 1990, Rose L. 1988). The economic crisis of the 1920s and the 1930s intensified tensions in European cities, and increased the numbers of the poor and the destitute looking for work and shelter.

Despite variations in European welfare regimes, the period of economic growth and stability from World War II to the early 1970s gave a partial solution to the question of housing as public housing in northern countries and informal housing in those of the south grew together with market mechanisms and covered to a considerable extent the needs of the male-breadwinner families (Lipietz 1998).

Tensions introduced by a new fragmented mode of accumulation have brought new poverty to the European scene and neglected aspects of social control have to be re-assessed in the light of new regimes of social regulation (Mingione 1996a, 1998). The European social policy paradigm has shifted to the discourse of social exclusion at the same time that the new homeless in European cities are being recruited from citizens with increasingly contracted rights to include immigrants, young men and women, managed by networks of penal, psychiatric, and welfare agencies.

### 3.2. Definitions: language or political games?

#### 3.2.1. *Defining homelessness globally*

To categorise definitions researchers often use as a criterion their 'width'. Thus, definitions of the homeless are termed as 'broad' or 'narrow', 'expansive' or 'limited', 'maximal' or 'minimal' (Wright 1997, Glasser 1994, Jencks 1994, Somerville 1992, Cordray & Pion 1991 to mention only a few). This section aims to argue that the distinction between narrow and broad definitions of homelessness is sustained by different theoretical approaches and welfare ideologies. Most significantly, definitions are so starkly linked not only with specific policies to address homelessness but also with wider welfare reforms, domestic and international politics. The debate over definitions breeds in those contexts where statutory responsibility for the citizen's welfare becomes a political issue. Narrow definitions are mainly influenced by positivist or individualistic approaches often used to sustain the restriction of statutory responsibilities. Broad definitions mainly stem from structural and constructionist approaches in attempts to defend social rights and prevent disenfranchisement of citizens. In particular, the discussion, which follows, considers how definitions have addressed, often with limited success, two crucial issues. The first issue refers to the debate between an objective assessment of housing need and the subjective element involved in the recognition of the experience of persons lacking a shelter. The second issue concerns the transient quality of homelessness, which contributes to its invisibility, and which requires the consideration of a wider vector of social needs or risks.

Arguments that defining and measuring homelessness is impossible have internationally served policy neglect (UN 1994, Progress Report on the Realisation of Economic Social and Cultural Rights). Although it has been recognised that there are different levels and risks of homelessness, consensus has been most often achieved at the expense of a wide definition both at national and international level. At the national level, this compromise best becomes evident in the evolution of statutory definitions in the USA and in the UK<sup>1</sup>. The search for a definition that can be

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<sup>1</sup>See in paragraphs, which follow, criticisms over the McKinney Act in the US, the 1977 and the 1996 Housing Acts in the UK.

accepted globally meets with extra difficulties. As Glasser (1994) and Hopper (1991) have commented, detachment definitions that traditionally dominated the English literature make little sense in studying homelessness throughout the world. At the international level the issue of the definition remains in the margins of formal institutions of the U.N. or the E.U. mainly in research, documentation or demonstration activities as developed by HABITAT and FEANTSA. In the U.N. context, homelessness is most often defined in a narrow sense to denote the lack of 'shelter', 'roof', 'dwelling' or 'house' (Springer 2000, UNCHS 1996, 2001).

Significantly, suggestions of adopting a 'neutral' term such as 'houseless' (as suggested for example by Springer 2000, UNCHS 2001) cannot easily remove the degrading aura assigned to roofless or houseless persons in both Western and Third World countries (see, for example, the U.N. 1994 report for negative attitudes towards pavement dwellers in India). To account for both historical and geographical variations Hopper (1991), an academic activist in the U.S., takes a constructionist approach influenced by Simmel's sociological theory. He proposes a four-grid classification of 'shelter space' on the basis of visibility/invisibility and formal/informal accommodation of the homeless. He acknowledges that a broader definition (invisible homelessness) more accurately takes account of a plurality of social needs related to housing as well as various forms of precarious lodging. Nonetheless, he subscribes to a narrow definition of visible homelessness<sup>2</sup>.

### *3.2.2. Defining homelessness in the USA*

Definitions in the USA literature have historically linked homelessness to mobility and emphasised the cultural dimensions shaping the problem. In early approaches the homeless were defined by their way of living or subculture and homelessness was not seen primarily as a housing problem (Blau 1992, Shlay and Rossi 1992). It was mainly after the 1970s that homelessness was more directly linked to the housing situations of individuals. Various factors contributed to this shift, the primary ones

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<sup>2</sup> The thesis adopts and elaborates Hopper's taxonomy in order to empirically document various shelter spaces in Athens (Chapter 5). There are 5 good reasons to explain why an activist like Hopper ultimately subscribes to a narrow definition: a) the fight over a definition is a displacement of the struggle for housing rights and structural measures; b) the debate is Anglo centric in both linguistic and real terms; c) stereotypes of the homeless cannot easily change independently of definition width; d) individuals do not obtain a positive identity as homeless and thus cannot become subjects of social mobilization; e) the homeless have urgent needs to be addressed.

being the emergence of 'new homelessness', significant welfare retrenchment by the Reagan administration, which was opposed by the liberal academic community, and the rise of structural and radical interpretations in social theory. Acknowledgement of housing needs has not downplayed the cultural element, but the new approaches have stressed how social values of professionals and policy-makers have influenced definitions and contributed to the maintenance of homelessness.

Blau (1992) identifies that A.W. Solenberg first used the term 'homeless man' in 1911 to report the results of a large-scale study in Chicago. In his classic study of the hobo Nels Anderson (1923) agreed that Solenberg's definition was 'the best term at hand' to 'include all types of unattached men, tramps, hobos, bums, and the other nameless varieties of the go-about'. Supervised by Park and Burgess for his MA thesis, Anderson provided an ethnographic typology distinguishing between the 'migratory' homeless (the 'seasonal worker', the 'hobo' and the 'tramp') and the 'stationary' homeless (the 'home guard' and the 'bum'). But he emphasised that the distinctions 'are not hard and fast' and that 'the tendency to pass from one group to another is significant for any programme that attempts to deal with the homeless man'. Park (1928, 1952, 1961) himself retained a two-sided view over the mobility of the hobo and the marginal man: on the one hand he was a 'cosmopolitan' and an 'individual with a wider horizon', on the other hand he was a man 'without a cause' who 'lacks a destination'.

Caplow, Bahr and Sternberg took up only one side of Park's marginal man, namely his 'restlessness and lack of destination' to provide the classic definition of the disaffiliation school: 'Homelessness is a condition of detachment from society characterized by the absence or attenuation of the affiliative bonds that link settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures' (Bahr and Caplow 1974). Note that although structures are mentioned housing and material conditions of living are absent. The definition can be applied to both the settled and the unsettled poor and acknowledges various 'degrees of homelessness' on the basis of individual disaffiliation from six social institutions: family, school, work, religion, politics and recreation (Bahr and Caplow 1974).

The detachment definition dominated studies until the 1980s, when research on homelessness was linked to political debates. Particularly at the beginning of the 1980s the adoption of a broad or a narrow definition yielded extremely varied estimates of homelessness. In 1982 Snyder and Hombs came up with a number of 3 million homeless whilst in 1984 a survey of the Department of Housing and Urban Development came up with an estimated figure of 250,000 to 350,000 homeless and stirred up a national controversy as NGOs and activists opposed the Reagan administration. The academic community was engaged in this controversy and many researchers opted, in a positivist fashion, for 'operational' restrictive or middle-range definitions in order to provide more accurate reports (on these lines, see Chemlinsky 1991, Cordray and Pion 1991, Jencks 1994, Rossi 1989, Burt and Cohen 1989, Burt *et al* 1999). Operational definitions and the resulting estimates were accepted as base line figures for discussion although conservative (Kondratas 1991), liberal (Jencks 1994, Rossi 1989, Ropers 1988), radical or socialist ideologies (Wolch and Dear 1993, Blau 1992, Barak 1991, Hopper 1991) in each case have influenced suggested definitions, methodologies, and revised estimates.

It can be argued that operational definitions classifying various forms of shelter are useful because they provide criteria for deciding after which point on the housing continuum homelessness begins. Difficulties in introducing physical standards of adequate housing and quality of living conditions in shelters are partly technical and partly ideological. Moreover, the issue becomes more puzzling as long as 'tenure' needs be considered, because the term introduces the question of housing property and housing rights. If one takes it that a homeless person is one who has no legal rights of residency (Rosenthal 1994), then squatters or many in overcrowding would be considered homeless, but those in welfare hotels would not. Consequently, a time limit becomes necessary to define the period of insecure tenure. Solutions that explicitly introduce institutional facets and values of the researchers can be more helpful in comparisons and in policy-making (cf. Hopper 1991, as referred above).

Another issue for discussion is whether homelessness should be defined in subjective terms, taking into account the experience of individuals in various forms of shelter. This introduces more problems in capturing what is termed hidden homelessness. As Jencks (1994) points out, a subjective standard increases counts in general, but may

decrease counts for particular groups. For example, it is difficult to know if children in foster care or children living with their families in welfare hotels feel homeless. Substantially, the issue relates to the question whether homelessness is voluntary or not, a cultural choice or a forced condition (Jencks 1994). To this end poverty has been suggested as an additional 'objective' criterion by homeless advocates (Jencks 1994).

The U.S. Department of the Environment distinguishes 'worse case housing needs' from 'homeless'. The former are defined as 'unassisted renters with incomes below 50% of the local area median income that pay more than 50% of their income for housing or live in substandard housing' (HUD 2001). The 1987 McKinney Act provided the basis for many studies and policy measures and adopts a restrictive definition. The act refers to the lack of 'fixed, regular, and adequate night-time residence', 'temporary living in shelters and institutions', 'places not designated for sleeping' (as quoted in Burt and Cohen 1989).

Moreover, the documented transition between various levels of homelessness has led researchers to consider in their definition the duration of homelessness and introduce concepts such as 'vulnerability', 'risk', 'precariousness', 'insecurity' and 'instability' (Wolch and Dear 1993, Hopper 1991, Sosin *et al* 1990, Thorns 1990, Rossi 1989). Rossi (1989) emphasises the distinction between precarious housing and homelessness. Others opt to emphasise the fluidity between these two levels, and in such cases precariousness is a concept spanning the housing continuum. Nonetheless, when they have to draw a line, they also distinguish homelessness from inadequate housing or precarious housing (Hopper 1991, Wolch and Dear, Sosin *et al* 1990, Thorns 1990).

### *3.2.3. Defining homelessness in Europe*

Although Europe has its own history of homelessness, largely related to vagrancy, housing problems have been more successfully addressed by the development of various welfare regimes and consequently the debate has not been as fierce as in the USA. However, after the late 1970s homelessness became visible again when the crisis of welfare state prompted the reshaping of European landscapes. As Harvey (1999) comments the term homeless does not translate easily into other European

languages but equivalent terms appear in popular discourse mainly to depict the roofless such as 'sans abri' (French- 'without shelter') or 'wohnunglos' (German- 'without residence'). In administrative language there is often a distinction between inadequate housing and homelessness (Avramov 1996). In contrast to the US the right to housing has been foreseen in the legislation of all E.U. member states at least since the mid 1970s (also taking account of democratic changes in southern political regimes of Spain, Portugal and Greece). Nonetheless, only four countries, France, the U.K., Ireland, and Belgium have concrete legislation directly addressing homelessness more or less narrowly defined (Avramov 1996).

In academic discourse, constructionist influences gradually become evident in both the French and the English-speaking world (as contributions to the collective volume of Hutson and Clapham 1999, Bourdieu 1992). Moreover, attempts to link the role of bureaucratic and academic discourse with the interests of professionals have proliferated (for example, Cloke *et al* 1999, 2000b, 2000c, Somerville 1999 & 1992, Tossi 1996, Hutson and Liddiard 1994). Bourdieu (1992) critically uses the example of positivist authors in the American literature on homelessness to highlight how a 'bureaucratic field' is sustained by language. He provides apt theoretical guidelines on how definitions contribute both to the creation of a professional-scientific 'object' and to different populations they are supposed to serve. Nonetheless, there is no cross-national European research in this direction and, equally, there is limited dialogue between North American and European researchers<sup>3</sup>.

Since the 1990s, FEANTSA and the European Observatory on Homelessness has promoted the collaboration of European researchers and aimed at the formal recognition of the problem at E.U. institutions. In various discussions within the network of activists and researchers, there have been attempts to elaborate concepts like housing deprivation, housing exclusion, and homelessness (for example FEANTSA-SHELTER 1999, Daly M 1991, Avramov 1996, Avramov 1999, Harvey 1999). The organisation has adopted a scaled approach distinguishing between 'bad

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<sup>3</sup> Exemplary but limited cases include Tossi, Marcuse, and Mingione in the collective volume 1996 about the urban underclass, Daly G. compares U.K.-US. -Canada, Wolch and DeVerteuil offer a framework that could guide future comparisons in the collective volume edited by Thrift and May 2000, Burt is taking a positivist stance in the collective volume edited by Avramov 1999.

housing conditions' (to include substandard, overcrowding, and unconventional dwellings), "housing insecurity and stress" (relating to eviction procedures), and 'homelessness' (to include both people sleeping rough and short-term accommodation in shelters or informal accommodation by friends and relatives) (Avramov 1999, HABITAT 1996).

Particularly, in the English-speaking world the debate between objective and subjective definitions has been related to the analysis of the Home/ non- Home dialectic (Somerville 1992). The discussion was substantially enriched by research on women's homelessness (Watson 1999, Tomas and Dittmar 1995, Watson and Austerberry 1986, Watson 1984). Those taking a structural or constructionist perspective argue that the concept is ideologically loaded with familistic or philanthropic meanings not only in official and common sense language (for example Somerville 1992, Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi 1999, Carlen 1996) but also in the consciousness of many homeless persons themselves (Watson 1984, Carlen 1996). They acknowledge that apart from the lack of shelter or poor material conditions, homelessness involves lack of privacy, lack of power in social relations, and lack of control.

Precariousness has entered the scientific vocabulary of the European discussion to acknowledge both widespread risks to the wider population and the multiple facets of the problem (for example, Forrest 1999 with emphasis on England, Paugam 1999 with emphasis on France). Nonetheless such approaches in the European context do not aim to draw lines between the homeless and those precariously housed that can be empirically verified, as is predominantly done in the USA, but rather to emphasise a process of social disqualification (Paugam 1999) or vulnerability (Forrest 1999) related to social exclusion (Tossi 1996, Paugam 1999) and the management of social risks (Forrest 1999). Most statutory definitions and regulations also recognise the variety of social needs, urgency and income. The Housing Act in England is such an example as it makes use of criteria for priority of need. Nonetheless, these criteria narrow down the definition of homelessness and, as have been pointed out by criticism, (Anderson 1999, Jacobs *et al* 1999, Somerville 1999, Evans 1999, Lowe 1998) create obstacles in meeting the needs of the most vulnerable groups (single homeless, women, youth).



### **3.3. Research methods: documenting changing patterns of homelessness**

#### *3.3.1. Documenting homelessness globally*

This section focuses on the difficulties of using quantitative methods to document the magnitude of, and to map and to classify the homeless population. Qualitative studies are mainly presented in the section that follows to challenge positivist explanations and moralistic arguments as to dependency. My purpose is to provide a descriptive picture of the scale of homelessness and its changing pattern particularly in the U.S. and in E.U. countries. Subsequently, I use various sources to highlight the main dimensions of the changing geography and demography of homelessness globally.

Quantitative methods have dominated research in attempts to provide counts and estimates of homeless people. The United States, the U.K. and India provide the best examples of attempts at nationwide censuses and surveys (Glasser 1994). Through the efforts of international organisations and NGO associations, such as FEANTSA and Habitat Coalition, and particularly since the establishment of the U.N. Centre on Human Settlements in 1978, it has been recognised that homelessness affects both the developed and the developing world. Consequently, internationally collaborative efforts have been made to collect relevant data and include homelessness as an indicator of social development. A well-known example is the extensive survey of UNCHS and the World Bank's Housing Indicators Programme, which collected data on 55 housing indicators (homelessness being only one indicator) for 52 cities internationally (Arimah 2000, UNCHS 1996).

Case studies, project studies and area studies involve a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods and most have a strong policy orientation as sponsored by government or international organisations. Emphasis in the third world literature is on describing informal housing and advocating slum improvement (Glasser 1994, also Payne 1993 provide systematic reviews of research on housing markets). In the E.U. research focuses on shelters, supportive accommodation and resettlement units and lags behind the USA literature in providing empirical links between wider urban issues and homelessness. Ethnographic studies have been undertaken to depict and

understand the lives, the culture, and the experience of homelessness and also to contextualise professional cultures or study the interaction of professionals with homeless persons. In this line of qualitative research the USA has a longer tradition through the influence of various sociological schools. Laborious ethnographic work and in-depth case studies have also been developed in settlements of Latin American and Third World cities, whilst women and children are particular subgroups amongst the low income population to which attention has been given (Beall 1997, Chant 1996, Glasser 1994). Qualitative methods have been extensively used in Europe often as part of planning and evaluation studies, but most lack a critical ethnographic gaze.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, the use of biographical material, emphasis on social representations and discourse analysis<sup>5</sup> gradually promote a critical distance from officially sponsored exercises.

### 3.3.2. Documenting Homelessness in the USA

Since the 1980s, many surveys have been conducted in large cities and as to particular subgroups in the USA. The majority of surveys use shelters and services as their source of information (Burt *et al* 1999, James 1991, Burt and Cohen 1987). The prime difficulty in such surveys is to calculate the rate of the shelter to non-shelter population. Area- 'census' studies have also been employed to record persons in the street or atypical shelters (Rossi 1989, Dennis 1991). Particular issues of surveying such as police escorting, payment to respondents, counting during day hours have been issues for criticism in underestimating the homeless population (Jencks 1994, Ropers 1988). Mixed techniques of drawing shelter and client samples have also been applied (Burt *et al* 1999). Climatic considerations, lead researchers to seasonal replication of surveys usually in the winter and spring, but without always revealing significant variation (Rossi 1989, Burt and Aron 2000). Longitudinal studies (Anderton 1991, Sosin *et al* 1990) have proved particularly useful in documenting the transient nature of homelessness.

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<sup>4</sup> See for examples studies of the European Observatory in Avramov 1999 and for the UK the bibliographical review of Klinker *et al* 2000)

<sup>5</sup> See for example the collective volume by Hutson and Clapham 1999, Hutson 1994, Cloke *et al* 2000b, May 1999, Carlen 1996, Hastings 1998, Haworth and Manzi 1999 in the special edition of Urban Studies on discourse analysis, Saugeres 1999 in the Journal "Housing, Theory, and Society"

All methods need consider duration, entry, and exit from homelessness and relevant terms have been applied such as chronic (or long-term), short-term, and episodic (or cyclical) homelessness (Wolch and Dear 1993)<sup>6</sup>. Operationally, one should identify the proportion of first-time homeless (this number is also called 'Incidence of homelessness') and report the median duration of homelessness (Jencks 1994, Rossi 1989). Since all methods rely on sampling and there are no 'original' counts but only 'estimates' deriving from extrapolations<sup>7</sup> there is no method actually counting homeless persons but estimating episodes of homelessness (Wolch and Dear 1993). From 'guess' or 'educated' estimates (Jencks 1994), the rate of homelessness to the general population (usually number of homeless to 1,000 inhabitants) is derived as a comparative measure of the risk of homelessness. To the same purpose, proxy counts on episodes have also been estimated by telephone surveys and advocacy organisations have asked to include relevant questions in census questionnaires.

A main concern has been to provide a federal picture and a chronological trend. To this end, some researches have attempted meticulous calculations and corrections of existing studies (for example, Shlay and Rossi 1992, Jencks 1994). Regardless of technical sophistication, such estimates remain rough and do not significantly vary from initial surveys as long as the latter have employed an operational definition and minimum standards of surveying. While acknowledging their limitations, one can refer to the 1984 HUD survey which estimated 250,000 to 350,000 homeless (homeless rate= 1.1 to 1.5/ 1000), and the Urban Institute Survey in 1987 which estimated 567,000 to 600,000 homeless (homeless rate= 2.3 to 2.5/ 1000) (Burt M., Cohen B. 1989). The Clinton Administration employed a consensus non-counting strategy. The latest National Survey of Homeless Assistance Providers in 1996 was under the auspices of the Interagency Council on the Homeless and was designed by a

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<sup>6</sup> The term 'episodic' or 'cyclical' homelessness suggested by Wolch and Dear (1993) acknowledges that 'people make repeated moves across the boundary between homed and homeless. They are unable to secure stable housing situation and thus are periodically obliged to return to the streets. Ultimately, a cyclically homeless individual makes a permanent exit, thus distinguishing this category from chronic homelessness' (Wolch and Dear 1993 page 41). The term also highlights that a proportion of 'short-term' (first and last time) homeless is smaller than often estimated because many newly homeless people who leave the streets soon become homeless again because of their inability to obtain stable housing (Wolch and Dear 1993). I prefer to make use of the term 'episodic' rather than 'cyclical' because the latter implies a pattern of periodicity, which is not always the case in movements into and out of homelessness.

<sup>7</sup> Such estimates refer to 'time point prevalence' (usually day or week) or 'spatial point prevalence' (city, state).

panel of interest groups and researchers. Data were collected by the US Bureau of Census, and were elaborated by the Urban Institute. The report of the survey stresses that it 'was *not* designed to produce a national count of the number of homeless people', and does not provide any national estimate (Burt *et al*, 1999). The independent release of data by the Urban Institute (Burt and Aron, 2000) raises the number to 862,000, this number being comparable with its 1987 estimate of 600,000 persons<sup>8</sup>. The report of HUD (HUD 2001) calculates 4.9 million households as 'worse case housing needs'. Among them are 3.6 million children, 1.4 million elderly, and 1.3 million disabled adults. This total figure accounts for 4.7% of U.S. households. The general trend is that homelessness has been steadily increasing throughout the last two decades.

Another significant concern has been the composition or the demography of the homeless population. The 'old homeless' were fairly homogeneous, largely white male, single, beyond middle age. Traditional studies have attempted to portray them as deviants. The 'new homeless' are a diverse group increasingly including women, children, families from varied ethnicities and race. Slay and Rossi (1992) point to the political position influencing the distinction between old and new homeless as the emphasis on heterogeneity implies wide spread risk and similarity with the wider population. By reviewing 60 empirical studies they also conclude that the 'population of homeless persons is diverse'. It can be argued that the contrast between old and new homeless is valid as long as changes in the demographic characteristics of the homeless are concerned. These changes can be taken to be merely reflecting the changing composition of the labour force and its mobility in the USA. Most recent national data<sup>9</sup> for 1996 (Burt *et al*, 1999) confirm the argument for heterogeneity. By comparing the 1987 study (Burt and Cohen 1989) and the 1996 study (Burt *et al* 1999) a trend can be identified that the homeless fall within a larger age cohort, are

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<sup>8</sup> The numbers quoted above need be revised so to capture the episodic nature of homelessness. For example, Blau finds that moderate revised estimates for the Urban Institute Survey would give for 1987 1.3 million homeless person throughout the year. Similarly Wolch and Dear estimate between 840,000 to 1.1 million episodes of homelessness during 1991.

<sup>9</sup> The HUD report does not include the 'homeless'. Thus, most recent data in Burt *et al* 1999 concern 1996

less likely to be white, experience shorter spells of homelessness, have a more varied family history, and are better educated<sup>10</sup>.

The geographical distribution of homelessness has been a major object of quantitative studies. According to most recent data (Burt *et al* 1999), the vast majority of clients of homeless programmes are concentrated in urban areas (91%) and only a minority in rural areas (9%). This picture contrasts the spatial distribution of poor households (77% in urban areas and 23% in rural areas<sup>11</sup>). Moreover, regression analysis using poverty, unemployment, housing and social policy expenditures, and social demographic data as independent variables have been also used to explain the concentration of homelessness at both inter-city and intra-city level (Culhane *et al* 1996).

Statistics on mental health and criminality of the homeless are more controversial than statistics on their demographic profile. Are the new homeless 'less deviant' than the old homeless? Psychiatric diagnosis and criminality statistics are often strongly criticised for their cultural and class bias. Relevant statistics on the homeless population suffer from additional problems. The first one concerns the validity of data on mental health status when collected in streets or shelters by non-professionals, to sampling techniques (surveying close to institutions or a particular homeless subgroup), to periodicity of a mental disorder, and to the cause-effect debate (Rossi Shlay and Rossi 1992, Dennis Levine and Osher 1991, Ropers 1988). The second concerns the process of criminalisation of the homeless (Barak 1991). Moreover historical changes in criteria of diagnosis and the law make empirical comparisons impossible. The 1996 survey concludes that no differences were found in proportions experiencing alcohol or drug abuse, or mental health problems. Reported figures support Shlay's and Rossi's (1992) summary of empirical studies in 1980s suggesting that on average one-quarter to one-third of the population of homeless persons has a serious mental health problem. Following Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001), I would argue that the contrast between the old and new homeless, in addition to wider

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<sup>10</sup> 66% have completed 12<sup>th</sup> grade or higher! This finding challenges emphasis of policy measures on education and training.

<sup>11</sup> In part the contrast is due to the adoption of a narrow definition of homelessness, which underestimates homelessness in rural areas and leads to disproportionate supply of 'homeless' programmes in urban areas.

economic and demographic changes reflects changes in social control of the poor. The new homeless as much as the old ones are subjects of criminalisation, victimisation, and low-quality mental health care. The methods for their labelling and partitioning and the places of their containment have changed.

### *3.3.3. Documenting homelessness in Europe*

The lack of statistics and reliable data on homelessness in Europe has been reported by many authors (Cloke *et al* 2001, Avramov 1999, Harvey 1999, Kopfler 1999). This situation in part reflects the low priority homelessness has in the policy agenda of governments but also the lack of resources and expertise amongst pressure groups to undertake large and costly censuses. Several studies have been undertaken on an ad-hoc basis in some European countries in order to provide ministries or statutory agencies a picture of the main dimensions of the problem (Avramov 1999). Most robust examples can be cited from France (Marpsat and Firdion 1999), and Finland, which has established a national system of housing indicators at municipal level (Karkakainen 1999). As Cloke *et al* (2001) put it, the situation is “less bleak” for the U.K. since census counts of rough sleepers and large-scale surveys of single homeless people were undertaken first in the late seventies and a statutory definition has generated data sets on ‘statutory homelessness’ (although serious reservations apply in relation to underestimation – Kemp 1997, Pleace *et al* 1997). Moreover, the government’s ‘Survey of English Housing Conditions’ provides a valuable source for statistical analysis (as, for example, in Burrows 1997, according to which 4.3% of household heads in England have experienced homelessness at least once during a decade).

The European Observatory has provided a good classification of existing research highlighting shelters and agencies as the primary source of data (Avramov 1999). Nonetheless much of the research undertaken suffers from profound methodological problems. Only a few pilot studies, mostly at local or city level, have properly addressed the difficulties of directly accessing homeless persons and use elaborated extrapolation techniques to provide apparently solid estimates (see Kopfler 1999 for Vienna, Williams 1999 for a capture-recapture application in Plymouth, Marpsat and Firdion 1999 for Paris). Secondary sources such as the ‘EUROPANEL’ have raised

hopes for cross-national research (Avramov 1999) and have been utilised in experimental studies (Paugam 1999). Nonetheless, sampling procedures in this particular survey have been designed to address larger population groups and do not allow the drawing of valid conclusions about the homeless population in any European country.

Certainly, the estimates provided by FEANTSA, and reported in the following Table (3.1), are the best available for the 15 European countries. These estimates have the advantage of definitional clarity but are based on extremely controversial assumptions about crucial issues, such as the rate of the shelter to non-shelter population or the duration of homelessness.

**Table 3.1: Estimates of homelessness in Europe**

Conditions of Housing Exclusion	Estimated Number of Persons Annually
<i>Bad Housing Conditions</i>	
Substandard/ Overcrowded Dwellings	15 million
Unconventional Dwellings	2.4 million
<i>Housing Insecurity and Stress</i>	
Under Eviction	1.6 million
Evicted	0.4 million
<i>Homeless</i>	
Rotating between friends, relatives, short-term accommodation	2.7 million
Dependent on public and voluntary services	1.8 million

Source: FEANTSA, Avramov 1999

For methodological reasons mentioned above numbers in the table cannot be considered to reflect the prevalence of homelessness in the general population. Most significantly, the episodic character of homelessness is not adequately addressed and often escapes the European discussion. Also, the numbers significantly underestimate homelessness amongst immigrants, who have not been a priority for analysis by FEANTSA and the European Observatory. Relying on national estimates of the European Observatory, Daly M. (1999) comments that Germany, France and Britain are the three countries with the highest prevalence of use of services by the homeless. She further cautiously concludes that liberal welfare states tend to have the highest levels of homelessness, whilst the Mediterranean and Nordic ones the lowest. Because of the lack of data it is also impossible to have a coherent picture of regional or local

variations of homelessness in Europe. This is a profound disadvantage when considering differences in levels of economic development in Europe. The issue has been acknowledged in the English literature (Cloke *et al* 2001, Barrows 1997) but the results of the two studies point to different interpretations.

Nonetheless, figures in table 3.1 suggest that the magnitude of homelessness in Europe is of no less significance than in the USA. Moreover, criticisms in Europe have not been linked to wider political debates and the problem seems to be ideologically managed through the rhetoric of social inclusion and consensus building mechanisms between NGOs, governments and European institutions.

Although national and cross-national estimates are rather problematic, we do have strong indications that the composition of the homeless in Europe is changing. The finding of traditional studies that single men are more likely to be homeless than women is now enriched with a variety of family histories particularly amongst women (Avramov 1999, Daly M. 1992). Moreover, a trend across countries towards a drop in the average age of homeless persons accompanied by an increase of immigrants amongst the homeless population is observable (Daly M 1991, Avramov 1999). However, in acknowledging that these changes are only a part of wider demographic changes in the population of the new poor the attention of European researchers has shifted to vulnerable groups at risk of homelessness (Avramov 1999, Forrest 1999, Pleace *et al* 1999, Burrows 1997). Apart from economic and societal trends it can be investigated whether an institutional filtering process takes place by endlessly partitioning the most vulnerable groups of the population. For example, homeless families with children in England, both statutory and non-statutory, were not found to be different from average British families (Greve 1997), at the same time the single homeless differ from the statutory homeless in terms of age, gender, and ethnic origin (Kemp 1999).

As in the US, data with regard to mental health and criminality amongst the homeless are controversial. However, in many European countries a significant proportion of homeless persons have experienced some time in a total institution (be that prison or psychiatric institution) (Daly M. 1992). With the lack of supported accommodation, deinstitutionalisation and the shift to community care have in many European



countries contributed to increases in the magnitude of homelessness (Edgar *et al* 2000). In England it was found that homeless persons experience mental health problems at a rate 8 to 11 times higher than in the general population whilst approximately 30% have had an experience with various mental health institutions (Anderson 1997). Victimisation and criminalisation of the homeless has also been an issue for investigation in the U.K. (Fooks and Pantazis 1999, Dean 1999, Carlen 1996). Anderson (1997) reports that more than 50% of single homeless had in their past encounters with correction and penal institutions whilst Carlisle (1997) points to problems in housing ex-offenders.

Changes in the composition of the homeless and their management provide a good indication that widespread socio-economic risks are managed via an ideology, which restricts even limited entitlements to those most affected by these risks. In countries like Greece it is questionable whether strategies of poor households can cope both with housing needs, and with extra tasks for the social care of their vulnerable members (disabled, the elderly, the mentally ill, women, children, and juveniles). It is worth investigating if the latter receive adequate housing and support from civil and state agencies or if they become subjects of victimisation, disciplining, and control.

### 3.4. Explanations: individual or policy syndrome?

#### *3.4.1. Explaining homelessness globally*

This section discusses individualistic, structural and constructionist approaches, which have historically developed to explain the emergence of homelessness and its changing social and geographical patterns. In particular, it stresses how these approaches treat differently the culture and practices of both the professionals and the homeless themselves. As suggested in the theoretical framework of the thesis, the following review aims to highlight how dominant ideologies emerge in a hierarchy of institutional and spatial contexts: a pavement, a service counter, a shelter, a city council. Together with researchers, policy makers, activists, street-level bureaucrats, and the homeless attempt to grasp their immediate and wider context as well as their own actions. Nonetheless, all these actors have different powers and hence some answers are more influential than others. Because of such power differences the validity of various positions is assessed with reference to their real consequences. To the extent that power differentials have detrimental effects, homelessness can be understood as the result of a policy syndrome; its main symptoms are ambiguity, rhetoric, and lack of reflexivity.

As patterns of homelessness differ around the world, the attention of researchers in the South and the North has been attracted to different aspects of the problem and equally their explanations have stressed different causes. In the developing world, explanations centre on issues of rural to urban migration, a history of colonisation which uprooted populations and destroyed traditional modes of survival, disasters and political conflicts which give rise to large numbers of refugees (Glasser 1994). In the developed world, the emergence of 'new homelessness' urged a reconsideration of traditional dichotomies between individualistic and structural explanations. During a period of intensive accumulation different significance, within industrialized countries, was given to the role of housing and the welfare state. The USA literature has been more apt to theoretical innovations and critical thinking in order to explain geographical variations, initially by neglecting the role of the state, whilst the North European literature has been strongly policy-oriented but often missing theoretical links. The end of intensive accumulation and the demise of the welfare state in

Western Europe, the collapse of authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe, increasing poverty in post-industrial and Third World cities pose a challenge for new critical interpretations (see, for example, the collective volume by Kenneth and Marsh 1999). In international organisations this is marked by a search for similarities and, despite a positivist echo, poverty, the lack of adequate income from employment, and affordable accommodation are acknowledged to be the common structural causes of homelessness globally (UNCHS 2001, UNCHS 1996).

### *3.4.2. Explaining homelessness in the USA*

In the USA literature, the concentration of the homeless population in urban areas has historically been an issue for discussion. Similarly dilemmas over 'social control or entitlements' for the poor have predominated in all theoretical and political debates. Nonetheless, the role of the welfare state has been directly addressed only after the emergence of the new homeless in the 1980s. Elaborated theories addressed the spatial dimensions of complex themes such as deinstitutionalisation and deindustrialisation. The geographical emphasis and the theoretical wealth of the USA literature is in part due to the absence of what Europeans came to understand as the institutional welfare state. The underdevelopment of a centralised re-distributive apparatus facilitated the intensification of social, political and spatial tensions. Research, often financed by local, private and voluntary sponsors provided rich and critical pictures of geographic inequalities in a heated political environment. The same factors that gave birth to homelessness have contributed to its rigorous ethnographic study and theorization. The American society has developed its own ethnographic gaze and plural theorizations focusing on questions of social and political power within a liberal regime, which has been rhetorically claiming the values that glue competing interests and individuals together in a harmonised community.

The Chicago School (Burgess 1925, Park 1925, McKenzie 1925) saw mobility as a cause of cultural and behavioural crisis. Although the prominent figures of the Chicago School viewed the 'ghetto', the 'slum', or 'transition areas' in relation to city zoning, biological metaphors were used to stress the pressure of urban transformations exercised upon neighbourhoods, the demise of traditional and informal social control mechanisms, and, finally, the moral demise of individuals. Moreover, both the leading scholars of Chicago and their students gradually shifted away from a cosmopolitan

understanding of the 'Marginal Man' (for example Stonequist 1961, and Park's introduction to his work). Nels Anderson was the figure who depicted the lively, as well as the dark and the grey, aspects of 'Hobohemia'. Anderson (1998) himself in 1961 supplied a historical interpretation of the academic shift in representations of skid row: 'it is clear now, although it was not recognized fully at the time, that the hobo was on his way out...what ever his weaknesses, and I knew them full well, I present him as one of the heroic figures of the frontier'. This interpretation in part reflects a historical change but equally suppresses his own depiction of skid row and 'Hobohemia' as full of contradictions that need not be moralised. In such vivid descriptions the 'prostitute', the 'boy tramp', the 'pervert' looked for work in 'slavery markets', entertained themselves in the 'jungle', and washed cutlery for the next transients that were to take their place. Some of these life forms gave rise to police and philanthropic attacks in slums and to academic representations of detachment.

The disaffiliation school took up the detachment theme of the Chicago scholars when it came to study the changing composition of slums, the economic and political retreat of the hobo. Homelessness was seen as a 'syndrome of retreatism' and the homeless poor were portrayed as 'anomic, inert, and irresponsible' (Caplow and Bahr 1974). Furthermore, retreatism was explained by 'institutional habituation', with the argument that army and navy life, work camps, and railroad gangs contributed to drinking habits and alcoholism (Caplow and Bahr 1974).

Although critical commentary (Blau 1992, Hopper 1991, Barak 1991) over the conservative and individualistic stance of the disaffiliation school is justified, one has to acknowledge that this school has also addressed issues such as social control and stereotypes in order to explain the failure of rehabilitation efforts. Studies of homelessness during the 1960s and 1970s received multiple influences from the prominent sociological schools competing in the U.S. On the one hand functionalist approaches addressed the problem in terms of deviancy and viewed the worlds of the homeless as subcultures sustaining anomic behaviour (Merton 1968, Wallace 1965). On the other hand, the rise of symbolic interactionism, labelling theories, and ethnomethodology- as in the classic works of Goffman (1986, 1994) and Garfinkel (1968) on total institutions- focused on relational and cognitive aspects in human behaviour. Wiseman's (1970) analysis on the social control function of shelters is a

good example of such influences, and particularly her notion of 'reality adjustment' used by treatment staff. According to this notion programme failures are assigned to defections of the homeless and blaming serves redefining the situation when it is in discordance with the initial goals.

Bahr himself (1973) pointed out that experts contribute to stigmatisation and that in a bureaucratic context of rehabilitation administrative definitions of impairment become real conditions imposed on the client. He further ethnographically described how social workers and policemen downplayed and discouraged the homeless and explains disaffiliation as a self-fulfilment prophecy that spread in skid row areas. Imputed defectiveness did not simply concern individuals but neighbourhoods. One can certainly read the influence of the Chicago School in this interpretation, but what is missing is the positive representation of the cosmopolitanism of the hobo and the marginal man. Skid row areas were no more the lively pools of unskilled labour but conservative ideas on disaffiliation explanations become clear, while neglecting to portray solidarity and social mix. Consequently, scientifically refined mission programmes and surveillance methods were suggested particularly to treat alcoholism and fatalism.

In a sympathetic stance towards the disaffiliation school, Rossi (1989) illustrates how the number of the old homeless has gradually diminished, as in the 1960's and the 1970's social security benefits increased, together with subsidised public housing whilst the long-established skid rows shrank as urban development projects gradually removed flophouses in inner cities to replace them with parking plots and later with office buildings. Smaller skid row areas sprouted throughout the cities. The whole picture very much resembles ecological explanations of developing areas exercising increasing pressure on their adjacent skid rows (Burgess 1925). However, Rossi's liberal tone stresses how urban development leads to the disappearance of the old homeless rather than how it gave rise to new homelessness and its containment.

The rise of new homelessness in the 1980s stimulated empirical research but also empiricist explanations. Blau (1992) emphatically notes how distinctions within the population were translated into causes. This methodological and statistical fallacy Blau terms 'objectifying the homeless'. He argues that such accounts were used

politically to persuade the public that the homeless differ from the general population and that statistics on the profile of homeless persons were presented as evidence for individual failures and deviance.

Placing his work within a 'new urban ecology', Ropers (1988) attempts to situate deinstitutionalisation within wider urban changes, deindustrialisation, and the social and housing policies of the Reagan Administration. He terms an 'ecological fallacy' the coincidence of two structural factors: deindustrialisation and deinstitutionalisation leading to the creation of modern skid row. Deindustrialisation led to job displacement whilst deinstitutionalisation was coupled with victim blaming psychiatric practices. Disaffiliation became massive because of the lack of housing and significant cuts in unemployment, housing and welfare programmes. The homeless were concentrated in skid row areas in search of affordable housing and welfare support. However, his rhetorical attack on the Reagan administration encompasses a moral view, which overemphasises the lack of social networks amongst the homeless. In other words a liberal ideology mediates the representation of the homeless as disaffiliated victims of policies. Consequently, he acknowledges a subculture of the homeless, although he assigns it to structural factors.

Hopper (1991) attempts to reassess the disaffiliation and the ecological models of disenfranchisement with a critical constructionist approach. Opposing the theme of detachment, he argues that the definition functions as a label, an act of classification by professionals and experts, which ascribes to the homeless a degraded status, and adopts the collective, often hostile, attitude of society. He argues that the main problem with definitions is that they turn a social state or condition of living into a personal attitude. In this sense the definition itself becomes a cause of homelessness, and is just one amongst many rehabilitation means available to 'correction and therapeutic castes'. He suggests that a social ecological approach could be useful when focusing on coping practices, informality and makeshift economies. He also suggests a corrective reading to 'dogmatic social construction' according to which the exercise of power over the poor is contested by practices of resistance both individually and collectively.

Blau (1992) and Barak (1991) went further than liberal accounts addressing wider structural factors and provided influential studies of the 'political economy of homelessness'. The starting-point of their analysis is also the distinction between old and new homelessness, but they are concerned with different processes of economic restructuring that gave rise to this distinction. In their view, what distinguishes old from new homelessness is that the latter emerged amid affluence and not during a period of economic recession. Interestingly, the political economy perspective of Blau and Barak is enriched with a profound analysis of the ways homelessness is constructed through ideological mediation and disciplinary mechanisms. Blau (1992) explains how reductions in industrial wages were followed by reductions in welfare expenditures through the ideology of dependency. He shows that real estate markets and promotion of homeownership created a housing squeeze instead of a trickle-down effect. He also provides an enlightening account of the failure of deinstitutionalisation as conflicting economic interests initially promoted but finally prevailed over humanitarian concerns. Barak (1991) discusses the 'crisis of affordable housing' as part of a fiscal crisis whose management promoted capital gains and economic restructuring. He also documents how massive displacement of households from their homes was accompanied by severe victimisation and extended criminalisation of the poor.

Dear and Wolch (1987, 1993) in their groundbreaking studies provide an account of the interplay between urban changes and deinstitutionalisation, which escaped both the conservative and the liberal discourse and documented significant societal ties amongst the homeless. In their earlier work (Dear and Wolch 1987) they employed concepts from structuration theory and Foucault to study how shelters and programmes were located in inner city areas and how professional referrals contributed to the creation of a 'welfare ghetto'. The 'welfare ghetto' was depicted as the geographical locus of the welfare state, a configuration of government and voluntary agencies with contradictory interests and control powers over the serviced populations. In particular, they analysed how the NIMBY<sup>12</sup> syndrome affected shelter locations and how emergency 'gate-keeper' services contributed to asymmetries in provisions and in the geography of homelessness. They also documented how

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<sup>12</sup> Not In My Back Yard

perceived client characteristics and assessment criteria resulted in hierarchies of both facilities and clients (Dear 1992, Dear and Gleeson 1991). However, particularly in their later work, they emphasise the transient rather than the constant nature of homelessness and this allowed theoretical space to elaborate on the significance of street networks (Wolch and Dear 1993) and mobility of the homeless (Wolch and Rahimian 1993, Law and Wolch 1990). Moreover, emphasis on episodic rather than chronic homelessness was linked with economic factors regarding housing affordability and economic restructuring in cities (Wolch and Dear 1993, Law and Wolch 1990). The shift of focus to a variety of homeless groups, in part reflecting the changing composition of the homeless in the 1990s mainly to include minorities, allowed Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) to develop a historical account of different modes of management of the urban poor corresponding to changes in organisational powers within the welfare state.

Marcuse (1989, 1996) also supplies an elaborated treatment of homelessness in a context of interweaving urban economic interests and social control mechanisms. He relates his model of the quartered city to homelessness by using New York City as his case study. In the post- Fordist city homelessness has become both quantitatively and qualitatively different and is named 'advanced homelessness'. The city is divided to quarters both in terms of residence (the residential city) and in terms of economic activity (the economic city). 'Advanced homelessness' is a result of expanding gentrification through economic restructuring, and increasing ghettoisation which are followed and further intensified by exclusionary policies and a racial process of victimisation. Indeed, the racial dimension of victimisation and criminalization is a prominent theme in wider discussions of ghettos and the formation of an underclass in American cities (for example Bourdieu *et al* 1999, Wacquant 1996).

The management of urban poverty has shaped the magnitude and the demography of homelessness by promoting short-term responses. Operational and statutory definitions have been linked to a narrow conceptualisation of the problem and have given rise to emergency assistance programmes and shelters. This has been described a policy of 'shelterisation' (Blau 1992), a 'shelter industry' (Rossi, 1989), or a 'shelter complex' (Barak 1992) with adverse affects on the homeless population and limited success in providing secure housing and adequate care (cf. Hoch 2000, Rossi 1989,



Wolch and Dear 1993, Barak 1992, Blau 1991). A major effect of this policy has been the exclusion of persons with substance abuse and mental health problems (Hoch 2000, Liebow 1993). Indeed, this is a surprising finding since shelters are supposed to cover the needs of this population. The incremental response to the problem has paradoxically has led to a specialization of shelters. Single men tend to be concentrated in emergency shelters whilst families and women, often accompanied by children, are doubled up in transitional shelters (Hoch 2000, Jencks 1994). Nonetheless, as Hoch points out (2000) this has primarily been the result of 'selective culling' reflecting both an "interest in minimizing social disruptions within shelters and improving the chances of successful social improvement of those let in". Another significant effect has been asymmetrical provision across states (Wolch and Dear 1993) and across rural and urban areas (Burt *et al* 1999).

Other than these wider accounts many studies have focused on the micro-contexts of exercising and resisting power and acknowledged the significance of language as a power media. Studies referred to below have focused on shelter life and provided vivid ethnographic details of the interaction between professionals and homeless persons. Findings of these studies have questioned the positivist foundations of counting exercises and challenged the representations of the homeless as disaffiliated persons by revaluing the experiences of the homeless persons themselves. The instrumental language of various professionals has been criticised for reproducing naive assumptions about their clients and consolidating the interests of many different providers and charities (Wright 1997, Daly G. 1996, Ruddik 1996). Some have stressed aspects of surveillance and discrimination in shelters (Passaro 1996, Williams 1996). Others, alongside moralising practices of professionals, have highlighted how a spirit of solidarity and tolerance partly compensated for poor quality of shelter and hostile community attitudes (Liebow 1993, Golden 1992). Nonetheless, all studies stress the bad quality of shelter accommodation and the extremely limited resources. The detrimental consequences of bureaucratic procedures, tight regulations, and the generalised ideology of dependency on the fragile conditions of the homeless are also strikingly portrayed in many studies (Timmer *et al* 1994, Liebow 1993, Golden 1992).

A significant number of studies have concentrated on how the homeless have been excluded from the use of public spaces despite tactical opposition by the homeless

themselves and their advocates (Rollinson 1998, Mitchell 1997, Ruddick 1997, Rosenthal 1994, Underwood 1993, Harvey 1992). Some of these accounts were able to link these practices with wider trends of gentrification, symbolic purification of public spaces, and changes in welfare delivery (Wright 1997, Ruddick 1996, Timmer *et al* 1994, Harvey 1992, Rowe and Wolch 1990). This effort was fuelled by an increasing interest in critical geography, which has provided a new theoretical framework for applying traditional ethnographic methods. In this context ethnographic studies were also undertaken for reconsidering the classical works of Goffman (cf.1986), Lefebvre (cf.1991), Castoriadis (cf.1985), and Foucault (cf.1986). Studies by Wright (1997) and Ruddick (1996) on homeless camps and places of youth interaction in Chicago and LA are good examples of such attempts.

#### *3.4.3. Explaining homelessness in Europe*

The European literature since the post-War period is characterised by three main features. Firstly, the European literature is rather reluctant to attempts to theorise the problem. Indeed, this reluctance may be considered a disadvantage of the European literature compared to complex explanations in the USA. Neale (1997a, 1997b) in her instructive reviews of the English literature notes a phenomenon of 'under-theorising' referring both to limited theoretical links to empirical research and to contradictory assumptions of policy measures. Avramov (1999) reaches a similar conclusion about research undertaken in other E.U. countries. Considering also international trends, Pleace (1995) agrees with Neale's arguments and argues that the focus of homelessness research has been very narrow addressing very specific issues, and, thus has failed to establish links with wider social problems.

Secondly, there has been wide cross-national and historical variation regarding the dominance of structural and agency interpretations. Fitzpatrick (1998) notes significant cross-national differences in recognising structural and individual factors of homelessness. Moreover, within many E.U. countries there have been noticeable shifts in the dominant paradigms that have guided policy action (for the U.K. see Cloke *et al* 2000a, Pleace 1998, 2000, Somerville 1999, for changes in selected E.U. countries see the collective volume by Avramov 1999). Most recent conceptualisations have incorporated a large array of influences, ranging from structuration theory to constructionist and post-structuralist accounts, recognising the

role of power practices and language. This trend becomes evident not only in the U.K. (Pleace 2000, Watson 1999, Jacobs *et al* 1999, Carlen 1996) but also in other European countries (see the gradual shift in the reports and publications of FEANTSA since 1991).

Thirdly, most recent research efforts at national and E.U. level increasingly use the concept of social exclusion in an attempt to study multiple dimensions of the problem and elaborate the interrelationship of various factors (Tossi 1996, Anderson 1997, Sahlin 1997, Bernart 1997, Pleace 2000, Harvey 1999, Duffy 1999, Paugam 1999, Soulet 1999).

Rather than offering a comprehensive review, the paragraphs which follow aim to highlight how contemporary explanations of homelessness in Europe address key themes like the lack of affordable housing, unemployment, urban poverty, weakening of societal ties, deinstitutionalisation and criminilisation. The theoretical framework of the thesis (chapter 2) suggests that complex relationships between these themes can be addressed by examining neglected aspects of power and social control of welfare regimes on different spatial scales.

Daly's comparison (1999 as cited above) of the performance of European welfare regimes in combating homelessness is based on a modified version of Esping-Andersen's (1990) taxonomy. However, the lack of data does not allow her to draw any conclusions about the effectiveness of specific policies. There is potential for richer explanations if one focuses on regime differences regarding land, housing, health, and income support systems, which are supposed to absorb wider demographic and economic changes.

Lack of affordable housing and unemployment are predominant references amongst the so-called structural causes (Neale 1997, Carlen 1996, Hutson 1991, Harvey 1999, to mention a few). Although housing is considered to be a problematic area in comparing welfare systems, common trends in European countries since the mid 1970s suggest the collapse of housing policies (Kleinman 1998). A greater role for markets in production and financing of housing, promotion of owner-occupation, deregulation and contraction of social housing has led to profound inequalities

between a contented majority and an impoverished minority (Kleinman 1998). In this context, policies bifurcate between market stability and alleviation of excess poverty and the concept of social exclusion is often rhetorically coined to guide measures for the most vulnerable groups (Tossi 1999, Kleinman 1998).

At the E.U. level, the issue of housing and income assistance does not fall within the financial competences of E.U. institutions. Consequently, conceptualisations and policies of 'social integration' are limited to training and employment. In England the substantial decline in the quantity and quality of social housing supply and the increasing segregation of low-income groups in council housing (Anderson 1997) has been coupled with a familistic ideology in allocation mechanisms, a narrow definition of homelessness and rationing devices deterring the homeless from permanent accommodation. Holistic approaches of regeneration, training, counselling and care services have often been of a rhetorical nature (Kleinman 1998). Segregation of low-income groups in social housing and exclusion of multiple categories of the homeless from accommodation draw a picture of symbolic and artificial partitioning of the poor.

In its most simplistic form the question of structure and agency appears as a tension between explanations stressing the lack of housing and explanations stressing individual pathology and deviance. Since the early 1990s there has been a new dominant paradigm of explanations combining structural and relational factors. In England this has been termed 'new consensus' (Pleace 2000) or 'a political model' (May 2000). As May (2000) critically comments, this approach has combined structural causes with specific vulnerabilities of various homeless subgroups but has over-emphasised the latter and neglected the episodic nature of homelessness. At a European level, the same tendency is evident in stressing relational factors such as family breakdown, lack of social ties, or a history of institutionalisation (Avramov 1999, Paugam 1999, Bernart 1997, Daly M. 1992). These approaches can be criticised on various grounds. For example, by reducing family to a relational aspect one diverts attention from its structural role in Southern European regimes and also bypasses familistic legislation and biased professional practices. Moreover, lack of data and flawed methodologies in cross-national research (as discussed in the

previous section) underestimate the episodic nature of homelessness, which is the best expression of housing insecurity.

Although European research has a long-standing record in studying urban poverty there are only sporadic references to homelessness. Homelessness is studied mainly as a social rather than a spatial phenomenon. Emphasis is given to relational and institutional factors or, in the words of Cloke *et al* (2001, page 23), to 'aspatial areas of shifting homelessness policy contexts'. Nonetheless, the issue of local variations and the importance of local policies have been addressed (Avramov 1996, 1999, Somerville 1999). Moreover, since the mid 1990s there have been significant attempts to bridge this geographical gap in both empirical and theoretical terms. Particularly enlightening are contributions linking homelessness to urban poverty as well as comparisons with the USA literature which include both Northern and Southern European countries (see the collective volume edited by Mingione in 1996). Tossi (1996, 1999) is able to identify in the European context negative examples of policies of compassion and fear aiming at categorization and containment of the homeless and positive examples aiming at lifting the barriers of exclusion. Without neglecting relational factors and life trajectories from poverty to homelessness many authors emphasise the significance of structural factors and particularly unemployment (Zajczyk 1996, Mingione 1996). Silver's approach (1996) to new urban poverty is informative as to the differences terms such as 'underclass' and 'social exclusion' take in different political traditions (Republican, Liberal, Social-democratic) and welfare contexts (USA, France, Germany, the UK). Nonetheless, the issue of land property, crucial for examining North-South differences, is not addressed.

Wacquant's (1996) comparison of the French banlieue and the American ghetto emphasises cross-Atlantic differences in welfare provisions. Nonetheless, his thesis that American ghettos lack welfare infrastructures is not quantitatively accurate (see Dear and Wolch 1987 for 'welfare ghettos' and asymmetry in provisions across states). On the other hand, his argument that statutory penetration in deprived areas in France has promoted community disorganisation and self-fulfilling prophecies very much resembles accounts of the disaffiliation school in the U.S. I suggest it would more enlightening to compare the kind of services and the ideologies of programmes

developed across the Atlantic. Intra-urban concentration of shelters and *insertion* projects should be linked to both socio-spatial segregation (as for example does Zajczyk, 1996 in Italy, Dear and Wolch 1993 in the States) and to the ideologies of providers penetrating deprived areas.

Edgar *et al* (2000) use Abrahamson's (1992) distinction between State, Market, and Civil welfare institutions to link insertion programmes for the homeless with national strategies of deinstitutionalisation in Europe. Nonetheless, they deal with civil society without stressing its differences across the European North and European South. Moreover, humanitarian appeals and civil responses cannot be disassociated from wider trends towards cost-containment, decentralization, and privatisation of health care systems. Consequently, the lack of financing and local support structures has put a strain on psychiatric reforms and aggravated new tensions within communities in the 1980s and in the 1990s (Edgar *et al* 2000, Solivetti 1999 Basaglia 1989, Mangel 1985). Nonetheless, evidence on significant mental health and related alcohol or drug abuse problems of single homeless persons is reported in a rather positivist fashion (Avramov 1999, Anderson 1997, Bines 1997, Pleace and Quilgars 1997, Daly 1991). Significantly, trajectories to homelessness do not relate with direct discharge from penal or mental institutions although a significant number of persons report similar experiences in their biographies (Bines 1997, Daly M. 1992). The same studies reveal that only a minority of homeless receive treatment and that they have significant difficulties in accessing both mental health and housing services. Lack of coordination between health and housing authorities has been viewed as a problem in treatment and access to services (Bines 1997).

The theme of deviance occurs when single parents, unemployed youth and ethnic minorities increasingly become the symbolic targets of an underclass literature and discretionary professional practices (Cloke *et al* 2000a,b, Morris 1996, Carlen 1996). Carlen (1996) provides an outstanding elaboration of ways in which the judicial-penitentiary system interweaves with housing and social agencies to reproduce the conditions of youth homelessness in England. Criminalisation of homelessness, begging and street living have guided not only 'zero tolerance' responses in the UK but also more subtle policing operations (Fooks and Pantazis 1999, Dean 1999). The issue of criminalisation and the housing needs of ex-offenders have not received

attention, although it is more important than widely believed. For example, in England and Wales around 100,000 persons are discharged from prisons every year without any data on their accommodation (Carlisle 1997). The most usual solutions are hostels in poor conditions and temporary accommodation by friends and relatives. Similarly, new phenomena related to drug policing and drug abuse treatments point to complex routes between homelessness, correction, and mental health agencies.

To account for national and local variations in the construction and treatment of heterogeneous vulnerable groups (the mentally ill, minorities, delinquents), the thesis stresses that social care and social control strategies in the civil and the statutory sphere are each time dialectically shaped (civil society shapes the state and the state shapes civil society), and are furthermore based upon different economic relations (land property and relations of production).

### **3.5. Suggested treatments in the 1990s: management or advocacy Networks?**

#### ***3.5.1. Networking globally***

The previous section has considered the ineffectiveness of social policies in addressing widespread and growing homelessness. Two crucial questions can therefore be asked: what are the best measures to tackle the problem and which actors or providers are most competent to design and implement them? Each of the two questions raises a series of dilemmas, which will be empirically illustrated in the Greek case. Thus, it is hoped that it will be possible to locate findings of thesis in the international literature and discuss their policy implications for Greece. With regard to suggested measures the discussion centres on structural or individualistic remedies and includes three controversial themes: the preference for short-term and long-term solutions, the balance between housing and social care measures, the need for specialised treatment and universal policies. With regard to the competences of policy actors and the responsibilities of providers, the debate develops around three key issues: the mix between governmental and non-governmental organisations, the competences of local and central state agencies, and the involvement of homeless persons in policy-making and service delivery.

Not without disputes and conflicts we have come to an era when 'welfare pluralism' and 'urban governance' have become a global ideology infiltrating international, national, and local institutions (cf. UNCHS 2001, Pleace 2000 for the U.K., Hoch 2000 for the U.S.). A new global consensus with regard to institutional pluralism (partnerships, networks, capacity building, NGOs and civil society) often conceals power differences amongst policy actors and economic inequalities<sup>13</sup>. As policy narratives tend to converge on the idea that coordination of decentralised and civil agencies is necessary to sustain holistic approaches, real policy differences can best be discerned when focusing on priorities of policy proposals, and when contrasting rhetoric with practice.

Thus, it is possible to identify two distinct ways of addressing the problem. The first one looks for consensus amongst state, civil and private agencies but neglects their differential access to power and resources. This in effect is a strategy of shifting responsibility to a Shadow State (Wolch and Geiger 1986, Warrington 1995). Discourses of modernisation and expertise introduce refined methods of poverty management, and the theme of dependency slips under measures aimed at social improvement or enabling of the homeless. Moreover, the rhetoric of care promotes particularistic measures, legitimises the contraction of entitlements, and inhibits the formation of wider coalitions. The second way is not confined to mainstream and technically defined policy discussions. By acknowledging the issue of power and economic inequality within civil society, this approach questions the political ideologies of governments, experts, and NGOs. Professionals and planners advocate for and work with the homeless in critical everyday situations, and look for coalitions promoting economic redistribution and secure housing.

### *3.5.2. Networking in the USA*

In the U.S. the liberal ideology is used to sustain wider structural measures such as housing subsidies or public assistance to pay off mortgages, which however intend to promote homeownership ('the American dream'). The conservative ideology introduces the theme of dependency to encourage further privatisation of housing

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<sup>13</sup> A theoretical elaboration of the role of civil society and some good examples as to consensus building and conflict in planning in developing countries in Douglas and Friedman (1998), Beall (1998), Roberts (1995), Burgess *et al* (1997).



provision. During the 1980s and the early 1990s most liberal, radical, and socialist discourses on homelessness emphasised communitarian values to attack government neglect and also to achieve wider support for universal policies. However, radical theorists and activists were those who mainly challenged the advancement of a liberal rhetoric by the Clinton administration.

Since the mid 1990s U.S., urban and welfare policies have been founded upon the concept of the 'continuum of care' (Stegman 1995, Wiseman 1996, Hoch 2000). Hoch (2000) highlights that this concept involves a mixture of liberal and conservative policy views and has become an official policy principle under the pressure of local and charity organisations. According to this hybrid discourse the homeless are supposed to reach social independence first by moving out of the streets to emergency shelters, then to specialised transitional shelters where they would benefit from supportive services so they can enter labour and housing markets (Hoch 2000, Stegman 1995). However, successive governments have used the rhetoric of care in order to postpone wider solutions. It can be argued that the 'continuum of care' approach stands on its head since it places material necessities last in the sequence of priorities. Inverting priorities along the sequence of this continuum can be a more useful strategy. To do this, radical approaches have counter posed the concept of shelter security to the principle of social improvement (Hoch 2000, Wolch and Dear 1993).

In a rather hostile institutional context there has been widespread agreement between liberal and radical approaches to social investment and construction of public housing units in order to bridge the increasing gap between housing demand and housing supply (Lang 1989, Ropers 1988, Rossi 1989, Jencks 1994, Wolch and Dear 1993, Barak 1991, Blau 1992). Nonetheless, despite its rhetoric the Clinton administration did not promote public housing funding (Timmer *et al* 1994). In January 2001 the US Department of Housing and Urban Development admitted that '*The number of units affordable to extremely low income renters dropped by 1997 and 1999 at an accelerated rate, and shortages of housing both affordable and available to these renters actually worsened*' (HUD 2001, page 1). The HUD asked the Congress to '*reverse the tide... (allocating) resources to middle income homeownership rather than affordable rental production*' (HUD 2001, page 12). In this context, Barak's

(1991) alignment with progressive housing programmes still seems to be valid and the following lines of policy-making can be useful: keep housing prices low, preserve SROs<sup>14</sup>, expand social ownership, promote free living facilities and resident control, provide community infrastructures, expand housing produced by non-profit agencies, and expand public grants to reduce private debt.

To cope with the urgency of housing needs it has also been recommended that low-cost housing could be provided by the relaxation of building codes, building conversions and preservation of SRO units utilising informal housing practices and sharing that to large extent developed illegally (Hoch 2000, Barak 1991, Hopper 1991, Burns 1987). This policy contrasts the rhetoric of 'quality' and 'urban aesthetic', which on the one hand devalues distressed public housing estates and on the other idealizes homeownership and promotes private building interests (Mitchell 1997). Alternative radical suggestions include repeal of 'illegal sleeping' laws, tolerance for the use of public spaces by the homeless, or squatting in camps and abandoned buildings (Marcuse 1999, Mitchell 1997, Ruddick 1996, Wright 1997, Rosenthal 1994). Regulatory and financial measures of immediate application and direct enforcement have also been suggested such as rent regulations, eviction controls, anti-redlining efforts, rent assistance, and housing subsidies (Marcuse 1999, Rosenthal 1994, Timer *et al* 1994, Barak 1991)

It has also been suggested that a supply side strategy in labour markets focusing on training and flexibility has not appropriately responded to the needs of young people and minorities (Rosenthal 1994, Timmer *et al* 1994, Wolch and Dear 1993, Rossi 1989). Recognising that employment cannot provide adequate income to cope with housing and care needs and that significant numbers of homeless were in precarious jobs forming only a small part of the 'working poor' has inspired consensus across the following two directions: a) upgrading of benefits and introduction of a national standard; b) expansion of subsidies and benefits to cover categories of families and individuals which have been excluded from policy support and to cover new forms of vulnerability. The Clinton administration continued the strict means tested policy of conservative governments (AFDC, SSI, and food stamps) (Burt *et al* 1999), but the

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<sup>14</sup> Single Room Occupancy Hotels

increasing number of homeless episodes challenges the views of particularistic policies and targeted measures despite increased access to benefits for various categories of individuals. Policies in the direction of benefit upgrading and expansion urge the consideration of universalistic principles and recommendations such as a Guaranteed National Income, a minimum wage, and a 'full employment' policy (Blau 1992, Barak 1991). To finance such measures changes in the tax structure including restoration of progressive income tax or implementation of negative income tax have been advocated (Rosenthal 1994, Blau 1992).

Pushing responsibility on to local governments and charitable organisations has been a constant strategy of the U.S. government (Daly G. 1991). Wolch and Geiger (1986) noticed the emergence of a shadow state providing collective services and administered outside traditional democratic politics challenging conventional assumptions of the benefits of voluntarism, such as democratic administration, recognition of the needs of the poor and cultural pluralism. Religious (34%) and secular non-profit agencies (34%) by far outweigh statutory agencies (14%) in providing shelter and services to the homeless (Burt *et al* 1999). Acknowledging the detrimental effects of this strategy all commentators have stressed the importance of the federal government and particularly it has been recommended that income assistance and housing grants should be pursued at national level (Barak 1991, Blau 1992, Rossi 1989).

When such central provisions have been secured the role of civil and local agencies could be more easily defined. Burt *et al* (1999) found that religious agencies are most likely to provide food programmes, and secular non-profit agencies are more pluralistic but concentrate their efforts on outreach and housing, whilst government agencies are most likely to provide health services. This picture reflects the capacities and priorities of the different agencies and substantiates the argument that the civil sector could under generous financing contribute significantly in meeting housing demand for the homeless (Daly G.1997, Timmer *et al* 1994, Burns 1989). However, other than federal financing, non-profit organisations should also move towards plural forms of social ownership and resident participation to avoid the traditional charity model. Towards this end advocacy work aims not only speak for the homeless but to promote their involvement in planning, building, and designing of their own housing

(Daly G. 1997, Wright 1997, Burns 1989). Furthermore, politicised action beyond planning and delivery has also proved an effective vehicle for the recognition of homelessness, and for defending and promoting in very real terms the rights of the homeless (see Hoch 1989, Barak 1991, and Marcuse 1999 for a historical account of the housing movement).

Moreover, radical suggestions include defensive actions protecting the homeless from the direct exercise of economic or legal violence and providing relief from poor living conditions. A major concern has been to remove the gate-keeping role of selective and transitional shelters (Hoch 2000, Wolch and Dear 1993). Although the significance of specialised treatment is acknowledged, the main concern is to empower the homeless and ensure that social control does not outweigh care. Many stress the significance of a diverse assortment of shared accommodations and mixed shelters served by integrated services functioning as dispersed hubs in the cities (Hoch 2000, Wolch and Dear 1993, Hopper 1991, Barak 1991). Such measures are suggested to reinforce solidarity amongst the homeless, and also to serve and mobilise the surrounding communities. Moreover, in order to deal with stereotypical images of homelessness and discrimination, some have emphasized the importance of meeting simple needs such as showers, laundry, decent clothing, private space, store rooms, and transport (Golden 1992, Liebow 1993, Law and Wolch 1991). Relaxation of bureaucratic procedures and tight regulations together with a more humane spirit has also been advocated. Voluntary work and street level activism is also intended to help the homeless through the bureaucratic labyrinths and judicial procedures and to link the homeless networks with the homed networks (Wolch and Dear 1993, Golden 1992, Liebow 1993, Rosenthal 1994). Indeed, increased outreach efforts by NGOs have counterbalanced benefit contractions and bureaucratic partitioning of the poor and have substantially assisted clients in reaching services and shelters (Rowe *et al* 2001, Rosenthal 1994, Ruddik 1996, Burt *et al* 1999).

### *3.5.3. Networking in Europe*

A variety of political traditions in the countries of the European Union permeate recommendations and changes that have been affected since the 1990s. Liberal discourses became dominant in promoting both market oriented measures and pluralist notions of civil society and citizen participation. However, various hybrids

emerge as hegemonic plans, at various levels of policy-making, come to include social-democratic, republican, and cultural voices (for distinctions see Silver 1996). For example, measures aimed at enabling individuals and rectifying their vulnerabilities echo liberal-communitarian ideas and tend to play down structural interventions. Significantly, when social democratic discourses subsume to liberal dominance, they refrain from redistribution and confine themselves to defending minimum provisions, safety net or springboard measures (as in the U.K.), which at best function as 'trampolines' for households moving once below and once above official poverty levels. Also, measures aimed at social insertion have a French republican origin and are often combined with social-democratic elements (as with the RMI<sup>15</sup> in France). In E.U. institutions a liberal discourse on social exclusion has also dominated and the lack of legislative and implementation mechanisms in the area of housing has constrained critical voices that could further promote empowerment of the homeless and universal policies of redistribution.

Although poverty traps, revolving door phenomena, poor quality of services, institutionalisation in large shelters, and ineffectiveness of innovative measures have been reported (Vincent *et al* 1995, Neale 1997, Carlen 1996, Pleace 2000) Europe has not been said to suffer the symptoms of a 'shelter complex' as in the USA. Nonetheless whether this advantageous picture for Europe corresponds to real conditions has never been documented in numbers. A closer examination should also consider whether a complex process of ideological mediation influences researchers. Reports are often produced as part of evaluation exercises financed via government or E.U. funds in the hope of improvements, which implicitly assume the necessity of consensus amongst other key players such as local authorities and voluntary organisations. Moreover, provisions differ substantially between E.U. countries as they are largely influenced by their welfare regimes.

In this context there has been a consensus that short-term measures are necessary particularly for Southern European countries, which often lack basic facilities and accommodation (Sapounakis 1999). Europe-wide, an increasing demand for shelters by voluntary agencies has been reported, as providers are unable to direct clients

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<sup>15</sup> Revenue Minimum d'Insertion- Minimu Insertion Wage

elsewhere but it is questionable if emergency shelters should be a first step in the continuum of provisions (Karkkainen 1999). Consequently, the issue of filtering and gate keeping that occurs at entry points of the emergency-system although noted (for example Hutson and Liddiard 1994) is not as heavily emphasised as in the U.S. Influenced by the French political traditions, Soulet (1999) succeeds in theorising management and ethical questions in this stressful situation. She acknowledges that social emergency is an administrative construction, which puts professionals at strain between 'civic love' and politicised actions for 'solidarity'. Researchers share the dilemmas of professionals who record an escalation of homelessness. Being concerned about not excluding potential clients from shelters they underestimate poor conditions of services. Similarly, they are locked in between combating stereotypes and recognising the vulnerabilities of their clients (Hutson and Liddiard 1994). However, structural constraints are not easily acknowledged when professionals need to defend their own roles, and under everyday pressure it is easy to represent the homeless as problematic persons<sup>16</sup>. Nonetheless, in the U.K. a specific concern over long-term effects has guided policies of resettlement and, despite debates between vested interests, the need for small and friendly units, responsive to a variety of life styles, preserving privacy, combating loneliness and isolation, enhancing social activities and stable employment has been recognised (Vincent *et al* 1995). Being informed by the European and the U.S. literature, the thesis examines whether similar dilemmas emerge in the Greek context and investigates their effects on service delivery and housing provisions for the homeless in Athens.

The heterogeneity of the homeless population also has important consequences for accommodation and service provisions. As policies diverge from a universal and redistributing character, a variety of specialised agencies and categorical measures need to be so linked as to create a safety net. Otherwise, specialization runs the risk of consolidating various regimes of expertise and endlessly dividing the homeless population. Moreover, categorical measures tend easily to subscribe to normalising principles (Tossi 1999). Consequently, the success of plural provisions addressing a wide range of vulnerabilities largely depends on national policies in three significant areas: housing, employment, and social protection.

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<sup>16</sup> For example Hutson's (1994) findings on representations of the homeless by professionals resemble

These three policy areas have also been prioritised by organisations such as FEANTSA and Shelter (1998) that have campaigned for increased E.U. intervention. Rather than describing a large variety of European measures it is worth identifying key factors, which have sustained the relative success of Scandinavian countries in addressing the issue. What chiefly distinguishes the housing, protection, and employment policies of these countries is their preference for universal principles. Thus, holistic measures addressing poverty, exclusion, and homelessness do not suffer the pressures of welfare divisions described by Kleinman (1998). When housing production was saturated in the early 1990s the state interfered in financial mechanisms through subsidised programmes addressing housing as a public investment (Tulla 1998). Moreover, allocation of social housing dwellings, particularly in Denmark and Sweden, is not selective and discourages segregation (Tulla 1998). Similarly the combination of universal social insurance and selective social assistance schemes<sup>17</sup> is quite effective in both reducing income inequality and in alleviating poverty (Behrendt 2000, Tulla 1998). In the same manner active labour market policies were implemented earlier than in most E.U. countries but not at the expense of social protection measures. Significantly, supported housing schemes and caring for targeted groups have complemented a growing emphasis of deinstitutionalisation (Tulla 1998, Edgar *et al* 2000, Allen 2000). Evidence from the Nordic countries challenges the wisdom of campaigning for a broad definition of homelessness, which dominates much of the English and the US literature. It seems that the debate over a definition is overloaded and is somehow a linguistic displacement of the struggle for universal policies.

Consensus over mixed measures and pluralist provisions is also accompanied by a trend towards decentralization and a shift of responsibilities to voluntary organisations Europe-wide. In the European context, partnerships, communities, and networks are seen as the main vehicles of social inclusion and the significance of advocacy work is not directly addressed as in the U.S. Advantages of the networking approach are seen to emerge from multi-level (E.U., national, local) intervention and from increased

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attempts of normalization documented since the 1960s in the US.

<sup>17</sup> Minimum Income and Social Assistance in many E.U. countries includes a significant component on housing benefits (see E.U. 1999, COM 98/774)

inter-dependencies between governmental and non-governmental organisations. Some stress the importance of networking at E.U. level particularly in creating a community of organisations, which would successfully lobby for wider recognition of the problem and for E.U. structural interventions (Harvey 1999, Avramov 1996). Recent developments regarding the European Social Agenda have raised hopes amongst influential NGOs, such as the EAPN (European Anti-Poverty Network) and FEANTSA, because increased participation of voluntary agencies and access to decent housing have been placed among the common objectives of National Action Plans to fight poverty and social exclusion. On the basis of good-practice examples it has also been argued that the involvement of NGOs and civil society is a way of activating the homeless themselves in self-help measures and of making their voices heard by local communities (Daly G. 1997, 1996). Decentralisation and civic participation has also been seen as a means of democratic service delivery for special groups of clients, reducing professional powers and expertise authority (Edgar *et al* 2000 for Nordic countries, Tossi 1999 for Italy and France).

However, evidence from the U.K. (Somerville 1999, Cloke *et al* 2000a) suggests many difficulties as powerful actors have the ability to shape national and local agendas by using dominant discourses on homelessness. Warrington's (1995) contribution provides an informative link to the US literature. Her study of housing associations in the U.K. challenges the promises of welfare pluralism and in line with the argument of Wolch in the U.S. concludes that voluntary action gives rise to a 'shadow state' by undertaking governmental responsibilities without adequate resources and accountability. Therefore, it is worth investigating if decentralisation and privatisation in southern welfare regimes give rise to a 'shadow state' of traditional institutions responsible for care and control of the poor. In this thesis, I partially address this question by examining the practices and discourses of statutory, civil, and religious shelter providers in Athens.



### 3.6. Conclusions

The review has attempted to contextualize definitions, research methods and interpretations of homelessness by focusing on the changing pattern of the problem in the U.S. and the E.U. On both sides of the Atlantic, narrow definitions of disaffiliation were mostly found to sustain restriction of entitlements whilst broad definitions stressing housing insecurity addressed the needs of large population groups. Nonetheless, research findings have urged various organisations and policy makers to consider various levels of homelessness, periodically affecting most vulnerable groups such as women, youth, and immigrants. Despite a strong positivist influence, research in the U.S. has produced data necessary to elicit discussion and documented the emergence of new homelessness affecting periodically a large number of the population. Lack of reliable data in Europe has inhibited theorisation and political debates although it is acknowledged that homelessness is related to new urban poverty.

Emphasis has been given to structural and constructionist interpretations making reference to wider urban and social policy factors. The USA literature at a very early stage linked homelessness to urban questions (the Chicago School), was dominated by the disaffiliation school in the 1960's and gradually since the 1970s has introduced critical voices. Other than urban factors, deinstitutionalisation and the influence of stereotypes and labelling in addressing the needs of the homeless population has become a major issue in the USA. The European literature has traditionally addressed the problem from the institutional perspective of welfare provisions but has only recently moved to theorizations emphasizing social exclusion and constructionist interpretations of official policies and professional practices. The lack of theorisation of homelessness in Europe parallels the lack of attention to spatial dimensions of various welfare regimes. Nonetheless, there is some evidence that Nordic and Mediterranean welfare regimes perform better than liberal ones in preventing and alleviating homelessness. Indeed, the contrast between the USA and the European literature draws attention to the fact that a mix of liberal and conservative discourses promoted commodification of social reproduction at the expense of increasing vulnerability among the poor.

Since the 1990s, a new global consensus on pluralist provisions has acknowledged the need for care and housing measures. However, a shift of responsibilities to local and voluntaries agencies has promoted categorical and short-term responses. Depoliticisation and bureaucratic expediency have gradually become major features of the management of homelessness by a Shadow State. The U.S. experience challenges the hopes of civil responses by exposing the ideological role of providers, their financial instability, and their lack of accountability. The European experience confirms that measures addressing personal vulnerabilities can be successful when placed within universal policies. As citizenship and rights are renegotiated, advocacy work is necessary to address the pressing needs of the homeless and form wider coalitions to tackle economic and housing insecurity.

## **Chapter 4: Housing and welfare strategies in Athens**

### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter outlines changes in the Greek Social Formation and in the Urban Complex of Athens, which have shaped patterns of social welfare and deprivation in different historical periods. First, the historical development of the urban complex is discussed by placing emphasis on changes in the production and employment structure, which absorbed large population movements. This discussion is mainly concerned with the allocation of material resources through both formal capitalist relations and through informal economic relations including the hidden and the household economy. Next, I attempt to establish the links between housing and welfare beginning with a review of the main theoretical approaches of the Greek welfare state. The question of land is examined together with cultural resources, knowledge, discourses and representations sustaining the relations of social reproduction. Thus, a diversified picture of the Greek welfare regime and of the urban complex includes the roles and positions of various social groupings other than the working class and capital. Then, I consider the main housing and welfare policies formulated through interaction of key social actors during the post-War period. Emphasis is given to systemic and social integration of the urban poor, i.e., to the treatment of the poor by traditional institutions as well as to attempts of households to escape marginalisation.

A historical perspective has been adopted to present the significance of both systemic forces and social practices in the interrelated fields of welfare and housing as they are considered to have had a significant influence, both in the past and in the present, on the main dimensions of homelessness. Moreover, 'systemness' and 'habitation' of practices are better discerned over a long period of time. Some of them are still shaping the urban complex of the city today and thus have a direct influence on contemporary homelessness.

Another reason for taking a historical perspective is that welfare and housing practices vary across social subjects. In addition to that, material and cultural practices change across time-space scales and consequently have diversified effects over the individual life course and the lived history of the city. Hence, reflexivity, imagination, and association can equally shape the practices of individuals towards unforeseen life paths and the practices of collective agents towards unpredictable social directions.

#### **4.2. Urbanisation: population growth, employment structure and informality**

In order to understand changes underlying the development of the Greek social formation one needs to start with a summary of the elements of the economic structure. Reference is made to those features, which remain relatively stable throughout the whole period since the formation of the bourgeois Greek state. It is mainly changes in the relationship of these elements that can be discerned in the periodisation that follows. In brief, those features concern:

1. A Capitalist Mode of Production (CMP) is dominant over Simple Commodity Production (SCP) in agriculture and in industry (cf. Mouzelis 1978). The CMP is linked to the SCP in such a way as to maintain its own growth but without either destroying or helping the SCP develop (Mouzelis, 1978)<sup>1</sup>.
2. At the top of the hierarchy of capital is financial, shipping and commercial capital. Industrial capital is strengthened only in certain historical periods. This hierarchy is only partly reflected in employment and GNP shares or in shifts in shares between the primary, the secondary, and the tertiary sectors (Milios 1988, Mouzelis 1978, Tsoucalas 1969)
3. A large informal sector facilitates the reproduction of capitalist relations, i.e. capital and labour (Vaiou & Hadjimichalis 1997, Leontidou 1990). However, the informal sector is always shaped in association with the functions and the formal outreach of the 'welfare state'. Thus, the informal sector should be defined so as to

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<sup>1</sup> Vergopoulos (1978) and Psychogios (1995) differ from Mouzelis' position (1978) that an SCP exists in agriculture, but equally stress how the peasant household was historically subsumed within capitalist relations of reproduction. Hadjimichalis (1987) discusses the role of 'Petty Commodity Production' in agriculture in sustaining regional differentiation in Greece. Lipietz (1990) in his discussion of peripheral Fordism argues that Greece is closer to the 'old division of labour'.

include the non-statutory regulated (not only the illegal) activities within the CMP, the SCP and the welfare state and the exchanges between them

#### *4.2.1. Nineteenth century - World War II: The rise of capital and the formation of popular strata*

From the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century economic mechanisms took over the role of political authoritative mechanisms (Bavarian administration) in fuelling urban expansion (Burgel, 1976). This is a period of urbanisation during which the formation of capital and of the 'popular strata' is a dual process, which runs in phases (Leontidou 1990). Although it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between the two phases, in chronological terms the 'Minor Asia Disaster'<sup>2</sup> (1922) marks the most important shift in both structural and processual aspects.

The first phase included a concentration of population due to political reasons, such as the territorial delineation of the state, and economic reasons, such as the decline of old commercial centres and rural poverty. In the view of Burgel (1976), the speculative spirit of commercial capitalists and landowners accommodated demographic expansion and controlled the development of the city. To Leontidou (1990) this had been a phase of urbanisation characterised by the dominance of a comprador bourgeoisie and wide spread marginalisation.

The second phase, which accelerated after 1920, included the strengthening of industrial capital, which resulted on the one hand in the social transformation of traditional bourgeois strata and on the other hand in the transformation of a transit proletariat to causal and formal proletariat (Tsoucalas 1969, Elefantis 1999, Leontidou

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<sup>2</sup> Greek troops embarked to Asia Minor in 1919 with the support of the Entente. The Treaty of Sevres (1920) recognized Greek sovereignty in the Aegean islands and in East Thrace, and established Greek command in the region of Smyrni. The agreement was opposed by Kemal and also prompted dreams of a greater Greece championed by the liberal Prime Minister Venizelos who was supported by the British foreign policy. At the same time political forces of the Greek monarchy promoted a pacifistic campaign aligning with conservative parties and the positions of Germany. After a change of government in Greece the Entente refrained from supporting Greece. The Turks defeated Greek troops and 1.5 million Greek residents of Asia Minor fled to Greece. With the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) Greece denounced territorial claims over the region.

1990). It is also during this period that the main state institutions are established to regulate the labour market (Liakos, 1993, Tsoucalas, 1969). Consequently, it is mainly from this period onwards that we may talk about the co-existence of a formal and an informal sector.

During the first period, a rapid migratory movement escalated and by the end of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the population of the city was 453,002, accounting for 40.15% of the population of Greece (Leontidou, 1989). Areas of origin of the migrants were diversified including old commercial centres, declining semi-urban areas, and villages on the mainland and in islands (Burgel, 1976). However, the majority of incomers were from rural areas (Leontidou, 1989, 1990). This rural exodus led on the one hand to a domestic movement towards the City of Athens and Piraeus and on the other hand to emigration flows to the USA (Leontidou, 1990). Athens acted as a transit camp where the fortunes of incoming populations and scarce employment opportunities were determined by skills already acquired in the place of origin, by various channels of mediation, and by an entrepreneurial spirit developed to satisfy the demand for goods and services of the upper social strata (Leontidou 1989, 1990, Korasidou 1995). Although the first industrial establishments were located in Athens its economy was still dominated by administrative and commercial activities. Workers were mainly recruited in the commercial fleet and in mining. Pockets of poverty multiplied and the composition of the urban poor was changing. At the beginning of the twentieth century the poor were said to be 'shabby refugees', in contrast with representations of the poor in the nineteenth century that mainly included 'displaced veterans of the fight for independence' (Korasidou 1995). These migrants most often came alone without any family members in the city. The majority of these people were not directed to the industrial sector (only 13%) but worked as servants (25%) (Korasidou 1995, Burgel 1976). The same is true of immigrants (61% of those immigrating were classified as non-industrial workers and servants, Leontidou, 1989, 1990). Women and children represented 46.5% of industrial employees (Korasidou, 1995) and occupied the less skilled and worst paid jobs (Leontidou 1989). Along with those who were fortunate enough to find a job as servants, or practised their craft in manufacturing, commerce, and constructions, beggars wandered in the inner city and the port.

During the second phase starting on the eve of the twentieth century, industry was gradually transforming the Greater Athens area and its port Piraeus from a comprador city to a transitional urban formation (Leontidou 1989, 1990). The urban geography of Athens was radically transformed in the decade of the 1920s following the Minor Asia Disaster (1922), which resulted in both a loss of Greek territory and the repatriation of 1.3 million refugees. As a result, Athens experienced a population pressure and in a period of less than ten years doubled its population. By 1928, 802,000 inhabitants (33.2% of whom were refugees from Asia Minor) accounted for 12.9% of the Greek population (Leontidou 1990). In the subsequent decade of the 1930s, despite slower rates of urbanisation, Athens became a conurbation of over one million people. Its production base and employment structure had undergone significant changes, with the industrial sector concentrating 34.2% of employment (Leontidou 1990). It was primarily in the decade prior to World War II during which Athens was transformed from a 'parasitic city' to a productive agglomeration (Leontidou 1989, 1990). As the main social legislation was passed after long-standing manoeuvres and initiatives undertaken by the central state (Liakos 1993, Mouzelis, 1984, Tsoucalas, 1969), a regulated labour market emerged and the foundations of the social institutions were laid, despite their fragmented and politically controlled functions. At the same time, the growth of the informal sector resulted from increases in small manufacturing firms, independent artisans, and various co-operatives alongside larger firms (Leontidou, 1990). Both large and small firms demanded state protection in international and domestic trade to compensate for their difficulties in coping with social legislation (Liakos 1993).

#### *4.2.2. The post-War period: from industrialisation and centralisation to de-industrialisation and stagnation*

Following the Second World War and the Greek Civil War (1946-49), Athens became a demographic magnet, as depicted in Table 4.1, and was transformed into a metropolitan city.

Table 4.1: Population of Greater Athens Area in Post-War Period

	Population	% Increase	% Of Entire Population
1951	1,379,000		18.1
1961	1,852,000	34.3	22.1
1971	2,540,000	37.1	29.0
1981	3,027,000	19.2	31.1
1991	3,072,922	1.5	29.9
2001*	3,179,872	3.4	29.0

Source: NSSG, Population Censuses, \* Preliminary data

By reading table 4.1 one can also discern two-sub periods of the evolution of population since the 1940s. The first period which lasted until the 1970s, was one of accelerating population growth and, as will be discussed later, intense industrialisation. The second one starting in the early '70s is characterised by a slow-down of population growth and de-industrialisation.

#### *The 1950s and 1960s: Industrialisation and Concentration*

The first period of population growth was the period of rural exodus which can be explained by two main factors: during and immediately after the War and the Civil War the increase of the urban population was due to political reasons as towns became places for refugees of the Left forced out of villages by the authorities. Another 100,000 people left Greece for Eastern Europe as political refugees (Leontidou 1990). Then the influence of economic factors became prominent during the next two decades (1950-1960) contributing to the inflow of the rural population to the city as well as to



emigration flows to the USA and to Northern European countries (Leontidou 1990). The peak of domestic migration and immigration was reached in the first period of the 1960s. 'Push' factors for such a migratory movement related to rural poverty, economic monoculture, surplus labour in agriculture, and farm fragmentation (Repas, 1978). Amongst benefits of emigration to Northern Europe one should include low rates of unemployment, relaxed social tension, finance to families left behind through remittances (remittances amounted to 4-5% of GDP and 1/3 of invisible receipts during that period). Demographic stagnation, rural depopulation, and the drain of productive labour were considered to be the major costs of immigration (Repas 1978). According to Leontidou (1990), in the early 1960s the majority of immigrants belonged to the working class as Athens was a pool of, mainly male, step-immigrants to destinations abroad, but as the economy of city was strengthening, the pattern was reversed in the second half of the '60s and rural surplus labour, predominantly female, fuelled the growth of the city.

During the 1960s economic centralisation was further intensified, as dynamic sectors of the Greek economy were concentrated in Athens. Leontidou (1990) provides convincing evidence for the existence of a large working class in Athens, contrary to views (Filiás 1996, Tsoucalas 1969, Mouzelis 1978) that stress the role of tertiary sector and 'non-productive' activities in shaping the social structure. Moreover, Leontidou (1989, 1990) stresses the importance of the informal economy spreading in both the secondary and the tertiary sector and consisting of both casual and petty service labour. She also highlights social and local ties linking a dual labour market with the informal sector. Informal networks placed women unskilled workers in factories as part of the casual proletariat but most significantly in the informal sector of personal services, servants, and non-waged family members.

Nonetheless, in acknowledging the importance of informality in shaping the working class, one should not disregard the role of the middle classes in the socio-economic development of the city. In particular, I would like to stress the growth of public employment upon which theories of the petty bourgeois nature of Greek society are founded (Tsoucalas, 1987a, 1987b). The role of public employment has been analysed as the major mechanism for the social integration of rural populations. The social

mobility of agrarian classes was largely facilitated by a two-fold process of educational mobility and recruitment to the public sector or services in the private sector.

### *The 1970s and 1980s: Tertiarisation, De-industrialisation, and Stagnation*

The period from the beginning of the '70s to the beginning of the '80s is one of a prolonged economic crisis with manufacturing experiencing a serious decline in output and investment. The crisis particularly hit large industrial complexes of capital and intermediary goods based on Fordist large-scale production, whilst traditional sectors of consumer goods (food, drinks) managed to survive. Statistical evidence cannot sustain the view that a sectoral restructuring took place (Christopoulos 1995). What the Greek industry has experienced was mostly the ability of small-scale and often localised production systems to resist the crisis often by defensive strategies alongside the decline of industrial poles (Vaïou & Hadjimichalis 1997). In this sense there was a mixed pattern of de-industrialising trends in congested maturing urban poles together with the rise of intermediate regions based on low-cost industrial labour, intensive farming, and tourism (Vaïou & Hadjimichalis 1997, Economou, 1993).

Tertiarisation of production and growth of services was coupled with increases of female participation rates in the labour force. The growth of employment in services during the 1980s was also due to the growth of public employment. As, however, by the mid 1980s the economic crisis was spreading and the valve of the public sector could not operate because of fiscal constraints, the country and the city experienced the highest unemployment rates of the post-War period, mostly affecting women and younger generations.

Population trends have developed parallel to economic ones. Comparative results of population censuses, between 1981 and 1991, show that the annual rate of population growth fell to approximately 0.25 per cent. Moreover, population concentration in Greater Athens has been recorded together with an expansion of medium-sized cities (Maratou Alipranti, 1993).

### *The 1990s: Escalation of incoming migration*

Apart from the continuation of trends already evidenced since the '80s and discussed above, the most significant phenomenon in the 1990s was the escalation of incoming migration. Because of its novel character, it had important economic and particularly political implications. Two main sources of flows should be mentioned:

(i) Economic refugees from the Balkans and Eastern Europe uprooted by economic and social upheaval following the collapse of political regimes. Estimates of various sources indicate that the number of aliens from non-EU countries in Greece has risen to 500,000-600,000- a number which accounts approximately for 10% of the labour force. Of this total, Albanians number 200,000- 300,000 (nearly half of all aliens), Eastern and Central Europeans (Poles) 100,000, other Balkan nationals amount to 100,000, and emigrants from the Near East and Filipinos to 50,000.

(ii) Black Sea Greeks (*Pontioi*), by virtue of their descent, have been given the right to resettle from Russia. Black Sea Greeks have a long history of settlement on the Black Sea Coast (*Pontos*), which goes back to the eighth century. After the collapse of the Byzantine Empire they spread over the Russian regions. The last historical migration movement was recorded in the period 1914-1924 when out of the 700,000 settled in Minor Asia approximately 350,000 managed to survive following their roots to Caucasus where they developed flourishing communities until the Stalin era, when they were persecuted, killed and exiled. The Krushchev liberisation period initiated a repatriation movement to Greece, which was disrupted by the rise of the dictatorship there. Twenty thousand people were repatriated during the perestroika period, but the numbers have escalated in recent years. Out of 500,000 still living in Russia 20,000 people resettled between 1966-1988 but in the last decade this has escalated to nearly 60,000 (Mestheneos 1997, Sapounakis 1997). As these figures come from official sources, one should add an extra of 60,000-150,000, a figure that is difficult to verify because also of illegal practices involving the Russian mafia and attempts to legalise Russian citizens not of Greek origin (Kassimati, 1998).

Those populations are absorbed into the informal economy, depending on temporal and geographical variations in demand and on the basis of various selection criteria such as legal status, origin and gender. In rural Greece, a large number (mostly of Albanians) are seasonally employed in agriculture. In the urban economy, women are employed as servants and cleaners and men work in transport and construction. The urban economy also provides a place for the development of illegal activities including a growing sex industry and drug trafficking (Psimmenos, 1995, 1998).

#### **4.3. Housing and welfare: a review of the main approaches**

Although reference to housing issues is often made in economic (e.g., Iakokovidis 1995, Peirounakis 1997), social and planning studies (e.g., Hastaoglou *et al*, 1987, 1993, Emanuel *et al* 1996, Kouveli 1995, Kouveli 1997), their systematic treatment in terms of social theory is often limited. There are two main approaches, which provide a detailed analysis of housing in Greece with a solid framework utilising social theory concepts: the works of Leontidou (1985, 1989, 1990), and of Economou (1993, 1992, 1988) and Maloutas (1993, 1992, 1990, 1988). The review of literature undertaken in this section is for this reason based on these two approaches. Nonetheless, before embarking on any discussion of the role of housing in social welfare one needs to mention the most important, constant and indisputable of its features since World War II.

The first one is the stability of tenure patterns with owner occupation at 70% during the whole post-War period. The second one is the negligible role of public housing and state assistance. Subsidised rent is non-existent and social housing is limited to labour aristocracy and state housing loans to civil servants. It was only in the immediate post-War period that public investment amounted to 33-37% of the total housing investment, to fall shortly by the end of the '50s to 10-15% and never to rise again over 2% since 1972.

In the light of such a striking absence of state provision and significance of owner occupation, most references (Hastaoglou *et al*, 1987, 1993, Getimis 1994, Emanuel *et*

*al* 1996, Kouveli 1995, Kouveli 1997, Leontidou 1990, Maloutas 1988) stress the role of family strategies and political processes in the sustaining of these features. However, these factors are each time placed within a different conceptual framework the approaches discussed below as the most exemplary cases.

Leontidou's (1985, 1989, 1990) approach places emphasis on social action and practices of social classes within the urban complex. Furthermore, this approach pays attention to the formation and disposition of a working class and to the distinction between an informal and a formal housing sector. The approach taken by Economou (1992, 1988) and Maloutas (1993, 1992, 1990, 1988) stresses systemic forces rather than social action and links the 'land-ownership and housing system- (LHS)' with the welfare system. Moreover, this latter approach emphasises the role of the middle classes and widespread speculative practices.

Another source of differences is the historical period under consideration. As the point of departure for Leontidou (1989, 1990) is the beginning of the twentieth century, she not only sheds light on the role of housing in the formation of the working class, an analysis not disputed by Economou and Maloutas (1988), but also clarifies how the formal sector of the housing market became dominant over the informal sector that had initially been spontaneously developed by the working class. Economou and Maloutas (1988) rather stress the 'autonomy' of housing practices from the market. Furthermore, and this is perhaps the major difference, Economou and Maloutas (1988) cannot trace any 'anti-capitalist' tendency in informality or autonomy. On the contrary, they argue that this is a function of legitimisation of middle class reproduction patterns. Because Leontidou (1990) also acknowledges this function during the period of the dominance of the formal market, the two approaches in my view are complementary. In other words 'informality' or 'autonomy' should be placed within a different historical context: in the first period they serve strategies of 'self-sufficiency' and in the second period they serve 'aspirations of upward mobility', as discussed in the sections which follow.

This historical shift is reflected in the theoretical discourse of the two approaches discussed. Leontidou (1985, 1989, 1990) stresses social integration as long as

practices of classes are not subsumed under the speculative spirit of the formal sector. Maloutas (1993, 1992, 1990, 1988) and Economou (1992, 1988) stress systemic factors because during the second period welfare strategies facilitate system reproduction. In other words, the system-social integration dichotomy simply reflects the gradual dominance of middle class strategies of social reproduction. Initially, working class strategies used traditional values and reciprocity to sustain resistance but gradually the same strategies were used to obtain a middle class social status. However, it is questionable whether these values provided adequate care for vulnerable members of households and whether today they can cope with new social cleavages.

Systemic elements in Leontidou's (cf. 1990) approach are founded on the analogy between urban and social formations. Thus, she is able to identify a dominant and a subordinate mode of land allocation, which have co-existed throughout the development of Athens. The dominant mode of the market relies on competition and on the rent-paying ability of social classes. Alongside the market the subordinate mode or the informal mode is geographically located on the urban periphery and socially confined to the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. The growth of the informal mode is sustained by social polyvalence (multiple employment, see also Tsoucalas 1987a) and land colonisation performed by family and informal networks. From a systemic point of view, the integration of the two modes is not fully determined. In other words, neither the dominance of the market nor the dominance of the informal housing sector is given. At this point, a theory of popular culture is brought into her framework of analysis. From a cultural point of view each mode corresponds to different cultures. The culture of the market is based on values of possessiveness, competition and economic exploitation. The culture of the informal sector may be either reflecting the attitudes of dominant classes, and in this case systemic integration is achieved through cultural hegemony, or it may be reflecting values of popular strata such as reciprocity, mutuality, use value of housing and residence. In her view the 'end of spontaneity' in urban growth and the dominance of the formal housing sector and of middle class values can be traced to the end of the 1960s. Unless we regard culture as a pure non-systemic element, a view I do not share, the analysis is still tied to the role of systemic forces. However, as explained later the distinction between different types

of action characterised by different cultural features allows for the use of concepts of human agency and a theory of practice.

In their joint publications Economou and Maloutas (cf. 1988,1992) share the view that the underdevelopment of the welfare state is due to the development of a Land-ownership Housing System (LHS), which served the interests of the middle classes. By taking a comparative approach they conclude that the LHS should be understood as the 'functional equivalent' of the welfare state in Western Fordist economies. In separate publications each of them shed light on different aspects of the housing-welfare relationship. Economou (1988, 1993) identifies two key analogies between the Greek LHS and fordist welfare systems: a) at the level of capital accumulation the LHS fuelled the development of urban economies, b) at the level of the reproduction of labour power the LHS replaced state welfare by establishing a middle class familistic pattern of reproduction.

It is also very interesting to note the work of Maloutas and Economou on the spatial dimensions of the welfare state (Maloutas & Economou, 1992, Maloutas 1992, Economou, 1992). Their findings in a major research effort undertaken by the NCSR<sup>3</sup> in the beginning of the 1990s verify that the 'underdevelopment' of the Welfare State has not led to spatial segregation of the social infrastructure (both private and public) in Athens, although social-spatial segregation and increased polarisation has occurred in terms of residence. Within the same research framework a number of individual studies discuss segregation of care, health, education and culture infrastructures (Gortsos 1992, Avdelidi 1992, Economou 1992). More recently, the Atlas of Greek Cities (Maloutas 2000) published by the NCSR provides maps of social infrastructures in Athens. Nonetheless, these studies do not consider profound inequalities and social control functions of institutions and agencies caring for the urban poor and groups vulnerable to marginalisation. This thesis addresses the issue by mapping the distribution of asylums, shelters, and community services along with housing deprivation in Athens. Moreover, my research also considers a micro scale of

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<sup>3</sup> National Centre of Social Research

management and interaction within and across such sites where discipline and care, control and welfare, formality and informality interweave.

The approaches of Leontidou (cf. 1990) and Economou and Maloutas (cf. 1992, 1988) converge with regard to the salience of informality, family strategies and periodicity of the urban and housing system. Another common feature is their tendency to stress social inclusion processes and mechanisms. As with the majority of social studies until recently in Greece the problem of a 'core of marginalised groups' is somewhat neglected by stressing the role of widespread informality in the struggle against poverty and the underdevelopment of the welfare system. In other words, most authors stress the positive effects of informality on integration but tend to ignore the exclusionary processes in operation, some of these this thesis addresses.

Moreover, we know very little about the articulation of informal strategies with formal 'social welfare', and 'social control' institutions. Most researchers stop at reaching the conclusion that family strategies compensate for the lack of a welfare system. However, reliance on family welfare can be arbitrary or habitually reproduce discrimination and inequalities. Moreover, state institutions and charities may share traditional values of care and control, serving the aspirations of the middle classes. How are deviance, mental illness, sickness or old age treated by poor households? In which cases do family networks fail or, in the exercise of informal social control, deny mobilising resources and provisions of care for their members? In such cases how do social institutions and professionals differentiate between competing needs of their clients and which are the available provisions? To answer these questions I offer an alternative conceptualisation of the Greek welfare regime as a web of networks and cultures consolidating in certain historical periods multiple power relationships between the state, landowners, capital, and labour.



#### **4.4. Land-ownership, housing and the welfare state**

The introduction of mechanisms of land allocation and of the Welfare State provide a more accurate picture of the development of the Urban complex in Athens than the one offered in section 4.2. In the latter, the question of land was not treated and reference to social institutions was made only to distinguish between the formal and informal sector. But, as I shall attempt to establish in the subsequent sections, the rise of land-ownership in Greece went in hand with a particular variant of a familistic regime (in line with the taxonomy of Mingione 1996, 1998) that includes: the unbalanced development of the welfare state and an enhanced informal sector containing all kinds of 'welfare' activities, 'constructions', and 'farming'. These two features supply the specific characteristics of the Greek regime in both economic and ideological terms. Most significantly, links between informal activities and the state, unlike Mingione's (1998) argument about poor welfare dependent families, create tensions between resistance-compliance in relation to the establishment of capitalist economic and social control institutions.

Moreover, I suggest the term 'unbalanced' to signify two fundamental aspects of the Greek welfare state: a) the unequal growth of different 'systems' and provisions (education, health, housing) (Petmesidou Tsoulouvi, 1992), b) their social control functions and effects in terms of social inequality and even 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' of various social groups. The combination of the latter two features can illuminate a variety of pathways to exclusion through or aside from the welfare state. This combination allows us to trace how authoritarian practices for the management of the poor within the welfare state may be widely adopted and/or contested through informal practices.

The analysis can be enriched by starting with the breakdown of activities that fall within the sphere of 'welfare' at a macro-meso level. Depending on the activities and functions of the state that one decides to include under 'welfare' the Greek welfare regime will be found to belong to many different types of the well-known typologies. Thus, it has been classified as 'residual' (Stasinopoulou 1993), 'corporatist'

(Abrahamson 1999, Katrougalos 1996), 'statist-paternalist' (Petmesidou-Tsoulouvi 1996), 'rudimentary' (Leibfried 2000). These studies depict particular areas of state intervention in the social sphere and shed light on different ideological functions of the state.

To provide a holistic picture, I find it appropriate to stress the unbalanced character of the regime. The term unbalanced denotes profound inequalities of various social groups in accessing private and public resources. In other words, the state selectively intervenes in different spheres of social reproduction (education, health, employment, housing) depending on the claims of social groups and political mediation of their interests. Respectively, the regime consists of an ensemble of hierarchical provisions and networks regulating access to resources via interweaving cultures and discourses (corporatism, clientelism, paternalism, nationalism v. solidarity, citizenship, feminism, multiculturalism). In a normative discourse of contemporary policies, public provisions at the bottom end of the system should be enabling the poor to access adequate housing, education, care, and employment. In policy metaphors such measures are represented as a 'safety net' or a 'trampoline' for 'vulnerable' social groups, which, it could be added, 'fail in acrobatics of consumption', i.e., bounce in and out of poverty. However, it should be considered whether selective policies strengthen social control functions of institutions responsible for housing and care needs of the poor. Effectively, the welfare regime is a web of public and private institutions linked via formal and informal channels and spanning different spatial scales. Thus, its unbalanced character should be understood in a multiple sense.

Firstly, the size of the Greek welfare state is limited in comparison with European standards (Stasinopoulou 1993, Tsoucalas 1987a, Petmesidou Tsoulouvi 1992, 1996, Maloutas 1988, Yfantopoulos 1993).

Secondly, access to public services and provisions in terms of both quantity and quality depends on political and economic power at central and at local level (Tsoucalas 1987a, Getimis 1993, 1988, Petmesidou Tsoulouvi 1996). This orientates the system

towards financial provisions (most easily manipulated) and neglect of quality (Stasinopoulou 1993). It also leads to a profound imbalance favouring pensions and supplementary benefits against personal services, family, unemployment and housing benefits (Stasinopoulou 1993, Petmesidou- Tsoulouvi 1992). Access relies on political or professional membership. To explain access inequalities, I find the term 'vertical incorporative modes of inclusion' suggested by Mouzelis (1987) in his analysis of the political system in Greece most useful. Mouzelis uses the term to analyse the process of inclusion of social classes in the political system and distinguishes it from formal forms of horizontal corporatism. In my view the term applies also to the welfare system since vertical political control and informal hierarchies account for welfare inequalities.

Thirdly, statutory provisions are complemented by an extensive formal private sector and an informal sector (in grey areas between-within private and public services). Various 'alternatives of informal welfare' include immigrant workers in agriculture and construction, caring for the elderly, the sick and children, informal markets within the NHS, or dual roles of women. More complex links develop as exchanges occur between 'productive' and 'non-productive' activities via consumption and circulation (e.g., families employ informal labour to cultivate agricultural land and use surplus income to consume private health services in the city, rent an agricultural plot to educate a child in the city, employ a Russian immigrant to care for the elderly at home and 'consent to the housewife' to work in banking services to earn additional income, etc.).

Last but not least, the welfare regime (both state and private agents) is dominated by conservative ideas of social control. Civil society is weak and the concept of social rights has not been debated for a long time; it only exists in political rhetoric. It has been argued that 'underdog culture' and 'free riding' have traditionally shaped family strategies, and governed relationships between individuals and the state (Makridimitris 1994, Diamantouros 1993, Tsoucalas 1993). Similarly, irrational planning, lack of reflexivity and mistrust is said to be evident within state bureaucracy (Makridimitris

1994, Karapostolis 1987,1989, Tsoucalas 1987a). I contest the view of a uniform 'underdog' culture and suggest a periodisation of material and cultural struggles to highlight the interplay between non-reflexive resistance to and compliance with the establishment of capitalist institutions of social reproduction. Thus, I pay attention not only to reflexivity, as the aforementioned authors do, but also to domination and question the purity of discourses within social institutions caring for the poor (modern-reflexive v. traditional-non reflexive).

In the international literature (Wolch and DeVerteuil 2001, Warrington 1995), local and voluntary agencies have been said to form a 'shadow state' managing the poor. I suggest a plurality of networks may exist across the welfare web. Often welfare inequalities between privileged and vulnerable groups remain in the shadow, i.e. they escape state attention and monitoring. 'Welfare and poverty shadows' hide both wealth and poverty, and in effect conceal informal relations between the 'rich' and the 'poor', as well as links between 'privileged' and 'vulnerable' social groups and the state.

Poor patients, the elderly, delinquents, and immigrants in shelters and asylums are 'imperfect citizens', like all Greek nationals, lacking fundamental social rights and struggling for inclusion in the shadow of the state. Concepts like 'free riding' or 'underdog culture' alone are inadequate to capture the multiplicity of their life practices. Similarly, it is questionable if 'modernisation' of social control mechanisms and privatisation of housing and care can lead to improvements in their lives.

Being 'residual' the provision of services and assistance is not on the basis of universal principles (Petmesidou-Tsoulouvi, 1992) and relies in many cases on strict tests, which are subject to conservative values and discrimination. It is exactly those services that are more tightly linked to functions of social control undertaken by a hierarchy of professionals, quasi- professionals and 'benevolent volunteers' in institutionalised forms of care and control (Psychiatric asylums, the Church, the penal and judicial system). Micro power relations within 'institutionalised' environments characterized above all by the influence of political and clientelistic mediation as administration is subsumed to political parties (Sotiropoulos 1993). The organizational capacity of technocracy is reserved within those institutions only to some professions (doctors, psychiatrists, lawyers) as opposed to miss-educated care and surveillance staff. Both these groups find their way to public organisations via clientelistic practices in

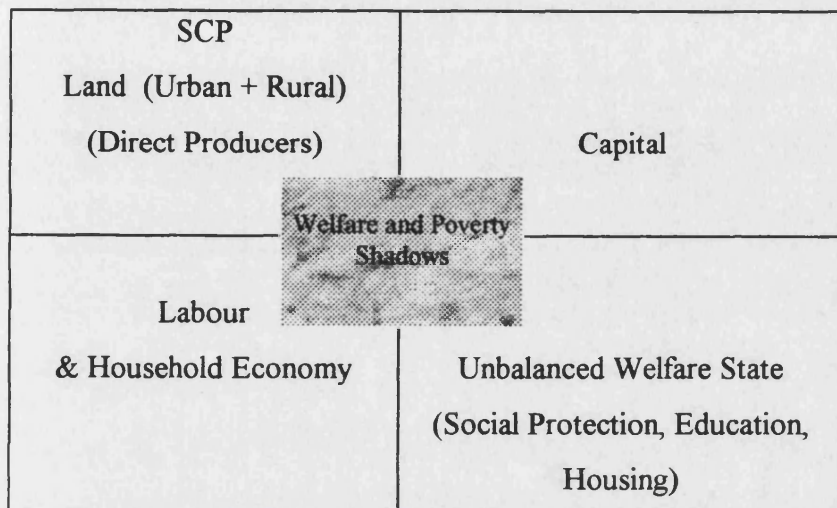
recruitment and financing; following that control over clients is achieved via a mix of expertise, charity, and often, the exercise of violence.

However, when the educational system is included in the 'welfare state' terms like 'residual' or 'rudimentary' are no longer valid. The education system has been the main mechanism of social mobility and social reproduction, particularly of agrarian classes (Tsoucalas 1987b, Karapostolis 1984). This is not to deny inequalities in educational opportunities or a threshold of poverty below which families educational strategies do not lead out of poverty (Petmesidou-Tsoulouvi 1992). The link between the educational and the land-ownership system is not easily identified when we concentrate on urban land only. This link becomes striking when considering the very limited size of a landless agrarian class (Mouzelis 1987) and its role in shaping an urban culture (Karapostolis 1984, 1987). Rural migrants moving into the city did not belong to a landless proletariat in every case. In this sense the educational system was at least equally shaping the 'culture' of incomers alongside various informal practices. Therefore, it is not surprising when in large-scale surveys we come across a stronger correlation between housing conditions or tenure and the educational status of the head of a household than between housing and income or professional status (Emmanuel *et al* 1996). Mechanisms of allocation and even exchange between rural land and educational resources became crucial factors of social inclusion. Numerous combinations and uses of resources may be found in family strategies in what Mouzelis ingeniously but only indicatively terms the 'inclusion-marginalisation' axis, along which rural migrants historically moved. But in this way our analysis is gradually entering the 'sphere' of practices and human agency. This is a task undertaken in the next section.

To conclude, in this section I provide an outline of the initial suggestion (section 4.2.) of the informal relations between the welfare state, and modes of production in the Greek social formation. This diagrammatic representation will be further elaborated in the next section in order to illustrate how the emergence and growth of the informal economy was also a result of more or less conscious class practices and policies. Welfare shadows are widespread as informal relations subsume households and direct

producers to capital. These relations escape statutory regulation and extensively rely on local norms and habitual practices of both resistance and domination.

Diagram 4.1: Welfare and Poverty Shadows in the Greek Social Formation



A final note should be made on the spatial dimension of the relationships between 'informal' and 'formal' welfare. State welfare institutions are located within the urban fabric along with household residences, which perform similar functions in a fused way. To paraphrase Foucault (1991), in the 'welfare archipelago' of Athens one can find islands of state power and informal control both in the centre and in the periphery of an apparently homogeneous space. Such loci also carry visible evidence of different historical periods. Monumental buildings symbolising the power of 'National Benefactors' were donated to the state (hospitals, psychiatric clinics, baths for the poor). Charity services and religious shelters are often found along multi-storey blocks of vertically differentiated residences. Peripheral institutions (prisons, neglected social services, schools) are housed on modern cement-built sites within areas that developed by popular colonisation.

#### **4.5. Housing and welfare strategies: social integration and social exclusion**

This section places housing within class-based family welfare strategies and state welfare policies. I treat both family strategies and state policies as 'practices' in the sense that they involve more or less conscious action for the appropriation and utilisation of material, social, and cultural resources aiming at survival, security, and symbolic inclusion in society. Thus, employment, housing and education practices have been claimed to be the pillars of family 'security' strategies (Tsoucalas, 1987a).

The very aim (survival, security and symbolic inclusion) of this action varies historically and socially. For this reason, a historical approach is again adopted to better illustrate how changes in practices relate to stages in the development of the urban complex as presented in section 4.2. This is true both of family strategies, as it becomes evident how they shift from 'self-sufficiency' to 'upward mobility', and of policy strategies, as it becomes evident how they consciously favoured informality over state regulation, and land-ownership over public social provisions in crucial periods of social tension.

Yet, the possibility of an open-ended historical process relies on the diverging practices of various actors. Leontidou (1990) takes such an approach when she introduces a cultural element as a 'mediating' concept, as a bridge between system forces and human agency, into the analysis. This is achieved by using the distinction between 'adaptive' and 'creative' action. Social integration is opposed to system integration only as long as the action of subordinate classes is, in a dialectical fashion, shaping and also being shaped by a culture distinct from the culture of the dominant classes.

This kind of distinction of action (creative - adaptive, non-systemic - systemic) is a recurrent theme in social theory when the issue of power is raised and, in my view, resolves problems of the neglect of power hierarchies in structuration theory noted by Mouzelis (1991). One can trace similar distinctions in De Certeau, 1984 (tactics opposed to strategies), Lefebvre, 1990 (everyday practices opposed to planning), Habermas, 1987 (communicative action in the life world as opposed to strategic action of the administrative world), and in the later work of Giddens 1990, 1991 (lay

practices as opposed to expertise). Mouzelis (1991) further criticises such approaches for constructing an opposition between social and system integration. In my view, what Mouzelis fails to recognise is the mediating role of consciousness and culture. In our case different types of welfare strategies reflect the struggle of dominant classes to gain hegemony via the utilisation of system resources as opposed to actors who resist their separation from the means of material and cultural reproduction. As the analysis in the next chapters progresses towards micro scales, the distinction becomes more important in questioning reflexivity of individual and collective actors.

#### *4.5.1. The eve of the twentieth century - World War II: social polarisation and widespread Marginalisation*

In order to place housing practices of social classes within a historical perspective it is necessary to go back to the first decades of the twentieth century. To understand the process of social change it is vital to distinguish between the first rural populations and the Minor Asia refugees moving into the city. These populations were different firstly with regard to land property and secondly with regard to their culture. Leontidou talks about a process of regional segregation. In my view this population movement is a far deeper process, to use Giddens (1984) terms it is a process of 'regionalization', referring to the zoning of time-space in urban locales as shaped by the social practices of those groups and the state policies to accommodate them. It is a process of spatially organising 'power', a concomitant delineation of the external boundaries of the state and of its domestic penetration in urban locales where social reproduction is being shaped by social practices, which carry evident traces of cultures of different origins.

Until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the political mechanism was controlled by the monarchy and the conservative forces favouring landlords, agricultural merchants and credit agents (Mouzelis, 1978, Vergopoulos 1978). It is crucial to note that simple commodity production in agriculture, noted earlier, was also a result of a policy from the 1870s when the massive distribution of 'National Lands' took place (lands in direct ownership of the state after the Turkish retreat). In the 'liberal' governments of Venizelos (1910-1915, 1916, 1917-1920, 1928-1933) the bourgeois strata found their political expression. It was during his government that



land reform and social legislation were passed together with anti-communist laws (*'idiorymo'*). The distribution of agricultural land properties to peasants after 1917 and then in 1923 aimed at easing political tension and also at integrating agriculture into capitalism (Liakos 1993, Hadjimichalis 1987, Vergopoulos 1978, Tsoucalas 1969). Land reforms created a vast number of small peasant landowners (by 1928 only 6% of the population were landless) who, however, were extensively relying on public and private credit (by 1933 more than 83% of farmers were in dept, Vergopoulos 1978). Social regulation and the major social security institutions were founded in the context of "a paternalistic carrot and stick technique" (Mouzelis, 1978) in the government's effort to find support for its foreign policy from the international labour movement (Liakos 1993, Mouzelis 1978). The technique was based on the manipulation of the national labour movement and was opposed by petty industrialists who were also seeking a protectionist industrial policy in foreign trade (Liakos, 1993). Petty industrialists were relying on low labour costs to survive foreign competition. The foundation of the Greek Welfare state is not peculiar in the 'secondary' role that the labour movement played. It is much closer to the explanation that Baldwin (1990) offers to contest traditional social democratic explanations of the welfare state, particularly in the case of Scandinavian countries, in the sense that it highlights the importance of the agrarian classes and terms of trade.

The arrival of Asia Minor refugees accelerated this process as social pressure was increasing. Demographic and political pressures become evident in the final resolution of the land question (1923) and social insurance (1937), in the allocation of urban property and housing to the refugees by the utilisation of foreign aid and loans. In particular, the allocation of urban property and housing to refugees followed a deliberate pattern of political and social segregation. The Greek case confirms Mingione's argument (1998) that the resolution of the peasant question resulted in partial proletarianisation in the European South and consolidated a familistic regime, within which the management of the urban poor should be historically placed.

It is interesting to note that even from the early period when the poor peasants were concentrating in the inner city, the ruling classes set up the mechanisms to limit to a considerable extent a marginalised core of severe poverty, vagrancy and criminality

(Korasidou 1995, Leontidou, 1989). These mechanisms were based on a mix of state (police control and clearances, hygiene inspections) and private (the Church and philanthropic institutions), formal and informal employment practices. Thus, from the eve of the century, the foundation of 'family welfare' was combined with practices of state control and a philanthropic ideology 'rehabilitating' the poor according to the values of work ethic and patriarchy (Korasidou, 1995).

The Balkan Wars and the Asia Minor Disaster urged the state to develop the first institutions of social protection and social care to address war casualties and the needs of refugees<sup>4</sup>. A state network of public health and assistance agencies gradually spread with U.S. aid in the urban fabric alongside voluntary and Christian charities (the Red Cross, YMCA) (Stathopoulos 1999). Although the deployment of state action during this period gradually outweighed religious and private charity (Stathopoulos 1999), it is significant to note that it was founded on the same values of family, and nationhood, neglecting exploitation of female and child labour in the unregulated economy. Moreover, conservative politics and US aid added strong political tones (mostly anti-communist) to this ideology. Hence, a dual process of shaping urban cultures can be recognised: on the one hand informality (craftsmanship, local cultures, reciprocity, etc.) and on the other private and state institutions of social rehabilitation.

When considering the composition of the poor during this period the origin of migrants and the practices that shaped their final social class destination should be examined. Within the urban fabric the casual proletariat did not consist only of a land-less working class. Young members of rural households were in a double agrarian - working class bind. Rural populations owned small land plots, which were inadequate to provide the means of subsistence for extensive families, and as commercialisation proceeded had increasingly to rely on patrons and mediators. Extending their 'labour' across and outside Greek territory was their main solution for survival. A form of 'networking' developed that included not only the exchange of goods and income but also a movement of persons. Children, young boys and girls, were 'sent way' as servants, apprenticeship students, 'adopted children' (*psychogios - psychocori*), or

workers, sending back to their villages limited amounts of money and saving to create their own dowry or simply alleviating families from excessive burdens (Handman 1993, Psychogios 1995). In many cases they were moving back and forth to the household and farm economy and towards new destinations. The arrival of refugees added to existing mobility and integration patterns especially with regard to the issue of land ownership. Being displaced, the refugees did not own land. Moreover, the majority of them did not come from rural but from urban commercial centres in Asia Minor bringing with them a different culture and a determination to struggle for urban fixity (Leontidou, 1990).

Land colonisation and the informal housing sector facilitated the settlement of these strata, but it is also important not to neglect their employment mobility (Pizanias, 1993). Channels of employment integration were not only family networks amongst the popular strata but also channels of mediators (private agents, the police, the Church and philanthropic institutions, local political or economic patrons, local or professional fraternities) directing those populations to apprenticeships in crafts, industry, and domestic services (Korasidou, 1995). It is worth stressing some features and practices of these strata whom Leontidou (1990) classifies as the 'casual proletariat' and whom Pizanias (1993) calls 'The Poor of the Cities' (*ftohologia* in popular terms). The rather unstable and precarious nature of their employment is even expressed in the very familiar popular Greek term '*merokamatiarides*' ('moonlighters', daily wage-earners) whom one can find labouring at so many occupations as the popular and poor hero of the Greek shadow theatre (*Karagioz*). Employment mobility is, however, confined to less well-paid jobs; one day in construction, the next day in manufacturing.

As Pizanias (1993) notes, the work practices of the migrants were largely shaped by their cultural capital accumulated in their place of origin. During this period the central objective of families strategies was not yet the 'aspiration of upward mobility' but 'self-sufficiency' (*autarkeia*), which is partly a false representation on the inter-dependence within informal networks and partly reflects the struggle to utilise

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<sup>4</sup> E.g. The Patriotic Foundation for Social Protection and Assistance -PIKPA (1914), The "Ministry of

resources within the family unit in the absence of welfare provisions. As Pizanias points out 'self-sufficiency' as an ideal is not the actual conditions of daily living; it is also a memory recollection (though selective in its idealisation) of the patriarchal organisation of household reproduction (Psychogios 1995).

However, recollections alone are not sufficient for social reproduction of households. A certain amount of material resources (be that squatted urban land, a sewing machine, an inherited plot in the village, a dowry, etc.) was a precondition upon which those people laboured, in the most accurate material sense, not only to produce but also to transform their own labour power into 'cultural capital' (be that 'craftsmanship' or the 'know-how of survival').

Moreover, a minimal set of material resources is required to symbolise social insertion and participation in community activities. This symbolic dimension is crucial for collective actors and individuals to negotiate the amount and kind of resources that will be made available through the private sector or the state (social rights) as Tsoucalas (1995) forcefully argues. In my view, this is also a threshold that reveals the articulation of control and care in welfare strategies, admission and expulsion from the community. It also provides a distinctive line between citizenship and charity, universal and residual policies. What Pizanias (1993) describes as 'idealisation' can also be viewed as a submission to dominant values of social reproduction: work ethics and patriarchy. Thus, 'self-sufficiency' may also conceal traditional aspects of social control (for example, stigmatisation and family guilt).

In this respect Karapostolis (1984) is right when talking about the 'tolerance' of 'absolute poverty' within an urban culture, which is still under formation and has not dominated traditional cultures. Then in 'self-sufficiency' strategies we can also read a representation of poverty, which sustains tolerance and adaptation of immigrants in a new context and culture.

Moreover, Leontidou (1989, 1990) highlights more radical alternatives. Housing strategies provide some of the most illustrative examples. Initially the transit population was found in custom-built slums clustered in industrial concentrations. Semi-squatting and the transformation of 'slums of despair' to 'slums of hope' is perhaps one of those examples with symbolic expressions of resistance and insertion evident in building and architecture (not to forget the astonishing photograph in her 'Cities of Silence' with families of refugees occupying the boxes of the Municipal Theatre of Piraeus). Placement of refugees in selected districts, usually on the fringes of the city, was a practice of political control, which, as far as urban land and housing is concerned, favoured the refugees compared to internal migrants. A speculative business on the part of large landowners who subdivided agricultural land and sold it to refugees and internal migrants at inflated prices developed. Invasion by refugees of dwellings, refusal to pay for housing, and expansion of unauthorised settlements can also be seen as individual resistance. Asia Minor refugees struggled for inclusion using representations of their previous status in the urban milieu of Minor Asia, claimed cultural superiority over the natives and rural migrants, and blamed domestic conservative politics for the 'traumatic' experience of their displacement to (Hirschon-Philippaki, 1993).

#### *4.5.2. The post-War period: The limits of social homogenisation*

##### *The '50s and '60s: social polarisation and spatial segregation as a mode of inclusion*

The rural migration wave of the '50's culminated in the '60s and was directed towards the exploding economy of Athens and the Northern European countries. During this period the direct role of state intervention in the urban economy was limited (Burgel 1976). State policies favoured economic centralisation and encouraged the development of foreign industrial capital. Urban planning mechanisms were limited and any planning practices had little impact as they were resisted and undermined by petty landowning interests (Leontidou 1990). Housing policy immediately after the war was used as a method of political clearance of 'Red Enclaves' and after the mid 1950s public housing beneficiaries consisted of those members of the working class who had stable employment and exhibited trade union conformity. The urban and housing policy

was limited in giving ex-post or ad-hoc legal expression to speculative practice. If there was a strategic decision this was meant to achieve the less costly mode of housing by tolerating illegal practices on the periphery and by inflating building densities in the centre (this respectively shifted the cost of labour power reproduction on to the working class and enabled small capitalist construction companies and petty landowners to overcome financing problems, Demathas, 1998). Maloutas' (1988) explains how a land policy of relaxed zoning and extensive land use mix and a reluctance to regulate the development of private space allowed the development of informal housing practices of incoming rural migrants, thereby resulting in socio-spatial homogenisation.

It must also be stressed that centralisation became a major feature of welfare provisions particularly in health care and education and resulted in profound socio-spatial inequalities despite convergence of urban rural and professional consumption patterns (Karapostolis, 1984, Petmesidou Tsoulouvi, 1992). With US assistance (the Marshall Plan), the social protection system was re-organised on a regional basis and was heavily influenced for more than two decades by the ideology of the conservative political forces (the monarchy and conservative governments) that won the Civil War (Stathopoulos 1999). Social assistance and management of the poor should be viewed as just a part of conservative despotism and a 'policing state' (Filiass 1996). State institutions were founded via nepotistic practices by merging the administration and absorbing the personnel of religious and private charity organisations<sup>5</sup> (Stathopoulos 1999). Technical schools, rehabilitation camps, orphanages, family centres were spread across the countryside and the cities to cure the casualties of war and the 'malaises of communism'.

Once again, when examining the process of social insertion of rural migrants the utilisation of resources in family welfare strategies and their final social (and spatial) destination are vital. During this period the role of the two main groups of different origins with a different economic base and culture (rural and Asia Minor) is no longer

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<sup>5</sup> E.g. State Centres of Social Assistance in 1948 absorbed the Christian Solidarity, the Committee of Soup Kitchens, and the Charity Society. The National Organization of Protection (EOP) stemmed out of collection committees and in 1950 was renamed 'Royal Assistance' after initiatives of the Queen Frederiki.

valid. Occupational mobility and exchange of rural with urban resources became more significant. The use of educational resources, land and political affiliation should be examined in their shaping of the road to a working class or petty bourgeois destination. But the social destination is indeed very difficult to verify and there are contesting views on this issue. On the one hand, there are views according to which urbanisation was fuelled by non-productive activities and absorbed rural populations particularly in the public sector (Filiás 1996, Economou 1988, Maloutas 1988, Tsoucalas 1987a, Mouzelis 1987, Karapostolis 1984). On the other hand, Leontidou (1990) contests those views arguing that a significant proportion of rural migrants were equally employed in industry, not being socially differentiated from the urban population, and that the historical continuity of the working class was evident in communities of refugees.

As discussed in section 4.2, theories questioning the existence of a working class neglect significant changes in the occupational structure of the city. For the purpose of this research, I accept the view of Leontidou (1990) that this is a period of polarisation and spatial segregation. This social polarisation and segregation is not similar to the patterns known in the European North, partly because of small capitalist production and partly because of the existence of a large informal sector. Polarisation refers here to the deepening of social inequalities which occurs as waged labour becomes the main form of employment. However, polarisation should not be understood as a form of exclusion. On the contrary it was a form of 'incorporation' as opposed to 'marginalisation' that peasants faced in the countryside (Mouzelis 1987)

Thus, we can identify two sources of insecurity that welfare strategies had to cope with. The first one is poverty in the countryside and dependence on mediators in order to cope with taxation, credit and price controls. The second one is the social insecurity introduced by waged labour relations in the urban context. The result was a generalised threat of insecurity that was accentuated by the experience of the War. Against instability and poverty the reaction was a contradictory process of denial of proletarianization (Tsoucalas 1987a), or rather a struggle against rural misery and the insecurity that waged labour introduces. Three main employment practices to cope with insecurity can be enumerated: a) intensification of labour in agriculture (having

released surplus labour, productivity increased) generated additional income for savings, b) recruitment in the public sector (political conformity and education was a crucial criterion for public recruitment), and c) diversification in the informal sector.

Employment practices to cope with insecurity also resulted in geographical mobility, particularly within the informal sector. This is a point that traditional sociological approaches to social and geographical mobility fail to see. It is not enough to recognise the limits of social mobility; it is of equal importance to recognise the constant turnover within a fluctuating world for rural migrants and, later, for return emigrants from Germany, whose class positions between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie had always been fluid. For the less privileged, the working class, those having lost the battle of separation from the means of production, losing the housing battle would equate with a loss of the struggle. It is upon this crucial battle that an alternative culture and practices of resistance such as the ones identified by Leontidou (1990) were found.

During the same period of social polarisation, a pattern of spatial segregation was emerging because of a two-fold process: the exclusion of refugees and the working classes from the formal housing market and the increasing popular land colonisation in the suburbs. The major form of informal practices is found in 'arbitrary settlements' whose residents were expanding the frontiers of the city through a kind of 'semi-squatting', that is, by illegally building on legally purchased land not intended for housing.

In the first two decades of the post-War period, the activity of a growing private construction sector was concentrated in Athens. On the one hand, the housing market was growing especially in central, southern and northern suburban areas controlled by small entrepreneurial capital and landowners who developed financing and construction practices in a speculative spirit. These practices were rapidly developing to become 'routinised practices' ex-post legalised by the state and also requiring a particular culture to legitimise them. Three main methods of financing can be reported.



a) 'Antiparochi': a system of exchange in kind between landowners and builders according to which the owner of the plot turned the property over to a building enterprise. The enterprise sold the apartments beforehand to finance the construction and gave a part to the landowner. 'Antiparochi' should be understood as a practice to overcome the limits of financing housing in the absence not only of a credit system but also with the prevalence of small capital in construction (Antonopoulou, 1991). Demathas (1998) successfully identifies an analogy between Antiparochi and share cropping which allowed such problems to be overcome.

b) An extensive use of family and heritage transfers. Within these practices the institution of the dowry became an extensive system, which facilitated the transfer of resources from the country to the city. It is noteworthy that selling of agricultural plots was not the prevalent practice of migrating peasants. If cultivation was not beneficial, they preferred to rent the plot and transfer it only through heritage and dowry. This practice obeyed an economic rationale as demand for rural land kept rising at faster rates than urban land (Antonopoulou 1991, Karapostolis 1984). In this practice we can discern a double objective: the reproduction of family capital through marital practices and a concern for 'security' (income from land is viewed as additional income or a source of cash in cases of emergency).

c) Imports of foreign currency by emigrants and seamen, who had a preference of location in the southern suburbs (Burgel, 1976, Antonopoulou 1991). It has been found in later years that emigrants and sailors did not invest in any productive activities on their return home and neither did they sell agricultural land during their absence (as above). These practices were further encouraged by the state-controlled financing system, which privileged loans to emigrants and sailors (Leontidou, 1990).

On the other hand, the informal housing sector kept increasing by the colonisation of new peripheral areas by incoming migrants and 'arbitrary settlements' expanded. Some of the practices discussed above were also used in the peripheral areas as well. However, in popular areas a variety of alternative housing and construction practices developed. They included self construction with mobilisation of family labour and kinship, private use of public spaces, self-made patents for the provision of water and

electric supply, building in stages and the extension of the original shacks horizontally or vertically to accommodate family changes.

In cultural terms, a new ideal or objective had to be found to orientate welfare strategies as the War shattered the ideal of 'self-sufficiency' and brutal political forces during and after the Civil War made clear its illusionary character. To proponents of non-productive urbanisation and centralisation this is a 'petty bourgeois' ideology of 'upward mobility' via education and private consumption. In one of the most highly elaborated approaches of this kind, this change is explained by the clash between a rural culture and an urban culture that managed to assimilate the former by accommodating expectations of rural populations in a speculative and individualistic spirit (Karapostolis, 1984). In changing consumption patterns and insistence on higher education, which devoured income and resources from rural populations, Karapostolis sees a symbolism that concealed reality. That reality was employment insecurity and urban-rural inequalities.

I would argue that this is a point that holds only for some groupings of the petty bourgeoisie and the working class, and particularly for those who had access to a formal and politically controlled mechanisms (state or private). Leontidou (1990) provides historical evidence of more alternatives in peripheral areas even if one does not accept the thesis of the 'culture of spontaneity' corresponding to the informal sector.

Moreover, the 'non-productive urbanisation' approach overemphasises the role of rural migrants and underestimates the role of 'local' populations in equal misery. and their attempts to escape political persecution. It also means downplaying the insecurity of formal capitalist relations for the working class, and the excessive use of political violence (control of disciplinary mechanisms by the monarchy and the army) which both urban and rural populations tried to escape.

Consequently, during this period it would be convincing to insist on the 'pragmatic', yet contradictory, character of family strategies alongside the deployment of fused ideological and disciplinary state strategies. Indeed, this pragmatism is a common

feature of the diverging approaches we discuss and in this sense they shed light on different aspects of social action. 'Pragmatic social compromise' (Karapostolis, 1984) illuminates an adjusting behaviour to formal mechanisms, whilst 'common sense radicalism' (Leontidou, 1990, 1985) shows a secluded and aggressive resistance. The two 'options' reflect a dual (economic and political) and very real threat: on the one hand, rural immiseration and waged labour insecurity, on the other, state authoritarianism.

*The '70s and '80s: The limits of social homogenisation - the neglect of poverty*

The end of this period of what Leontidou terms 'urban spontaneity' came with the dictatorship. The dictatorship favoured middle-class and urban capitalist interests and was equally able to silence the voice of a radicalised working-class movement. Restoration of democracy in 1974 and accession of the country in the European Community in 1981 signified a long period of state restructuring evident in attempts and failures of urban and social policy reforms. Particularly, during the 1980s, a decade of socialist government, the belated growth, in comparison to Northern Europe, of public expenditures and employment became the main response to de-industrialisation trends. It has also been argued that the state distributed revenues to the social strata which had been politically excluded from the patronage networks of right-wing political forces in the past (Petmesidou Tsoulouvi 1996, Tsoucalas 1987a).

Tertiarisation of the productive base of the urban economy has further reinforced land speculation and social deprivation of the working class. Moreover, as the urban infrastructure was proving to be inadequate, urban policy reforms aiming to modernize and rationalise planning have been attempted. Two major planning reforms (one in the late 1970s by the conservative party and one in mid '80s by the socialist party) failed as they included land taxation, which had been opposed by land speculators as well as illegal building owners (Hastaoglou *et al*, 1987). Similarly, efforts towards decentralisation of the social administration, establishment of the NHS, and pension reforms diverged from equity principles, and promoted discretionary access to services and resources (Petmesidou Tsoulouvi 1996). Significantly, neither urban nor social policies paid attention to poverty and social exclusion (Tsoulouvis 1996). The

chapters, which follow, explain how the most degraded and parochial state institutions of social assistance and care remained intact; at the same time religious and civil charity was expanding in urban space. The rhetoric of reforms interweaving with paternalist and familistic discourse concealed the needs of vulnerable members of working class households, particularly in cases where atypical employment relations could not sustain housing security and adequate care.

It is worth noting that policy practices were usually formulated ad-hoc and after the emergence of acute problems of environmental degradation or physical decay and in the face of land scarcity for public use and infrastructure. An illustrative example is the ex-post legalisation of 'arbitrary settlements' within policy networks, which involved pressures and manoeuvres from local authorities, water and electricity supply public enterprises, alongside owners of illegal buildings and speculators (Getimis 1994). Similarly, social protection schemes make up a differentiated system of provisions after pressures from various professional groups (Petmesidou Tsoulouvi 1996). The thesis elaborates on how social assistance and care are constructed as a 'social emergency' in the absence of adequate housing and income. Gough (1996) and Matsaganis (2000) comment on a 'rudimentary social assistance regime' in southern Europe characterised by the absence of a national safety net, categorical schemes for the elderly, and local discretionary relief of other groups. I argue that this 'rudimentary regime' is simply the bottom end of a welfare web founded upon class practices and multiple discourses. In effect these practices conceal inequalities, as both poverty and wealth remain in the shadow of public monitoring. Urban space appears as homogeneous, when in effect it is a mosaic of power and economic differences.

These practices can be considered as 'strategies' only with reference to a macro time-space scale, which allows the identification of class elements and functions of system reproduction. At a micro level and particularly within the local policy arena they lack the basic features of a 'strategy' such as planning over an extensive time horizon and the rational consideration of alternatives. In this sense the Greek planners or policy-makers in their daily operations do not have the power to impose (even if they possess) the logic of 'abstract space' of designs and plans like the one Lefebvre (1990)

discusses. Policy and planning is shaped through a series of tactics in asymmetrical and extensive power networks.

A dialectical relationship can be found between de-industrializing trends and growth of the service sector and welfare strategies. Intergenerational exchange of resources becomes crucial in this context. On the one hand over-investment in education had facilitated occupational mobility and also a peculiar matching of labour supply and demand. A new educated generation is entering the labour force to occupy positions in private (banking, insurance, commerce) and public services. This labour force was created through those family strategies that financed the studies of their children so they could escape proletarianisation. This has resulted in an 'objectively' different class base of white collar workers and civil servants, i.e., a new petty bourgeoisie and new a working class. In return, family strategies themselves change to accommodate the new diversified social composition of the household. The ideology of 'upward mobility' becomes crucial to cement the family unit and obtain social status.

Although it has been convincingly argued that the Greek educational system is one of the more democratic in Europe in terms of educational opportunities, the limits of occupational mobility through education have been verified in various studies (Tsoucalas 1987b, Chrysakis 1990, Tomara-Sideri 1999). Tsoucalas (1987b), in his penetrating analysis, identifies an 'upper' and a 'lower' educational network. The upper network selectively enrolls children of upper class origin who will form a managerial, political, and academic elite; the lower network recruits descendants of petty bourgeoisie or agrarian families and promotes them to the public sector.

Another important process in this period has been the rapid diversification of employment. One of the main employment practices to maximise income and increase savings is multi-employment. This practice is reinforced by the growth of the service sector and informality. Multi-employment together with multiple sources of income (other than labour) constitute the pillars of what has been termed the 'social polyvalence' of social agents in the Greek context (the term was introduced by Tsoucalas 1987a, and is a constant reference in most social studies in Greece). Employment diversification takes many forms which are related to the property

available to families. It also is a basic practice for sustaining all other welfare practices such as housing or education. With relation to both of these issues (i.e., property and other welfare strategies) a major distinction should be made between privileged forms of employment diversification which support the social polyvalence of the middle classes and forms of employment diversification which can not go further than survival and contribute to the insecurity of the lower classes. In the latter case we can speak of forms such as moonlighting, and turnover in low-skilled, precarious or illegal employment.

Housing practices should be related with the trends discussed above. With the dominance of the housing market, traditional practices were reshaped to complement the role of market institutions. As the economic restructuring process was intensified in the 1980s and as migration waves were reversed, relocation practices gained importance in the analysis of the role of housing in social insertion. Such relocation practices alongside the barriers to social homogenisation gave rise to new patterns of spatial segregation. In the core municipality of Athens, the presence of the working class has increased partly by the inflow of newcomers but mostly by the relocation of new middle class strata to the suburbs (Maloutas 1993). Two adjacent and progressively uniting upper class poles have been formed on the east and north-east side of the city and at the south eastern sea-coast. Traditional working class peripheral settlements lost their proletariat character. However, one needs to stress that this segregation pattern is not as intense as in Northern European Cities for a variety of reasons, including mixed land use, vertical diversification, intergenerational mobility and legalisation of illegal settlements.

A very clear picture of the transformations of housing practices, which started in the 1970s and were intensified in the 1980s, is provided by Maloutas (1990) in his analysis of a large-scale study undertaken in the Greater Athens Area by the NCSR. Maloutas concludes that widespread owner occupation is a choice and in fact a strategic objective of families, whilst this is not the case of rent tenure. This strategic objective is largely shaped by marital strategies, as it was found that amongst social factors (income, profession, household size) positively affecting owner occupation the most significant one is 'marriage'. The dominance of informal strategies of the popular strata

takes on a spatial pattern with rent being more pronounced in the centre and owner occupation on the periphery. As in other studies (Emmanuel *et al* 1996, Bouzas 1990) no strong relationship but a blurred pattern exists between tenure and various class positions. Nonetheless, a clear-cut pattern was evident between households whose head is employed in the private and the public sector, and this can be considered as a reflection of privileged access to housing loans by public servants.

The more recent settlement of more vulnerable groups in the centre of the city and the relocation of the middle strata require a closer examination of the resources used to acquire a house and to reach the objective of 'owner occupation'. Maloutas (1988) classifies housing strategies into groups: self-housing including self-built houses (a popular strategy) and built to order (a middle class strategy), which he claims to be independent from developments in the market. When the trends were examined in more detail a temporal dichotomy between the two main paths to owner occupation was discerned: self-housing dominated in the period before 1970 and purchase through the market in the period after 1970. Although traditional forms persist through time, family strategies seem to be adapting to modernising patterns and market forces.

Nonetheless, this trend of adaptation to market mechanisms is not always a successful story. Mobilisation of kin networks can prove to be inadequate in overcoming financing difficulties for house purchase, as costs have increased and supply has fallen. Housing policies through tax allowances and loans have favoured owner occupation of the middle classes (Emmanuel *et al* 1996). Housing supply for the working class has been severely limited and politically controlled (Emmanuel *et al* 1996, Economou & Sapounakis 1996, Sapounakis 1997). Social housing schemes and housing benefits in effect do not exist.

Younger generations need to rely heavily on credit institutions. Moreover, the absence of family property and the precarious employment of women in a dual labour market have opened new paths to impoverishment for less privileged groups and especially those recently moving into the city or those not conforming to traditional norms (single households). On the other hand, the housing of senior citizens is also strongly related to a web of links, which includes changing employment patterns, retrenchments in

welfare expenditure and changing patterns of family care. In the light of a pronounced differential in social protection and assistance, the magnitude of resources and their transfer over the life course of the family largely influence the housing conditions of households with inactive, dependent, and vulnerable members.

These concerns become evident in the findings of various studies examining the housing conditions of low-income groups in Greater Athens. A study of the NCSR (Bouzas, 1990) refers to the period 1960-1980 and was undertaken in the context of the first systematic study of poverty in Greece. This study verified the improvement of housing conditions for the population throughout the period of development but also shed light on how this improvement was more beneficial for rural areas rather than for urban areas and Athens.

More recent studies appeared in the 1990s, when E.U. institutions fuelled interest in social exclusion and poverty, but they made use of data collected in the decade of the 1980s. Emmanuel *et al*, 1996) utilises data of 1988 and focuses on a wider economic 'low-income' group. Emmanuel *et al* (1996) not only verified that the level of urbanisation accentuates housing problems (functional inefficiency) but also revealed some social factors which are closely related to the practices discussed. The most important factor was found to be the educational level of the head of the household. Size of household together with the life cycle were found to have an influence on housing conditions, which deteriorate with age and particularly for single households and pensioners. Kouveli (1997), using the same data as Maloutas (1988) for the 1980s, established that the most acute housing problems are faced by three types of households: 'elderly women living alone', 'single young employees-low-waged', 'families of workers and wage-earners'. Economou and Sapounakis (1996) review the existing literature to stress that the most vulnerable groups can be found amongst migrants, the elderly, and young households in the rented sector.

In cultural terms it would be formalistic to use a chronological break for the dominance of the speculative spirit and the aspirations of upward mobility. However, it must be stressed that the culture of the 'formal sector' and its gradual dominance should be extended beyond the housing market and should include or be combined



with the culture reproduced by the main formal state mechanism, i.e., education. I find it is important to note how culture is transformed through formal mechanisms, which reduce the significance of practical knowledge or good common sense. That practical knowledge was created on the urban fringes when labouring upon limited material resources to construct and improve shacks (such as craftsmanship), when utilising information to squat on free or buy cheap land, when organizing the work of the family unit or the relationships and exchanges between small construction units, etc. Along these lines the significance of education becomes primary in reshaping common sense and in reproducing power relations in a symbolic manner. Tsoucalas (1987a,b) argues that the fetishism of education became the main vehicle of a 'channel ideology' in Greek post-War society. To this one should add the role of private consumption, which became the main symbolic vehicle of social recognition, a symbolic objective to deny relative deprivation. Does this mean that practical skills, domestic work and everyday survival are symbols of deprivation in comparison to private consumption and public privileges?

Karapostolis (1984, 1989) argues that the aspiration of upward mobility goes with relaxed (if not repressed) tolerance of deprivation, and that the 'channel ideology' conceals poverty. In the absence of housing rights and citizenship some forms of public welfare provisions (those not gained through privileges or through education) can do nothing but stigmatise despite philanthropy and humanitarian claims. In this context, the needs and the skills of vulnerable groups of poor households (unemployed youth, the elderly, persons in mental health care) cannot be expressed without degrading the status of the family and signifying its failure to escape a historical period, collectively viewed as traumatic. Thus, the question arises whether the management of poverty reflects the class structure and culture of Greek society. What happens when winners (local politicians, professional elites, and experts), survivors (low-paid social workers, housing administrators, nurses), and casualties (homeless, poor elderly, mentally ill, abused women, migrants) of this real and symbolic struggle meet in the same context? Is charity discourse and practice a symbolic bond between professionals and their clients and can it actually bridge the cleavages between their different class positions and origin? Partial answers to these questions provided in chapters 6 and 7, often involving the elucidation of shifting and competing positions amongst different shelter

providers, can inform policy directions and alliances amongst actors aiming at real change.

### *The 1990s: New patterns of polarisation - filtering down as exclusion*

The most evident change in economic and social policies in the 1990s is the influence of E.U. institutions and mechanisms, as the conservative and the socialist party have fully subscribed to the objective of accession of the national economy to the EMU. Since the early 1990s tight fiscal and monetary policies primarily have aimed at, and to a large extent have succeeded in, curbing inflation and public deficits.

Nonetheless, the same policies have had adverse effects on unemployment, income inequality and poverty. Unemployment rates gradually escalated from 7.1% in 1989 to 10.5% in 1999. Poverty rates during 1995-1997 remained stable to 23-24%<sup>6</sup>. The country performs far worse than the E.U. average in tackling persistent poverty rates<sup>7</sup> (11% as compared to 9% E.U. average in 1997) and in reducing poverty rates after social transfers (2% as compared to 8% E.U. average in 1997). These data are not surprising considering that Greece is the only E.U. country lacking a minimum income and confirm findings of studies (Matsaganis 2000, Tsakloglou & Panopoulou 1998) on the inefficiency of social transfers in reducing poverty. Unemployment, mainly the lack of income from employment, significantly contributes to high poverty rates (in 1996, 32% of the poor were unemployed). However, it needs to be stressed that low pensions and benefits can be held responsible for increasing poverty risk<sup>8</sup> among particular groups (elderly living alone 36%, single young persons 31%, single-parent families 31%, large households 19%) and contribute more than unemployment to the persistence of poverty. Significantly, the same groups face the most acute housing problems according the surveys undertaken in Athens in the 1980s.

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<sup>6</sup> Poverty data in this section provided by Eurostat, the European Community Household Panel in 1995, 1996, and 1997

<sup>7</sup> Persistent poverty rate is the share of the population continuously below the poverty line for three consecutive years

<sup>8</sup> Poverty risk is the share of a particular socio-demographic group in poverty in the national population of the same group (e.g. amongst the elderly in the country how many elderly are poor).

Moreover, a managerial discourse is evident in policy debates on the 'modernisation' of the social administration. This rhetoric advances the trend towards decentralization and privatisation of health, housing, and social protection. The influence of E.U. policies and jargon is evident in the importation of terms like 'social exclusion' and 'partnerships' in planning mechanisms of the Community Support Frameworks. E.U. networks and innovative projects as well as national Operational Programmes for the 'Modernisation of Social Care' and 'Combating Social Exclusion' aiming at promoting community care and fostering the integration of the following groups<sup>9</sup>: 'persons with special needs', 'persons with mental health problems', 'return immigrants and refugees', 'groups with linguistic, religious, and cultural specificities' (denoting gypsies and Muslims), 'juvenile delinquents and convicts', 'single-parent families'. Nonetheless, policies have been geared to employment and training and serious administrative deficits have held back the implementation of many actions.

In addition to changes in the welfare strategies of Greek citizens already discussed, the process of spatial segregation was further intensified and took on a new qualitative character in the 1990s with the influx of economic refugees. New entrants, Greek-origin repatriates and migrants, together with other low-income groups (pensioners, working class) utilise the old housing stock in the centre of the city. Pockets of urban poverty in the inner city are created where illegal aliens find themselves packed in poor quality houses or by settling in substandard housing on the periphery. Nonetheless the majority of them (mostly Albanians) are publicly conceived as transients whose marginal status and identity is reproduced in spaces of collective residence such as hostels and substandard houses and are denied even the basic facilities for hygiene and human existence such as water and toilets (Psimmenos 1995, 1998). A recent survey conducted in 1999 by DEPOS<sup>10</sup> in Athens found that 63.7% of poor Greeks and 66.5% of immigrants in Athens live in inadequate housing as compared to 33.5% of the general population. Significantly, their tenure patterns drastically differ from the general population (48.5% of the poor and 91.8% of immigrants are in rented accommodation as compared to 26.1% of the general population, whilst 14.7% of

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<sup>9</sup> The nomenclature of targeted groups follows the terminology of the National Operational Programs

<sup>10</sup> DEPOS: Public Corporation for Urban Planning and Housing. Unpublished data kindly provided by D. Emmanuel

immigrants share a house as compared to 1.9% in the general population). These data suggest that policies, public attitudes, and informality do not contribute to the formation of a new 'underclass of Eastern migrants' (as assumed by Leontidou, 1995) but to a new pattern of polarisation between the poor and the non-poor, according to which the 'old poor' (economically and socially dependent members of working class and traditional petty bourgeois households with significant employment, housing, and care needs) and the 'new poor' (predominantly alien populations in constant ambivalence between spatial fixity and mobility) are both deprived of the substantive qualities of citizenship.

From a policy perspective, control of immigrants relies on control of their visibility (purifying public spaces from 'criminal suspects' and 'decay figures') and on control of their mobility. The Greek authorities heavily relying on the latter case: deportations are made as in a 'recapture game' and clearance of areas is periodical (Psimmenos 1995, 1998). Notwithstanding, voices for their integration stress the benefits accruing to the Greek economy as social costs are limited because of their mobility patterns, the latter being shaped by seasonal variations of employment needs in agriculture and the informal sector (Fakiolas 2000).

In the first two years of the 1990s immigration policy in Greece was said to have been shaped in a panic situation caused by the outcry concerning the influx and alleged criminality of Albanians (Baldwin Edwards 1997). For a long period the issue was been kept off the official political agenda. Until the 1997 law, which provides for the legalization of immigrants the rate of legal to illegal immigrants was very low (approximately 30%, Fakiolas 2000). After the law 373,000 were registered for the provision of a green card, thus verifying higher estimates for illegal aliens reaching well over 600,000 per annum. Administrative deportations (annual estimates of approximately 150,000) are built into a severe immigration regime (Baldwin Edwards, 1997). Furthermore, influenced by public concerns and the Schengen treaty, the asylum policy has become stricter, as is reflected in low naturalisation rates (around 0.5) for legally resident aliens.

Over-emphasis of policies on training and employment measures and neglect of social assistance and housing for both Greeks and immigrants have not proved successful in alleviating poverty and housing insecurity as data presented above indicate. This failure can be ascribed to two main factors. The first one is the constant refusal of Greek governments to undertake responsibility in both the sphere of social housing and in the sphere of social assistance. This refusal is in part explained by fiscal constraints and a European movement away from universal policies and income assistance. In addition to that, social assistance and social housing schemes in Greece lag well behind European standards in creating a safety net. Consequently, the neglect of social transfers and housing becomes an ideological distortion of the political, academic, and administrative elites 'importing' European blueprints and jargon. Buck-passing and negotiations between Greek authorities and European institutions often result in mock planning<sup>11</sup>. The second factor in the failure to address the needs of poor households is the parochial and authoritarian structure of the administration. The chapters which follow explain how the managerial discourse of the central administration denies the existence of homelessness by adopting a narrow definition and attempts to shift responsibility to under-financed institutional care agencies dominated by a charity discourse.

#### **4.6. Conclusions**

This chapter has attempted to establish how small rural and urban landownership sustains informal economic relations between labour and capital in the absence of state regulation. The welfare state intervenes selectively in various spheres of social reproduction and welfare inequalities occur as various social groups have differential access to resources via formal and informal networks. These networks are consolidated through the mixing of competing practices and cultures occasionally complying with and occasionally resisting values of the dominant classes. Social deprivation and marginalisation in certain historical periods have been accommodated via the interplay of informality and authoritarian state strategies.

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<sup>11</sup> As, for example, negotiations to 'dress up' supportive and housing measures as training actions to escape ESF regulations (e.g. deinstitutionalisation units, i.e., flats and hostels for mental health patients moving out of asylums, are presented on paper as 'production workshops').

During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, distribution of rural plots and the establishment of state institutions regulating the labour market accommodated demographic pressure of rural migrants and Asia Minor refugees. During this period of widespread marginalisation, a large informal sector served the needs of social reproduction of both petty capitalists and labourers in a double working-argarian class bind. From the eve of the twentieth century the foundation of 'family welfare' was combined with the establishment of state and charity institutions aiming at 'rehabilitation' and social control of the poor.

In the first decades after the War, rural migration was directed towards the exploding economy of Athens. Formal and informal housing and employment practices of working and middle classes resulted in a pattern of socio-spatial segregation. State policies on the one hand favoured housing informality, but on the other, deployed authoritarian strategies to overcome political resistance and secure conformity of the poor to middle class values.

Tertiarisation of the urban economy in the 1970s and 1980s reinforced land speculation and the deprivation of particular working class and traditional petty bourgeois strata. Significantly, urban and social policies after the restoration of democracy did not pay attention to poverty and social exclusion. Parochial state social assistance and care institutions remained intact; at the same time religious and civil charity was expanding in urban space. The rhetoric of reforms concealed the needs of vulnerable members of poor households, particularly in cases where atypical employment relations could not sustain housing security and adequate care.

The arrival of economic refugees and the influence of E.U. institutions on policy-making are the prime features of the decade of the 1990s. Tight fiscal policies have adverse effects on unemployment, poverty, and housing conditions of approximately one-third of the population. A filtering down process directs poor Greek citizens and aliens to highly localized pockets of poverty in the inner city and on urban fringes. The imported discourse of 'social exclusion' fails to acknowledge the need for generous public provisions in the fields of social assistance and housing.

## **Chapter 5: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Homelessness in Athens**

### **5.1. Introduction: objectives, methods, and variables**

As has been discussed in chapters 1 and 4, the Greek literature lacks both a theoretical framework and empirical studies exploring the extent of homelessness and its links with urban poverty, and spatial distribution of welfare provisions. In this chapter, I attempt to address this gap by providing a classification of various types of shelter upon which estimates of homelessness can be derived, mapping their spatial distribution, and testing their association with variables of socio-economic disadvantage across the city. Empirical results are discussed in the light of the historical presentation of the urban development of Athens provided in chapter 4, and international studies on the distribution of homelessness in large cities (e.g. Marcuse 1996, Mingione 1996, Wacquant 1996, Wolch and Dear 1993). As a consequence, it becomes clear how the settlement of households and location of social care units for the poor and the homeless have been concentrated in distinct city areas in the historical process of city expansion through the interplay of informal practices and planning mechanisms.

First, I provide estimates of homelessness in Athens by distinguishing various types of shelter based on Hopper's (1991) four-grid classification of visible/invisible and formal/informal homelessness. As will be explained in the next section I modify Hopper's (1991) classification by considering the institutional context of shelter provisions and widespread housing informality in Athens.

Then, I map the spatial distribution of various levels of homelessness and test their association with social segregation in the city by using principal components' analysis and clustering techniques very familiar in the UK literature of urban deprivation

indexes (Coombes *et al* 1995, Robson *et al* 1995, Boddy *et al*, LPAC 1995) and also used in Greek urban studies (Maloutas 1992, Economou 1992, Gortsos 1992, Avdelidi 1992). I apply the method to:

1. Detect whether housing conditions, institutional accommodation, and shelter location variables have common underlying properties (principal components). In this way whether various levels of homelessness and housing deprivation are spatially distinct phenomena, concentrated in different municipalities, is tested. The method is also helpful in identifying which specific variables best describe housing disadvantages. Had regression analysis been used, the choice of the most appropriate measure as a dependent variable (i.e. 'homelessness') would have yielded significant concerns about its validity and reliability (Culhane *et al* 1996).
2. Identify the housing variables and the type of shelters, which are associated with residential segregation and socio-economic disadvantages (unemployment and lack of education) of different social groups. In this way, whether various levels of homelessness are related to the socio-economic structure of municipalities is tested.
3. Cluster municipalities according to their scores in each of the identified components. The use of these scores enhances the robustness of the clustering method because each component takes into account different indicators and at the same time components are not related to each other. In this way, municipalities are classified into relatively homogeneous groups on the basis of similar housing and socio-economic characteristics. An analysis of variance and descriptive statistics of housing and social demographic variables and location quotients is also undertaken to compare municipalities within and across clusters.

Units for the spatial analysis are the administrative municipalities of the Athens Urban Agglomeration. I have extended and updated the database of the European Observatory to include new shelters and services established after 1994. The data set was created by making use of five main sources: a) the original completed questionnaires used for the 1995 report of the Greek Observatory on homelessness, b) the 1996 Guide to Mental Health services in Greece (Madianos & Stefanis 1997), c)



detailed print-outs of the 1996-7 census of Welfare Agencies in Greece by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, d) the 1991 population census of Greece, e) my own survey of 24 shelters and community services and unreleased data from central state and religious authorities, psychiatric hospitals and prisons. In limited cases of common shelters across different sources the most recent data was used.

None of these sources has been utilised for spatial analysis, with the exception of the 1991 population census in the geographical atlas of Greece (Maloutas *et al* 2000). Moreover, as has been discussed in chapter 1, estimates of the European Observatory on homelessness in Greece, rely on controversial assumptions about the rate of the shelter to non-shelter population or the duration of homelessness. My own survey contains data on rejection rates, capacity utilisation, average length of stay based on which updated estimates can be provided<sup>1</sup>. In addition to this, I have collected information from central authorities on groups usually excluded from shelters such as drug addicts, mental health patients, and immigrants. In this way, flows between various levels of homelessness have been taken into consideration (Wolch and Dear, 1993, Hopper 1991, Sossin *et al* 1990).

The data set includes 59 administrative units following the definition of the National Statistical Services of Greece (NSSG) which includes in the Urban Agglomeration of Athens those “*municipalities and communes which border on each other so that they can be considered a built area*” (NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece 1998, page 38).

The indicators chosen for the analysis were initially split into three sets:

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<sup>1</sup> For details about the sample and interviewing see Chapter 1 and the structured questionnaire in Appendix 1.

### **A) Variables of Housing Deprivation**

These were computed from data provided by the NSSG for every municipality and commune out of a 10% sample of the 1991 population census (in parenthesis names of variables appearing in reporting of findings):

A1. Number of persons per thousand of inhabitants living in Non-Regular Dwellings according to the definition given above (NREG)

A2. Percentage of Dwellings without Electricity (NELEC)

A3. Percentage of Dwellings without Water (NWATER)

A4. Percentage of Dwellings without Sanitation (NSANIT)

A5. Percentage of Dwellings without Central Heating (NHEAT)

A6. Percentage of Inhabitants living in Dwellings with fewer than two rooms per person (OVERCR)

A7. Percentage of Public Property Dwellings<sup>2</sup> (PUBLIC)

Housing variables were computed from the 1991 population census. Of particular interest are the definitions given by the NSSG for counting dwellings because I extensively use these measures in the indicators computed.

*“Dwelling: a separate independent space which, by the way it has been built, rebuilt or converted is intended for habitation or one not intended for habitation but occupied as living quarters at the time of the census”* (NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1998, page 39).

*“A non-regular dwelling: a) spaces intended for human habitation, constructed however, with cheap or locally available raw materials (hunts, shanties), b) spaces not intended for habitation but used as a dwelling (stables, barns, garages, warehouses, offices, natural caves, etc.); c) mobile housing units which have been made to be transported and are intended for habitation (trailers, ships, boats, yachts, caravans and gypsy camps)”* (NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece 1998, page 39).

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<sup>2</sup> Includes ‘Institutional Households’, i.e. state social infrastructure hospitals and shelters as well as social housing dwellings of state property. Whether this variable correlates with measures of housing deprivation or with variables of institutionalised care is subject to empirical analysis.

### **B) Variables of Demographic and Social Disadvantage**

These were also computed with 1991 population census data for every municipality

B1. Percentage of manual labourers, craftsmen, machine operators and technicians (ISIC codes 7, 8 and 9) in economically active population (WRKCL)<sup>3</sup>

B2. Percentage of persons that have not gone further than primary education (EPRIM)

B3. Population change (POPCH)

B4. Unemployment Rate (UNRATE)

### **C) Variables of Institutionalised Care and Accommodation**

These were computed for every municipality and commune from a combination of sources. The database I developed includes information on addresses and location of units so data can be matched with the population census.

C1. Shelters and institutional units per thousand inhabitants (UTHP)

C2. Beds in shelters and institutions per thousand inhabitants (SBTHP)

C3. Location Quotient of Mental Health Beds (LQMENT)

C4. Location Quotients of Beds in Not for Profit Houses for the Elderly (LQELD)

C5. Location Quotients of Beds for Non-protected Children (LQCHILD)

C6. Location Quotients of beds for 'Other' Categories totalling beds for HIV, EX-Convicts, substance abusers, 'homeless', and abused women. (LQOTH)

C7. Location Quotients for shelters run by local authorities (LQLOC)

C8. Location Quotients for shelters run by the Church (LQCHU)

C9. Location Quotients for shelters run by NGOs (LQNGO)

C10. Location Quotients for shelters run by the State (LQSTA)

Location Quotients (LQ) are descriptive measures of concentration. The LQ is used to identify the proportionate distribution of a given group among areas. The LQ refers to the ratio of the fractional share of beds at municipal level to the same ratio at the urban agglomeration level. In algebraic terms:  $Lq_{im} = B_{im}/B_m \cdot B_{ia}/B_a$

B= capacity in Beds, i= type of Institution, m= municipality, a= Athens Agglomeration

<sup>3</sup> This broad classification includes many forms of waged relations and self-employment in both the formal and the informal sector. Thus, the term 'working class' is used indicatively to denote the predominance of working class amongst traditional petty bourgeois households and popular strata (Leontidou 1990).

## 5.2. Extent and Levels of Housing Deprivation and Homelessness

In his attempt to grasp global variations of homelessness, Hopper (1991) outlines social-ecological and disaffiliation definitions and suggests that spaces of homelessness can be mapped in a two-by-two matrix along the axis of visibility and formality. In Figure 5.1, I provide a classification and my aggregate estimates for the extent of various levels of homelessness in Athens. The matrix differs from Hopper's suggestion because various types of shelter have been placed in each cell (1,2,3,4) in order to best depict the institutional context in Athens.

Figure 5.1: Levels of Homelessness and Housing Deprivation in Athens

(Adopted by Hopper 1991 and modified)

	<i>Visible Homelessness</i>	<i>Invisible Homelessness and Deprivation</i>
<i>Formal Homelessness</i>	<p>(1)</p> <p>Shelters for Urgent and Transit Accommodation (Estimated 1,600 Greeks only)</p>	<p>(3)</p> <p>Hospitals, Psychiatric Facilities, Residential Houses for the elderly poor and children (Estimated 6,000 Greeks only)</p>
<i>Informal Homelessness</i>	<p>(2)</p> <p>Sleeping Rough (Estimated 1,000 Greeks and 8,000 aliens)</p>	<p>(4)</p> <p>Housing deprivation, Substandard Housing, Lack of Ownership and Poverty (Estimated 225,000: 140,000 Greeks and 85,000 aliens)</p>

As with any classification of homelessness, the typology is not hard and fast for two reasons which, as will be argued below, are extremely important in the Greek context. The first reason is that homelessness in Greece, especially when narrowly defined, is highly 'episodic', although it is of considerable extent. The second reason is that, in the absence of a statutory definition, shelter providers hold competing definitions both formally and informally. In effect, many more individuals than are officially recognised experience 'episodes' of homelessness either for a first time or in repetitive fashion (a kind of 'cyclical' homelessness). Consequently, there are many hybrids of both real conditions of homelessness and of discourses shaping them. Chapters 6 and 7 investigate whether the selection practices and client referrals among services contribute to artificially separating the 'hidden' from the 'visible' homeless. In this way, some light can be shed on aspects that statistical methods cannot capture.

Like Hopper (1991) I adopt a 'narrow' definition of visible homelessness as described in Cells 1 and 2. My estimates for Greek homeless persons narrowly defined, i.e. using shelters described in cells 1 and 2, do not result in a prevalence of homelessness in the city different from that nationally estimated by the European Observatory (0.8/1000). This number is slightly lower than the early 1980s estimates in the U.S. which yielded a 1.0 incidence of homelessness narrowly defined. When considering the fierce research and policy debates during that period in the U.S., public attention drawn on homelessness in Greece seems disproportionate to its actual extent. The next chapters will shed some light as to why official responses in Greece are effective in the rhetorical management of the problem. Moreover, when refugees and immigrants are taken into consideration the prevalence rises to 2.9/1000. Most significantly, my estimates indicate a larger number of roofless persons than the reports of the Observatory and a significant mobility amongst various forms of deprivation, which, as discussed in the next paragraphs, are due to high rejection rates for drug addicts, mental health patients and ex-convicts. Consequently, the ratio of the sheltered to the non-sheltered population is larger than widely believed for both Greeks and non-Greeks.

In the Greek context, as with the data currently available, Cells 3 and 4 ('invisible homelessness and deprivation') concern a population in housing deprivation, institutional treatment and poverty. Like Jencks (1994) and the U.S. Department of

the Environment (2001) I use poverty and lack of housing property as 'objective' criteria to identify worst case housing needs and risks of visible homelessness. Moreover, specific vulnerable groups and individuals, with significant employment, care and health needs follow diverse paths to visible homelessness, usually for short periods of time. Further research utilising data on employment, health and care needs could perhaps identify the precise conditions under which individuals shift from one grid to the other. In the absence of such quantitative data, this thesis provides some answers to this question by making use of qualitative material in the chapters which follow.

Cell 1 contains public and private shelters offering transitory or emergency accommodation to those who lack it. Shelters of this type were mostly established in the 1980s with the first moves to reform the penal, welfare, and health care systems. They can be taken as indications of a move to a 'de-institutionalised management' of the urban poor in line with trends towards decentralization and privatisation of the welfare state (Wolch and DeVerteuil 2001). Some providers recognize that their clients are homeless. They usually run 'generic' shelters of temporary accommodation for heterogeneous vulnerable groups. The most representative example is the shelter of the municipality of Athens. There are also shelters addressing the needs of particular groups (mainly delinquents, ex-prisoners, HIV patients). However, there are providers of transitory accommodation without officially recognizing their clients as 'genuine- homeless' (e.g., shelters for abused women). This indeed is a paradox but reflects the misconceptions and stereotypical views of many providers as well as the lack of a statutory definition of homelessness. These cases could perhaps also be placed in cell 3 (formal invisible homelessness), yet their clients do not have the same needs as children, the elderly poor and the mentally ill who are found in institutionalised accommodation. The number of 1,600 individuals per annum in temporary accommodation is estimated as follows: 1,170 (beds of temporary accommodation according to my data base from central sources) \* 0.7 (average occupancy rate as recorded in my survey) \* 2 (average rotation rate as recorded in my survey)<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> The use of the average rotation rate does not lead to double counting as readmissions are prohibited in the vast majority of shelters.

Cell 2 contains public and private spaces occasionally used by people sleeping rough and temporary shelters lacking basic hygiene and natural protection facilities. In total, I estimate that there are 9,000 individuals (Greeks and aliens) in such conditions.

According to my survey of 16 shelters, there are approximately 300 Greek applicants excluded from the inner city shelters mainly because of admission regulations regarding mental health or drug or alcohol dependence. Central mental health authorities and NGOs working in communities and the street estimate an additional number of 400-500 drug abusers and individuals with mental illness never reaching shelters. For both drug abusers and mental health patients a highly periodical movement between flat sharing, street living, kin support, and accommodation in psychiatric clinics has been reported. Thus, there are annually approximately 700-800 'roofless' Greek individuals in the city of Athens alone (The European Observatory in 1995 estimated a total of 350 in Greece as a whole).

From NGO sources I estimate there to be 8,000 immigrants and refugees in semi-legal conditions annually requesting temporary housing assistance in the Athens area. Health NGOs also report conditions detrimental to the health of their clients and a high turn over between substandard housing conditions and street living. Shelters for aliens could also be considered as a form of informal invisible homelessness. Yet, the housing conditions of these people are so poor and visible in local areas that I suggest they should be counted as literally homeless.

Cell 3 includes institutions, mainly public, whose primary function is not to provide shelter but which inadvertently or tacitly tolerate individuals without shelter on their premises and thus provide a solution for the duration of their stay (e.g., 'bed-lockers' in general and psychiatric hospitals and detoxification centres, persons in fragile conditions of de-institutionalisation). The actual amount of persons cannot be estimated due to the lack of formal registries in asylums. Nonetheless, according to central mental health agencies there are 2,800 occupied beds for mental health patients and drug abusers in a slow moving programme for the 'Modernisation of the Health Care System'. Deficiencies of the management of the programme contribute to the reported movement between in-patient psychiatric treatment and the street, and increase risks of drifting to visible homelessness.

Invisible formal homelessness also includes institutional accommodation, mainly provided by secular and religious charities, for the elderly poor and children. There are 2,860 beds for the elderly and 430 beds in units for children mainly run by the Church and the NGOs (with high occupancy rates of approximately 90% and low turnover). This type of accommodation is in many cases poor, although there is significant variation in the quality of provisions particularly amongst homes for the elderly. Both public and charity institutions can be taken as remnants of an old model for the management of the poor in the Greek familistic regime.

Cell 4 includes various conditions of housing deprivation and substandard housing. According to the 1991 survey of the population and dwellings, 4,860 (0.4% of total) dwellings lacked electricity, 1,700 (0.1% of the total) dwellings lacked water, 1,310 (0.1% of total) dwellings lacked sanitation, and 96,832 (7.3% of total) dwellings lacked heating. The average number of room per person is 1.6 in the city, but it ranges from 1.2 (in less affluent areas) to 3.7 (in more affluent areas). From this data it is not possible to detect an overall estimate of numbers of people although it is possible to study the spatial distribution of dwellings (and, respectively, of housing deprivation) as in the sections which follow.

The 1999 survey of DEPOS, applying the standards of the French national survey of housing conditions, provides the most accurate percentage of people being in both poverty and substandard housing. According to this survey, poor Greek citizens account for 13.8% of the Greek population in Athens, of them 63.7% are in substandard housing and 52.3% in rented accommodation. This amounts to approximately 140,000 Greek citizens. In addition to this, the survey recorded 4.8% of immigrants in the total population out of which 66.5% were found in substandard housing and 91.8% in private rented accommodation, raising the number of aliens in rented substandard housing to approximately 85,000. The total number of 365,000 individuals can be taken as an estimate of those at risk of visible homelessness very close to what the U.S. Department of the Environment defines as 'worst case housing needs' (HUD 2001, page 2).

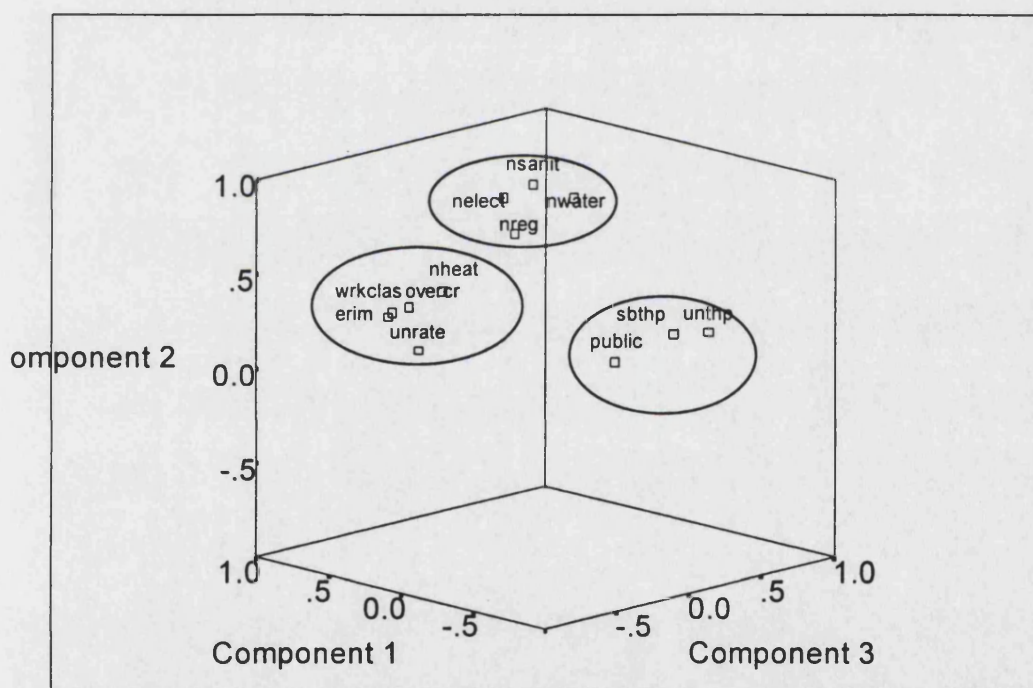


### 5.3. Findings of the Principal Component Analysis

#### 5.3.1. Identification of principal components

Having provided a picture of the extent of various levels of homelessness and deprivation, the following sections examine their spatial distribution. The three sets of Housing, Social-Demographic, and Institutionalised Care Variables were initially used for the extraction of the principal components. Application of statistical criteria and procedures<sup>5</sup> resulted in the extraction of three principal components that account for 83.23% of the total variance of the data (Table 2, Appendix 3). The three components are found to be summarising different dimensions of social disadvantage and housing conditions in the municipalities of Athens. Variables sharing the same principal component are graphically presented in the Component Plot below:

**Figure 5.2. Component Plot in Rotated Space**



<sup>5</sup> SPSS for Windows 8.0 used for the analysis. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis of Correlation Matrix. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation  
Components extracted were accepted when a) Eigen Values of Components > 1 and descending (Figure 1 in Appendix 3), b) Total Variance Explained > 75%, (Table 2 in Appendix 3), c) Communality of all indicators > 71 (Table 1 in Appendix 3). Else variables were removed and extraction attempted on remaining variables until all criteria were satisfied.

The components were named out of the variables which are found to 'belong' in them as shown in the Rotated Component Matrix below. The Rotated Component Matrix contains estimated coefficients of the relation of each variable to the underlying component after rotation. Thus the Rotation Component Matrix can be read as a table illustrating, which variables are summarised in the same component.

Table 5.1: Rotated Component Matrix<sup>6</sup>

VARIABLES	COMPONENT		
	1 Working Class Housing Deprivation	2 Substandard Housing	3 Institutionalisation
<b>EPRIM</b> % Inhabitants not gone further than primary education	.937		
<b>WRKCL</b> %working-class in economically active population	.931		
<b>UNRATE</b> Unemployment Rate	.925		
<b>OVERCR</b> % Inhabitants in Dwellings with fewer than 2 rooms per person	.912		
<b>NHEAT</b> % Dwellings without heating	.841		
<b>NWATER</b> % Dwellings without water		.956	
<b>NELEC</b> % Dwellings without electricity		.902	
<b>NSANIT</b> % Dwellings without sanitation		.890	
<b>NREG</b> Persons per 1000 pop. in non-regular dwellings		.849	
<b>UTHP</b> Shelters and institutional units per 1000 population			.867
<b>SBTHP</b> Shelter and institutional beds per 1000 population			.810
<b>PUBLIC</b> % Public Property Dwellings			.793

It is interesting to note that principal component analysis reveals a data structure which differs from the initial classification (Housing, Social Demographic, Institutionalisation Variables):

Housing Variables are split into two subsets, one measuring housing deprivation (overcrowding and lack of central heating) the other measuring substandard housing (lack of basic amenities and construction below standards). All housing indicators were retained in the model.

<sup>6</sup> Variables printed in descending order of coefficients. Values of coefficients less than 0.6 not printed.

Variables of Social Demographic Disadvantage were all correlated with the measuring of housing deprivation and the prevalence of the working class. Thus it was found appropriate to name this the 'Working Class Housing Deprivation' Component. Population change was negatively correlated with housing deprivation, a sign of stagnation in working class areas, but as it did not increase the total variance explained by this component, it was not retained in the model. Nonetheless, the significance of demographical stagnation and geographical immobility of traditional popular strata is discussed in clustering results, section 5.4.2.

Lack of Basic Amenities and Substandard Housing form the second component, which does not include any measures of social-demographic disadvantage, although this is the case for a limited number of municipalities, as discussed in cluster analysis.

The institutionalised care indicators and public ownership of dwellings share the same underlying factor. It was noted earlier that 'public dwellings' is an aggregate variable of the population census including a limited number of social housing units and mainly state social infrastructures. Thus, the linear association with variables of institutionalised care was to be expected and confirms the reliability of the data set created through various sources. Location quotients for both providers (the Church, NGOs, State, Local State) and groups (Elderly, Children, Mental Health, and 'other' groups) had to be removed to reach a statistically acceptable solution. This means that the location of a single type of shelter alone is not adequate to explain the concentration of homelessness, but only in the case of large units and agglomerations of various types of institutional accommodation.

### *5.3.2. Analysis of principal components*

The results of the method are useful for three fundamental reasons:

First, they reveal the prevalence (relative concentration) of institutional accommodation and housing deprivation across discrete city areas. This indicates that formal homelessness and housing deprivation are spatially distinct phenomena.

Second, they point out that factors related to the socio-economic structure of municipalities (education, unemployment, and residential segregation of the working class) are spatially associated with housing deprivation but not with location of institutional care or transition shelters (formal homelessness).

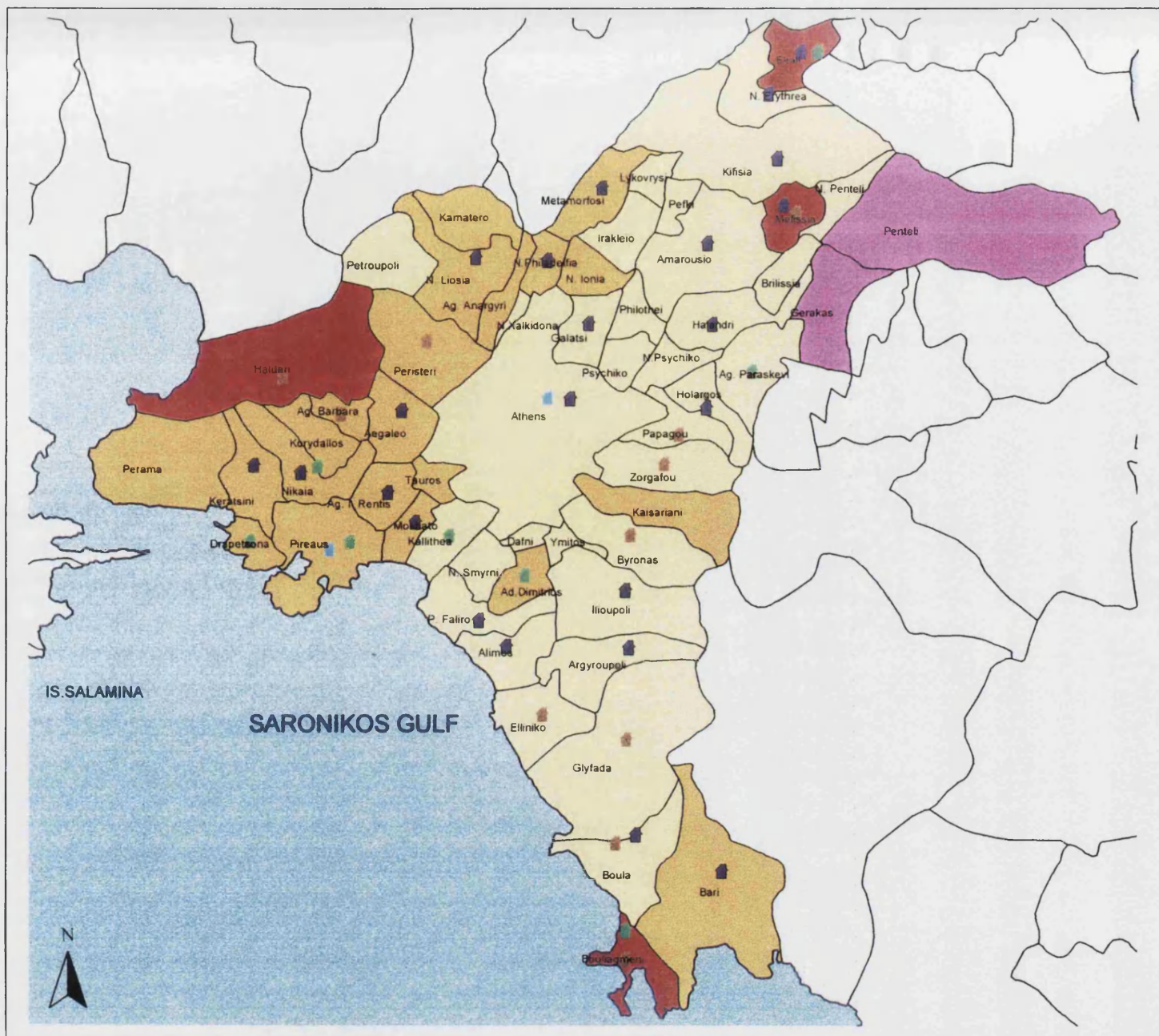
Third, they suggest a differentiated pattern between formal visible and formal invisible homelessness. Formal invisible homelessness, mainly units for the mentally ill and the elderly poor, tend to be segregated in a small number of municipalities, whilst formal visible homelessness, mainly transitory shelters, are scattered over the city in a non-standardised way.

From this point of view the method enables us to identify areas which concentrate a population at different risks of homelessness. However, this interpretation should also consider data limitations. Measures for risk factors such as poverty, lack of ownership, fragile family status, were not taken into consideration under informal invisible homelessness because of lack of data. Lack of formal education and unemployment that I have used, although shown to be efficient predictors of poverty nationally (Tsakloglou and Panopoulou 1998), are only proxy variables for its spatial prevalence in certain city areas. Taking these comments into consideration, each component can be discussed in the light of historical and contemporary socio-economic changes in the city presented in the previous chapter. Maps 1 (page 134) and 2 (page 135) of the Athens agglomeration are illustrative of the arguments developed. Mapping procedures and clustering of areas using different measures of homelessness and deprivation are presented with detail in section 5.4.









## LEGEND

- COASTLINE
- ATHENS URBAN AGGLOMERATION
- INSTITUTIONALIZATION POLES
- WORKING CLASS HOUSING DEPRIVATION
- REST OF ATHENS
- SUBSTANDARD HOUSING FRINGES
- REST OF PREFECTURE OF ATTIKI
- LOCATION SPECIALISATION OF
- STATE
- LOCAL AUTHORITIES
- NGOs
- CHURCH

DIGITAL MAP BY SOPHIA LEHIS

## MAP 2

HOMELESSNESS IN ATHENS

HOUSING CONDITIONS  
AND LOCATION QUOTIENTS OF  
SHELTER PROVIDERS

The term working class housing deprivation was given to the first component because two measures of housing disadvantage were associated with the prevalence of the working class. This finding confirms other studies according to which heating problems and lack of space are housing problems that working class households commonly face (Kouveli 1996, Emmanuel *et al* 1996). The two measures alone do not imply the risk of losing one's home and they seem to be less clearly associated with lack of basic amenities. Consequently, they should be conceived as measures that best describe the relative housing disadvantage of the working class when compared with other classes. What is most interesting is that two more structural variables (education and unemployment) are also found to be strongly associated with working class deprivation. The finding suggests the limits of informal practices in counterbalancing inequalities of formal public (education) and private (labour market and housing market) mechanisms across the 'west-east' division in the city (represented by different yellow-shading in maps 1 and 2), historically segregating and accommodating the working class.

Variables summarised in the substandard housing component (mainly regular dwellings without sanitation, electricity, and water, but also non-regular dwellings like tents, huts and caravans) are not associated with the prevalence of the working class, and unemployment. Substandard housing seems to be unevenly distributed within some working class areas (maps 1 and 2: *Perama, Drapetsona, Kamatero, Menidi*) and on urban fringes (maps 1 and 2: *Gerakas and Penteli*). This pattern can be taken as an indication that the city is still expanding in an informal manner. Apart from the lack of resources for sanitation, electricity and water connections are subject to a mix of political mediation for legalisation of illegal constructions, and continuous urban plan extensions often accompanied with changes in planning norms. Informality encapsulates both a speculative spirit of sub-urbanisation, through practices of middle classes, and the search for minimal security, through practices of underprivileged groups. In both cases the state is a laggard. It functions ex-post and ad-hoc when it comes to expanding city plans to legitimise properties and illegal constructions outside city borders. A large number of these dwellings provide shelter to gypsies, severely deprived working class households, and agrarian labourers on the periphery of the city. These dwellings and households can be considered to be in invisible informal homelessness.

Institutionalisation obeys a distinct location rationale, which mostly concerns concentration of public sector shelters and traditional institutions (formal invisible homelessness). In this case social control and care function of the state has its own pattern of concentration that needs be associated with its preference for large institutional units over smaller social housing and community units. Social control and social care functions of public agencies are related to a traditional management of poor households, when the latter fail to meet care needs of their vulnerable members. Private and religious charity shelters, predominantly smaller units of traditional institutional care (formal invisible homelessness) but also emergency units for the 'homeless' (formal visible homelessness) are distributed unevenly across both working and middle class areas without a standardised pattern (see the distribution of shelter providers represented by the 'houses' in map 2).

To summarize, the findings show that the main material (housing and employment) and ideological (education, care and control) private and state mechanisms contribute to a clear social and spatial separation that informal relations cannot counterbalance. This is a finding that contradicts earlier studies (Maloutas 1993, Economou 1992, Leontidou 1990) which stressed, each to a different degree, socio-spatial homogenisation in Athens. The findings of my analysis arise because, unlike the aforementioned studies, statistical elaboration has examined not only the location of the working class households but also its association with housing conditions, education, public care, and unemployment. Spatial separation becomes evident when jointly examining the material and ideological mechanisms that allocate resources to cope with social and housing insecurity.

Consequently, the homogenisation thesis can be contested on three principal grounds:

a) The West-East division refers to the deprivation of the working class in terms of housing, employment, and education and reflects a pattern of social polarisation; b) there is intense concentration of large units caring for the mentally ill, orphanages, and homes for elderly poor; c) there is a non-standardised distribution of small size, secular and religious, shelters for a variety of vulnerable groups as well as dispersion of substandard housing within working class areas and on urban fringes, which create a mosaic of inequalities along the general pattern of polarisation. Overall, the findings



verify the limits of informal practices in sustaining equality and welfare across the urban space. On this basis it can be argued that 'homogenisation' is an ideological construct, which conceals housing deprivation and various levels of homelessness.

## **5.4. Cluster results and analysis<sup>7</sup>**

### **5.4.1. Deduction of clusters**

Using the scores<sup>8</sup> of principal components, four (4) clusters of municipalities were derived. From the variety of clustering techniques I opted for 'disjoint' rather than 'overlapping' clusters (Everitt 1980). On methodological grounds this choice was made in order to reflect the findings of the principal components' analysis that different types of housing deprivation and homelessness are spatially 'disjoint' and 'segregated'. In this sense, clusters are wider areas containing municipalities with a similar prevalence (relative concentration) of component scores, and respectively I named them: 'Areas of Working Class Housing Deprivation', 'Substandard Housing Fringes', 'Institutionalisation Poles' and 'Rest of Athens'.

Overlapping of distinct levels of housing deprivation and homelessness within clusters, i.e., in smaller scale areas, mainly concerns the concentration of substandard housing in some working class areas and the concentration of particular types of shelter in both working and middle class areas. The former I named 'Working Class Substandard Housing Fringes' and the latter 'Pockets of Philanthropy'.

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<sup>7</sup> SPSS 8.0 for Windows used for the analysis. Clustering Method: 'K Means'. The number of clusters (=K) is set a-priori and cases are chosen to maximise differences across municipalities in different clusters. A problem common to all clustering techniques is the difficulty of deciding the number of clusters present in the data. Optimization techniques that apply also have limitations and several alternative classifications are suggested (Everitt 1980). I set K=2 and then I increase the number of clusters until the reduction in the sum of squares for all 3 principal component scores becomes statistically insignificant (K=4, For this procedure see Hartigan 1975). This means I opted for 'disjoint' rather than 'overlapping' clusters (Everitt 1980). A smaller (K<4) or larger (K>4) number of clusters resulted in 'overlapping clusters'. However, the overlapping clusters simply devised sub-areas usually adjacent and without changing the polarized structure presented here. Such sub-areas are discussed in the text without proceeding into a more formal statistical procedure that would have complicated rather than enlightened the findings and digital mapping.

<sup>8</sup> Amongst a variety of methods (Rokos 1988, Coombes 1995) that apply for indicators and scores of principal components I considered the following: the first, finally chosen and presented here, took into account all 3 principal components and a single number of clusters (K=4) was deducted by the procedure discussed in note above. The second method also tested, took principal components separately (1,2,3) and deducted a number of clusters (K1=2, K2=2, K3=3, total K=7) for each one of them. The resulting clusters were again in this case 'overlapping' but the same arguments as developed in note 6 apply. Findings of all these alternatives suggest stability of the spatial structure of data.

Clusters and smaller scale areas (as shown in maps 1 and 2) present a clear spatial pattern and they were named after the components and their location pattern (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2.: Clusters of Housing Conditions and Homelessness in Athens

Cluster Name	Location	Number of Municipalities
<b>1. Substandard Housing Fringes</b>	On fringes of Urban Expansion: North-East	2
<b>2. Institutionalisation Poles</b>	West, North-East, South. Follow triangular shaping of urban agglomeration	4
<b>3. Working Class Housing Deprivation</b>	Developing from Centre to South-West	21
<i>Working Class Substandard Housing Fringes</i>	On fringes of expanding working class areas	
<i>Pockets of Philanthropy</i>	Smaller scale areas mainly with homes for the elderly poor run by the Church, NGOs and the Local Authorities	
<b>4. Rest of Athens</b>	Developing from Centre to North- East	32
<i>Pockets of Philanthropy</i>	Smaller scale areas mainly with emergenc shelters for the homeless in inner city Athens, homes for children run by the Church and NGOs, community mental health units developing eastwards adjacent to Athens	

The sections which follow discuss each of the clusters firstly in relation to the specific variables that have been summarised in the three components in order to provide a more detailed picture of their variance and to highlight overlapping tendencies within each cluster. In this way, it is possible to identify the existence of substandard housing areas within wider working class areas. Then I turn to examine the clusters in relation to location quotients of various types of shelter not included in the principal components, in order to grasp smaller scale variances and location preferences of providers. Thus, smaller scale concentration of shelters in 'pockets of philanthropy' can also be discussed. The analysis is made on the basis of ANOVA, which compares differences within clusters (between municipalities belonging to the same cluster) and between clusters (between municipalities belonging to different clusters). Figures comparing means of variables across the clusters and maps of the Athens agglomeration (maps 1 and 2) are illustrative of the arguments developed. Maps 1 and 2 have clusters as a common background (each cluster is coloured differently). Detailed ANOVA results and descriptive statistics are provided in Appendix 4.

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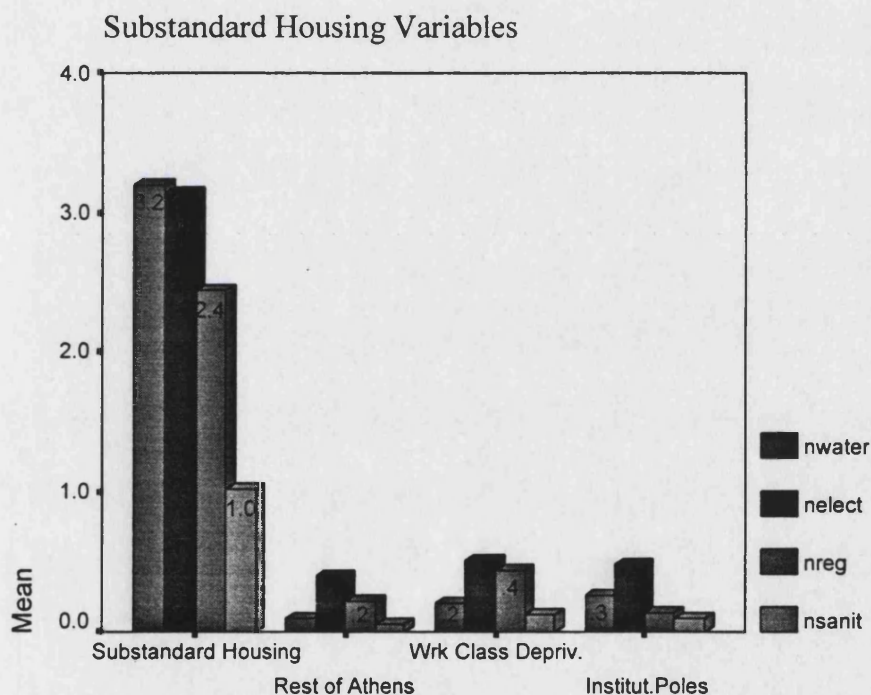
them. The resulting clusters were again in this case 'overlapping' but the same arguments as developed in note 6 apply. Findings of all these alternatives suggest stability of the spatial structure of data.

#### 5.4.2. Analysis of housing variables

The results from the analysis of variance illustrate that differences between clusters are larger than differences between municipalities of the same cluster for all housing variables. This is a statistical confirmation of the clustering method applied.

It is worth commenting first on differences between the means of variables that describe substandard housing as presented in Figure 5.3:

**Figure 5.3:**



To describe the extent of the problem we need to note that the mean of any single indicator does not exceed the peak of 3.2% of dwellings (see also minimum and maximum values in Table 1.1 of Appendix 4). All variables are evidently the highest on 'substandard housing fringes' (map 1 and map 2, coloured red) and the 'lowest in rest of Athens' (Figure 5.3).

It is interesting to note that working class areas rank second in the prevalence, 0.44%, to 'non-regular dwellings' (shacks, tents, caravans) and also in the percentage of

'regular dwellings' without electricity and sanitation. Although mean differences of working class areas from 'institutionalisation poles' and 'rest of Athens' are not large in absolute numbers, they are statistically significant (as F-coefficients indicate in Table 1.2 of Appendix 4). On this basis one can identify substandard housing fringes within working class municipalities (*Perama, Drapetsona, Kamatero, Menidi, Ymittos*) which score well above the Athens average. Some of them accommodate traditional working class strata that have not managed to catch up even in relative terms of deprivation whilst others still receive return immigrants or gypsies (*Menidi, Ymittos, Kamatero*).

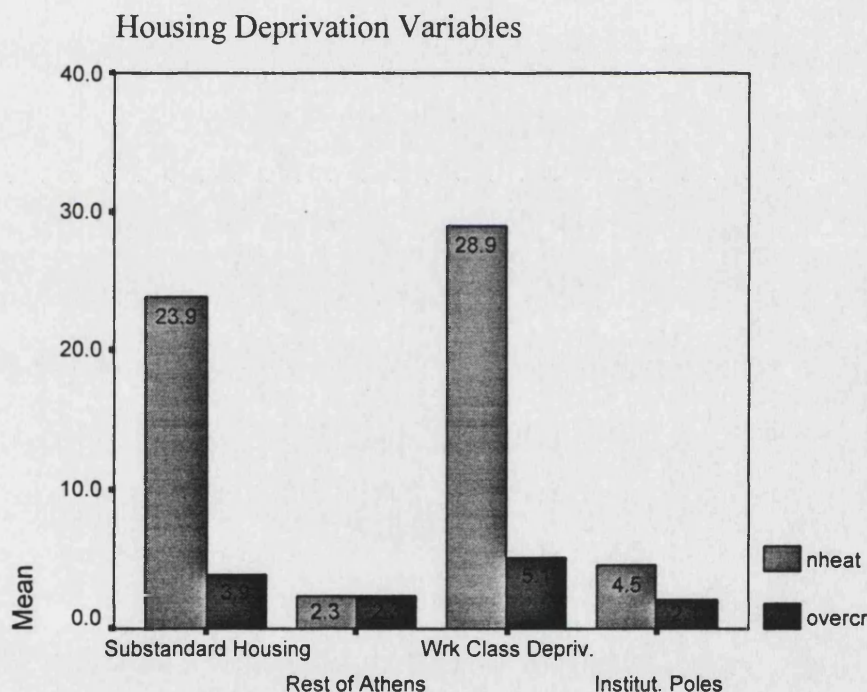
Figure 5.4 presents the means of the two measures of relative housing disadvantage in the four clusters. As measures of deprivation, lack of central heating and lack of space affect far larger population groups. Lack of space and lack of central heating are problems evident first in working class areas (5.11% of inhabitants in dwellings with fewer than 2 rooms per person and 28.94% of dwellings without central heating), second on substandard housing fringes (3.88 % of inhabitants and 23,85% of dwellings), third in institutionalisation poles (2.06% of inhabitants and 4,5% of dwellings) and in the rest of Athens (2.3% inhabitants and 2.3% of dwellings). An interesting pattern evident in Figure 5.4 is that working class areas and substandard fringes, despite their own differences, score much higher than the rest of Athens and institutionalisation poles. This statistical proximity reinforces the argument that substandard fringes can be found both within traditional working class areas, at the west side of the city and in newly expanding areas at the east side of the city. Differences between west and east fringes mainly concern the prevalence of traditional working class households and older constructions in the west as compared to a significant number of agrarian workers and newer, yet inadequate, constructions in the east.

Indicators also refer to differences in the type of dwellings, the quality of the housing stock and the construction process. Despite renewal efforts on the periphery of the city, dysfunctional working class dwellings, many of them illegal constructions that gradually became part of the city plan, are old single-storey houses without central heating, adequate space, and in need of significant renovation that cannot be afforded by owners (Kouveli, 1995, estimates this type of dwelling to be 10-15% of the total



housing stock in Athens). In the 'rest of Athens' small apartments are dysfunctional units on the ground floor and in the basement of old multi-storey buildings or large poor quality commercial constructions (Kouveli 1995, Emmanuel 1996, estimate that they are 20-25% of the housing stock). These were built in the 1960s in a speculative spirit by small landowners and small construction enterprises to accommodate the demographic explosion of Athens. Today, these units are rented to accommodate immigrants in the centre of the city (Maloutas 2000). Thus, it can be argued that self-built practices and home-ownership have reached a plateau in reducing housing inequalities at the same time as housing market mechanisms are creating new forms of inequality between poor Greeks, immigrants and new middle classes.

**Figure 5.4:**



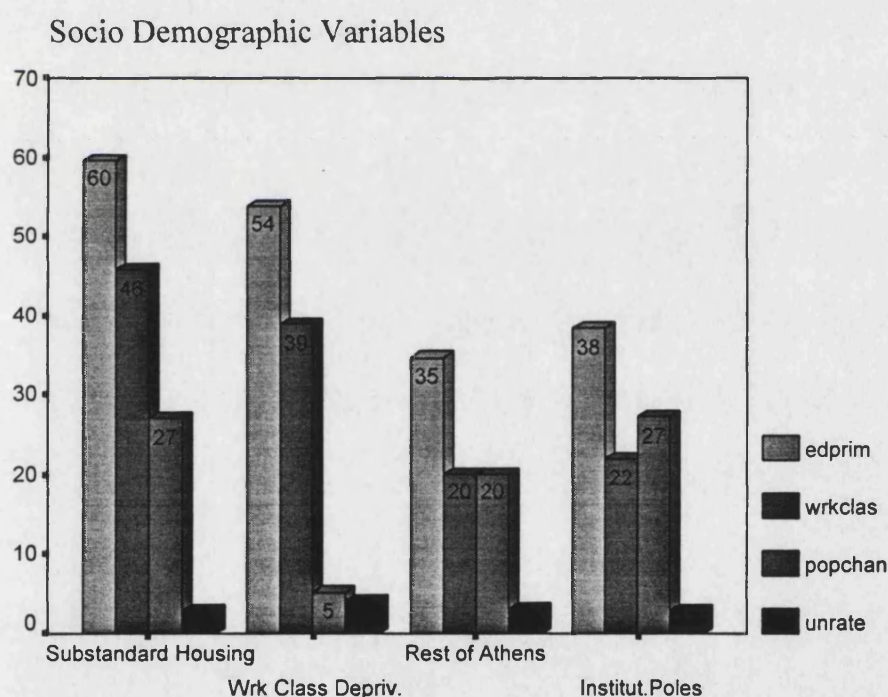
According to Figure 5.4, institutionalisation poles show a similarity with areas in the main urban fabric not characterized by housing disadvantage. This can be explained by the fact that institutionalisation poles are not located, except in one case- *Haidari* in working class areas. Closed care centres were built in developing areas in different historical periods and thus are easily recognised on the south, west and east triangular shaping of greater Athens on the map (1 & 2). Location of traditional institutional houses in developing areas was affected by a variety of factors: before and shortly

after the war by a 'romanticised anti-urban impulse' in the treatment of orphans, the elderly, and the mentally ill (similar to that noted by Ruddick in the U.S., 1996); and during the urban explosion in the '60s in the search for available space outside inner city areas, which were intensively exploited and densely built with small construction capital. In the course of urban expansion (*Haidari, Korydallos*) and sub-urbanisation (*Ekali, Melissia, Vouliagmeni*) such centres were surrounded by proper residences.

#### 5.4.3. Analysis of social and demographic variables

Clusters are different across all social and demographic variables computed (ANOVA Table 2.2 of Appendix 4) and this is illustrated in Figure 5.5.

**Figure 5.5:**



The share of the working class in the total active population and the share of residents not having completed more than primary school follow exactly the same pattern. Working class areas score first, substandard housing fringes second, the rest of Athens third and poles of institutionalisation fourth.

Data on unemployment rates are outdated and should not be taken as a good expression of their magnitude today. However, there is no current statistical or administrative source that provides any better indication of the problem across all municipalities. Under these constraints, variance of unemployment rates across clusters may be considered a good indication of disadvantages accumulated in working areas because they indeed reach the peak of 4.1% when the mean of unemployment in municipalities of all other clusters is less than 3 % (Figure 5.5, Table 2.1 of Appendix 4).

Population change was excluded from the principal component analysis on the basis of statistical criteria applied for extraction of common factors. However, as shown in Figure 5.5 (also Appendix 4), clusters can be taken to explain variances in population change as well. Between 1981 and 1991 the population of working class areas increased by 5%. This increase was lower than the average for Athens and the lowest of all areas. Substandard housing fringes, poles of institutionalisation and more affluent central areas had a population increase above 20%.

Working class areas show similarity with substandard housing fringes with regard to working class prevalence and lower education. However, substandard housing fringes exhibit a higher population growth and a lower educational level than all other areas (Figure 5.5). This can be explained by the prevalence of agrarian labourers, travelling salesmen (gypsies), casual workers, and more recently arrived immigrants in these areas. Substandard housing fringes attract populations facing multiple risks and accommodate them as the city is still expanding. The same demographic trend is evident in the case of substandard housing fringes within or on the borders of working class areas. In such cases a process of cumulative disadvantage can be recognised. Conversely, historical working class areas show a limited capacity to absorb new population and grow dynamically.

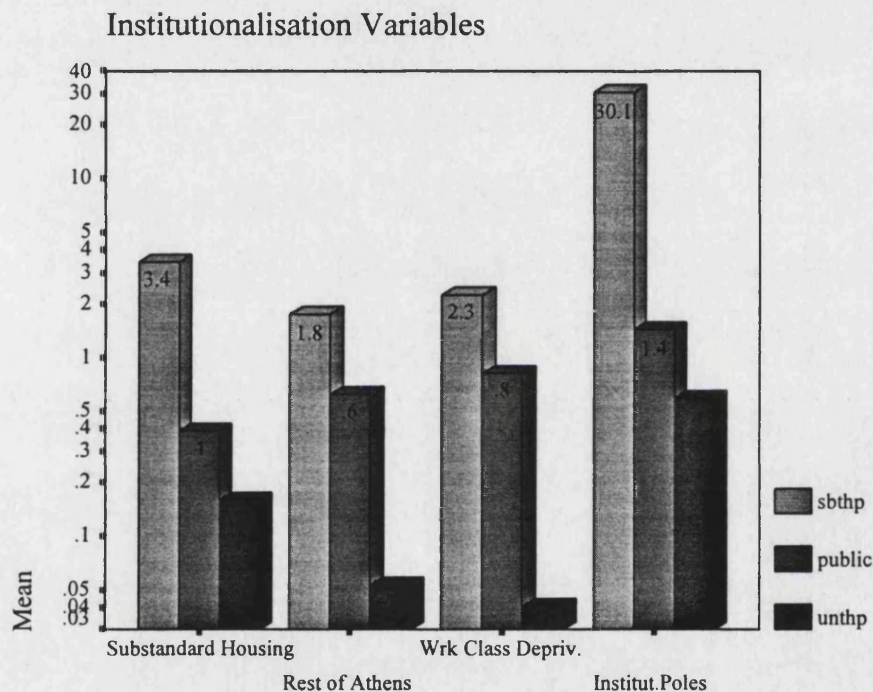
Moreover, one could argue that the social and demographic profile of poles of institutionalisation is similar to the profile of the relatively affluent areas of Athens. In the process of sub-urbanisation these areas attract 'upward' moving social strata and residences surrounding institutional care units.



#### 5.4.4. Analysis of institutionalisation variables

The next figure illustrates the sharp difference between clusters in terms of variables of institutionalisation and particularly for the capacity of each municipality in beds (shelter beds per 1000 inhabitants: SBTHP).

**Figure 5.6:**



ANOVA (F-scores in Table 3.2 of Appendix 4) points out that differences between means are statistically significant for all three indicators. Moreover, beds per thousand population (SBTHP) clearly stand to measure concentration of large units in poles, whilst a larger variation of units per thousand population (UNTHP) indicates a dispersal of smaller scale units. The share of public dwellings, that is an indicator of state building effort in social infrastructures and institutionalised care has already been discussed. However, the presence of public and private charities sheltering a variety of vulnerable groups in working class areas and in the rest of Athens can be best studied with location quotients in the sections which follow.



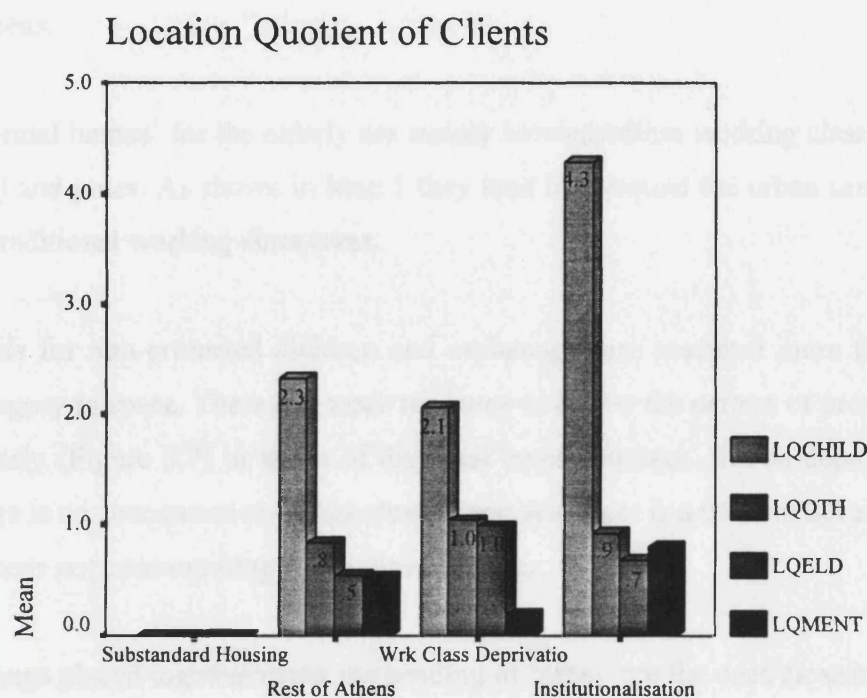
#### *5.4.5. Analysis of location quotients*

ANOVA (Table 4.2 of Appendix 4) points out that differences between municipalities in each cluster are larger than differences between municipalities of different clusters. This provides an argument for smaller scale concentrations of philanthropic and social control agencies within clusters and even within municipalities, which I have named 'pockets of philanthropy'. Pockets differ from poles because: a) they include smaller scale units, b) they mostly serve local or neighbouring areas although a system of referrals links them with poles, which receive clients from the whole country, and c) they concentrate a single provider (providers represented by houses in maps) and they serve a particular group of clients (client groups represented by human figures in maps). Moreover, pockets are located within both working class housing deprivation areas and in the rest of Athens but not on the substandard housing fringes.

Because of the ANOVA results, I compare differences in the means of location quotients between clusters as indicative of trends only. Use of maps is more helpful in identifying differences within clusters, i.e., between municipalities belonging to the same cluster. Maps 1 and 2 have clusters as a common background (each cluster is coloured differently). Location quotients for clients overlay clusters in Map 1, and Location Quotients for providers overlay clusters in Map 2. When  $LQ > 1$ , a municipality is taken to be 'specialising' in accommodation offered to a particular group or by a particular provider, respectively. Then a symbol of 'specialization' (as described in map legends: human figures for clients and houses for providers) is applied on the cluster background.

First I will analyse the location quotients of houses of closed care offered to various groups as depicted in Figure 5.7 and Map 1. Figure 5.7 depicts the means of location quotients of all municipalities contained in each cluster.

Figure 5.7:



Poles of institutionalisation score high for all groups. This is an indication that poles concentrate a variety of groups as opposed to pockets. High concentration is a result of the location of a variety of closed care services and accommodation. In *Haidari*, two hostels for mental health patients and a hostel for the treatment of substance abuse are close to the psychiatric asylum of 'Dafni' and are within walking distance from 'Dromokaiteio', another psychiatric asylum. In *Vouliagmeni* an orphanage and private houses for the elderly surround one of the three state hostels for the homeless. In *Melissia* two houses for the elderly are close to disability clinics and state hospitals. In *Ekali* private houses for the elderly and a disability clinic are near two orphanages.

Mental health location quotients show minor differences between the rest of Athens and Poles (Figure 5.7). This is because of the concentration of two asylums in one of the Poles and of new small units developing in areas that do not have accommodation facilities for any other group. In fact, the de-institutionalisation effort is depicted in relatively higher location quotients for the rest of Athens areas. Map 1 shows a pattern to develop hostels and protected apartments eastwards. Most of those apartments administratively belong to the psychiatric hospitals in Haidari and hence the 'de-institutionalised' population has moved east. Another reason is the development of

open mental health centres in municipalities adjacent to the eastern side of central Athens.

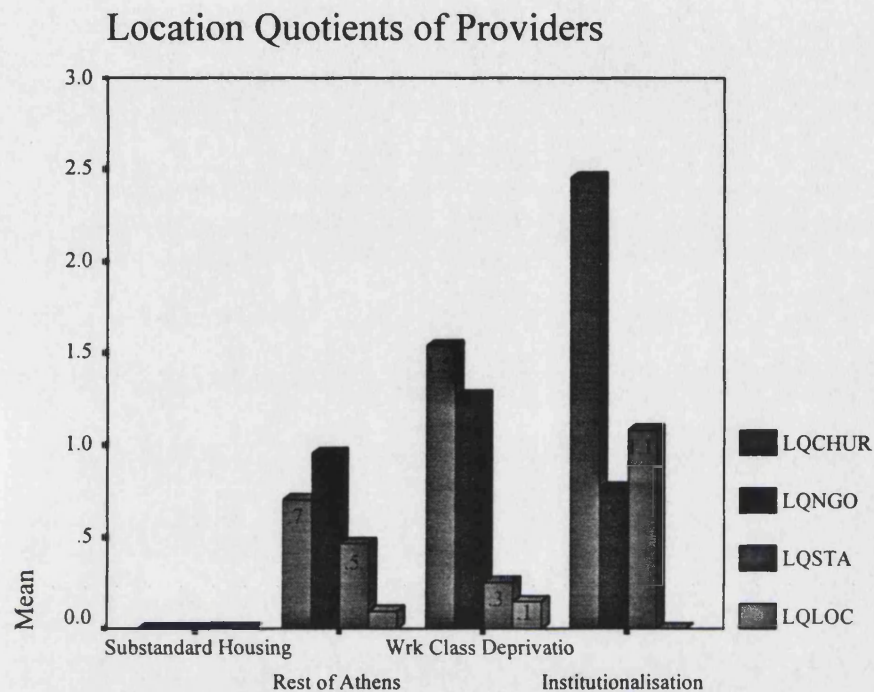
'Formal homes' for the elderly are mainly located within working class areas (Figure 5.7) and poles. As shown in Map 1 they tend to surround the urban centre of Piraeus in traditional working class areas.

Units for non-protected children and orphanages are scattered more than any other category in space. There is a weak tendency to follow the pattern of provisions for the elderly (Figure 5.7) in terms of dispersal across clusters. But as depicted in Map 1 there is no concentration within clusters and also there is a trend to develop in areas of Athens not concentrating social disadvantages.

Groups placed together under the heading of 'other' are the ones closest to the narrow definition of visible homelessness. Differences of accommodation for those groups across the clusters are negligible (Figure 5.7). Nonetheless, the Municipality of Athens accounts for one state emergency shelter with mixed composition of residents, two hotels rented by the municipality of Athens for the 'homeless', 2 shelters for ex-convicts, 2 shelters for women, 1 shelter for drug addicts. The majority of these shelters started their operation in the late 1980s and are dispersed in the municipality of Athens, and not only in inner city areas. Given the population of the municipality and their dispersal these shelters function as pockets rather than poles.

Location quotients for various providers, presented in Figure 5.8 and Map 2, have been calculated and graphically depicted in a manner identical to location quotients for clients.

Figure 5.8:



As shown in Figure 5.8 concentration of state activity is a major factor that accounts for the creation of poles, particularly for *Haidari*, *Vouliagmeni* and *Melissia*. State activity should however be placed in a historical context. Donations and charities of the bourgeois have become state property and this has, in the light of preferences for large scale units, enhanced their capacity. Such centres bear the names of donors ('Dromokaiteio', 'Skylitseio'). In his historical account of the psychiatric system in Greece, Ploumbidis (1981) explains how donors built the first institutions in Athens in the late 19th century to take care of the mental health needs of the bourgeoisie. In her ethnographic study of Greek psychiatry, Blue (1999) documents how the first public psychiatric facilities in Athens during the mid-War period provided camps as solutions to the housing needs of the mentally ill poor, who were congested in police stations, 'villas', tents and shacks. It was after the Second World War that the development of private psychiatry addressed the needs of the upper classes and gradually public institutions expanded and were turned into asylums to take care of the lower strata (Ploumbidis 1981).

The Church and NGOs have a tendency to develop their shelters in working class deprivation areas, a pattern established since the early post-War activities in these areas, as has been discussed in Chapter 4. This is a trend more evident in the case of traditional Church institutions, which are also concentrated in poles with large units for the elderly and orphanages. Religious and secular charities are the main providers for children and the elderly poor and consequently location quotients between the two vulnerable groups and the two providers exhibit a moderate similarity (compare Figures 5.7-5.8 and Maps 1-2). More recent initiatives provide shelter for non-protected children by various NGOs and account for a differentiated, less concentrated, location pattern.

Successive administrative reforms since the 1980s have shifted social policy responsibilities to local authorities but the fluid administrative framework gives rise to fragmentation and lack of coordination without providing a sound financial basis for decentralisation. Moreover, local authorities have been reluctant to undertake social housing schemes, and engage with the implementation of E.U. employment programmes mostly as a means of promoting the compassionate profile of local politicians. In the Greater Athens only three municipalities provide accommodation for the groups under discussion: the two metropolitan municipalities of Athens and Piraeus and the Municipality of Kallithea. Each of the two metropolitan municipalities runs a large house for the elderly, accommodating approximately 600 persons. The municipality of Athens has developed a special programme for the homeless, including two rented 'bed and breakfast hotels' in the inner city, and also runs a shelter for abused women. The policy and practices of the local authorities in the municipality of Athens will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

On the whole, despite wide dispersal of accommodation and services on offer it is possible to identify various trends and smaller scale patterns. Poles concentrate a variety of traditional houses to accommodate the elderly, orphanages and mental health asylums. State actions that overtook charity homes and mental health asylums in earlier periods are responsible for the creation of poles. Mental health services under state authority have been concentrated in a pole west of Athens. Recent deinstitutionalisation efforts by the state exhibit a tendency for eastward development.

Pockets of philanthropy for the elderly are to be found mainly in working class areas and were developed by local state and the Church. Pockets of philanthropy for children are scattered in urban space. Local authorities have limited intervention and mainly the municipality of Athens offers very poor accommodation for the homeless in the inner city.

### **5.5. Locating findings in the Greek and the international literature**

It is interesting to compare findings presented above with Greek studies of residential segregation and the spatial distribution of welfare services in Athens as well as with international studies on the distribution of homelessness in large cities. Although Greek studies do not directly deal with homelessness, a comparison of the findings in Athens may assist in establishing theoretical and empirical links between homelessness, socio-spatial segregation, and welfare provisions. Reference to the international literature discussed, more fully in Chapter 3, is informative on similarities and differences between European and U.S. urban processes shaping homelessness.

First of all, it needs be stressed that none of the Greek studies discussed below (Maloutas 1992, 1993, Economou 1992, Leontidou, Avdelidi 1992, Gortsos 1992) includes indicators of housing conditions. Two authors (Maloutas 1992, 1993, Leontidou 1990, 1995) discuss social and spatial segregation and three (Economou 1992, Avdelidi 1992, Gortsos 1992) discuss the spatial distribution of social infrastructures in Athens. Indeed, the Greek literature lacks a theoretical framework to link homelessness to residential segregation and to welfare provisions. I have suggested that this is possible, firstly, by distinguishing between various levels of homelessness and housing deprivation, and secondly by empirically examining their association with residential segregation.

Like those of Maloutas (1992, 1993) and Leontidou (1990) my findings confirm that residential segregation in Athens follows a traditional west-east divide. However, findings of this chapter suggest that housing deprivation and social disadvantages of the working class are far more intense than Maloutas (1992, 1993) and Leontidou



(1990) reported in earlier studies. Using more recent data and a variety of indicators empirical results of my analysis confirm what the two authors only indicatively discussed as 'processes' (Leontidou 1995) or 'forecasting' (Maloutas 1993) of 'urban degeneration and pauperisation' (Leontidou 1995) or 'the demise of weak polarisation' (Maloutas 1993). I am arguing that the west-east divide, is a divide of housing and employment inequalities. In addition to that, substandard housing and severe housing deprivation is identifiable on the urban fringes and within working class areas.

When examining the location of education, health and social services Economou (1992), Avdelidi (1992), and Gortsos (1992) conclude that working class areas are not socially equipped due to the underdevelopment of state provisions. My findings suggest that the lack of public infrastructures in working class areas is coupled with a dispersal of philanthropy pockets, shelters and traditional institutions caring for the poor. In other words, the state tacitly left care and control of the urban poor to religious and secular charities.

In addition to Economou (1992) and Avdelidi (1992) who discuss a tendency for camp provisions and social separation of socially disturbing clinics, I identify a clear pattern of segregation of institutional provisions, what I have termed 'poles of institutionalisation'.

Economou (1992) identifies two privileged zones of private health and education supply for middle class strata developing from the centre to north-east and to south-east and a 'homogeneous' zone of dispersed public provisions covering the rest of Athens. I suggest that 'poles of institutionalisation' can be found on the margins of middle class privatised areas and on the margins of deprived working class areas following the triangular paths of urban expansion. Poor clients, the 'mentally ill', 'orphans', the 'elderly' are referred to asylums and traditional shelters from far greater areas. The fact that, in two cases, asylums and traditional shelters constitute margins of privatised zones is an argument for the intensity of the process of social separation and was historically explained in section 5.4.5. Initially, the state followed private charities on the edges of city expansion. As those areas were developed institutional provisions became enclaves. At the same time, private care was

developing 'inwards' (from the south and the north) to the centre to serve the new middle class residents. A similar qualification should be made as to what I term 'pockets of philanthropy'. They are not to be found in a 'homogenised area' but are scattered in both deprived working class and in affluent middle class areas.

This pattern is drastically different from the one described in the USA literature and particularly from the Dear and Wolch (1987) model explaining the prevalence of visible homelessness through a dual process of de-institutionalisation, which led to concentration of emergency shelters in inner city areas, and sub-urbanisation, which led to the flight of middle classes to the suburbs. Differences of the Greek case in the extent and the spatial distribution of formal and informal, visible and invisible homelessness reflect a traditional model for the management of the urban poor aside from informal housing practices, which, however, cannot cope with the effects of increased privatisation of welfare and immigration. This traditional model was established with the advent of urbanisation, as discussed in chapter 4, and relies on the institutionalised treatment of the poor and their rehabilitation according to familistic and philanthropic discourses as will be elaborated in Chapters 6 and 7.

Particularly, deinstitutionalisation proceeds at a very slow pace and consequently visible homelessness of Greek citizens is not as extensive as in the U.S. Nonetheless, there are severe administrative deficiencies in implementing deinstitutionalisation with E.U. funds. In addition to that institutional care concerns a significant number of the poor population, mainly the elderly and children in traditional charity shelters that are not included in 'modernization plans'. Consequently, a number of patients and persons with significant mental or physical health difficulties remain out of reach of health, care, and housing services and do not receive adequate income support. The majority of these people remain invisible in inadequate housing and poverty. A relatively small proportion, yet larger than widely believed, are each year found in periodic movement between clinics, atypical shelters, and the street. Moreover, emergency shelters are not concentrated in inner city areas but like many traditional units are dispersed across the city.

The map of homelessness and deprivation in Athens is also different from 'advanced homelessness' concentrated in the 'abandoned' or 'residual' city quarters as described



by Marcuse (1996, 1998) in the U.S. The historical prevalence of informal employment and housing practices has created an urban pattern, which is different from the quartered residential and economic city of Marcuse (1996, 1998). Spatial segregation of the working class and traditional petty bourgeois strata in the east quarters of the city has during the post-War period facilitated their social inclusion and to large extent the eradication of absolute poverty. Such areas have constituted large enclaves, which contested stigmatisation and boosted popular pride and local identities.

However, traditional values of solidarity and reciprocity have interwoven with familism and later with aspirations of upward mobility. During the mid and post-War era philanthropy motivated church and private agencies to complement political and social control functions of an authoritarian state. Respectively, homelessness, poverty, delinquency, mental health, and various forms of 'deviance' from petty bourgeois norms had to be concealed for fear of family stigmatisation. Rather than being museums of confinement practices, such units still function and are dispersed in the city fabric. Ambivalent attitudes towards new phenomena of visible homelessness, such as precarious settlements of immigrants and travellers, emerge parallel to changes in the management of the urban poor to include policing of youth and immigrants because of fear of criminality and drug trafficking. Unlike the French banlieue described by Wacquant (1996) and Bourdieu (1992), deprived areas in Athens lack social infrastructures and public services, host a variety of charities, and periodically experience police operations. Nonetheless, visible homelessness has not become part of the 'existing order of things' as both the presence of the state and the presence of destitute 'others' is temporary and fluid.

Territorial division of deprivation and homelessness in Athens presents, unsurprisingly perhaps, more similarities with southern European cities as described by Mingione (1996) and Morlicchio (1996). There is no strong evidence for accumulation of disadvantages in large quarters likely to create a ghetto, but there is a diffusion of deprivation most evident in traditional working class areas. Segregation of underprivileged groups does not, yet, function as a generator of exclusion mainly because it is not related to ethnic stigmatisation. Mobility of immigrants, episodes of street living, ambivalent local feelings, and hesitant policy responses prohibit the

consolidation of 'hyperghettos' (Wacquant 1996, Marcuse 1996) even in highly localized cases of overlapping social disadvantages.

The key question that Mingione (1996) poses is whether the institutional apparatus in Europe, particularly in Southern Europe, inhibits the consolidation of homelessness and 'places of exclusion'. I am arguing that this question can best be answered when considering models of formal social control parallel to informal practices of inclusion. Contributions from Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001), Wolch and Dear (1987, 1993) can be enlightening as to how traditional management of the poor dominates in South European regimes and consolidates spatial forms of exclusion and deprivation. It is also informative as to how a new model of privatisation, fragmentation, and bureaucratic treatment in variety of specialised settings and emergency shelters is a European response to global economic changes that gradually converges with the American model.

The findings of this thesis suggest that public welfare policies neither prevent nor alleviate homelessness and the concentration of poverty in Athens for two main reasons. First, because a traditional model of care and institutionalisation of the poor by state, private and religious charities is still dominant. Second, because reforms in social policies promote privatisation, neglect the needs of the most vulnerable groups, and retain ambivalent attitudes towards aliens. Efforts for the 'modernisation' and 'convergence' of the Greek welfare regime with European blueprints introduce a new model of managing the poor including the accommodation of Greek citizens in emergency shelters, refugees in camps, and policing of immigrants. Consequently, social insertion depends on the tolerance of local populations and on progressively constrained capacities of informal welfare practices. Whether the mix of local philanthropy and limited state provisions adequately addresses new social cleavages is discussed further through the experience of the providers and some of their clients in Chapters 6 and 7.

## 5.6. Conclusions

This chapter provided updated estimates for the extent of homelessness in Athens using a modified matrix of Hopper's (1991) classification. Visible homelessness is not as pronounced as in the U.S. but is considerable by European standards. Moreover, it is highly periodic, an issue overlooked by the Greek and the European Observatory on homelessness. Visible homelessness includes a number of formal units for the accommodation of the homeless, transit and emergency shelters that were established since the 1980s and mainly address the needs of poor Greek citizens. The number of Greek citizens and aliens sleeping rough and being literally homeless is far larger than those who are finally accommodated. Thus informal visible homelessness far outweighs formal visible homelessness, and the ratio of the sheltered to the non-sheltered population is larger than widely believed. Invisible homelessness applies to formal accommodation and to the institutional treatment of the elderly poor, children, disabled and mentally ill in public asylums, secular and religious homes. Invisible homelessness and deprivation refer to a substantial number of Greeks and immigrants using informal strategies to cope with poverty, rent and inadequate housing. Informal (visible and invisible) homelessness has escalated because of the arrival of economic immigrants and refugees.

Using principal components' analysis and clustering techniques, this chapter has also studied the spatial distribution of homelessness and housing deprivation in Athens. Principal components' analysis confirmed that housing deprivation is related to residential segregation of the working class but distinct from formal homelessness. Cluster analysis, location quotients and analysis of variance were used to identify four distinct areas according to the relative prevalence of different levels of housing deprivation and homelessness. It was found that working class deprivation areas which have historically surpassed planning mechanisms in promoting social inclusion and sustaining local identities can no longer grow dynamically and their fringes are utilised to accommodate new entrants in substandard housing. Poles of institutionalisation, historically developed on the edges of urban expansion, but were

gradually encompassed in the urban fabric to concentrate a variety of traditional homes for the elderly, orphanages and mental health asylums. Pockets of philanthropy providing shelter to the 'literally homeless' and a variety of heterogeneous groups are scattered over the city in a non-standardised way. This pattern reflects the gradual change of traditional control of the poor and the limits of informal practices in coping with new social cleavages.

## **CHAPTER 6: The management of homelessness: discourse, authority, and resources**

### **6.1. Introduction: the management of homelessness**

Recent European emphasis on the significance of bureaucratic and academic discourse has paid particular attention to definitions of homelessness shaping policy responses and everyday professional practices (for example in the U.K. Hutson 1994, Somerville 1999, Cloke *et al* 2000a,b,c, Carlen 1996). Moreover, the rhetoric of governance and networking has justified internationally a shift of welfare responsibilities to local and civil charity organisations (Hoch 2000, Daly G. 1997). My attempt aims at further advancing arguments on the significance of discourse in the management of homelessness by welfare bureaucracies and charities and at shedding light in a variety of contexts (such as religious administration or politicised local government) with which Northern European audiences are not that familiar.

Drawing on a structural constructionist perspective (cf. Fairclough 2000, Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999, Bourdieu 1992) I suggest that discourse plays a crucial role in the shaping of networks managing the homeless. Firstly, discourse is the legitimating glue of competing and collaborating agencies; discourse differences reveal the institutional boundaries of common action, and in turn create boundaries to institutional change. In this sense, networks are interconnected institutional enclaves of meaning: a cultural-institutional nexus. Secondly, the production and circulation of official discourse concerns a technology of communication (registries, laws, circulars, contracts, and, more recently, websites), and often domination, across a range of hierarchical positions (bureaucratic professions, politicians, priests, volunteers, the homeless). I aim to explore whether official discourses facilitate changes towards adequate provisions for the homeless from a double perspective: a) improvement in the coordination of multiple providers and their collaboration, and b) participation of professionals and the homeless themselves in planning and service delivery.

Constitutive texts and legal documents are the primary sources for the identification of the official discourse of the agencies (Blandy S. Goodchild B. 1999, Saugeres L. 1999). Planning documents and promotion material for the general public are used as a secondary source to highlight the process shaping the content and boundaries of official discourse (Fairclough 2000, Hunter C. Nixon J. 1999, Hastings 1998). However, it is not always the case that each agency has a single unique discourse. A dominant discourse, which may be contested from both within and outside the agency, is often found (Fairclough 1996, Billig 1988). The latter becomes highly significant when networks of agencies are being discussed. In a dialectic fashion, inter-organisational relations may shape a common discourse and a dominant discourse may consolidate associations.

## **6.2.The official discourse on homelessness**

Comparative analysis in this section aims at identifying the institutional boundaries underpinning official discourses. I examine texts from various agencies to ascertain whether ideological similarities and differences across a range of providers enhance or limit the coordination of their actions and their collaboration. The analysis is based on the concept of intertextuality. Intertextuality refers to relations between different texts and to communication through texts between and within agencies in a network (Fairclough 1992, 1996, 2000). It refers to a dialogue through texts that can be either hidden or overt. Such relations can be evident within a single text through shifting articulations of its properties (genres, discourses, lexicon and style). The analysis acknowledges that genres, discourses and styles are ideal types rarely found in a pure form in texts. Nonetheless, it is easier to trace those relations when examining a variety of texts because the strategies or moves of one organisation as well as the responses from others are printed on paper.

Intertextual properties are realised in linguistic features such as lexicon and style (Fairclough 1996, Sandig B. Selting M. 1997). Styles here are pinned down mainly with reference to tenor (i.e., expressions on authority positions) (Eggins S. Martin J.R. 1997, Fairclough 1992). Other features examined refer to the genre and the type of discourse. Genres are considered as 'uses of language associated with particular

socially ratified activity types' (Fairclough 1996). Discourse(s) are defined as 'ways of signifying areas of experience from a particular perspective' (Fairclough 1996). They can be considered as expressions of a dominant ideology or culture over a particular subject.

Table 6.1 summarises the principal dimensions and the main findings of the analysis, which are documented in detail by using extracts from documents in the sub-sections to follow. The table attempts to depict the interplay of discourse with institutional factors in consolidating distinct types of philanthropic networks. The first column includes the main dimensions along which texts are examined. The first row demarcates the boundaries of networking amongst agencies. The table reflects that collaboration of different providers is severely limited. Church agencies collaborate with church agencies, NGOs with NGOs, municipal services with municipal shelters, and state shelters with state agencies. Limited collaboration is due to both institutional and ideological factors, as will be discussed below. Institutional factors mainly concern the prevalence of hierarchical administrative structures. Ideological factors refer to variations of charity discourses, as evident in key textual properties, reflecting different world-views and legitimating limited provisions for the homeless. Considering the relative isolation, the distinctive institutional arrangements, and the ideological similarities of collaborating providers, I suggest they can be termed bureaucratic, political, civil, and religious networks.

**Table 6.1: Dominant Discourses in Philanthropic Networks**

Textual Properties	Inter-agency Configuration/ Networking Boundaries			
	Central State (Bureaucratic Networks)	Local State (Political Networks)	NGOs (Civil Networks)	Church (Religious Networks)
Dominant Discourse	Bureaucratic Philanthropy	Political Philanthropy	Civil Philanthropy	Religious Philanthropy
Lexicon	Indirect Definition (Narrow) Empty and Loaded Wording	Direct Definition (Scaled) Empty Wording and Euphemisms	Direct-Indirect Definition (Narrow-Broad) Loaded Wording and Euphemisms	Indirect Definition (Broad) Loaded Wording and Euphemisms
Style	Bureaucratic, Legalistic,	Scientific, Political Promotion	Scientific, Social Promotion	Preaching Bureaucratic
Intertextuality	Textual Hierarchy	Textual Collage	Textual Negotiation	Textual Hierarchy-Dogma
Genres	Constitution, Laws, Legislative Decrees, Circulars, Reports	Legislative Decrees, Reports, Speeches, Project Bids Feasibility Studies, Web pages	Constitutive Documents, Project Bids, Private Agreements, Leaflets	Ecclesiastical charter, Canonical texts, Circulars, Didactic manuals, Leaflets, Websites



Each network has developed its own dominant discourse. Different forces struggle within each network, to contest the dominant discourse, but without success. All discourses conform to a common philanthropic culture, which spans a variety of agencies and allows a minimum of collaboration on everyday matters (such as referrals to health agencies) but constrains strategic interventions and long-term responses. The dominant culture of philanthropy develops on four principal positions (also made evident in the lexicon used). First, it acknowledges only minimal provisions and in this sense is 'residual'. Second, it idealises traditional family functions and responsibilities for care, and in this sense is familistic. Third, it establishes access to resources in moral terms, portrays the poor as needy by emphasising their incapacity, distress and lack of motivation and in this sense is moralistic. Fourth, givers retain power over the beneficiaries of benevolence and in this sense it is paternalistic.

By conforming to a dominant discourse, the municipality, a voluntary organisation, or the church function as charity providers. However, a qualification may be made in talking about bureaucratic, political, civil, and religious philanthropy, respectively. The qualification stresses the particular orientation of actors and the different means for cultural domination in each network. It also reflects how dominant discourses succeed in accommodating arguments and pressure for institutional changes.

There is evidence of a 'reformist discourse', which challenges the positions of the 'philanthropic discourse'. The reformist discourse implies a general orientation to institutional and social change, but the philanthropic discourse dominates as it succeeds in rhetorically incorporating a jargon of change. Nonetheless, there is variation in argumentation influenced by political ideologies, wider cultural attitudes, and relation to state rule. Findings suggest two variations in the Greek context: a managerial discourse focusing on depoliticised management of institutional change, and a radical one advocating institutional change with claims on human or social rights. Both discourses are influenced by Europe-wide ideological trends: the managerial discourse is mostly used to sustain central state reforms in line with E.U. guidelines whilst the radical one is mostly used by voluntary agencies engaging in the implementation of E.U. projects.

First, the reformist discourse remains 'residual', although new terms such as 'dignity' or 'basic needs' are introduced to justify minimal provisions. The managerial variation makes claims for efficiency. A radical variation may put forth redistribution but in pragmatic terms it stresses the importance of economic means. Second, the reformist discourse remains familistic since it establishes the family as the locus of care and recipient of provisions. A radical version advocates individuality, detects failures in family care and supports existing alternative family forms. Third, the reformist discourse places responsibility for provisions on a plurality of institutions (the state, the market, civil institutions, international organisations) and retains regulatory powers for the state. Access to resources is granted on claims of citizenship and equity. This constitutes the main difference between the philanthropic and reformist discourse. A radical version emphasises cultural differences and struggles to establish formal and substantive citizenship. Fourth, authoritative power is granted to providers (institutions) by use of expertise. A radical alternative promotes citizen empowerment attributing to professionals a mediating role, but the content of critical advocacy is subject to negotiations and alliances.

The discourses discussed are not 'closed systems', as variations indicate. They point to antagonistic actors within the state and society who struggle to articulate their positions. The crucial point for future change is which of the variations will gain hegemony by replacing positions of the philanthropic discourse.

However, both the philanthropic and the reformist discourses rarely refer directly to homelessness. Most often, official documents address homelessness indirectly by making use of more familiar discourses, such as the discourse on poverty or the more recently imported discourse on social exclusion. Whether directly or indirectly, my findings suggest that homelessness is in the process of being constructed as a welfare issue. A direct discourse on homelessness has been evident mostly within local state agencies and a limited number of NGOs. The case of municipal intervention confirms that developing a discourse on homelessness is necessary to link various services and shape the agenda of policy-making.

The analysis of the lexicon first examines definitions of homelessness and then examines propositions about the main objectives of various agencies. Lexicon study is

best suited to detecting direct and indirect discourses. Given the prevalence of indirect discourses, the key issue for definitions is not their breadth but their cultural content. Broad definitions were found to qualify both a philanthropic (mostly promoted by church agencies) and a reformist (mostly encountered in NGOs) discourse. Similarly, narrow definitions equally served a philanthropic discourse (within the majority of state agencies) and a reformist discourse. As illustrated in sections 6.2.1-6.2.4, three main types of phrasing are identified: 'Empty' words (imprecise terms over which there is little consensus as to their definition), 'loaded' words (words that can provide additional meaning), and 'euphemisms' (misleading words used to disguise a social indelicacy) (Gastil 1992). The definition of the homeless and their rights in statutory texts is indirect and ambiguous. This vagueness is combined with a number of statements full of empty and loaded words conveying an authoritarian spirit. In contrast, there is a direct reference to homelessness in the texts of the Municipality of Athens. Nonetheless, direct reference is made through 'euphemisms' and 'empty' wording to conceal manipulation of scientific texts and political promotion. The definition of the homeless by NGOs is indirect and ad hoc, with a few exceptions, followed by 'empty' words introducing a scientific spirit and 'loaded' words or 'euphemisms' depending on the wider ideological orientation of particular agencies. The Church primarily uses 'loaded' words to convey moral values and 'euphemisms' to justify charity.

Style is a powerful link between the cultural content and linguistic features of texts. It identifies the author and the audience; it portrays top administrators, professionals, clients, and public opinion; it reveals the source of authority. The style of statutory texts is invariably formal and legalistic as is proper for communication within bureaucratic agencies. The style shows respect to hierarchy and verifies loyalty to bureaucratic authority and routines. Texts for the wider public are not produced, which is a sign of non-discrepancy. Rare exceptions of informal speech can be found in leaked reports about the poor condition of shelters. The style of local authority texts varies between scientific (when terminology is introduced to claim scientific authority) and political promotion (when past or future achievements are highlighted). The style of NGOs is scientific (in search of legitimisation particularly when introducing innovative ideas) and promotional (in an effort to build alliances and influence public opinion). Church texts balance between preaching and bureaucratic

formality. Preaching is evident in the introduction of moral values whilst formality underlines references to hierarchy and ritualistic details in organising charitable work. All agencies adopt a formal legalistic style when communicating with state agencies or when referring to statutory regulations.

The dialogue of texts between statutory agencies employs a hierarchical structure that is typical for bureaucratic agencies. The various genres reflect clearly demarcated levels of power. This is not the case with texts produced and circulated by local agencies. The Municipality of Athens hardly produces any texts; it rather consumes and circulates texts. At the various stages of its programme for the homeless, the municipality collated existing documents (produced by other agencies) into a single body. This is an astonishing collage resulting from manipulation, as explained in section 6.2.2. Texts of civil networks and NGOs reflect a pluralism that, nonetheless, is little able to expand its own boundaries. Texts reflect the emergence of a human or social rights approach within a traditional culture of charity and control. Power differentials are not that prominent and consequently there is space for negotiation. Church texts constitute a somewhat closed and dogmatic system. They have two main references: theological texts and administrative texts, and they exhibit a mix of divine and secular hierarchy.

#### *6.2.1. Bureaucratic philanthropy*

The definition of homelessness as well as the establishment of housing rights by state agencies is always indirect and very often ambiguous. The right to housing is considered from a legal point of view as a 'non directly enforceable social right' stemming from the Greek Constitution (1975) and particularly from:

##### *Extract 6.1: Greek Constitution<sup>1</sup>*

Art 21. Par. 3: *"The State shall care for the health of citizens and will adopt special measures for the protection of young people, the elderly, and handicapped as well as for the relief of the needy"*

Art 21. Par. 4: *"The acquisition of a home by the homeless or those inadequately sheltered shall constitute an object of special state care"*

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<sup>1</sup> Official translation – Directorate of studies Hellenic Parliament 1995

Article 21 (Par. 4) supplies the potential for a distinction between the 'homeless' and those 'inadequately sheltered'<sup>2</sup>. Given their abstract nature such provisions require the enforcement of a set of legislative acts as the basis for the establishment and organisation of administrative agencies coping with housing.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare is responsible for housing schemes for disadvantaged and low-income groups. It is interesting to note that the Legislative Decree (138/1992) which specifies the competences of the General Secretariat of Assistance (Ministry of Health and Welfare) distinguishes between 'people with no accommodation' (homeless) and persons 'inadequately sheltered' in line with the constitutional distinction. However, measures for both categories are treated within the same administrative framework. Furthermore, the homeless seem to be identified with disadvantaged groups following Art 21.3 of the Constitution, which refers to 'the needy'. Popular housing programmes addressing those in 'substandard housing' were initiated in the 1960s but were abolished in the mid 1980s when three state shelters were founded in Athens. Shelters are public law entities under the supervision of the Ministry of Health and Welfare and provide temporary accommodation. The initiative coincided with the establishment of the NHS and an attempt to shift welfare competencies to prefecture level. These policy changes also signified a shift in the focus of housing needs: from popular housing schemes for the poor to temporary accommodation of 'problem' groups.

The three state shelters have been operating for a 15-year period, which is surprising, given that they were originally presented as a 'pilot programme for the homeless'. The novelty of the programme was in part an excuse to conceal the fragmented nature of planning and respond to informal pressure from social services. At the beginning of the program the central administration was not aware of the particular needs that could emerge and shelters functioned as 'catch all'- 'generic' centres, but explicitly excluded immigrants and mental health patients. Nonetheless, the establishment of state shelters has been reported to be a response to informal information coming from

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<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, the original Greek version is far more ambiguous. I would translate art. 21 par. 4 as follows: "Housing of those without any or those in inadequate shelter shall constitute an object of special state measures".

state hospitals, homes for the elderly, new open care services for the elderly, and offices for welfare assistance. Hospital social services were experiencing a demand for both short term and long-term accommodation for elderly persons, patients from outside the metropolitan region of Attica and their escorts. In the beginning of the 1990s the administration of shelters reported to the supervising Ministry signs of institutionalisation (shelter isolation, lack of resources, frustration of workers, and passivity of residents). At the same time structural causes were producing new homeless groups such as single mothers or persons with health related problems such as HIV and substance dependence (in the process of changes in family structures and life management), and mental health patients (in the slow process of de-institutionalisation). The response to these needs was the establishment of a limited number of specialised accommodation units. In 1999, three laws were introduced which provided for the establishment of specialised units. The law on social care sanctioned emergency shelters in the context of a 'National Centre for Urgent Social Assistance'. The law on the correction system provides a legal entity to administer prisoner reintegration and temporary accommodation. The law on mental health care provides the framework for accommodating projects concerning employment and housing rehabilitation units for mental health patients in the context of an E.U. funded 10-year plan of de-institutionalisation (in effect removal of chronic patients from psychiatric hospitals). The former two laws have not yet been enacted.

The founding legislative decrees of the three shelters very much reflect both an ignorance of the real needs and an ideological overload. Three legislative decrees were issued for a single programme (one for each shelter) and in all the same objective is stated:

*Extract 6.2 (L. D.: 583/ 1984, 28/ 1985, 17/1986 ).*

*"<sup>a</sup> the provision of moral support, housing, and nutrition to able-bodied persons<sup>b</sup> who are unable to remain temporary or permanently in the environment of their house owing to any kind of need"*

The statement of the objective is full of 'empty' words ('able-bodied', 'any kind of need', 'temporary or permanently') and 'loaded' words ('environment', 'moral

support'). The structure and the grammar of the statement are far more enlightening. The first sentence (a) is a main clause used to describe the services. The second sentence (b) is a relative clause to describe the eligible clients.

In the main clause (a) the ideological overtone that flows out of the legalistic phrasing becomes evident in the prioritising of the 'provisions': first comes moral support, then housing and nutrition. There is no mention of employment or training, income support, psychological counselling, childcare, access to services. In my interviews with social workers, I realised that 'moral support' is a substitute for all those provisions not mentioned. Moreover, it involves the concept of 'rehabilitation' as is developed in detail in the sections to follow. The main clause concludes with the term ('able-bodied'), which implicitly introduces exceptions to the spectrum of persons who can be accommodated.

A whole relative clause (b) is used to describe and explain who is an 'able-bodied' homeless person. The Greek term (translated here as 'able-bodied') is highly ambiguous; mainly denoting physical autonomy and implicitly aiming to underline that shelters should not offer health or medical care.

The same qualifying clause provides the foundation for other texts to specify the criteria for selection of applicants. The experimentation with and ignorance of real need is denoted by the phrase 'unable to remain in the environment of their house owing to any kind of particular need'. It should be noted that 'house' here is a physical structure, which encapsulates the 'environment'. Accordingly, the 'inability to remain' does not refer to the house but to the environment. For the Greek reader the connotation of the social or family environment hardly needs any semantic analysis. Thus, homelessness is not a housing but a social or family problem. Another point that increases ambiguity is the inability to diagnose whether the housing need is 'permanent or temporary'. The latter has resulted in discussions as to whether shelters are emergency or transitory units. The new law under which the shelters are to function (as yet not enacted) refers to emergency units.

The use of 'empty' and 'loaded' wording in the Greek administrative system is often due to its bureaucratic and legalistic orientation. The discretion of civil servants to

enact the 'spirit' or the 'letter' of the law is the subject of a very common discussion. Moreover, 'euthynophobia' is a word to denote the fear of taking responsibility on the part of civil servants, and refers to their incapacity to act. This is a tricky situation because incapacity to act is related to the interpretation of law. Karapostolis (1989) acknowledges uncertainty as the foundation of friction in informal interactions between citizens and civil servants. In an earlier work the same author (Karapostolis 1987) discusses rules and formality in this interaction. He vividly depicts how the citizens present the 'urgency' of their claim (in this study, housing) and the 'exceptional' peculiarities of their case (in this study the citizens themselves are 'cases'), which requires discrete action. On the other hand, the civil servants have to classify these claims amongst other similar applicants in the sorting process. The picture is rather accurate and in certain respects will be confirmed in the subsequent chapters, which focus on practices of professionals.

#### *6.2.2. Political philanthropy*

In October 1996 the City of Athens launched a programme for the homeless that developed in three phases. The first phase consisted of the provision of meals and attracted a significant number of homeless individuals (approximately 400 Greek citizens were registered for daily meals, see section 7.3 for the implications of 'registration'). One year later the second phase of the programme involved the operation of two 'bed and breakfast' hotels to accommodate 180 people in total. In 1998, through a successful bid for E.U. funded projects, a third phase was initiated for the training of a limited number of persons in collaboration with private, public and local agencies.

In contrast to statutory texts, the founding texts of the Municipality of Athens make direct reference to homelessness. Two key documents are presented in some detail below as illustrative examples for the 'collage' techniques used by the municipality. The first one is a feasibility study used to substantiate the programme of the municipality. The second one is the actual legal document, which establishes an 'Office for the Homeless' as part of the services of the city of Athens.



Both documents tend to avoid loaded words and prominence is given to empty wording and euphemisms in order to reach consensus within the local policy community. The philanthropic culture can be detected in various ways. First there is no reference to housing rights of the homeless, although a direct discourse is developed. The definition of the homeless itself is a matter of manipulation. In certain cases it is acknowledged that the definition can take on various meanings, in other cases a narrow understanding slips under the objectives or services that will be offered, and in some cases the word is used without clarification. Second, there is evidence for manoeuvring in relations to be established with the central state. The aim here is to make use of statutory gaps to justify local action. Nonetheless, statutory gaps are not diagnosed with reference to housing rights but are used as legitimisation gaps on implicit philanthropic and paternalistic grounds. The documents exhibit a dual facet, on the one hand respecting the limits of local state responsibility and on the other hand introducing an implicit criticism of the state. The actions of the municipality of Athens were not implemented by a single administrative entity. Thus, in all documents there is reference to the 'Municipality programme for the homeless', and often to 'intervention' and 'actions' concerning the 'issue of the homeless'. Different administrative schemes are used to sustain this 'programme', and 'actions' have developed according to the ability to exploit alliances, take advantage of the work of others and present it under the emblem of the Municipality.

The feasibility study is dated April 1996, and its full title is: 'Feasibility Study for Intervention by the Municipality to tackle the problem of the homeless of the city of Athens'. The study is an excellent example of manifest intertextuality. It was proudly presented to me by the Municipality as 'the first book on homelessness in Greece'. Note here how the 'ambivalence of the genre' (Fairclough 2000) of this document is related to the objectives of political promotion and marketing<sup>3</sup>. It is presented as a 'book', it is supposed to be a 'planning' document setting out the legal form of a local partnership (a non-profit municipal company with various partners), which was never implemented, and in reality is nothing more than a collation of photocopies. A simple reference to the contents and the sources of the 'book' is made to illustrate what I have termed textual collage and manipulation. The study consists of six chapters, in

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<sup>3</sup> Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) also discuss the language of charity marketing in the Big Issue.

total 26 pages, and five Appendixes (of approximately 100 pages- no pagination used).

*Extract 6.3: 'Feasibility Study for Intervention of the Municipality of Athens to tackle the problem of the 'homeless'' April 1996*

Contents

Chapter 1: General Data

Chapter 2: Potential of Local Authorities to intervene in the Issue of the Homeless

Chapter 3: State Intervention on the Issue of the homeless

Chapter 4: Intervention of the Municipality of Athens for the relief of persons without a roof

Chapter 5: Cost Estimates of Suggested Actions

Chapter 6: Procedures of Establishing a Legal Body

Appendix A

Appendix B

Appendix C

Appendix D

Appendix E

Chapter 1 is nothing but a translation in Greek of various segments of the First Report on Homelessness in Greece by the European Observatory. Chapter 2 is a collation of highlighted articles in various laws that refer to the capacities of local authorities. In between legal articles one or two paragraphs are introduced as comments. Chapter 3 is half (!) a page long and simply mentions the legal documents upon which the three state shelters were founded. Chapter 4 suggests the establishment of a non-profit making company to run a two-stage programme: Stage A to include catering, bathing and information and Stage B to include accommodation. Note that the suggestion for a non-profit making company is put forward in a single paragraph and is not supported by any arguments. Then a standard legal form for the establishment of such schemes follows, leaving blank spaces and dotted lines to be filled for all areas that could be a matter of discussion. Chapter 5 is a list of establishment and operational costs. I was provided with the same list with regard to the current cost of the shelters. Chapter 6 highlights in bold letters that there is no legal regulation concerning the

procedures for the establishment of an agency. It also highlights the areas for which agreement is required: title, contribution of partners in capital assets, participation of partners, terms of dissolution.

It is striking that the length of the Appendices is four times that of the study, whilst they offer no essential information. They have been used to add a scientific and formal blend to the 'book', which is weak in terms of content. Two Appendices (A and B) supplement the data in Chapter 1. The first one is a series of selected tables on housing (not used in the text) from a book published by the National Centre for Social Research. The second one is a reproduction of the Report on Homelessness by the Observatory but in its full English version. Appendix C provides the full text of laws, mentioned in Chapter 3. Appendix D contains a brief legal report explaining that municipal authorities have the right to establish non-profit social agencies. Finally, Appendix E contains a photocopy of the private will, which donates to the municipality the Sarafeion baths, which were ultimately used as the catering and bathing centre of the programme.

The decree providing the legislative framework for the administrative structure to support the programme is the end result of political manoeuvring. The decree sets out the organisational structure of the Directorate of Social Care of the Municipality within which an "office of the homeless" has been included. The Directorate of Social Care consists of six offices: 1) Office of Equality 2) Drugs Office 3) Office for Persons with Special Needs 4) Office for Healthy Cities 5) Office for Immigrants and Minority Issues and 6) Office for the Homeless. A translation of the full text with regard to the Office for the Homeless is provided below. The translation has attempted to retain a number of grammar mistakes that render certain points almost incomprehensible.

#### *Extract 6.4*

#### ***L.D. Amendment of the Internal Organisation of the City of Athens, 31/12/1997***

##### *Office for the Homeless*

##### *Competences*

##### *a) Systematic study of and research into the homeless of the Municipality of Athens*

*b) Recommendation of the necessary measures, enumerating, monitoring and implementation of the programme for the homeless, which includes: 1. Food, personal hygiene, socio-medical examinations, inclusion in E.U. and non-E.U. programmes. 2. Collaboration with the responsible government bodies concerned with the issue 3. Makes recommendations, informs public opinion, establishes an information centre, undertakes programmes for their social reintegration. 4. Makes studies and suggests the means for their re-housing.*

The first point, which reflects how the issue of homelessness is framed, lies outside the translated text. Had homelessness been defined in a broad sense, all six offices could have included actions for the homeless. In the same manner, the office for the homeless could have included references to all other services. None of this is the case. The most striking example of this absent link is that the office of equality is responsible for running a shelter for abused women. Homelessness is constructed within the perspective of care and at the same time separated from gender, drug abuse, and access of disabled persons to housing, health conditions in the city, and immigration.

In the translated text there is no definition but rather a repertoire, and confusing repetition, of empty words about programmes, recommendations, measures, actions, planning methods, research and studies. These empty words consist of scientific terms adopted in a promotional style (monitoring, implementation, social re-insertion, information centre). Moreover, it is unclear how the competences of the 'office for the homeless' (clauses: a, b) differ from the measures included in 'the programme for the homeless' (clauses: 1,2,3,4). Vagueness and administrative confusion allowed local politicians to control the implementation of the programme (sections 6.3 and 7.4 elaborate this argument further).

### *6.2.3. Civil philanthropy*

The development of initiatives by voluntary organisations mirror cracks in the dominant discourse of philanthropy and also changes in the demography of the homeless. The field is dominated by large traditional organisations the majority of which were established after the Second World War. Small local organisations

motivated by Christian morals surround the larger ones and develop their charity in various specialised areas such as child protection, delinquency, and care for the elderly. Nonetheless, the rise of new NGOs in the 1990s brought forward the ideas of human and social rights. Some of them have managed to grow rapidly by effective promotion of their humanitarian objectives and actions in areas that have attracted public attention problems such as immigration, international conflicts and assistance in the Balkans. Others which take a more radical stand or work in areas attracting less sympathy (reform of the psychiatric or the correction system) are struggling with insufficient funds.

The regulation of activities of NGOs is highly fragmented and the legal framework provides three forms of organisation: a) Non-profit 'associations and societies', b) civil personal 'non-profit companies', c) 'institutions'. Of the three legal forms only institutions undertaking parochial provision of social care and social control can run shelters. Representatives of religious organisations estimate that either the Church of Greece itself or charities influenced by Christian values run approximately 60% of the total number of institutions. Official church institutions are private entities in accordance with the requirements of ecclesiastical law. The central administration estimates a number of 800 active NGOs and knows little about their specific activities. The situation becomes even more complicated as 'non-profit training companies' proliferated by making use of E.U. funds, often to the financial benefit of their founding members<sup>4</sup>. The new law on social care provides a Registry for Voluntary Organisations to be administered at prefecture level. Nonetheless by the year 2002 implementation of the Registry had not proceeded.

Traditional and newly-established NGOs are found to collaborate on an everyday basis. Given the spur of European initiatives and networks, some have moved towards promoting their collaboration on a stable basis. The economic rationale is to pool together resources from E.U. programmes and donors. In this context, the ability to make use of the mass media becomes a crucial factor for success. Nonetheless, their dialogue is more related to implementation than policy formulation and their common attitude is confined to efforts to promote charity rather than politicised action.

Traditional organisations have provided shelter and assistance for the elderly poor, unprotected children and to homeless young persons migrating to the city in search of work and educational opportunities. Organisations such as the Red Cross or the Christian Youth Association developed their first shelter and assistance schemes soon after the War. In the 1970s and the 1980s, when homelessness had not yet attracted public attention, they were already experiencing the failure of statutory provisions for the elderly and young migrants. The elderly poor gave the first signs of the social limits to urban growth. Old age poverty was related to the precarious pattern of employment since their movement from villages to the cities, as was the erosion of extensive family units, and the lack of social protection measures. Since the 1990s NGOs have been the first to recognise two major changes. The first one has been the demand for shelter by immigrants. This demand was most often expressed with organisations dealing with health problems as they were the only ones to which the immigrants had access. The second relates to pitfalls of the psychiatric and correction reform and increasing drug abuse amongst the young people.

Of the NGOs interviewed, three have developed a direct discourse on homelessness. The first one, FRIENDS OF THE HOMELESS, is a small society that mobilizes a number of friends and their relatives to cook meals and offer company to homeless persons in central areas of the city. The second one is the street magazine DROMOLOGIA, which was founded by a number of journalists and which has approximately 50 regular vendors. Despite its link with the media the magazine has not managed to attract widespread public attention. The third one is ARSIS, an organisation working with young people established in 1992 and running a shelter for juvenile delinquents. The organisation has branches in three large Greek cities (Athens, Thessaloniki, Volos). The discourse of ARSIS on homelessness has stressed rights to housing in an attempt to build a wider coalition of organisations and press statutory organisations for social housing schemes for persons excluded by their regulations, including its own clients. While all other organisations interviewed had experienced the problem and provided help to their clients, the issue was not part of their promotion and lobbying agenda. Scattered references in their leaflets or ad hoc

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<sup>4</sup> Accounting practices eliminate 'company profit' by enumeration of founding members and inflating

regulations on the provision of shelter range from a human rights to a philanthropic approach, and the understanding of homelessness is narrow. NGO networks exhibit pluralism because, despite a dominant philanthropic discourse, various organisations engage in a dialogue, particularly as the issue is experienced on a daily basis. At a working level collaboration becomes necessary to pool resources together but also introduces the need to negotiate ideas and practices.

A good example is ARSIS's collaboration with the Society for the Care of Juveniles (SCJ) to run a shelter for juvenile delinquents. Extracts below come from texts on which ARSIS and SCJ have founded their collaboration. In this case ARSIS provides an example of an organisation which promotes housing rights and recognizes the structural causes of the problem, whilst SCJ is a small traditional voluntary organisation emphasising moral values and social control functions. SCJ developed its collaboration with ARSIS recognising the educational and professional qualifications of its founding members and personnel. In particular ARSIS could fill in gaps in terms of psychological support and training. On the one hand, ARSIS could be useful to SCJ by attracting resources from E.U. programmes for training and rehabilitation. On the other hand SCJ could be useful to ARSIS by providing the buildings and space for developing its services. Initially the two lobbied for the establishment of a new shelter but without success. In my interpretation this was the main motivation for their collaboration and campaigning. Frustration with their failure to secure this goal, underlined a tension developing as to how the shelter should be run. Their collaboration contract anticipated the production of regulations for running the shelter. ARSIS proposed regulations but agreement was not reached and finally the collaboration ended, leaving SCJ as the sole administrator of the shelter and ARSIS moving its services to a separate building.

The first two extracts (6.5, 6.6) come from the constitution of SCJ and from the constitution of ARSIS and aim to confirm the cultural differences between them. Note that the two organisations are of differing legal status. SCJ is a philanthropic society, a status given to welfare charity organisations and ARSIS is a non-profit private company. It becomes obvious that the two take a different approach in addressing the

needs of young persons. In defining their clients, ARSIS talks of the 'risks of exclusion' whilst SCJ talks of 'moral risks'. Whilst SCJ aims at 'protection', ARSIS aims at 'participation', 'expression', and 'inclusion' of youth.

*Extract 6.5*

*Constitution of the Society for the Care of Juveniles 15 May 1991*

*The Society for the Protection of Juveniles is renamed 'The Society for the Care of Juveniles', hereinafter the Society, based in Athens with its objective the **protection** of Juveniles who have committed an offence and of Juveniles of both sexes independent of religion or nationality exposed to **moral risks**. This objective can be met by the operation of a **Philanthropic Institution** named "Station for Juveniles of the Society"*

*Extract 6.6*

*Constitution of ARSIS, 8 October 1992*

*Objectives of the Company are:*

- a) Scientific research to facilitate understanding of contemporary needs and problems of young persons. In particular, the association is concerned with the investigation of factors impeding labour market entrance and **social inclusion** and with factors contributing to marginalisation of various groups of young people.*
- b) The planning, organisation, and implementation of specialised programmes for training and support of young persons who are excluded or face the **risk of exclusion** from economic and social participation.*
- c) The initiation and promotion of **modern and innovative forms of expression, communication, participation, and empowerment of youth**.*
- d) Systematic intervention to sensitise public opinion, to mobilise and co-ordinate the actions of youth agencies.*

The following extract (6.7) is from the operating regulation ARSIS suggested to SCJ for running the shelter. The regulations were not accepted by SCJ. Whilst for SCJ the shelter is a place of 'protection', for ARSIS the shelter is a place of 'empowerment' towards 'independence'. Significantly, the discourse on



homelessness is again indirect. Similarly, the problem is primarily presented as a social one, but the text moves towards clarifying how 'stable solutions' and 'securing residence' can be reached through 'empowerment' and 'integrated encounter of the needs'.

*Extract 6.7*

*Operating Regulations for Adolescent Station*

*Article 2.*

*The Adolescent Station offers temporary hospitality and, **in parallel, support** to young persons aged 15-21 who do not have access to a residential environment, or whose family environment is not able to host them, or is not appropriate for them, until more **stable solutions** become available for their housing.*

*Services on offer are orientated towards organizing the strengths of young persons hosted and their **empowerment** with the goal of their autonomous integration in social and economic life. Their stay in the Station prevents exposure to risks for young persons without a suitable residential environment and lays the foundations for their personal mobilisation to solve the problems they face.*

*The social context and the services imbue accommodation with an essential meaning and offer life prospects to the young people through an **integrated encounter with their needs**. Actions for the preparation for their future lives and for **securing residence** and socio-economic independence of young persons are taken during their accommodation.*

The next extract (6.8) comes from the second (and last) private agreement between ARSIS and SCJ. The emphasis put on the common objectives of the two organisations sharply contrasts with the documents above cited. It can be taken as a 'disclaimer' or as a 'prolepsis' to conceal ideological differences (see Billig 1992, Wetherell & Potter 1988, Edwards and Potter 1992) and is also necessary for both parties to confirm trust and confirm that their collaboration may continue. At the same time the agreement strictly separates, for the first time in their collaboration, the functions of the two organisations and also moves to a spatial arrangement of this separation within the same building. The concealing function of this 'prolepsis' becomes evident in clauses

clarifying that the shelter is run according to the objectives of SCJ and that ARSIS runs programmes accepted by the administrative board (the majority formed by SCJ members). It must be stressed that the power not only to produce a text but also to enforce it derives from ownership of the building.

*Extract 6.8: Private Agreement between ARSIS and SCJ, 22 April 1997*

*The 'Society for the Care of Juveniles' has ownership, possession and disposal of a two-storey building (...technical description follows) hereinafter called the 'Juvenile Station'. Given that the social aims of both contracting Associations are common, they have decided to collaborate towards a common goal of tackling youth problems and for this they agree specifically on the following:*

*An administrative board is hereby established consisting of five members. Three members represent SCJ and two members represent ARSIS.*

*ARSIS shall use the ground floor of the building which houses the Juvenile Station only to implement programmes approved by the administrative board. The floor above shall be used as a shelter for hosting juveniles, according to the constitution and the objectives of SCJ. The ground floor may be used by persons hosted in the shelter depending on the operation of programmes. Basic terms for the use of the ground floor are that the programmes of ARSIS shall by no means impede the operation of the shelter and the persons hosted.*

#### *6.2.4. Religious philanthropy*

Action for the homeless is considered to be part of the charity work of the Archdiocese of Athens. Both clerical and non-clerical officials acknowledge the issue but there are no official documents on homelessness as such. The homeless are acknowledged to be part of a wider poor population benefiting from the charity work of the Archdiocese of Athens. The charity work is financed and administered by a special fund called The General Fund for Caring for the Poor ('*Genikon Philoptohon Tameion*'). The fund was established in 1940, but its main administrative structure was established in 1969, and was last modified in 1993. Changes in the leading directions of charity work follow changes in the hierarchy of the Church of Greece and strongly reflect the personal convictions of the archbishop each time elected to

head the Holy Synod. The Archbishop of Athens is the President of the Holy Synod of Greece and also the President of the General Fund for Caring for the Poor.

The work of the General Fund systematised the provision of 'soup kitchens' in parishes throughout Athens and the need to provide shelter to the 'abandoned elderly' soon emerged. It should be noted that this period coincides with the terms of office of Archbishop IERONYMOS (1967-1973) enthroned after the intervention of the military dictators. From 1973 to 1998 (under archbishop SERAPHIM) the development of church charity in Athens has continuously expanded in urban space. The majority of shelters for the elderly were developed during this period. By the end of this period the constitution of the General Fund was modified to enable it to absorb E.U. financing (this text forms the basis for the analysis below). Election of the archbishop CHRISTODOULOS (1998) has not reversed the expansion of charity work in urban space, but mainly directed it to new fields of intervention (drugs, youth problems, actions for 'street children'). At the same time the church has adopted a very strong promotional style. This new promotional policy has now become commonplace in Greece but has also attracted criticism because it is coupled with nationalist preaching and is used to fuel the conflict between the Church and the ruling socialist party.

A good example of this style is the adoption by the church of a programme running for street children called 'LOVE THE CHILDREN'. The programme is run by an NGO (PRO-EUROPA) and does not provide shelter but meals, schooling and support to children working in the streets but living with their families. The promotional style was made evident in all information leaflets by highlighting the 'adoption' of the programme by the Church. By promoting church adoption, the NGO was symbolically subjected to the paternalism of the Church, the latter caring for both the NGO and the children. The apotheosis of Christian charity, marketisation is to be found in the issuing a credit card to donors.

The Church of Greece has established a web site for its charity work to which I was referred by Church officials for information about shelters for the elderly. At the same time they denied me access to formal constitutive documents and budgets. Nonetheless, the following extract comes from the official church journal 'Ecclesia'.

Extract 6.9

Constitution of General Fund for Caring for the Poor, Ecclesia 1994

*"Article 2*

*The Institution has a double objective: a. The direct provision of any material or non-material assistance to the poor in need in each parish, and the effort to alleviate the symptoms of economic poverty and social exclusion. b. The fight against the causes of poverty and the mechanisms that give birth and reproduce social and economic exclusion, in particular through participation in the special programmes of the European Community or other International Organisations".*

...

*Article 13*

*The Resources of the Institution are devoted to the care of the poor permanently settled or temporarily residing in each Parish, through provision of 1) Regular or emergency monetary contributions, 2) clothes, 3) medication, 4) entry of those in need into philanthropic asylums, 5) distribution of books or any other assistance to male and female pupils of public or catechism schools, and 6) any other care for the poor and orphans or assistance in finding work to those who lack employment.*

*Accordingly, the fund establishes soup kitchens, recreation facilities and children's camps, Shelters for the Elderly, and all other relevant activities for the provision of any kind of care, particularly for the infant, nursery, childhood, and adolescent ages and for the very old, and for other categories of individuals with special needs."*

The first paragraph (Article 2) is an interesting example of how the preaching style has absorbed a new discourse on poverty, in order to make use of E.U. funding, without changing its philanthropic content. The preaching style is more profound in its actual Greek version because standardized phrases are easily identifiable to a native speaker and in certain cases use a parochial official language echoing biblical sounds (*Kathareousa*<sup>5</sup>). These standardized phrases are mostly 'euphemisms'. In certain cases they conceal a philanthropic culture that acknowledges minimal intervention and in other cases they imply a paternalistic approach to a variety of groups in poverty.

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<sup>5</sup> Frangoudaki (1987, 1997) discusses the use of 'kathareuousa' as a means of cultural domination.

Salient phrases include the combination of 'material and non-material assistance' (the second term implying moral assistance), 'the effort to alleviate the symptoms', the 'fight against the mechanisms' that give 'birth to social exclusion' (note the metaphors, the combination of E.U. jargon with evangelical style and also the replacement of poverty or illness, as in traditional church texts, by the term 'social exclusion'). It would have been expected that reference to the 'causes of poverty' and the 'mechanisms of exclusion' suggest structural actions, but the second paragraph (article 13) enumerates minimal provisions for targeted groups in severe need. Moreover, such measures combine the traditional 'from cradle to grave' philanthropic approach (from 'children's camps' to 'asylums' and 'shelters for the elderly') with a mixed jargon on old ('orphans', 'the very old', 'the poor') and new ('individuals with special needs') groups deserving assistance. Using material from interviews with priests and volunteers of the Church in section 7.4, I illustrate how overemphasis on 'poverty' kept hidden ambivalence or even hostility towards immigration, drug abuse, and deviance from familistic values.

### **6.3. Management modes: authority rules and material resources**

This section attempts to identify key power positions and institutional relations in the coordination of actions amongst various agencies. It utilises information from structured interviews and administrative documents regarding the authority granted to professionals and the rights or entitlements of their clients in shelters. Like Cloke *et al* 2000, I also aim to explain how powerful actors control networks by command over resources and by use of existing discourses on homelessness. The main argument is that official discourse prescribes roles for professionals and clients which constitute 'positions', symbolic and real manifestations of the division of labour in the sphere of social reproduction. Rules and regulations embody an authoritative capacity, i.e. the ability to mobilise material resources and to command people. The first subsection sets out the management structure and its links with the division of labour in each type of networks. The subsections which follow examine financial management, service delivery, and client selection.

#### ***6.3.1. Organisation, and authoritative capacity of professionals***

According to recent conceptualisations of welfare and urban governance, multi-organisational partnerships and networks have been promoted to include business, and not-for-profit agencies, alongside local and central government agencies in the management of social programmes for the homeless (cf. UNCHS 2001, Cloke *et al* 2000a, Pleace 2000 for the U.K., Hoch 2000 for the U.S.).

It has been recognised that in Southern European countries structural limitations, such as administrative fragmentation, clientelism and the personalised nature of policy making, constrain the development of novel forms of urban governance particularly in the sphere of social welfare and housing (Chorianopoulos 2000). Examples from the collaboration of various agencies mentioned in the previous section also suggest a highly ephemeral character of partnerships and extreme reluctance of welfare providers to engage in stable agreements.

Nonetheless, I suggest that the concept of networks can be a useful one for the study of micro-scale coordination of actors managing the homeless and the urban poor in the Greek context on the basis of four qualifications: a) unlike studies contrasting networks with markets and hierarchies as 'ideal types of governance' (for a relevant discussion, Lowndes and Skelcher 1998, Jessop 1999) I use the concept to denote a set of complex linkages between various agencies in empirically mixed conditions of coordination; b) I also distinguish between the mode management ('hierarchies': vertical relationships of power and dependency, 'heterarchies': increased autonomy and lateral interdependence)<sup>6</sup> and networks themselves. Consequently, whether networks constitute 'hierarchies' or 'heterarchies' is a matter of empirical investigation; c) emphasis is laid on the ideological dimensions and the normative basis of management (Lowndes and Skelcher 1998). Hence, the management can be bureaucratic, religious, politicised, or civil depending on the discourses that legitimate administrative action; d) Unlike a variety of theoretical and empirical typologies in the British literature (for a review Rhodes 1997, Smith 1993, Rhodes and Marsh 1992) focusing on inter-organisational relations, the Greek case suggests that we should consider networks from both an inter-organisational and an intra-organisational perspective.

According to the above qualifications, networks are considered as interconnections of differentiated positions spanning within and across organisations of the state and civil society. In this sense, networks managing the homeless are manifestations of the division of labour between a variety of planning and care professions, and at the same time themselves contribute to the 'labour of division' (Jessop 1999), that is to the classification and normalisation of potential aid recipients. Management structures effectively 'objectify' the relationships between professionals of care and the subjects in need of assistance. The social categories of 'professions' and the 'homeless' are presented in official documents as realities that are 'too real to be true', and yet they predefine individual relationships (e.g., according to the texts cited above, a priest is supposed to 'comfort' the poor elderly, and a volunteer to 'protect' young persons from 'moral risks'). Moreover, there are crucial positions within a single agency that admit only one occupant but command the whole network (e.g. an archbishop guides

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<sup>6</sup> The terms Hierarchy and Heterarchy in Jessop 1999

his flock and a mayor commands the local administration). Thus, the fragmented and personalised characteristics of administration can be better understood if we are able to discern the power structure underlying social relationships in welfare organisations.

The majority of shelters and agencies have a low degree of autonomy, with the exception of NGOs. This is particularly true for local state and church shelters that do not even consist of independent legal entities. State shelters form separate legal entities but they lack autonomy because of the application of a hierarchical bureaucratic system. Thus, it is extremely difficult to draw a line between shelters and their organisational environment. Consequently, the authoritative capacity of professionals and administrators is examined with reference not only to their immediate but also with reference to their wider context. A particular mode of management is identified for each type of networks across three basic dimensions: Power Direction, Power Diffusion, and Role Differentiation.

Table 6.2 presents each of the identified modes of management, highlights their dimensions, and places key power positions in this wider context.



**Table 6.2: Modes of Management in Philanthropic Networks**

Networks/ Interagency Configuration	Bureaucratic (Central State)	Political (Local State)	Civil (NGOs)	Religious (Church)
Mode of Management	Bureaucratic Hierarchy	Politicised Hierarchy	Civil Heterarchy	Ecclesiastical Hierarchy
Power Direction (Vertical)	TOP DOWN Limited Feedback	TOP DOWN Limited Feedback	TOP DOWN Extensive Feedback	TOP DOWN Limited Feedback
Power Diffusion (Horizontal)	LIMITED	LIMITED	MEDIUM	LIMITED
Role Differentiation	BASIC	BASIC	BASIC- DIVERSIFIED	BASIC
Collective Bodies	Administration Board	Municipal Council	Administration Board- Counselling Boards- General Assembly	Central Administration Committee- Local Administration Committees
Key Power Positions	Minister, Head of Prefecture, Social Worker	Mayor Deputy Mayor	Members of Administration Board	Archbishop Priest

Emphasis is given to the ideological and institutional dimension of management. Official discourse and values are used to control individual membership, predefine professional roles, and provide legitimacy of administrative actions and outcomes. The first two rows suggest that bureaucratic, religious, and political philanthropic networks are hierarchical. Whilst all agencies are compatible regarding their philanthropic attitudes towards the homeless, what mostly distinguish them are the ideological differences, which provide the normative basis for the coordination of administrative action and take distinct institutional forms (bureaucratic, politicised,

religious hierarchies). Evidence of self-organised and pluralist forces has been found only within civil networks.

Management in state shelters and agencies can be described as a bureaucratic hierarchy. After a series of attempts at decentralisation, the ministry and the prefecture share responsibilities with regard to supervision and allocation of resources to shelters and social services<sup>7</sup>. Nonetheless, shelters and agencies rely solely on central financial provisions and, ultimately, the ministry takes strategic decisions. Although the supervisory structure is highly fragmented problems of coordination are overcome by administrative routines according to a bureaucratic 'habitus' of reliance on central authority and the implementation of legal acts. Employment relationships within agencies encourage a loyalty from key members of the staff to bureaucratic authority. This loyalty often appears as a personified mode of management but the 'minister', the 'head of prefecture', the 'director' are symbolic figures rather than real persons. Similarly, the conditions of clients, despite official assertions of empathy and charity are viewed through the magnifying lenses of complicated legal acts and regulations.

The management of various services for the homeless in the municipality of Athens can be best described as a model of 'politicised hierarchy': all directives stem from a single individual (the Mayor) and surrounding politicians (Deputy Mayors) occasionally supported by a couple of directors in the administration, who are willing to accomplish manoeuvring within the administrative mechanisms. This picture confirms findings of other studies reporting the concentration of local executive power in the position of the Mayor, the absence of professional bureaucracy, and personalised administration (Chorianopoulos 2000). However, I emphasise the significance of political loyalty, which is necessary to manipulate the local apparatus

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<sup>7</sup> The system of local government in Greece includes two levels of self-governing administration (i.e. authorities are elected by direct, universal, and secret ballot and enjoy administrative independence over their territory). The first level consists of 1033 Municipalities and Communes. The second level includes 54 prefectural administrations (prefectures). There is also a third level of regional administration (but not self-governing, as authorities are appointed by the government) including 13 regions. Constitutionally, there are no hierarchical relationships between levels. Nonetheless, the complex system for the distribution of competences and reliance on central government finance allows the deployment of multi-level arrangements on certain policy issues, as I am describing for the case of homelessness in Athens.

in a hierarchical fashion. My analysis stresses the ideological premises of the coordination of action rather than the institutional gaps.

In NGOs power is concentrated in founding members of organisations usually consisting of the core of an administration board. Coordination amongst different agencies is achieved after negotiation. Interpersonal communication, reciprocity and reputation concerns are vital for establishing collaboration, as for example in the case of ARSIS and the SCJ discussed above.

The shelters of the Archdiocese of Athens are located within a power structure dominated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. There are two significant points related to the power structure of the Church. The first point is how the ecclesiastical hierarchy unfolds to cover the whole territory of Athens through administrative divisions reaching micro-geographical scales. The second point is how religious dogma as a vehicle for executing decisions supplants and controls popular<sup>8</sup> participation at the local level.

Power direction refers to vertical power relations extending from the top position in each network to the bottom position in each shelter. Indeed, the top position often stands outside the boundaries of each shelter. A top-down decision-making model is applied in all networks. Bottom-up influence is limited to information flows. In small NGOs a collective mode of decision-making was also encountered, but is not the regular pattern. In larger NGOs bottom up feedback was found more extensively than in other providers and also took the form of consultation. Other than ideological democratic principles, the enhanced participatory structure of NGOs has also had to consider the interests and motivation of volunteers and contracted professionals. Nevertheless, a top-down model does not imply that street-level professionals are powerless but rather that decisions are, either formally or informally, divided into strategic and routine decisions. At the same time there is a significant degree of variation of involvement of the top hierarchy in routine issues. For example, the Deputy Mayor of Athens has control over every aspect of the day-to-day running of a

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<sup>8</sup> The ecclesiastical body consists of the 'Orthodox clergy' and the 'Orthodox people'. Note that the words 'people' (*laos*) and 'popular' (*laikos*) can be used interchangeably with 'believer'. The 'popular'

shelter. Similarly, social workers in state shelters may ask permission from the ministry for the extension of stay for particular clients. Professionals of care exercise their powers over clients by making use of their authoritative capacity in routine matters.

Power diffusion refers to horizontal relations between positions on the same level. The main question is if power is diffused between various professionals and administrators functioning at the same level. In other words, the main task is to identify whether there is a concentration of power in one or two key positions due to professional or educational qualifications or due to a crucial function. I found little evidence of power diffusion at any level in all types of organisations except the NGOs. The committed interest of both volunteers and experts was the basic factor for differentiating NGOs, as they were pursuing disinterested cooperation and so power diffusion.

Functions of collective bodies and representation mechanisms are institutional expressions of power direction and power diffusion.

State shelters are run by an administration board consisting of 5 Members appointed by the Head of the Prefecture. They involve the president of the board, a representative of the employees (elected), a representative of the prefecture, and persons with an acknowledged contribution to society (usually donors). The administration board is responsible for decisions concerning the management of the property, the estate, and the financial assets of the shelter. In practice, rather than being a decision making body it is a vehicle for transferring information (bottom-up) and decisions (top-down).

There is no collective body responsible for running the shelter of the Municipality. The 'office for the homeless' is a division of the social administration of the municipality mainly responsible for personnel arrangements and a facade to register part of the expenses. The only valve for accountability and democratic control is the

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basis of this structure provides arguments for both leftist ('Neo-orthodoxy') and nationalistic ideological movements within and outside the church.

municipality council's approval by majority strategic decisions. But, given the political majority, its role is ultimately limited to a routine control of legitimacy.

Following legal codes, there are two standard forms of administration of NGOs: the general assembly of all members and the administrative board. The administrative board usually consists of founding members. In larger organisations, heads of departments and consulting groups share executive powers, whilst the direction of the administration tends to account to general assemblies of members.

The General Fund of the Church consists of 13 geographical sectors in Athens supervising 114 parish funds, 64 parish kitchens and 16 parish shelters. The General Fund is administered by an administration board (with 15 members of whom 9 are from the 'people'). Local committees are established in each parish to coordinate the local activities, including the shelters. Members of parish funds are all parish residents (*enorites*). The parish priest heads the local committees and suggests, to the archbishop, the appointment of seven (7) 'popular members' (*Laikoi*) (one 'commissioner' *epitropos* and 'six ladies', *kyries*). Local committees are not legal entities. A salient factor is, the way in which 'popular participation' is corroded and subsumed under the indisputable power of the Archbishop. At the same time strong mobilisation is achieved via Christian beliefs and values (including gender differentiation of roles).

Role differentiation primarily refers to the work content of various positions. It concerns the division of labour in organisations, and in broad political terms is inexorably linked with power direction and power diffusion. Role differentiation does not escape basic distinctions between 'intellectual' and 'manual' work. A limited number of qualified staff (social workers, priests) take routine decisions and supervise unqualified staff (cleaners, porters, cooks, etc). The surveillance of residents is primarily granted to qualified staff but unqualified staff may also play a significant role. Lack of qualified staff has accompanied the neglect and symbolic degradation of the welfare providers in general. Shelters and agencies are clearly understaffed but also the lack of expertise is evident in the following table.

**Table 6.3: Personnel Categories in Shelters**

Staff Categories	Central State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Administrative	3	2	2	0
Social Workers	3	2	3	0
Assisting Personnel	14	6	8	10
Nursing Personnel	3	0	0	1
Psychologists	NA	0	1	0
Doctors	NA	NA	NA	0
Priests	NA	NA	NA	3
Regular Volunteers	0	0	10	10

*(Equivalent of personnel per 100 Beds: for all shelters of the same provider, the sum of Personnel in each category is divided by the sum of beds, then multiplied by 100 and rounded to integer. This procedure allows comparison across large and small units). Source: Own Survey- Elaborated Data*

First, it is evident that shelters and welfare agencies simply absorb a number of unqualified persons. Note, in Table 6.3, the difference between statutory and non-statutory agencies in unqualified personnel. This is a reason for cost differentiation and also reflects clientelistic practices in job placements. In some NGOs and in church agencies, volunteers have substituted for unqualified personnel. Second, there is a striking absence of absolutely necessary specialists to run the shelters properly (including medical and nursing personnel, psychologists).

In state and local shelters one can identify a detailed classification of professional personnel. But it would be a misinterpretation to take this as a sign of an advanced division of labour. The occupational structure is a replication of the general civil service codes. These general codes can be taken to reflect a bureaucratic fetishism because they are primarily based on the symbolic value of educational 'certificates' granting differentiated access to positions within the administrative machinery. Overall, traditional care professionals and shelter personnel are found at the bottom of the symbolic hierarchy within the intellectual division of labour.

The picture suggests that traditional historical structures and ideologies persist and constraint welfare reforms. The traditional management of the urban poor relies on bureaucratic, politicised and religious hierarchies promoting a philanthropic discourse. It is also characterised by a low division of labour within the state and traditional civil agencies, reflecting the historical transition of the social formation from agrarian to capitalist structures (Poulantzas 1985). As has been discussed in

Chapter 4, the majority of institutionalised forms of care, of which many shelters are remnants, were established in cities by the church and private donors in the eve of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the state, during this period of intense urbanisation and widespread marginalisation, tacitly left social care of the poor to the Church and private charities. It was mainly after the War that the state adopted (and secularised) the philanthropic discourse and linked traditional charities to its own bureaucratic mechanisms.

In the current international conjuncture the Greek welfare regime, already largely relying on family provisions, is experiencing a form of 'hollowing out' of the welfare state. In other words, Greek reformers, inspired by E.U. discourse and guidelines, have attempted a leap from philanthropy to welfare governance. Fragmented, bureaucratic, and residual state provisions are shrinking but, at the same time, there is an attempt to strengthen the regulatory and supervisory functions of the central administration. Social care and social control are increasingly being dispersed across private, local and religious agencies, the majority of which operate with unqualified personnel subsumed to hierarchical structures.

Nonetheless, my findings also suggest the emergence of new professions (counsellors, psychologists, criminologists), and the promotion of more democratic and inclusive structures within a limited number of NGOs. The same organisations struggle to gain financial autonomy from the state and to promote a reformist discourse of inclusion. Their limited financial capacities put a strain on the employment security of their staff as well as on the continuous support of their clients. In very material terms, financial instability, lack of an institutional framework, and precarious employment very much limit the potential of any useful knowledge and collaboration. Control over the material conditions of service delivery by both providers (nurses, volunteers, social workers, doctors) and by recipients (young persons in training, women in shelters, refugees in camps) potentially provides a basis for claims of empowerment and participation.

### 6.3.2. Costs and financial management

Table 6.4 highlights the main sources of income for agencies. Central state shelters and the municipal programme for the homeless exhibit a limited autonomy, but also financial stability, as they are regularly financed through the central state and the municipal budget respectively. NGOs are financed mostly on a project basis with almost no direct regular assistance from the state. At the same time charity funding is not high enough to provide a stable financial basis. Long-term plans cannot be introduced and employment relations also become unstable. The Church Fund for Caring for the Poor is a very powerful fund-raising mechanism. A vast amount is collected through collections (*eranos*) in churches (2.5b. drachmas a year = 4.5m. pounds). This attracts various voluntary organisations (mostly inspired by Christian values) looking for assistance. Although, voluntary organisations cannot claim this money, their financial assistance as a form of charity falls within the discretionary power of the Archbishop. Nonetheless, shelters may also obtain a regular income through the budgets allocated for churches in parishes. The allocation of resources to churches and shelters in parishes follows a discretionary policy and a complicated mechanism, but the authorities discouraged me from further investigating these mechanisms.

**Table 6.4: Sources of Income (Financial Assets)**

Legal Provision/ Classification	Central State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Direct Regular State Subsidies	97-99%	0%	0%	0%
State and E.U. Bids	0%	10%	80-90%	0%
Charities	1%	5-10%	10-20%	50%
Fees	1%	0%	0%	0%
Local Authority Subsidies	0-2%	*85-90%	0%	0%
Archdiocese of Athens	0%	0%	0%	*50%

Source: Own Survey, Declarations made in interviews

\* Figures include regular state subsidies to local authorities and the church which cannot be separated.



The next table (6.5) contains cost estimates reflecting a widely acknowledged reality amongst professionals in the field. The central state shelters appear the most costly and ineffective. Local state shelters stand somewhere in the middle. NGOs and the church provide the least costly services. Cost differences should not be taken to reflect differences in quality of accommodation. Moreover, they are accounting differences rather than real cost differences. Hidden costs cannot be estimated because of two main factors a) opaque centralised management, and b) voluntary contributions and work.

**Table 6.5: Average Monthly Cost per Person**

	Central State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Average Monthly Cost Per Person	100,000-120,000	80,000-90,000	40,000-50,000	20,000-30,000

Source: Own Survey, Estimated in drachmas from interviews

Cost reduction is achieved through centralised management. What informally happens is the distribution of resources for various social activities through a single budget by a central authority. The expenses of the shelters are only a small part of this budget. This allows local authorities and church officials to hide costs and move resources devoted to other purposes to the shelters. For example a social worker may work three days a week in a shelter and two days a week in drug centre. Similarly medical treatment for guests of local shelters can be provided without charge in a local medical centre. This also implies that the cost of shelters constitutes in certain cases a hidden cost for other activities. For example, a mess for the poor in a parish includes helpings for those in shelters. Similarly, lunch portions for the roofless of the municipality come out of the catering allowance for local nursery schools. However, this type of management suffers from a lack of transparency and accountability. Moreover, it presupposes a low degree of specialisation of resources and differentiation of roles of professionals (for example, a social worker may be equally capable of dealing with a psychiatric symptom and a criminal offence, or a 50-year old homeless person may have nutritional needs similar to those of a 5-year old child).

Last but not least, opacity of financial management refers to the use of regular central state subsidies (see \* in Table 6.4). For example, the ‘programme for the homeless’ of the municipality of Athens does not have its own budget, local authorities pay the rent of the ‘bed and breakfast’ hotels, and salaries to social workers via the consolidated budget of the municipality whose income relies on regular state subsidies. Hence, the municipality declares that 85-90% of the cost of the programme is financed via the municipal budget, but in effect this is central state money. Given that there are shared costs with other municipal services, as explained above, allocation of resources cannot be properly inspected. Similarly, salaries of priests and part of the costs for running churches in parishes come out of the regular budget of the central state. Indeed, state financing of the Church of Greece is a source of criticism for the ‘non-separation’ of the Church from the state<sup>9</sup>.

Voluntary work and donations in kind also contribute significantly to lowering the costs for the Church and NGOs. The main factor reducing cost appears to be voluntary work. More than cost reduction, voluntary work upgrades the quality of services on offer. This can start from the most humble provisions like ‘homelike food’ (*spitiko fai*) (as a homeless person told me about church messes), when cooked and served by ladies of charity. Then it may encompass students mixing in ‘self-help’ or ‘support groups’ in psychiatric asylums, prisons, shelters and street work (VOLUNTARY WORK, ARSIS, DROMOLOGIA, RED CROSS). Moreover, this may also include highly qualified professionals (medical doctors, criminologists, psychiatrists) who devote time without payment to clients of the services. Nonetheless, volunteers are also concerned that unpaid work is used to legitimise cost reductions and state incapacity. At the edge of this concern one can also identify underpaid professionals who are willing to bear work overload. Young graduates in voluntary organisations have low paid short-term contracts and the unqualified staff in church shelters is without insurance contributions.

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<sup>9</sup> A historical discussion of Church-State relationships can be found in Alivizatos (2000). Section 7.4 of the thesis also discusses the implication of such institutional conflation in the formation of nationalistic and religious identities.

### 6.3.3. Shelter specialisation and selection of clients

Clients of welfare services and shelters are connected mainly with the bottom line of the hierarchical structures described above. The positions of clients are first described by the selection procedures and criteria according to which accommodation and services are offered. The focus here is on access to services. Selection procedures and regulations establish a filtering process to separate those in need of shelter from a wider poor population. In practice, all units are addressing the needs of particular groups exposed to different risks of homelessness. As in the U.S., incremental responses to homelessness have led to a specialisation of shelters through selective practices of providers (Hoch 2000, Wolch and Dear 1993). Nonetheless, the term 'generic' is used to indicate that according to regulations and objectives a variety of individuals in need of shelter can be accepted regardless of their particular needs. Table 6.6 shows the prevailing schemes.

**Table 6.6: Resident Specialisation.**

	Central State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Resident Specialisation	Generic- Specialised	Generic	Specialised	Specialised

Both central and local state schemes are generic, aiming to meet the transitory needs of the homeless. Nonetheless, as will be explained in the subsequent chapters they have pursued practices to filter their residents. A direct discourse on homelessness has been used to justify this practical specialisation. A limited number of beds are available in the central state hostel for HIV patients and hostels for removing mental health patients in the process of de-institutionalisation. All shelters run by NGOs are specialised units addressing particular target groups.

The next table (6.7) provides an initial overview of regulations excluding particular groups of applicants for shelter. Table 6.7 also attempts to cope with two difficulties undermining classification and comparisons. The first difficulty stems from differences in specialisation of shelters. Generic centres would not be expected to

impose exclusionary clauses, since they are supposed to address a wide population in need. Specialised shelters would be expected to except only client groups with particular housing or care needs, and by default implicitly exclude all other groups except their targets. The second difficulty is that regulations, despite detailed prescriptions, are open to interpretation, which in turn results in a series of negotiations between applicants and professionals. To overcome these difficulties, table 6.7 distinguishes between explicit exclusions in the regulations (denoted by 'X') and unregulated areas (denoted by 'U'). Moreover, table 6.7 specifies if specialised provisions are encountered in different types of shelter (denoted by 'S').

**Table 6.7: Admission Regulations**

	State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Immigrants	X	X	X S	X
Mental Patients	X S	X	X	X
Alcoholics/ Drug Abusers	X S	X	X	X
Discharged Convicts	X	X	U S	U
Children/ Juveniles/ Minors	S	X	S	S
Patients/ Disabled/ HIV	X S	X	U	U
Elderly Persons in need of care	X	S	U	S
Families/ Dependent Members	U	U	U	U

X: Explicitly excluded, S: Other centres provide special care, U: no regulation

Using Table 6.7 as a general guide, the findings can be summarized as follows:

Discharged convicts, persons with mental illness, drug abusers, and immigrants are the main groups for which explicit exclusions are imposed. At the same time there is a very limited supply of places in specialised shelters or care units. Not surprisingly, they constitute the majority of rough sleepers. Testing and verification is quite formal and difficult to negotiate for the applicants themselves, and so becomes a matter for negotiation between professionals, as illustrated in chapter 7.

There are no schemes exclusively for juveniles with only one exception (ARSIS) and all shelters are for 'adults'. By default and applying the Greek legal framework in defining childhood and the protection of minors, shelters cannot accept

unaccompanied children or minors. A particular gap emerges for ages between 15 and 21 either leaving traditional institutionalised child protection units or in conflict with families (runaways) and the law (offenders).

The predicament of the elderly, persons in need of care, and families have produced a variety of interpretations of the regulations and a raft of discretionary practices.

The question of the elderly is closely related to their care needs and the extent to which they can function autonomously. Some regulations have provided special modifications to clarify this issue (for example they may mention particular diseases of old age or introduce an upper/ lower age limit).

Other than the elderly, the issue of care has emerged for a variety of groups (Disabled, HIV, out-patients of hospitals) in need of either temporary or stable housing.

There is no scheme to cover families and their dependent members. This refers to a wide variety of 'households' (couples, single parent families, single-carer families, extensive households) which find themselves homeless after eviction, and most often are 'hosted' by relatives or friends ('concealed homelessness'). As there are also no exclusionary regulations such cases are highly subject to professionals' discretion and the available facilities in particular shelters as well as vacancies.

There is an implicit allocation of tasks and groups in risk of homelessness amongst state authorities, local authorities, secular and religious charities. On paper, the state acknowledges its responsibility to accommodate mental health patients in community centres and apartments. Immigrants and discharged convicts are left to the NGOs, whilst the elderly are primarily left to the church.

Generic shelters impose numerous exclusionary regulations. This seems to contrast with their objective of coping with the urgent or temporary needs of various groups. Whilst generic shelters claim to be addressing 'the homeless' they exclude those in priority of need, those largely sleeping rough. Moreover, the services offered (see next section) do not cope with either emergency needs (psychological stress, child care) or resettlement needs (employment, training, housing).

Specialised agencies by default exclude all groups other than their target groups but they also face a shortage of places. Furthermore, specialised agencies are not functionally linked to generic shelters to cope in an integrated manner with client needs. This means that the established links are confined to the process of verification and testing. Finally, specialised agencies provide shelter through the perspective of care or control, and housing rarely becomes a priority.

To cope with the large variety of cases, shelters uniformly impose procedures for verification of need. All shelters apply medical and income tests requesting documents of identification and often conduct a social inquiry. However, formalisation of the procedure distinguishes various providers. Central state shelters apply uniform procedures, and require 'official certificates' for all areas of concern. Personal identification through a formal application serves as an initial screening and the primary concern is proof of Greek nationality and family status. The main application of medical tests concerns contagious disease, mental health and drug abuse. Social inquiry is also a method used by all shelters and agencies and reflects a disciplinary approach to be undertaken by social workers. Social inquiry both directs clients for certification of their needs and explores informal and personal issues.

#### *6.3.4. Accommodation and services*

The position of clients can also be described by a second set of regulations according to which everyday life is organised in shelters. The focus here is on use facilities and services.

Along all types of shelters documents make extensive use of the word '*philoxenia*' and '*philoxenoumenos*'. For the Greek word '*philoxenia*' (literally friendship to aliens) the Oxford Greek-English dictionary suggests: offer hospitality, entertain, welcome, accommodation, be host to. For the adjective *philoxenoumenos* it suggests: guest or visitor. The philanthropic discourse makes symbolic use of the ancient origin of words to denote warmth, generosity, and courtesy. The word 'host' primarily implies family functions and hostels or shelters are a 'substitute' for them. Moreover,

‘hospitality’ refers to a temporary and transitional period. Finally, ethnographic research in Greece has documented that hospitality implies respect to the norms and acknowledgement of power to the hosting household (Herzfeld 1992).

In this context it is not surprising that there is no reference to ‘rights of residents’ or ‘clients’ (phrases which are common in the English-speaking world and welfare discourse). ‘Guests’ do not participate in any decisions concerning everyday life or in the design of services in shelters. They are subject to care and control. Whilst rights are absent, ‘obligations’ are printed, and often posted, to specify the hostel’s rules. Obligations may exhibit some variation depending on the particular orientation of each shelter but there is constant control of entry-exit, clauses on room maintenance, and prohibitions on smoking, food and alcohol consumption. The majority of ‘rules’ aim not only to maintain order but also in various cases to maintain a sense of the ‘temporary nature’ of residence. Social workers and unqualified staff (cleaners, porters) are responsible for inspections and control.

Shelters can be classified with reference to the type of accommodation offered and the length of stay. Type of accommodation mainly refers to the available facilities and services. Three main schemes were found to be in operation: bed & breakfast, open accommodation, and residential care units. Length of stay can be short or long term. Table 6.8 provides a picture of the main schemes on offer.

**Table 6.8: Type, Length and Specialisation of Accommodation**

SHELTER PROVISIONS	Central State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Type of Accommodation	Bed & Breakfast	Bed & Breakfast	Open Acc. Residential Care	Residential Care
Length of Stay	Short Term	Short Term	Short Term- Long Term	Long Term

Central and local state shelters resemble ‘bed and breakfast’ schemes. Local state shelters are private rented hotels. Central administration shelters are housed in state owned buildings. The facilities in both cases are quite similar. Rooms resemble hotel accommodation, the majority hosting 2 persons (a limited number of rooms with 3

beds available) with private WC and shower. The buildings include a common room and a restaurant for breakfast. The common room is the main place for interaction where a TV set and public phones are located. Accommodation is temporary, and depending on specific regulations, varies between 3 and 6 months.

NGO schemes exhibit a wider variety as to both the type and the duration of accommodation. The schemes mentioned below do not fall easily into social housing classifications used elsewhere in Europe. The absence of a central regulatory framework and the limited amount of available resources leave space for improvisation. Various hybrid forms emerge but a major distinction can be drawn between: open accommodation and residential care units.

Open accommodation units impose minimal regulations with regard to shelter and also provide minimal resources with regard to all other living needs. There are individualised and collective versions of open accommodation. Individualized accommodation units are similar to halls of residence where long-term accommodation is provided either free or on a low-rent basis. Individual and shared rooms are provided and cooking facilities are usually available in shared spaces. Collective accommodation is a hybrid encountered in two shelters for ex convicts. The shelters resembled a patriarchal commune. The founding members were private citizens who established the shelters out of charity and were assisted by a core group of residents. Temporary accommodation was given to a large number of newcomers.

Residential care units vary mainly with regard to the balance attained between social control and social care functions. The greater the social control, the greater the constraints on residents, and schemes display evident elements of institutionalisation. Usually, such units offer long-term accommodation. This is the only type of units the church runs for the elderly.

Table 6.9 provides a breakdown of the services that accompany the above-mentioned schemes. This table can supply two basic conclusions. Firstly, all schemes suffer from serious gaps in four main areas: resettlement (housing), employment, psychological counselling, and care for children. This is most evident in statutory and municipal schemes. In particular, the lack of resettlement services contrasts with their primary



housing function. Secondly, there is extensive reliance of shelters on the public health care system because the health care needs of residents are significant.

Table 6.9: Services in Shelters

SERVICES	Central State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Resettlement Services	NO	NO	YES	YES
Medical Treatment	OUT	OUT	OUT	OUT-IN
Care for dependent members	NO	NO	NO	NO
Psychological Support	NO	NO	YES-NO	NO
Employment- Training	NO	OUT	IN-OUT	NO

IN: In-house, OUT: Outsourcing or networking, NO

Medical or nursing infrastructures are not provided and persons must be referred to public medical services. With a few exceptions (local state and NGOs), regulations and founding decrees do not foresee the provision of services concerning employment, education, training, or psychological support. In practice, all of these are absent, with ARSIS being the only exception. Social services are confined to referrals or at best try to enable access to central welfare or health services. Social workers devote a significant amount of time to re-establishing family contacts. The spirit of 'moral support' permeates the practices of social workers and is a substitute for 'psychological counselling or support'.

Table 6.10 summarises the benefits offered to the homeless. The central state is responsible for income assistance and housing benefits. Nonetheless, the amount is derisory and the procedure for obtaining it highly bureaucratic and stigmatising. The spirit of philanthropy is evident in benefits in kind, such as second-hand clothing collected in neighbourhoods or at holiday bazaars in shelters, and granted by local state agencies, NGOs, and the Church. The Church also provides minimal income assistance to poor claimants but there is no standardised scheme.

Table 6.10: Benefits to the Homeless

BENEFITS	Central State	Local State	NGOs	Church
Benefits in Kind	NO	YES	YES	YES
Income Assistance- Housing Benefits	YES	OUT	OUT	YES

## 6.4. Conclusions

In this chapter I have explored the discourses and management of central state, local state, church and non-governmental welfare providers. From discourse analysis of official documents, and from interviews with the management of shelters it was found that the four providers consolidate distinct philanthropic networks, of which I have suggested the terms bureaucratic, political, civil and religious.

A dominant philanthropic discourse and a traditional model for the management of the urban poor can explain similarities between various welfare providers. Provisions for the homeless are limited to charity, and accommodation schemes constitute a balance between social control and social care. Hostels and services are not integrated and they also fail to meet their objectives because homelessness is constructed solely as a welfare issue. The majority of shelters are remnants of institutionalised care but some have been modified to cope with crisis situations. Centralised and opaque management is left to the senior positions in the state, municipal authorities, the church, and large to NGOs. Smaller NGOs struggle to cope with financial hardship in a fragmented regulatory framework. Professional roles for low qualified staff imply persuasion- coercion of disenfranchised citizens.

Nonetheless, noticeable differences evidence the emergence of a reformist discourse aiming at institutional change and supporting inclusive and participatory management. Different forces have struggled to contest the dominant discourse but with limited success. Thus, differences can be understood as different ways of rhetorically incorporating new claims and incremental changes.

Local state agencies have developed a philanthropic discourse of homelessness to sustain the expansion of its services and also to promote local politicians. This discourse has exploited radical claims and has been legitimised with reference to scientific authority. A limited number of NGOs have developed a reformist discourse on homelessness and struggle to consolidate stable advocacy networks. Although qualified staff and volunteers support democratic ideas and innovative actions, their effects have been limited. Central state and church officials make use of a philanthropic discourse on poverty and social exclusion with ambiguous or indirect

references to homelessness. Solid hierarchical structures and religious ideas have constrained participation of citizens and professionals in decision-making.

Following shrinkage of statutory provisions, unstable, temporary, and short-range links have developed between multiple agencies to separate the homeless from a wider poor population. In this context, the state tacitly shifts its already limited responsibilities to local state, NGOs and religious providers. Adaptation to E.U. policies contributes to the hollowing out from an already low degree of state welfare. Moreover, incremental changes introduced facilitate the traditional dominance of philanthropy and serve established hierarchies.

## **CHAPTER 7: The management of homelessness: discourse and practice**

### **7.1. Introduction: discourse and practice**

The previous chapter has identified four distinct discourses providing the normative basis for the management of shelters run by central state, municipal, church, and non-governmental organisations. The study of official texts aimed at substantiating that dialogue and collaboration between providers is limited by hierarchical structures and philanthropic discourses. These discourses were respectively termed: bureaucratic, political, civil, and religious philanthropy.

This chapter examines whether the same discourses are used by professionals to justify different forms of support and shelter to a variety of welfare recipients. Various studies in Europe and the U.S. have documented that professional discourses of homelessness have often consolidated the gate-keeping role of diverse local, secular and religious charities, promoted short-term solutions and neglected the housing needs of their clients (Cloke *et al* 2000a,c, Wright 1997, Carlen 1996, Daly G. 1996, Hutson and Liddiard 1994).

In the U.S. Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) suggested that the fragmented management of urban poverty by public, non-profit and private agencies is couched in different rhetorics, which target and treat different marginalised populations but fail to provide housing security and contribute to the circulation of the homeless in inadequate shelters. Also, Hoch (2000) substantiated that a mix of conservative and liberal discourses has served 'selective culling' in shelters and progressively led to specialisation of emergency and transitional shelters. Like Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) and Hoch (2000), I aim at exploring whether different discourses of state,

municipal, religious and non-governmental organisations in Athens are used to select clients, and examine whether their treatment facilitates access to secure housing, income, employment and good quality of care.

Similar inconsistencies between rhetoric and practices have also been reported in Europe. For example, in the U.K. Hutson and Liddiard (1994), have demonstrated that agency rhetoric attempted to deal with dilemmas between the normalising of residents and meeting their housing needs, and between referring to difficulties and resorting to stereotypical representations of clients. They also showed that competing definitions of homelessness, on the one hand, depended on the characteristics of clients and, on other, reflected the aims and resources of organisations. Carlen (1996) showed that the lexicon of bureaucratic management facilitated a variety of exclusions (definitional, status, and behavioural) of young persons from hostels. Cloke *et al* (2000c) in their local study of homelessness in Taunton documented that discursive incompatibilities between key actors reflected the uneven distribution of resources and regulatory powers. I aim at advancing the arguments of Hutson and Liddiard (1994), Carlen (1996), Cloke *et al* (2000c) by examining whether professional rhetoric attempts to compromise tensions between on the one hand, philanthropic identities, i.e. professionals present themselves as disinterested and caring, and on the other, power hierarchies, administrative fragmentation, and limited resources.

These aims can best be met by combining discourse analysis with an ethnographic perspective. Indeed, a lively dialogue between ethnographic approaches and critical discourse analysis (CDA), as well as successful empirical examples, suggest the study of local and institutional practices shaping the production and diffusion of various discourses (Van Dijk 1985, Wetherell 1998, Fairclough 1995, Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999, Potter 1996). The use of philanthropic discourses in the Greek context can be understood better when introducing ethnographical material, which makes them comparable with Western bureaucracies (Herzfeld 1992, 1998). Consequently, my analysis will address the dialectical relationship between discourse and practice.

Analysis of interviews aims at identifying the rhetorical devices used in the speech of professionals (Wetherell and Potter 1988, Edwards and Potter 1992). Rhetorical

devices include the lexicon of philanthropy, key metaphors, images of homelessness, and stories about the encounters of professionals with homeless individuals. These devices are treated as linguistic manifestations of the deeper functions of an interviewee's speech. Professional accounts and rhetorical techniques may vary from one interview to the other but they are relatively constant with regard to their institutional context and cultural content (Wetherell and Potter 1988, Edwards and Potter 1992). Consequently, my analysis starts with the identification of the rhetorical devices used in the discourse of each provider. Nonetheless, emphasis of the analysis is not on rhetoric and stylistic features but on the 'content' of discourse, on the meaning that images release, and on the interpretations that professionals use for both their own positions and for the conditions of their clients. Thus, the analysis examines how argumentation establishes links between definitions of homelessness and professional identities. My purpose is to examine the repertoire of rhetorical accounts and arguments that each discourse (bureaucratic, political, civil, and religious) supplies to key actors (social workers, local politicians, volunteers, priests) in different institutional settings.

Extracts from interviews highlight particular points when my respondents were facing a 'dilemma of stake of interest', i.e., they aimed to produce accounts preserving their own identities, values, and institutional positions which at the same time could not be undermined as partial or interested (Edwards & Potter 1992, Potter 1996). In such cases, the question is whether descriptions and categorisation of various homeless individuals are used to justify the selection of particular clients and the exclusion of others according to the values of providers. In a similar manner, I explore whether reports of successful examples, difficulties, and constraints were aimed at self-justification of charity to deserving recipients and shift of responsibility in the case of non-deserving ones. The analysis acknowledges the significance of institutional difficulties and constraints in shaping action, but emphasises cultural mediation in interpreting them and in responding to them.

Moreover, the arguments and representations of professionals are linked to their practices. I am suggesting that the institutional variation of different discourses on homelessness can be better understood when contrasting the latter with symbolic and material practices for the selection and treatment of clients. Along these lines of

research, I examine whether consistencies and inconsistencies between discourse and practice contribute to change or reproduction of their own 'context'. Thus, a critical question is whether reflexivity or self-justification dominates in the discourse of each provider.

Facts reported and accounts supplied by a single individual in interviews are compared to my own observations in the field. This comparison is used to reveal the particular values of each provider and also their consequences on the lives of the homeless persons. In particular, I provide my own descriptions of selection procedures applied by social workers in shelters as I recorded them on various occasions: sometimes by witnessing screening procedures taking place during my visits to shelters and sometimes by observing how professionals dealt with referrals between social services, asylums and shelters. These observations were often recorded when I was waiting to interview a social worker, a priest or a local politician and I had the opportunity to monitor their work. Escorted by social workers and volunteers I was also guided in the premises of organisations and I could observe everyday activities and interactions with residents. Through my participation in seminars of volunteers and professionals I have also become acquainted with technical selection procedures and specialised treatments. In certain occasions I had the opportunity to meet and talk with some of the residents who were mentioned in interviews. Moreover, through my own involvement in assistance of vendors of a street magazine I was able to detect survival practices, which often contrasted with claims of professionals as to the idleness or anti-social behaviour of the homeless. Observations and information of this kind are used to shed light on the rhetorical argumentation and to supply alternatives to what is often presented in interviews as the only 'real' version of events or as the only 'realistic' solution to difficulties.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows: four distinct sections discuss the discourse of each provider (bureaucratic, political, civil, and religious philanthropy). In each section, the analysis starts by identifying the key rhetorical techniques and their function in interviewing and is contrasted with my own reporting of practices regarding the selection and treatment of residents in shelters. A last section concludes and attempts a comparison of the four providers.

## **7.2. Bureaucratic philanthropy: concealment and evasion tactics**

### *7.2.1. Rhetoric of concealment*

Statutory definitions of homelessness can only be inferred from detailed rules with regard eligibility of applicants as discussed in the previous chapter. However, a high degree of formalisation and ambiguity is evident in a variety of legal documents. In practice, formality is retained and sanctions apply mainly as to applicants and residents of the shelters. During interviewing, professionals in statutory shelters and services often resorted to official documents and the bureaucratic jargon of legal acts and reports. Civil servants and policy-makers showed a tendency to avoid the use of symbolic language in an attempt to appear disinterested and produce factual reports. All state officials and workers, with a few notable exceptions, adopted a narrow definition and individualistic explanations of homelessness. I have termed 'accounts of concealment' a variety of rhetorical devices, which civil servants used in attempting to hide homelessness, avoid responsibility over cases they could not manage, shift the burden to other providers, minimise and even assign to their clients organisational failures. At the same time 'concealment accounts' protected the identity of civil servants and policy-makers as caring professionals operating in a hostile environment which resisted reforms and change. Tensions of this kind have been ethnographically documented in the U.S. since the 1960s (Bahr 1973, Wiseman 1970) and more recently in various critical studies (Passaro 1996, Williams 1996, Wright 1996, Liebow 1993, Golden 1992).

In this section I stress the reluctance of civil servants and policy makers to admit and openly talk about these issues. This was mostly the case with state shelters and prefectural social services. Nonetheless, there were exceptions in the case of professionals in psychiatric asylums, prisons, and units for drug addicts who had to deal with exclusions applied in shelters and thus recognised the significance of some aspects of hidden homelessness. In other words, the state bureaucracy in Greece is reluctant to admit publicly that homelessness exists and attempts to conceal failures in reforming the welfare system and in addressing new phenomena related to poverty, deinstitutionalisation, and immigration.



Various rhetorical devices were used to this end, which were best evident in 'cases' reported to me within the main flow of an interview. By 'cases' I mean vivid descriptions and vignettes reporting encounters of street-level bureaucrats with clients of welfare services and shelters in the work routine. Although 'cases' were placed in a system of values, they were presented as facts, short stories calling for an indisputable impression. More than a simple rhetorical device cases were used to classify clients and define the homeless by selectively choosing social or individual characteristics of their clients. Often 'cases' denoted the homeless persons themselves. In some the social workers were absent from the plot, but the frequent use of the term 'case' in interviews denotes a bureaucratic procedure. Native speakers can easily recall a typical reply of a civil servant to their claims: 'We shall consider your case'. Significantly, the words 'case' and 'guest' were interchangeably used by shelter administrators instead of 'client' or 'resident'. The mix of 'cases' and 'guests' signifies a mix of bureaucratic procedures and philanthropic concerns.

The typical answer in state shelters was 'we do not host only the homeless, the classic homeless', 'not all of our guests are homeless', 'the majority of our guests are not homeless'. By homeless, they did not even cover the whole spectrum of persons sleeping rough or single homeless. 'Cases' were classified in various categories occasionally followed by numbers and percentages. In this way the applicants were grouped in exhaustive lists and the 'real' homeless could be separated from a variety of cases. A categorisation they have developed includes the following groups: 'Homeless Unemployed', 'Persons with Health and Economic Problems', 'Sick Persons Escorts', 'Persons with bad family relations', 'Abused Women', 'Non-Married Mother - Women with extramarital pregnancy', 'Elderly with Economic Problems', 'Immigrants, Refugees, Return Immigrants'. Thus by homeless they referred only to the first group, termed 'homeless-unemployed' (implying and often revealing stereotypes of vagrancy, and the priority of their employment 'rehabilitation').

Detailed lists of this kind were used in my interviews but also in official communication between the shelter and the Ministry of Welfare. Nonetheless, the significance of classification goes beyond rhetoric. In his ethnographic study of the Greek administration, Herzfeld (1992) suggested that classification is a bureaucratic

‘reification’ inhibiting access to the motives of those who do the reifying. To Herzfeld (1992), classification is a practice of symbolic action crucial to forming identities. Sub-categories and hierarchical symbols point to a common core of potential intolerance to difference. He also suggests that a philanthropic rhetoric of unity develops on certain points of ‘unacceptable differences’, which separate this unity. Reciprocity becomes segmental and stereotypes are used to sustain fatalism, shift blame, and avoid responsibility. I shall try to illustrate that recording of ‘cases’ in files, classification and written reports as to various groups reveals a cross-point where bureaucracy and segmental reciprocity meet.

The next extract is illustrative of how ‘classification’ is used to construct the narrow definition of a homeless person. Following my request to provide a history of the organisation, the social worker provided a short chronicle of how institutional homes for the elderly were turned into shelters for the homeless including hints about failures and difficulties. Her account was informative of the historical changes in the composition of the homeless and their treatment (from institutional homes for the elderly coming from Asia Minor to a variety of heterogeneous groups). The extract comes from a point when she terminates her narration by saying ‘this one is not...’. (Does she imply: ‘a shelter for the homeless’?). Then she pauses, turns back to me, and refers to my research subject ‘the homeless’.

Extract 7.1: Interview with social worker in state shelter

*This one is not...(pauses). You told me your research is about the homeless. We do not host only homeless, the classic homeless. What we call homeless. We host children. There are children who were brought up in institutions. When they get 18 they get out of the institution. They usually come to a shelter. We also host abused women. There are also young persons who do not have a family environment, or there is a family environment but does not accept them. There are persons from the countryside: escorts of in-patients in hospitals, or out-patients to hospitals when they are not suffering from a serious disease. Children, I mean young persons, not children literally, who have run away from home because there are conflicts. Generally, when there is a social problem inhibiting individuals from staying in their home. They are hosted for a short period of time: initially for three months, then for*

*six months. Approximately, we have the capacity to provide shelter for six months. During this period we take care that the younger ones get themselves mobilised to look for a job, and we try to improve family relationships when there is conflict. In the case of the elderly, we talk about referrals to institutional homes.*

The social worker herself attempts to provide a definition of the homeless on her own although I have not asked her for one. She is ambivalent about who is a homeless individual, falling within the competence of the specific shelter. She wants to be accurate, she wants to be formal, she wants to help me, and she also 'constructs' both my subject of inquiry and her field of competence. From this point onwards she talks about persons 'we host'. She becomes part of the living history of the organisation, which cares about the 'children' and the 'elderly' (groups most appealing to philanthropic treatment).

Nonetheless, as Herzfeld (1992) points out, 'hospitality' in the Greek context is a sign of arbitrariness based on personal considerations. Such considerations are concealed and selection of 'guests' appears as rational, just, and caring. The interviewee actually quotes a series of key phrases from regulations for admission of applicants, such as 'a social problem inhibiting individuals from staying in their home', according to which homelessness is primarily a welfare issue. She also supplies a list of groups, which are accommodated without being the 'classic homeless'. The contrast can be criticised as partial and inaccurate because all these 'groups', 'categories', or 'cases' are homeless even if one adopts a minimalist definition: they actually lack a shelter regardless of the reason and regardless of social or individual traits that might require specialised support. What is the point of contrasting these groups? Is it of any value or help to the homeless?

In practical terms, contrasting conceals a 'selective culling', which, as Hoch (2000) has pointed out in the U.S., aims at minimising disturbance in shelters and improving the social insertion of most capable applicants. Indeed, the data provided by the same shelter verify that clients mostly consisted of the elderly poor residents of the institution prior to its reform and escorts of patients in hospitals. As a result, those in most need, the 'classic homeless' were not admitted.

Moreover, the very first actions of social services do not include housing or community work. According to the social worker, young persons (referred to as 'children') need be 'mobilised' (implying that they are not motivated to work or 'actively' searching for a job as they should). In the case of the elderly 'we talk about referrals to institutions'. The reforms have not changed much in terms of institutional accommodation but they have added a point in the system of referrals. In the course of the interview, the same person reported conflicts at night between the younger and the elderly when they are locked up (!) because of the lack of personnel and she admits that there is no actual assistance in job-finding (because young persons look for a job 'like all of us').

In the next extract, the same line of argumentation is adopted by a social worker in another state shelter. The logic of classification prevails again, and a shift of responsibility to the municipality is accompanied by critical comments.

Extract 7.2: Interview with social worker in state shelter

*Not all our guests are homeless. They come for medical test or they are escorts of patients. The majority is here for health reasons. Only approximately a 12% are homeless. With those we are concerned for their employment... (pauses). Those at the Municipality of Athens are the homeless. They are all homeless there. They left from here; they went there. I used to send them there as well, especially at the beginning. The food program of the municipality has attracted them all. They pulled them there. They told them they would get an identity card, they would find them a place to sleep and a job. Apart from the food scheme I do not think they offered what they should have offered.*

The social worker chooses to contrast the 'homeless' with the 'escorts of patients', and after the interview provided me with a list of various 'categories' accommodated in the shelter. Drawing on the data provided, it becomes evident that the information was quantitatively accurate. Nonetheless, the policy of the shelter was to serve out-patients who visit the city on a regular basis for a short period of time. Thus, it had high readmission rates, low capacity utilisation, and rejected a large number of

applicants on the grounds of regulations regarding mental health problems and drug misuse. At the same time, my respondent admitted a silent shift of responsibility for the 'homeless' to the Municipality of Athens, but did not inform me of discussions taking place during that period about the closure of the state shelter. The state shelter closed down in 1999, after the interview took place. The public excuse was that it would be renovated and included in the new plans for emergency shelters, not yet implemented.

Vivid descriptions, cases, and classifications were also coupled with 'category entitlements' (Edwards & Potter 1992). Descriptions were presented as the 'experience' of the administrators, which generates a kind of practical knowledge. Alternatively, exhaustive lists implied a kind of expert knowledge and professional skills. Thus 'expert' and 'practical' knowledge assigns authority or authenticity to professional speech. However, rhetoric directed attention away from value judgments in coping with constraints and in defining organisational goals.

In the following extract, consider how difficulties are treated as a form of self-justification and how the burden is shifted through a 'case' to the behaviour of the homeless.

Extract 7.3: Interview with social worker in state shelter

*The personnel are not qualified. The unqualified personnel also work as nurses. They are not trained. After all these years here I have realised that no one understands, neither the personnel nor the others. Those outside have only a vague understanding. The homeless are not what the others think they are: 'unlucky' and 'deserving compassion'. They do not deserve pity. They are crooks. They have wronged their relatives. They have lived an unstable life. I had a case the other day. It was a man in his sixties, who never cared about his family. He came here asking for shelter. He was a seaman. He travelled the world spending his money in ports, on gambling, and women. He never made any savings and never helped his children. Why should they help him back? They did not want to hear of him... (pauses). I have to be the cop and the informer. But I cannot supervise every corner. I cannot run in to the rooms to see if they are injecting themselves or distribute condoms.... They are Humans. These*

*things happen, in shelters, in prisons, and everywhere. The shelters are mirrors of society. But they did what they did. Justice cannot be given back to those they have harmed. Now this is over. We cannot punish them all their lives.*

The social worker is the person who knows, unlike anyone else, by both qualification and experience that the homeless are 'crooks'. Although the claim as to the lack of qualified personnel is valid, as discussed in the previous chapter, his values mediate in this selective description. The humanitarian attitude prevails over surveillance and in poetic style the shelters become mirrors of society. Yet, in the course of the interview, the same person suggests that the shelter should be privatised and function as a home for the elderly, similar to many other private ones in that area.

Although the professionals in psychiatric hospitals, units for rehabilitation from drugs, and prisons adopted a narrow definition of homelessness, they found that the magnitude of the problem was significant. This in part reflected their inability to cope with the housing need of persons leaving prisons or institutions who were excluded by shelter regulations. Failure of reforms in the psychiatric and the correction system, lack of support structures, and personnel as well as administrative fragmentation within large institutions and asylums has further encouraged a shift of responsibility amongst different departments and professions. Their 'cases' depicted the transient nature of homelessness and a revolving door process as depicted in extract 7.4.

#### Extract 7.4: Interview with social worker in psychiatric hospital

*I think that the psychiatric problem is the most significant one. I mean as an individual cause, a mental health problem, especially in serious cases. But it is also a weakness of the psychiatric system. There is no psychiatric support. There are no houses to accommodate them. Some cases need open care and support to stay with their families. They need adequate income and psychological support. The new attitude is that they should not stay in the institution. But where should they go? Psychiatrists say: 'this is not a psychiatric problem, this is a social problem' and 'this case is yours'. After some time they come and say: 'is s/he still here?' or 'I cannot solve the social problems of the country'. As long as they are handed over to us we*

*literally marry them. They wander in the city, and, from time to time, stay in general or psychiatric hospitals.*

In the same extract, tensions between social workers and psychiatrists are reported. In the 'reported dialogue' of two professionals (psychiatrist and social worker) we witness buck-passing ('this case is yours'), an attempt to exonerate guilt ('I cannot solve the social problems of the country', 'as long as they are handed over to us, we literally marry them', and frustration at the lack of support structures ('But where should they go?').

The workers in welfare offices of the prefecture also shared a narrow view of homelessness. With the exception of the central offices in Athens they replied: '*Our services do not have direct contact with the homeless*' or '*In Greece we do not have such a big problem, in our geographic section we do not face this type of problem*'. Yet, when I asked about cases with urgent housing problems the reply usually changed: '*I thought you meant persons on the street. Perhaps we do not perceive the problem of the homeless. There are categories of the single mothers, the drug users, the elderly*'.

Concealment of homelessness is only a small part of the traditional management of poverty in the familistic welfare regime. Its denial serves not only buck-passing between agencies and departments but mainly shifts the burden of housing to families. Carlen (1996) notes that in the U.K. young persons were presented as 'intentionally' homeless in bureaucratic attempts to place them back in their families instead of providing means for their independence. In Greece, the philanthropic discourse of civil servants resorted to work and family ethics to avoid statutory responsibility and justify discretionary actions.

Their 'cases' were strongly associated with 'familistic' interpretations of homelessness. When discussing how family life related to homelessness the focus was not on demographic changes or family policies. The reference was to 'broken relationships' but there was reluctance to discuss the reasons for the breakdown. The capacity to rise beyond daily work experience and classifications was striking.

Particular accounts highlighted the rhetoric of violation of reciprocity rules on behalf of either the homeless (then they were stereotypically depicted as homeless: usually middle-aged unemployed men) or of their relatives (then the homeless were depicted as 'neglected': the elderly, and occasionally mental health patients).

In this context, welfare provisions were mentioned as perpetuating the condition of homelessness. This echoes arguments of a dependency culture and was mainly put forward by central officials. Nonetheless in Greece income assistance is by no means adequate to meet basic needs for survival and the administrative procedure for benefits is stigmatising, highly bureaucratic, and often discretionary. 'Employment rehabilitation' appeared as a panacea and familistic interpretations complemented 'cases' discussed above. Employment was so heavily emphasised that it often overlooked the fact that some of the 'groups' are of a non-working age, both older and younger persons have a discontinuous and precarious employment history. The reference was to employment maladjustment, unwillingness to work, and idleness.

The following extract illustrates how family and work ethics imbue the logic of 'rehabilitation', which is subject to a discretionary decision of the social worker. The patronising tone of caring is evident in the report of a 'family in trouble' (within a formulaic reference to 'economic and social problems' the social worker chooses to disclose that the 'girl was pregnant', whilst the 'absence' of a paternal figure of the family can potentially fuel a series of connotations). Housing is not a right but is subject to the philanthropic identity and ethics of the social worker.

Extract 7.5: Interview with social worker in a prefectural welfare service

*We rehabilitated a woman who had economic and social problems. I knew there were many problems in the family but I did not want to house them. A woman in her forties with a daughter twenty years old, and a son twenty two-years old are young people. We cannot provide ready-made solutions. We shall put them to work. She insisted. So I said 'you will stay in the shelter for three months until you settle down'. The girl was pregnant. 'You will find a job and you will manage as much as you can, since you got involved in this trouble. Then you will find a house to rent'.*



Empathy was also employed for 'abused women' but it failed to acknowledge their housing need. Such cases were emphatically distinguished from the homeless, perhaps in an attempt to retain 'unspoiled' the public image of the women accessing the services and protect them from what the professionals thought would stigmatise them. Yet, the contrast is possible only as long as a masculine stereotypical understanding of homelessness prevails (Watson 1999, Watson and Austerberry 1986, Watson 1984). Despite good will for support, female homelessness was concealed. More significantly, public housing provision (accommodation or benefits) remained out of the question. Housing solutions had to be found in the hospitality of the friends or relatives. Alternatively, employment was supposed to generate adequate income for renting a flat.

Extract 7.6 is used as an illustration of how the contrast between 'abused women' and 'homeless' serves the construction of an administrative reality, according to which the 'homeless' should be directed to shelters and the 'women' should have family support. Although shelter administrators confirmed that shelters do not admit the 'classic homeless', 'mental health cases', and 'drug abusers', in extract 7.6 we are being told that they do not provide a 'proper environment for women'. Consequently, one wonders whether shelters serve any of the vulnerable groups in need. Moreover, abused women have 'money, family, children, and security' but despite this prosperous picture they have 'emotional problems' and 'respond negatively'. The construction of homelessness serves the denial of its existence.

Extract 7.6: Interview with social worker in a prefectural welfare service

*We should distinguish between an abused woman and a homeless one. An abused woman is not a homeless woman. It is different. An abused woman has money, family, children, security. She would come here with emotional problems. She responds negatively, she is disillusioned, she wants to make a new start.*

*Q: Are there no practical problems?*

*We would refer her to the office of the General Secretariat for Equality. They offer legal advice and counselling.*

*Q: So how do you deal with her housing needs?*

*We always find a solution.*

*Q: Do you refer them to shelters?*

*No, No. Shelters are for the homeless. It is not a proper environment for women. We would work with their kin so they will support her.*

The above interpretations confirm findings of family studies in Greece<sup>1</sup> according to which contemporary state intervention has not demolished but strengthened social control and social care functions of the family. The same studies advance the position that social policies are contained in the management of personal and family 'crisis' or 'dramas'. Consequently, the bulk of everyday work concerns emergency situations and attempts to establish women's links usually with the parental family.

Soulet (1996) in France pointed out that professionals engage in dilemmas between 'civic-love' in assistance of personal crises and 'politicised-solidarity' addressing structural causes of homelessness. In Greece, as long as visible homelessness (the 'genuine' homeless) is loaded with stereotypes, long-term solutions and public support cannot be pursued for all 'other cases'. Hence, the management of 'family crises', 'dramas' and 'troubles' evades housing provisions or economic support. The 'caring' role and the 'philanthropic' identity of professionals allows the deployment of discretionary practices.

It is interesting that state workers made very limited mention of immigration. It was clear that immigration was out of their competence, not foreseen by any legal material, or simply it was not their responsibility. The infrequent references emphasised 'illegal migration' but this was conflating the fact that 200,000 immigrants have been legalised, and that there are Greek-origin or return immigrants. The question of 'legalisation' was indirectly and yet explicitly put to denote that action should be taken for deportation. This was particularly true of congestion and overcrowding in prisons, where approximately 50% of convicts are foreign nationals. Another type of reference was to document the philanthropic tendency of front-line workers when they used their discretionary powers to accept aliens in shelters for a short period of time, usually referred to shelters by health services or NGOs. Nonetheless, this is a highly exceptional practice.

### 7.2.2. Practices: selective culling and buck-passing

The denial and tacit shifting of the problem by central and prefectural authorities left street level professionals in stagnating state shelters puzzled in-between a changing environment of welfare administration and the initiatives of other providers. They struggled to cope with everyday difficulties and yet employed a mode of management that is based on selection of applicants. A negative top-down effect is that the limited resources and the legal apparatus available to professionals become by default the means for legitimating discretionary practices. In the hierarchical structure the constraints on front-line professionals are transformed into resources when exercised upon their clients. Social workers became the dominant figures who actually run the shelters under severe constraints.

Because of the multiplicity of roles, social workers mediated between the homeless and social services. They were 'gate-keepers' in a selection process across a variety of bureaucratic agencies. Yet, this type of 'mediation' was far from an advocacy role of social work to cope with social exclusion (Dowling 1999). At this bottom line of the system one could identify horizontal, both formal and informal, methods of referrals. Such practices were often an attempt from all sides to shift the burden to another agency or to mutually conceal the responsibility (*euthynophobia* referred to in section 6.2.1). Administrative fragmentation contributed to exclusions and circulation of the homeless through complicated referrals. Moreover, referrals and classifications contributed to the 'specialisation' of shelters in a way similar to that documented in the U.S. (Wolch and Deverteuil 2001, Hoch 2000) and in the U.K. (Carlen 1996). To understand the failure of referrals in enabling access to housing it is crucial to stress that the shelters were satellites on the periphery of bureaucratic networks, which did not include housing associations and agencies.

Admission of successful applicants relied on a classification of cases amongst a wider problematic population of welfare recipients and clients of control agencies. It was

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<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive review is provided in the special edition of the Social Review of the National Centre for Social Research (Tsiganou 1999, Mousourou 1999, Maratou Alipranti 1999, Georgas 1999)

founded on the 'assessment' of their welfare and housing needs. Initially individuals were classified on the basis of their interaction with welfare and control agencies (psychotics, ex-convicts, elderly poor, etc.). Then started a process of negotiations for addressing their housing needs. It concerned both the assessment of the housing need of the individual and the decision making process for admission in a shelter. This process created unofficial and unstable referral networks between statutory agencies. The process should be understood as a negotiation between various professionals rather than a decision undertaken by a single professional in a shelter. From my interviews it emerged that the majority of clients were referred to shelters from state social services and only a few were referred from private agencies, individuals in the community, or directly accessing from the street.

Furthermore, selection of aid recipients was not simply a matter of conceptualisations and taxonomies. It occurred on certain sites: social, juridical or health services, which referred the homeless to the shelters or to which the homeless were being referred from the shelters. Passage through such sites was obligatory because it stemmed from regulations requiring a certification of 'health' and 'penal record' for admission to shelters. General hospitals, psychiatric hospitals, the state therapeutic communities for drug addicts, prisons and judicial authorities, and prefectural welfare services were included in this network of referrals. During the selection process some primary modifications may function as labels of 'exclusion' or as 'tickets of admission'. 'Ex-convicts', 'persons with active severe psychic problems', and 'substance dependent individuals' fall in the former category. The 'elderly poor', 'persons without family ties', 'needy patients' belong to the latter category. The selection process had resulted in a specialization of shelters that accommodate elderly persons and out-patients or their escorts (the two groups account for 50-70% of the accommodated persons-figure from internal reports of the Ministry of Welfare).

The above classification resembles the 'deserving- undeserving poor' distinction. Yet it is best to understand it as a 'manageable- unmanageable' distinction. Specialisation was not simply a result of 'labelling' and routinised application of regulations but also depicted a negotiation process between agencies often lacking qualified personnel and adequate resources to deal with a variety of vulnerable groups. Specialisation was the art of muddling through.

The main instrument of needs assessment was 'certification' and the so-called 'social inquiry'. The social inquiry was used for the communication of professionals to bring together all the information about individuals and their behaviour. A pile of certificates of need that verify that clients met the requirements of regulations was finally produced. The description which follows combines my own inspection of administrative files on various 'cases', complaints from homeless persons about difficulties in dealing with social administrators, and on-site observation of screening procedures in welfare services and shelters.

First of all, this process involved encounters between the social workers and the applicants. The social inquiry in effect started when the individual first reached the shelters. The first contact with a shelter was a preliminary interview, which was rather brief its main focus being on the current condition, the claim of the client. The social worker also explained the requirements for admission and obtained some initial information. This was not an in-depth interview going back to the past of the client and thus it did not penetrate in personal issues but aimed at verifying facts and the social workers disregarded the subjective reality of a personal narration. It was also so in practice because of time pressure and the reluctance of persons looking for help to discuss traumatic or intimidating events. Thus, social workers had a method of focusing on events or signs that are directly related to the claim for accommodation and regulations. For example, explanations regarding the necessary certificates for admission were also a method of diagnosis. Alternatively they looked for physical signs of drug or alcohol abuse.

It was said that the shelters take care of urgent cases. Nonetheless, the final decision on admission took approximately 10-15 days. This was a period during which social workers undertook the 'social inquiry' and produced their report for admission to the shelter or not. During that period they tried to keep into contact with the clients and observed their behaviour. This was achieved by various routinised practices involving courtesy (e.g., offering a breakfast) or indirect investigation (having consecutive short meetings over the certificates already produced). At the same time the social research ran in parallel with 'face to face' interactions and observations. The majority of social research was conducted through telephone inquiries and then by postal

communications. Often the client became the 'postman' of those communications, i.e. they carried the certificates whilst the social workers communicated by the phone. Herzfeld (1998) has also noted how certification serves as an excuse for buck-passing and delaying actions. In some cases the clients could spend the nights in the shelters without having the formal admission. This was done, when clients had been referred from another agency and when the referee had 'guaranteed' their proper behaviour. In many cases, though, the clients had to reside in their current 'abode' (the street, a construction site- *yiapi*, a park). Delaying of the decisions on admission was taken as a hidden test of the urgency of the case and as a verification of the actual housing condition.

The decision-making process was shaped by the considerations and interests of various professionals. Negotiations referred to two crucial issues: a) an assessment of the need for accommodation where the term 'urgency' is to be defined; b) the ability of the applicants to conform to the organisation of every-day life in shelters and their prospects for 'rehabilitation'. The neglect of the formal procedure was equal to the violation of professional rules and was perceived as a hazard to the management of shelters.

A strong social element was also evident in this process. By that I refer to relationships built amongst professionals themselves and clients. It was an element that ran through both the vertical hierarchy and horizontal relationships. Many of the professionals were known to each other. They trusted the judgment of their colleagues with regard to the needs and potentials of their clients.

Hospitals and the social services of the hospitals were primary sites in the process of certification. All applicants for accommodation were referred for medical examinations to state hospitals responsible for issuing health certificates. The main concern was infectious disease (the word, however, covers concerns and precautions for HIV). General hospitals and specialised clinics were also a main source of referral to shelters for those amongst the needy and the uninsured who were not allowed to occupy hospital beds for long. This process concerned the negotiation and construction of manageable and socially admissible illness. In this way the classification of illness and disease was a mix of medical terminology and practical

considerations in the absence of specialised support and medical infrastructures. This mix was activated and shaped in a process of negotiations. This process separated who could be treated, how and where. It was a process that constructed 'health and housing need' not only in medical terms but also in social terms. As a result diseases were split into tickets for admission (cancer, cardiovascular disease) and exclusion (HIV, drug misuse). Young persons HIV-positive are mainly accommodated in the specialised state shelter when confronting stigmatisation and rejection from family support. Nonetheless, they reached the specialised shelter after they had been diagnosed positive in hospitals and not by incidental diagnosis during their application to generic shelters. In all the shelters and services interviewed there has not been a single incidence reported of a diagnosed HIV individual asking for accommodation. Thus, emphasis on precautions and medical tests is in effect used to investigate the behaviour and the urgency of the housing needs of applicants.

The psychiatric diagnosis became a more complicated issue because it referred to drug abuse, alcoholism, and mental disorders. The certificate had to indicate that the applicant was capable of living with other persons in the social environment of the shelter. Nonetheless, in the majority of cases the psychiatrist was not aware of the conditions of the shelter. There were mainly two considerations for the judgment: a 'scientific' and a 'practical' one. Scientific considerations referred to 'active paranoid', 'schizophrenic symptoms', and 'antisocial' behaviour. Practical considerations referred to the lack of professional psychological support in shelters and to the capacity to retain a person in the psychiatric hospital. Moreover, the negotiation for admission did not occur between the psychiatrists and the social workers in shelters. The negotiation occurred between the social services of the psychiatric hospitals and the social workers of the shelters. It was impossible to foresee with accuracy who would be admitted and who would not. In the case of psychiatric patients it was a matter of coping with the lack of accommodation and infrastructures.

The 'institutionalised' context of psychiatric hospitals was also evident when psychiatric hospitals referred their patients to shelters after 'treatment'. Even when the persons had been 'treated' and showed no clinical symptoms, the shelters would hesitate to take them on board. It was then an issue of negotiation between the social

services to assure the social workers that there was no risk of harm to either the individual ('suicidal attempts and para-suicidal accidents') or to the other hosts ('aggressive behaviour'). The end result was usually a rejection.

Professionals in institutions were preoccupied with organising the interior of their closed world rather than social insertion of patients or delinquents. In the exceptional case of a small de-institutionalisation project I visited monitoring was flawed and psychiatrists were not aware of the rights of their clients endorsed by the new law. Similar comments can be made about the correction system. In prisons, mutual mistrust prohibited any plans for re-integration, and only NGOs could in part play this role. Through my participation in the activities of ARSIS I came to recognise signs of institutionalisation in the teenagers who were coming from juvenile correction prisons and state child camps.

However, a qualification is necessary. Greek mental health hospitals, and to a lesser extent prisons are not all powerful systems of surveillance. A variety of separate sites (detention wards, clinics with patients with better prospects, yards, small churches, gardens, offices, etc.) are connected via informal channels and insiders' knowledge rather than monitoring systems. For example, the two psychiatric hospitals do not systematically keep records of clients, dossiers and files are piled up in cupboards and occasionally the same diagnosis applies to many clients who must be discharged. I have witnessed cases who escaped from the hospital and returned without being noticed, and also cases whose record was incomplete because of continuous in and out-going. Similarly, in prisons directors or social workers have to rely on the knowledge of wardens as to what happens in different sections. This allows a continuous interplay of 'back' and 'front' regions, 'escapes' and 're-admissions'.

The findings discussed above do not simply point to a contrast between the 'Greek-irrational' and the 'Western-rational' bureaucracies. Indeed research on homelessness in both Europe and the U.S. has documented numerous exclusions and discretionary practices contributing to circulation of the homeless. The specificity of the Greek case can be found in the mediation of a philanthropic discourse and familistic values, which professionals uncritically employ when confronting lack of resources, fragmentation, and hierarchical structures of administration.



### **7.3. Political philanthropy: visibility and political marketing**

#### *7.3.1. Rhetoric of visibility*

The programme of the Municipality developed in three stages: establishment of a soup kitchen, operation of a bed and breakfast scheme, and implementation of a training scheme through E.U. finance. The Deputy Mayor and the social workers of the Municipality of Athens were interviewed just before the training scheme was implemented. The analysis starts with identifying key rhetorical devices and accounts explaining homelessness in the interviews, and finally provides information of how these accounts were used in organising the municipal actions and services.

The Deputy Mayor provided a structured narration so to describe the actual project stages in sequence. The social workers avoided telling their own 'story'. The structured narration of the Deputy Mayor and reluctance of social workers to provide an unofficial version, confirm how the official history matters for political promotion of the Mayor and local politicians. The inability of social workers to provide their own account of the history of the programme can be also explained as compliance with hierarchy and power. This, indeed, was evident in many of the issues discussed.

The narration of the Deputy Mayor was enriched with vivid descriptions stressing visibility of homelessness as a sign to be pitied and as a sign of symbolic pollution in the city. They were coupled with consensus and corroboration tactics to reply to implicit counterarguments<sup>2</sup>. Systematic vagueness was also used to avoid rebuttal. The social workers similarly stressed visibility, but also used 'case histories' (typical of street-level professionals as in the previous section) to depict the homeless as beggars, unreliable, procrastinating individuals, and psychotics.

In his interview the Deputy Mayor adopted a narrow definition. In extract 7.7 one can note how the definition of homelessness is rhetorically linked with visibility of

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<sup>2</sup> Edwards and Potter (1992) discuss the role of disclaimers and vagueness in addressing implicit counterarguments and establishing accountability of the speaker.

homelessness. Indeed visibility is initially presented as a reason for action as citizens call the services to inform them about people sleeping in the streets.

Extract 7.7: Interview with the Deputy Mayor of Athens

*In October 1996, almost three years ago, on orders from the Mayor, we conducted the feasibility study on the issue of the homeless in the city of Athens. Calls by citizens and our own experience were the stimulus. We saw people at benches, in the tube, at the University gate, in Monastiraki, in Koumoundourou Square, sleeping in and having as their residence a corner of a side street. Well, the feasibility study concluded that there are 300-350 persons in the city of Athens who literally have no place to sleep, to reside. They are the 'homeless' (in English), as they are called internationally, persons who for individual reasons are in this position and consequently they are a problem for the city but mainly a problem for themselves. So we started on 10 October 1996, after the feasibility study proposed by the Mayor, was unanimously approved by the Municipal Council.*

Citizen's calls and municipal action were motivated by pity or by disturbance in the presence of the homeless. *'These people are a problem for the city, but mainly a problem to themselves'*. Cloke *et al* (2000) in their study of homelessness in rural England highlight in the local 'discursive arena' a distinction between those who regard the homeless 'as problems', and those who regard them as 'people with problems'. The rhetorical twist in the phrase of the Deputy Mayor should not mislead the reader into thinking that the municipality took both positions ('as a' and 'with' problems). The municipality was cunning enough not to engage in direct confrontation with counter arguments and practices. It wanted to hide its own position. The homeless were not people 'with problems', *'but mainly a problem to themselves'*. The rhetorical inversion of the problem becomes obvious: the problem of the city is projected 'to themselves'. This was the basis of local-political philanthropy. Indeed the word 'homelessness' was always translated in Greek by my respondent in the interview, and in all local documents, as either the 'problem of the homeless' or the more vague 'the issue of the homeless'. An abstract noun ('homelessness') is translated into a problem qualified by the characteristics of the homeless.

It is particularly interesting to stress the use of the English word 'homeless' as a rhetoric device itself. The English word is followed with reference to the international context, which is supposed to remove any doubt about who the homeless are: it is people sleeping in the streets. It is surprising how the same person who makes reference to the international context silences the discussion over a broad or a narrow definition of homelessness. The vivid description of the visible homeless is advanced to reply to an implicit international argument that homelessness is not only about lack of a roof. At the level of rhetoric the effect is quite convincing, not only is the presupposed counter-argument answered, but is also twisted to support the view of the interviewee. We are reassured that there is international agreement on the subject. The Deputy Mayor was undoubtedly aware of the discussion over the definition. Documents of the Municipality, analysed in the previous chapter, have a clear reference to the international debate, but a 'collage' of different texts were used as a manipulation technique.

A kaleidoscope of conservative structural, individualistic, and fatalistic explanations of homelessness deserve the term 'collage' suggested to describe intertextuality in the discourse of the Municipality<sup>3</sup>. They were used to 'frame' the problem, shift responsibility to the state, and contain the population to be served. During the interview the Deputy Mayor referred to immigration and unemployment in a formulaic way. Immigration and collapse of communist regimes in neighbouring countries was seen to be worsening job opportunities for natives. In this case, a nationalist stance was implied so as to acknowledge municipal responsibility only for Greek citizens. However, in the attempt to appear humanitarian he took an 'accidental' stance on the 'loss of jobs' and protected the homeless from ethical criticisms. In his words: *'There is no lazy person ('tempelis') amongst these people. They were all employed and for various reasons lost their jobs'*.

As his narration developed, the Deputy Mayor described how the kitchen was used to attract the poor and the homeless. Extract 7.8 includes a variety of euphemisms (e.g. the kitchen is presented as a 'restaurant') and justifications of trustworthy actions but

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<sup>3</sup> Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) have also documented hybridity in the language of the 'Big Issue' in the U.K. (a mix of marketing techniques, charity, and political appeals). In this case 'collage' serves as a means of political marketing.

concludes with a peculiar phrase: *'we collected 200-250 persons'*. The phrase denotes symbolic practices for the purification of public spaces (we collected 200-250 persons from the street, would have made real sense) and political marketing, as will also be elaborated in detail below. Moreover, the Deputy Mayor proclaimed the 'scientific' and 'realistic' foundations of the project to argue that for *'first time a statutory'* organisation was addressing the problem not in a *'philanthropic way'*. I consider this was a disclaimer answering implicit counter arguments such as the ones that the local political opposition has posed, i.e. that the action of the municipality is limited to charity. Note that emphasis is given to the *'unanimous approval of the council'* (the phrase is repeated). At the same time a self-justification is offered (i.e. *'first time a statutory...'*) to contrast municipal actions with the central state, and the figure of the Mayor (*'himself'*) becomes a constant reference.

#### Extract 7.8: Interview with the Deputy Mayor of Athens

*So we started on 10 October 1996, after the feasibility study proposed by the Mayor, was unanimously approved by the Municipal Council. The programme was also unanimously approved and daily catering started 365 days a year at the SARAFEIO baths where we created a special space, the restaurant of the homeless. There were difficulties in the beginning, because their reaction was...(looks for a word): they were scared, reluctant, scared of everything, because for the very first time a state organisation had responded to the issue of the homeless not on a philanthropic but on a purely scientific and realistic basis. Finally, on the insistence of the social workers, the municipal personnel, the Mayor himself, we managed to approach them. We started the first day with 60 persons and very soon, in two three months we collected 200-250 persons.*

As illustrated in Extract 7.9, the Deputy Mayor presented the 'hotel' (a euphemism for a bed and breakfast scheme) as the best solution to the housing needs of the homeless. Furthermore, his speech contrasts 'ghettos' abroad (an overloaded word) to the Europe-wide innovative solution in Athens. The contrast 'ghetto' (overloaded word) v. 'hotel' (euphemism)<sup>4</sup> was rhetorically used to justify containment of the homeless and to avoid stable housing solutions. On the one hand, the ghetto was

<sup>4</sup> Gastil (1992) points out rhetorical differences in the use of overloaded words and euphemisms.

explicitly linked to dependence and passivity, and also carried connotations of criminality. On the other hand the 'hotel' was a very rich symbol signifying at the same time comfort, citizenship, normality, temporary accommodation, homeless mobility, non-local identity. The homeless were 'visitors' and they were intended to remain so.

Extract 7.9: Interview with the Deputy Mayor of Athens

*One year later we started their temporary accommodation. We have considered many factors. We did not want to ghettoise the issue, and we did not want them feel like citizens of a lesser god. Our difference from other European countries on housing, and this is an innovation of our programme, is that we did not create municipal hostels as is done abroad. There 10-20-30 persons sleep in a hostel and in the morning they go. International experience says that many of the residents go away and do not come back because they feel as if they are living in a ghetto. So we decided on the public procurement and rented a hotel. This is what we do: we pay the beds, i.e., we rent the rooms, and the entrepreneur and his personnel are there and run their business. As a result those people feel like any other citizen who visits Athens or who lives in Athens and wants to pay for a hotel to stay in. So, immediately, their moral was boosted, their psychological condition was uplifted.*

Like the Deputy Mayor, the social workers made use of the visible homeless in inner city areas. In extract 7.10, they supply a minimalist definition of 'no fixed abode'. Yet, a shift from the definition of the Deputy Mayor is also noticeable, since they also continue to consider as homeless those in hostels and cheap hotels. This differentiation can be explained by two factors. The first one is their own experience stressing the fluidity and mobility of the homeless with regard to their accommodation. The second one is a matter of rhetorical tactics. The social workers wanted to keep the official line in their interview with me. They made use of the official documents, which allowed this slight differentiation.

Extract 7.10: Interview with Social Workers of the Municipality

*We say they (the homeless) are persons of no fixed abode, be that owned or rented. Some years ago people had the impression that there are no homeless persons. From*

*the first attempts we made on the problem, it seems that public opinion is very distant from reality. Especially in Athens, the problem is acute in central places like Omonoia Square and in degraded areas, Koumoundourou Square, Gazi, Kerameikos. The problem is evident, daily. You can see men especially, and women too, residing on benches, in the railway station. Some of them make use from time to time of the state hostels, or the church hostels. Also, they may look for temporary accommodation in degraded inner city hotels.*

According to the social workers the failure of the psychiatric reform, unemployment, and family 'neglect' were the main causes of homelessness. However, reference to the failure of psychiatric reform, although valid, was used to conform to the political choice of containing the population to be served. Moreover, vivid descriptions evoked an individualistic approach to portray the difficulties of managing 'psychiatric cases'. The homeless were depicted as wanderers, beggars, and careless users of the municipal facilities. As Carlen (1996) in the U.K. and Wright (1996) in the U.S. have documented, representations of this kind contribute to the circulation of the homeless. In other words, the symbolic representation of people as 'out of place' reinforces measures which reproduce the material and social conditions of their mobility. It is important to note how municipal employees gave loyalty to politicians or were trapped by philanthropic rhetoric. For example, volunteers involved in outreach techniques recalled that the homeless travel long distances, frequent soup kitchens, change hangouts, and are harassed in public spaces. The depictions of social workers were shaped by their limited interaction with the homeless and the roles they were assigned (chiefly registry and basic administration of social claims).

### *7.3.2. Practices: political marketing and discarding*

The use of the project of the Municipality as a means of political marketing can be understood when considering practices aimed at the containment of the population to be served and political tactics within the local administration. This type of marketing presented the Mayor of Athens as a compassionate figure deserving a dominant position in the central political scene. The next paragraphs focus on the management of homelessness and the building of the philanthropic identity of the Municipality.

The primary concern is to document that rhetoric, defining and explaining homelessness, and it was necessary to introduce a novel concept, construct a policy issue, and 'frame' the population to be served. Another significant concern is to illustrate how these attempts were tactically employing, and disassociating, local actors. Sources of evidence vary but they mostly stem from my collaboration with the personnel of the municipality and the Deputy Mayor himself, when employed as a private consultant<sup>5</sup>. This type of ethnographic information concerns interactions in hostels and municipal services, planning meetings, and simply social interactions with social workers and administrators in the Municipality. Additional information comes from my participation in the activities of NGOs having occasional contact and negotiations with the Municipality.

Undoubtedly the primary concern of the municipality was to use the program for the homeless for the political benefit of the Mayor and persons surrounding him. This was a three-fold strategy.

Firstly, local politicians had to secure consensus amongst potential partners (the Church, donors, consulting agencies, the municipal opposition, NGOs, statutory organisations) and to accommodate counter-arguments in various policy contexts (the municipal council, planning meetings, the media). The municipality acknowledged that homelessness in the broad sense was a growing problem (as NGOs, and the left local opposition claimed). It adopted the arguments of its opponents and NGOs and stepped into a novel issue. Further scientific investigation was claimed to be necessary to establish a partnership with the Greek Observatory on Homelessness and the private consulting company, to support its E.U. bid, and to legitimise any further actions. Consensus was ultimately achieved, but only the private consulting company and a single statutory agency opted for collaboration.

Secondly, the administration had to contain the range of interventions in terms of the clients (who and how many) and in terms of services (what). The narrow definition

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<sup>5</sup> As an employee of a private consulting company which supported the E.U. bid of the Municipality's project I was involved in the following tasks: a) writing and submission of the bid including planning of training and assistance measures, b) setting up the local and the transnational partnership of the Municipality, c) statistical analysis of the social profile of the clients of the municipality, d) design of survey on available services in Athens.

offered an excuse to the Municipality to limit its intervention to visible homelessness and to reject the provision of housing, viewed as a costly experiment. At the same time local politicians were appealing to the humanitarian sentiments of the opposition, and the public. Images of criminality and pity were a very powerful symbolic combination in presenting social and spatial containment of the poor as humanitarian action. The opposition and the NGOs were asking for extensions and qualifications, but were hesitant about rejecting the initial proposal, either because they considered it important that the issue was placed on the agenda or because for humanitarian reasons they could not dismiss provisions for a severely deprived population.

Thirdly, the political administration of the Municipality could shift responsibility and appear to the public as an innovative, effective and compassionate alternative to the central administration. Homelessness in the broad sense was a matter of state intervention and the Municipality would urge the central authorities to act accordingly. Significantly, there was never any acute criticism of the government but the emphasis was on the pioneering, emotive and successful role of the local administration. In this way, homelessness was 'depoliticised'. Far more than that, it was used to 'depoliticise' politics! For example, during the 1998 local elections the Mayor of Athens promoted his political campaign by diverting his political supporters to give to charity rather than contributing financially to his campaign. A poster was set in Constitution Square and Parliament served as a background. The poster read: 'Money to the Campaign of the Mayor will be donated to the Institution for the Homeless'.

The personalised nature of local politics should also be stressed as a stable element in the Greek context. This has allowed a top-down diffusion of the philanthropy culture through loyalty channels. Such channels involved a kind of political loyalty and competition. Starting from local politicians, their power is derived from loyalty to the Mayor. However, to be promoted further, competitors had to successfully promote the image of their leader in separate arenas. In part, the framing of the 'homeless problem' reflects this political rivalry. For example, the initiative for the homeless was distinct from the shelter for abused women, also run by the Municipality. Two different local politicians were responsible, one for the 'homeless' (male, Deputy Mayor) the other for the 'abused women' (female, member of the Municipal Council).



Moreover, philanthropy was interwoven not only with political ambitions but also with the administrative structure of the local apparatus. Professionals and local bureaucrats in the two initiatives did not consider abused women as 'homeless' and collaboration was the exception. Senior administrators joined one or the other political side but the culture facilitating the mutual construction of the problem was the same. Similarly, street-level professionals (some with permanent contracts, some with fixed term contracts) were transferred between services and departments. This process occasionally involved a variety of affiliations or professional interests, but arguments were always drawn from the inventory of philanthropy.

During implementation of the project, various practices have been applied to achieve the afore-mentioned goals. The first stage of the programme of the Municipality aimed at attracting the poor of the city to the 'restaurant'. Street networks of the homeless and media releases were used to spread the information around and bring more homeless in. Food was the bait; spreading promises was the net. However, this was only the beginning. In the words of the Deputy Mayor during the meetings we had to prepare the partnership of the project, 'discarding' was necessary because there were 'cut-throats', 'pimps', 'sissies'. The principal aim of discarding was to filter out those who deserve from those who do not deserve pity. In a similar manner framing out immigrants and 'drug addicts' was necessary.

Having scrolled out that which is a problem to the city, selection of clients continued with 'formal' registration. References from international programmes highlight the problems homeless individuals face when they lack official documents to interact with statutory agencies. This is also true in the Greek case and was considered by the Municipality, which decided to issue ID cards to the homeless. After offering free meals and as soon as the poor and the homeless started frequenting the 'restaurant', they were asked to hand in an application so the ID card could be issued. The social workers were taking brief social histories during this initial encounter.

Herzfeld (1992) notes that the ID card (*deltion taftotitas*) is symbolically equated with the social identity of a person in bureaucratic interactions. But it would be a mistake to understand the ID card as a symbol of citizenship. The ID is a password to the world of administration, without it persons do not exist. In interactions with the

administration, the ID is a means of verifying the 'true' identity of a person. Consequently, issuing an ID by the local state had multiple meanings. Symbolically, it could be confused with recognition of local citizenship. On the contrary, it concealed the denial of local citizenship and philanthropy. It implied that the local state substituted for the central state in its welfare, administrative and policing functions. The ID was never issued. It remained a promise, a construction for the media, and a tactic for attracting the homeless and recording personal data.

As long as the municipality refused to link homelessness with wider urban projects and housing provisions it could contain the Greek homeless, the deserving and manageable Greek homeless, and supported sweeps in public spaces. For example, the Municipality raised obstacles to NGO actions working with Muslims in the neighbouring area. It also opposed taking any measures for 'Filipinos' and 'Albanians', but it assisted the transportation and temporary encampment of Kurds outside the city. Similarly, local politicians gave their approval to the removal of subway sleepers in preparation for the works of the Athens metro and removed benches from renovated neighbouring squares. Furthermore, the municipality took legal action against the establishment of 'mental health apartments' belonging to the psychiatric hospital of Athens in its jurisdiction. Purification of space involved an interchanging position between philanthropy images (and limited provisions) and criminality images (and policing).

'Collecting' and 'discarding' of the homeless meant more than food and registration. A system of referrals had to be established and a minimal package of services to be provided. A local network of services was very successful in this purpose. During the first stage, the project also involved provision of basic health services by the municipal health centres and this has facilitated health screening and access of the homeless to public hospitals. Similarly, use of local food banks, and the municipal catering for nursery schools were used for catering for the homeless.

Referral to local health centres avoided tests, and often, bureaucratic trials of the homeless in public hospitals, but also enhanced the authority of the Municipality in selecting those to be accommodated. The negotiation of cases was between local medical and social personnel and could be easily controlled by the administration of

the Municipality. This became particularly the case of mental health assessment, as the Municipality claimed it did not have the facilities and the expertise to accept individuals with mental health problems. However, these claims also justified discretionary practices in the selection of applicants. For example, I know two vendors of a street magazine who were characterised as 'psychotics' without proper medical examination, and who were denied access to the municipal shelter.

Similarly, measures for training and employment were developed in a partnership including the public corporation of the Municipality, its training centre, a private consulting company and a statutory agency for youth services. However, the municipality avoided establishing a jobs club centre for the homeless on the premises of the hotel, on the excuse that such measures were contributing to the isolation of the homeless, in effect avoiding any stable provisions. Moreover, the Municipality aimed to limit the training benefit of persons involved in the programme, claiming that it would be misused and would create conflicts within the community. It also rejected amendments according to which part of the benefit would be committed to flat rents in a pilot scheme of resettlement. Inefficient management of the central administration further aggravated obstacles, which were used by the Municipality as excuses.

In a complementary tactic, the Municipality cut off any potential partners from the NGO field. Agencies such as 'Friends of the Homeless', ARSIS, and the street magazine DROMOLOGIA made several proposals to complement the municipal scheme. Not only were they rejected in letters full of rhetoric, but also municipal employees occasionally hindered their actions in public spaces.

Proposals of NGOs validating the simplest needs of the homeless, not necessarily leading to reintegration but being only a step in that direction, could not fall into the framework of symbolic containment. For example, the Municipality did not recognise the value of a proposal by DROMOLOGIA for providing a ward so that the homeless, even those not offered accommodation, could leave their belongings rather than having to carry them around and hide them in parks. However, this involves a claim over minimal private space, which could not be acknowledged by both politicians and administrators in the municipality. Similarly, 'demanding food to served in the hotel' might not seem outrageous, as it did for social workers, if you walk 5kms twice a day,

only for food, once to the municipal and once to the church kitchen. Equally, words like 'passivity' and 'procrastination' do not accurately describe two persons sharing a bush as a shelter, taking shifts to protect their belongings (20,000 drachmas, a mobile phone, a sleeping bag, and a radio), when one goes out for food, cigarettes and petty trade, the other stays behind. Numerous studies have reported stories about solidarity, social responsibility, and citizenship ideals amongst the homeless (for example Dean 1999 in the U.K., Wolch and Dear 1993 in the U.S.). I also recall that homeless persons, in a spirit of reciprocity, bought '*souvlaki*' for volunteers who assisted them in selling the street magazine. Despite their emotional tone, such stories might enable us to proliferate pathways of social participation, or, as Wolch and Dear (1993) put it, link the street network with community networks.

#### **7.4. Civil philanthropy: revelations, penetration and outreach efforts**

##### *7.4.1. Rhetoric of revelations*

In any discussion of NGOs it is vital to stress the plurality of positions and arguments put forward by a wide range of providers, often lacking resources to meet the needs, which a variety of vulnerable groups, mostly excluded by other providers, have expressed to them. A major concern of the analysis is to emphasise common properties in the discourse of various agencies, without failing to acknowledge that more radical NGOs adopted a critical advocacy role emphasising structural issues whilst philanthropic ones tended to confine themselves to social support of the homeless and assistance in the labyrinths of the state bureaucracy. Another concern is to highlight how activities of NGOs on a variety of sites were dialectically linked with their discourse aimed at making the homeless visible both within traditional institutions (asylums, prisons, hospitals) and in public spaces (parks, squares, the street).

Although philanthropic accounts of homelessness predominated in the discourse of NGOs, radical voices were often evident in interviews. Indeed, the mix of various interpretations and representations of homelessness can be taken as a result of communication and everyday collaboration between different organisations.

Therefore, it is not surprising that common themes emerged in the argumentation of professionals and volunteers. I suggest that their key reports and accounts can be termed 'revelations' because they were addressing hidden homelessness and attempted to introduce new groups of homeless to the public. A broad definition of homelessness served this purpose by emphasising both objective factors (mainly poverty) and subjective factors (feeling of security). Revelations primarily relied on vivid descriptions portraying 'humanitarian motivation' and 'genuine experience' of 'caring' volunteers and professionals who met their homeless 'friends' in a variety of public and private sites (asylums, prisons, squares, parks). By emphasising public neglect, revelations sustained either a critical advocacy role or philanthropic appeals for care and were asking for expansion of services for the homeless and resources for the organisations.

Firstly, NGOs have a broad conceptualisation of homelessness which includes both the lack of a 'home' and poor housing conditions. The discussion of the definition was not critical of everyday running of shelters or agencies. Although NGOs have terms of reference, there are not rigid procedures requiring classification of applicants, as in the state shelters. Moreover, some NGOs do not run shelters but get involved in street or community work and consequently are not concerned with regulations and filtering of clients. In addition to that, their clients are mostly excluded from state or municipal facilities and it is out of the question to apply extra criteria to those already applied by other providers. In this context, to some volunteers the definition of homelessness seemed like an intellectual or bureaucratic exercise. However, these were exceptional individual views and in no case the official position of voluntary organisations. On the contrary, a broad definition provided a lobbying basis for expansion of services and advocacy of housing rights. Even those organisations that sustained a philanthropic approach, advocated a broad definition in both objective (poverty, bad housing) and subjective terms (lack of security). Significantly, subjective terms of the meaning of 'home' and 'security' distinguish a philanthropic from a radical approach, as becomes evident when comparing Extracts 7.11 and 7.12 from interviews with members of the administration board of two collaborating organisations (ARSIS and SCJ). ARSIS is an organisation with a radical discourse whilst SCJ is an organisation with a philanthropic discourse, as discussed in section 6.2.3.

Extract 7.11: Interview with member of the Administration Board of ARSIS

*Housing is a real problem for a great number of young people, but in our country homelessness is not socially recognized or, I should say, the right to housing is not endorsed. Even young persons who do not live in healthy and good conditions do not consider themselves homeless. They rather see themselves as poor or unemployed rather than homeless, even when they ask for shelter. Many times we have to discover a housing need, it is not openly expressed to us. We have a broad interpretation of the word homeless: persons who do not have a place of reference.*

Extract 7.12: Interview with Member of the Administration Board of SCJ

*Some (of our guests) were homeless literally speaking, sleeping on benches, and wondering around before they came to us. But the majority had not felt the warmth of family 'hearth' (estia). You could say they were homeless in the broad meaning of the word. The children whom we provided hospitality were children from broken families, or from families lacking family and emotional warmth, and the feeling of security did not exist. Families in which poverty, and moral, and social degradation prevailed.*

In both extracts it is stated that organisations adopt a broad definition and provide both objective ('healthy and good conditions of living', 'poverty') and subjective qualifications ('a place of reference', 'emotional warmth') of homelessness. Yet, the approach is essentially different. In interviews, like in official documents of the two organisations (section 6.2.3), a familistic culture became evident in the lexicon of SCJ, as opposed to a radical approach on the part of ARSIS stressing how young people perceive themselves living in poor conditions.

Secondly, 'experience' provided the link between disinterested identities of professionals and volunteers and positive representations of their clients. In a sense, NGOs were protecting the images of their clients. In effect, their speech was an act of caring like their everyday deeds. This sharply contrasts with the way in which negative representations of the homeless by professionals in state and municipal agencies served to shift the blame for administrative incapacity on to clients. The lexicon conveyed emotional tones, and contrary to both central and local

administrators' reports, stressed the immediacy of interaction with the homeless. 'Cases' were exceptional in part because voluntary action need not classify clients and applications. Detailed lists and classifications were not available, since monitoring procedures were not involved and only basic statistics were produced. For the majority, the homeless were not clients, but 'pals', 'friends', 'children', 'youths', 'women', or 'people we are working with'. Variation depicted particular groups and distance or proximity to paternalistic values (for example paternalistic values were reflected in excessive use of the word 'kids'='paidia' when referring to adults). Reference to difficulties in working with a variety of clients emphasised that they are people 'with problems'. Although familistic and paternalistic values occasionally coloured the depiction of these problems, individual commitment and motivation prohibited the assigning of degrading qualities to the homeless.

Voices of professionals and voices of volunteers were mixing with voices of their 'friends'. Direct and reported speech often interchanged. Volunteers and professionals were 'out there' (open spaces) or 'in there' (enclosed spaces) because they wanted to be, because they had chosen to be, because they cared. Historical accounts of small organisations and initiatives provided a personal tone of commitment in voluntary ideas. Such founding histories supplied moments when disclosures of personal motivation combined with discoveries of unexplored social worlds, as in Extract 7.13.

Extract 7.13: Interview with a founding member of the 'Friends of the Homeless'

*N: We started in 1992. We were a couple of people who wanted to get to know the concept of the homeless. As a first step, we went to Omonoia (central square in Athens). We did a kind of 'market research'. We gave pocket money to the homeless and chatted with them. There I met a good pal. My mother cooked the food and we took them to the railway station (Stathmos Larisis). It was our first meeting. We have kept this meeting ever since. We meet every Thursday in the Park (Pedion Areos). People came by for food and a chat. Kiosk- owners (peripterades) complained that there were too many people. We also had problems with a nearby coffee-shop, although they made money out of us. So we went to the Park. We did not want to disturb. At first, they 'fell on us' while we handed out the meals. They do like this, when they see a chance, as if there will be no other chance. So we stood on the statue*

*of Athena. There are steps on the base of the statue and there is also a protective fence. This is what we have done since then.*

*Q: You are one of the few people I have met who know how to listen.*

*N: Perhaps this is because I have the fear of the homeless inside myself. I have brought two persons into my life. They have taught me things with their sense of humour. It is a different world. (She continues by reporting the story of her homeless friends).*

Particular images and vivid descriptions exhibited plurality since they involved many different groups and settings of encounter. Since NGOs were looking for the client rather than receiving claims they could give vivid descriptions of their penetration in the closed worlds of disciplining institutions and of their outreach efforts in public spaces. The groups most often appearing in such accounts were immigrants. This was a constant reference even for organisations not working exclusively with immigrants (for example, Serbs by the RED CROSS in Piraeus, Kurds by the VOLUNTARY WORK organisation in *Asyrmatos*, female refugees from Iran by XEN in *Ilioupolis*). Significantly, even when the primary target group was different, the problem was so acute and widespread that organisations had to mix them with natives (as for example ARSIS, SCJ, DROMOLOGIA, and ONISIMOS) or to develop separate actions (as for example, MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES or VOLUNTARY WORK). After immigrants and depending on the humanitarian priorities of each organisation, neglected children or troublesome youths, (ARSIS, SCJ, ONISIMOS), confused, unemployed middle-aged men (FRIENDS OF THE HOMELESS), unmotivated substance abusers (KETHEA), and undignified figures in asylums (VOLUNTARY WORK) were depicted.

Causes of homelessness were signalled by key words such as ‘institutionalisation’, ‘family neglect’, ‘immigration’, and ‘drug abuse’, depending on the particular clients each organisation primarily worked with. They were mostly contained within the inventory of philanthropy, but also enriched and modified it. For example ‘exclusion’ supplied a deviation from the solid familistic or work ethic values to stress not only multiple processes but also to reveal needs of hidden groups and document the necessity for multiple services and housing, complementing training and employment.



The incapacity of public intervention was a constant reference of NGOs as they faced difficulties in everyday work and collaboration with bureaucratic or disciplinary agencies of the state. Extract 7.14 summarises, in a tone of frustration, difficulties of everyday work in the absence of public infrastructure and in communication with public agencies.

Extract 7.14: Interview with a member of the Administration Board of ARSIS

*From my experience I can say that homelessness has become evident during the recent years because families become weak, because there is unemployment, and immigration. To deal with these problems, we must learn to listen and reach their source. Public services are not familiar with this kind of work. Street work, for example. Young persons need both information and support. They may come asking 'I have this or the other problem'. Often they have health problems. Many should have medical examinations. When they go to a hospital they are told 'go away'- not literally, but I mean there are so many regulations and procedures that they cannot cope with them. We need support structures. There are very limited public services. We must engage in dialogue with state organisations. Professionals cannot establish communication easily with young people. This is easier for volunteers. We should be able to link the two. To do this we need three levels of support: One: We need emergency shelters, for short-term accommodation: 2-5 days so that persons can stand on their feet. We don't have that in Greece. Two: transitory shelters where accommodation will be complemented by support programmes. We have shelters of this kind, but there are no support programmes. Third: independent or supported apartments for individuals. This is something completely missing in Greece. We do not have any social housing schemes run by municipalities or NGOs. Then we do not have housing benefits, any kind of benefits. There are so many things we lack. I do not know what to start with.*

Criticisms of public neglect are not surprising given that NGOs primarily worked with clients who were not entitled to adequate income assistance or access to social housing. Moreover, many NGOs, particularly the small ones, lack financial stability and state support. Consequently, both traditional and more radical agencies could easily recognise public failures as a structural cause of homelessness.

### *7.2.2. Practices: penetration and outreach efforts*

The discourse of NGOs was dialectically linked with practices for the attraction and treatment of clients and with practices aiming at public sensitisation and policy change. In this sense, rhetorical devices used by volunteers, such as 'revelations' of the poor living conditions and insecurity of the homeless, are not linguistic covers for hidden purposes but a small part of their action, a medium in the understanding and shaping of their own world. On the one hand, 'revelations' were mainly produced on sites of formal and invisible (institutions) or informal and visible (public spaces) homelessness. On the other hand, revelations were primarily distributed for public sensitisation, supported claims for reform in traditional institutions, and orientated everyday work.

The broad definition of homelessness resulted from actions of NGOs aimed either at discovering the hidden homeless or persuading the public of the necessity of meeting the needs of the visible homeless. These aims were often a conscious pursuit, as in the case of the attempts of ARSIS to undertake small-scale surveys in deprived areas, or as documentation of housing conditions of persons approaching therapeutic communities for rehabilitation from drugs. Nonetheless, given the lack of organisational and financial resources of NGOs, documentation of homelessness in the strict sense of census and counting was a secondary concern. Thus, the broad understanding of homelessness was also a side-effect of everyday work. For example, the housing need of immigrants was expressed to the medical personnel of MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES or MEDECINS DE MONDE. Likewise, the housing need of prisoners after discharge was expressed to volunteers of a traditional charity (ONISIMOS), and homeless individuals abusing drugs, talked about their urgent need for a night shelter to the street workers of KETHEA. Often NGOs were the first ones who confronted the sudden increases in homelessness. This is the case with large inflows of refugees camping in central or peripheral city areas to which organisations like the RED CROSS or VOLUNTARY WORK responded. Incidental discovery of homelessness was perhaps a reason why 'experience' was heavily emphasised in the discourse of volunteers. Emergency conditions, incidental acknowledgement of housing need, and increased mobility of the homeless population

also confirm the view that a broad definition is more adequate in addressing the episodic nature of homelessness.

The very same perception of the problem (NGO 'experience') was in part reflecting competencies and exclusions occurring in the central welfare agencies and in part the mediation of philanthropy. In other words, NGOs were 'recipients' of rejected claims and exclusions occurring in statutory organisations. Therefore, this reality fuelled 'revelations' and 'criticisms' as to the central state. The housing need was revealed not through deliberate detection but mainly when social precipitating factors and state exclusions lead to homelessness. Often NGOs found themselves involved in statutory 'emergencies' or even tried to make use of 'emergency' conditions to press for the servicing of their clients. Immigrants are a good example of this process. Their housing need was revealed to NGOs dealing with their health needs (MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES, MEDECINS DE MONDE). Such NGOs also made use of 'emergency' procedures in hospitals to avoid documentation and costs not covering illegal immigrants. As for the housing need, this was very rarely met and immigrants often remained in conditions of absolute impoverishment. Juvenile delinquents and persons abusing drugs provide similar examples where administrators in prisons had to cope with their release and find a 'last minute solution' (Greek expression widely used to denote lack of planning).

Moreover, traditional agencies interpreted the subjective dimension of homelessness (both housing and welfare need) through philanthropic lenses. At this point, claims on the state had a strong humanitarian appeal for care but were equally acknowledging philanthropic functions of control, correction, and assimilation. For example in some cases SCJ accepted referrals of juveniles by courts or probation services without considering alternative solutions more adequate to the needs of young people, whilst ARSIS took on an advocacy role by legally defending the decision of their clients to reside in a place of their choice.

Significantly, the majority of NGOs were also employing new techniques, which can be contrasted with certification and classification. NGOs were not simply waiting for the client to reach them, but they were looking for the client. These techniques fell into two large categories: institutional penetration and outreach.

Institutional penetration involved the creation of 'voluntary spaces' within traditional institutions, prisons, or psychiatric asylums. These efforts often met with resistance on the part of administration but some of them were successful in implementing changes. VOLUNTARY WORK introduced art workshops into the psychiatric asylum of DAFNI, initially without authorisation of the administration, which later became part of a treatment programme. ARSIS established a recreation room to develop its own training and counselling activities in juvenile prisons of AVLONA despite resistance on the part of the guards. However, there are also examples that a philanthropic and paternalistic spirit imbued such activities, such as workshops, film shows, or lectures by members of ONISIMOS in male prisons. Likewise there were cases where caring motivations, lack of expertise, or tactical negotiation with the administration of prisons and institutions disregarded the housing needs of people confined in them. For example, volunteers were more enthusiastic when assisting a psychiatric patient to walk out of their ward or escape punishment (e.g. detention clinics) than when drafting a plan for individual support, including housing rehabilitation, of less severe cases moving in and out of asylums. Recognising such issues, ARSIS attempted a balance between work in places of confinement (for example counselling in prisons) and community work (for example, registering people willing to lease a flat or using volunteers to escort young people when looking for a flat in order to avoid discrimination by owners).

Regardless of the orientation of NGO action, providing social encounter and communication in the disciplining atmosphere of institutions allowed the establishment of trust with clients. In some cases preparation for the social reintegration of clients started in institutions and intensified in the short periods prior to discharge. Collaboration with NGOs often continued after the discharge of clients and multiple channels of informal referrals directed friends and peers to ask the assistance of NGOs in finding accommodation or employment.

Outreach techniques involved volunteers and professionals going out to public spaces where homeless people were to be encountered. They can be understood as short expeditions to the 'back regions' or the 'tactical spaces' of the city (Ruddick, 1996). Night walks to recruit vendors of street magazines (DROMOLOGIA), open space

musical and theatre events in deprived areas (DROMOLOGIA, VOLUNTARY WORK, ARSIS), mobile medical units to provide harm reduction counselling for drug abuse (KETHEA, MEDICINS SANS FRONTIERES, MEDECINS DE MONDE), vans, soup kitchens, and door to door visits (RED CROSS) all are examples of outreach practices. Client attraction was not always an immediate objective and if was, it rarely had immediate success. Outreach efforts have a long-term dynamic requiring the establishment of trust. For example, a street work team must become part of the local scenery and avoid police intervention to be accepted by the homeless. Likewise, refugees in fear of deportation welcomed RED CROSS symbols. Significantly, outreach was sometimes the first step towards stable solutions as in the case of the housing programme for Kurds developed by VOLUNTARY WORK.

Once hidden homelessness was discovered, the revelation was used for many purposes such as referrals across agencies, claims from the state, sensitisation of the public and enrolment of volunteers. For example, role-playing used for training of volunteers of the street magazine DROMOLOGIA and VOLUNTARY WORK included interactions with the homeless, as well as well as interactions with professionals in shelters. Experienced volunteers interchanged with trainees in the roles of the homeless, the volunteer and the professionals. Likewise texts by homeless persons and volunteers appeared in the pages of the street magazine DROMOLOGIA. Moreover, during seminars, professionals reflected on their organisational roles and exchanged information about treatment, outreach and support techniques. In addition to that, voices of the homeless were publicly heard through their participation in happenings and seminars. The issue stressed here is the mediating role of both discourse and practice in facilitating incremental changes in bureaucratic labyrinths and in promoting tolerant attitudes towards the homeless. Mediation took either the position of critical advocacy or paternalistic voices of volunteers and professionals were shaping the lives of their clients. Therefore, the dialogue developing between NGOs remained an arena for change.

## 7.5. Religious philanthropy: pastoral silence, poverty, and mercy

### 7.5.1. Rhetoric of silence and poverty

The discourse of clergy, administrators and volunteers in church agencies was a rhetoric of unity, silencing ‘unacceptable’ differences. Whilst parish priests portrayed the ‘elderly men’ (*gerontes*), the ‘elderly women’ (*gerontisses*), the ‘grandpas’ (*papoudes*) and the ‘grandmas’ (*giagiades*) in shelters, they avoided speaking about immigration, de-institutionalisation, young homeless persons, or drug abuse. Priests and church officials emphasised social isolation, old age poverty, family neglect, and the social decline of the elderly homeless. Poverty accounts of the elderly homeless concealed religious and familistic values or hesitation towards new causes of homelessness. The Church rhetoric was quite powerful in diverting attention away from controversial issues. In other words, there was care for the deserving poor. As long as the homeless are equated with the deserving poor, they are portrayed with empathy and images evoking compassion, otherwise silence was preferred.

Church officials, civil administrators and senior clergy in the Archdiocese of Athens acknowledged that the Church of Greece has no formal definition of homelessness, although they are interested in the issue. They considered that, prior to their admission, guests of the church shelters were homeless in the wider sense, which was defined as the ‘*inability to be housed by a persons own means, either temporarily or permanently*’. They also admitted that the Church has no explicit policy on the homeless, who are treated as individual cases under an Orthodox obligation of service to the poor (*‘diakonia pros tous ftohous’*).

Depictions of everyday life in shelters emphasised the effort to create a ‘homelike’ family environment ‘*comforting poverty and isolation*’ and providing ‘*warmth and love*’. In Extract 7.15 a definition of the homeless elderly (*‘the needy’*) is accompanied with a colourful depiction of religious functions in shelters. The past

(*home, homeland*<sup>6</sup>), the present (*family, support, confessions, services*), and the future (*when the Good God calls them to him*) of residents bring together the core ideas of philanthropy: religion, family, and ethnicity.

Extract 7.15: Interview with a priest in church shelter for the elderly

*We say that those who receive income assistance are the needy. And we admit them for accommodation. They stay here, they sleep here, and they eat here. We try by means of board and lodging to support them. We also try to support their spiritual functions with services, with confessions and preaching. We stay with them and socialise for some time. We chat. We exchange thoughts and ideas. We want to know more about their lives. How they have spent their lives up this age. Some are nostalgic about the past, their homelands and their homes. We are a family.*

*Q: So their stay here is permanent?*

*F: Yes, they will depart when the Good God calls them to him*

However, ambivalence and reservations became evident as soon as old and new homelessness was discussed. Senior clergy at the Archdiocese expressed their interest for my study and provided data on the number of persons accommodated in church shelters but refused a formal interview. They claimed that they could not discuss the issue before the Holy Synod had expressed its opinion and given guidelines on that. Interestingly, the Holy Synod has established new agencies to deal with Family Service and Preaching ('Centre for Family Support'), and also with AIDS and drug abuse ('Institution for Psycho-social Support'). Homelessness is not explicitly addressed but provisions for shelters and supported housing schemes fall within the competency of the new agencies to function in the future. Drug abuse and HIV were proclaimed to be calling for theological explanations. New homelessness was posing dilemmas and was asking for theological explanations. New groups such as immigrants, drug-users, and single mothers puzzled the church officials, and silence was preferred, at least before an official position was stated. Pastoral power (Foucault 1992) is, *inter alia*, founded on confessions and preaching. Pastoral silence was part of this rhetoric, either in the form of concealment or hesitation.

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<sup>6</sup> The 'nostalgia of homeland' is an overloaded phrase, particularly when considering that all residents were Greeks. In his nationalistic speeches, the Archbishop of Athens talks about 'wasted homelands' in Asia Minor.

Nonetheless, at the central level I was informally assisted by senior administrators employed at the General Fund for the Care of the Poor (Genikon Philoptohon Tameion), the Synod's Committee for Relations with Foreign Churches, the Ecumenical Program for Refugees, and the Hellenic Anti-Poverty Network. Indeed, as a senior priest told me to avoid a formal interview: *'you know the right persons, you do not need my point of view, they will direct you to the right shelters'*. My informants were lay anti-poverty activists but operating in key positions within the administrative structure of the Church of Greece. On many issues they took a radical perspective but it was always evident that they either subscribed to or had to comply with official rules and positions. In critical discussions concerning setting public criteria for service delivery, financial mechanisms, administration of church property and land, treatment of social differences, they simply claimed that they shared my interest and that it was a challenge to answer them. Certainly, there was differentiation between the official line and my key informants, and this can in part be attributed to the fact that they were laypeople.

The particular orientation of some of my informants alone is not adequate to explain a wide spread emphasis on the economic and material dimension of homelessness. A detailed examination of the material and a closer look at the context suggest that emphasis on poverty was concealing the moral content of the church approach. This is not a novel rhetorical tactic. For example, Tyner (1996), through a similar methodology to mine, has substantiated how poverty discourse kept hidden other institutionalised forms of oppression (gender, race, nationality) in the constructions of Filipino migrant entertainers. Moreover, Herzfeld (1992, 1998) in his ethnographical studies of Greece suggests that religious beliefs, nationalism, fatalism, and reciprocity on the basis of kinship sustained discrimination and indifference.

The religious philanthropic approach treated homelessness as part of poverty and adopted a broad definition to cover a whole range of the deserving poor such as the elderly, poor families, disabled or the sick. Poverty, sustained not only a religious duty but also a critical stance towards the state, which, according to my informants,



has ineffectively used private donations<sup>7</sup>. Disputes between the Church and the State over welfare and education competences can be traced back to the Byzantine era. The separation of the state and religious functions has been an unresolved matter since the formation of the modern Greek State, but was recently linked with national and religious identity politics<sup>8</sup>. Significantly, the promotion of the charity work of the Church of Greece has also been used historically to contest state acquisition of church property and financial control.

The elderly residents of shelters and poor claimants for assistance were depicted by adjectives like 'ill-fated', 'impoverished', and 'neglected by families'. Priests and volunteers also provided short stories about an accident, an incidence of illness, the loss of a relative, and hard luck in the life of a poor person. This event of fate was critical for a kind of a social fall, a loss of social status, a sudden and temporary loss of belonging. Charity was necessary to redress this kind of injustice or family neglect. Such stories selectively isolate the events leading to poverty and represent the cases deserving assistance. A preaching element or moral (*didachi*) was occasionally involved, not as a matter of disciplining or instructing, but as a re-affirmation of the duty of charity and comforting pain.

Extract 7.16 comes from an interview with a parish priest who was trying to avoid questions addressing the needs of groups apart from the elderly in the parish. At my insistence he provided a short story depicting the social decline of a general's daughter who died in the shelter. The 'fatalistic' interpretation implied in this short story diverts attention from poverty rather than elaborating on the link between deprivation and feelings of isolation.

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<sup>7</sup> Fieldwork and interviews took place during a period when the Church and the socialist party in government were in conflict. The Church promoted a polemical campaign and demonstrations in Athens to contest the government's decision to issue a new form of identity card, in accordance with E.U. regulations, without data on religious belief. A bureaucratic issue became a matter of dispute as the Church claimed that national and religious identity cannot be separated. The issue was not discussed during interviews, but it certainly affected the attitudes of my respondents.

<sup>8</sup> A historical discussion of Church State relationships can be found in Alivizatos (2000).

Extract 7.16: Interview with priest in parish shelter for the elderly

*Q: How do you think poverty is related to the lack of housing? I mean for the elderly guests you have.*

*F: As I told you, it is poverty and isolation. Sometimes a grandma stays on her own; her partner has gone. Or she has no children to look after her. We had a grandma with us- she is gone now- God rest her soul. She was a general's daughter. But she did not get married. She did not have children. We took her to stay with us, with the rest of the elderly.*

A fatalistic understanding of homelessness and poverty implies a common fate (*moira*) for those who share the same identity. This is certainly not a victim-blaming attitude since failure is not attributed to the individual but to fate (*moira*)<sup>9</sup>. Thus, it establishes a bond between the provider and the recipient, the rich and the poor. This is the basis of charity. At the same time it redirects anger about unfair distribution to an external force without undermining the symbolic power of the giver. In this context, emphasis on material deprivation has a unifying function and contributes to building a collective identity. A common identity includes both the giver and the recipient within religious communities, and also allows anti-statist accounts when the state is perceived to be threatening religious identity. Nonetheless, the crucial question is whose common fate? Who will be sheltered, and who not? Silence over various vulnerable groups and available resources, as well as non-provision of services is an indirect exclusion and reflects a historical ethnocentric and socially conservative block consolidated within the hierarchy of Church of Greece.

At some time during fieldwork I realised I was being directed to model shelters for the elderly the official Church used for promotion of its charity. My efforts concentrated on getting access to a shelter in the inner city, which I was discouraged from visiting. The parish was a special example because at various periods it ran three different shelters: one for the elderly, one for young Greek citizens, and one for refugees. The parish priest refused to meet me both directly and after the mediation of my informants. However, I managed to visit the shelter for refugees, discuss with professionals and volunteers involved in its operation and obtain a formal interview

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<sup>9</sup> The Greek word for ill-fated (*kakomoiros- kakorizikos*) is synonym to misery and poverty.

with the social worker. The shelter was part of an E.U. project for refugees administered by a church committee collaborating with the World Council of Churches and was locally run in collaboration with the parish. I was also denied access to the project bid and any other documentation.

The interview with the social worker is interesting because it can be contrasted with an idealised picture presented at the shelters to which I was initially directed. The contrast in part develops over the issue of immigration and aims to document how the rhetoric of unity and love treats difference, in this case ethnicity, and to highlight the limits of the Church in accommodating new claims. It should be acknowledged that the Greek Church, after pressures from religious activists with an ecumenical spirit, has taken action on refugees, and this should by no means be passed over in silence, contrary to what some Church officials believe.

In my understanding, the shelter had to operate in a rather hostile environment created both by the reluctance of nationalistic senior officials in the church hierarchy and the hostile attitudes of the local residents, who in the past had requested the deportation of Kurds in the area. In this context, there was strict control and 'filtering' of persons requesting shelter in the fear of troubles, which would have brought in difficult position the administration of the shelter<sup>10</sup>. My informants discussed the homeless aliens as 'uprooted' persons. The extracts to follow show how an 'uprooted' person is constructed through certification and mediation of philanthropic values as the administration struggled to cope with reservations of the Church hierarchy and the local residents.

In Extract 7.17 a family story is offered to justify 'filtering' for fear of trouble-making, and mercy in cases of poor health.

Extract 7.17: Interview with a social worker at a Church shelter for the refugees

*SW: The persons who have been accommodated have gone through a filter. Throughout the period we have been running the shelter, there has been not a single instance of trouble-making.*

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<sup>10</sup> From my knowledge of the history of the shelter this fear was exaggerated.

*Q: What kind of filter?*

*SW: Filter... of their character. I tried to psychograph them. (Laughs)*

*Q: How was that done?*

*SW: I took an interview. You can see each person's character. You make an appointment you see if they come on time or not. You ask for some things and you see if they do it or not. Also, there are some urgent cases. We have a family in the shelter. We have been asked by the hospital to shelter them. They had a hydrocephalus child. They were referred to us by 'AGLALA KYRIAKOU' the Children's Hospital". They came from Iraq and went straight to the hospital. The child was hydrocephalous and was accepted for treatment with the mediation of MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES. They called us on the phone and said we have this family, and we accepted them. They sleep here at night. They have the child with them.*

In Extract 7.18 the social worker is initially puzzled when explicit criteria must be set for acceptance in the shelter. The social worker needs to 'always cross-check', needs to verify the 'truth', needs to 'see' the signs of torture. Being genuinely homeless in the case of aliens involves also being a genuine refugee. The two together construct an 'uprooted' person. Activists and professionals do not want to admit that they tacitly or unwillingly impose a rationing of clients. Perhaps it is best to say that philanthropic identities avoid the recognition of structural constraints but also orientate action towards finding solutions. When consideration is given and the crucial moment of speaking or acting comes (when the social worker pauses to think and answer my question, or when the working team has a session to decide who will be admitted) constraints are ultimately acknowledged ('otherwise we should have accepted them all') and resolved by prioritising health and torture. From this point onwards mercy towards pain is blurred with certification of suffering.

Extract 7.18: Interview with social worker at a Church shelter for the refugees

*Q: After that you continued with their needs assessment...*

*SW: We looked at how important the case is and if the things said were true.*

*Q: I cannot understand that, can you discuss what is important to you?*

*SW: Hmmm.... (Pauses to think). Health is one criterion. When poor health puts extra social strain on a person. We also worked with the Torture Victims' Rehabilitation Centre. This is in LYKAVITOU Street. There are special doctors, psychologists. Refugees go there and depending on the torture they have suffered they receive the relevant certificates. We cross-checked their sayings all the time. They said: "I have suffered tortures. I have been beaten". We checked that. When you apply for a "pink card" it helps if you have a certificate. So when they said this or that we referred to the centre. There they assessed their claims and issued the certificate. They were giving us evidence, but we were always testing its validity.*

*Q: Yes.*

*SW: Then there was an assessment involving the whole team working here. We looked at whether the person was in genuine need of help. We did not have specific criteria for acceptance. We considered each case individually. Simply, when we thought that a case deserved help. Otherwise we should have accepted everyone.*

The analysis does not invalidate the humanitarian attitude of professionals trying to help people in this misfortune and to cope with disciplinary mechanisms involving violence (indeed some of the refugees in the programme have escaped imprisonment and deportation). The analysis highlights how such actions are limited (often without consciousness of the fact) by a given regime of truth particular to each provider.

#### *7.5.2. Practices: God's shelter and the testimony of mercy*

It is significant to examine how this discourse was linked to selection practices in shelters, policy-making in the Church of Greece, and promotion of her charity.

Firstly, the hierarchical powers within the Church should be explained. I understand this as a system of radial management of parishes and shelters directed by the Archdiocese. The system was best depicted in an old map of the Archdiocese of Athens, with which I was not provided with the excuse that the previous Archbishop was pictured on it. At the centre of the map the Archdiocese was placed together with the portrait of the Archbishop. Shelters were dotted on the map of Attica, and for each one a small photograph was provided followed by a quotation of a gospel text. Yellow

lines (as a radiant) linked shelters with the Archdiocese. The map was entitled 'The Shelter of God'. It worth elaborating on how this symbolic space linking all these sites together facilitated the management of the poor. Effectively the 'yellow lines' were not linking the shelters but the parishes with the Archdiocese.

Parish kitchens attracted the poor from neighbouring areas looking for food. There, the first encounters with the volunteer ladies and the priest of the Parish took place. Usually, these places attracted poor women, middle-aged and elderly, with or without partners and children. Some carried the food back home to have an extra dinner or share with their elderly partner, some brought their children with them, some ate and departed to a temporary abode. Parish kitchens were relatively small serving 30-40 persons a day (which makes approximately 2,000 persons in Athens daily). They were a connection point to the world. There the poor could find not only food, but also ask for a job, express their health needs, or claims for income. Parish kitchens were 'collection' sites for the informal registry of the poor.

Therefore, parish kitchens were also a 'passage' to the shelters. Before referral to the central administration needs were administered locally by the ladies and the priest in a rather informal manner. After the referral, practices of social workers structured the selection process by employing social inquiry, interviewing, certification, and referrals to public hospitals and welfare assistance offices. When this process was completed the decision on referral to the proper shelter was taken centrally. It needs be clarified that most of the parishes had soup kitchens but only a few run shelters. Because of this, the referral system became complicated and required central monitoring. Extra difficulties resulted from referrals made from parishes outside the Athens area and from the lack of social workers to address the issues locally. Inevitably, informal contacts also developed between parishes and shelters before the formal referral to the central administration. Similarly, the central administration often mediated between parishes and shelters. This process of negotiation and centralised mediation did not involve any systematic monitoring to match shelter vacancies with parish needs. Social workers used hand-written tables, which were also handed to me, and once a year a central account was produced.

The main instrument of navigation in the labyrinth of church shelters, institutions and parishes were the '*Diptycha*'. It was the first book I was entrusted by my church informants. This is an official church 'Calendar' to be used by priests, administrators, and believers to follow the religious rituals in detail. Apart from organising the performance of religious duties and ceremonies on daily basis, it contains the Hierarchy of the Church, and registers all church institutions, parishes and their personnel, with addresses and telephones. Thus, the Calendar is also a means of communication between church professionals, and is used as a tool for referrals between social services of the Church.

Once the need for shelter was expressed to the parish priest via informal channels, a referral to the social workers of the central administration was made. At this stage the rhetoric of love was mixed with typical bureaucratic practices for needs assessment. An administrative board under the complete control of the Archbishop took the final decision centrally. Health certificates and poverty certificates were required, the very same used in statutory shelters (with the exception of an HIV test). It must be made clear that this assessment process did not involve any physical or psychological enforcement (such as obligatory confessions, sanctions, or exoneration rituals). I am referring to a process through which the cultural endowment of pity and the duty to heal pain was materialised in interactions between social workers, priests, volunteers and the homeless elderly. The deserving need is assessed to match practical considerations (shelter capacity), strict regulations of age (no person below 70), poverty, physical and mental capacity such as to allow the elderly to service themselves and lack of relatives. Consequently, emphasis is not on suffering, literally, but on these perceptions, life events and affiliations, which alongside poverty give a feeling of isolation, the need for a common identity. Parishioner ladies bathed the elderly and attended the services, whilst their husbands paid the bills of the shelters on receipt of the priests blessing.

An example of the limits of this treatment is the case of the refugees' shelter. My informants were disappointed that they had failed to establish stable bonds with the refugees. However, mistrust was reinforced by the everyday practices in managing the shelter. Filtering was linked with the mobility of the guests and fear of tensions with the local residents. The management team of the shelter also informed me that they

used a global map to pin down political upheavals and to cross-check the validity of claims of refugees that they were persecuted in their place of origin. This map of 'truth' guided initial screening but this geographical game did not seem to validate the experience of refugees. Moreover, guests had to be contained, not to bring friends to live with them, not to disclose information about their residence. Needs like a TV set or privacy were considered outrageous in up-rooted people. I would argue that stereotypes of 'suffering poor' and 'tortured aliens' in need of 'pity' were inhibiting listening to the concern of refugees for a better future in Greece or in another country. Their treatment requires recognition of their transit condition.

Moreover, officials of the refugee programme stressed the fragmented character of church administration. Rather than the radial map they suggested that the Church is 'many, many pieces', each parish or region reflecting the preferences of a local clergy and hierarchy or the wealth and values of communities. This pluralist space motivated their actions, introduced a novel spirit and raised their hopes for change. However, I would argue that a pluralist space was not achieved, and places passed over in silence had to confront not only church authority but also the limits of a philanthropy culture.

## **7.6. Conclusions**

This chapter has examined inconsistencies between discourse and practice of statutory, municipal, church and non-governmental organisations. As with many studies in the U.S. and in Europe, my findings suggest that the tacit shift of responsibility to local, church, and non-governmental organisations without provision of adequate resources contributes to the fragmented life-paths of the homeless. Moreover, it has been possible to identify how the traditional management of homelessness in the Greek familistic regime is mediated by distinct discourses orientating the actions of various welfare providers.

Representations of homelessness were used to select homeless persons in shelters and shape the social profile of clients each provider saw fit to serve. A series of exclusions were applied for this purpose but were concealed by rhetoric. Definitions of homelessness, on the one hand, reflected the aims and resources of organisations and,



on the other, relied on the 'characteristics' of homeless persons. Thus, homelessness was defined each time so as to acknowledge or to avoid responsibility, according to the particular values justifying the philanthropic identity of each provider.

By disregarding the need for secure housing, responses were limited to the management of emergency cases. Moreover, administrative fragmentation reinforced discretionary practices. Politicians, senior civil servants, and church officials were primarily concerned with promotion of the charity work of their organisations and containment of the homeless. Lack of income assistance, support and housing structures for a variety of vulnerable groups limited the capacity of front-line staff, who were constrained by hierarchies or were trapped by the philanthropic discourse and consequently failed to acknowledge even the simplest needs of homeless persons.

'Concealment accounts' of civil servants separated the homeless unemployed, mainly middle-aged men to argue that the number of the 'genuine homeless' is limited. Poor housing conditions, female or child homelessness, housing of young persons, drug abusers, immigrants, or users of the public psychiatric system were ignored. Statutory shelters informally serviced out-patients of hospitals, their escorts and poor elderly people who were not perceived as a threat to the management of shelters. Classification of cases and clients served buck-passing, delaying, negotiation of placements between professionals in asylums and shelters, and attempts to shift responsibility on to families.

'Visibility accounts' in the municipality of Athens contrasted degraded places with spectacular solutions to the problem, but catered for a heterogeneous population and provided accommodation mainly for healthy middle-aged unemployed men, excluding all those who did not conform to the image of a temporary visitor to the city. Obstacles to NGO actions, sweeps of public spaces, rejection of recommendations for urban projects and housing schemes served the containment of the homeless.

NGO 'revelations' focused on hidden homelessness or on clients excluded from statutory services. They were mainly immigrants, de-institutionalised patients, ex-convicts, and young persons engaged in a web of family conflicts, disciplinary

agencies and drug abuse. Innovative practices within the NGO field followed the homeless on their itineraries and penetrated spaces of hidden homelessness, but their success was limited.

The church used selective poverty accounts stressing isolation and fatalistic explanations to limit its action to the deserving elderly, and to promote charity work. It was rather hesitant and preferred to remain silent on issues related to new poverty and homelessness such as immigration, alternative family forms, and drug abuse. Novel actions aiming to support refugees met with the hostile attitudes on the part of the Church Hierarchy.

## **CHAPTER 8: Conclusions**

### **8.1. Summary of findings**

This thesis has attempted to challenge official views which serve the concealment and containment of homelessness in Greece. To overcome some of the theoretical and methodological limitations of existing research, and to break out of the vicious circle between lack of data and policy neglect I have addressed homelessness on distinct geographical scales and historical periods.

To examine how both systemic forces and social practices shape the main dimensions of homelessness, I have discussed the historical foundations of the Greek welfare state and the development of welfare strategies in the urban complex of Athens. By taking a historical perspective, the thesis has suggested that the construction of homelessness is a small part of the traditional management of the urban poor by philanthropic networks within the Greek familistic regime.

Drawing on various historical studies, I have argued that small landownership sustained informal economic relations between labour and capital as well as statutory abstinence from housing provisions. Welfare inequalities occur as various social groups have differential access to resources via formal and informal networks. Marginalisation and homelessness in certain historical periods have been accommodated via the interplay of informality, authoritarian state strategies, institutionalisation, and traditional charity. Adaptation to E.U. policies in the 1990s had adverse effects on poverty, particularly as long as the Greek state fails to acknowledge the need for public provisions in the fields of social assistance and housing.

Acknowledging that contemporary homelessness spans a large continuum of housing and care needs, which the Greek authorities disregard, I have used a variety of data sources to provide updated estimates for various levels of homelessness. It was found

that visible homelessness is of a considerable extent by European standards and is highly periodic. Substantially, informal visible homelessness far outweighs formal visible homelessness, i.e., the ratio of the sheltered to the non-sheltered population is larger than is widely believed. Invisible homelessness involves a significant number of Greek citizens sheltered in public asylums, secular and religious homes and to Greeks and immigrants using informal strategies to cope with poverty, rent and inadequate housing.

Using principal components' analysis and clustering techniques, the thesis has also studied the spatial distribution of homelessness and housing deprivation in Athens. The analysis has confirmed that housing deprivation is related to residential segregation of the working class. It was found that working class deprivation areas can no longer grow dynamically and their fringes are used to accommodate new entrants in substandard housing. Poles of institutionalisation historically developed on the edges of urban expansions, but were gradually encompassed in the urban fabric to concentrate a variety of traditional homes for the elderly, orphanages, and mental health asylums. Pockets of philanthropy providing shelter to the 'literally' homeless and a variety of heterogeneous groups are scattered over the city in a non-standardised way. This pattern reflects the gradual change of traditional control of the poor and the limits of informal practices in coping with new social cleavages.

Recognising the significance of discourse in the shaping of networks managing the homeless, the thesis has aimed at shedding some light on institutional contexts which differ from Northern European ones. By analysing official documents and interviews, it was found that central state, municipal, church and non-governmental agencies form distinct philanthropic networks, for which I have proposed the terms bureaucratic, political, civil, and religious. Distinct philanthropic discourses and hierarchical modes of management are used to create boundaries to collaboration and institutional change. Provisions for the homeless are limited and accommodation schemes constitute a balance between social control and social care. Shelters and services are not integrated and they also fail to meet their objectives because homelessness is constructed solely as a welfare issue. The majority of shelters are remnants of institutionalised care but some have been modified to cope with emergency situations. Centralised and opaque management is left to senior positions

in the state, municipal, church authorities, and large NGOs. Smaller NGOs struggle to cope with financial hardship in a fragmented regulatory framework. Nonetheless, noticeable differences evidence the emergence of a reformist discourse aiming at changes towards inclusive management and advocacy of housing rights. Incremental changes still facilitate the dominance of philanthropy and the success of reformist discourse has been limited.

After having examined how discourse shapes the institutional context of management and collaboration of agencies, the next concern has been to examine its role in shaping everyday practices of professionals. The focus has shifted to micro-contexts of interaction in shelters, social services, and traditional institutions. Respectively, emphasis has been given to the ways key actors resorted to given discourses and used the power of their positions in the selection of aid recipients. In both official documents and rhetorical devices of professionals the philanthropic discourse dominated and inhibited actions towards change.

By contrasting reports of social workers, senior civil servants, local politicians, priests, church officials, and volunteers and my own observations in the field I have detected significant inconsistencies between discourse and practice. Definitions of homelessness on the one hand reflected the aims and resources of organisations and on the other relied on the individual characteristics of homeless persons. The majority of professionals complied with official positions and defined homelessness in such a way as to acknowledge or to avoid responsibility according to the particular values justifying the philanthropic identity of each provider. A series of exclusions contributed to the specialisation of shelters without offering stable solutions to the homeless.

By disregarding the need for secure housing, responses were limited to the management of emergency cases and containment of the homeless population, whilst administrative fragmentation allowed arbitrariness and buck-passing. Politicians, senior civil servants, and church officials were primarily interested in promoting the charity work of their agencies. Lack of income assistance and supported housing schemes for a variety of groups exposed to different risks of homelessness limited the capacity of front-line staff in enabling access to housing, employment and care.

Constrained by hierarchies and lack of resources, they resorted to stereotypical representations of homelessness and often failed to listen to the simplest needs of their clients.

## **8.2. Locating findings in the international literature**

The European literature has traditionally focused on the ways welfare institutions and gaps in welfare provisions contributed to shaping patterns of homelessness. Acknowledging the lack of theorisation, many studies have recently emphasised social exclusion and constructionist interpretations of official policies and professional practices. Moreover, an attempt has been made to fertilise cross-national European research by using existing taxonomies on welfare regimes (Daly M. 1999, Marcuse 1998). The Greek case hardly appears on the European map of homelessness, and when it does, it is considered to be part of the relatively successful story of Mediterranean regimes in tackling the phenomenon (Daly M. 1999).

The literature review has also highlighted that the lack of theorisation in European studies parallels the lack of attention to the spatial configuration of welfare regimes and their implications for homelessness. On the other hand, theoretical and methodological strengths of the U.S. literature date back to ethnographic research on urban poverty, as in studies of the Chicago school, but had limited reference to the welfare state literature. The rise of homelessness and political debates since the 1990s have fuelled a series of empirical studies aimed at providing a federal picture of the extent of homelessness, and have also stimulated critical geographical inquiry for its urban distribution (Marcuse 1996, Dear and Wolch 1987, 1993). The ground breaking studies of Dear and Wolch (1987, 1993) have addressed the interplay between micro and macro changes in social control functions of the welfare state. More recently, Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) suggested studying homelessness drawing on both regulation theory and on constructionist approaches, emphasising the role of discourse in shaping institutional contexts. In their comparative studies of the U.S. and Europe, Mingione (1996a,b) and Wacquant (1996) have pioneered linking, both theoretically and empirically, homelessness to urban poverty.

This thesis suggests that on a macro spatial-temporal scale, Mingione's taxonomy is useful in understanding the Greek welfare regime, provided that the historical specificity of the Greek Social Formation is taken into consideration. Mingione's historical account better suits cross-national research than Daly's (1999) modification of Esping-Andersen's taxonomy because it allows consideration of class-based politics as well as cultural variations. It has been argued that the Greek familistic regime has been founded on the role of small landownership within the social formation and has served statutory abstinence from housing provisions. In this context the family becomes the primary locus of social reproduction and familistic values permeate social control functions of statutory, religious, and charity institutions caring for the poor. Various authors (Mingione 1998, Hadjimichalis 1987, Mouzelis 1987) suggest that partial proletarianisation in the European south led to dependence of the poor on clientelistic and patronage networks. However, these views have neglected to consider that the traditional management of the poor alongside patronage and clientelism involved the deployment of public, private, and religious ideological and disciplining apparatus. In other words, alongside the successful story of social and, ultimately, systemic integration of the agrarian and working-class strata there has been a silenced story of severe exclusions on the basis of middle-class familistic values.

By introducing the urban level into the analysis, the thesis has attempted to grasp the spatial effects of formal and informal welfare practices on poverty and homelessness, which the Greek literature has, in a way similar to many European studies on homelessness, paid limited attention. In exceptional but outstanding Greek studies (Maloutas 2000, Leontidou 1999, Maloutas & Economou 1992) emphasis has been given to informality and the family as a means of social integration. Historically such practices have led to a pattern of social and spatial segregation in the city of Athens. Nonetheless, the same studies have not taken into consideration location patterns of institutional provisions and charity. My findings suggest that the lack of public infrastructures in working-class areas is coupled with a dispersal of philanthropy pockets as the state has tacitly left care and control of the urban poor to religious and secular charities. Moreover, the thesis has identified a clear pattern of segregation of institutional provisions, what I have termed 'poles of institutionalisation'.

Consequently, the map of homelessness and deprivation in Athens is different from 'advanced' homelessness (Marcuse 1996) and 'welfare ghettos' (Dear and Wolch 1987) described in the U.S. Territorial division of deprivation and homelessness in Athens presents more similarities with southern European cities as described by Mingione (1996) and Morlichio (1996). There is no strong evidence for accumulation of disadvantages in large city quarters but there is a diffusion of deprivation most evident in traditional working class areas. Nonetheless one can discern the limits of both formal social control and of informal practices of inclusion.

Policy effort is geared towards concealment and containment of homelessness. Both visible and invisible homelessness are more pronounced than suggested by the European Observatory (Daly M, 1999, Sapounakis 1995). From this point of view the performance of the Greek regime cannot be taken as a guideline for policy recommendations and gives rise to significant reservations in accepting the arguments for the success of Mediterranean countries in tackling the problem. Firstly, a traditional model of care and institutionalisation of the poor by state, religious, and private charities is still dominant. Secondly, reforms in social policies promote privatisation, neglect the needs of the most vulnerable groups and retain ambivalent attitudes towards aliens.

The two features, dominance of traditional institutions and reforms promoting privatisation, are crucial in understanding local responses to globalisation trends concerning, on the one hand, the arrival of economic refugees and, on the other, convergence of welfare regimes towards new forms of governance. Social insertion depends on the tolerance of local populations and on the progressively constrained capacities of informal welfare practices.

Formal as well as informal constructions of homelessness in Greece easily fit the familistic environment and the related discourses are imbued with paternalistic values. In effect, the construction of homelessness has primarily served the denial of its existence. By examining discourse and practice in a variety of local and institutional contexts it was found that formal providers of shelter and social assistance are primarily concerned with rhetorical justification of their charity work rather than advocacy of the social rights of their clients. The governance of homelessness, as in



many European countries (Carlen 1996) and the U.S. (Hoch 2000) relies on a filtering of clients, the separation of manageable from unmanageable cases, the deserving from the non-deserving poor. The Greek case suggests that the rhetoric of governance should each time be placed within a wider framework which would allow us understand the interplay between formal and informal practices as well as the institutional means that charity uses for achieving cultural dominance and constraining structural changes.

### **8.3. Policy implications for Greece**

The literature review has highlighted the ways in which research into homelessness is interwoven with policy debates spanning different institutions and involving a variety of actors. It is hoped that locating findings within an international context of policy debates will assist in institutional changes towards improvement of the lives of homeless persons and towards preventing exposure of larger parts of the population to homelessness. Moreover, research findings confirmed that powerful actors in Greece have narrow, and yet competing, conceptualisations of homelessness and are exposed to different degrees to international pressures, particularly from E.U. institutions. Therefore, the discussion which follows also considers the empowerment of actors who were found to be most competent and willing to support measures in the direction of alleviation and prevention of homelessness.

As has been pointed out, core policy concepts such as ‘welfare pluralism’ and ‘welfare governance’ have facilitated dialogue and collaboration of various providers in both local and international contexts, but have not demolished fundamental differences in the understanding of homelessness. Similar to many European countries and the U.S., prioritising of interventions in Greece cannot avoid dilemmas in the preference for short-term and long-term solutions, the balance between housing and social care measures, the need for specialised treatment and universal policies.

As the ratio of the non-sheltered to the sheltered population increases, there is need for reforms in the administration of the existing shelters and the establishment of new ones. Although a policy of ‘shelterisation’ is not recommended, the exclusion of large numbers of applicants from existing shelters requires the search for solutions. In my

survey of shelters I found that rejections mainly concern individuals with mental health problems, ex-convicts, immigrants, and drug abusers. Nonetheless, my research has also shown that in many cases rejections were arbitrary or resulted from considerations about the lack of adequate structures and qualified personnel. Consequently, the primary target should be to upgrade and reform existing shelters by employing or contracting specialised personnel (psychiatrists, criminologists, lawyers), relaxing tight regulations, designing spaces for privacy and collective life, promoting tolerance and solidarity amongst clients and professionals. Along these lines, support programmes should address both professionals, who often feel frustrated, and clients, who reach shelters in despair. It is significant to note that the distinction between 'emergency' and 'transitory' needs of clients does not necessarily require the physical separation of shelters. To a certain extent individualised treatment and case-management can meet the needs of different clients within the same context. The establishment of specialised small-scale units can be recommended only for drug abusers and cases with severe and active mental health problems. The system of referrals between welfare services, prisons, general hospitals, and psychiatric clinics should be rationalised in order to avoid buck-passing between agencies. NGO examples also provided evidence that outreach models, mobile units, street-work, meeting-points, and soup kitchens may assist in creating spaces 'in-between front and back regions' in the city.

Nonetheless, measures addressing the immediate needs of the homeless will fail if structural changes in the mental health care system, the correction system, and the immigration regime are not implemented. It is essential that measures should aim towards insertion rather disciplining and policing, and intermediate bodies are necessary to plan and implement housing schemes and provisions.

Legislation should be passed and financial provisions should be made so as to establish a coherent framework for social housing schemes. Development of supported housing schemes within the social care system would also be a step forward to the integration of vulnerable groups (such as persons with a disability, the elderly, children, and run-aways). For groups with relatively strong social ties and already established communities, which cannot cope with financial hardship (e.g., immigrants, gypsies on peripheral areas), self-help and participatory housing

programmes can provide solutions by respecting their cultural difference and enhanced mobility.

Housing benefits and income support should cover both groups with significant care needs as well as groups with enhanced an capacity for autonomous living. In terms of entitlement, consideration should be given to the employment and housing condition of applicants, without, however, reproducing existing stereotypical representations of homelessness. Single parent families, women, children and the elderly in poverty will benefit from the adoption of such schemes. As Greece is the only E.U. country without a Minimum Guaranteed Income, housing benefits should be placed within a broader scheme of income assistance, rationalising fragmented provisions and clientelistic practices.

As welfare governance involves multi-sectoral partnerships, the mix between governmental and non-governmental organisations and the competences of local and central agencies become crucial issues for the design and implementation of programmes. This research concluded that the dominance of hierarchical structures and distinct discourses created barriers to collaboration. Providers were reluctant to discuss the values and the limitations of their actions openly, although in effect each one acknowledged responsibility for different vulnerable groups. Consequently, fragmentation and accountability gaps are reinforced. Remedies to this situation can be found in promotion of dialogue whereby providers will set out their priorities. However, since housing and care are fundamental rights, the state is responsible for ensuring adequate resources either directly to individuals in need or indirectly to different providers.

It has also been argued that front-line professionals and clients were excluded from decision-making in delivery of social services. Democratisation of the administration is a priority for all providers in delivering quality services and in promoting a feeling of justice. Arbitrary practices and exclusions can be limited only by establishing democratic mechanisms for social audit. The first steps should address access to information and management discrepancy.

Evidence that NGOs promote innovative practices and adopt a reformist discourse when working with clients excluded from other providers suggests that they are a potential democratic safety valve in planning and service delivery. Nonetheless, it has also been suggested that NGOs function in a fragmented regulatory and financial framework which threatens the continuity of their actions. Consolidated regulation, promotion of NGOs in planning mechanisms and earmarking funds for their actions can facilitate their development.

#### **8.4. Limitations of the thesis and issues for further research**

In the initial design of this research it appeared that the main problem, as well as challenge, would have been to overcome limitations of the existing literature on homelessness in Greece. In due course it turned out that the lack of references and the scarcity of data concerned a variety of fields and issues related to homelessness. To mention only a few examples, I could locate hardly any references and statistics about the psychiatric reform, the historical role of the Church and its social provisions, and immigration. As has been also admitted by other authors (e.g., Tsoulouvis 1996) poverty and social exclusion have become research and policy issues only since the mid 1990s. Consequently, lack of references and data has been constantly introducing dilemmas as to the range of providers and services that will be studied, the focus on particular groups and their vulnerabilities, the need to include and make the voices of the homeless themselves heard, the role of public attitudes and community values in planning and delivery of services, and comparability of findings with international studies. The decision has been made to focus on service and shelter providers without disregarding their context and without neglecting the needs of the homeless. It is hoped that the comparison of distinct providers has shed some light on how different practices affect the fragmented life-paths of the homeless. It is also hoped that information obtained through my own participation in various projects and voluntary work provides an accurate and critical picture of some aspects of the everyday encounters of the homeless with a small part of 'our' world- the social services.

An unexpected source of problems has directed me to the findings of the thesis. I refer to the reluctance of policy-makers to discuss the issue, the effort of senior officials to

direct my research towards ‘model’ actions, problems in communication with front-line staff until I learned to speak their language and refer to ‘cases’, ‘hospitality’, ‘guests’, ‘grandpas’, ‘pals’, my attempt to discern whether it was stereotypes or constraints that inhibited understanding, to mention only a few issues. All this material seemed too real to be true, occasionally too nice and occasionally too cynical, so fragmented and so partial. It is hoped that a critical thread has been found which can enhance our understanding of homelessness in Greece and can provide a basis for further research. Firstly, in depth studies of various groups can enrich the understanding of their specific conditions of living and should include their own meaning of homelessness. Immigration is a priority in this direction. Secondly, small-scale studies focusing on community attitudes towards the homeless and location of services may point out more dynamic routes towards efforts for social insertion. Thirdly, cross-national research of both quantitative (national surveys) and qualitative orientation may provide a more accurate and comparable picture of the geographical distribution of homelessness in Europe.

As always, there are more stories to be told, and many more stories to listen to (in so many different contexts).

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## **APPENDIX 1:**

### **Questionnaire for shelters and community services**

#### **I. AGENCY IDENTITY**

**No of Questionnaire:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Shelter:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Address:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Legal Status:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Foundation Year:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Contact Person:**

• **Name:**

\_\_\_\_\_

• **Profession:**

\_\_\_\_\_

• **Position in Organisation:**

\_\_\_\_\_

• **Name of Director of Organisation:**

\_\_\_\_\_

• **TEL:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**FAX:**

\_\_\_\_\_

## II. SHELTER AND SERVICE PROVISION

Which of the following services do you provide? Please tick

<input type="checkbox"/>	Shelter Provision
<input type="checkbox"/>	Housing Rehabilitation/ Resettlement
<input type="checkbox"/>	Catering
<input type="checkbox"/>	Clothing
<input type="checkbox"/>	Financial Support
<input type="checkbox"/>	Medical Examinations
<input type="checkbox"/>	Medical Treatment
<input type="checkbox"/>	Care for dependent members
<input type="checkbox"/>	Psychological Counseling
<input type="checkbox"/>	Work with family/ personal relationships
<input type="checkbox"/>	Referrals/ Access to health and social services
<input type="checkbox"/>	Employment/ work by the organisation itself
<input type="checkbox"/>	Vocational Guidance and Counseling
<input type="checkbox"/>	Job placements
<input type="checkbox"/>	Training / Education
<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious functions
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (Specify)

Equipment and facilities available to residents?

	<i>In Room</i>	<i>Common Use</i>
Telephone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TV/ Radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bath/ WC	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Food/ Cooking Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**How many persons approximately apply for accommodation every year?**

Number

**Of those applying to how many can you NOT offer accommodation?**

Number

**Which is the main reason?**

**Can you please specify :**

No of Rooms

No of Beds

Days of Operation during the year

Average Bed Occupancy in 1998

Bed Occupancy Today

**IS there any constraint/ limit concerning length of stay?**

☐

Yes, less 1 month

☐

Yes, 1- 3 months

☐

Yes, 3-6 months

☐

Yes, 6-12 months

☐

NO Constraints

**The actual average length of stay is:**

☐

Less than 1 month

☐

1-3 months

☐

3-6 months

☐

6-12 months

☐

More than 1 year



### III. RESOURCES AND COLLABORATION

Who is the owner of the premises? Please tick the appropriate box

- ☐ Property of the agency (if agency/shelter is an independent entity)
- ☐ Private Property (Individual or other private organisation)
- ☐ State Property (Ministry, region, or other public organisation)
- ☐ Local Government Property (Municipality, or municipal company)
- ☐ Church Property (Archdiocese of Athens or other church agency)

Total Budget in: 1997  1998

Funding Sources (please specify percent of total) :

- ☐ Central Administration
- ☐ Prefectural Administration
- ☐ European Funding
- ☐ Local Government
- ☐ Archdiocese of Athens
- ☐ Contributions of Users
- ☐ Donations by Other Persons

Which is the total number of employees in your organisation?

Please specify qualification and nature of employment

<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	
<i>PT - external</i>	<i>FT- permanent</i>	
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Doctors
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Nursing
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Social Workers / Social Scientists
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Psychologists
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Administration Personnel
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Priests
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Non-qualified: cleaners/washers/cook tec..

Are there volunteers on a regular basis?

approx. No of volunteers per month

Which Organisations do you collaborate with on a regular basis for the following services

**SHELTER/ FOOD/ CLOTHING**

Name of Organisation	Briefly Describe

**HEALTH SERVICES**

Name of Organisation	Briefly Describe

**BENEFITS-TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICES**

Name of Organisation	Briefly Describe

## **APPENDIX 2:**

### **Interview guide**

**No of Interview:**

**Date:**

**Shelter:**

**Address:**

**Legal Status:**

**Foundation Year:**

**Contact Person:**

• **Name:**

• **Profession:**

• **Position in Organisation:**

• **Name of Director of Organisation:**

• **TEL:**

**FAX:**

## **PART 1: HISTORY OF ORGANISATION**

### ***Eliciting Quote***

- I would like to thank you for accepting this interview. I know your genuine interest for homelessness in the city and I would like to have an open discussion with you. I will not use a questionnaire so you will be free to elaborate on your own work with the homeless. First I would like you to tell me the history of your organisation. I will not interrupt but, if necessary, I shall ask some additional questions to understand better your personal approach and experiences.
- If you would like any information to be confidential I will ensure that it will not be disclosed and that anonymity will be retained.
- Should we start with the history of your organisation? You may mention in as much detail as you want its goals and achievements, the constraints that have been faced and the changes that have taken place from the beginning of this effort until today.

## **PART 2: THE HOMELESS**

### ***Explore a Narrow- Broad Understanding of homelessness***

- Would you consider you clients as homeless?
- Are there many homeless persons in the area?
- Which ones do you consider to be the main causes for the lack of housing?
- In what sense?

### ***Explore the referral system \* For Shelter and Community services only***

- How do clients reach you service?
- How do you reach your clients?

***Explore needs assessment \* For Shelter and Community services only***

- Which are the main claims/ needs they have?
- How is their housing claim/ need expressed? (urgent/ temporary/ stable)
- How is housing need related to welfare needs or poverty?
- Which are the requirements/ criteria/ priority to offer accommodation?
- How do you verify these requirements/ criteria/ priorities are being met? .
- Is there any discretion in interpretation of official requirements?
- How is the decision for admission in the shelter taken?
- Which actions do you take if you cannot offer accommodation?

<b>PART 3: MANAGEMENT- POLICIES</b>
-------------------------------------

***Explore Suggestions/ Achievements***

- How do you think that the needs of homeless persons can best be met?
- Can you tell me a successful example?
- Do you have suggestions to improve the existing conditions?

***Explore Difficulties/ Constraints***

- Which are the main difficulties you face in your work?
- Difficulties you have in working with homeless persons?
- Constraints related to personnel, hierarchy, finance?
- How do you deal?

***Explore Partnerships***

- Can you talk to me about your collaboration with other organisations?
- Which are the benefits of this collaboration?
- Difficulties in collaborating with other organisations? How do you deal?
- Which are the attitudes of the community to your work?
- Do you get assistance from the community? What kind?
- Do you have difficulties in the community? What kind? How do you deal?

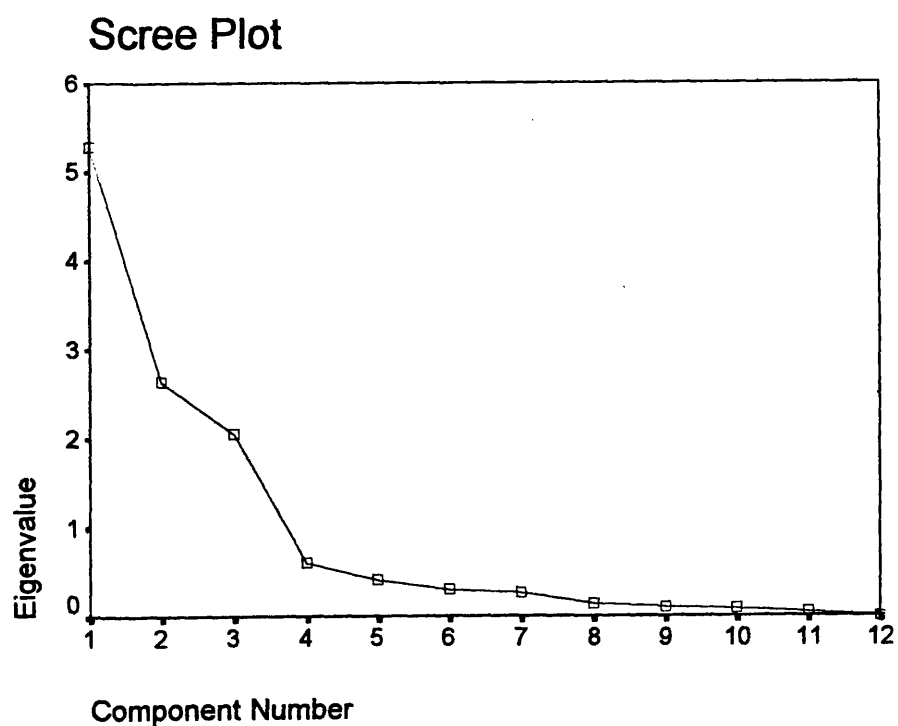
## APPENDIX 3:

### Statistical results of principal components' analysis

**Table 1: Communalities**

	Initial Extraction
UTHP	1,000 ,801
PUBLIC	1,000 ,735
NELEC	1,000 ,834
NWATER	1,000 ,928
NHEAT	1,000 ,769
OVERCR	1,000 ,879
NREG	1,000 ,726
NSANIT	1,000 ,912
SBTHP	1,000 ,723
WRKCL	1,000 ,929
URATE	1,000 ,876
EPRIM	1,000 ,934

Figure 1:



**Table 2: Total Variance Explained**

Initial Eigen-values				Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5,294	44,117	44,117	5,294	44,117	44,117
2	2,637	21,978	66,095	2,637	21,978	66,095
3	2,057	17,138	83,233	2,057	17,138	83,233
4	,613	5,105	88,338			
5	,414	3,452	91,790			
6	,305	2,545	94,335			
7	,269	2,240	96,575			
8	,151	1,258	97,833			
9	,105	,878	98,711			
10	9,591E-02	,799	99,511			
11	5,000E-02	,417	99,927			
12	8,708E-03	7,257E-02	100,000			

## APPENDIX 4:

### Descriptive statistics and analysis of variance

#### Descriptive Statistics and ANOVA for Housing Variables

TABLE 1.1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR HOUSING VARIABLES

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min	Max
NELEC	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	3,1506	,5624	2,75	3,55
	Rest of Athens	32	,4050	,2924	,07	1,40
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,5124	,2651	,04	1,13
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,4869	,5198	,00	1,03
	Total	59	,5419	,5787	,00	3,55
NWATER	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	3,2052	,4311	2,90	3,51
	Rest of Athens	32	9,877E-02	8,242E-02	,00	,43
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,2114	,1129	,09	,59
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,2563	,2754	,00	,59
	Total	59	,2548	,5740	,00	3,51
NSANTT	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	1,0205	,3087	,80	1,24
	Rest of Athens	32	4,879E-02	6,499E-02	,00	,34
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,1291	,1274	,02	,61
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,1027	,1260	,00	,26
	Total	59	,1140	,2027	,00	1,24
NREG	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	2,4375	2,4738	,69	4,19
	Rest of Athens	32	,2213	,3136	,00	1,37
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,4420	,7812	,00	3,07
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,1343	,1644	,00	,34
	Total	59	,3691	,7316	,00	4,19
OVERCR	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	3,8850	1,8597	2,57	5,20
	Rest of Athens	32	2,3084	1,2149	,08	5,11
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	5,1148	1,1877	3,73	7,98
	Institutionalization Poles	4	2,0675	1,6561	,00	4,03
	Total	59	3,3444	1,8238	,00	7,98
NHEAT	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	23,8509	6,2831	19,41	28,29
	Rest of Athens	32	2,3269	4,8093	,00	16,55
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	28,9486	11,9397	11,37	51,68
	Institutionalization Poles	4	4,5475	5,2541	,00	9,32
	Total	59	12,6826	15,0817	,00	51,68
PUBLIC	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,3900	,1273	,30	,48
	Rest of Athens	32	,6203	,2966	,21	1,25
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,8190	,5433	,26	2,68
	Institutionalization Poles	4	1,4350	,8691	,66	2,68
	Total	59	,7385	,4856	,21	2,68



**TABLE 1.2: ANOVA FOR HOUSING VARIABLES**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
NELEC	Between Groups	14,240	3	4,747	50,369	,000*
	Within Groups	5,183	55	9,424E-02		
	Total	19,424	58			
NWATER	Between Groups	18,228	3	6,076	380,349	,000*
	Within Groups	,879	55	1,597E-02		
	Total	19,107	58			
NSANIT	Between Groups	1,785	3	,595	54,679	,000*
	Within Groups	,598	55	1,088E-02		
	Total	2,383	58			
NREG	Between Groups	9,588	3	3,196	8,192	,000*
	Within Groups	21,456	55	,390		
	Total	31,044	58			
OVERCR	Between Groups	107,267	3	35,756	22,958	,000*
	Within Groups	85,658	55	1,557		
	Total	192,925	58			
NHEAT	Between Groups	9502,107	3	3167,369	47,205	,000*
	Within Groups	3690,419	55	67,099		
	Total	13192,525	58			
PUBLIC	Between Groups	2,767	3	,922	4,648	,006*
	Within Groups	10,912	55	,198		
	Total	13,679	58			

\*: Statistically significant

## Descriptive Statistics and ANOVA for Social and Demographic Variables

**TABLE 2.1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES**

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
WRKCL	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	30,9500	21,0011	16,10	45,80
	Rest of Athens	32	20,5188	9,0158	2,50	38,00
	Wrk Class Deprivation Areas	21	38,7810	6,6018	23,90	47,80
	Institutionalization Poles	4	17,0500	14,0510	2,50	34,40
	Total	59	27,1373	12,5325	2,50	47,80
EPRIM	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	47,08	17,79	35	60
	Rest of Athens	32	35,05	9,23	14	52
	Wrk Class Deprivation Areas	21	53,88	6,66	37	62
	Institutionalization Poles	4	32,89	14,83	17	49
	Total	59	42,01	12,73	14	62
POPCH	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	33,4500	9,1217	27,00	39,90
	Rest of Athens	32	21,7125	27,8429	-12,80	118,40
	Wrk Class Deprivation Areas	21	5,1333	23,4270	-12,60	101,60
	Institutionalization Poles	4	39,4500	33,3729	,10	76,00
	Total	59	17,4119	27,7452	-12,80	118,40
URATE	Substandard Housing Fringes	1	2,7677	,	2,77	2,77
	Rest of Athens	30	3,0543	,8233	1,42	4,59
	Wrk Class Deprivation Areas	21	4,1248	,4539	2,85	4,86
	Institutionalization Poles	3	2,7839	,4226	2,48	3,27
	Total	55	3,4431	,8627	1,42	4,86

**TABLE 2.2: ANOVA FOR SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
WRKCL	Between Groups	4684,922	3	1561,641	19,411	,000*
	Within Groups	4424,816	55	80,451		
	Total	9109,738	58			
POPCH	Between Groups	6215,025	3	2071,675	2,965	,040*
	Within Groups	38432,997	55	698,782		
	Total	44648,022	58			
URATE	Between Groups	16,053	3	5,351	11,307	,000*
	Within Groups	24,136	51	,473		
	Total	40,189	54			
EPRIM	Between Groups	4891,781	3	1630,594	19,902	,000*
	Within Groups	4506,122	55	81,929		
	Total	9397,903	58			

\*: Statistically significant

## Descriptive Statistics and ANOVA for Institutionalisation Variables

**TABLE 3.1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR INSTITUTIONALISATION VARIABLES**

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
PUBLIC	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	.3900	.1273	.30	.48
	Rest of Athens	32	.6203	.2966	.21	1.25
	Wrk Class Deprivation Areas	21	.8190	.5433	.26	2.68
	Institutionalisation Poles	4	1.4350	.8691	.66	2.68
	Total	59	.7385	.4856	.21	2.68
SBTHP	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	3.4407	4.8659	.00	6.88
	Rest of Athens	32	1.7534	2.5059	.00	9.49
	Wrk Class Deprivation Areas	21	2.2523	3.2273	.00	10.25
	Institutionalisation Poles	4	30.0758	17.6488	15.19	55.11
	Total	59	3.9083	8.6170	.00	55.11
UNTHP	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	.1564	.2212	.00	.31
	Rest of Athens	32	5.302E-02	8.449E-02	.00	.46
	Wrk Class Deprivation Areas	21	4.030E-02	5.076E-02	.00	.24
	Institutionalisation Poles	4	.5862	.4127	.17	1.09
	Total	59	8.814E-02	.1820	.00	1.09

**TABLE 3.2: ANOVA FOR INSTITUTIONALISATION VARIABLES**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
PUBLIC	Between Groups	2.767	3	.922	4.648	.006*
	Within Groups	10.912	55	.198		
	Total	13.679	58			
SBTHP	Between Groups	2945.586	3	981.862	39.676	.000*
	Within Groups	1361.091	55	24.747		
	Total	4306.677	58			
UNTHP	Between Groups	1.089	3	.363	23.977	.000*
	Within Groups	.833	55	1.514E-02		
	Total	1.922	58			

\*: Statistically significant

## Descriptive Statistics and ANOVA for Location Quotients

**TABLE 4.1. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR LOCATION QUOTIENTS**

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min	Max
LQCHUR	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	,7038	2,6730	,00	11,96
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	1,5381	3,6896	,00	11,96
	Institutionalization Poles	4	2,4575	2,9679	,00	5,98
	Total	59	1,0958	3,0485	,00	11,96
LQLOC	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	9,531E-02	,5392	,00	3,05
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,1495	,6852	,00	3,14
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Total	59	,1049	,5650	,00	3,14
LQNGO	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	,9516	1,2810	,00	2,98
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	1,2748	1,4508	,00	2,98
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,7650	,9593	,00	2,02
	Total	59	1,0217	1,3103	,00	2,98
LQSTA	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	,4594	,7866	,00	2,01
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,2533	,6097	,00	2,01
	Institutionalization Poles	4	1,0850	,8300	,00	1,99
	Total	59	,4129	,7362	,00	2,01
LQELD	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	,5444	1,0955	,00	3,06
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,9904	1,2587	,00	3,06
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,6796	1,3591	,00	2,72
	Total	59	,6938	1,1594	,00	3,06
LQCHILD	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	2,3229	5,6817	,00	20,59
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	2,0633	5,0168	,00	20,59
	Institutionalization Poles	4	4,2841	5,0586	,00	10,30
	Total	59	2,2847	5,2660	,00	20,59
LQMENT	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	,5205	1,1014	,00	3,12
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	,1929	,7003	,00	3,12
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,8076	1,3939	,00	2,88
	Total	59	,4057	,9790	,00	3,12
LQCOTH	Substandard Housing Fringes	2	,0000	,0000	,00	,00
	Rest of Athens	32	,8419	2,0637	,00	7,48
	Wrk Class Housing Deprivation Areas	21	1,0420	2,2925	,00	7,48
	Institutionalization Poles	4	,9350	1,8701	,00	3,74
	Total	59	,8909	2,0752	,00	7,48

**TABLE 4.2: ANOVA FOR LOCATION QUOTIENTS**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
LQCHUR	Between Groups	18,845	3	6,282	,664	,578
	Within Groups	520,179	55	9,458		
	Total	539,024	58			
LQLOC	Between Groups	,111	3	3,693E-02	,110	,954
	Within Groups	18,402	55	,335		
	Total	18,513	58			
LQNGO	Between Groups	3,854	3	1,285	,738	,534
	Within Groups	95,726	55	1,740		
	Total	99,580	58			
LQSTA	Between Groups	2,752	3	,917	1,759	,166
	Within Groups	28,683	55	,522		
	Total	31,435	58			
LQELD	Between Groups	3,525	3	1,175	,868	,463
	Within Groups	74,435	55	1,353		
	Total	77,960	58			
LQCHILD	Between Groups	27,506	3	9,169	,319	,812
	Within Groups	1580,855	55	28,743		
	Total	1608,361	58			
LQMENT	Between Groups	2,348	3	,783	,808	,495
	Within Groups	53,242	55	,968		
	Total	55,589	58			
LQCOTH	Between Groups	2,151	3	,717	,159	,923
	Within Groups	247,630	55	4,502		
	Total	249,781	58			

No Variable Statistically significant